Project Description – Project Proposals

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Organized violence, new migration patterns, and development: A comparative study in Europe and the Americas

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Project Description

1   State of the art and preliminary work

Introduction

Understanding international migration and especially forced migration is of increasing importance in science and for societies at both national and global scales. Although the nexus of migration and development has been studied extensively since the 1990s, it is only in the last two decades that organized violence has emerged as a key factor to understand the relation between migration and development and their impacts on one another; yet its study still remains underdeveloped. In some cases, organized violence can be clearly identified as the fueling factor for international migration processes (e.g., civil wars in Central America and the Middle East or organized criminal violence). In other cases, it might be a result or side effect of migration, like in some transition countries (e.g. migration officials extorting migrants and criminal networks trafficking them in an organized way). In arrival countries, organized violence appears as illicit employment networks, homegrown terrorist cells, or xenophobic aggression by political groups (e.g., in the United States and Germany). At the same time, violence is related not only with migration, but also with development. Sometimes organized violence is an *outcome* of lack of sustainable development or of armed conflicts over resources, political power, or socio-cultural influence; at others it is the *cause* of absent development or massive migration. The interrelations between organized violence and development impact the emergence of new migration patterns differently in distinct contexts (e. g. residential migration of economically well-off strata towards 'safe' places for families or, conversely, youth emigration from regions without employment perspectives but with high rates of organized violence).

The concept of organized violence offers a promising approach for understanding new migration patterns that has not yet received adequate scholarly attention. As a category, it captures forms of violence that are difficult to grasp − empirically as well as analytically − using the conventional conceptual frameworks of organized crime, collective violence, and political violence. Given its importance for the Central and Northern American region as well as the Africa-Middle-East-Europe region, a comparative international research in both regions is promising. **Therefore, this research project will compare and contrast forms of organized violence in its interrelation with (forced) migration and (lack of) development.** The empirical study will be conducted in three micro regions in the two transit countries Turkey and Mexico, which are important migration hubs for the African-Middle-East-European and the Central-North American migration corridors.

New migration patterns and violence

Global migration patterns have changed drastically over the past decade. According to the United Nations Population Fund (UNPF 2015), the total number of migrants grew from 200 million in the year 2000 to 244 million in 2015. Migration flows have diversified, as reflected in increasingly different types of migrants that arrive at destination countries (e.g., laborers, students, temporary workers, wealthy investors, lifestyle migrants, asylum seekers, families, unaccompanied minors). Moreover, migration flows have turned increasingly complex as the conditions that produce them have changed. The role of states have also changed. The traditional distinction between migrant-

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sending and migrant-receiving countries has become blurred as the status of countries has shifted between origin, transit, and arrival. Lastly, more than ever, migration has become a top priority on political agendas. As a result, stakeholders (migrants, states, lobbyists, and advocacy groups) have intensified their efforts to influence migration policies at the local, national, and international levels.

The emergence of new networks heavily influenced by transnational interaction patterns has also shaped the dynamics of international migration in recent years. Migrant networks have led to organized cross-border civil society practices with no apparent contradiction between active transnationalism and successful social and political migrant integration in host nations (Schütze 2016). Migrant civil society organizations are increasingly visible in policy circles, expressing diverse collective identities, relationships with societies of origin and reception, organizational forms, advocacy strategies, and coalition dynamics as well as the unlinking of migration and development agendas (Bakker 2015; Fox/Gois 2010; Pries/Sezgin 2010).

Another important trend is the rise in forced, temporary, and transit migration in the Global South. The total number of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) reached 65,6 million in 2016, the highest since World War II. The distinction between forced and other types of migration has become blurred, giving way to a widespread pattern of survival migration, which occurs after someone's life and well-being are threatened due to violations of their fundamental rights (Betts 2013). Against this backdrop, the securitization of migration has become a major policy consideration in the Western Hemisphere. Worsening socioeconomic and political conditions in sending countries have rendered people desperate to leave. Simultaneously, they have created fertile ground for the emergence of a multimillion-dollar human smuggling and trafficking industry as well as heightened levels of violence carried out by transnational criminal organizations (Martin 2014) and other forms of organized violence. Global governance mechanisms have attempted, without much success, to resolve these problems and alleviate mounting migratory pressures.

While three main vectors (intraregional, transoceanic, and north-south migration) continue to define migratory movements in the Western Hemisphere, important shifts over the past decade present scholars, governments, and intergovernmental organizations with considerable challenges (Massey/Durand 2010). In the Americas, violence has reshaped earlier migration patterns. Insecurity and violence in Mexico (Ramirez-de-Garay 2014, 2016) and Central America have prompted a massive exodus of asylum seekers to the United States and Canada (Cantor 2014). From Colombia to Mexico, the war against drug trafficking organizations led to tens of thousands or even some million of internally displaced persons (Bada/Feldmann 2016). Meanwhile, violent conflicts and civil wars in the Middle East and on the African continent are substantially reshaping migration patterns to Europe (Kaya/Kıraç 2016). These have turned Germany into the second most important immigration country in the world, following the United States. Mixed migration flows sometimes follow violent conflicts, but the latter may also be fueled by migration. As an illustration, civil war and guerilla conflicts in Central America during the 1980s led to voluntary and unvoluntary emigration of labor migrants and persecuted political activists. When second generation of Central American forced migrants were sent back from their refuge e.g. in California by the US-government, some of them integrated into organized violence in Central America as Mara groups. These and other major trends invite us to rethink our understanding of the role of organized violence in its interrelation with migration and development.

The migration-development nexus

The migration-development nexus has been studied for many decades and has been on the top agenda of international debates since the late 1990s. Informed by evidence that demonstrated how the remittance transfers of migrants from developing countries often far exceed both foreign direct investment and international development aid, politicians, economists, and social scientists increasingly asked how migration dynamics could benefit development. While 'top down development aid' seemed to produce uneven, often questionable improvement, many believed that 'bottom up self-reliance by migrants' remittances' would better address the challenges of poverty, lack of employment opportunities, and extreme inequalities in regions confronting development needs (Katseli et al. 2006; Özden/Schiff 2006; UNDP 2009).

More recent research on transnational migration has increasingly attended to the circular movements of persons as well as cultural, political, and economic capital between countries of origin, transition, and destination, underlining the need to broaden the study of development from countries of origin to transnational social spaces (Basch et al. 1994; Faist et al. 2013; Massey et al. 1998; Pries 2006; Besserer 2004). Gradually, however, initial optimism gave way to more cautious assessments of the migration-development nexus, recognizing that neither remittances nor brain gain will resolve the challenges of sustainable human development (de Haas 2012; Faist 2008; Faist et al. 2011; Portes 2012; Pries 2018a oder b). Although under certain conditions migrant populations in countries of arrival are significant for development in regions of origin as agents and remitters, in many cases the brain drain originated thereby together with lack of development and organized violence lead to a vicious (downward) circle.

Traditionally, migration has been understood as a symptom of insufficient development. This 'sedentary bias' conceived of development as allowing people to remain where they were. Such an approach, however, is empirically unsustainable. It is not the poorest of the poor who migrate, but rather those with sufficient resources to permit international mobility (Skeldon 1997:8; SVR 2011:160). Additionally, as various studies have shown, migrants demonstrate relatively high levels of entrepreneurship (e.g., Chiswick 1999; Kennedy et al. 2006). Historically, migration appears to increase with industrialization processes (Massey 1998; SVR 2011:160-2). Thus, the relation between migration and development is neither inversely proportional nor linear. Instead, development appears to enable migration (de Haas 2012; Skeldon 1997). The most prominent origin countries today consist in emerging economies such as Mexico, China, India, or Turkey, which occupy middle positions in Human Development rankings (UNDESA/OECD 2013).

Recent research on the relation between migration and development has questioned previous theoretical models in the face of newly available empirical data. In the process, researchers have shifted their focus from remittances and brain-drain to more nuanced analyses of, for example, networks and diasporas, cultural norms and migration decisions, gendered considerations like domestic violence and economic independence (Herrera 2012; Pessar/Mahler 2003), or the relations between different migratory patterns and distinct development dimensions such as educational aspirations or the wellness of family members in origin countries (Clemens et al. 2014).

Empirical studies thus reject the simple view of migration as either a net gain or loss for development (Skeldon 1997:3), suggesting instead that its impact is varied, context-dependent, and contingent upon specific definitions of development and its dimensions (de Haas 2012). Such heterogeneous effects are evident, for example, in the findings of research on brain-drain, which question both 'optimistic' and 'pessimistic' theories (e.g., Kangasniemi et al. 2004; Batista et al. 2012; McKenzie et al. 2010). Similarly, the correlation between financial remittances and increased development remains unclear. Beyond their potential for increasing inequality in origin countries, remittances appear to serve less for sustainable investment and more for other forms of consumption (Skeldon 2008:8; Barajas et al. 2009). Finally, migratory processes importantly impact numerous other dimensions of change in origin countries, from demographic, sociocultural, or political processes to gender norms and educational aspirations (Mahmoud et al. 2013; Bertoli/Marchetta 2014; Levitt 2006).

The relationships between migrants and their countries of origin, moreover, can carry clear negative consequences beyond the impact of scarce human capital for consolidating state institutions or the rise in inequality brought about through remittances. Diasporas have also contributed, for example, to extreme forms of 'long-distance nationalism' (Kapur 2010). The actual influence of migration on origin countries thus depends on a range of factors. Empirical findings suggest that optimism about the relation between migration and development is often highly exaggerated (de Haas 2012). Simple dichotomies of costs versus benefits of migration do little to advance the debate. Rather than asking whether migration benefits development, researchers should inquire how, and under which circumstances, different kinds of migration impact different forms of development.

The link between organized violence, migration, and development

Unlike the nexus of migration and development, so far research and empirical evidence on the nexus of organized violence and migration or development has been relatively scarce. Recently, however, researchers and policy-makers have increasingly incorporated, both empirically and analytically, the important role of violent conflict and organized violence into studies of migration and development. To be sure, many factors may have contributed to the expansion of the M-D approach. But one particularly crucial aspect has been the growing recognition of the role of organized violence, highlighted by numerous recent developments.

In countries like Somalia, Nigeria, The Democratic Republic of the Congo, or Chad, the impact of violence and armed conflicts, together with weak states and insufficient public authority and security, has for decades been inextricably interrelated with the lack of development and with migratory processes. Since 2010/11, the so-called Arab Spring and the forms of violence (whether attributed to state authorities, social movements, or organized crime) to which it gave rise have been related to emigration from multiple Middle-Eastern and North African countries to neighboring as well as European countries. Such migratory patterns must be understood within the complex interrelations between, on the one hand, failures to meet the challenges of human development (from lacking employment opportunities, poverty, and increasing inequalities to the absence of public security and accountability or of satisfactory democratic institutions) and, on the other, various forms of organized violence (sectarian civil war, repressive states (including police brutality, bribery, corruption) and organized crime (including human, organ, arms, and drug trafficking, looting, extortion and land grabbing).

Organized violence is an endemic phenomenon in Central America as well. Although a relatively small region, for approximately five decades Central America has witnessed civil wars, military coups, guerrilla warfare, social movements against authoritarian landholders and interventions by the United States and other countries, as well as return migration from the United States. The latter, in cases of returnees rich in economic, social or cultural capital, has provided incentives for regional development; in cases of returning organized violent groups like the Maras it has led to increased violence and emigration, stifling development in Central America. The region has witnessed constellations of migratory patterns, unmet development challenges, and organized violence similar to North Africa, the Middle East, and several other world regions. Hit by disturbingly high homicide rates, gang activities, and armed violence, many Central American citizens have been forced to flee, placing their lives at risk in the process. Insufficient employment opportunities and the lack of public security, combined with organized violence, has fueled emigration through Mexico to the United States. Meanwhile, transnational gangs and returned emigrants from California to El Salvador or Guatemala have further hindered development and have provoked new waves of emigration in Central America.

Studying organized violence in relation to migration and development

During the past two decades, organized violence has emerged as a key factor in the relation between migration and development. In recent literature, the empirical scope of the concept persistently broadens. Studies have employed it to discuss state, political, criminal, paramilitary (state-sponsored), and non-state-sponsored group violence (Douglas Wilson 2006; Kolbe 2013), religious and ethnic organizations, terrorist groups, as well as criminal groups engaged in kidnapping, armed robbery, reprisal attacks, rape, and murder (Chigbu/Black 2016), or the dynamics of illegal groups in the Brazilian favelas (Arias 2007). Other works have used organized violence as the confluence of political conflict, state underdevelopment, and organized crime, which together provoke civil wars (Strazzari 2007). Such literature has struggled to link different forms of organized violence with post-cold war nationalisms (for an exemplary case, see the special issue Nationalism, Territory, and Organized Violence of the journal *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 1, 2013). The term has been extended even further to include phenomena like military violence (Basham 2011), vigilantism (Glebbeek/Koonings 2016), violence against minorities (Basedau et al. 2016) or the socially expendable (Manrique Rueda/Tanner 2016), hate crimes (Townsend et al. 2016), and even violence in sport (Schumacher Dimech et al. 2016).

Current understandings and usages of the concept of organized violence are hence at once too wide and too imprecise to capture specific social phenomena. Yet conventional concepts such as collective violence are too narrow to grasp the characteristics of organized violence. The present

project, therefore, also aims to address this important gap in the literature by developing the concept of organized violence as an empirically-grounded analytical category that could better account for violent phenomena for which current instruments prove inadequate.

In this project, we understand organized violence as the use of physical force in a collective and organized way in order to achieve collective/organized goals. Organized violence differs from collective violence in its durability while also contrasting with organized crime insofar as it appears in both legal and illegal forms. This notion of organized violence is particularly useful when brought to bear on social phenomena in which different types of violence are evident. Such, indeed, is the case of the link between organized violence, migration and development.

Tellingly, scholarly research has not yet incorporated this relation into its agenda. For example, qualitative studies in general and in particular those employing ethnographic methods to explore the relationship between violence and migration have been scarce and, in some regions (e.g., the Middle East), all but absent. In Africa, researchers have called for more complex understandings of the processes that shape violent conflicts, for example in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Carayannis 2003) or in Sudan (Grawert 2008). Yet such studies have not analyzed the relationships between violence and migratory patterns. Instead, the study of these relationships has focused on humanitarian crises and refugee flows into neighboring countries, such as Kenya, Tanzania, or the Congo, highlighting the importance of informal economies (Oka 2014) or differential impact on local political conflicts (Whitaker 2003).

Meanwhile, in Europe, migration research has been extensive, but has generally attended to questions of cultural and economic integration, as for example the emergence of transnational communities in urban settings (Kleinman 2014). Other scholars have analyzed state policies towards migration from Islamic countries (Schiffauer 2014) or how representations of migrants and refugees have shaped attitudes and policies toward migration (Holmes/Castañeda 2016). Ethnographic studies of violence and migratory flows in Europe, meanwhile, have focused on the border as a site of structural and institutional violence (Anderson 2014).

Qualitative research has been somewhat more available in Central and North America, although here too few studies have confronted the problem of violence, and none has done so from the perspective of organized violence. Thus, researchers have shown the importance of violence and insecurity related to the drug wars in motivating distinct patterns of migration within Mexico (Rios Contreras 2014) or the role of political violence in inciting internal migration (París Pombo 2014). Other studies have analyzed the effects of the drug wars on Central American migrants passing through Mexico, kidnapped and forced to become participants in criminal acts (Izcara Palacios 2015) or, more broadly, how different articulations of criminal, political, and structural violence transform their bodies into commodities (Vogt 2013). The violent trafficking of migrant bodies across borders has likewise received some scholarly attention, particularly as regards the US-Mexican border (García et al. 2007), where a mediatized "culture of fear" has provoked violent policies (Correa-Cabrera 2013). Finally, recent ethnographic studies on transit migration in Mexico have examined gendered violence (Cruz 2010; Mancillas López 2015).

We therefore conclude that current research has generally overlooked an important field where organized violence, migration, and development articulate in complex ways. Particularly significant is the impact of organized violence, which may fuel migration processes in origin countries, grow with migration in transit countries, or appear in a variety of distinct forms in arrival countries. At the same time, violence and migration come under the influence of development-related factors while, in turn, the interrelations between organized violence and development may impact the emergence of new migration patterns.

The concept of organized violence offers a promising direction for thinking about new migration patterns, yet, in contrast with the amply-studied link between migration and development, one whose explanatory potential has not yet received adequate scholarly attention. The shifting relationships between migration patterns and development provide a fruitful ground for elaborating this concept as a category capable of depicting forms of violence that are not easily grasped with more conventional conceptual frameworks.

<u>Research Team</u>

The research team consists of two institutional partners: Lateinamerika-Institut of Freie Universität Berlin and Ruhr-Universität Bochum, headed by Ludger Pries (RUB) and Stephanie Schütze (FU) as principal investigators. The two partner institutions will collaborate in this project with scholars from El Colegio de México,Universidad de Guadalajara and Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla in Mexico, Koç University and Orien-Institut Istanbul in Turkey, and the University of Illinois at Chicago in the United States.

The two PIs will be actively engaged in the implementation of the group's research program and in the organization of its activities (research stays, workshops, and publications). Each institutional partner will employ a postdoctoral researcher who will participate fully in the research program and will deliver relevant research outputs in close collaboration with the PIs. FU will employ Ximena Alba who is already collaborating in the team. In order to discuss the final research design, methods, theoretical approaches, and synergy of the research team, a part of the scholars held a workshop in Mexico City at the end of August 2016.

The research team consists of specialists in migration studies and research on violence. Recently, they have worked in the following research fields: Stephanie Schütze on migration and political transnationalism between Mexico and the United States (2016, 2017 and Bada et al. 2018), Ludger Pries on migration and refugees in Europe (2016, 2018 and Gansbergen et al. 2016). Furthermore the cooperating organizations in Mexico, Turkey and the United States are excellent research institutes with longstanding experiences and knowledge in the topics and regions. The scholars involved have worked on the following topics: Jorge Durand (Universidad de Guadalajara) on the history of Mexican migration to the United States (2016), Nitzan Shoshan (El Colegio de México) on xenophobia and right-wing movements in Europe (2016), Ximena Alba (Freie Universität Berlin) on transnational commercial migrant networks in Mexico-City (2014); Xóchitl Bada and Andreas Feldmann (University of Illinois at Chicago) on violence and forced migration (Bada and Feldmann 2016); the Migration Research Program (Koç University) and its Director, Ahmet İçduygu (2015) on Turkey as a transit country of migration; as well Raoul Motika (Orient-Institut Istanbul) on Turkey in general and e.g. on "Turkey as a migration hub" (Pusch 2011).

1.1 Project-related publications (PIs and collaborative research group responsibles)

1.1.1 Articles published by outlets with scientific quality assurance, book publications, and works accepted for publication but not yet published

- Alba Villalever, X. (2014). El barrio transnacional. In: Besserer, F. & D. Oliver (eds): Ensamblando la ciudad transnacional. Etnografía especular de los espacios transnacionales urbanos. México: UAM/ Juan Pablos Editor, pp. 195-266.
- Bada, X., A. Feldmann & S. Schütze (2018). New Migration Patterns in the Americas: Challenges for the 21st Century. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (accepted for publication).
- Durand, J. (2016). La migración México-Estados Unidos. Historia Mínima. México: El Colegio de México.
- İçduygu, A. (2015). Critical Reflections in Migration Research: Views from the South and the North. Istanbul: Koç University Press (edited with Ayşem Biriz Karaçay)
- Pries, L. (2018a). Refugees, Civil Society and the State. European Experiences and Global Challenges. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar (in print, on sale in April 2018)
- Pries, Ludger (2018b). Civil Society and Volunteering in the so-called Refugee Crisis of 2015 – Ambiguities and Structural Tensions. In: M. Feischmidt, L. Pries & C. Cantat (eds): Refugee Protection and Civil Society in Europe. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan (forthcoming)
- Pusch, B. & U. Tekin (eds) (2011). Migration und Türkei. Neue Bewegungen am Rande der Europäischen Union. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag.
- Schütze, S. (2016). Constructing transnational political spaces. The multifaceted political engagement of Mexican migrants between Chicago and Michoacán. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Schütze, S. (2017). Gender and Belonging: The Political Engagement of Mexican Migrant Leaders in Chicago. *Sociologus* 2: 152-170.
- Shoshan, N. (2016). The Management of Hate: Nation, Affect, and the Governance of Right-Wing Extremism in Germany. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

1.1.2 Other publications
1.1.3 Patents [not applicable]

2 Objectives and work program

2.1 Anticipated total duration of the project
The project will run for 36 months from 01.12.2018 to 30.11.2021.

2.2 Objectives

Organized violence is crucial for understanding new migration patterns and development. Given the complexity of the topic and its significance for Central and North America as well as Africa, the Middle East, and Europe, the research project aims to follow a transregional comparison in order to:

- Analyze organized violence from an actor perspective in its interrelations with (forced) migration and (lack of) development, especially with reference to changing migration patterns and migration governance.

- Establish a transnational research network of prestigious academic institutions working on the topic in a comparative perspective by organizing a series of international workshops.

- Produce original and primary data on the interrelation of organized violence with migration and development by implementing quantitative surveys, ethnographic fieldwork, narrative and semi-structured qualitative interviews, and document analysis.

- Distribute primary empirical data on the project's website by data archives and transcripts.

2.3 Work program incl. proposed research methods

Research questions and assumptions

Two of the world's most relevant contemporary migratory routes connect Sub-Sahara and North Africa as well as the Middle East to the European continent and Central America via Mexico to the United States and Canada. In both macro-regions, organized violence is inextricably interwoven with the dynamics of socio-economic and human development as well as with the dynamic and governance of migration. Hence, the project aims at bringing together and comparing the causal dynamics and interplay of organized violence, (lack of) development and migration (OV-M-D) along the migration routes in these two regions.

The main research question is: How are different types of organized violence interrelated with specific factors of migration and development in migrant actors' trajectories and biographies (before, during and after the migration process)?

Thereby, a crucial assumption is that experiencing and perceiving organized violence as the use of physical force in a collective and organized way in order to achieve collective/organized goals is of specific importance for migration and development given that it works as an institutional factor for actors' decision making and in social practice. This is based on the assumption that individuals, families/households and social groups develop their social praxis (at the micro level) based on *perceived* institutional settings as symbolic representations and as organizational fields.

- OV could be experienced at the **beginning** of and causing forced migration, **during** the migration process (migrant trafficking as business model) and at the (preliminary) **end** of migration (hate and xenophobic attacks etc).
- OV perceived as **legitimate** slows down emigration or even attracts immigration (state of law and organized legitimate public violence in projected countries of arrival like Germany; but also gangs and organized crime like Maras or cartels).
- OV perceived as **illegitimate** fuels emigration (state violence in Somalia, Maras in Central America; state violence against ethnic and other social groups).

- Forced migration as outcome of organized violence is **selective** as actors with high economic, cultural and social capital are more mobile.
- A combination of perceived legality and legitimacy of the use of organized violence is a precondition of sustainable development and of reducing forced migration.

Table 1: Subject and level of analysis

Subject of analysis / Level of analysis	Lack of development	Forced migration	Organized violence
Individual actors and their networks	Perceived (lack of) opportunities of work, living and security	Experiences of organized violence	Perceived (lack of) legality and legitimacy of OV
Organizations as actors	Perceived (local/regional) development agencies	Organized migrant smugglers and traffickers	Relation of legality and legimity of violent organizations
Governance of D-M-V-circle	Governance of development	Governance of migration	Governance of violence

The main thematic fields to be handled at micro (individuals and groups), meso (organizations) and macro (national states and supranational policies) levels are (see Table 2):

- *Trajectories and flows*: what are the migratory trajectories that can be observed along the two regional axes? The project is interested in developing a better understanding of how organized violence influences patterns of transnational flows in the two regions, concerning the movement of migrants but also with regard to other, licit and illicit circulations (weapons, narcotics, finance, human smuggling). In both macro-regions, migratory trajectories are intertwined with other transnational flows. A comprehensive study of the relations between migration, development, and violence will need to attend to the multiple flows within which migrants make their way.

- *Territories, places and borders*: What role do particular territories, places and borders play for the mobility and immobility of migrants? How do they reflect the dynamics of development and violence? The project is particularly interested in focusing on cities and their role in mediating these interrelations. In both macro regions, certain cities have become central nodes within broader circulations. Further, geographical and political boundaries not only diminish possibilities of mobility across them, but also generate and sustain certain modes of circulation and give rise to multiple forms of violence, whether by state authorities or by organized crime. The project will therefore examine the effects that political frontiers and geographical boundaries but also other types of limits (international legal regimes, transnational conventions, etc.) have on the interaction between migration, development, and violence.

- *Reception and representation*: How do different social contexts represent and receive migratory movements? How do they understand their relation with violence and development? We are interested in examining how the relationships between migration, violence, and development become references in local political and cultural projects in transition countries. We also ask how such reception and representation processes (xenophobic political discourse and racist violence as well as mobilizations of solidarity and support) shape and affect migration. We aim to better understand the sorts of policies and shifts in the political terrain that emerge around this nexus in distinct places and cities.

Table 2: Main thematic fields and levels

Thematic fields / Levels	Trajectories and flows	Territories, places and borders	Reception and representation
Individual actors and social groups	Role of OV+D for migration trajectories	Places, borders, territories of migration	Mental maps of migrants of OV- D-governance
Organizations as actors (of OV+M)	Role of organizations for migration trajectories	Organizational structure and networks related to OV and to M	Norms and values OV- and M-related organizational networks
Governance of migration and organized violence	Regimes of spatial mobility (labor migration, refugees etc.)	Border and transnational regimes (of access, control etc.)	Governance of M and OV, public discourse

The guiding questions of the empirical research are:

- How are the perceptions of lack of development, organized violence and forced migration represented and reconstructed in actors' migration trajectories (as sequences of persons through social positions) and biographies (as subjective reconstructions of one's life-course)?

- How are organizations (as differentiated cooperation units with membership rules and variable goals and structures) and governance (as regulations and practices of (interest)negotiations including mechanisms of control and sanctions) represented and reconstructed in actors' migration trajectories and biographies?

- How do organizations perceive the circle of lack of development, organized violence and forced migration?

- Which elements of governance structures related to migration, development and violence can be identified based on the analysis of expert interviews and ethnographic fieldwork?

Based on the review of relevant literature the following guiding assumptions could be formulated:

- In accordance with our basic analytic dimensions (trajectories, territories, and representations, see Table 2 below) the relation between OV-M-D will show different articulations. For example, while OV can be a factor fueling emigration from an origin country (forced displacement) it can also work as an attraction factor for immigration (becoming membership of Maras as profitable strategy).

- The interrelations between OV-M-D may impact the emergence of new migration patterns in different contexts and spaces like: residential migration of economically well-off strata towards 'safe' places for families or youth emigration out of regions lacking labor market perspectives but with high rates of organized violence.

- The emergence of a close relationship between organized violence and migration in turn confronts receiving countries with new challenges and impacts migration policies in important ways, for example by promoting stronger border securitization or by inciting expressions of racism and xenophobia.

- National migration governance of closing and externalizing border control fuels organized violence (e.g. of human smuggling and trafficking); stability and the effects of macro-regional and transnational migration governance depend on inter-national cooperation and transnational organizational networks.

Given the lack of comparative and systematic data on the interrelation of organized violence with migration dynamics, migration governance, and development, the project aims at producing corresponding quantitative and qualitative primary data for the two regions and making them publically accessible. Data collection will be organized directly by the research team as well as by the cooperating experienced researchers in the two countries along the selected routes. Research methodology will follow five principles:

- *Comparative research*. While each of the regions included in the research proposal presents a complex reality and a variety of methodological challenges, we believe that a comparative study of both promises to generate novel contributions to the analytical understanding of the interrelationships between OV-M-D. Both regions vary in terms of the forms of violence manifest in them, the challenges of development that they confront, and the patterns of migration within them. At the same time, they show evident similarities that indicate the value of a comparative perspective that would better expose their underlying dynamics and that would allow the elaboration of more generalizable findings.

- *Multi-scale research*. The dynamics of migration, development, and violence unfold across vast areas and respond to pressures at quite distinct scales, from international regions to nation-states or localities. A research perspective broad enough to capture them will attend to the variety of spatial scales across which they proceed. The present project thus requires empirical attention to local (cities, border crossings, transit sites), translocal (sub-national areas, transportation routes, frontiers) and transregional (large-scale geographical) scales.

- *Multi-sited research*. The processes that this project aims to understand pass through numerous sites that serve different functions and which impact in distinct manners. Research methodology will thus focus on critical sites within the two migration regions. Locations are selected to allow the investigation of different migratory flows.

- *Mixed research methods*. In order to improve its empirical purview and analytical potential, the project will employ diverse quantitative and qualitative methods and research techniques. This will permit researchers to articulate their findings across scales and between sites. In order for insights produced with different methods to mutually inform each other, quantitative and qualitative data gathering and analysis will proceed in parallel.

- *Trans-disciplinary research*. Given the previous methodological considerations, the research project requires the collaborative participation of several social science disciplines. In particular, the empirical focus on multiple geographical scales and the need to deploy distinct research methods calls for input from sociologists, anthropologists, and political scientists.

Selection of countries and micro-regions

Turkey and Mexico are important transit countries on the two most relevant contemporary migratory routes that connect Sub-Sahara and North Africa as well as the Middle East to the European continent and Central America via Mexico to the United States and Canada.

In each of the two transit countries micro-regions will be selected to maximize contrasts concerning the expected types and patterns of migration trajectories. The micro-regions subject to study represent important stages and episodes in the dynamics of OV-M-D.

For the case of the Americas data will be generated in three micro-regions in Mexico: Tapachula, Mexico-City and Tijuana. Tapachula, a city at the Southern border, is the main entrance point for migration from Central America. Mexico City, as the countries capital, was chosen, because there migrants pass through and also stay for longer periods of time on their way North. In Tijuana, a city at the Nothern border, migrants stay for short or longer periods of time until they finally pass the border to the United States.

For the case of Europe data gathering is planned in three micro-regions in Turkey: Antakaya, Istanbul and Ayvalik. In Antakya there exists a long tradition of incoming and transit migration, and since the Middle East wars the city is a hotspot for refugees, although not the capital of Turkey, Istanbul could be considered the capital of migration and refugee flows in Turkey. Ayvalik is a smaller city from where many refugees organize their way to the European Union via Greece (Lesbos).

After starting the project, all six selected places will be reconsidered according to condiserations of security and field availability. Data gathering will be done by members of the research team (2 postdocs) as well as by research groups of the cooperating partner institutions (see Table 3).

Table 3: Regions and responsible groups for data gathering

Country	Micro-regions	Responsible in team	Cooperating institutions
Mexico	Tapachula Mexico City Tijuana	FU	El Colegio de México, Universidad de Guadalajara, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, University of Illinois at Chicago
Turkey	Istanbul Antakya Ayvalik	RUB	Koç University Orient-Institut Istanbul

Methods and sampling of data gathering

The project will gather data at a micro (individuals and groups), meso (organizations) and macro (national states and supranational policies) levels applying techniques of

- standardized longitudinal survey
- ethnographic visits to immigrant shelters and organizations
- narrative biographical interviews with migrants
- semi-structured expert interviews with representatives of organizations and politicians document gathering and analysis of governance regimes

Data gathering will be organized together with partner institutions in origin, transit and destination countries, assuring field access and necessary language proficiency, including Spanish, English, Arabic, and Turkish (see Table 3 and 5.4.2).

In Mexico the language required for the fieldwork is Spanish; in Turkey it is Turkish, Arabic and English. Politicians and representatives of migrant organizations will be interviewed in Turkish or English; the migrants will be interviewed in different languages mostly Arabic. The postdocs have to present language skills of English and Spanish for the research in Mexico and of English, Turkish and/or Arabic for the research in Turkey. Postdocs from each team will coordinate and supervise survey data collection abroad and carry out qualitative field research themselves, with support from partner institutions. Research in Turkey and Mexico will be carried out by the project team, supported by external interviewers for the survey. Quantitative (survey) and qualitative (biographical and expert interviews) research will be organized independently and proceed mostly in parallel, i.e. according to a convergent parallel design (Creswell/Plano Park 2011). Interview guideline, sampling methods, and data analysis will follow the example of the Mapping Refugees Arrivals at Mediterranean Borders-Project (MAREM, where PI Ludger Pries has four years of experience gathering this kind of data). Results from each will be brought together at the phase of analysis and interpretation, allowing for a fuller understanding of the relationships between organized violence, migration patterns and development dynamics.

Standardized retrospective longitudinal survey data will be gathered in all 6 micro-regions (see Table 1) drawing on the experience of the MPI für Bildungsforschung (Mayer 2015) and the Mexican Migration Project (MMP), where the cooperation partner Jorge Durand has years of involvement in designing and applying survey instruments and sampling strategies. One key aspect of the MMP is that interviewers read and explain questions to the interviewees, enhancing response rates and reducing language difficulties. The specific survey instrument and the sampling methods will be developed during the first months. In each micro-region some 50 survey interviews with migrants will be gathered, reaching a total of 300 survey interviews.

Ethnographic fieldwork will be conducted in each micro region in Mexico and Turkey for three months. This includes participant observation in immigrant shelters and organizations as well as visits to governmental institutions. An important method of ethnographic fieldwork is keeping a field diary about the observations in migrant camps and organizations and on conversations with migrants, representatives of organizations and politicians. The ethnographic observation will be accompanied by biographical interviews with migrants and expert interviews with representatives of migrant organizations and politicians.

Qualitative narrative biographical interviews will be conducted with 10 migrants in each of the 6 micro-regions according mainly to the concept of Rosenthal (2015; Rosenthal et al. 2016) and adapted to our field and to the multi-language requirements of participating teams and interviewees. They will allow insights into in-depth subjective experiences of a focused biographical nature more suitable in this sensitive context than other narrative interview methods. Sampling strategies, sample stratification and interview guidelines will be standardized across the teams and, at the same time, remain open for specificities. **Thus, the total number of biographical interviews will be 60**.

In each of the micro-regions, **semi-structured expert interviews** (Meuser/Nagel 2008) with four representatives of migration and refugee-related non-governmental organizations will be conducted in order to produce data about governance issues related to civil society organizations on the one hand, and on the other hand to obtain a diversity of expert perspectives on organized

violence and migratory patterns. Taken together, **24 expert interviews with representatives migrant organizations** will be gathered.

The governance structure of each of the micro-regions concerning migration and organized violence will be analyzed based on organization-related and additional expert interviews with four politicians (taken together **24 expert interviews with politicians**) and **document gathering and analysis** based on legal stipulations, governmental reports, material of international and non-governmental organizations, as well as scientific bodies.

Data documentation and analysis

Once the different kinds of data have been gathered, their systematic documentation and analysis will be organized in the following way:

- Standardized retrospective longitudinal survey data: Multivariate analysis and event-oriented comparative analyses; later upload on website.
- Ethnographic visits to immigrant shelters and organizations: write-up of field reports, standardization of dimensions and structure, comparative synthesis.
- Biographical interviews with migrants: transcription, thematic coding and comparative analysis according to Flick (1996, 2007) and Rosenthal (2015); verifying what could be uploaded according to established standards (see data handling below). Interviews held in Arabic (or other) language will translated to English.
- Semi-structured expert interviews with representatives of organizations: selective transcription and content analysis according to Gläser and Laudel (2000); systematic documentation of each organization and comparative analysis.
- Semi-structured expert interviews with politicians and document analysis of governance regimes: selective transcription of interviews and content analysis according to Gläser and Laudel (2000).

Each part of data collection and analysis will provide relevant results, whether about generalized experiences and trajectories (survey), subjective experiences (biographical interviews and ethnographic visits), or support structures and governance regimes and provisions (expert interviews and document analysis). The convergent design chosen here will allow to bring together complementary dimensions around the question of how violence reshapes contemporary migration patterns and development dynamics in countries of origin, transit and arrival.

Work plan and time table

The research team is planning the following activities:

Fieldwork: Through quantitative and qualitative data, the research team will elaborate case studies in different transit sites in Mexico and Turkey. Each institutional partner will conduct quantitative data through surveys and qualitative fieldwork in one country: Freie Universität Berlin will be in charge of the Mexican migration corridor and Ruhr-Universität Bochum of the Turkish migration corridor. The fieldwork stays and the data gathering will be supported by the collaborating institutions in Mexico, the United States and Turkey which will assist especially the conduction of the quantitative survey. Fieldwork in each site will have an total extension of three months.

Workshops: The research team will organise two team meetings and two international workshops in which the joint research will be discussed and coordinated. The first team meeting will be held at the beginning of the research project at Ruhr-Universität Bochum in December 2018. Here, the research team will discuss preliminary findings and the research outline. The first international workshop will be held in El Colegio de México in Mexico City in 2019 after two periods of research stays. Here, all collaborating scholars from Mexico, the United States and Turkey will be invited to discuss the first results of the fieldwork. The second team meeting will be held at Freie Universität Berlin in 2020. The concluding international workshop will be held in Turkey in 2021. Here, the collaborating scholars from Mexico and the United States will be invited to discuss the final results of the three working groups.

Publications: An important outcome from the first international workshops will be a joint publication in a reviewed journal (special issue) with the collaborating institutions. The last year will also be dedicated to the publishing of an edited volume with the final results of the project.

Conference visits: The research group is planning to organize panels in European and American conferences. These panels will be organized in conjunction with colleagues from the other collaborating institutions.

Website: The research group will establish a website and a virtual platform for collecting and exchanging empirical data, relevant literature, and work in progress.

Table 4: Work plan and time table

Month/Year	Activities	Institutions
12/2019	• Concept specification and detailed operationalization • Elaboration of the website and virtual platform • Team meeting in Bochum	FU, RUB
01-02/2020	Preparing first phase of fieldwork • Elaboration of quantitative questionnaire • Development of interview guidelines • Detailed planning of micro-regions+sampling • Preparation of field access/gate keepers	FU, RUB
03-05/2020	First phase of fieldwork • Turkey (Istanbul) • Mexico (Mexico-City)	RUB, KoçU, Orient-Institut FU, Colmex, UDG, BUAP
06-08/2020	• Data analysis and documentation • Preparing workshop at Colmex	FU, RUB
09/2020	• International Workshop with cooperating institutions at Colmex, Mexico • Preparing special Issue in reviewed journal	FU, RUB, BUAP Colmex, UDG, UIC KoçU, Orient-Institut
10-12/2019	Second phase of fieldwork • Mexico (Tapachula) • Turkey (Antakya)	FU, Colmex, BUAP, UDG, UIC RUB, KoçU, Orient-Institut
01-03/2020	• Team meeting in Berlin • Data analysis and documentation • Work on Special Issue in Reviewed Journal • Preparing third phase of fieldwork	FU, RUB
04-06/2020	Third phase of fieldwork • Mexico (Tijuana) • Turkey (Ayvalik)	FU, Colmex, UDG, BUAP, UIC RUB, KoçU, Orient-Institut
07-12/2020	• Data analysis and documentation • Preparation of book publication	FU, RUB
01/2021	• International Workshop with cooperating institution at Koç University, Turkey	FU, RUB KoçU, Orient-Institut Colmex, UDG, UIC
02-11/2021	• Work on book publication • Presentation at Latin American Studies Association Conference • Presentation at European Sociological Association Conference	FU, RUB KoçU, Orient-Institut Colmex, UDG, BUAP, UIC
9-11/2021	• Work on book publication • Preparing for stabilizing the international research network (further fund acquisition for second research period) • Writing final report	FU, RUB KoçU, Orient-Institut Colmex, UDG, BUAP, UIC

2.4   Data handling

A data management plan for both quantitative and qualitative data collection, analysis, and publication will be jointly elaborated at the beginning of the project in accordance with national and institutional requirements for data protection of all participating institutions. Data handling will draw on DDI3 (data documentation initiative) advances. One main aim of the first project meeting will be the elaboration of a joint data management plan and a shared protected online platform.

2.5   Other information [not applicable]
2.6   Descriptions of proposed investigations involving experiments on humans, human materials or animals [not applicable]
2.7   Information on scientific and financial involvement of international cooperation partners [not applicable]

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4 Requested modules/funds
4.1 Basic Module
4.1.1 Funding for Staff

The postdoctoral researchers will participate in all of the academic events of the research program (workshops, meetings, fieldwork trips, publications etc.). They will be in charge of the data gathering in close collaboration with the PIs. Each of the partner institutions will also employ a student assistant to support the PIs and the postdocs with the organization, the data analysis, and the maintenance of the website of the project.

FU Schütze, Stephanie

Research Personnel	Explanation	1. Year	2. Year	3. Year	Total costs
Postdoc researcher	100 %	69.900,00 €	69.900,00 €	69.900,00 €	209.700,00 €
Student assistant	20 hrs. per week	13.500,00 €	13.500,00 €	13.500,00 €	40.500,00 €
Total					**250.200,00 €**

RUB Pries, Ludger

Research Personnel	Explanation	1. Year	2. Year	3. Year	Total costs
Postdoc researcher	100 %	69.900,00 €	69.900,00 €	69.900,00 €	209.700,00 €
Student assistant	19 hrs. per week	15.497,76 €	15.497,76 €	15.497,76 €	46.493,28 €
Total					**256.193,28 €**

4.1.2 Direct Project Costs

4.1.2.1 Equipment up to €10,000, Software and Consumables

The fieldwork trips require a portable computer as well as digital voice recorders for recording the interviews. For the analysis of the data we will use atlas.ti software.

FU

1 notebook for fieldwork trips	800,00 €
1 digital voice recorder	250,00 €

Licenses for atlas.ti (individual) and SPSS (indiv.)		505,00 €
Total		**2.150,00 €**

RUB

1 notebook for fieldwork trips		800,00 €
1 digital voice recorder		250,00 €
Licenses for atlas.ti (individual) and SPSS (indiv.)		505,00 €
Total		**2.150,00 €**

4.1.2.2 Travel Expenses

Fieldwork trips costs

Fieldwork trips of postdocs for cooperation, supervision, and participation with partner institutions of survey and data gathering for qualitative interviews.

FU: 3 fieldwork trips for 3 months each

Position	Explanation	Costs 2019	Costs 2020	Total costs
Flight	Berlin – Mexico (3 flights) Mexico – Tapachula (2019) Mexico – Tijuana (2020)	2 x 1.200,00 € 200,00 €	1.200,00 € 300,00 €	4.100,00 €
Lodging	Apartment rent (1 room) Aprox. 800€ monthly	4.800,00 €	2.400,00 €	7.200,00 €
Maintenance	Local transport, Health insurance, provisions etc.	4.800,00 €	2.400,00 €	7.200,00 €
Total				**18.500,00 €**

RUB: 3 fieldwork trips for 3 months each

Position	Explanation	Costs 2019	Costs 2020	Total costs
Flight	Bochum – Turkey (3 flights)	2 x 500,00 €	500,00 €	1.500,00 €
Lodging	Apartment rent (1 room) Aprox. 800€ monthly	4.800,00 €	2.400,00 €	7.200,00 €
Maintenance	Local transport, provisions etc.	4.800,00 €	2.400,00 €	7.200,00 €
Total				**15.900,00 €**

Conference Costs

Conference participation	Explanation (costs for 1 person)	For FU	For RUB
Latin American Studies Association (in Latin America)	Flight, registration, hotel for 4 nights, allowances	2.000,00 €	
European Sociological Conference (in Europe)	Flight, registration, hotel for 4 nights, allowances		800,00 €
Total		**2.000,00 €**	**800,00 €**

4.1.2.3 Visiting Researchers (excluding Mercator Fellows) [not applicable]
4.1.2.4 Expenses for Laboratory Animals [not applicable]

4.1.2.5 Other Costs

FU: Survey/interview data gathering and transcription in Mexico

Position	Explanation	Total costs
Quantitative survey	25 € per interview (150 interviews)	3.750,00 €
Qualitative data (biographical interviews)	Transcripts (1,40 € per interview minute), 30 interviews (approx. 60 min.)	2.520,00 €
Qualitative data (expert-interviews)	Transcripts, 24 interviews (approx. 45 min.)	1.512,00 €
Total		**7.782,00 €**

RUB: Survey/interview data gathering, transcription and translation in Turkey

Position	Explanation	Total costs
Quantitative survey	25 € per interview (150 interviews)	3.750,00 €
Qualitative data (biographical interviews)	Transcripts (1,40 € per interview minute), 30 interviews (approx. 60 min.)	2.520,00 €
Translation costs for narrative interviews (Arabic or other to English)	Translation of 30 interviews (300 € per interview)	9.000,00 €
Qualitative data (expert-interviews)	Transcripts, 24 interviews (approx. 45 min.)	1.512,00 €
Total		**16.782,00 €**

4.1.2.6 Project-related publication expenses

FU: Publication costs

Proof reading for special issue in reviewed journal and other journal articles	2.250,00 €

RUB: Publication costs

Proof-reading for edited volume	2.250,00 €

4.1.3 Instrumentation [not applicable]
4.2 Module Temporary Position for Funding [not applicable]
4.3 Module Replacement Funding [not applicable]
4.4 Module Temporary Clinician Substitute [not applicable]
4.5 Module Mercator Fellows [not applicable]

4.6 Module Workshop Funding

RUB: December 2018 Team meeting in Bochum (2 days)

Position	Explanation	Costs (1 person)	Total costs
1 PI, 1 postdoc and 1 student assistant from Berlin	Travel expenses	400,00 €	1200,00 €
2 coffee breaks, 2 lunch, menus 2 dinner	for 6 participants	5 €, 20 €, 30 €	660,00 €
Total			**1.860,00 €**

FU: September 2019 International Workshop in Mexico (2 days)

Position	Explanation	Costs (1 person)	Total costs
8 guests from Europe (including PIs and postdocs from Germany)	Travel expenses	2.000,00€	16.000,00€
2 guests from USA	Travel expenses	800,00 €	1.600,00€
2 coffee breaks, 2 lunch, menus 2 dinner	For 12 participants	5€, 20€, 30€	1.320,00 €
Total			**18.920,00 €**

FU: February 2020 Team meeting in Berlin (2 days)

Position	Explanation	Costs (1 person)	Total costs
1 PI, 1 postdoc and 1 student assistant from Bochum	Travel expenses	400,00 €	1200,00 €
2 coffee breaks, 2 lunch, menus 2 dinner	for 6 participants	5 €, 20 €, 30 €	660,00 €
Total			**1.860,00 €**

RUB: January 2021 International workshop in Turkey (2 days)

Position	Explanation	Costs (1 person)	Total costs
2 PIs and 2 postdocs from Germany	Travel expenses	800,00€	3.200,00€
2 guests from USA	Travel expenses	2.000,00 €	4.000,00€
2 guests from Mexico	Travel expenses	2.000,00 €	4.000,00€
2 coffee breaks, 2 lunch, menus 2 dinner	For 12 participants	5€, 20€, 30€	1.320,00 €
Total			**12.520,00 €**

4.7   Module Public Relations Funding

A website will be established for collecting and exchanging empirical data, relevant literature, and work in progress.

FU: Website

Development of website for project	3.000,00€

5   Project requirements

5.1   Employment status information
Pries, Ludger, Ph.D., Professor, Ruhr-Universität Bochum
Schütze, Stephanie, Ph.D., Professor (2015-2020, renewable contract), Freie Universität Berlin

5.2   First-time proposal [not applicable]

5.3   Composition of the project group
Jorge Durand, Ph.D., Professor, Universidad de Guadalajara
Nitzan Shoshan, Ph.D., Professor, El Colegio de México
Óscar Calderón, PhD., Professor, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla
Xóchitl Bada, Ph.D., Professor, University of Illinois at Chicago
Andreas Feldmann, Ph.D., Professor, University of Illinois at Chicago
Ahmet İçduygu, Ph.D., Professor, Koç Universit
Raoul Motika, Ph.D., Professor, Orient-Institut Istanbul
Mirza Aguilar Ph.D., Professor, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla
Jazmín García , PhD., Professor , Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla
Marisol Pérez Ph.D., Professor, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla

5.4   Cooperation with other researchers

5.4.1 Researchers with whom you have agreed to cooperate on this project
Laura Velasco, Ph.D., Professor, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF), Mexico
Tania Cruz, Ph.D., Professor, El Colegio de la Frontera Sur (ECOSUR), Mexico
Ayan Kaya, Bilgi University, Turkey
Ferruccio Pastore, International and European Forum on Immigration Research (FIERI), Italy

5.4.2 Researchers with whom you have collaborated scientifically within the past three years
Petra Bendel, Universität Erlangen
Claudia Diehl, Universität Konstanz
Marianne Braig, Freie Universität Berlin
Ingrid Kummels, Freie Universität Berlin

5.5   Scientific equipment [not applicable]
5.6   Project-relevant cooperation with commercial enterprises [not applicable]
5.7   Project-relevant participation in commercial enterprises [not applicable]

6. Additional information [not applicable]