Universiteit Antwerpen

This item is the archived peer-reviewed author-version of:

Transmigration : the rise of flexible migration strategies as part of superdiversity

Reference:
Geldof Dirk, Schrooten Mieke, Withaeckx Sophie.- Transmigration : the rise of flexible migration strategies as part of superdiversity
Policy and politics / University of Bristol. School for Advanced Urban Studies - ISSN 0305-5736 - 45:4(2017), p. 567-584
Full text (Publisher's DOI): https://doi.org/10.1332/030557317X14972774011385
To cite this reference: http://hdl.handle.net/10067/1440470151162165141

uantwerpen.be
Institutional repository IRUA

Policy & Politics

Transmigration. The rise of flexible migration strategies as part of superdiversity

--Manuscript Draft--

Manuscript Number:	POLICYPOL-D-16-00042R1
Article Type:	Original article
Full Title:	Transmigration. The rise of flexible migration strategies as part of superdiversity
First Author:	Dirk Geldof, Ph.D
Corresponding Author:	Dirk Geldof, Ph.D University of Antwerp, Belgium Berchem-Antwerpen, BELGIUM
Corresponding Author Secondary Information:	
Corresponding Author E-Mail:	dirk.geldof@kdg.be
Other Authors:	Mieke Schrooten
	Sophie Withaeckx
Abstract:	Superdiversity implies increasing diversity within diversity, including the rise of flexible migration strategies: complex migration trajectories implying serial cross-border mobility between two countries or more countries. The article explores transmigration in the two main super-diverse Belgian cities Brussels and Antwerp, based upon in depth-interviews with Brazilian, Ghanaian and Moroccan transmigrants. The article analyses the social problems related to transmigration, how these problems transcend borders and challenge urban social work and social policies at different levels. It explores why transmigration requires forms of multilevel governance to deal with people living beyond borders in the EU.
Keywords:	superdiversity; transmigration; mobility; social work research
Additional Information:	
Question	**Response**
Word Count Original articles and thematic review articles should be between 5000 and 8000 words in length (including tables, references and endnotes).	7947
Special issue Is this a submission for a special issue? If so please give details of the special issue, including the Editor if known.	The multilevel governance of superdiversity in Europe (ed. Jenny Phillimore, Nando Sigona & Katherine Tonkiss
Funding Information:	PWO-Grant Odisee University College — Mieke Schrooten

Powered by Editorial Manager® and ProduXion Manager® from Aries Systems Corporation

Transmigration. The rise of flexible migration strategies as part of superdiversity

Contribution for the Special Issue "The multilevel governance of superdiversity in Europe" Edited by Jenny Phillimore, Nando Sigona and Katherine Tonkiss

Revised version after first blind peer review, with all changes accepted.

See also Word-document with detailed feedback to the reviewers on their comments.

In the last decades, several concepts have been put forward to capture the shape and impact of demographic changes in Western societies as a consequence of human mobility. Changes in these concepts reflected changing views and understandings of this new reality. Thus, the concept of multiculturalism has been gradually replaced by the concept of (super)diversity (Vertovec, 2007; Meissner & Vertovec, 2014; Boccagni, 2015b; Geldof, 2016). Moreover, within social sciences, views on the process of human movement itself have evolved: originally, migration was understood as a unidirectional, purposeful and intentional process from one state of fixity (in the place of origin) to another (in the destination country). However, this is not the pattern most newcomers in Europe today follow. Increasingly, people accumulate – by choice or by necessity – multiple mobilities and different trajectories; they become transmigrants (Schrooten, Salazar, & Dias, 2016). In our research, transmigration is understood as a form of mobility that implies serial cross-border mobility, either between two countries or more, as is the case with complex migration trajectories (Schrooten et al, 2016). More recent scientific insights explicitly point to the importance of these 'multiple, overlapping and turbulent processes of migration, dislocation, displacement, disjuncture and dialogism' (Urry, 2007, p. 35), emphasizing the co-existence of many different forms of movement, ranging from short term temporary movements to permanent migration.

The impact of these complex forms of mobility and diversity has also been described in social work literature. In general, social work researchers argue that social work practices are not yet fully equipped to deal with a clientele presenting an increasing diversity regarding ethnicity, religion, language and immigration status (Furman et al, 2010; Phillimore, 2015; Furman et al 2016). Social workers are often unfamiliar with these complexities inherent to superdiversity, and may reproduce one-dimensional and reductionist frames of reference, reducing the social problems they are confronted with to mere ethnicity or culture (Boccagni, 2015a). Social welfare policies and practices may thus contribute to the structural exclusion of newcomers, as they are for instance not equipped to deal with multilingualism and exclude people with particular immigration statuses from certain rights or welfare allocations. Moreover, local 'integration' programs and courses are often designed for migrants who will permanently settle, but do not take into account the differing needs of newcomers whose immigration status is precarious and whose stay may therefore be of limited duration (Van den Broucke, De Cuyper & Wets, 2014; Schrooten et al, 2016).

Within the fields of migration studies and superdiversity, transmigration and its impact on social policy are still underexplored. Yet, the rising number of transmigrants within Europe – from outside the EU as well as intra-EU-mobility - does not only challenge our ideas of belonging

and integration, but also existing concepts of governance and social policy. As Collins (2012, p. 321) points out, 'questions of temporariness versus permanence are rarely the subject of theoretical inquiry'; nor is the impact of this temporality on (social) policies and welfare practices (Powell & Robison, 2007; Ramanathan & Link, 1999; Stoesz, Guzzetta, & Lusk, 1999). By foregrounding the cases of Brazilian, Ghanaian and Moroccan transmigrants residing in Belgium in 2014-2015, this article contributes to a scientific debate regarding these topics. It presents the results of a research project in the two main super-diverse Belgian cities (Brussels and Antwerp), focusing on the social problems and vulnerabilities that relate to transmigration and its inherent temporality and the way these are experienced and addressed by social workers in super-diverse urban areas within policy frameworks that often do not (yet) recognise the changing context.

Transmigration as part of rising superdiversity

Many West-European countries in the 21st century are going through a transition towards superdiversity. Superdiversity is the process of the diversification of diversity, of migration driven diversification. As a result of these processes, there is an increasing diversity within the population with regard to nationalities and countries of origin, migration motives, trajectories and migration statuses, languages spoken, religions practised, socio-economic positions and so on (Vertovec, 2007 & 2016; Blommaert, 2014; Meissner & Vertovec, 2014; Geldof, 2016). The increasing diversity and the diversification of diversity gradually lead to processes of normalization of diversity, meaning that diversity becomes commonplace in a growing number of cities and neighbourhoods (Crul, et al, 2013; Kasinitz, et al., 2009; Wessendorf, 2014) or contexts such as schools, hospitals and other professional settings. Patterns of difference are no longer exclusively or dominantly linked with ethnicity, but also include differences in gender, age, religion and socio-economic situation, amongst others. This normalisation does not imply, however, that legislation or social protection schemes are already adapted to the increasing diversity (see infra). 'The spread, speed and scale of diversification processes, and the conditions of superdiversity that arise with them, are inherently tied to power, politics and policy', according to Meissner & Vertovec (2014, p. 552). This makes normalisation processes strongly contested, despite the demographic transition.

This transition is most visible in the larger cities, as urban areas continue to serve as the main destination of international migrants, and, as such, as a possible entrance into a host society. Benton-Short and Price (2008) use the term 'gateway cities' to stress the function of a city as a 'turnstile' for migrants wishing to eventually leave and settle in another location. In many 'gateway cities', there are specific urban neighbourhoods that see a steady influx of new immigrants and function as an entrance through which newcomers arrive. The cheaper housing opportunities, the presence of social networks and the easier access to work and consumption products, amongst others, make these neighbourhoods more attractive to immigrants than other parts of the city. Authors such as Saunders (2011) and Oosterlynck & Schillebeeckx (2012) refer to these neighbourhoods as 'arrival cities', 'arrival neighbourhoods' or 'transition zones', boroughs that act as an 'escalator' for people (Travers et al, 2007). Our research took place in Belgium's two most superdiverse arrival cities, namely Brussels and Antwerp (see infra).

The aspect of superdiversity we focus on in this article is the existence of many different forms of mobility (Faist, 2013). Too often, mobility remains analysed in terms of classic and direct migration patterns: people leaving their countries of origin, migrating directly to their new

countries of destination, where they start building up their new lives. For many labour migrants in Europe in the 1950s and 1960s, this was the dominant migration pattern, as for their partners and children joining them in the following decades. In a context of superdiversity, this is only one of the different forms of mobility. Increasing numbers of people are experiencing more complex migration patterns, moving several times between different countries (Cresswell, 2006; Salazar & Glick Schiller, 2014). It is this pattern of mobility that we understand by transmigration: the complex and multiple migration patterns of people who resided in different countries and/or have the intention to migrate further in the (near) future or to return to previous countries (Schrooten, et al, 2016).

We thus use the term 'transmigrants' in a more narrow sense compared to the way Nina Glick Schiller and her associates coined the concept in 1995 (Glick Schiller et al, 1995). They introduced it to describe qualitative differences of late 20th century migrations compared with their nineteenth- and early twentieth-century counterparts, drawing attention to the fact that late 20th century migrants' social practices occurred almost simultaneously on the territories of more than one national state. With 'transmigrants', they referred to migrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state (Faist, Fauser, & Reisenauer, 2013). Yet, transmigration is experienced by a wide range of present-day mobile people, as most of them frequently operate beyond the borders of nominally sovereign states. This has led us to formulate a more narrow definition of the concept, in order to be able to analyse the impact of transmigration on social policy and urban social work. Transmigration not only differs from more classical migration patterns because of the transnational activities of transmigrants, it is also a form of multiple mobilities, implying a higher degree of temporality from the point of view of the migrant. For transmigrants, there is much more uncertainty about the duration of their stay, as they are influenced and limited by relationships, laws, statuses and sources of support that transcend national borders. Although transmigrants may settle and stop moving at a certain moment, for many, their actual intention or expectation is not to remain.

Using the lens of superdiversity to understand transmigration today makes it imperative to account for diversity among different groups of transmigrants. Transmigrants represent a diverse assembly of individuals who experience various levels of acceptance in their countries of origin and of residence (Schrooten, Geldof & Withaeckx, 2016). Influenced by their ethnicity, class, economic status and gender, 'transmigrants may find equality and even privilege in some areas of their life while experiencing injustice in others' (Mohan & Clark Prickett, 2010). In our research, we focused on those transmigrants who found themselves in a vulnerable position. In this article, we discuss the specific vulnerabilities these transmigrants experience, some of them resulting from different regulations and/or conflicting policy regimes in the different countries where they resided.

An explorative study on transmigrants in Belgian superdiverse cities

In our research we interviewed 54 transmigrants of Brazilian, Ghanaian and Moroccan origin living in Brussels or Antwerp: the two largest cities of Belgium and the main arrival cities for many newcomers in Belgium. Brussels, the capital of Belgium and of the European Union, has become a majority-minority city as the majority of its 1.1 million inhabitants has a migration background. Approximately 60% of the actual inhabitants are born outside Belgium or have a

mother and/or a father who was born abroad. Antwerp is situated in the northern part of Belgium (Flanders). In 2016, 46,9% of the 518,000 inhabitants had a migration background. Due to rapid demographic transition Antwerp will become a majority-minority city by 2020. In both cities we find approximately 170 different nationalities (Geldof, 2016).

We focused on transmigrants with a maximum duration of stay in Belgium of five years. Due to their position regarding immigration status, length of stay, ethnicity and language proficiency, this group of transmigrants is likely to be confronted with specific vulnerabilities. Many recently arrived transmigrants face a high risk of poverty and are overrepresented in the client population of social services. Recent immigrants face a more weakly developed local social network and their transnational contacts are often limited to affective and emotional ties (Boccagni, 2010; Ryan et al. 2008). Although these transnational ties may be resorted to for emotional support and advice, they can less easily provide for 'practical, hands-on support and assistance' (Ryan et al, 2008, p. 684).

We limited our investigations to three sub-groups based on their (original) country of origin. With our choice of transmigrants of Moroccan, Brazilian and Ghanaian origin we attempted to strike a balance between maximum variation and comparability. All transmigrants we interviewed were newcomers from countries of origin outside the EU that are not currently in a war zone, so that the focus is not on people fleeing their country to escape from violence and danger. The three groups differ in their migratory history and their presence in Belgium, which allows us to look at impact of differences in the size of social networks here. Morocco was the main country from where Belgium recruited labour-migrants in the 1960's. Moroccans have become the largest community from outside the EU in Belgium, estimated at 430,000. They represent 12% of the inhabitants of Antwerp and 11% of the inhabitants of Brussels. In both cities they are the largest group of citizens with a migration background. Before the refugee crisis of 2015, Morocco remained Belgium's most important country of origin for new migrants from outside the EU. During the last decades, the most important motivation for migration from Morocco to Belgium has been family-reunion, mostly after marriages between second and third generation Belgian Moroccans and Moroccan nationals (Perrin & Martiniello, 2011; Vancluysen & Van Craen, 2011). In this decade, migration from people with a Moroccan background from other EU-countries increased due to the economic crisis in Southern Europe (Spain, Italy) or because of more restrictive migration policies on family-reunion (the Netherlands). This changing migration pattern makes them an interesting case.

The smaller but increasing presence of Brazilians residing in Belgium was a second case. Although Brazilian migration towards Belgium is relatively recent, starting in the 1960s, it has been referred to as an important trend by Brazilian policy makers (Pedroso, 2011), the Ministry of the Brussels-capital region and the IOM (Góis et al, 2009). Between 1995 and 2010 the number of Brazilians residing in Belgium has significantly augmented, from 1,312 officially residing Brazilians in Belgium in 1995 to 7,463 in 2013 (Université Catholique de Louvain & Centrum voor Gelijkheid van Kansen en voor Racismebestrijding, 2014). Still, official numbers largely underestimate the real size of the Brazilian community, which is estimated between 10.000 and 60.000 migrants for Belgium (Góis et al., 2009; Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2012). The presence of Brazilian migrants in Belgium is facilitated by bilateral agreements between Belgium and Brazil allowing Brazilian nationals to enter Belgium without previously having to request a visa. Many among them remain within the Schengen associated countries after the allowed tourist stay of 90 days (Schrooten, 2012).

The third group of transmigrants we focused on are Ghanaians. Belgium first became a migration destination for Ghanaian citizens in the 1980s, when neighbouring Nigeria expelled many of its own Ghanaian migrants. This was followed in 1994-1995 by a period of ethnic violence in the northern part of Ghana, which caused 150,000 people to flee their homes. In the early years of Ghanaian migration to Belgium it was again possible to detect a circular pattern: after their request for asylum had been turned down, many Ghanaians returned to Ghana or migrated to a different (European) country. Since the 1990s the number of arrivals from Ghana grew mainly as a consequence of family reunification migration. According to IOM estimations, approximately 16,000 people of Ghanaian origin are registered in Belgium. Antwerp and Brussels each host just over 3000 people from Ghana (Schrooten et al, 2016). Their migration trajectories across the Mediterranean and their networks in Brussels and Antwerp made them an interesting third group.

Within these three groups of migrants, we only retained transmigrants who recently arrived in Belgium (max. 5 years), lived in Brussels or Antwerp, had a complex migration trajectory involving periods of residence in different countries (and/or the intention to move again in the future) and who were living in a vulnerable situation. We excluded expats, diplomats or high skilled employees of international institutions in Brussels, focussing on transmigrants who called on (or who are living in a situation that they should have access to) social work.

We used a mixed-method approach. Triangulation of the scientific literature, in-depth interviews with transmigrants and focus group discussions with social workers made it possible to explore the phenomenon of transmigration from different and complementary angles, visions and experiences. Firstly, in-depth interviews have been done with three groups of transmigrants: Brazilians (22 interviews), Ghanaians (13 interviews) and Moroccans (19 interviews).[i] We combined different ways to contact these transmigrants, in order to obtain a maximum of diversity within our group of respondents. Some were contacted via social work organisations (language courses, vocational training, food support), others via religious institutions or immigrant organisations. Students from Moroccan descent helped us to establish contacts with newly arrived Moroccan transmigrants. As one of the researchers had conducted a doctoral research among Brazilians in Belgium, she already had built up a network of Brazilian respondents. Via online Facebook groups of Brazilians residing in Belgium and through snowballing, she contacted other Brazilian transmigrants.

Besides in-depth interviews with transmigrants, we organized four focus-groups with 20 social work organisations in Brussels and Antwerp and discussed their experiences of working with transmigrants.[ii] Here as well we tried to obtain a maximum of diversity in this explorative research by differentiating the kind of social organisations (public and private, local and international, professional and volunteer-driven organisations). We invited professional workers from the Public Centre for Social Welfare (local authority), NGO's working locally and international NGO's involved in voluntary return schemes or working with victims of human trafficking, but also organisations solely working with volunteers within communities. The transcripts of the focus-groups as well as the interviews were coded and analysed using Nvivo.

What does transmigration look like?

When we mapped the migration patterns and the different countries where our respondents lived during a relevant period of time before living in Belgium, we found that these patterns were extremely varied, dependent on, amongst others, their country of origin, their networks

and the choices they made in their lives. With the **Brazilian** respondents there was often a pattern of mobility within Brazil before their international mobility (de Brito & de Carvalho, 2006). In comparison with Ghanaian and Moroccan transmigrants, the Brazilian transmigrants often had stayed in other countries for longer periods before arriving in Belgium. Their trajectories were not limited to Europe, but also included countries in South America, North America and Africa.

Figure 1: migration trajectories of Brazilian respondents

The typical pattern for **Moroccan** transmigrants builds further on historical reunification migration. When choosing their destinations, Moroccan transmigrants frequently made use of existing contacts with family and friends who already moved to Europe or Belgium. This phenomenon is known as chain migration (Reniers, 1999). All the Moroccan transmigrants in our study stayed in at least one other country before arriving in Belgium. This list includes countries such as the Netherlands, Spain, Germany and France.

Figure 2: migration trajectories of Moroccan respondents

As far as **Ghanaian** transmigrants are concerned, it is possible to identify yet other different trajectories of migration, often with a much higher degree of risk. Some Ghanaians came directly from Ghana to Belgium, but many of them made their journeys through 'transit' countries, such as Senegal, Gambia, Morocco and Libya, in order to reach Europe. In particular, since the end of the 20th century Libya has become one of the most important - but also the most dangerous – countries of access to Europe.

Figure 3: migration trajectories of Ghanaian respondents

Most of our respondents had resided in other countries before they came to Brussels or Antwerp. For a number of them, Belgium was not their final destination. If the occasion would turn up, they would move again. Once again, this decision was influenced by various factors, such as better opportunities elsewhere (if Belgium turns out to be less beneficial than hoped) or simply a desire for new adventures in a new setting.

> My husband is not so happy here. He is more used to Germany, he better understands the system there. (…) He has always had his own business [trading between Morocco and Germany] and in Belgium, there's so much paperwork, he finds it impossible. He prefers to live in a country where's he's habituated, and he also has a lot of family there. (…) I am also open to moving to Germany, but then we have to do it before the children are 6 year old, so they won't have too much language problems. *(woman, Moroccan, 26y)*

Others had a history of transmigration, but explicitly hoped to settle in Belgium and were afraid they would be forced to return or to move again. Their testimonies made it clear that mobility is not always voluntary. It is important to be aware of the difference between (more or less) voluntary chosen and (semi-)forced patterns of mobility.

> For me this enough, I hope this is my last stop, I hope God will leave me here. I do not consider further migration. *(woman, Moroccan, 36y)*

> I'd prefer to stay in Belgium. I have already wasted four years here, if I was to go back to Morocco, I would have to start all over again. (…) If it is my destiny, then I will stay here. I would only consider going back if there are really no other options. (*man, Moroccan, 35y)*

Temporality and vulnerability

Many transmigrants are exposed to similar problems many other immigrants also face, such as low socio-economic status on arriving, racism and discrimination. Research in Belgium has demonstrated that people with a migration background are more likely to find themselves in poverty and suffer the consequences of social exclusion (Van Robaeys & Driessens, 2011; Van den Broucke et al 2015). It is often difficult for them to secure (legal) work and accommodation, the local language is a strong barrier to many and they are frequently confronted with racism and discrimination. An uncertain residential status or a lack of residence documents may also be a source of stress and fear. Transmigrants share these social problems with other migrants. Moreover, as transmigrants tend to stay in any given country for only a relatively short period, they also share common experiences with other newcomers. They must find their way through a strange and unknown land, building up new networks and learning new languages, laws, rules and customs.

Other social problems and vulnerabilities transmigrants may face are specifically related to their mobile lifestyle, to the more temporary nature of their residence in any place and to the fact that their life is lived in different locations across different national borders. Mobility often implies loss, of friends and family, of familiar surroundings and of known forms of welfare and social support. Multiple mobilities therefore implies multiple losses, as transmigrants pass through different locations, each time facing the challenges of settling anew and of a possible new uprooting. This permanent mobility may impact heavily upon family relationships, as family members dispersed across the globe struggle to maintain a sense of continuity and family life. Although new technologies do provide many new possibilities for communication on a distance, the need for 'face-to-face' contact may be heavily felt and form a reason for a new (return) movement.

This (temporary) dispersal of family members may result in differing migration statutes once families are reunited, which gives rise to the existence of 'mixed-status families': some family members may have legal and undetermined access to the actual place of settlement, while others have not. These families therefore run a permanent risk of (renewed) separation which causes stress and insecurity. Procedures of divorce or family reunification with family members of differing nationalities and migration statuses may also present severe juridical complexities. The Brazilian Paula, for example, faced a complicated procedure when trying to divorce from her Swedish partner. They had met in Europe, married in Brazil and had moved to Belgium afterwards:

> I came here through a family reunification procedure. Then I divorced. When I divorced, the municipality refused to change my visa, although I did have right to

> another status. We had lived on different locations, in other countries, which complicated the issue. I am still trying to solve all these problems now. *(woman, Brazilian, 37y)*

Transmigrants lacking a legal residence status – one third of our respondents - faced exclusion from the official labour market and from formal social services. Others mostly had a temporary status. Transmigrants moving from southern EU-countries to Belgium as long-term EU-residents, benefitted from the right to free movement within the EU (because they obtained the Spanish or Italian nationality, or were recognised as non-EU long-term residents and thus received a permanent residence permit that is standard for all EU countries). Nevertheless, they were often excluded from welfare assistance and unemployment benefits in Belgium as their new place of residence. This puts them under pressure to find a job and to keep it for a sufficient amount time, in order to acquire these social rights.

> It took a year and a half before my husband found a job, we were so fed up that we wanted to return to Spain. You know, we had to pay double rent, because we lived over there and he travelled back and forth to Belgium. The first problem was work. The language problem is big (…) that's why it took him so long to find a job. Just when we wanted to give up, he found a job. *(woman, Moroccan, 36y)*

> I had a permanent residence (in Italy). No Italian nationality, but my document is a long-term stay, as it is called. (…) So they told me it was possible for me to stay here (in Belgium). (…) All other people from Italy received papers, except me. I proved I had no criminal record, I collected all documents, but they told me I need a labour contract, or a school, or a Belgian partner to marry. (…) It is really frustrating. (*man, Ghanaian, 25y*).

For many transmigrants, the opportunity of work is what motivates them to move again. Following opportunities for work across national borders, these labour migrants often originate from economically deprived areas. Due to their precarious migrant status, they are very vulnerable for economic exploitation, as social workers reported in the focus groups. Such labour migrants may be attracted to Belgium under false premises, and may be put to work under doubtful conditions. Once here they may receive less than the current minimum wage, and may be very poorly housed. Furthermore, particular groups of transmigrants face specific risks of exploitation, as is the case for undocumented migrants, drug addicts and (unaccompanied) minors. These groups may therefore become victims of diverse forms of economic and sexual exploitation.

An additional dimension when dealing with transmigrants, is formed by the memories and experiences gained by them along their complex migration trajectories. Transmigration often means starting from scratch all over again at frequent intervals. After a first settlement, they could have acquired skills (like mastering the local language) and built up social networks useful in one location. Resettlement in Belgium means losing an often difficultly gained status and re-adapting to an unfamiliar environment where previously acquired skills are not always recognized. This was for instance the case for Yasmina, who used to have an administrative job in the Netherlands, but had to work as a cleaning lady after her move to Belgium:

> I don't say it is a bad job. But I have never done something like this, and then you come here, and I had to take like ten steps back from where I was in the Netherlands. I had accomplished something and here, I had to start again from scratch. It gave me a very odd feeling. I really cried, wanted to return to the Netherlands, regretted I ever came here. *(woman, Moroccan, 45y)*

Transmigration challenges social work and social policies

Despite their vulnerability, many transmigrants have problems getting access to formal social help. Most of our respondents did not benefit from financial or material support from official social services in Belgium. Sometimes they were not entitled because they were undocumented or did not meet the criteria to receive a means-tested benefit as an EU-citizen. In other cases, they lacked information about their social rights or about the existing social services.

Often, current social policies and existing social services were not designed to meet the needs of transmigrants. In the focus group discussions with social workers, the question of intra-EU migration frequently arose. Intra-EU migration is a very specific form of multiple cross-border migration. Thanks to the principle of the free movement of labour, the citizens of EU member states have the right to move freely throughout the European Union. Whilst this principle of the free movement of labour might at first glance seems to simplify things, in reality the regulations for mobile employees are very complex, because of the different legislative provisions applicable in the different countries involved. These mobile employees are not only subject to European legislation, but also to the rights and obligations of the national (and sometimes regional) legislations and social security protections in the countries where they reside and work (Schrooten et al, 2016). The national social security schemes are designed to meet the needs of documented people residing more or less stable within the nation state, but they struggle with the 'newness' and the number of clients being perpetually new (Phillimore, 2015). Social security rights are in principle transferable within the EU; however, for many transmigrants this turns out to be too complex, too time-consuming and too bureaucratic. Their newness, temporality and 'inbetween-ness' challenges national social protection schemes.

> They (long term residents) are regarded as equivalent to European citizens. That means, as long as everything is going well and they have work, there is no problem. But the moment things go wrong and they become dependent, that's when the trouble starts. Because they cannot claim social insurance benefits. One difficulty then leads to another: financial problems, residence papers, etc. *(Welfare worker)*

During the focus groups with social work organisations, social workers reported that the growing number of transmigrants is posing new challenges to social policy and to urban social work (Schrooten et al, 2016). New questions and challenges arise: How can social policies and social work organisations designed for stable residents reach these (more temporal and mobile) clients? How should they deal with transmigrants' specific welfare needs? Can they take account of the multiple international environments of these individuals and families, and in what ways? How should they evaluate the importance of their clients' networks across borders and include them in their policies and social work practices? Is the aim of helping transmigrants to migrate further, support them to settle and integrate or guarantee basic social rights during their (temporary) stay in the city or the country?

While transmigration is becoming an important reality for social policy and social work practice in superdiverse urban contexts, many politicians, organisations and social work professionals are still unfamiliar with this type of mobility and are looking for suitable policies and methods to deal with this new group. It is no longer possible to automatically assume, as was the case in the past, that these migrants will permanently stay in Belgium. As a result, social work can no longer focus exclusively on their clients' relationships, experiences and sources of support within Belgium (Withaeckx et al, 2017). Social workers increasingly need to take account of the fact that the living environment of transmigrants is shaped by extensive transnational networks.

> It is not part of our statutory task to share or exchange knowledge at European level but we do it anyway, because transmigration means that nowadays we all have a shared agenda [...] In our work, we are all confronted daily with people who have undergone a migration process. In my opinion, this means that a knowledge of what is going on at European level, or even at world level, must be a part of our basic approach. You not only need to know what you are doing, but also what other towns are doing, what other countries are doing. What are their attitudes? What is their approach? *(Social worker, integration policy)*

Hunter and her colleagues argue that the context of transmigration calls for a paradigm shift. In working with transmigrants, social workers 'can no longer pay attention to relationships, resources, structures, laws and history in one locale and not consider the same in another country where the systems may be informed by a significantly different world view for their clients' (Hunter, Lepley, & Nickels, 2010, p. 222). The social life of transmigrants is not only oriented towards their new country of residence, but consists of complex networks and contacts beyond boundaries. In order to provide effective social work for this unique population, social workers can no longer solely focus on local and regional problems, but should instead take into account the multiple locations that are relevant to these transmigrants networks and activities. This has organisational and policy consequences as well, because the policy setting in which social workers operate is still based upon classic migration patterns and social needs within national borders.

Providing support to transmigrants brings new challenges and raises new questions for social welfare providers, social organisations and municipal authorities. Moreover, there are no ready-made solutions and answers for these challenges and questions. A first challenge relates to the manner in which transmigrants view and deal with the support provision agencies in Belgium. Social and welfare workers regularly reported that their clients do not seem to trust or have confidence in the local support services. At the same time, they noted that transmigrants sometimes deliberately tried to exploit the support system. Some attempt to use repatriation programmes almost as a kind of 'travel agency'. Others demonstrate 'shopping behaviour', approaching many different organizations in different locations to see which one can offer them the 'best deal'.

A different kind of problem relates to the way social and welfare support is organized in Belgium. Even in the big cities, the range of support services has not yet been adapted to reflect the superdiversity of which transmigration is an essential element. The Western frames of reference with regard to welfare support are based on culture-specific ideas about (amongst other things) the individual, social relationships and self-reliance. Nowadays, these ideas can clash with the opinions and customs of a clientele that is becoming increasingly diverse.

In the case of transmigrants, these cultural differences manifest themselves in their interpretation of notions like 'family', 'solidarity' and 'cross-border relationships'. Regulations and policy are often conceptualized within an individualist framework, where rights and obligations are viewed on an individual basis. Although some support agencies are already using new approaches to better map the complex networks of their clients, we still have too few insights into the scale, nature and impact of these border-transcending networks, which exercise an important influence on transmigrants in particular.

Because social policies are not (yet) designed for or adapted to the emerging group of transmigrants, social work organisations develop **new practices** to deal with this new reality. Responding to the arrival of transmigrants from Southern Europe, informal and voluntary organisations of second and third generation immigrants in Belgium recently started charity initiatives, including food support, because the group of migrants that are not allowed to social security or means-tested benefits has increased strongly. Religious institutions and immigrant organisations are confronted with an increasing social need. Al Ikram, one of the new charity organisations in our research, reported about tensions within the Moroccan community in Antwerp.

> There are a lot of families taking care of family members coming from Spain. They do that in the beginning, because it's family. But after one or two years (…), it becomes too much for them. They refer them to us: "I brought my uncle or my cousin or my aunt here from Spain, we tried to pay their rent, their expenses, but it's too much for us. Can you take over?" *(volunteer Al Ikram)*

Another new practice is the emergence of social work organisations from countries of origin of transmigrants, which are recently recruited by local authorities in the 'destination'-countries. In the focus groups with social workers, the Polish organisation Barka was frequently mentioned as an example. Since February 2014 Barka tries to help homeless Polish and other Central and Eastern European people who are not coping with life in Antwerp. Barka helps them to return to their home countries, either to enter rehab treatments, go back to their families, to Barka Network programs (educational and community programs, creating work places and accessible housing programs) in Poland or to regular social services in Antwerp. Similar projects started in London, Copenhagen, Dublin, Hamburg and in the Netherlands in Amsterdam, Eindhoven, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht (www.barka.org.pl/; www.barkanl.org). Transmigration – in this case of Polish workers who become homeless - thus leads to new actors in the social field in European cities, with social work organisations developing transnational social work provisions.

Decoupled multilevel governance of transmigration.

Migration and migrant integration policies have become increasingly dispersed over various levels of government. In 'The Multilevel Governance of Migration and Integration' (Scholten and Penninx (2016) distinguish between four ideal type configurations of relations between government levels: centralist, (top-down), localist (bottom-up), multilevel, and decoupled. When we look at transmigration, we interpret the problems of transmigrants as the result of the fourth ideal type: decoupled relations between government levels. Scholten and Penninx (2016: 92-94) define this as a situation characterized by the absence of any meaningful policy

coordination between levels. Thus, in any single policy domain, policies at different levels are dissociated and may even be contradictory.

Transmigrants have to cope with differences in European, national and regional legislations. EU-legislation makes intra-EU-mobility possible for EU-citizens and long-term residents, including transferability of social security rights within the EU. Social security, however, remains at the level of the EU-member states, which makes the transferability of social security rights in practice difficult and time consuming. Integration policies and social policies are produced at national, regional and local levels.

Settlement migrants who directly migrate for their country of origin towards their new country of destination are confronted with policies from two different countries, for example with respect to legislations on nationality, social security rights or family legislation on weddings, divorces or testimonies. Quite often, these two different legislations are not (completely) compatible. Transmigrants, however, have to combine multiple legislations, social rights and/or and administrative procedures related to their temporary stay in three, four or even more countries, which is an important characteristic of their social vulnerability. Increasing mobility challenges existing policies and procedures, whereby transmigrants hardly have voice because their temporality in each of the countries.

We live in an era of unprecedented mobility that has been markedly urban, is the main line in the World Migration Report 2015 on 'Migrants and cities: new partnerships to manage mobility'. According to the IOM this 'calls for new approaches to urban governance and migration policies' (IOM, 2015, p. 2). Part of the challenge is dealing with increasing mobility, newness and temporality. Today's social policies and social services targeted at permanent residents, with or without a migration background, remain the core of urban social policies in superdiverse cities. However, the increase of the number of more temporary citizens, transmigrants with complex migration trajectories and/or the intention to move again in the near future, confront us with specific needs. Developing adequate and coordinated social policies and services to cope with this growing reality of transmigration requires an enhanced understanding of the multiple spaces inhabited by transmigrants, and of the complex legal, cultural, social and political contexts that push and pull families across national and local borders (Webster, Arenas, & Magaña, 2010, p. 208).

This is a challenging shift for urban social policy and for social work in an urban context. Policies on migration, nationality and social legislations remain largely the responsibility of the nation states in Europe, although increasingly embedded in European legislation. In superdiverse cities, urban social policies are still embedded within these national policy frameworks, whereas transmigrants shift between different visible and invisible, local and global networks. They combine 'some functional sense of local "rootedness" with opportunities that are more transnational, even global, in scope' (Simone, 2001, p. 36).

Conclusion

Our research confirms transmigration as a reality in the superdiverse Belgian cities Brussels and Antwerp. The lens of superdiversity was supportive to focus on processes of differentiation, especially concerning migration trajectories and migration motives. A growing part of the newly arrived migrants in Belgium are increasingly mobile, temporary and engaged in transnational networks spanning multiple locations. The condition of transmigration impacts

on their welfare needs, on their decisions to migrate and on their ability to build up social capital in new locations. As such, transmigration will influence our understanding of rootedness, identity and integration. It challenges us to redesign and better coordinate the ways we design social policies beyond the actual decoupled multi-level governance in a context of superdiversity and increasing mobility.

References

Benton-Short, L, and Price, M, 2008, Migrants to the metropolis: the rise of immigrant gateway cities, an introduction, in M. Price and L. Benton-Short (eds.), *Migrants to the metropolis: The rise of immigrant gateway cities,* New York: Syracuse University Press, 1–22

Blommaert, J, 2014, Infrastructures of superdiversity: Conviviality and language in an Antwerp neighbourhood, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 17, 4, 431–451

Boccagni, P, 2010, Private, public or both? On the scope and impact of transnationalism in immigrants' everyday lives, in R. Bauböck and T. Faist (eds), *Diaspora and transnationalism. Concepts, theories and methods,* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 185–204

Boccagni, P, 2015a, Super)diversity and the migration - social work nexus: a new lens on the field of access and inclusion? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38, 4, 608–620

Boccagni, P, 2015b, The difference diversity makes: A Principle, a lens, an empirical attribute for majority–minority relations, in T. Matejskova and M. Antonsich (eds), *Governing through diversity: Migration societies in post-multiculturalist times*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 21–38

Collins, F, 2012, Transnational mobilities and urban spatialities: Notes from the Asia-Pacific, *Progress in Human Geography*, 36, 3, 316–335

Cresswell, T, 2006, *On the move. Mobility in the modern western world,* New York: Routledge

Crul, M, Schneider, J and Lelie, F, 2013. *Superdiversity. A new perspective on integration,* Amsterdam: VU University Press

de Brito, F, de Carvalho, J, 2006, As migrações internas no Brasil. As novidades sugeridas pelos censos demográficos de 1991 e 2000 e pela PNADs recentes, *Parcerias Estratégicas*, 22, 441-454

Faist, T, 2013, The mobility turn. A new paradigm for the social sciences? Ethnic and Racial Studies, 36, 11, 1637-1646.

Faist, T, Fauser, M, and Reisenauer, E, 2013, *Transnational migration,* Cambridge: Polity Press

Furman, R, Negi, N, Salvador, R, 2010, An introduction to transnational social work, in N. Negi and R Salvador (eds), *Transnational social work practice*, New York: Columbia University Press, 3-19

Furman, R, Lamphear, G & Epps, D, 2016, The Immigrant Other: Lived Experiences in a Transnational World, New York, Columbia University Press.

Geldof, D, 2016, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe. How migration changes our society,* Leuven/Den Haag: Acco

Glick Schiller, N, Basch, L, Blanc-Szanton, C, 1995, From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration, *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68, 1, 48–63

Góis, P, Reyntjens, P, Lenz, A, Coelho, C, Gouveia, D, 2009, *Assessment of Brazilian migration patterns and assisted voluntary return programme from selected European Member States to Brazil*, Brussels: International Organization for Migration

Hunter, C, Lepley, S, Nickels, S, 2010, New practice frontiers: Current and future social work with transmigrants, in N. Negi and R. Furman (eds), *Transnational social work practice,* New York: Columbia University Press, 222–241

International Organisation for Migration (IOM), 2015, *World migration Report 2015. Migrants and cities: new partnerships to manage mobility*, Geneva: IOM

Kasinitz, P, et al, 2009, *Inheriting the city. The children of immigrants come of age,* Cambridge: Russell Sage Foundation

Meissner, F, Vertovec, S, 2014, Comparing super-diversity, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38, 4, 541–555

Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2012, *Diplomacia Consular, 2007 a 2012*, Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão

Mohan, B, Clark Prickett, J, 2010, Macro social work practice with transmigrants, in N. Negi and R. Furman (eds), *Transnational social work practice*, New York: Colombia University Press, 191–204

Oosterlynck, S, Schillebeeckx, E, 2012, Stad en sociale ongelijkheid: Naar een sociale stijgingsperspectief? In D. Holemans (eds), *Mensen maken de stad. Bouwstenen voor een sociaalecologische toekomst*, Berchem: Epo, 128–144

Pedroso, L, 2011, *O recente fenômeno imigratório de nacionais brasileiros na Bélgica*, Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão

Perrin, N, Martiniello, M, 2011, *Transnationale activiteiten van migranten in België. Factor van integratie of van terugtrekking in de eigen groep?* Brussel: Koning Boudewijnstichting/Centre d'Etudes de l'Ethnicité et des Migrations

Phillimore, J, 2015, Delivering maternity services in an era of superdiversity: the challenges of novelty and newness, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38, 4, 568–582

Powell, J, Robison, J, 2007, The 'international dimension' in social work education: Current developments in England, *European Journal of Social Work*, 10, 3, 383–399

Ryan, L, Sales, R, Tilki, M, Siara, B, 2008, Social networks, social support and social capital: The experiences of recent Polish migrants in London, *Sociology*, 42, 4, 672–690

Saunders, D, 2011, *Arrival City: How the Largest Migration in History is Reshaping Our World,* London: Windmill books

Scholten, P, Penninx, R, 2016, The multilevel governance of migration and integration, in: B. Garcés–Mascareñas, & R Penninx (Eds.), Integration processes and policies in Europe: contexts, levels and actors. IMISCOE research series, Springer Open, 91-108

Schrooten, M, 2012, (Trans)Forming boundaries in a contact zone: The experience of Brazilian migrants in Brussels, *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 29, 89–104

Schrooten, M, Geldof, D, Withaeckx, S, 2016, Transmigration and urban social work: Towards a research agenda, *European Journal of Social Work,* 19, 1, 18-30

Schrooten, M, Salazar, N, Dias, G, 2016, Living in mobility: Trajectories of Brazilians in Belgium and the United Kingdom, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 42, 7, 1199-1215

Schrooten, M, Withaeckx, S, Geldof, D, Lavent, M, 2016, *Transmigration. Social work in a world of superdiversity,* Leuven/Den Haag: Acco

Simone, A, 2001, On the worlding of African Cities, *African Studies Review*, 44, 2, 15–41

Stoesz, D, Guzzetta, C, Lusk, M, 1999, *International development*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon

Tarrius, A, 2000, *Les fourmis d'Europe: Migrants riches, migrants pauvres et nouvelles villes internationales*, Paris: Editions L'Harmattan

Travers, T, Tunstall, R, Whitehead, C, & Pruvot, S, 2007, *Population Mobility and Service Provision. A report for London Councils*, London: LSE

Université Catholique de Louvain, Centrum voor Gelijkheid van Kansen en voor Racismebestrijding, 2014, *Statistisch en demografisch verslag 2013: Migraties en migrantenpopulaties in België*, Brussel: Centrum voor Gelijkheid van Kansen en voor Racismebestrijding

Urry, J, 2007, *Mobilities,* Cambridge: Polity

Vancluysen, K, Van Craen, M, 2011, Transnationale activiteiten en sociaal-culturele integratie: verenigbaar of niet? in J. Ackaert and T. Van Regenmortel (eds), *Gelijk oversteken? Een staalkaart van onderzoeksbevindingen rond integratie*, Brugge: Vandenbroele, 203–225

Van den Broucke, S, De Cuyper, P, Wets, J, 2014, Profielschets en inburgeringstrajecten van Zuid-Europese immigranten in Vlaanderen, Antwerpen: Steunpunt inburgering en Integratie

Van den Broucke, S, et al, 2015, Vlaamse Migratie- en Integratiemonitor 2015, Antwerpen/Brussel: Steunpunt Inburgering en Integratie, Agentschap Binnenlands Bestuur.

Van Robaeys, B, Driessens, K, 2011, *Gekleurde armoede en hulpverlening*, Tielt: LannooCampus

Vertovec, S, 2007, Super-diversity and its implications, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30, 6, 1024–1054

Vertovec, S. 2016. *Super-diversity as concept and approach: whence it came, where it's at, and whither it's going*. Lecture, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Göttingen. Retrieved June 15, 2016, from http://www.mmg.mpg.de/index.php?id=1636

Wessendorf, S, 2014, *Commonplace Diversity. Social Relations in a Super-diverse Context,* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Webster, S, Arenas, A, Magaña, S, 2010, Incorporating transnational social work into the curriculum, in N. Negi and R. Furman (eds), *Transnational social work practice,* New York: Columbia University Press, 205–221

Withaeckx, S, Geldof, D, Schrooten, M, 2015, Living across borders: The everyday experiences of Moroccan and Brazilian transmigrants in Belgium, *Crossings: Journal of Migration & Culture*, 6, 1, 23–40

Withaeckx, S, Geldof, D, Schrooten, M, forthcoming, Thinking and acting globally ànd locally: developing transnational social work practices in superdiverse societies, *Transnational Social Review*

[i] This Practice-oriented Scientific Research Project 'Urban social-agogic work with transmigrants: an investigation of welfare needs, methodological challenges and opportunities' was carried out between September 2013 and September 2015. It was funded by the Odisee University College, guided by a steering committee and was carried out conform to the ethical rules of Odisee University College.

[ii] The team of four researchers participated in the focus-groups. For a list of all organizations that participated in the focus groups, see Schrooten et al, 2016.

Transmigration. The rise of flexible migration strategies as part of superdiversity

Contribution for the Special Issue "The multilevel governance of superdiversity in Europe"
Edited by Jenny Phillimore, Nando Sigona and Katherine Tonkiss

Revised version after first blind peer review, with track changes in the text.

See also Word-document with detailed feedback to the reviewers on their comments.

In the last decades, several concepts have been put forward to capture the shape and impact of demographic changes in Western societies as a consequence of human mobility. Changes in these concepts reflected changing views and understandings of this new reality. Thus, the concept of multiculturalism has been gradually replaced by the concept of (super)diversity (Vertovec, 2007; Meissner & Vertovec, 2014; Boccagni, 2015b; Geldof, 2016). Moreover, within social sciences, views on the process of human movement itself have evolved: originally, migration was understood as a unidirectional, purposeful and intentional process from one state of fixity (in the place of origin) to another (in the destination country). However, this is not the pattern most newcomers in Europe today follow. Increasingly, people accumulate – by choice or by necessity – multiple mobilities and different trajectories; they become transmigrants (Schrooten, Salazar, & Dias, 20165). In our research, transmigration is understood as a form of mobility that implies serial cross-border mobility, either between two countries or more ~~countries~~, as is the case with complex migration trajectories (Schrooten et al, 2016). More recent scientific insights explicitly point to the importance of these 'multiple, overlapping and turbulent processes of migration, dislocation, displacement, disjuncture and dialogism' (Urry, 2007, p. 35), emphasizing the co-existence of many different forms of movement, ranging from short term temporary movements to permanent migration.

The impact of these complex forms of mobility and diversity has also been described in social work literature. In general, social work researchers argue that social work practices are not yet fully equipped to deal with a clientele presenting an increasing diversity regarding ethnicity, religion, language and immigration status (Furman et al, 2010; Phillimore, 2015; Furman et al 2016). Social workers are often unfamiliar with these complexities inherent to superdiversity, and may reproduce one-dimensional and reductionist frames of reference, reducing the social problems they are confronted with to mere ethnicity or culture (Boccagni, 2015a). Social welfare policies and practices may thus contribute to the structural exclusion of newcomers, as they are for instance not equipped to deal with multilingualism and exclude people with particular immigration statuses from certain rights or welfare allocations. Moreover, local 'integration' programs and courses are often designed for migrants who will permanently settle, but do not take into account the differing needs of newcomers whose immigration status is precarious and whose stay may therefore be of limited duration (Van den Broucke, De Cuyper & Wets, 2014; Schrooten et al, 2016).

Within the fields of migration studies and superdiversity, transmigration and its impact on social policy are still underexplored. Yet, the rising number of transmigrants within Europe – from outside the EU as well as intra-EU-mobility - does not only challenge our ideas of belonging

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)
Formatted: Highlight
Formatted: Highlight
Formatted: Highlight
Formatted: Highlight
Formatted: Highlight
Formatted: Highlight
Formatted: Highlight
Formatted: Highlight
Field Code Changed
Field Code Changed
Field Code Changed
Field Code Changed
Field Code Changed
Field Code Changed

and integration, but also existing concepts of governance and social policy. As Collins (2012, p. 321) points out, 'questions of temporariness versus permanence are rarely the subject of theoretical inquiry'; nor is the impact of this temporality on (social) policies and welfare practices (Powell & Robison, 2007; Ramanathan & Link, 1999; Stoesz, Guzzetta, & Lusk, 1999). By foregrounding the cases of Brazilian, Ghanaian and Moroccan transmigrants ~~currently~~ residing in Belgium in 2014-2015, this article contributes to a scientific debate regarding these topics. It presents the results of a research project in the two main super-diverse Belgian cities (Brussels and Antwerp), focusing on the social problems and vulnerabilities that relate to transmigration and its inherent temporality and the way these are experienced and addressed by social workers in super-diverse urban areas within policy frameworks that often do not (yet) recognise the changing context.

Field Code Changed

Transmigration as part of rising superdiversity

Many West-European countries in the 21st century are going through a transition towards superdiversity. Superdiversity is the process of the diversification of diversity, of migration driven diversification. As a result of these processes, there is an increasing diversity within the population with regard~~s~~ to ~~their~~ nationalities and countries of origin, ~~their~~ migration motives, trajectories and migration statuses, languages spoken, religions practised, socio-economic positions and so on (Vertovec, 2007 & 2016; Blommaert, 2014; Meissner & Vertovec, 2014; Geldof, 2016). The increasing diversity and the diversification of diversity gradually lead to processes of normalization of diversity, meaning that diversity becomes commonplace in a growing number of cities and neighbourhoods (Crul, et al, 2013; Kasinitz, et al., 2009; Wessendorf, 2014) or contexts such as schools, hospitals and other professional settings. Patterns of difference are no longer exclusively or dominantly linked with ethnicity, but also include differences in gender, age, religion and socio-economic situation, amongst others. This normalisation ~~however~~ does not imply, however, that legislation or social protection schemes are already adapted to the increasing diversity (see infra). 'The spread, speed and scale of diversification processes, and the conditions of superdiversity that arise with them, are inherently tied to power, politics and policy', according to Meissner & Vertovec (2014, p. 552). This makes normalisation processes strongly contested, despite the demographic transition.

Field Code Changed

Field Code Changed

This transition is most visible in the larger cities, as urban areas continue to serve as the main destination of international migrants, and, as such, as a possible entrance into a host society. Benton-Short and Price (2008) use the term 'gateway cities' to stress the function of a city as a 'turnstile' for migrants wishing to eventually leave and settle in another location. In many 'gateway cities', there are specific urban neighbourhoods that see a steady influx of new immigrants and function as an entrance through which newcomers arrive. The cheaper housing opportunities, the presence of social networks and the easier access to work and consumption products, amongst others, make these neighbourhoods more attractive to immigrants than other parts of the city. Authors such as Saunders (2011) and Oosterlynck & Schillebeeckx (2012) refer to these neighbourhoods as 'arrival cities', 'arrival neighbourhoods' or 'transition zones', boroughs that act as an 'escalator' for people (Travers et al, 2007). Our research took place in Belgium's two most superdiverse arrival cities, namely Brussels and Antwerp (see infra).

Field Code Changed

Field Code Changed

Field Code Changed

The aspect of superdiversity we focus on in this article is the existence of many different forms of mobility (Faist, 2013). Too often, mobility remains analysed in terms of classic and direct migration patterns: people leaving their countries of origin, migrating directly to their new

countries of destination, where they start building up their new lives. For many labour migrants in Europe in the 1950~~'~~s and 1960s, this was the dominant migration pattern, as for their partners and children joining them in the following decades. In a ~~today's~~ context ~~world~~ of superdiversity, this is only one of the different forms of mobility. Increasing numbers of people are experiencing more complex migration patterns, moving several times between different countries (Cresswell, 2006; Salazar & Glick Schiller, 2014). It is this pattern of mobility that we understand by transmigration: the complex and multiple migration patterns of people who resided in different countries and/or have the intention to migrate further in the (near) future or to return to previous countries (Schrooten, et al, 2016). ~~This mobility has many faces and can serve different goals.~~

We thus use the term 'transmigrants' in a more narrow sense compared to the way Nina Glick Schiller and her associates ~~first~~ coined the concept in 1995 (Glick Schiller et al, 1995). They introduced it to describe qualitative differences of late 20th century migrations compared with their nineteenth- and early twentieth-century counterparts, drawing attention to the fact that late 20th century migrants' social practices occurred almost simultaneously on the territories of more than one national state. With 'transmigrants', they referred to migrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state (Faist, Fauser, & Reisenauer, 2013). Yet, ~~when using this broad definition of transmigrants, the stage of~~ transmigration is experienced by a wide range of present-day mobile people, as most of them frequently operate beyond the borders of nominally sovereign states. This has led us to formulate a more narrow definition of the concept, in order to be able to analyse the impact of transmigration on social policy and urban social work. Transmigration not only differs from more classical migration patterns because of the transnational activities of transmigrants, it is also a form of multiple mobilities, implying a higher degree of temporality from the point of view of the migrant. For transmigrants, there is much more uncertainty about the duration of their stay, as they are influenced and limited by relationships, laws, statuses and sources of support that transcend national borders. Although transmigrants may settle and stop moving at a certain moment, for many, their actual intention or expectation is not to remain.

Using the lens of superdiversity to understand transmigration today makes it imperative to account for diversity among different groups of transmigrants. Transmigrants represent a diverse assembly of individuals who experience various levels of acceptance in their countries of origin and of residence (Schrooten, Geldof & Withaeckx, 2016~~5~~). Influenced by their ethnicity, class, economic status and gender, 'transmigrants may find equality and even privilege in some areas of their life while experiencing injustice in others' (Mohan & Clark Prickett, 2010). ~~-~~In our research, we focused on those transmigrants who found themselves in a vulnerable position. In this article, we discuss the specific vulnerabilities these transmigrants experience, some of them resulting from different regulations and/or conflicting policy regimes in the different countries where they resided.

An explorative study on transmigrants in Belgian superdiverse cities

In our research we interviewed 54 transmigrants of Brazilian, Ghanaian and Moroccan origin living in Brussels or Antwerp~~:~~. ~~Brussels and Antwerp are~~ the two largest cities of Belgium and ~~function as~~ the main arrival cities for many newcomers in Belgium. Brussels, ~~is~~ the capital of Belgium and of the European Union, ~~Since 2001 it~~ has become a majority-minority city as~~:~~

Field Code Changed

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: Kern at 18 pt

the majority of ~~the~~ its 1.1 million inhabitants has a migration background. Approximately 60% of the actual inhabitants are born outside Belgium~~,~~ or have a mother and/or a father who was born abroad. ~~The city of~~ Antwerp is situated in the northern part of Belgium (Flanders) ~~and is the largest city of this region~~. In 2016~~5~~, 46,9% of the 516~~8~~,000 inhabitants had a migration background. Due to rapid demographic transition Antwerp will become a majority-minority city by 2020. In both cities we find approximately 170 different nationalities (Geldof, 2016).

We focused on transmigrants with a maximum duration of stay in Belgium of five years. Due to their position regarding immigration status, length of stay, ethnicity and language proficiency, this group of transmigrants is likely to be confronted with specific vulnerabilities. Many recently arrived transmigrants face a high risk of poverty and are overrepresented in the client population of social services. Recent immigrants face a more weakly developed local social network and their transnational contacts are often limited to affective and emotional ties (Boccagni, 2010; Ryan et al. 2008). Although these transnational ties may be resorted to for emotional support and advice, they can less easily provide for 'practical, hands-on support and assistance' (Ryan et al, 2008, p. 684).

We limited our investigations to three sub-groups based on their (original) country of origin. With our choice of transmigrants of Moroccan, Brazilian and Ghanaian origin we attempted to strike a balance between maximum variation and ~~maximum~~ comparability. All ~~The~~ transmigrants we interviewed we~~a~~re newcomers from countries of origin outside the EU that are not currently in a war zone, so that the focus is not on people fleeing their country to escape from violence and danger. The three groups differ in their migratory history and their presence in Belgium, which allows us to look at impact of differences in the size of social networks here. Morocco was the main country from where Belgium recruited labour-migrants in the 1960's. Moroccans ~~It~~ ha~~s~~ve become the largest ~~country of origin~~ community from outside the EU in Belgium, estimated at 430,000 ~~inhabitants~~. They ~~People with a Moroccan background~~ represent 12% of the inhabitants of Antwerp and 11% of the inhabitants of Brussels. In both cities they are the largest group of citizens with a migration background. Before the refugee crisis of 2015, Morocco remained Belgium's most important country of origin for new migrants from outside the EU. During the last decades, the most important motivation for migration from Morocco to Belgium ~~was~~ has been family-reunion, mostly after marriages between second and third generation Belgian Moroccans and Moroccan nationals (Perrin & Martiniello, 2011; Vancluysen & Van Craen, 2011). In this decade, migration from people with a Moroccan background from other EU-countries ~~has~~ increased due to the economic crisis in Southern Europe (Spain, Italy) or because of more restrictive migration policies on family-reunion (the Netherlands). This changing migration pattern makes them an interesting case ~~for the study of transmigration~~.

The smaller but increasing presence of Brazilians residing in Belgium was a second case. Although Brazilian migration towards Belgium is relatively recent, starting in the 1960s, it has been referred to as an important trend by Brazilian policy makers (Pedroso, 2011), the Ministry of the Brussels-capital region and the IOM (Góis et al, ~~,~~ 2009). Between 1995 and 2010 the number of Brazilians residing in Belgium has significantly augmented, from 1,312 officially residing Brazilians in Belgium in 1995 to 7,463 in 2013 (Université Catholique de Louvain & Centrum voor Gelijkheid van Kansen en voor Racismebestrijding, 2014). Still, official numbers largely underestimate the real size of the Brazilian community, which is estimated between 10.000 and 60.000 migrants for Belgium~~,~~ (Góis et al., 2009; Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2012)~~(Góis et al., 2009; Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2012)~~. The presence of Brazilian

Field Code Changed

Field Code Changed

Field Code Changed

Field Code Changed

Field Code Changed

Field Code Changed

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)

Field Code Changed

migrants in Belgium is facilitated by bilateral agreements between Belgium and Brazil allowing Brazilian nationals to enter Belgium without previously having to request a visa. Many among them remain within the Schengen associated countries after the allowed tourist stay of 90 days (~~Dienst Vreemdelingenzaken, 2009;~~ Schrooten, 2012).

Field Code Changed

The third group of transmigrants we focused on are Ghanaians. Belgium first became a migration destination for Ghanaian citizens in the 1980s, when neighbouring Nigeria expelled many of its own Ghanaian migrants. This was followed in 1994-1995 by a period of ethnic violence in the northern part of Ghana, which caused 150,000 people to flee their homes. In the early years of Ghanaian migration to Belgium it was again possible to detect a circular pattern: after their request for asylum had been turned down, many Ghanaians returned to Ghana or migrated to a different (European) country. Since the 1990s the number of arrivals from Ghana grew mainly as a consequence of family reunification migration. According to IOM estimations, approximately 16,000 people of Ghanaian origin are registered in Belgium. Antwerp and Brussels each host~~s~~ just over 3000 people from Ghana (Schrooten et al, 2016). Their migration trajectories across the Mediterranean and their networks in Brussels and Antwerp ~~Belgium~~ made them an interesting third group.

Within these three groups of migrants, we only retained transmigrants who recently arrived in Belgium (max. 5 years), lived in Brussels or Antwerp, had a complex migration trajectory involving periods of residence in different countries (and/or the intention to move again in the future) and who were living in a vulnerable situation. We excluded expats, diplomats or high skilled employees of international institutions in Brussels, focussing on transmigrants who called on (or who are living in a situation that they should have access to) social work. ~~The transmigrants we interviewed are newcomers from countries of origin outside the EU that are not currently in a war zone, so that the focus is not on people fleeing their country to escape from violence and danger.~~

We used a mixed-method~~s~~ approach. Triangulation of the scientific literature, ~~the~~ in-depth interviews with ~~the~~ transmigrants and ~~the~~focus group discussions ~~of~~with ~~the~~ social worker~~s~~ ~~focus groups~~ made it possible to explore the phenomenon of transmigration from different and complementary angles, visions and experiences. F~~:~~ ~~f~~irstly, in-depth interviews have been done with three groups of transmigrants: Brazilians (22 interviews), Ghanaians (13 interviews) and Moroccans (19 interviews).[i] We combined different ways to contact these transmigrants, in order to obtain a maximum of diversity within our group of respondents. Some were contacted via social work organisations (language courses, vocational training, food support), others via religious institutions ~~–~~or immigrant organisations ~~within their communities~~. Students from Moroccan descent helped us to establish contacts with newly arrived Moroccan transmigrants. As one of the researchers had conducted a doctoral research among Brazilians in Belgium, she already had built up a network of Brazilian respondents. Via online Facebook groups of Brazilians residing in Belgium and through snowballing, she contacted other Brazilian transmigrants.

Besides in-depth interviews with transmigrants, we organized four focus-groups with 20 social work organisations in Brussels and Antwerp ~~-~~and discussed their experiences of working with transmigrants.[ii] Here as well we tried to obtain a maximum of diversity in this explorative research by differentiating the kind of social organisations (public and private, local and

international, professional and volunteer-driven organisations). We invited professional workers from the Public Centre for Social Welfare (local authority), NGO's working locally and international NGO's involved in voluntary return schemes or working with victims of human trafficking, but also organisations solely working with volunteers within communities. The transcripts of the focus-groups as well as the interviews were coded and analysed using Nvivo.

What does transmigration look like?

When we mapped the migration patterns and the different countries where our respondents lived during a relevant period of time before living in Belgium, we found that these patterns were extremely varied, dependent on, amongst others, their country of origin, their networks and the choices they made in their lives. With the **Brazilian** respondents there was often a pattern of migration mobility within Brazil before their international mobility. It is no exaggeration to say that mobility forms a part of the Brazilian culture (de Brito & de Carvalho, 2006). In comparison with Ghanaian and Moroccan transmigrants, the Brazilian transmigrants often had stayed for longer periods in other countries for longer periods before arriving in Belgium. The range of countries for our respondents was very varied and was by no means limited to Europe. Their trajectories were not limited to Europe, but also included countries in South America, North America and Africa.

Figure 1: migration trajectories of Brazilian respondents

The typical pattern for **Moroccan** transmigrants is connected with and builds further on historical reunification migration. When choosing their destinations, Moroccan transmigrants frequently made use of existing contacts with family and friends who have already made the moved to Europe or Belgium. This phenomenon is known as chain migration (Reniers, 1999). All the Moroccan transmigrants in our study stayed in at least one other country before arriving in Belgium. This list includes countries such as the Netherlands, Spain, Germany and France.

Figure 2: migration trajectories of Moroccan respondents

As far as **Ghanaian** transmigrants are concerned, it is possible to identify yet other different trajectories of migration, often with a much higher degree of risk. Some Ghanaians came directly from Ghana to Belgium, but many of them made their journeys through 'transit' countries, such as Senegal, Gambia, Morocco and Libya, in order to reach Europe. In particular, since the end of the 20th century Libya has become one of the most important - but also the most dangerous – countries of access to Europe.

Figure 3: migration trajectories of Ghanaian respondents

Although mMost of our respondents had resided in other countries before they came to Brussels or Antwerp. , this did not always mean that Belgium was the final stop in their migratory wanderings. For a number of them, Belgium was not their final destination. If the occasion would turn up, they would move again. Once again, this decision was influenced by

various factors, such as better opportunities elsewhere (if Belgium turns out to be less beneficial than hoped) or simply a desire for new adventures in a new setting.

> My husband is not so happy here. He is more used to Germany, he better understands the system there. (…) He has always had his own business [trading between Morocco and Germany] and in Belgium, there's so much paperwork, he finds it impossible. He prefers to live in a country where's he's habituated, and he also has a lot of family there. (…) I am also open to moving to Germany, but then we have to do it before the children are 6 year old, so they won't have too much language problems. *(woman, Moroccan, 26y)*

Others had a history of transmigration, but explicitly hoped to settle in Belgium and were afraid they would be forced to return or to move again. Their testimonies made it clear that mobility is not always voluntary. It is important to be aware of the difference between (more or less) voluntary chosen and (semi-)forced patterns of mobility.

> For me this enough, I hope this is my last stop, I hope God will leave me here. I do not consider further migration. *(woman, Moroccan, 36y)*

> I'd prefer to stay in Belgium. I have already wasted four years here, if I was to go back to Morocco, I would have to start all over again. (…) If it is my destiny, then I will stay here. I would only consider going back if there are really no other options. (*man, Moroccan, 35y)*

Temporality and vulnerability

Many tTransmigrants are exposed to similar ~~the "classical"~~ problems many other immigrants ~~are~~ also face~~d with~~, such as low socio-economic status on arriving, racism and discrimination. Research in Belgium has demonstrated that people with a migration background are more likely to find themselves in poverty and suffer the consequences of social exclusion (Van Robaeys & Driessens, 2011; Van den Broucke et al 2015). It is often difficult for them to secure (legal) work and accommodation, the local language is a strong barrier to many and they are frequently confronted with racism and discrimination. An uncertain residential status or a lack of residence documents may also be a source of stress and fear. Transmigrants share these social problems with other migrants. Moreover, as transmigrants tend to stay in any given country for only a relatively short period, they also share common experiences with other newcomers. They must ~~literally and metaphorically~~ find their way through a strange and unknown land, building up new networks and learning new languages, laws, rules and customs.

~~Some o~~Other social problems and vulnerabilities transmigrants may face are specifically related to their mobile lifestyle, to the more temporary nature of their residence in any place and to the fact that their life is lived in different locations across different national borders. Mobility often implies loss, of friends and family, of familiar surroundings and of known forms of welfare and social support. Multiple mobilities therefore implies multiple losses, as transmigrants pass through different locations, each time facing the challenges of settling anew and of a possible new uprooting. This permanent mobility may impact heavily upon family

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial

Formatted: Space After: 8 pt, Don't add space between paragraphs of the same style, Line spacing: Multiple 1.07 li

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial

Formatted: Font: (Default) +Body (Calibri)

Formatted: Default Paragraph Font, Font: (Default) +Body (Calibri), Dutch (Netherlands)

relationships, as family members dispersed across the globe struggle to maintain a sense of continuity and family life. Although new technologies do provide many new possibilities for communication on a distance, the need for 'face-to-face' contact may be heavily felt and form a reason for a new (return) movement.

This (temporary) dispersal of family members may result in differing migration statutes once families are reunited, which gives rise to the existence of 'mixed-status families': some family members may have legal and undetermined access to the actual place of settlement, while others have not. These families therefore run a permanent risk of (renewed) separation -which causes stress and insecurity. ~~Also P~~procedures of divorce or family reunification with family members of differing nationalities and migration statuses may also present severe juridical complexities. The Brazilian Paula, for example, faced a complicated procedure when trying to divorce from her Swedish partner. They had met in Europe, married in Brazil and had moved to Belgium afterwards:

> I came here through a family reunification procedure. Then I divorced. When I divorced, the municipality refused to change my visa, although I did have right to another status. We had lived on different locations, in other countries, which complicated the issue. I am still trying to solve all th~~e~~ise problems now. *(woman, Brazilian, ~~Paula, 37y, Brazil~~)*

Formatted: Font: Italic

Transmigrants lacking a legal residence status – one third of our respondents - faced exclusion from the official labour market and from formal social services. Others mostly had a temporary status. Transmigrants moving from southern EU-countries to Belgium as long-term EU-residents, benefitted from the right to free movement within the EU (because they obtained the Spanish or Italian nationality, or were recognised as non-EU -long-term residents and thus received a permanent residence permit that is standard for all EU countries). Nevertheless, they were often excluded from welfare assistance and unemployment benefits in Belgium as their new place of residence. This puts them under ~~a lot of~~ pressure to find a job and to keep it for a sufficient amount time, in order to acquire these social rights.

> It took a year and a half before ~~he~~ my husband found a job, we were so fed up that we wanted to return to Spain. You know, we had to pay double rent, because we lived over there and he travelled back and forth to Belgium. The first problem was work. The language problem is big (…) that's why it took him so long to find a job. Just when we wanted to give up, he found a job. *(woman, Moroccan, 36y)*

> I had a permanent residence (in Italy). No Italian nationality, but my document is a long- ~~-~~term stay, as it is called. (…) So they told me it was possible for me to stay here (in Belgium). (…) All other people from Italy received papers, except me. I proved I had no criminal record, I collected all documents, but they told me I need a labour contract, or a school, or a Belgian partner to marry. ~~…~~(…) It is really frustrating. (*man, Ghanaian, 25y*).

For many transmigrants, the opportunity of work is what motivates them to move again. Following opportunities for work across national borders, these labour migrants often originate from economically deprived areas. Due to their precarious migrant status, they are very vulnerable for economic exploitation, as social workers reported in the focus groups. Such

labour migrants may be attracted to Belgium under false premises, and may be put to work under doubtful conditions. Once here they may receive less than the current minimum wage, and may be very poorly housed. Furthermore, particular groups of transmigrants face specific risks of exploitation, as is the case for undocumented migrants, drug addicts and (unaccompanied) minors. These groups may therefore become victims of diverse forms of economic and sexual exploitation.

An additional dimension when dealing with transmigrants, is formed by the memories and experiences gained by them along their complex migration trajectories. Transmigration often means starting from scratch all over again at frequent intervals. After a first settlement, they could have acquired skills (like mastering the local language) and built up social networks useful in one location. Resettlement in Belgium means losing an often difficultly gained status and re-adapting to an unfamiliar environment where previously acquired skills are not always recognized. This was for instance the case for Yasmina, who used to have an administrative job in the Netherlands, but had to work as a cleaning lady after her move to Belgium:

> I don't say it is a bad job. But I have never done something like this, and then you come here, and I had to take like ten steps back from where I was in the Netherlands. I had accomplished something and here, I had to start again from scratch. It gave me a very odd feeling. I really cried, wanted to return to the Netherlands, regretted I ever came here. *(woman, Moroccan, 45y, Morocco)*

Transmigration challenges social work and social policies

Despite their vulnerability, many transmigrants have problems getting access to formal social help. Most of our respondents did not benefit from financial or material support from official social services in Belgium. Sometimes they were not entitled because they were undocumented or did not meet the criteria to receive a means-tested benefit as an EU-citizen. In other cases, they lacked information about their social rights or about the existing social services.

Often, cCurrent social policies and existing social services were not designed to meet the needs of transmigrants. Even though we only interviewed transmigrants of Moroccan, Brazilian and Ghanaian origin,In the focus group discussions with social workers, the question of intra-EU migration frequently arose. Intra-EU migration is a very specific form of multiple cross-border migration. Thanks to the principle of the free movement of labour, the citizens of EU member states have the right to move freely throughout the European Union. Whilst this principle of the free movement of labour might at first glance seems to simplify things, in reality the regulations for mobile employees are very complex, because of the different legislative provisions applicable in the different countries involved. These mobile employees are not only subject to European legislation, but also to the rights and obligations of the national (and sometimes regional) legislations and social security protections in the countries where they reside and work (Schrooten et al, 2016). The national social security schemes y are designed to meet the needs of documented people residing more or less stable within the nation state, but they struggle with the 'newness' and the number of clients being perpetually new (Phillimore, 2015). Social security rights are in principle transferable within the EU; however, for many transmigrants this turns out to be too complex, too time-consuming and too

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: Italic

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)

bureaucratic. Their newness, temporality and 'inbetween-ness' challenges national social protection schemes.

> They (long term residents) are regarded as equivalent to European citizens. That means, as long as everything is going well and they have work, there is no problem. But the moment things go wrong and they become dependent, that's when the trouble starts. Because they cannot claim social insurance benefits. One difficulty then leads to another: financial problems, residence papers, etc. *(Welfare worker)*

During the focus groups with social work organisations, social workers reported that the growing number of transmigrants is posing new challenges to social policy and to urban social work (Schrooten et al, 2016). New questions and challenges arise: ~~:~~ How can social policies and social work organisations designed for stable residents reach these (more temporal and mobile) clients? How should they deal with transmigrants' specific welfare needs? Can they take account of the multiple international environments of these individuals and families, and in what ways? How should they evaluate the importance of their clients' networks across borders and include them in their policies and social work practices? Is the aim of helping transmigrants to migrate further, support them to settle and integrate or guarantee basic social rights during their (temporary) stay in the city or the country?

Field Code Changed

While transmigration is becoming an important reality for social policy and social work practice in superdiverse urban contexts, many politicians, organisations and social work professionals are still unfamiliar with this type of mobility and are looking for suitable policies and methods to deal with this new group. It is no longer possible to automatically assume, as was the case in the past, that these migrants will permanently stay in Belgium. ~~There is much more uncertainty about the duration of their stay and they are influenced (and sometimes limited) by relationships, laws, statuses and sources of support that transcend national borders.~~ As a result, social work can no longer focus exclusively on their clients' relationships, experiences and sources of support ~~inside~~ within Belgium (Withaeckx et al, 2017). Social workers increasingly need ~~increasingly~~ to take account of the fact that the living environment of transmigrants is shaped by extensive transnational networks.

> It is not part of our statutory task to share or exchange knowledge at European level but we do it anyway, because transmigration means that nowadays we all have a shared agenda [...] In our work, we are all confronted ~~on a~~ daily ~~basis~~ with people who have undergone a migration process. In my opinion, this means that a knowledge of what is going on at European level, or even at world level, must be a part of our basic approach. You not only need to know what you are doing, but also what other towns are doing, what other countries are doing. What are their attitudes? What is their approach? *(Social worker, integration policy)*

Formatted: Font: Italic

Hunter and her colleagues argue that the context of transmigration calls for a paradigm shift. In working with transmigrants, social workers 'can no longer pay attention to relationships, resources, structures, laws and history in one locale and not consider the same in another country where the systems may be informed by a significantly different world view for their clients' (Hunter, Lepley, & Nickels, 2010, p. 222). The social life of transmigrants is not only oriented towards their new country of residence, but consists of complex networks and contacts beyond boundaries. In order to provide effective social work for this unique population, social workers can no longer solely focus on local and regional problems, but should instead take into account the multiple locations that are relevant to these transmigrants networks and

Field Code Changed

activities. This has organisational and policy consequences as well, because the policy setting in which social workers operate is still based upon classic migration patterns and social needs within national borders.

Providing support to transmigrants brings new challenges and raises new questions for social welfare providers, social organiszations and municipal authorities. Moreover, there are no ready-made solutions and answers for these challenges and questions. A first challenge relates to the manner in which transmigrants view and deal with the support provision agencies in Belgium. Social and welfare workers regularly reported that their clients do not seem to trust or have confidence in the local support services. At the same time, they noted that transmigrants sometimes deliberately tried to exploit the support system. Some attempt to use the repatriation programmes almost as a kind of 'travel agency'. Others demonstrate 'shopping behaviour', approaching many different organizations in different locations to see which one can offer them the 'best deal'.

A different kind of problem relates to the manner way in which social and welfare support is organized in Belgium. Even in the big cities, the range of support services has still not yet been changed adapted to reflect the superdiversity of which transmigration is an essential element. The Western frames of reference with regard to welfare support are based on culture-specific ideas about (amongst other things) the individual, social relationships and self-reliance. Nowadays, these ideas can clash with the opinions and customs of a clientele that is becoming increasingly diverse.

In the case of transmigrants, these cultural differences manifest themselves in their interpretation of notions like 'family', 'solidarity' and 'cross-border relationships'. Regulations and policy are often conceptualized within an individualist framework, where rights and obligations are viewed on an individual basis. Although a number ofsome support agencies are already using new approaches to better map the complex networks of their clients, it seems nevertheless that we still have too few insights into the scale, nature and impact of these border-transcending networks, which exercise an important influence on transmigrants in particular.

Because social policies are not (yet) designed for or adapted to the emerging group of transmigrants, social work organisations develop **new practices** to deal with this new reality. Responding to the arrival of transmigrants from Southern Europe, informal and voluntary organisations of second and third generation immigrants in Belgium recently started charity initiatives, including food support, because the group of migrants that are not allowed to social security or means-tested benefits has increased strongly. Religious institutions and immigrant organisations are confronted with an increasing social need. Al Ikram, one of the new charity organisations in our research, reported about tensions between within the Moroccan community in Antwerp.

> There are a lot of families taking care of family members coming from Spain. They do that in the beginning, because it's family. But after one or two years (…), it becomes too much for them. They refer them to us: "I brought my uncle or my cousin or my aunt here from Spain, we tried to pay their rent, their expenses, but it's too much for us. Can you take over?" *(volunteer Al Ikram)*

Another new practice ~~New~~ is ~~also~~ the emergence of social work organisations from countries of origin of transmigrants, which are recently recruited by local authorities in the 'destination'-countries. In the focus groups with social workers, ~~An interesting case is~~ the Polish organisation Barka was frequently mentioned as an example. Since February 2014 Barka tries to help homeless Polish and other Central and Eastern European people who are not coping with life in Antwerp. Barka helps them to return to their home countries, either to enter rehab treatments, go back to their families, to Barka Network programs (educational and community programs, creating work places and accessible housing programs) in Poland or to regular social services in Antwerp. Similar projects started in London, Copenhagen, Dublin, Hamburg and in the Netherlands in Amsterdam, Eindhoven, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht (www.barka.org.pl/; www.barkanl.org). Transmigration – in this case of Polish workers who become homeless - thus leads to new actors in the social field in European cities, with social work organisations developing transnational social work provisions.

Decoupled ~~The~~ multilevel governance of transmigration. ~~**The spread, speed and scale of diversification processes, and the conditions of superdiversity that arise with them, are inherently tied to power, politics and policy', according to Meissner & Vertovec (2014, p. 552).**~~

Migration and migrant integration policies have become increasingly dispersed over various levels of government. In 'The Multilevel Governance of Migration and Integration', (Scholten and Penninx (2016) distinguish between four ideal type configurations of relations between government levels: centralist, (top-down), localist (bottom-up), multilevel, and decoupled. When we look at transmigration, we interpret the problems of transmigrants as the result of the fourth ideal type: decoupled relations between government levels. Scholten and Penninx (2016: 92-94) define this as a situation characterized by the absence of any meaningful policy coordination between levels. Thus, in any single policy domain, policies at different levels are dissociated and may even be contradictory.

~~Their conclusion is correct for transmigration as well.~~ Transmigrants have to cope with ~~use, fight, challenge, neglect or undergo~~ differences in European, national and regional legislations. EU-legislation makes intra-EU-mobility possible for EU-citizens and long-term residents, including transferability of social security rights within the EU. Social security, however, remains at the level of the EU-member states, which makes the transferability of social security

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)

Field Code Changed

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, Not Bold, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, Not Bold, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, Not Bold, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, Not Bold, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, Not Bold, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, Not Italic, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, Not Bold, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, English (United Kingdom)

rights in practice difficult and time consuming. Integration policies and social policies are produced at national, regional and local levels.

Settlement migrants who directly migrate for their country of origin towards their new country of destination are confronted with policies from two different countries, for example with respect to legislations on nationality, social security rights or family legislation on weddings, divorces or testimonies. Quite often, these two different legislations are not (completely) compatible. Transmigrants, however, have to combine multiple legislations, social rights and/or and administrative procedures related to their temporary stay in three, four~~, five~~ or even more countries, which is an important characteristic of their social vulnerability. Increasing mobility challenges existing policies and procedures, whereby transmigrants hardly have voice because their temporality in each of the countries.

We live in an era of unprecedented mobility that has been markedly urban, is the main line in the World Migration Report 2015 on 'Migrants and cities: new partnerships to manage mobility'. According to the IOM this 'calls for new approaches to urban governance and migration policies' (IOM, 2015, p. 2). Part of the challenge is dealing with increasing mobility, newness and temporality. Today's social policies and social services targeted at permanent residents, ~~—~~with or without a migration background, remain the core of urban social policies in superdiverse cities. However, the increase of the number of more temporary citizens, transmigrants with complex migration trajectories and/or the intention to ~~migrate further or back~~move again in the near future, confront us with specific needs. Developing adequate and coordinated social policies and services to cope with this growing reality of transmigration requires an enhanced understanding of the multiple spaces inhabited by transmigrants, and of the complex legal, cultural, social and political contexts that push and pull families across national and local borders (Webster, Arenas, & Magaña, 2010, p. 208).

Field Code Changed

This is a challenging shift for urban social policy and for social work in an urban context. Policies on migration, nationality and social legislations remain largely the responsibility of the nation states in Europe, although increasingly embedded in European legislation. In superdiverse cities, urban social policies are still embedded within these national policy frameworks, whereas transmigrants shift between different visible and invisible, local and global networks. They combine 'some functional sense of local "rootedness" with opportunities that are more transnational, even global, in scope' (Simone, 2001, p. 36).

Field Code Changed

Conclusion

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, 11 pt, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Heading 1, Left

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial, English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Font: (Default) Arial

Our research confirms transmigration as a reality in the superdiverse Belgian cities Brussels and Antwerp. The lens of superdiversity was supportive to focus on processes of differentiation, especially concerning migration trajectories and migration motives. ~~It indicates that a~~A growing part of the newly arrived migrants in Belgium are increasingly mobile, temporary and engaged in transnational networks spanning multiple locations. The condition of transmigration impacts on their welfare needs, on their decisions to migrate and on their ability to build up social capital in new locations. As such, transmigration will influence our understanding of rootedness, ~~and~~ identity and ~~, of~~ integration. It ~~and of~~ challenges us to redesign and better coordinate the ways we design social policies beyond the actual decoupled multi-level governance ~~and social work~~ in a context of superdiversity and increasing mobility.

References

Benton-Short, L, and Price, M, 2008, Migrants to the metropolis: the rise of immigrant gateway cities, an introduction, in M. Price and L. Benton-Short (eds.), *Migrants to the metropolis: The rise of immigrant gateway cities,* New York: Syracuse University Press, 1–22

Blommaert, J, 2014, Infrastructures of superdiversity: Conviviality and language in an Antwerp neighbourhood, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 17, 4, 431–451

Boccagni, P, 2010, Private, public or both? On the scope and impact of transnationalism in immigrants' everyday lives, in R. Bauböck and T. Faist (eds), *Diaspora and transnationalism. Concepts, theories and methods,* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 185–204

Boccagni, P, 2015a, Super)diversity and the migration - social work nexus: a new lens on the field of access and inclusion? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38, 4, 608–620

Boccagni, P, 2015b, The difference diversity makes: A Principle, a lens, an empirical attribute for majority–minority relations, in T. Matejskova and M. Antonsich (eds), *Governing through diversity: Migration societies in post-multiculturalist times*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 21–38

Collins, F, 2012, Transnational mobilities and urban spatialities: Notes from the Asia-Pacific, *Progress in Human Geography*, 36, 3, 316–335

Cresswell, T, 2006, *On the move. Mobility in the modern western world,* New York: Routledge

Crul, M, Schneider, J and Lelie, F, 2013. *Superdiversity. A new perspective on integration,* Amsterdam: VU University Press

de Brito, F, de Carvalho, J, 2006, As migrações internas no Brasil. As novidades sugeridas pelos censos demográficos de 1991 e 2000 e pela PNADs recentes, *Parcerias Estratégicas*, 22, 441-454

~~Dienst Vreemdelingenzaken, 2009, *Activiteitenrapport 2008,* Brussels~~

Faist, T, 2013, The mobility turn. A new paradigm for the social sciences? Ethnic and Racial Studies, 36, 11, 1637-1646.

Faist, T, Fauser, M, and Reisenauer, E, 2013, *Transnational migration,* Cambridge: Polity Press

Furman, R, Negi, N, Salvador, R, 2010, An introduction to transnational social work, in N. Negi and R Salvador (eds), *Transnational social work practice*, New York: Columbia University Press, 3-19

Furman, R, Lamphear, G & Epps, D, 2016, The Immigrant Other: Lived Experiences in a Transnational World, New York, Columbia University Press.

Formatted: Highlight

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: Normal, Line spacing: single

Formatted: Normal, Line spacing: single

Geldof, D, 2016, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe. How migration changes our society,* Leuven/Den Haag: Acco

Glick Schiller, N, Basch, L, Blanc-Szanton, C, 1995, From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration, *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68, 1, 48–63

Góis, P, Reyntjens, P, Lenz, A, Coelho, C, Gouveia, D, 2009, *Assessment of Brazilian migration patterns and assisted voluntary return programme from selected European Member States to Brazil*, Brussels: International Organization for Migration

Hunter, C, Lepley, S, Nickels, S, 2010, New practice frontiers: Current and future social work with transmigrants, in N. Negi and R. Furman (eds), *Transnational social work practice,* New York: Columbia University Press, 222–241

International Organisation for Migration (IOM), 2015, *World migration Report 2015. Migrants and cities: new partnerships to manage mobility*, Geneva: IOM

Kasinitz, P, et al, 2009, *Inheriting the city. The children of immigrants come of age,* Cambridge: Russell Sage Foundation

Meissner, F, Vertovec, S, 2014, Comparing super-diversity, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38, 4, 541–555

Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2012, *Diplomacia Consular, 2007 a 2012*, Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão

Mohan, B, Clark Prickett, J, 2010, Macro social work practice with transmigrants, in N. Negi and R. Furman (eds), *Transnational social work practice*, New York: Colombia University Press, 191–204

Oosterlynck, S, Schillebeeckx, E, 2012, Stad en sociale ongelijkheid: Naar een sociale stijgingsperspectief? In D. Holemans (eds), *Mensen maken de stad. Bouwstenen voor een sociaalecologische toekomst*, Berchem: Epo, 128–144

Pedroso, L, 2011, *O recente fenômeno imigratório de nacionais brasileiros na Bélgica*, Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão

Perrin, N, Martiniello, M, 2011, *Transnationale activiteiten van migranten in België. Factor van integratie of van terugtrekking in de eigen groep?* Brussel: Koning Boudewijnstichting/Centre d'Etudes de l'Ethnicité et des Migrations

Phillimore, J, 2015, Delivering maternity services in an era of superdiversity: the challenges of novelty and newness, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38, 4, 568–582

Powell, J, Robison, J, 2007, The 'international dimension' in social work education: Current developments in England, *European Journal of Social Work*, 10, 3, 383–399

Ryan, L, Sales, R, Tilki, M, Siara, B, 2008, Social networks, social support and social capital: The experiences of recent Polish migrants in London, *Sociology*, 42, 4, 672–690

Saunders, D, 2011, *Arrival City: How the Largest Migration in History is Reshaping Our World,* London: Windmill books

Scholten, P, Penninx, R, 2016, The multilevel governance of migration and integration, in: B. Garcés–Mascareñas, & R Penninx (Eds.), Integration processes and policies in Europe: contexts, levels and actors. IMISCOE research series, Springer Open, 91-108 DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-21674-4

Schrooten, M, 2012, (Trans)Forming boundaries in a contact zone: The experience of Brazilian migrants in Brussels, *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 29, 89–104

Schrooten, M, Geldof, D, Withaeckx, S, 2016, Transmigration and urban social work: Towards a research agenda, *European Journal of Social Work*, 19, 1, 18-30 http://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2014.1001725

Schrooten, M, Salazar, N, Dias, G, 2016, Living in mobility: Trajectories of Brazilians in Belgium and the United Kingdom, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42, 7, 1199-1215http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1089160

Schrooten, M, Withaeckx, S, Geldof, D, Lavent, M, 2016, *Transmigration. Social work in a world of superdiversity,* Leuven/Den Haag: Acco

Simone, A, 2001, On the worlding of African Cities, *African Studies Review*, 44, 2, 15–41

Stoesz, D, Guzzetta, C, Lusk, M, 1999, *International development*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon

Tarrius, A, 2000, *Les fourmis d'Europe: Migrants riches, migrants pauvres et nouvelles villes internationales*, Paris: Editions L'Harmattan

Travers, T, Tunstall, R, Whitehead, C, & Pruvot, S, 2007, *Population Mobility and Service Provision. A report for London Councils*, London: LSE

Université Catholique de Louvain, Centrum voor Gelijkheid van Kansen en voor Racismebestrijding, 2014, *Statistisch en demografisch verslag 2013: Migraties en migrantenpopulaties in België*, Brussel: Centrum voor Gelijkheid van Kansen en voor Racismebestrijding

Urry, J, 2007, *Mobilities,* Cambridge: Polity

Vancluysen, K, Van Craen, M, 2011, Transnationale activiteiten en sociaal-culturele integratie: verenigbaar of niet? in J. Ackaert and T. Van Regenmortel (eds), *Gelijk oversteken? Een staalkaart van onderzoeksbevindingen rond integratie*, Brugge: Vandenbroele, 203–225

Van den Broucke, S, De Cuyper, P, Wets, J, 2014, Profielschets en inburgeringstrajecten van Zuid-Europese immigranten in Vlaanderen, Antwerpen: Steunpunt inburgering en Integratie

Van den Broucke, S, et al, 2015, Vlaamse Migratie- en Integratiemonitor 2015, Antwerpen/Brussel: Steunpunt Inburgering en Integratie, Agentschap Binnenlands Bestuur.

Van Robaeys, B, Driessens, K, 2011, *Gekleurde armoede en hulpverlening*, Tielt: LannooCampus

Vertovec, S, 2007, Super-diversity and its implications, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30, 6, 1024–1054

Formatted: Space After: 10 pt, Line spacing: Multiple 1.15 li, Adjust space between Latin and Asian text, Adjust space between Asian text and numbers

Formatted: Normal, Space After: 0 pt, Add space between paragraphs of the same style, Line spacing: single, No bullets or numbering

Vertovec, S. 2016. *Super-diversity as concept and approach: whence it came, where it's at, and whither it's going*. Lecture, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Göttingen. Retrieved June 15, 2016, from http://www.mmg.mpg.de/index.php?id=1636

Wessendorf, S, 2014, *Commonplace Diversity. Social Relations in a Super-diverse Context,* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Webster, S, Arenas, A, Magaña, S, 2010, Incorporating transnational social work into the curriculum, in N. Negi and R. Furman (eds), *Transnational social work practice,* New York: Columbia University Press, 205–221

Withaeckx, S, Geldof, D, Schrooten, M, 2015, Living across borders: The everyday experiences of Moroccan and Brazilian transmigrants in Belgium, *Crossings: Journal of Migration & Culture*, 6, 1, 23–40

Withaeckx, S, Geldof, D, Schrooten, M, ~~2017~~forthcoming, Thinking and acting globally ànd locally: developing transnational social work practices in superdiverse societies, *Transnational Social Review*~~. In: *Transos* (accepted, forthcoming)~~

[i] This Practice-oriented Scientific Research Project 'Urban social-agogic work with transmigrants: an investigation of welfare needs, methodological challenges and opportunities' was carried out between September 2013 and September 2015. It was funded by the Odisee University College, guided by a steering committee and was carried out conform to the ethical rules of Odisee University College.

[ii] The team of four researchers participated in the focus-groups. For a list of all organizations that participated in the focus groups, see Schrooten et al, 2016.

Formatted: Left

Formatted: English (United Kingdom)

Formatted: English (United States)

Formatted: Font: +Body (Calibri), 10 pt, English (United States)

Formatted: Font: +Body (Calibri), 10 pt

Formatted: Normal, Don't adjust space between Latin and Asian text, Don't adjust space between Asian text and numbers

Formatted: Font: +Body (Calibri), 10 pt, English (United States)

Formatted: Font: +Body (Calibri), 10 pt

Formatted: Font: +Body (Calibri), 10 pt

Formatted: Font: +Body (Calibri), 10 pt, English (United States)

Formatted: Font: +Body (Calibri), 10 pt

Formatted: Font: +Body (Calibri), 10 pt, English (United States)

Formatted: English (United States)

Formatted: English (United States)

Formatted: English (United States)

Figure

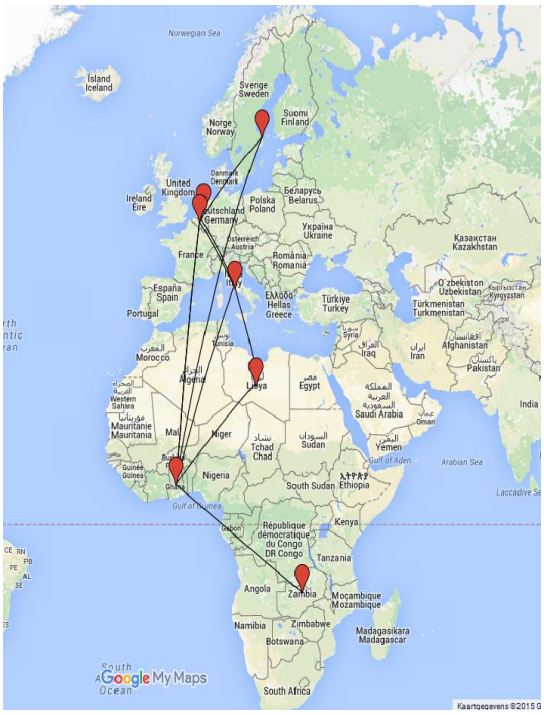
Transmigration. The rise of flexible migration strategies as part of superdiversity

Figures to be included (optional)

Figure 1: migration trajectories of Brazilian respondents

Figure 2: migration trajectories of Moroccan respondents

Figure 3: migration trajectories of Ghanaian respondents



Transmigration. The rise of flexible migration strategies as part of superdiversity
Feedback on reviewers

- Reviewers	Reaction authors where required
The article has potential for making an important contribution to the debate on changing migration projects in the context of superdiversity. There are however some revisions to be made in order for it to be ready for publication. The authors are invited to consider and address as they see fit the points raised by reviewers. Reviewer #1: 1. Is the topic of this paper significant, i.e. relevant, timely, and of interest to the audience of this journal? Yes 2. Is the paper well-structured and easy to read? Yes 3. Does the paper make a distinct contribution to theory? Yes	-
4. Does it utilize a rigorous methodology? The methodology employs an innovative mixture of maximum variation and maximum comparability. - It would be useful for the authors to include a short description of the advantages of this methodology and why it was chosen. - Please also include a brief explanation of 'maximum of diversity' in the methodology for focus groups with social workers. - Please also include who undertook the interviews with social workers.	We added information in this paragraph, and added an endnote, including references to the book.
5. Does it offer a new forms of evidence and/or analysis? Yes. The authors' fieldwork provides a fascinating and novel insight into the two case study area. The paper also proposes a narrower definition of transmigration to examine social policy. 6. Were the analysis and conclusions adequately supported by the data? Yes	-

7. To what extent is the paper accessible to readers who are not experts in the field? I think this paper would be accessible and highly relevant to a wide range of academics working in wider thematic areas.	
8. Does it offer a comprehensive literature review? Yes although more references could be included throughout the paper (recommendations below)	We added extra references to key-articles, and some recent publications that were not available at the moment of writing. (however, the recommendations did not reach us)
9. To what extent is the paper likely to be cited by others? Highly likely.	-
10. Is the approach ethically sound? There is no explanation of how or whether consent was gained or whether the research was approved by an ethics committee. - Please could the authors include how they ensured that the research was <u>conducted ethically</u> particularly with those who were excluded from formal social services or living in without formal documents.	Information added in an endnote.
I enjoyed reading this paper very much. It addresses an increasingly pertinent debate on migration and global social protection by making connections between several disciplinary fields and perspectives, including social policy, transnational migration studies and social support.	-
The paper could draw out the gap between the "inbetweeness" of migrants' social rights, needs and claims, and the typically sedentarist logic and reach of institutional welfare measures further. The paper does tend to be more descriptive about the interface between migration and social protection rather than interpretative or explanatory. However, I feel that the article sheds new light on key ways in which migration addresses risks	We included an extra paragraph on intra-EU-mobility and national social security schemes in the section 'Transmigration challenges social work and social policies'

and social inequalities while being conducive to the development of new ones. I particularly enjoyed the discussion of the informal level and the potential of migrants' grassroots social protection.	
I would like to make a few recommendations to the authors: Page 4, line 18 - a clearer discussion of 'higher degree of temporality' could be included here as this seems to be the fundamental to the new definition of transmigration that is being employed in the paper.	We added a clarification.
Page 8, line 1 - I think this first sentence requires references or rephrasing. It is a little strident as it stands. Perhaps the authors could also clarify that they are using their narrower definition of transmigrant / transmigration in the paper (if that is indeed the case). I found the discussion of temporality and vulnerability fascinating. I wonder whether the interview material also illustrates any connections between migration trajectories and senses of loss. This section could also include references to the wide literature on migration loss and bereavement.	We rephrased the sentence. Yes, some interviews clearly indicated this. However, to remain within 8000 words, we are unable to include quotes here or to elaborate on this.
Page 11, line 55 - clunky sentence starting with 'New….' Page 11, line 58 - The purpose of including this case study on the Polish organisation is not clear to me particularly as the article has previously focused on Ghanaian, Moroccans and Brazilians.	We rephrased the sentence. We contextualized the case of Barka, as it was a clear example of new forms of transnational social work, as raised by social workers in the focusgroups.
I found the following sentence awkward: p.12 lines 16 - 17 'Transmigrants use, fight, challenge, neglect or undergo differences in European, national and regional legislations'.	We rephrased the sentence.

Transmigration. The rise of flexible migration strategies as part of superdiversity
Feedback on reviewers

The conclusion would benefit from greater attention to relevant literature on multi-level governance; perhaps on the shifting relationship between levels of government; and perhaps returning to the concept of transmigration in order to make clear which concept is being deployed in the article and provide some clarity.	At the end of the article, a new paragraph is added on transmigration & multi-level-governance.
It would be useful in the conclusion to return to the concepts of superdiversity, transmigration and multilevel governance to draw out connections	Conclusion is reformulated & a new paragraph is added on transmigration & multi-level-governance.
The article states that it is concerned with drawing out the specific vulnerabilities that emerge from the transmigrant experience (Page 4. Line 32). This is a highly promising perspective and I believe it would be worth returning to this in the conclusion to draw out where the authors have identified this taking place.	Slightly reformulated in the conclusion
Reviewer #2: Overall this was an interesting and timely article which makes some important contributions to the literature on superdiversity and migration. The paper is generally well structured and well written and provides a useful and clear introduction setting out the debates and context for the research and the research agenda and the methodology is clearly set out and appears to be rigorously undertaken. The article also refers to a range of relevant and important literature in the field. However, there are a number of ways in which the analytical and theoretical dimensions of the article could be strengthened and I set out some recommendations below.	-
Firstly, in the article it would benefit from a clearer mapping of data and themes to be explored to help the reader follow the empirical data.	

Transmigration. The rise of flexible migration strategies as part of superdiversity
Feedback on reviewers

In the early data analysis sections the reader is left wondering about the significance of the social work literature and how the narratives of the migrants will be connected to the former/ where the analysis is going. The empirical sections using migrants' narratives needs to be better integrated into the article and made to line up more explicitly with the key article arguments	
Secondly, the article could go further though in developing its theoretical contribution. This could be done in four main areas: 1) Exploring the link between transmigration and superdiversity more tightly - how do these two things fit together in this article.	
2) Showing how superdiversity lens facilitates this kind of analysis. The purchase of a superdiversity lens needs emphasising more throughout the article and should be returned to perhaps in the concluding discussion.	Conclusion has been rewritten, with a (very brief) reflection on the superdiversity lens.
3) Exploring the issue of 'newness' as a phenomenon to be dealt with at the policy level. This seems like an important dimension of the analysis but is not developed fully.	to remain within 8000 words, we are unable to include quotes here or to elaborate on this. We refer to Schrooten et al 2016
4) The issue of 'starting all over again' seems very important and merits further excavation - either in the analysis or through presenting stronger examples in the narrative data.	to remain within 8000 words, we are unable to include quotes here or to elaborate on this. We refer to Schrooten et al 2016
The article appears to be somewhat under the 8, 000 word count so I would recommend that this extra word count be used to develop some of these arguments more theoretically as suggested above - and reflect back on the findings more thoroughly in the conclusion, as well as drawing out the links between the empirical sections.	Conclusion has been rewritten

Transmigration. The rise of flexible migration strategies as part of superdiversity
Feedback on reviewers

Below I set out some more specific comments: In the methodology section while you explain the background and history of the three different migrant groups in the study, it would be useful to include a more explicit statement about how you might expect their different backgrounds to impact upon their experience in Belgium in particular?	A short clarification is added.
Page 5 line 59 - for example you state that the 'migration trajectories' of Ghanaian migrants 'made them an interesting third group' to study - can you give more insight into why they might be considered interesting?	We added that their networks especially in Brussels & Antwerp made the an interesting third case.
Page 9 line 37 - you mention that what is distinctive about transmigration is that it often 'means starting from scratch all over again' - I think you need to be more precise in distinguishing this from other more simple forms of (uni-directional) migration where this happens. Do you mean 'at frequent intervals'? Hence, the repeated task of building a new life becomes a wearing/exhausting process -you could explore the effects and implications of this repeated starting all over again experience and how it impacts upon people's lives in a more illuminating way - as this seems to be a key point in the article.	Yes, clarification added to the text. We did this in our book Schrooten et al 2016. However, to remain within 8000 words, we are unable to include quotes here or to elaborate on this.
Under the section 'Transmigrational challenges social work and social policies' - I think this part is where the more original data lies and where the article can contribute most - I really enjoyed this part. At the beginning of the empirical sections a brief over view of how the data is presented would be useful for example: beginning with exploring some of the common experiences of migrants and then move on to look at how social workers are equipped to deal with these.	We changed hat section following the suggestion of reviewer 1. We included an extra paragraph on intra-EU-mobility and national social security schemes in the section 'Transmigration challenges social work and social policies'
On page 3 line 21, it would be useful to include a critical reflection on how the 'normalisation'	Done.

of diversity might play into any problems /difficulties encountered at the policy level and for social workers.	
Page 3 line 52: the author writes 'In today's world of superdiversity' - this sentence jars slightly - can you find a more precise way to describe the situation that you take good care to set out in a more nuanced way earlier on in the article (i.e - you mention that not all neighbourhoods or cities are similarly superdiverse)	We agree that 'today's world of' was to general. Rephrased as 'in a context of'.