Global Nomads or Temporary Citizens

Transnational Mobility of 'Middling' Iranians

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Introduction

On the last day of 1970 in New York, Sohrab Sepehri, an influential figure in Iranian modern poetry and painting, wrote in a letter to a friend:

> I have always thought that the day will come when I finally feel settled, and am where I belong. Then, I can lighten up, be focused and achieve that ultimate and rare closeness in my ties with my friends. But my relation with my surroundings has always been *thin*. Even in Tehran, when I used to sit in my room, while writing, I would sometimes suddenly feel bewildered and anxious. A strange sense would take away my confidence. It crossed my mind that the place for writing is elsewhere. But is there such a place that belongs to me? I don't think so. One should abandon such baseless expectations. One should be able to write poetry in a hostel room. Even on a bench in a park one should write stories (Sepehri 2007, 65 *translated from Persian and emphasis added*).

Sepehri has expressed similar feelings in letters to friends and family written from Tokyo, London, Delhi, Paris, Rome, and Tehran (ibid). Poetry and literature has always been dear to Iranians' heart (Editorial of Iranian Folklore Quarterly Vol. 2, No: 1, 2003). Using a Saidian method of cultural study on Iranian art and literature of the past 200 years, Hamid Dabashi sums up his findings with reference to a great Iranian classical poet: 'Sa'di is quintessential to Iranian culture because he was an itinerant poet, known for the mobility of his intelligence. Just like Sa'di, Iran can be identified only as a set of mobile, circumbulatory, projectile, and always impermanent propositions' (2007, 16).

Persepolis, an animated book (and now a successful motion picture) by Marjane Satrapi, tells the story of her transnational mobility as a young Iranian girl. This story is very familiar to many Iranian migrants of the middle and upper-middle classes who chose to leave the restrictions of post-revolutionary Iran in search of better life chances, but found it hard to settle down abroad. It reminds us of the same notions of uprooted and deterritorialised identity; an identity that can be compared to the understudied side of Iranian history: its nomadic heritage. The similarities between the conditions causing these mobile lifestyles, forms and patterns with the old nomadic

ones , persuade one to call the emerging forms after the old and try to learn some lessons from the old to help with the problems and challenges faced by 'global nomads' (Ghoddousi 2005, 63).

The above pieces are meant to set the background for the current study on the recurrence of a nomadic element in the mobility of at least parts of the multitudes of Iranian transnational migrants (for some figures on these migrations see context of study below).

In the context of rapid urbanisation in the South and the changing role of these cities in the hierarchy of world capitalism, new forms of migration are emerging. Is the concept of nomadism still applicable to the transient settlement patterns that are becoming visible in the global urban scene?

This work is intended to be first and foremost a literature review in search of relevant theoretical frameworks in order to explain these forms of mobility and draw their relations with the concept of nomadism. Nomadism is seen here as a 'transhistorical analytical concept' (AlSayyad and Roy 2006) to help explain some aspects of the hybrid/alternative forms of citizenship that is emerging among transnational migrants by using analytical tools similar to those developed for studying nomadic pastoralism.

I will then engage in an experimental study in order to develop the appropriate research methods for an ethnographical research. I will try to build bridges that would link the theoretical findings of the first section with these ethnographies. The candidates chosen here for applying these experimental methods are a group of highly skilled 'middling'[1] Iranians. The choice of interviews/questionnaires are only to illustrate the applicability of the qualitative research methods and are not sufficient for testing the validity of theories which is a task to be carried out in a much broader research, but engaging in this iterative/experimental practice is supposed to help in identifying the best candidates for the modern forms of 'nomadism' and pave the way for future studies.

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[1] The term 'middling' is borrowed from Conradson and Latham's study on young transmigrants from New Zealand: 'They are often, but not always, well educated. They may come from wealthy families, but more often than not they appear to be simply middle class. In terms of the societies they come from and those they are traveling to, they are very much of the middle' (2005, 229).

Theoretical frameworks

<u>**Migration, Globalisation and Transnationalism**</u>

In an attempt to explain the transnational mobility of middling Iranians there are a number of theoretical frameworks that can be used. First and foremost are existing migration theories. Existing theories on migration can be generally divided into three groups based on their overarching approaches: 1) neoclassical/equilibrium approaches that focus on individual agency of migrants in face of wage differentials, 2) structuralist/Marxist approaches which focus on effects of spatial distribution of economic activities on migration, and 3) structuration approaches that take a middle stand between the macro-level structural approaches and micro-level individual choices; the latter later evolved into what came to be called 'household strategies' approach (Chant 2003, 228). Although the latter is superior to the first two approaches, Chant admits that it can still be problematic since many migrants make their migration decisions individually or they might be affected by broader kin or non-kin networks; the 'strategies' approach can also pose problems because many such decisions have an ad-hoc or spontaneous nature instead of being carefully planned by migrants in ample time (ibid, 229-30)

In a review and appraisal of theories of international migration by Massey *et al* (1993) we find a number of theoretical approaches that seek to explain how migration flows initiate and perpetuate. Some of these theories are especially helpful for our task when they are combined with theories on nomadism and mobility that will be introduced later in this section. The new economics of migration is one of these theories that go beyond the neoclassical model to find the reasons for migration in the households' need for risk minimisation in the face of various market failures:

> In developed countries, risks to household income are generally minimised through private insurance markets or governmental programmes, but in developing countries these institutional mechanisms for managing risk are imperfect, absent, or inaccessible to poor families, giving them incentives to diversify risks through migration (ibid, 436).

Another theoretical framework that has been used in this study is *World systems theory* that may be categorised as one of the structuralist approaches as introduced above. This theory explains the migration flows as a result of the global expansion of capitalist economic relations into peripheral societies (ibid 444). More specifically a part of this theory focuses on *global cities* as a number of urban centres managing the world economy (Castells, 1989; Sassen, 1991 cited in ibid 447). Among these cities are New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Miami in the United States; London, Paris, Frankfurt, and Milan in Europe; and Tokyo, Osaka, and Sydney in the Pacific. By becoming the centres for capitalist economy (i.e. finance) and its related producer services (i.e. law firms, advertising consultants, etc.), these global cities create a bifurcated labor market structure that attracts both high skill and low skill workers (ibid). These cities often compete with one another as 'learning regions'— vibrant hubs for knowledge and art — in order to attract the talented 'creative class' from around the globe (Florida 1995, 2002).

The role of social networks in migration

The other theory introduced by Massey *et al* to explain the forces that perpetuate migration flows is *Network theory.* 'Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin' that reduce the cost and risk of migration as a form of social capital (loc cit, 448). Since social networks form an important part of our focus in this essay I will engage further into this topic through the works of Koser and Urry.

Social networks can have opposite effects on the decision to migrate. Three different hypotheses in this regard have been applied by Koser in a study on Iranian asylum-seekers in Netherlands to show the effect of networks on selective migration: 1) *the affinity hypothesis* shows that the density of friends and family in the sending country reduces the motivation for individual migration, 2) *the information hypothesis* focuses on the way that information provided by return migrants and those abroad promotes further migration, 3) *the facilitating hypothesis* shows the effect of networks on facilitating migration through lowering costs directly (financial support) or indirectly (reducing costs in destination) (Koser 1997, 597). Koser's work focused on one-way migration paths of asylum-seekers, but if we expand our view to include more complex patterns of mobility, the opposite effects of globally scattered social networks may be helpful in

explaining more complex mobility patterns of transnational 'middling' Iranians (the role of mobility on activating network capital will be explained further down).

The culture of migration

Cumulative causation is another theory that focuses on how the social context is altered by past migrations in a way that encourages further migration. One of the socioeconomic factors of this theory relevant to our discussion is *the culture of migration.* This theory explains how continuation of migration eventually affects 'values and cultural perceptions' within the sending society to the extent that migration sometimes turns into a rite of passage for young men and women; experience of migration also changes 'tastes and motivations' of the migrants themselves (i.e. on consumerism or social mobility) in ways that increases the likelihood of repeated migration where 'the odds of taking an additional trip rise with the number of trips already taken' (Massey *et al*, 452).

But as helpful as these accounts of globalisation, migration, and transnationalism are, they do not seem to be sufficient in explaining the complexities of the 'transnational practices' (Sklair 2002) of agents that are less static or settled.

> If we recognise that movement and mobility are as important to the functioning of contemporary societies as stasis and fixity, then we need to develop concepts that explicitly encompass this… social relations ordered through mobility are different to those structured around emplacement or relative stasis. People on the move will likely employ different strategies for maintaining connection with their significant others, for instance. They may develop a sense of 'being at home' in the world despite relatively transient connections to particular places; certainly their lifestyle is likely to disrupt the familiar association between psycho-social security and being embedded in a geographical locality (Conradson and Latham 2005b, 288).

Mobility, Citizenship and Freedoms

> Mobility is one of the aspects of freedom, and as such it is something new and exciting for women: being free to move around, to go where one wants to is a right that women have only just started to gain (Rosi Braidotti 1994: 256 in Urry 2007, 185).

The prevalence of different forms of mobility in determining social relations and their relation to issues of citizenship and social inequalities is best shown by the mobilities paradigm developed by John Urry (2007). He shows that while mobilities are not new, their following aspects are certainly new:

> the scale of movement around the world, the diversity of mobility systems now at play, … the elaborate interconnections of physical movement and communications, the development of mobility domains that bypass national societies, the significance of movement to contemporary governmentality and an increased importance of multiple mobilities for people's social and emotional lives (ibid, 195).

One of the effects of such mobilities is the 'hollowing out' of national social domain or 'civil *society* and its organising power over both the life-chances *and* the life-styles of its "members"' (ibid). While we're moving from the 'golden age of national capitalism' into a global 'disorganised capitalism', this hollowing out is changing the static and normative concept of citizenship which used to be based on a single national identity. This happens in two ways: 1) 'many citizenships and identities proliferate, competing and in cases undermining a national identity and citizenship' (including the rights to enter, remain, and receive rights and duties in another society; consumer citizenship; mobility citizenship; and various identities of gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, generation and so on) (ibid 189-190), 2) 'the idea of national citizenship loses some ground to more universal models of membership located within a de-territorialised notion of a person's universal rights' (i.e. 'rights to movement and the rights to an ecological citizenship concerned with the citizenship of the earth') (ibid). Furthermore, the formal concept of citizenship that in Marshal's view was essentially based on a 'direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilisation which is a common possession' (Marshal [1950] 1977, 101 cited from Holston 1999, 168), is now 'problematic, especially in the context of the massive urban migrations of recent decades' (ibid).

In assessing citizenship and inequality through a mobilities lens it is important not to get fixated on physical mobilities at the price of their real social relations (this is analogous to Marx's warning against commodity fetishism instead of focusing on 'real' social relations of capitalism)

(ibid, 196-197). In order to make sure that 'the speed of transport systems is not confused with a heightened significance of movement in social life', Kaufmann introduces the term 'motility' or 'potential for movement' that can be defined as 'the way in which an individual appropriates what is possible in the domain of mobility and puts this potential to use for his or her activities' (Kaufmann 2002, 37 in ibid, 38).

Network capital and mobility

These social consequences of mobilities are best formulated by the concept of 'network capital' or 'the capacity to engender and sustain social relations with those people who are not necessarily proximate and which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit' (ibid, 197). These benefits are 'over and above and non-reducible to the benefits derived from what Bourdieu terms economic and cultural capital (1984)' (ibid); network capital is also distinct from the concept of social capital developed by Putnam that is fostered in propinquitous communities like small towns or tight-knit neighbourhoods (ibid 198-199). Putnam correlated social capital with stronger economic development and regretted its decline due to 'widespread growth of TV, urban sprawl and more extensive travel' but his thesis is now subject to three criticisms: 1) 'recent research has deconstructed the notion that local cultures and places are fixed and sedentarist (Albrow 1997; Durrschmidt 1997; Urry 2000, …). Places are constructed through, as Clifford says, routes as well as roots (1997; Massey 1994a, 1994b). Travel is central to communities, even those characterised by relatively high levels of apparent propinquity and communion' (ibid). 2) 'Florida shows how social networks of casual friends among mobile city-dwellers can generate social capital. In what Florida calls "the creative class", youngish well educated people prefer tolerant and diverse communities of principally weak ties and seek to escape Putnam's preferred tight-knit small-town communities (2002: 269)' (ibid) 3) 'it is implausible to argue that trust and reciprocity is only generated within propinquitous communities… Social capital can depend upon the range, extent and modes of mobility. Physical travel is especially important in facilitating … face-to-face co-present conversations' (ibid, 200). The importance of face-to-face communication had been emphasised by 'Simmel's analysis of how the eye is a unique "sociological achievement" …creating the "most complete reciprocity" of person to person' (Simmel 1997, 111-112 in ibid, 235). It is interesting to see how this complete reciprocity that was also what Sepehri was yearning for in his letter in 1970s, is still

based on in the necessity of face-to-face meeting in our age of advanced communication and transport technologies.

All the above discussions on mobility, citizenship and migrations are still unable to fully explain another possible aspect of the mobility of 'middling' Iranians. This will be the subject of the next section on nomadism and nomadology — concepts that are borrowed from disciplines of anthropology and philosophy.

Nomadism/Nomadology

> In one pat of the word after another we see that the world of the nomad may be different from that of his sedentary neighbour, but only because it conforms to a different set of rules. And nomads never truly disappear, they only change their campsites. It is we sedentary folk who need to widen our horizons (Barfield 1993, 218).

14th century Arab social historian, Ibn Khaldun, was the first to put the nomadic (Bedouin) mode of existence ('as a lifestyle, not as an ethnic group') as a complimentary force of history in contrast with 'sedentary existence or city living' (Deleuze and Guattari 1986, 128). He delved into the sociological concept of *esprit de corpse* (group solidarity or *Açabiyah* in his term) as the main attribute that gave the untamed nomadic societies the power to conquer sedentary societies when they were in the state of decay after passing their natural peaks as the centres of cultural and industrial inventiveness (Rosenthal 1981).

Parallel to this binary view is the philosophical concept of nomadology that posits the nomad as a war machine that occupies the soft spaces, undermining the authority of the state apparatus that in turn tries to striate the space, a space geometrically referenced by coordinates and parallel lines that make control and surveillance much easier (Deleuze and Guattari 1986):

> Deleuze and Guattari elaborate on the implications of nomads, external to each state (1986:49-53). Nomads characterise societies of de-territorialisation, constituted by lines of flight rather than by points or nodes. They maintain that: "the nomad has no points, paths or land…If the nomad can be called the Deterritorialised *par excellence,* it is

precisely because there is no reterritorialisation *afterwards* as with the migrant" (1986: 52)' (Urry 2007, 33).

Urry rightly finds this concept a 'neo-vitalism' (ibid); but there are reasons to believe that Ibn Khaldun and Deleuze and Guattari had deliberately chosen these ideal-types based on 'pure' forms of nomadism in order to define conceptual binary forces interacting in a dialectical model. We see that most references of Ibn Khaldun are to Bedouins (camel herders of Arabia) and Deleuze and Guattari base many of their references to the War Machine on the Mongolian steppe nomads (Rosenthal 1981; Deleuze and Guattari 1986). But we know from anthropological studies that pastoral nomadism[2] can be divided into five main categories that the above two might present the most radical or pure forms among them. These five types are introduced by Barfield based on their 'key animals' and their cultural/ecological areas: 1) Cattle raisers south of Sahara, 2) desert zone Saharan or Arabian camel-herders, 3) sheep and goat herders of the Iranian plateau, 4) Eurasian horse riding Mongols, and 5) yak raisers of high altitude Tibetan plateau and the neighbouring mountains (Barfield 1993, 11). M. B. Rowton introduces some interesting characteristics of nomadism in Western Asia (type 3 above) that is different from Central Asia and Arabia in being 'based on enclaves within the sedentary zone or on its fringe', this is what Lattimore called 'enclosed nomadism' (Rowton 1973, 201). He goes on further to describe this 'urban anatomy in a nomadic environment' as 'politics of a hybrid type which represent a curious blend of city-state, tribe and nomadism… At times when the states in the sedentary zone weakened, these pastoral enclaves would tend to expand, bringing cities of substance within the realm of the nomad' (ibid). He uses the term 'dimorphic', borrowed from French writers, to name this structure defined as 'the double process of interaction between nomad and sedentary, between tribe and state' (ibid, 202). This situation takes place partly because in these cases nomadic and sedentary habitats are geographically interspersed and they are also interdependent in economic, social and political terms; Barfield calls these nomads 'the least romantic and most businesslike of the nomadic regions of the world' living with their sedentary neighbours in a constant state of 'conflict and coexistence' in which they 'had

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[2] We should note here that although often used interchangeably, nomadism and pastoralism are two distinct terms, 'the former referring to movement and the latter to a type of subsistence' (Barfield 1993, 4). Following Ibn Khaldun and Deleuze and Guattari we have only tried to add nuances to their analytical frameworks, otherwise it may be fruitful to study other forms of nomads like hunter-gatherers and gypsies for more insights into current patterns of transnational mobitliy.

extremely complex economic relations with sedentary towns and villages' to buy their much needed agricultural products from farmers and rent the stubbles after harvest but were in conflict with them during spring and summer migrations (loc cit, 16, 93, 98). This relationship with the outside world was also a determinant of the nomadic political organisation that 'mirrored in sophistication the organisation of the neighbouring sedentary peoples with whom they interacted' (ibid).

Possible theoretical interpretations

Adopting this more moderate view of nomadism may open a number of new possibilities in interpretations based on the concepts of nomadism and nomadology in the case of Iranian transmigrants.

If we can draw an analogy between the old 'dimorphic structure' of city-states and their hinterlands occupied by the nomads and the current global position of a network of cities in the core of global economy in relation to the peripheral areas (Sassen 2002, 2006), then we can come up with a number of interesting theoretical conjectures.

One such interpretation is the application of the concept of nomadic occupation of soft spaces to the Iranian transnmigrants in an attempt to negotiate their rights and freedoms through mobility. migration flows may be interpreted as moving away from authorities of states and into interstices of translocal spaces of autonomy. Navigating between two spheres of power in the context of building an Iranian modernity is best shown by Dabashi:

> 'contemporary Iran needs to be understood as the site of an ongoing contest between two contrasting visions of modernity, one colonial, the other anticolonial…predicated on Iranians' struggles against "domestic tyranny" and "against the colonial robbery of the moral and material foundations of [their] historical agency"' (taken from a review by Mahmood Mamdani in Publishers weekly, accessed august 2008).

It should be noted that such relations with power may not be necessarily in the form of open/active struggle/resistance to either state; it may be helpful to search for forms of 'quiet encroachment' as developed by Asef Bayat that explains how individual struggles by the

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marginalised people in cities in the South can be interpreted as an act of struggle for more equal rights and access to services (2000). According to Bayat, quiet encroachment keeps on expanding its territory into the spheres of state power and it may turn into open/collective resistance movements only when its achievements are threatened by the authorities (ibid). This concept is perfectly in line with the ambulant model according to Deleuze and Guattari, in which 'the process of deterritorialisation constitutes and extends the territory itself' (1986):

> Go first to your plant and watch carefully the watercourse made by the runoff, and from them determine the direction of the flow. Then find the plant that is growing at the farthest point from your plant. All the plants that are growing in between are yours. Later…you can extend your territory. (Castaneda 1971, 88, in ibid, 37)

In case of accepting the role of such mobilities in relation to state power, we should search for patterns of deterritorialisation in our case studies.

Another interpretation can be based on a further elaboration by Rowton that shows us that in the 'dimorphic societies' there is a common process in which tribal and urban societies disintegrate into one another or into tribal splinter groups that occupy the spaces in between the two societies until a powerful element (i.e. a 'parasocial leader[3]') can gather them into a new cohesive tribal confederation (Rowton 1977). Barfield also points at the widely cited model of sedentarisation developed by Barth in his study of the Basseri nomads that shows how the accumulation of wealth or more often the impoverishment of nomadic families may persuade them to join sedentary societies which is a natural process sustaining the balance of nomadic populations and the number of their herds with the limited amount of rangelands (Barfield 1993, 106-107). This interpretation can be combined with an opposite flow of 'neo-nomads' of Northern origins as demonstrated by D'Andrea who argues that these countercultural agents are already engaged in a deterritorialised struggle to occupy the soft spaces outside of the capitalist system (i.e. in Ibiza, Puna, Goa,etc.) (2006).

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[3] This 'parasocial leader' can be nomadic, sedentary or a merchant. The 'parasocial element constituted an ideal recruiting ground for any adventurer in need of a following' (Rowton 1977, 190).

The third possible interpretation is that of the nomadic elite residing in cities in order to act as the bridge between nomadic and sedentary societies (Ahmed 1973). The empirical way to identify the possibility of this explanation as opposed to tribal disintegration or sedentarisation should be searched in the strength of social networks tying these migrants to their societies of origin and/or their still prominent roles in organising the affairs of these societies (i.e. in the form of entrepreneurship in the society of origin).

It should be noted here that the use of the nomadic principle in the style of Ibn Khaldun or Deleuze and Guattari is more than applying an historical analogy or metaphor. A similar approach by Nezar AlSayyad And Ananya Roy has paved the way for applying transhistorical concepts like medievalism into modern forms of citizenship and urbanism; they call the resulting situation 'medieval modernity', in which '[t]he "medieval" is not invoked as an historical period, but rather as a transhistorical analytical category that interrogates the modern at this moment of liberal empire' (2006, 1). One consequence of this approach is that we can search for other aspects of nomadic strategies to assess their applicability or existence in our case study (although we should always be wary of the limitations of applying a transhistorical concept to different spatio-temporal contexts).

One such concept borrowed from range ecology is the nomadic strategy of 'opportunistic management' in facing the situations of non-equilibrium (i.e. unpredictability of precipitation and droughts that is a characteristic of arid and semi-arid climates) (Behnke and Scoones 1993). Such management requires special tools, techniques and institutions (a term borrowed from sedentary societies) that are fundamentally different from those employed by agricultural/sedentary cultures (i.e. planning based on predictions).

Case study

Research methodology
In a study on transnational patterns of mobility of New Zealanders Conradson and Latham recognise that:

Recognising the degree to which international mobility is becoming both more commonplace and more complex presents students of migration and globalisation with at least two important questions. Conceptually it requires a reconsideration of the theoretical architecture employed to make sense of movement and mobility… The Second key question raised by the international mobility concerns the kinds of techniques that are best suited to actually describing and mapping these forms of sociality (2005b, 288).

In the previous section, I discussed the 'conceptual reconsideration of the theoretical architecture'; in this section I will introduce some technical tools to be applied to our case study. I must emphasise that this task 'will not necessarily be straightforward' as Conradson and Latham also stressed, therefore, '[i]t will likely require experimentation with new research methods as well as reconsidering and re-engineering of more established techniques' (ibid).

It was for this experimentation that a sample group of respondents were chosen for this study (the choice of respondents will be explained further down) in order to check the application of methodologies and try their compatibility with theoretical frameworks explored in the first section of this essay.

One of the methods used in this case study is mapping the overlap between transnational mobility patterns, citizenship(s), and social networks that was inspired by Conradson and Latham's method of mapping the topology of friendship networks on the move (ibid). In these maps (figure1 and appendix 3) I have also included a spatial factor to locate the destinations of these migrants according to their 'world city-ness' – the approximate position of each city following the hierarchies presented in global cities' literature (Sassen 2002, Malecki and Ewers 2007). This has been shown as concentric zones from core to periphery which may help explain these movements in a globalised version of the old dimorphic structures (refer to possible theoretical interpretations above) . This visualisation may also show aspirations of these migrants to choose new destinations/acquire new citizenships according to the status of these cities (see 'world systems theory' and 'learning regions' explained in previous section).

Against the large scale accounts of globalisation and dimorphic structure, there was a need to focus on the perceptions held by these agents and the 'local narratives' (Lyotard 1984) that these people have

developed about their transnationalism as a 'new mode of being-in-the-world' (Smith 2001). This can be done through an analysis of the underlying discourses found within the respondents' accounts of their experience of mobility.

Urry recommends a host of 'mobile methods' for mobility studies, among them are 'varied methods that explore the imaginative and virtual mobilities of people through analysing texting, web-sites, multi-user discussion groups, blogs, emails and listserves (Wellman, Haythornwaite 2002) … This research involves web-surfing, in-person and email interviewing, and interaction in interactive sites and discussion groups (Molz 2006)' (Urry 2007, 40-41).

The combination of the respondents chosen for this work is the result of an experimental process in order to search for the best method of survey and clarify the relevant attributes (age, citizenship status, gender, education, etc.) of transmigrants that would match the objectives of this research. Especially since most people in this cohort are very internet savvy and are highly mobile and dispersed in various geographical locations, the chosen method for this research was an email qualitative questionnaire[4] which was sent to 91 recipients (12 were reached through snowballing method) in Tehran, Dubai, London and several other cities around the world. In order to make the conditions close to semi-structured interviews, the recipients were free to elaborate or skip any of the 39 questions as they saw fit (see appendix 4 for the questionnaire form).

Out of 18 non-Iranian recipients 4 responded (initially intended to provide a point for comparison, but later decided to be left out of this study due to insufficiency and space constraint). Out of 72 recipients who had an Iranian citizenship (39 female, 33 male), 27 responded (19 female, 8 male) (for demographic profiles of respondents refer to table in appendix 1).

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[4] A discussion group was also held earlier with three of these respondents in Dubai and a few of the questionnaires were filled with my assistance in face-to-face contact or during lengthy Skype conversations. Although these methods were more time consuming, they did not yield much more details and quality for this work, so the emailed questionnaire was chosen as the final method of survey (although in a number of cases clarifications through email or phone were later required).

Finally it is important to note that our mapping of social networks based on the data provided about 'strong ties' in the questionnaires is highly schematic and there is room for more systematic network analysis based on extensive 'weak ties' (Conradson and latham 2005b, 301, Urry 2007). Further research on these networks can use the respondents' list of friends on internet friendship networks such as Facebook, since most of these transmigrants (especially the younger ones) seem to be quite active on these sites.

Limitations of this research

The most important point here is that our sample of respondents is in no way representative or sufficient to allow us to generalise our findings to the Iranian middling transnationals or any other subgroup. This work should be mainly considered as an experiment in theory building and employing the appropriate research methodologies in order to pave the way for more work on this topic. The results can also be used to inform future works on targeting the right cohorts of migrants for locating similar theoretical conjectures.

Context of study

In 2006 Iran had a population of about 70 million growing at 1.1% rate with a quarter of its population being 15 years old or younger (migrationinformation.org accessed Aug08). Currently it is estimated that over 4 million Iranian citizens live abroad, most prominent destinations for them being North America, Western Europe, Turkey, the Persian Gulf countries and Australia (ibid).

Emigrations since 1950 have been largely divided into three main waves: 1) 1950 to the 1979 revolution that was related to slow recovery of an oil-based economy from the turmoils of WWII. This wave mainly consisted middle and upper class students in Western universities as well as royalists and religious minorities that fled the imminent Islamic revolution, 2) 1979 to 1995 that resulted in the departure of socialist and liberalist elements, young men fleeing the war and families opting out of religious restrictions, 3) roughly after 1995 as a result of economic hardships and underemployment two distinct groups of emigrants emerged: the low skilled asylum seekers and economic refugees and the young university graduates searching for better opportunities (Hakimzadeh 2006, ibid). The candidates chosen for this study can be identified among the highly-skilled emigrants of second and third waves mentioned above.

Analysis: thinking about mobility, social networks, and citizenship rights

An assessment of our respondents' accounts through a discourse analysis of their questionnaire responses can help us identify the occurrence of a number of the theoretical frameworks that were outlined in the first section.

First we look at the patterns of mobility of our respondents in terms of change of abode as was provided by them in tables provided in the questionnaire (refer to appendices 2, 3, and 4). The maps that were drawn based on these mobility patterns help us discern a number of interesting correlations among patterns of mobility, social networks, and citizenship(s). These correlations become more visible when we overlay the above patterns on a schematic scale that locates each city on a core-periphery continuum (refer to *world systems theory* and *learning regions* in theoretical frameworks above). It is noteworthy that like most other parts of this survey, these patterns are based on subjective perceptions of respondents[5]; for example respondent number A8 mentioned a 4 month period of work in Dushanbe as an experience of living in the city; while A11 mentioned Tehran as her city in the first 18 years of her life and London for the next 11 years; later she clarified that in both these periods she had been moving back and forth with a frequency that had blurred the meaning of a single residence for her (figure 1).

These patterns not only show the predictable tendency of our respondents to gain more access to opportunities found in the core cities and learning regions of the global system, they also show three recurrent patterns: 1) the cyclical nature of these migrations, 2) the correlation between the movement patterns and social networks shows the role of networks in maintaining mobility and the role of mobility in activating networks through face-to-face contacts (again these patterns will become more visible if we add other layers of data like other mobilities from the charts, communication modes and frequency from questionnaires[6]), 3) the correlation between multiple citizenships/residence permits and the patterns of mobility can show their role in maintaining the level of mobility as well as the necessity of mobility in order to obtain them (the charts study this

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[5] To keep the maps readable only changes of abode are graphically shown but other mobilities are mentioned in accompanying charts.
[6] As mentioned before, a survey of 'weak ties' of respondents on Facebook might make a thorough study of the effects of networks possible.

relation for each respondent as one of the important capitals needed to deal with lack of rights and freedoms).

On another level, the deterritorialised nature of mobility patterns of these migrants is visible in these maps by their unsettled behaviour in many cases , in the sense that we find a 'will to move' in the future trajectories of these migrants to known or unknown destinations (again this concept is further studied in the charts where the responses to questions about meaning of home and obstacles to settling down are summarised).

The charts also provide summaries of other push and pull forces and identity issues (i.e. minority experience) as expressed by of each respondent in relation with the core concept of citizen rights and freedoms in order to allow an assessment of the effects of other migration theories (introduced in the theories section) in combination with mobility and nomadism approaches (figure 2).

Figure 1. Mobility maps of respondents A8 and A11:

Patterns of mobility, citizenship(s), and social networks

Legend:

A1	Respondent (in current location)
● (red)	Place of birth
● Fm	Family
● Fr	Friend
● Re	Relationship (partner, spouse, etc.)
● Ch	Child
▭ (bold)	City of citizenship
▭	City of residence permit
▭	Other city
↰ (red arrow)	Change of abode

The above shapes in dashed line indicate further 'will to move'.

N.B. The position of cities on the core-periphery continuum is approximate. Sizes of boxes are indicative of the amount of time spent and the number of close people residing in each city.

Figure 2. Analysis chart template:

Summarising, interpreting, and linking responds to theoretical frameworks

Citizenship
Citizen Rights and freedoms
Related Questions: 24-25-26-(27)-(28)-32-(34)

Class perception:
Related Questions: 33

Identity: (Hybrid/adaptive/etc.)
Related Questions: (19)-29-30-31-(32)

Other push forces:
Related Questions: 12

Multiple citizenships/resident permits:

Related Questions: 6-7 - (17)-(18)

Mobility/Motility

Change of abode:
Related Questions: 12

Other mobility:
Related Questions: 14-15-16

Obstacles to Mobility:
Related Questions: 18

To obtain

To maintain

Network Capital
Affinity/information/facilitating hypotheses:
Related Questions: 23-37-39

To activate

To maintain

Mobility fetishism:
Related Questions: 14-15-16

Exit strategy
Related Questions: (19)-28

Planning strategy:
Related Questions: 17

Quiet encroachment:
(Adaptation/coping/survival strategies)
Related Questions: 28-(19)

Relationship strategy:
Related Questions: 3-20-21

Deterritorialisation

Feeling Temporary or at home:
Related Questions:13

Obstacles to Settling Down:
Related Questions: 19

Development effects

Remittance:
Related Questions: 35-(36)

Entrepreneurship /investment:
Related Questions: 36

Conclusion

This research has outlined a number of theoretical viewpoints and research methods to help apply the transhistorical concept of nomadism to existing flows of transnational migration.

In the theoretical review we were first introduced to a number of theories of migration, globalisation and transnationalism that seek to explain the push and pull forces that cause migration flows. But we found that the above theories (including household strategies, global cities, learning regions, etc) combined with theories on the role of social networks, culture of migration were still in need of more mobile paradigms in analytical prisms and research methods to make sense of complex patterns of mobility that are emerging among some transnational migrants (Urry 2007). The role of mobility in hollowing out the national social domain and its implications for meanings of citizenship and the rights and duties it entails where then introduced through the mobilities paradigm and its interrelations with concepts of network capital, motility and the role of face-to-face contacts.

Finally the nomadology framework was introduced as a transhistorical analytical category to open up new possibilities in explaining these mobilities in light of their relation to state and as deterritorialised agents occupying the soft spaces out of state apparatus.

The main contribution of this essay on the theoretical level maybe the introduction of the concept of 'dimorphic societies' that is borrowed from anthropological studies of nomadism (especially on West Asian pastoral nomads) to the concept of nomadology. This may add a more nuanced view of the concept of deterritorialisation and make it more applicable to the current situation of the global capitalist world system. This means that we might have to look for current forms of nomadic flows within soft spaces on the peripheries of the global network of linked cities.

This view will open up many more theoretical implications for possible research (for some examples refer to theoretical frameworks section above).

If nomadism becomes an acceptable analytical framework in explaining the patterns of mobility and life choices of certain groups of transnational migrants, it will have a number of implications for research and policy making in a vast number of fields. Among these are research and policies dealing with migration control, integration, and assimilation of immigrants in host societies that are mostly based on a view of migrants from the south who aim at settling down in the North

(reterritorialisation). This framework may help identify the groups of migrants who would not fit within such assumption.

Lately there has been a growing interest in academic and policy-making circles about the importance of the migration-development nexus (Nyberrg-Sorensen *et al* 2002). Identification of the dynamics and multiple causalities between these two fields are promising new hopes in achieving the 'long-term goals of global poverty reduction' at the same time as 'the short-term migration policy interests' (ibid, 49). The European Council and Parliament are working on policies on 'Circular Migration and Mobility Partnerships' that are being formulated in order to create a 'win-win-win' situation, namely for the development of certain partner countries in the South, the concerns of receiving countries, and the well being of migrants (Ruhs 2003). But many observers have seen these policies as rhetorical and questioned their effectiveness, partly due to failure in solving the contradiction between 'the national principle of sovereignty' (the right of states to control borders) and 'transnational principle of global mobility' (seen as a threat to the nation-state) (Cremona 2008, Colette 2007, Castles 2006, 2007).

The results of further research based on the theories and methods that were established in this research are likely to help in dealing with this contradiction in a new light.

On the other hand these nomadic life strategies may be seen as alternative/heterogeneous forms of 'insurgent' citizenship: 'this heterogeneity works against the modernist absorption of citizenship into a project of state building, providing sources for the development of new kinds of practices and narratives about belonging and participating in society' (Holston 1999, 171). The transnational practices of such agents can be included in approaches to urban planning, development and sustainability. Architecture and urban planning frequently assume stable or sedentary populations as the basis for planning urban habitats (such as housing, public spaces and urban infrastructure). Further work on traditional forms of nomadism might inform contemporary approaches to urbanism that are more inclusive of temporary or transitory populations.

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APPENDIX 1:

Demographic Profiles of the Respondents

ID	Gender/Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation	Nationality/ Citizenship(s)	Current Residence
A1	Female/29	Single	BA	Admin & HR	Iranian	UAE
A2	Male/31	Married	MS	Project Manager	Iranian/ Swiss	USA
A3	Male/24	LDR (Long Distance Relationship)	BA	Student	Iranian/ French	USA
A4	Female/60+	Married	MSc	Accountant	Iranian/ British	UK
A5	Female/26	Single	MS	Student/Teacher	Iranian/ French	France
A6	Female/35	Divorced	MS	Engineer	Iranian	UAE
A7	Female/34	Single	MS	Architect	Iranian/ British	UK
A8	Female/38	Married	PhD	Student	Iranian/ USA	USA
A9	Male/35	Single	BSc	Engineer	Iranian	UAE
A10	Female/29	Engaged (Long Distance Relationship)	BA	Network Manager	Iranian	UAE
A11	Female/29	Single	MA	Heritage Conservator	Iranian	UK
A12	Female/36	Common law	MA	Intern Architect	Iranian/ Canadian	Canada
A13	Female/30	Married	MSc	Conservation Biologist	Iranian	Australia
A14	Female/48	Single	BSc	Babysitter	Iranian	France
A15	Female/32	In a relationship	BA	Photographer	Iranian	UAE
A16	Male/34	Single	MSc	Student	Iranian	UK
A17	Male/35	In a relationship	MA	Architect	Iranian	UAE
A18	Female/28	Single	MPhil	Research Associate	Iranian	UK
A19	Female/33	Single	BSc	Business Manager	Iranian/ Canadian	UAE
A20	Male/26	Single	High School	Student	Iranian	USA
A21	Female/31	In a relationship	MA	Architect	Iranian/ Austrian	UAE
A22	Female/36	In a relationship	BA	Journalist	Iranian/ Canadian/ British	UK

A23	Female/34	Married	BA	Aid worker	Iranian	Iran
A24	Female/37	Married	MA	Lecturer	Iranian/ British	Canada
A25	Female/34	In a Relationship	MS	Architect	Iranian	UAE
A26	Male/52	In a relationship	MA	Architect	Iranian/ Canadian	UAE
A27	Male/24	LDR (Long Distance Relationship)	MA	Teacher	Iranian/ USA	USA

APPENDIX 2:

Analysis Charts and Mobility Maps of five respondents

Respondent A1

Legend:

A1	Respondent (in current location)
🔴	Place of birth
• Fm	Family
• Fr	Friend
• Re	Relationship (partner, spouse, etc.)
• Ch	Child
▭	City of citizenship
▭	City of residence permit
▭	Other city
↰	Change of abode

The above shapes in dashed line indicate further 'will to move'.

N.B. The position of cities on the core-periphery continuum is approximate. Sizes of boxes are indicative of the amount of time spent and the number of close people residing in each city.

Core

?

A1

Dubai 2 yrs

Fm

Fr

Tehran 27 yrs

Periphery

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A1

Citizenship
Citizen Rights and freedoms
Iran: lack of freedom and personal independence
Dubai: improved, at least social life, carrier, dress code, security and independence (but still not equal with locals).

Class perception:
middle class in both places

Identity: (Hybrid/adaptive/etc.)
- Iranian/Shia/White
- Minority in both places (Gay).

Other push forces:
Instability (economic/political), Religious restrictions

Multiple citizenships/resident permits:

Iran: citizen
Dubai: (working visa) (worker only)
- Dubai working visa obtained.
- Visa issues ('brown passport') still main obstacle to mobility (Q17)

To obtain

To maintain

Mobility/Motility

Change of abode:
Once. And in process of doing it for the second time.
Other mobility:
Twice to Tehran and once or twice to other (mainly Europe)
Obstacles to Mobility:
Related Questions: 18

To activate

To maintain

Network Capital
Affinity/information/facilitating hypotheses:
Friends and family in Tehran:
Visit: 2 to 4 times a year
Phone: 2 t 3 times a week
Friends in Dubai: will try to call or visit if I leave UAE.
Family will support me in case of hardship.

Mobility fetishism:
N/A

Exit strategy
N/A

Planning strategy:
Unpredictable/Spontaneous
(quote Q17)

Quiet encroachment:
(Adaptation/coping/survival strategies)
Adaptation (quote Q19)
Relationship strategy:
Quote 20

Deterritorialisation

Feeling Temporary or at home:
where you feel safe/ loved, have peace of mind

Obstacles to Settling Down:
things you can't change (i.e. weather), lack of culture, missing Fr/Fm (quote Q20 for feeling detached)

Development effects

Remittance:
No

Entrepreneurship /investment:
property in Dubai or Iran

Analysis Chart for respondent A1:

Summarising, interpreting, and linking responds to theoretical frameworks

Q17: What are your future plans in terms of mobility? Are you able to plan/predict well into the future or is your lifestyle more spontaneous/ unpredictable?
Its quite unpredictable due to the brown passport we are holding (Islamic republic of Iran) the political situations changes every day so people reaction toward it.

Q19:What are the obstacles to your settling down (i.e. push and pull forces that do not let you stay)? What changes do you like to see in the current situation?
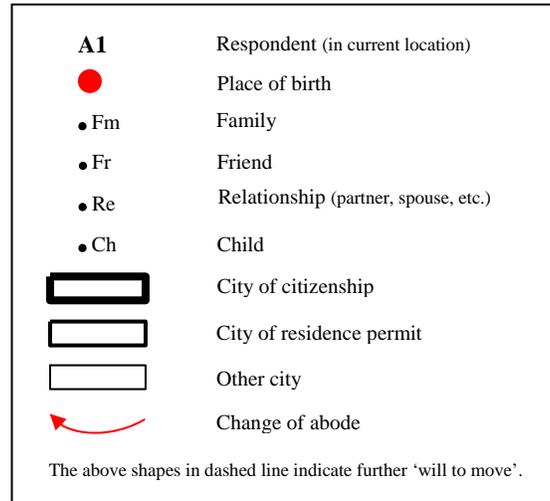
There are obstacles you cant change like the weather but when you believe and see that you have your freedom the sense of belonging develops more.

Q20:How do your relationships fit into your current state of mobility? Have you ever experienced conflicts between a mobile lifestyle and your relationships?
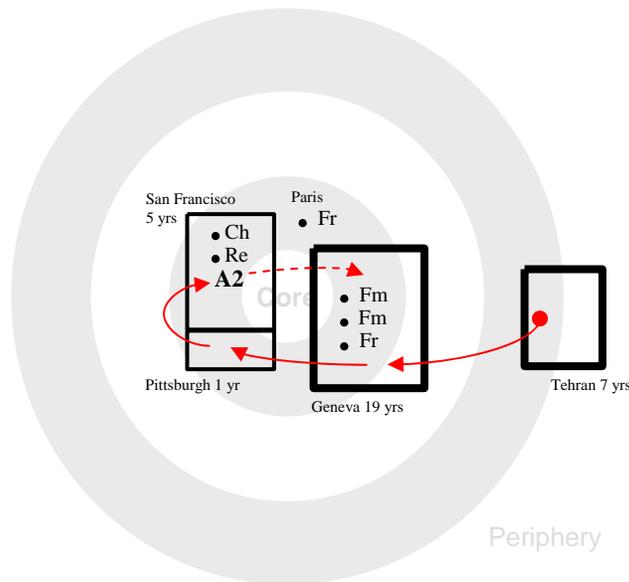
One of the things that can a great concern for people in Dubai is that no one think that they want to say for good here or more than 2-3 years that's why they pull back from being in one some how. You want to feel detached so that you go thru less headache later.

Respondent A2

Legend:

A1	Respondent (in current location)
●	Place of birth
● Fm	Family
● Fr	Friend
● Re	Relationship (partner, spouse, etc.)
● Ch	Child
▭	City of citizenship
▭	City of residence permit
▭	Other city
↰	Change of abode

The above shapes in dashed line indicate further 'will to move'.
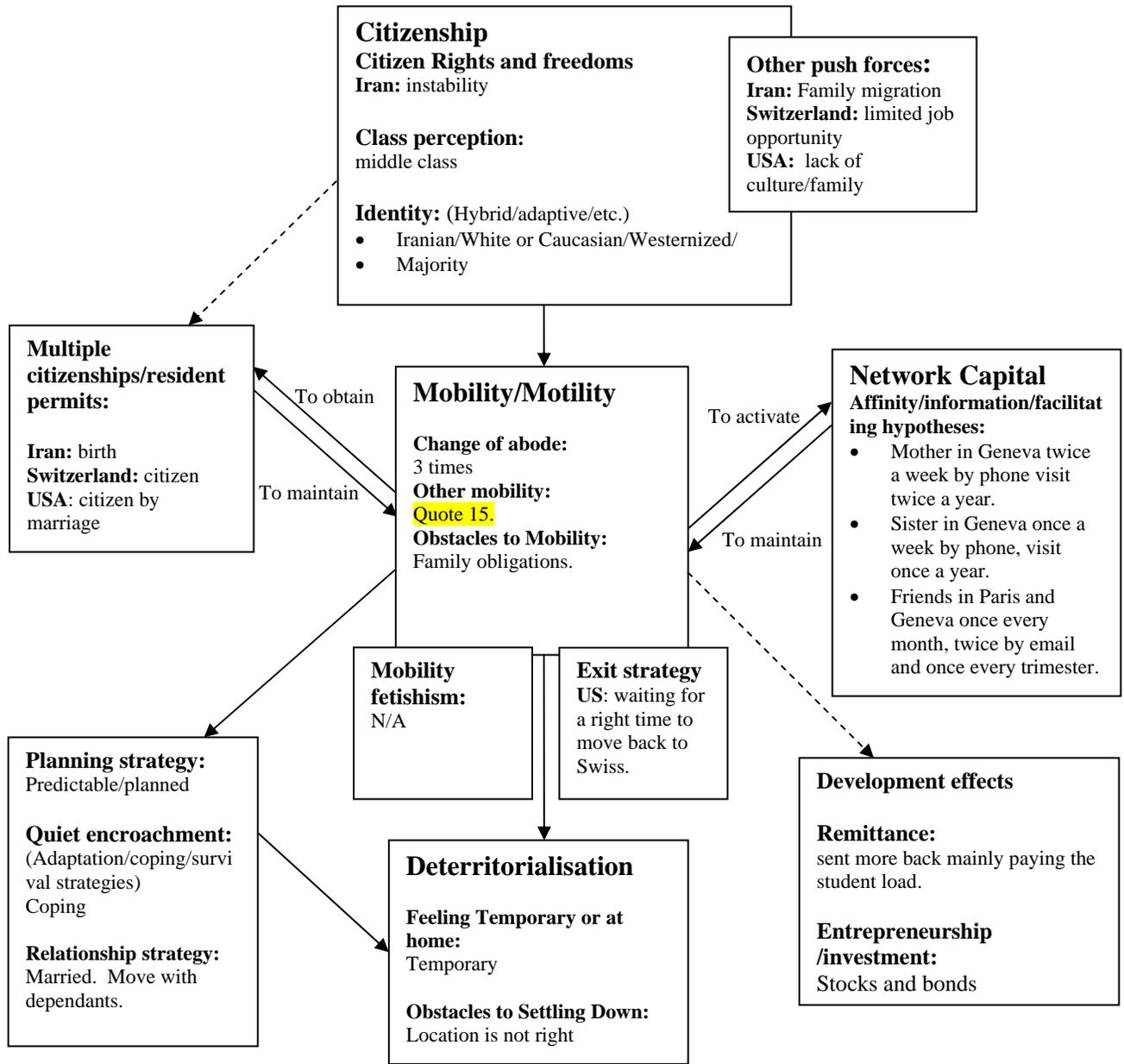
N.B. The position of cities on the core-periphery continuum is approximate. Sizes of boxes are indicative of the amount of time spent and the number of close people residing in each city.

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A2

Citizenship
Citizen Rights and freedoms
Iran: instability

Class perception:
middle class

Identity: (Hybrid/adaptive/etc.)
- Iranian/White or Caucasian/Westernized/
- Majority

Other push forces:
Iran: Family migration
Switzerland: limited job opportunity
USA: lack of culture/family

Multiple citizenships/resident permits:

Iran: birth
Switzerland: citizen
USA: citizen by marriage

To obtain

To maintain

Mobility/Motility

Change of abode:
3 times
Other mobility:
Quote 15.
Obstacles to Mobility:
Family obligations.

To activate

To maintain

Network Capital
Affinity/information/facilitating hypotheses:
- Mother in Geneva twice a week by phone visit twice a year.
- Sister in Geneva once a week by phone, visit once a year.
- Friends in Paris and Geneva once every month, twice by email and once every trimester.

Mobility fetishism:
N/A

Exit strategy
US: waiting for a right time to move back to Swiss.

Planning strategy:
Predictable/planned

Quiet encroachment:
(Adaptation/coping/survival strategies)
Coping

Relationship strategy:
Married. Move with dependants.

Deterritorialisation

Feeling Temporary or at home:
Temporary

Obstacles to Settling Down:
Location is not right

Development effects

Remittance:
sent more back mainly paying the student load.

Entrepreneurship /investment:
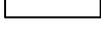Stocks and bonds

Analysis Chart for respondent A2:

Summarising, interpreting, and linking responds to theoretical frameworks

Q15:What is your desired level of mobility? Do you see your current level of mobility enough, too much or too little?
In theory I would LOVE to live a couple of years in south America, then southeast Asia, Japan, Australia, but the reality of life (wife, kid, employment) doesn't make this a plausible option at all.
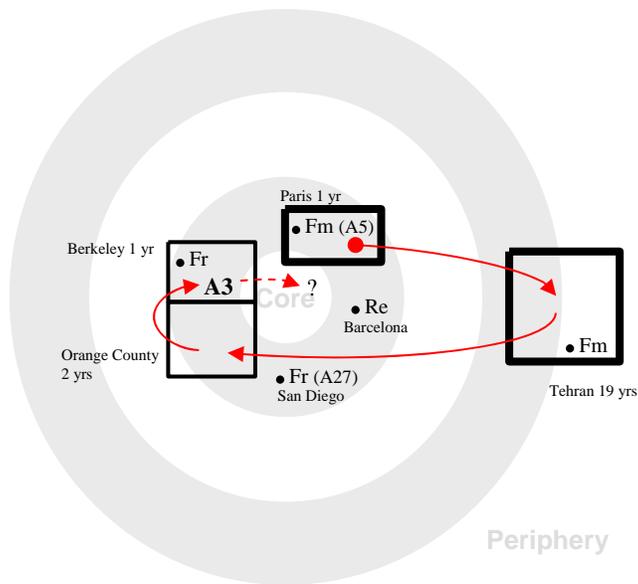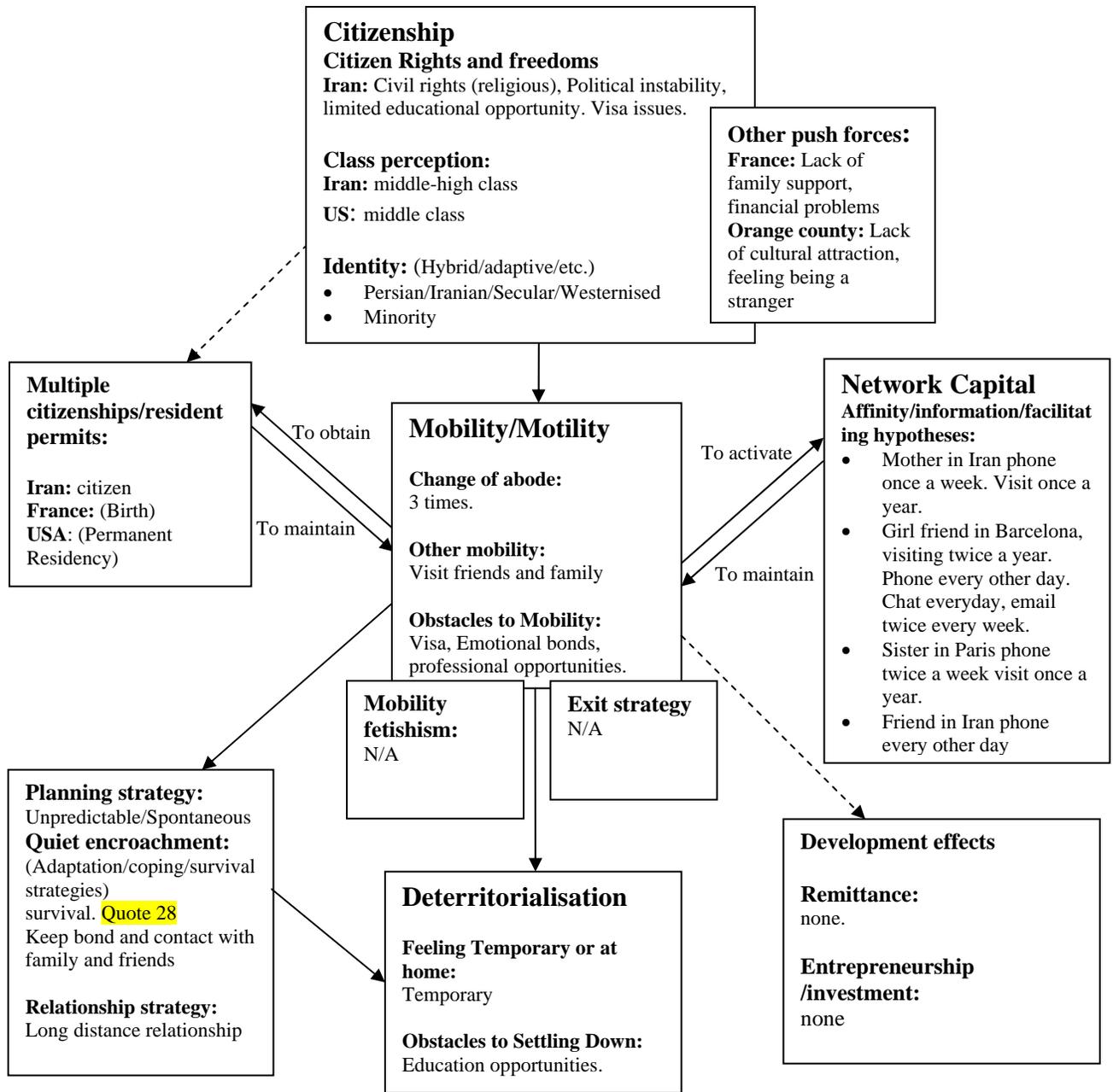
Respondent A3

N.B. The position of cities on the core-periphery continuum is approximate. Sizes of boxes are indicative of the amount of time spent and the number of close people residing in each city.

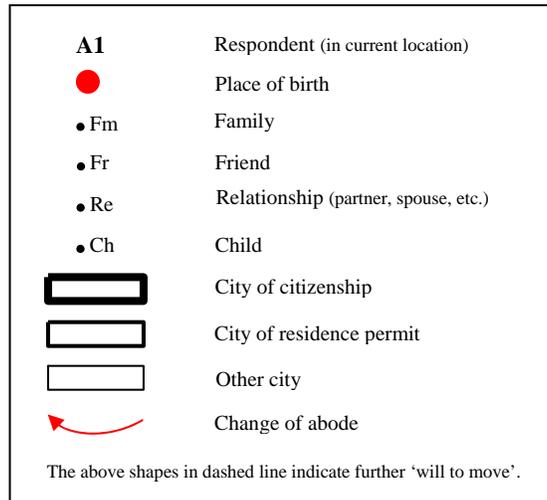**Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A3**

Citizenship
Citizen Rights and freedoms
Iran: Civil rights (religious), Political instability, limited educational opportunity. Visa issues.

Class perception:
Iran: middle-high class
US: middle class

Identity: (Hybrid/adaptive/etc.)
- Persian/Iranian/Secular/Westernised
- Minority

Other push forces:
France: Lack of family support, financial problems
Orange county: Lack of cultural attraction, feeling being a stranger

Multiple citizenships/resident permits:

Iran: citizen
France: (Birth)
USA: (Permanent Residency)

Mobility/Motility

Change of abode:
3 times.

Other mobility:
Visit friends and family

Obstacles to Mobility:
Visa, Emotional bonds, professional opportunities.

To obtain

To maintain

Network Capital
Affinity/information/facilitating hypotheses:
- Mother in Iran phone once a week. Visit once a year.
- Girl friend in Barcelona, visiting twice a year. Phone every other day. Chat everyday, email twice every week.
- Sister in Paris phone twice a week visit once a year.
- Friend in Iran phone every other day

To activate

To maintain

Mobility fetishism:
N/A

Exit strategy
N/A

Planning strategy:
Unpredictable/Spontaneous
Quiet encroachment:
(Adaptation/coping/survival strategies)
survival. Quote 28
Keep bond and contact with family and friends

Relationship strategy:
Long distance relationship

Deterritorialisation

Feeling Temporary or at home:
Temporary

Obstacles to Settling Down:
Education opportunities.

Development effects

Remittance:
none.

Entrepreneurship /investment:
none

Analysis Chart for respondent A3:

Summarising, interpreting, and linking responds to theoretical frameworks

Q28:Have you ever felt that the regulations of a state have been too limiting or restrictive for these activities? How did you deal with such limitations?
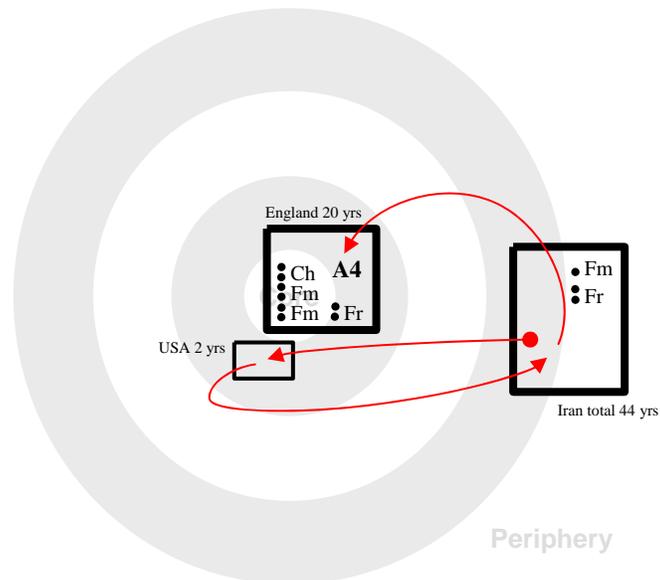Yes they have been. Unfortunately, out of habit I have always broken the laws and rules, which i didn't approve instead of facing them. However facing them or protesting against them wouldn't have helped much. The simple examples would be drinking alcohol in Iran, and smoking marijuana in US. There are much more ideological bans and restrictions in both these locations, but for the most part, bending the rule has been the first option.
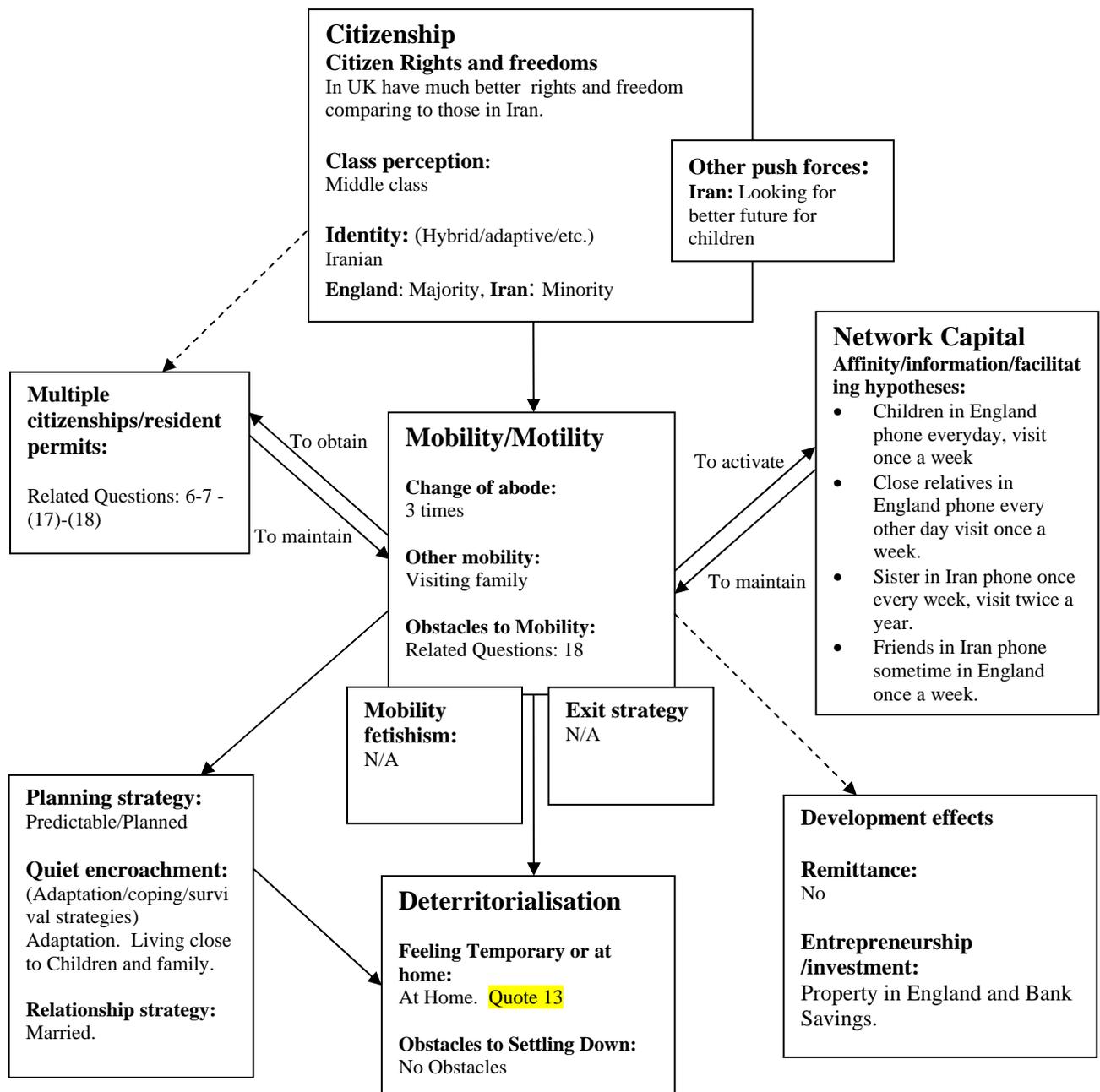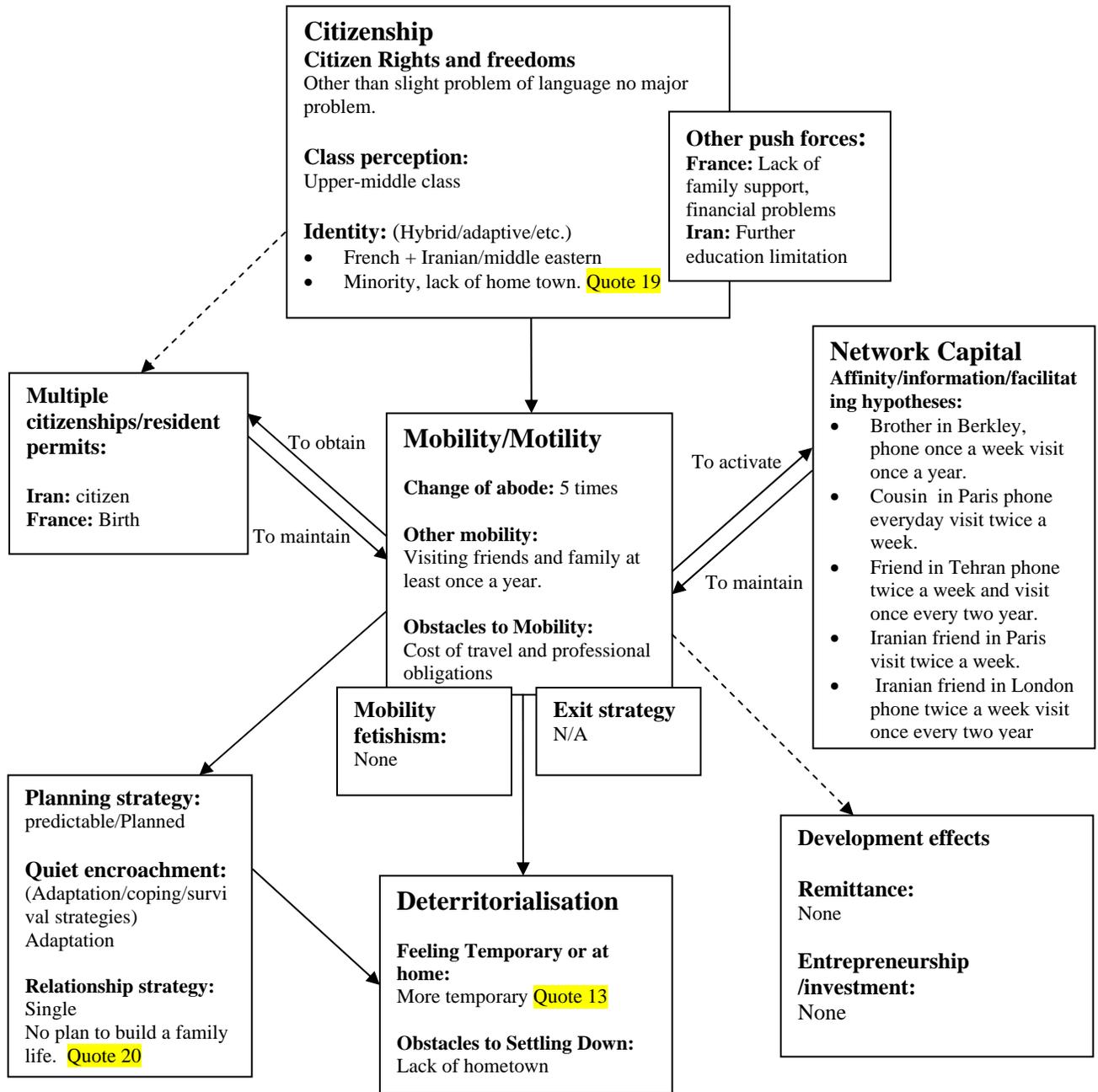
Respondent A4

N.B. The position of cities on the core-periphery continuum is approximate. Sizes of boxes are indicative of the amount of time spent and the number of close people residing in each city.

England 20 yrs
● Ch **A4**
● Fm
● Fm ● Fr

USA 2 yrs

● Fm
● Fr

Iran total 44 yrs

Periphery

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A4

Citizenship
Citizen Rights and freedoms
In UK have much better rights and freedom comparing to those in Iran.

Class perception:
Middle class

Identity: (Hybrid/adaptive/etc.)
Iranian

England: Majority, **Iran**: Minority

Other push forces:
Iran: Looking for better future for children

Multiple citizenships/resident permits:

Related Questions: 6-7 - (17)-(18)

To obtain

To maintain

Mobility/Motility

Change of abode:
3 times

Other mobility:
Visiting family

Obstacles to Mobility:
Related Questions: 18

To activate

To maintain

Network Capital
Affinity/information/facilitating hypotheses:
- Children in England phone everyday, visit once a week
- Close relatives in England phone every other day visit once a week.
- Sister in Iran phone once every week, visit twice a year.
- Friends in Iran phone sometime in England once a week.

Mobility fetishism:
N/A

Exit strategy
N/A

Planning strategy:
Predictable/Planned

Quiet encroachment:
(Adaptation/coping/survival strategies)
Adaptation. Living close to Children and family.

Relationship strategy:
Married.

Deterritorialisation

Feeling Temporary or at home:
At Home. Quote 13

Obstacles to Settling Down:
No Obstacles

Development effects

Remittance:
No

Entrepreneurship /investment:
Property in England and Bank Savings.

Analysis Chart for respondent A4:

Summarising, interpreting, and linking responds to theoretical frameworks

Q13:To you where is 'home'? Please explain if you feel 'home' is more than a single place (you can either say how this notion changes with your moves or give estimated percentages if multiple places are home at a single time).
In my fantasy imagination Home is Jiroft, Tehran and Iran, but if you ask me where I prefer to live is London.
If you ask me where I think to belong to? I would say Iran
If you ask me where I feel safe relax and comfortable? I would say England. Any time I go out of England if I stay more than 2 months I really miss my home, street and neighbours here.

Respondent A5

N.B. The position of cities on the core-periphery continuum is approximate. Sizes of boxes are indicative of the amount of time spent and the number of close people residing in each city.

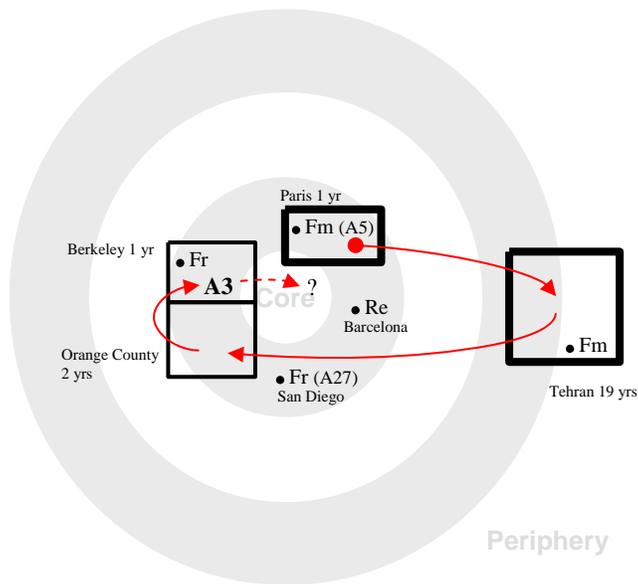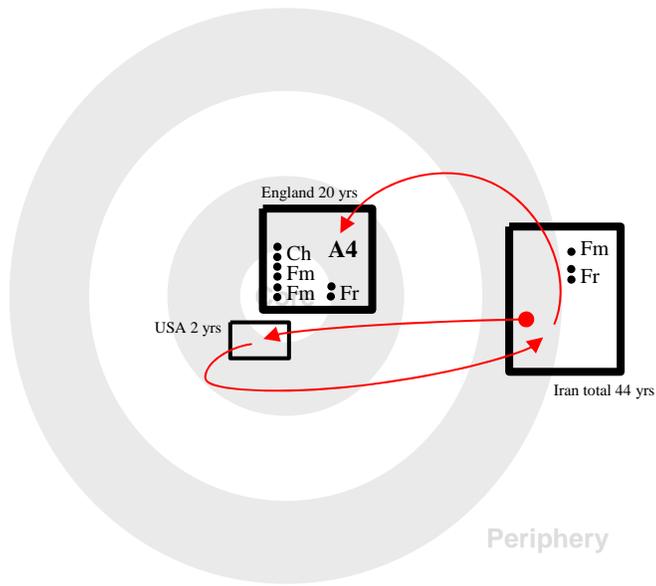**Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A5**
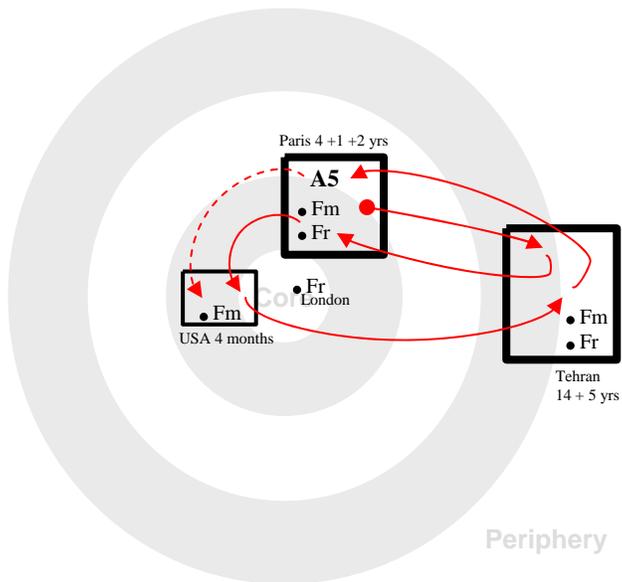
Citizenship
Citizen Rights and freedoms
Other than slight problem of language no major problem.

Class perception:
Upper-middle class

Identity: (Hybrid/adaptive/etc.)
- French + Iranian/middle eastern
- Minority, lack of home town. Quote 19

Other push forces:
France: Lack of family support, financial problems
Iran: Further education limitation

Network Capital
Affinity/information/facilitating hypotheses:
- Brother in Berkley, phone once a week visit once a year.
- Cousin in Paris phone everyday visit twice a week.
- Friend in Tehran phone twice a week and visit once every two year.
- Iranian friend in Paris visit twice a week.
- Iranian friend in London phone twice a week visit once every two year

Multiple citizenships/resident permits:

Iran: citizen
France: Birth

Mobility/Motility

Change of abode: 5 times

Other mobility:
Visiting friends and family at least once a year.

Obstacles to Mobility:
Cost of travel and professional obligations

To obtain

To maintain

To activate

To maintain

Mobility fetishism:
None

Exit strategy
N/A

Planning strategy:
predictable/Planned

Quiet encroachment:
(Adaptation/coping/survival strategies)
Adaptation

Relationship strategy:
Single
No plan to build a family life. Quote 20

Deterritorialisation

Feeling Temporary or at home:
More temporary Quote 13

Obstacles to Settling Down:
Lack of hometown

Development effects

Remittance:
None

Entrepreneurship /investment:
None

Analysis Chart for respondent A5:

Summarising, interpreting, and linking responds to theoretical frameworks

Q13:To you where is 'home'? Please explain if you feel 'home' is more than a single place (you can either say how this notion changes with your moves or give estimated percentages if multiple places are home at a single time).
I have been thinking about it over and over but came to no answer myself! Tehran has once been my hometown, I have been brought up over there and spent all my schooling years over there but t a certain moment I simply felt the necessity to *change* hometown. I took the easiest way, Paris! Which is also where i was born. Recently I feel like

Paris may become a semi-hometown someday, while I'm pretty sure I will never be at home anywhere especially not in Tehran.

Q19:What are the obstacles to your settling down (i.e. push and pull forces that do not let you stay)? What changes do you like to see in the current situation?
I think(!) that the most important one is the lack of a hometown. I do not feel attached any where, as a reason it's easy to move and difficult to feel at ease anywhere. Besides I have no stable working conditions and generally have difficulties concentrating on any special aspect in life!
I do not know exactly what change in my current situation would have satisfied me (it would have of course been much easier if i did). Therefore I believe it should be something, a situation, I have not yet experienced which makes me go for experiences

Q20:How do your relationships fit into your current state of mobility? Have you ever experienced conflicts between a mobile lifestyle and your relationships?
My relationships do not have much influence on my mobility but my mobility does affect my relationships! It is difficult to be in a stable relationship since I know it's not gonne take long. And now I'm more and more considering this unstable lifestyle of mine before getting to a relationship which makes me stay as single as I am!

APPENDIX 3:

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for all respondents

Legend:

A1	Respondent (in current location)
●	Place of birth
●Fm	Family
●Fr	Friend
●Re	Relationship (partner, spouse, etc.)
●Ch	Child
▭	City of citizenship
▭	City of residence permit
▭	Other city
↰	Change of abode

The above shapes in dashed line indicate further 'will to move'.

N.B. The position of cities on the core-periphery continuum is approximate. Sizes of boxes are indicative of the amount of time spent and the number of close people residing in each city.
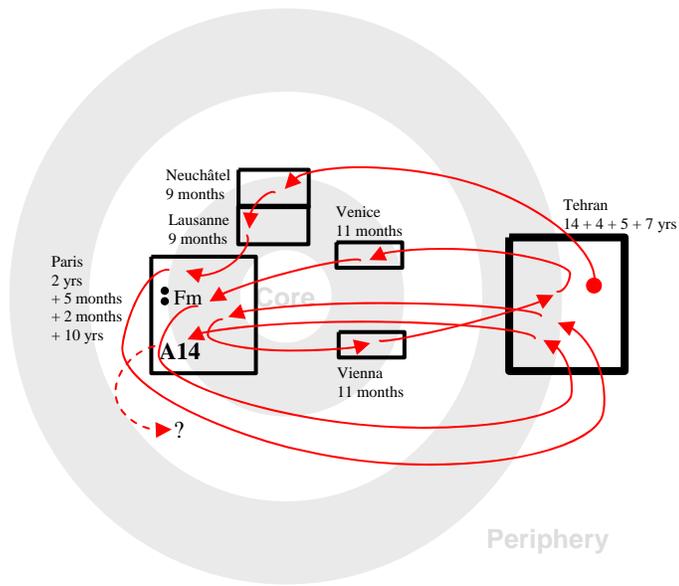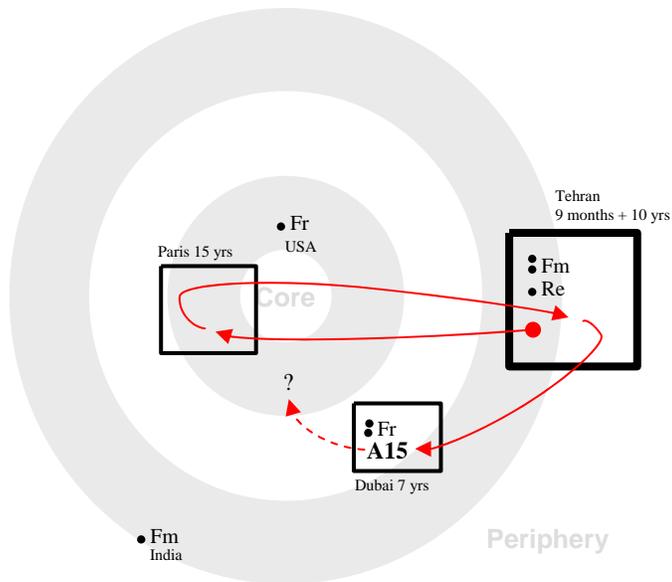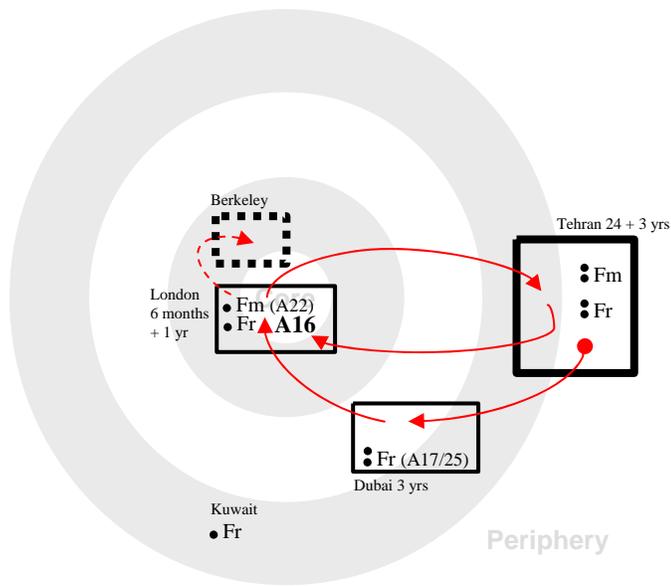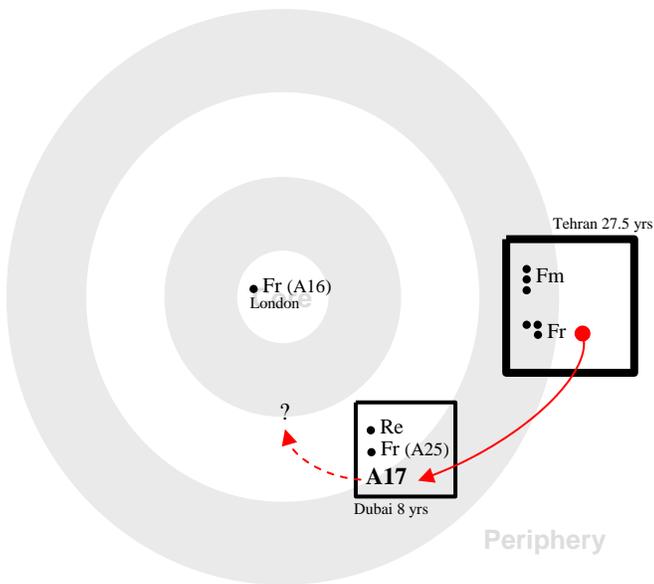

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A1

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A2

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A3

England 20 yrs

Ch **A4**
Fm
Fm Fr

Fm
Fr

USA 2 yrs

Iran total 44 yrs

Periphery

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A4

Paris 4 +1 +2 yrs

A5
Fm
Fr

Fr
London

Fm

USA 4 months

Fm
Fr

Tehran
14 + 5 yrs

Periphery

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A5

Germany 5 yrs

Tehran 20 yrs

Core

Fm

Fr

A6

Fm

Dubai 10 yrs

Periphery

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A6

Paris 4 yrs

Fr

Geneva 2 yrs

Tehran
6 + 1 + 6 yrs

?

A7

Fm

London
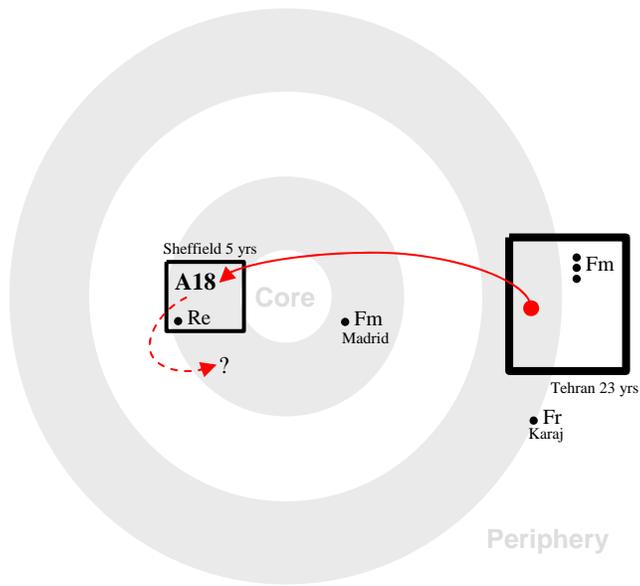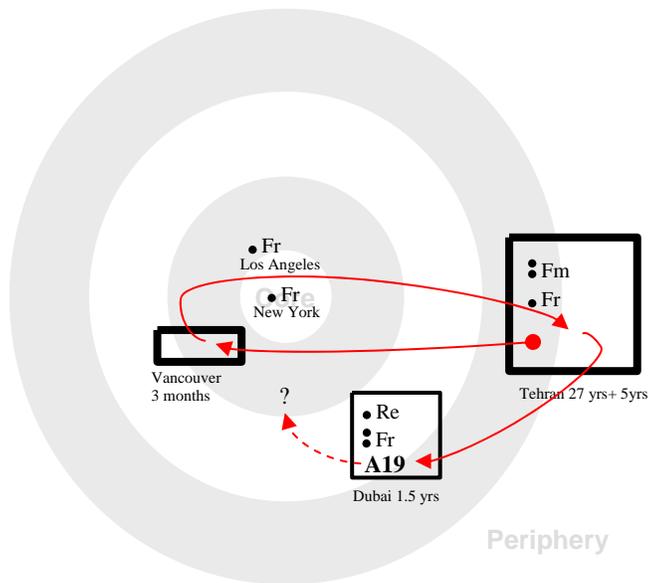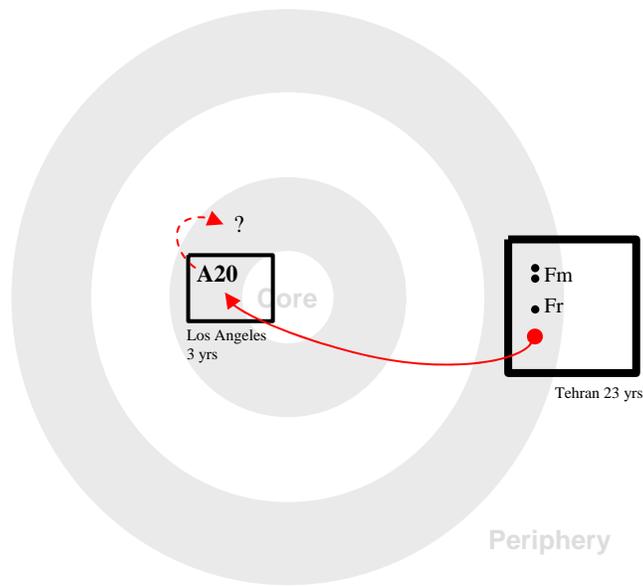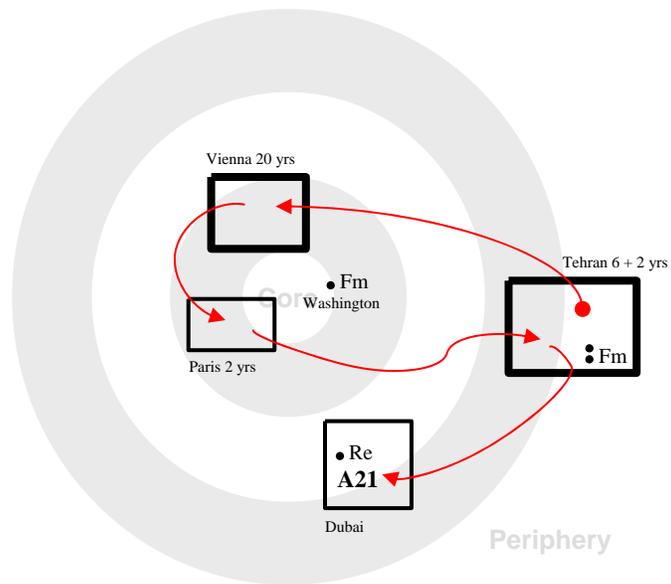10 + 4 +
1.5 yrs

Fr

Periphery
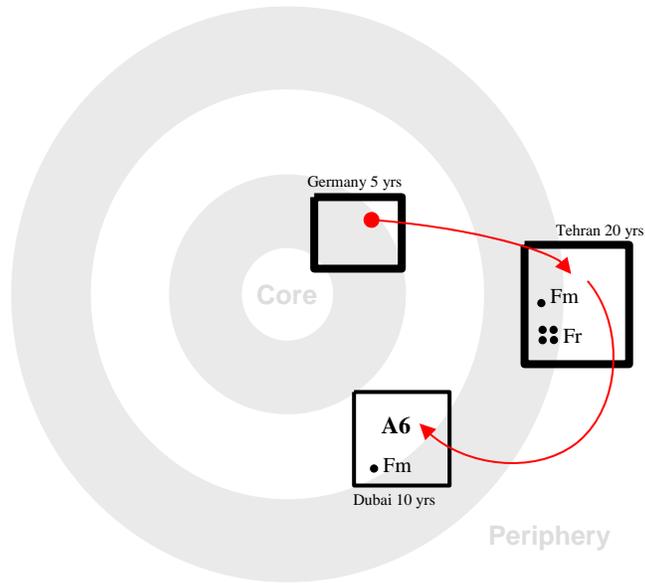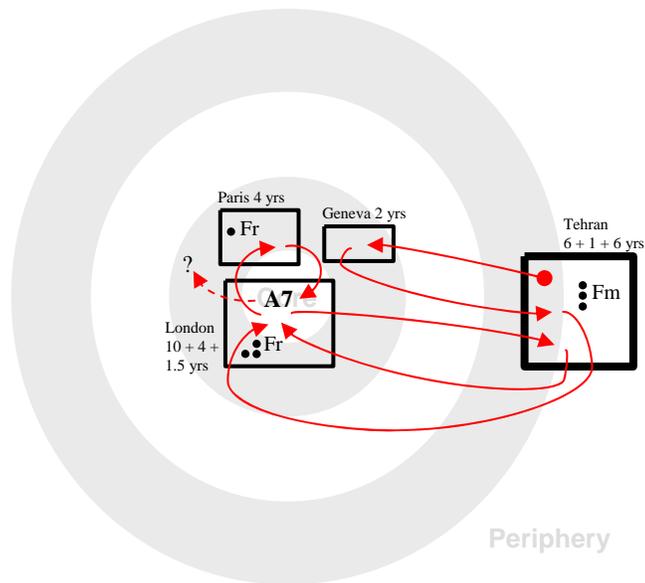
Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A7

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A8
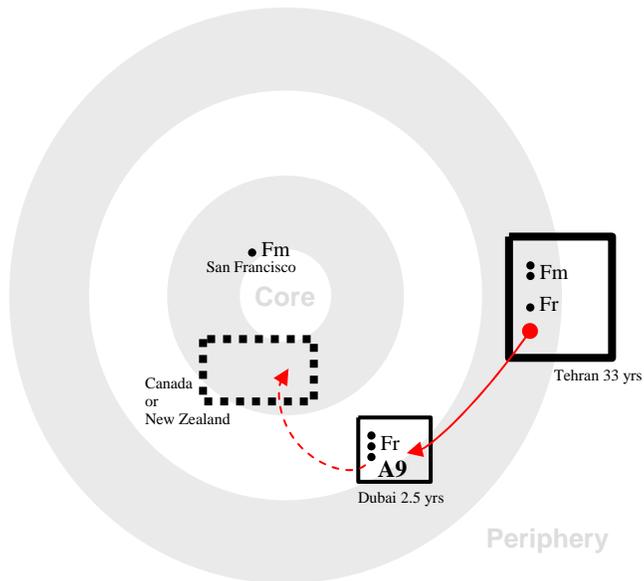
San Rafael CA
3 yrs

Arcata CA
13 yrs

Los Angeles
5.5 + 1 yrs

Escondido CA
6 months

Re
A8

Core

Fm
Fm
Fr

Madrid
3 months

Isfahan 12 yrs +
Tehran 2yrs

Fm

Dushanbe
4 months

Periphery

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A9

Fm
San Francisco

Core

Canada
or
New Zealand

Fm
Fr

Tehran 33 yrs

Fr
A9

Dubai 2.5 yrs

Periphery

Paris
● Re

Core

● Fr
Washington DC

● Fm
Tehran 26 yrs

● Fm
A10
Abu Dhabi 3 yrs

Periphery

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A10

Paris
4 months
● Fr

● Fm
Austria

Kettering 10 months
Bristol 4 yrs
London 7 yrs

A11

● Fm

UK
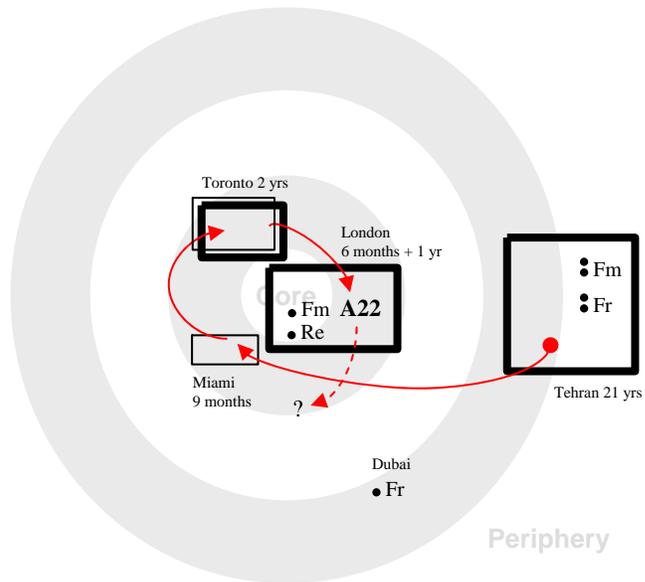Total 11 yrs

● Fr

● Fm
Tehran 17 yrs

Periphery
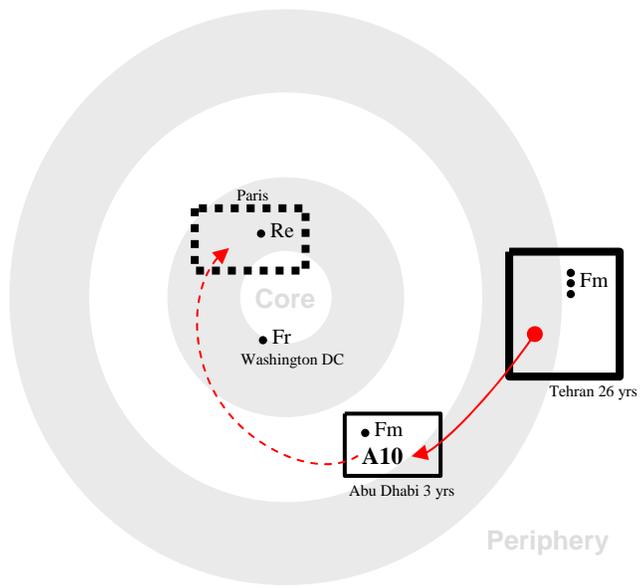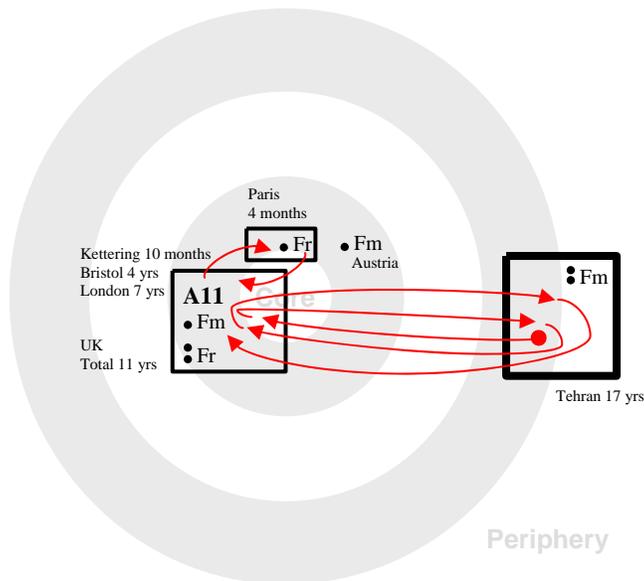
Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A11
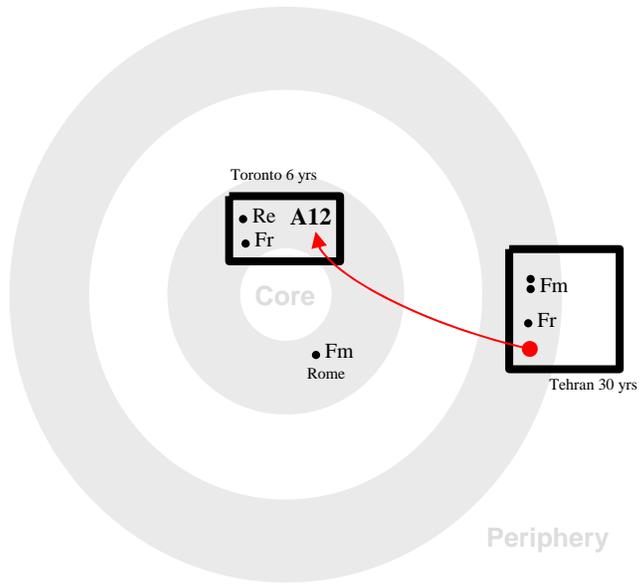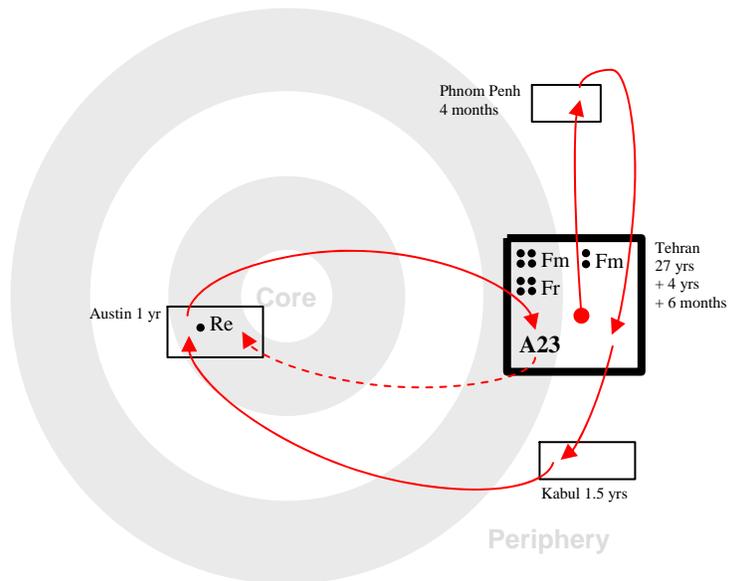
Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A12
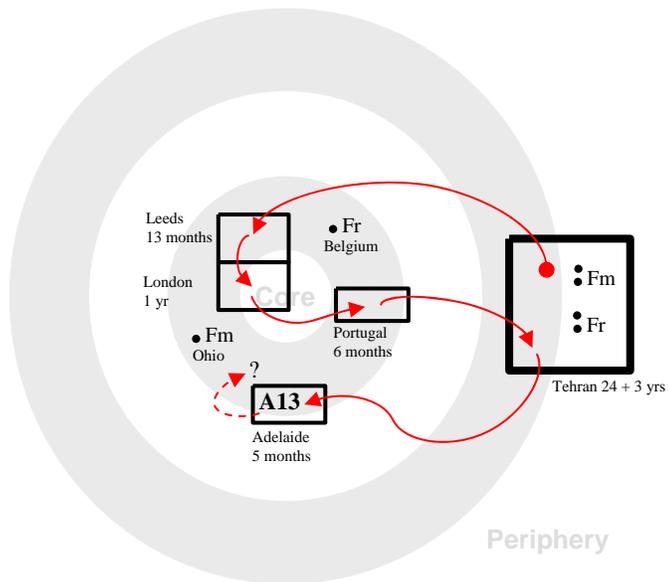
Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A13

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A14

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A15
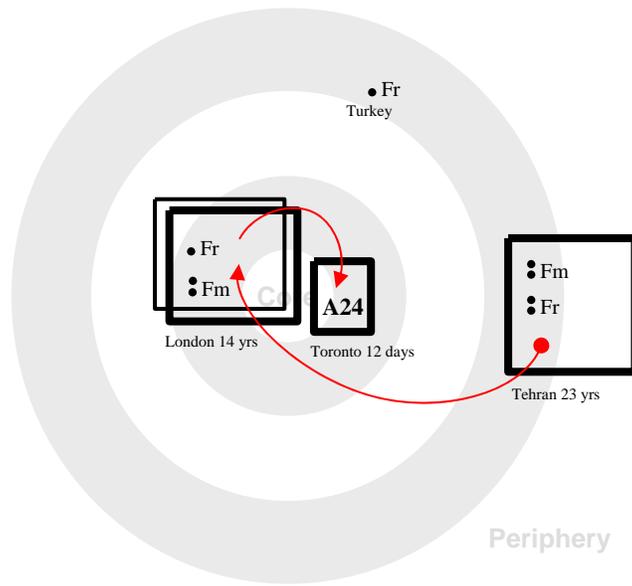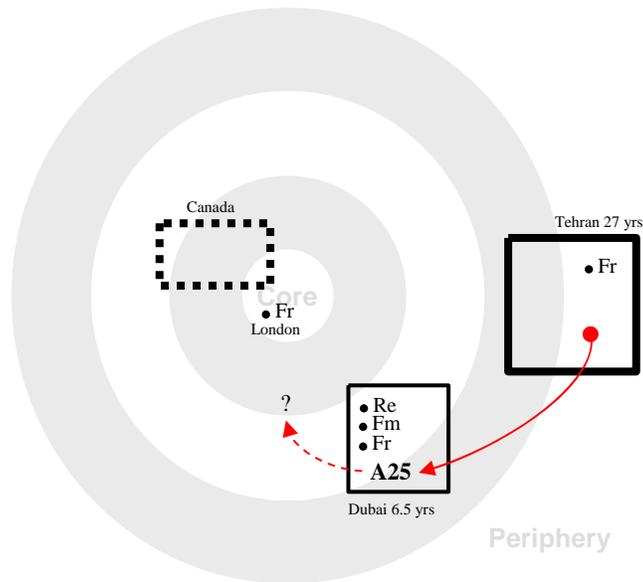
Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A16

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A17

Sheffield 5 yrs
A18
Core
Re
Fm
Madrid
?
Fm
Tehran 23 yrs
Fr
Karaj

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A18

Fr
Los Angeles
Fr
New York
Core
Fm
Fr
Vancouver
3 months
?
Tehran 27 yrs+ 5yrs
Re
Fr
A19
Dubai 1.5 yrs
Periphery

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A19

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A20

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A21

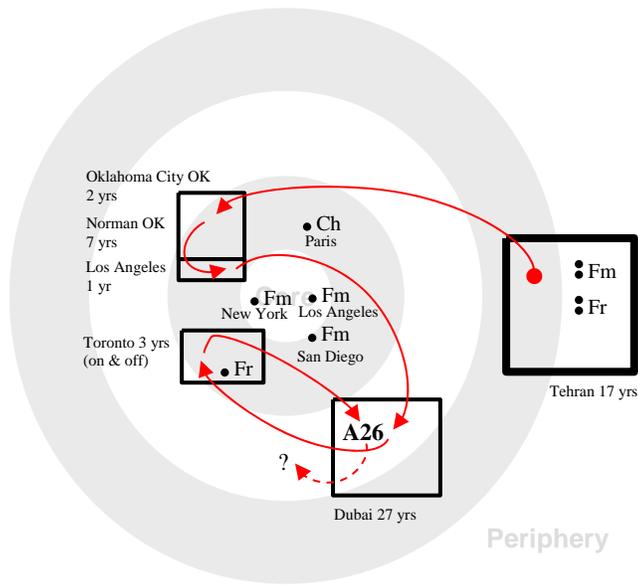**Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A22**

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A23
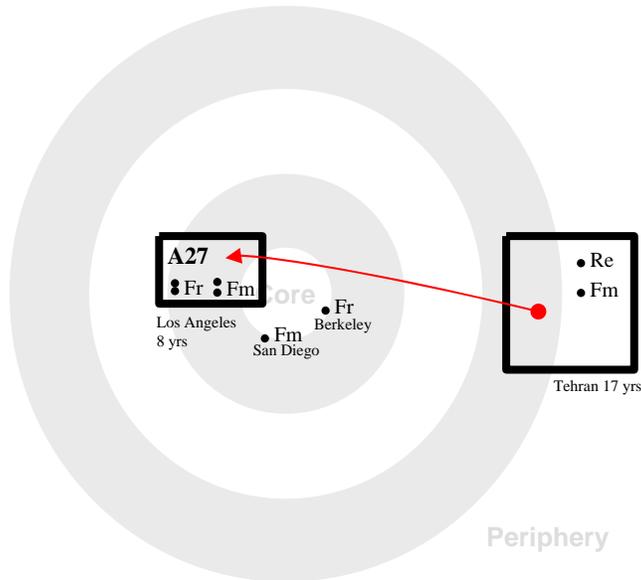
Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A24

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A25

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A26

Mapping patterns of Mobility, Citizenship and Network Capital for respondent A27

APPENDIX 4:

Questionnaire form

<u>Statistical information</u>

1- Age:
2- Gender:
3- Relationship status:
4- Occupation:
5- Nationality by birth:
6- Citizenship(s):
7- Resident permit(s):
8- Type(s) of Residency:
9- Where are you residing currently:
10- Level of education/qualifications? In which field?
11- In which country(s) did you obtain your qualifications?

<u>Qualitative questions</u>

<u>Mobility</u>
12- Please name the cities you have lived in and the length of time you stayed in each. Please explain the reasons behind each move. (As an example see my answer below).

	Cities	Length of stay	Type of visa	Reason for stay	Reasons for move		Notes
					Push (repulsion)	Pull (attraction)	
1	Tehran	24 years	Citizen	Born, school, university and work	Instability (economic, political, etc.)	Financial/emotional support from family and friends	I was not allowed to leave the country between ages 14 and 21 due to military requirements
					Limited professional /academic opportunities	Memories	
					Religious restrictions		
2	Dubai	3 years	Visit visa for 9 months and working visa for the rest	Work as an architect	Bad weather	Opportunities for professional and economic gains,	
					Lack of relationship opportunities!		
					Unsustainability and Inequality	Overseas experience	
					Lack of political freedom		
3	London	6 months	Tourist visa	Searching for universities	Visa expired	Educational opportunities	Did not apply to anywhere then
4	Tehran	3 years	Citizen	Work in an NGO	Same as Tehran above	Same as Tehran above	
					Relationship break up		
5	London	1 year	Student visa	University		Education	Ongoing

	Cities	Lengt	Type of	Reason	Reasons for move	Notes

		h of stay	visa	for stay	Push (repulsion)	Pull (attraction)	
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							

13- To you where is 'home'? Please explain if you feel 'home' is more than a single place (you can either say how this notion changes with your moves or give estimated percentages if multiple places are home at a single time).

14- How often do you travel? What are the destinations? What are the main reasons?

15- What is your desired level of mobility? Do you see your current level of mobility enough, too much or too little?

16- Do you see your current level of mobility as a phase in your life until it's time to 'settle down' or do you prefer to keep changing locations through the different phases of your life (i.e. single, married, retired, etc.)?

17- What are your future plans in terms of mobility? Are you able to plan/predict well into the future or is your lifestyle more spontaneous/ unpredictable?

18- What are the obstacles to your mobility (i.e. visa issues, cost, professional or emotional obligations)? What would you like to change?

19- What are the obstacles to your settling down (i.e. push and pull forces that do not let you stay)? What changes do you like to see in the current situation?

Relationship

20- How do your relationships fit into your current state of mobility? Have you ever experienced conflicts between a mobile lifestyle and your relationships?

21- Do you (plan to) have a family life (get married and/or have kids)?

Social networks

22- Who are the most important people in your life (family, partner, friends, etc.)? Please count *at least* 5 of the most important ones explaining the type of relation, the city they live in, and the mode and frequency of communication with each. (It would be great if you can forward this questionnaire to some of them to fill).

	Relation to you	Nationality	Location they live	Communication with you		Notes
				Mode	Frequency (average)	
	Mother	Iranian	Tehran	Phone	Twice a week	Mostly she calls me.
				Visit	Twice a year	We meet in Tehran, Dubai, or we arrange trips abroad.
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						

23- Does the above network of important friends, family, colleagues, etc. remain unchanged when you change locations or not? In other words do you identify yourself more with your social network or geographical location?

Citizenship

24- Are you a citizen where you live? Please indicate which of the following apply to you: passport-holder, voter, taxpayer, worker, consumer, registered on a national welfare/ insurance?

25- Do you enjoy the same rights and level of acceptance as native-born citizens? Please explain if there are any special circumstances in the country where you live that would prevent you from enjoying the same rights and level of acceptance.

26- Have your Rights and freedoms improved or worsened now compared to the country you used to live in? Please explain.

27- Do you participate in any political or social action? If so, are the goals local, national or transnational/global? how do you participate (i.e. sign petitions on internet for Iranian feminists and the change of the name of the Persian Gulf; demonstrate against Israeli/American invasion of Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan; I donate to Oxfam to support fair trade, etc.)

28- Have you ever felt that the regulations of a state have been too limiting or restrictive for these activities? How did you deal with such limitations?

Identity

29- How do you define your identity in terms of ethnicity/nationality/religion/culture/race/etc? (e.g. Azeri/Iranian/Shi'ah or Persian/Canadian/Secular/Westernised). (You can also define a hybrid identity in terms of perceived percentages. e.g. 100% European and at the same time 70% Swiss and 30% German).

30- Do you feel you belong to any community or group that relates to your identity or shares your values?
31- What is your level of allegiance to your country of origin or your adopted country? How do you feel about its flag, its national anthem, its football team, or its art/architecture/literature?
32- Do you belong to the majority or a minority in your country of origin or your adopted country? Is there any conflict between your set of values and the norms of the society or the dominant regulations/institutions of its government? Please explain.
33- Which socio-economic class do you perceive yourself to belong to? (In your home country and in the country you reside).

Finances and investments
34- How do you finance your living expenses?
35- Have you taken more financial resources out of your country of origin or have you sent more back?
36- What are your preferred types of investment/spending a surplus income? (i.e. property, bank saving, travel, home remodelling, shopping, charity, etc.) Please indicate your preferred location for each type.
37- Are there people in your social circle with whom you share financial/investment interests? (i.e. financial support from family or joint investment with a friend).
38- Do you feel you have enough money/capital/material belongings/financial security?
39- What do you count on in times of trouble/financial hardship? (i.e. insurance, welfare, family and friends support, etc.)