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Title of the Thesis
Multiple Migrations: Social Networks and Transnational Lives of Italian Bangladeshis in Europe

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Dedicated

TO

My mother, Amrana Begum who has been a continuing inspiration to me

&

My late father, Farid Ahamad who had a long held dream that his son would have a PhD from a European University

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Summary

Increasingly, scholars have highlighted that migration is no longer a one-way movement between a country of origin and a destination because migrants move through and settle in several locations in their life trajectories. In this study, I aim to examine the multiple migration experiences, social networks and transnational lives of Bangladeshi first generation migrants who acquired Italian citizenship and this study therefore refers to them 'Italian Bangladeshis'. This study is carried out by following a multi-sited qualitative research approach, consisting of in-depth interviews and participant observation. The main material for this article is based on fifty in-depth interviews with Bangladeshi first-generation migrants in Italy and the UK.

Chapter Two provides, on the one hand, a brief description of Bangladesh as a migrant-sending country and, on the other hand, a presentation about Italy as an immigrant-receiving country. It has shown that in the case of Bangladeshi migration, even though the choice of the UK is traditionally the top destination for long-term Bangladeshi migrants, Italy has recently emerged as one of their major destinations on this continent. In particular, Bangladeshi migrants started to arrive in this Southern European country from the late 1980s, but rapid growth started from the early 1990s.

Chapter Three is devoted to making a theoretical understanding of the concept of 'multiple migrations'. This chapter conceptualizes the term multiple migrations by highlighting several terminologies that existing studies adopted in their analysis of multi sage migration trajectories. It also reviews a number of studies that underline a combination of economic, social and cultural factors for this inter-EU mobility. Chapter Four theorises social networks and transnationalism in order to provide a better understanding of how these two concepts are related to the concept of 'multiple migrations'. This chapter underlines the fact that even though the social networks and transnational ties have an important role in shaping first international migrations, existing empirical research appears not to have largely addressed the ways in which social networks and transnational ties may influence multiple migrations.

Chapter Five is the first empirical chapter of this dissertation that examines the motivation behind emigration, socio-demographic and economic profiles and the region of origin of Italian Bangladeshis who participated in this study.

In Chapter Six, concerning the first research question – the previous destination and motivation for multiple migratory trajectories before arriving in Italy and within Italy - this research has shown that, before arriving in Italy, Bangladeshi first-generation migrants who participated in this study worked for several years in at least two different European, Southeast Asian or Middle Eastern countries. However, some migrants came directly to Italy, but they also stayed for a certain period of time – from a couple of months to years - in several countries as transit migrants. This study finds that the in most cases multiple migrations of the research participants before arriving in Italy were not part of their pre-migration plan. Instead, their multi-stage migrations were motivated by the experiences they encountered in several societies of destination. In most cases, after arriving in Italy, Bangladeshis in this study moved first to the capital city of Rome. After two regularization scheme in 1990 and 1996, when the number of documented Bangladeshis in Rome became larger, they later started internal migration to other Italian cities.

In Chapter Seven, with regard to the second research question in this research - the intention of leaving Italy - findings have shed light on the fact that Italian Bangladeshis want more control over their children by instilling Bengali cultural traditions and inherited religion into their second-generation. In relation to this issue, many of them think that their children are growing up in a kind of Italian cultural environment and day by day their children leaving behind their home culture and Islamic norms. As regards the third research question of this study – the selection of the UK as an onward migration destination – the findings of this research revealed the centrality of the colonial legacy from the cultural and economic perspective. Since the UK is hosting the biggest Bangladeshi diaspora, there is more space created in terms of maintaining and enjoying both Bengali culture and more freedom in practising the religion. The findings of this study also indicate that the political climate of the UK is more welcoming to immigrants and more multicultural compared to their country of EU citizenship, i.e. Italy. With

reference to the fourth research question on the motivation to remain in Italy, this study indicates that some of Bangladeshis considered Italy as their last destination. As they were already established in Italy socially and economically, they were afraid that if they made an onward relocation to a new destination it would be a 'new beginning of migration'.

Chapter eight uncovers how important the composition of social networks and transnational ties are for facilitating the multiple migration trajectories. With reference to the fifth research question - the role of social networks and transnational ties in facilitating multiple migrations - this research shows the importance of strong ties (transnational kinship networks) in the selection of first migration destination of the research participants. Most of them had someone from their immediate family and relatives in the preferred country of destination with whom they were connected. However, In the case of their subsequent migration from the first destination to other destinations, the role of weak ties was important compared to strong ties with close kin. Bangladeshis who arrived in Italy from several countries mostly had networks either with someone from their local district in Bangladesh or with their earlier fellow migrants who moved to Italy before them. The study findings also indicated the importance of weak ties in facilitating their onward migrations to the UK compared to their strong ties. In particular, their relocation to the UK is mainly influenced by the transnational ties with their Italian Bangladeshi fellow migrants who moved from Italy to the UK.

In the Chapter nine, the empirical findings related to the research question six – in what ways do Italian Bangladeshis maintain their transnational connection across multiple destinations – this study suggests that Bangladeshi earlier migrants who have Italian citizenship create their own 'transnational social field' by their social, economic, political, religious, and cultural practices across borders through direct and indirect relations. Even though these Italian Bangladeshis lived with family (with their wife and children) for many years outside of their home country and now hold Italian citizenship, but they maintain various transnational contacts with their extended family members, friends and relatives back home' in Bangladesh and in other countries. Their transnational activities express both 'ways of being" and 'ways of belonging'.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

It was May 2012 when, for the first time, I arrived in Province of Padova from Slovenia for a one month internship to carry out research as part of my third semester study for my second master's degree 'Joint European Master in Migration and Intercultural Relations'. In December 2012, I came to Padova again to conduct three months thesis fieldwork for the said master's program. During these two periods, in addition to Padova municipality, I visited a small town Cadoneghe in the Province of Padova. I met there with Bangladeshis who have arrived much earlier, mostly originating from the Sylhet region of northeastern Bangladesh, who were waiting for citizenship status. However, 5 years later, in October 2016, when I came to Padova again as a Ph.D. student at the University of Padova, I went to Cadoneghe and tried to meet with my earlier acquaintances. But I found the majority of these earlier Sylhetis were missing. Suddenly one question came into my mind 'where and why did they move from this beautiful small city?' During several return visits, I was informed by some Bangladeshis - who had got citizenship some years ago but were still in Cadoneghe - that those Bangladeshi migrants had mostly moved to the UK. Then I asked myself 'why had some moved to the UK instead of other countries and why had some earlier Bangladeshis not moved? As a migration researcher on transnational migration, again another question has arisen in my mind, 'did their onward relocation relate to their ongoing social networks and transnational ties with the largest Bangladeshi diaspora in the UK who mostly originated from Bangladeshi Sylhet region? All of these above-mentioned early queries in my mind pushed me to think about the present Ph.D. research.

Moreover, the findings of my MA thesis- *Formation of Diaspora through Diasporic and Transnational Linkages: The Case of Bangladeshi Migrants in Padova, Italy*

- also convinced me that there is scope for a detailed study which will look into the multiple migration trajectories of Bangladeshi migrants who arrived in Italy earlier in the light of networks and the transnationalism perspective. This is because my MA dissertation findings indicated that Bangladeshi migrants in Italy not only come directly from Bangladesh but also arrived from a number of countries. My master's dissertation concluded that Bangladeshi migrants in the Province of Padova maintained strong diasporic and transnational links with their country of origin. But since the majority of my thesis participants were temporary residents and their families were left behind in the country of origin, one may argue that their transnational relationship with the home country is quite expected. The findings, therefore, led me to think about the transnational attachment of Bangladeshi first generation earlier migrants who have Italian citizenship and their families living in Italy. More specifically, I became curious to know, *do Bangladeshi earlier migrants who have Italian citizenship maintain transnational relations with their home country*? In addition to the home country, *do they maintain transnational attachment elsewhere with the Bangladeshi diaspora who live, for instance, in other countries of Europe*? *Do these transnational relationships and social networks work as motivating factors for making further migration from Italy*? These aspects are also the starting point for choosing this study.

Moreover, recent research demonstrates that migration is no longer one-way mobility between a country of origin and a destination because migrants move through and settle in several locations in their life trajectories (e.g. Ciobanu, 2015; Ossman, 2004; Sapeha, 2016; Toma and Castagnone, 2015). In this case, recent literature has shown that following arrival at an initial destination, migrants also keep moving onward in order to fulfil their aspirations and expectations (Ahrens et al., 2014; Mas Giralt, 2016a; Morrison and Sacchetto, 2014; Nekby, 2006). Some research, for instance, shows that 15 percent of the total immigrants in the USA had multiple migration experiences before arriving in this country (Takenaka, 2007: 2). Based on recent Canadian immigration statistics, Yan et al. (2014:180) reported that one-third of Canadian male immigrants, who were between their age of 25 to 45 years during the time of arrival, left Canada for

several destinations after 20 years of living there. In Australia, research revealed that 40 percent of migrants who decided to leave this country are interested in migrating to a third country instead to go back to their country of origin (Cornish, 2014).

Likewise in Europe, recent literature has noted an increased onward migration of third country migrants, especially those who are naturalized citizens in one of the EU member countries (Ahrens et al., 2014; Danaji and Caro, 2016; Kelly, 2013; Mas Giralt, 2016a; Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Tuckett, 2016). It appears that the UK is the popular destination of this intra-EU mobility, hosting 207,337 naturalized third-country EU citizens in 2011 (Ahrens et al., 2014:3). These migrants also tend to move on to North America and Australia (Haandrikman and Hassanen, 2014; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007; Valentine et al., 2009). However, research on 'onward migrations' within Europe has mostly addressed the refugee groups or African economic migrants (Ahrens et al., 2014; Haandrikman and Hassanen, 2014; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007; Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Van Liempt, 2011a). Thus, the multiple migration experiences of international migrants have still been identified as an under-researched issue (Ciobanu, 2015). As is pointed out by Toma and Castagnone, (2015: 66) "Migration research has been predominantly guided by assumptions whereby migration is a one-off move from a departure country A to a destination country B". It is thus argued that the drivers of multiple migrations remained little explored (Lindley and Van Hear, 2007; Oishi, 2014, 2015).

A substantial body of literature that explicitly suggests that in the case of migrants' first international move, social networks play an important role that provides social capital which migrants utilize in several ways in their pre-and post-migration settings (Boyd, 1989; Massey, 1988). It is noted that less attention has been paid to investigating the ways in which migrants use their social ties in their subsequent mobilities (Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Koser, 2010). But migrants with social connections in several locations may be influenced in remigrating to a new destination to fulfil their further migration aspirations (Kelly, 2013; Carling and Erdal, 2014; Carling and Pettersen, 2014). Thus, in order to draw a broader

conclusion regarding the decision to migrate onward, it is necessary to analyze the role of social networks in promoting relocation.

Furthermore, with regard to the transnationalism, it was not before the last decade that several scholars showed that increasing numbers of immigrants maintain important and lasting relationships that flourish between their home and the destination societies (Ambrosini, 2012, 2014; Castles and Miller, 2009; Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Guarnizo and Diaz, 1999; Olwig, 2003; Vertovec, 2001, 2003). But such empirical works have shown very little concentration on the transnationality of international multiple migrants that they maintain with their family friends living in the country of origin and with their diaspora in different host societies. Again, there is a lack of research conducted on the role of transnational ties in driving multiple migrations.

Focusing on social networks and transnational perspectives, this study addresses the multiple migrations of Italian Bangladeshis in Italy. These first generation migrants in Italy are a very new addition to the Bangladeshi diaspora in Europe. Italy has emerged as one of the major destinations of Bangladeshi long-term migrants since the early 1990s (Della Puppa, 2013; Knights, 1996; Priori, 2012; Zeitlyn, 2006). In particular, Italy hosts the second-largest Bangladeshi community in Europe after the UK. In 2016, there were 122,428 Bangladeshis in Italy making them the fifth largest non-European nationals in Italy (Istat, 2017a). Bangladeshi migrants started to arrive in this Southern European country in the late 1980s and more generally from early 1990s, not only directly from Bangladesh but also from several other European and Middle Eastern countries by making use of both legal and irregular channels (Knights and King, 1998; Morad and Gombac, 2015; Priori, 2012; Zeitlyn, 2006, 2007). It has been reported that while other European countries have tightened their migration policies and reduced the opportunities for entry and obtaining legal resident status - such as Germany, France, Netherlands - Italy's flexible migration policy, as well as periodic regularization procedures, encouraged South Asians to move to Italy as they have the prospect of becoming permanent residents or citizens in Italy (Della Puppa, 2013, 2014; Knights, 1996; Priori, 2012).

Studies have identified that the first settlement of these earlier Bangladeshi migrants was in Rome (Knights, 1996). From the 1990s, once Bangladeshi migrants became successful in obtaining Italian resident permits, they started to move to other major Italian urban centres. In particular industrial development in the Northeast part of Italy has provided impetus to Bangladeshi internal migration since it offered better social conditions/living conditions, employment, and the possibility of a better income (Della Puppa, 2013; Zeitlyn, 2006; Morad and Gombac, 2018). Nevertheless, recent evidence demonstrates that several re-migrations have emerged from this Italian region since the economic crisis hit Italy (Sacchetto and Vianello, 2013) and Bangladeshis have started acquiring Italian citizenship (Della Puppa and King, 2018). For instance, secondary migration from this region to another urban center (Della Puppa and Sredanovic, 2016); return migration to Bangladesh (Bastia, 2011; Carling and Erdal, 2014) and onward migration to a number of new destinations, mainly in the UK (Della Puppa and King, 2018). As outlined in an article of '*The Independent*':

> "The melting pot that is East London is gaining a distinctive new flavor–thanks to the arrival of thousands of Bangladeshi-Italian migrants fleeing economic stagnation in southern Europe. An estimated 6,000 such families have come to the UK from Italy over the past three or four years, the majority settling in East London. They might be a drop in the ocean compared with the estimated 250,000 white Italians resident in the capital but they are making their mark in the Tower Hamlets Bangladeshi community and beyond, opening coffee shops and forming their own welfare associations to help new arrivals" (Clarke, 2015).

The above mentioned Clarke (2015) report indicated that economic immobility might be a cause of Bangladeshi migrants' onward relocation towards the UK. But it is yet to be explored why their migration project is ongoing and what other socio-cultural, political drivers are working as motivating factors in generating the onward migration of Bangladeshis who acquired Italian citizenships.

OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study aims to examine the multiple migration experiences, social networks and transnational lives of Bangladeshi first generation migrants who acquired

Italian citizenship and this study therefore refers to them 'Italian Bangladeshis'[1]. The research will focus on their previous migration history, on the one hand, and their tendency to onward migration on the other. In general, the main objectives of this study are threefold. First, the research aims to find out which factors account for the multiple migrations of Bangladeshis in Italy. The study highlights their previous countries of migration and the motivations for migrating to Italy. Afterwards, it analyses the factors that influenced them to stay in Italy or in taking decisions about future migration. Furthermore, it documents the drivers of onward migration for Bangladeshi Italians who already relocated to the UK. By doing so, the thesis explores to what extent Bangladeshi migrants in Italy take several relocation decisions at different stages of their lives. Second, this study is keen to analyse how the composition of social networks and transnational ties facilitate their multiple migrations. Third, this research evaluates the forms of transnational connection that Bangladeshi migrants maintain across several locations - the home country as well as several host countries- by which they create and operate transnational social fields (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). With these above ideas in mind, this study will be carried out to explore the following six research questions:

i. What are the previous destinations of and motivation for the multiple migratory trajectories of Italian Bangladeshis before arriving in Italy and within Italy?

ii. Why do they want to move onward from Italy to other destinations?

iii. Why do they choose the UK as their onward migration destinations instead of other countries?

iv. Why do some migrants want to remain in Italy?

v. What are the roles of social networks and transnational ties in facilitating the multiple migrations of Italian Bangladeshis?

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[1] This study considers that Bangladeshi migrants in Italy who have Italian citizenship are mostly first generation migrants since Bangladeshi migration to Italy is a very recent phenomenon, mainly starting in the 1990s (Priori, 2012; Zeitlyn, 2006).

vi. *In* what *ways do Italian Bangladeshis maintain their transnational connection across multiple destinations, with the home country as well as with several host countries?*

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND VALUE OF THE RESEARCH

This Ph.D. dissertation attempts to make several significant contributions to the migration literature, especially Bangladeshi migration to Europe. First, migration scholars in recent years began to show interest in migrants who tend to move and settle in multiple countries (Ahrens et al. 2014; Danaji, and Caro, 2016; Haandrikman and Hassanen, 2014; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007; Kelly, 2013; Mas Giralt, 2016a; Oishi, 2014; Takenaka, 2007; Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Tuckett, 2016). However, limited research analyses why some migrants keep on moving instead of settling down in their first country of settlement or return to the home country (Oishi, 2014). Thus, this study aims to address this research gap and is keen to analyse the drivers of multiple migrations that seem to be still on research issues.

Second, in the European context, even though some research recognizes such migrations, it is mostly with reference to African refugees or/and naturalized citizens' inter-European mobilities. There is a need to analyse the multiple migration tendencies of other European naturalized migrants, especially citizens with an Asian background. It is estimated that Asia is the main source of migrants in the continent of Europe as well as in the world (IOM.2017c). Therefore, this research aims to offer a new insight into an important Asian migrant community in Europe, i.e. Bangladeshis who are from one of the world's top five migrant source countries after India, Mexico, Russian Federation and China (the United Nation, 2017:9).

Third, this study is also valuable in that migration studies rarely include research on multiple migrations of Bangladeshis who are living abroad. It is true that although there has been much sociological and anthropological research conducted on Bangladeshi international migrants, this research has mostly highlighted a one-way migration from Bangladesh to a destination country (e.g. Bangladeshi migration to the UK by Garbin, 2008; Gardner, 1992; Bangladeshi

migration to Italy by Della Puppa, 2013; Morad and Gombac, 2015; Knights, 1996; Priori, 2012; and Bangladeshi migration to Singapore, Rahman, 2017) with the exceptions of Della Puppa and King (2018), who looked at the onward migration of Bangladeshi Italians to the UK. Indeed insufficient attention has been paid to the details of step-by-step multiple migratory trajectories of Bangladeshi international migrants and the motivations for their several migratory mobilities. In particular, there is no research yet undertaken that highlights multiple migration trajectories of Bangladeshis in Europe by analysing previous and onward migration trajectories. In this regard, this research hopes to contribute to the literature of migration studies by presenting in-depth qualitative research on the multiple migration dynamics of Italian Bangladeshis in Europe.

Fourth, since researchers generally discussed immigrants' social networks and transnationalism from the perspective of a single country of origin and a destination country, there has been little attention paid to social networks and transnational links that arise/develop between a country of origin and across multiple host countries. Therefore, this study also hopes to make a contribution to the literature on social networks and transnationalism, in particular, to the theories on social networks through exploring migrant social connections in multiple locations - in their pre- and several post-migration settings and its impact on various relocation decisions. At the same time, the research aims to shed light on the knowledge of transnational theories through the findings on the everyday transnational ties of migrants in multiple connections, namely, country of origin and different host countries. By so doing, the study findings also enrich studies of multiple migrations by providing an analysis of the interplay between social networks and transnational ties in driving multiple moves.

Moreover, this study is also important because current literature on Bangladeshi migration focusses very little on migrant social networks and transnationalism; especially when it comes to Bangladeshi migration to Europe. And, the studies to date have yet to analyse the role of social networks and transnational ties in facilitating the multiple migration trajectories of Bangladeshi migrants. Some studies, e.g. Ullah (2013), Nayeem (2012), and Rahman (2017), have addressed the role of migrant social networks in initiating the first international migration from

Bangladesh to an Asian country. But in order to draw a broader conclusion regarding the decision to make multiple migrations, such studies did not mention and analyse the role of social networks in promoting the relocation of Bangladeshi multiple migrants.

METHODOLOGIES AND ACTIVITIES

Research design and site selection

This study is carried out by following a multi-sited qualitative research approach (Amelina, 2010; Fauser, 2017; Marcus, 1995). Considering the exploratory nature of this study, to reach a thorough understanding at a holistic level of multiple migration and the social networks and transnational ties of Italian Bangladeshis, the study has chosen qualitative research as a more appropriate methodology (Bryman, 2001; Mason, 2002; Maxwell, 1996). In this regard, Mason (2002:1) has also argued that "qualitative researching is exciting and important. It is a highly rewarding activity because it engages us with things that matter, in ways that matter. Through qualitative research, we can explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants, the ways that social processes, institutions, discourses or relationships work, and the significance of the meanings that they generate".

Furthermore, this thesis also considered that in order to address the research questions, qualitative methods allow a close relationship between the researcher and research participants and brings the researcher closer to what is being studied (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Whitehead, 2013). As argued by Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 2):

 "Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials - case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts - that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives".

Moreover, in recent years an increasing number of migration scholars have engaged in researching international migration that focused on issues such as migratory trajectories (e.g., Ahrens et al., 2014; Bang Nielsen, 2004, Das Gupta, 2005; Della Puppa and King, 2018; Ciobanu, 2015; Jung et al., 2017; Van Liempt, 2011), social networks and transnationalism in migration (e.g. Koser, 2010; McIlwaine, 2011, Pathirage and Collyer, 2011; Ryan, 2011; Ryan, et al., 2008; Schapendonk, 2014; Tsujimoto,2016). In this regard, Zapata Barrero and Yalaz (2018), focused on how qualitative method is important to analyse the causes and consequences, current situations, changes and continuities of migration-related issues in a changing Europe. They argued that in migration studies, qualitative research is important, first of all, because of the complex, conjunctural, multi-faceted dimensions of current migration dynamics which required rich, in-depth, and nuanced analysis, and second, for understanding the voice of the research participants who, as immigrants, more often than not experience a lack of participation and representation in the mainstream society of their destinations (Zapata Barrero and Yalaz, 2018).

This dissertation has also chosen the multi-sited qualitative approach since migration scholars, especially those focused on the transnational perspective, are now increasingly highlighting the importance of multi-sited research (Amelina, 2010; Faist, 2000). Whereas classic migration theories analyse international migration within a one nation-state framework, transnational migration theories analyse the formation of new social contexts which are located within at least two nation-state settings at the same time (Amelina, 2010). Indeed, in a social network and transnational perspective individual migrants maintain links across several countries where their social world is linked with multiple locations. Multisite research, therefore, is found as one of the prime means for researching migrants' ties, exchanges, and feedback that operates between two or more locations (Fauser, 2017).

In this regard, this research focusses on three cities in northern Italy (Padova, Bologna, and Venice), two cities (East London and Bradford) in the United Kingdom and Bangladesh. As already mentioned, the Bangladeshis who migrated to Italy earlier first arrived in Rome and Milan and later many of them

made an internal migration and relocated to the industrial northern Italian cities after getting/obtaining their resident permits from the 1990s onwards (Della Puppa, 2013; Zeitlyn, 2006; Morad and Gombac, 2018). By looking at Bangladeshis in these three Italian cities, this research also has the opportunity to integrate internal and international migration approaches (King and Skeldon, 2010). In addition to Northeast Italy, the UK has been selected as a research site to see why Italian Bangladeshi mostly move to the UK which is the country with the oldest and largest Bangladeshi diaspora in Europe. So, the selection of this field will also help in understanding how the onward relocations of Bangladeshi Italian to the UK are influenced by their ongoing social networks and transnational connections with the larger diaspora community that is already established there. In the UK, fieldwork has been conducted in East London as it is evident that most of the Italian Bangladeshis who have already made an onward migration to the UK mainly move to East London, the main centre for British Bangladeshis (Clarke, 2015). In addition to London, Bradford was also chosen as research site to see how networks and transnational ties work in the case of remigration of some Italian Bangladeshis who move to several smaller cities of the UK too. Moreover, this study has also chosen Bangladesh as a research site to observe their social networks and transnational ties with their country of origin in order to develop a deeper understanding of the dynamics of multiple migrations.

Method employed

This study has followed qualitative multi-method data collection procedures, mainly consisting of in-depth interviews and participant observations. It is pointed out by Masson (2006) that mixing data collection techniques in a qualitative approach offers huge potential for improving and extending the researcher's understanding of complex social worlds. As he mentioned:

> "I suggest that a 'qualitatively driven' approach to mixing methods offers enormous potential for generating new ways of understanding the complexities and contexts of social experience, and for enhancing our capacities for social explanation and generalization. Such an approach can draw on and extend some of the best principles of qualitative inquiry. In the process, it can benefit from ways in which qualitative researchers have sought to develop constructivist epistemologies and

to engage with thorny methodological issues especially around questions of interpretation and explanation" (Mason, 2006: 10).

This study has chosen in-depth interview as the principal method because it provides enormous benefits to migration study. For instance, Legard et al., (2003), mentioned that the 'in-depth Interview' provides several advantages to research, such as it is flexible in combining structure; it is interactive in nature; it helps to achieve an in-depth answer; it allows researchers to use 'follow up questions' to obtain/understand fully the participants' meaning and all the factors that underpin respondents' answers; in-depth interview is considered a means of generating new knowledge; and, here since the interview is conducted face-to-face, there is a possibility of exploring the meaning and the language in-depth (p.141-142). In this connection, the empirical findings consist of 50 in-depth narrative interviews with first generation migrants. These Italian Bangladeshis arrived in Italy mostly as undocumented migrants between 1980 and 2001. They are now Italian citizens after having 10 years of continuous residence and fulfilling all the other necessary requirements. In this study, I refer to them as Italian Bangladeshis since they have Italian citizenships. Among them, 30 were conducted in North-East Italy between September 2017 and May 2018 and 20 were interviewed in London and Bradford from April 2019 to June 2019[2]. This latter group have already made their onward relocation to the UK after getting Italian citizenship.

The participants were interviewed in a place of their choosing; these included their residences, workplaces, parks, mosques, internet cafés and call shops,

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[2] The majority of the respondents are male (in Italy only one is female, in the UK three are female). This is because this study is focusing on Bangladeshi first generation migrants who have Italian citizenship. In the fieldwork it is observed that in Northeast Italy the majority of the Bangladeshis who acquired Italian Citizenships are male. According to Italian law, a migrant's wife who arrives in Italy as a dependent is eligible to apply for citizenship two years after their husband's receive a passport. Field observation and informal interviews have indicated that in most cases once the husband received a passport the whole family moved to the UK. They either do not wait in Italy to fulfil citizenship requirements or after moving do not continue with the Italian residence procedures that are needed to apply for citizenship for their wives.

restaurants and bars. The interviews were largely conversations (Kvale, 2007) with more open questions (Legard et al. 2003), guided by a pre-worked interview guide, which gathered data on their socio-economic background in their country of origin during migration; immigration history before arriving in Italy and within Italy, the role of social networks and transnational ties for facilitating their migrations before arriving in Italy and within Italy. Furthermore, the interviews also investigated the factors that influenced Italian Bangladeshis to leave Italy and looked at the drivers that motivate them to relocate to the UK. And it also looks at their social networks and transnational ties with their family members and friends living in the UK. Moreover, interviewees were also asked questions regarding their everyday transnational lives by which they are connected with their country of origin and elsewhere with the Bangladeshi diaspora. All of the interviews were recorded and conducted in Bangla since the research participants felt that they could express their views better in Bangla than in Italian and English.

In addition to these 50 in-depth interviews, participant-observation is another method which helps this research to collect relevant information and to cross-check the findings gathered from the interviews. Indeed, from a sociological and anthropological point of view, it is argued that "participant observation is a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture" (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011:1). It is argued that along with in-depth interviews, conducting participant observation provides a number of advantages for the research. For example, participant observation enhances the quality of data that is collected during fieldwork; enriches the quality of data interpretation; works at the same time as a method of data collection and as an analytical tool; and it helps in formulating new research questions and hypothesis (ibid, 10). To conduct participant observation through 'active looking and listening' and 'informal interviewing' (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011), I attended various community gathering in public and private places - religious and cultural programs, birthdays, family functions, and national day celebrations within the Bangladeshi community. I also attended several days of

Bangladeshi migrants' gatherings taking place in the city bars and restaurants during weekend afternoons in Italy and the UK. Attending these activities helped me in gaining several first-hand experiences and insights into many aspects of my research objectives. In particular, it helped me to collect relevant information and to cross-check the findings gathered from the interviews. The fieldwork relating to participant observation was conducted from November 2016 to April 2018 and September 2018 to December 2018 in Italy, from April 2019 to June 2019 in the UK, and in Bangladesh, from June 2018 to August 2018. It is estimated that the total time spent conducting observation was approximately 500 hours.

With regard to Italy, it should be noted that from October 2016 to July 2017, I had been living with a Bangladeshi family in the Arcella area in Padova city where most of the Bangladeshis in this city have settled and the Bangladeshi mosque (Islamic Cultural Center) is also located there. There was a Chinese Bar below my apartment building where Bangladeshi migrants gathered every evening during the weekdays and in the mornings and afternoons at the weekend. On a number of occasions after I finished work at the university, I sat in this bar where I met a number of Bangladeshis migrants of different ages and from different occupations. For the first few days, my intention was to build a relationship with them. Later I talked formally and informally about my research issues and gathered more insight into this research topic. In addition, from September 2017 to May 2018, I was also living with another Bangladeshi family in the Brusegana area of Padova city. A total of 40 Bangladeshi families were residing here. Like the people in Arcella, Bangladeshi migrants here used to meet in a Chinese Bar where they played cards and gossiped. I sometimes visited them in this Bar, especially at the weekends. After a few days, building a good relationship with them, I also participated in playing cards. But my intention was to observe and follow their conversations. I found that the conversations held sometimes concerned when and who was moving to the UK. Their conversation also included discussion about those who arrived back in Italy after a short visit to London and what positive and negative aspects they had seen in London. This

participatory observation helped me to identify and cross check many issues that came out of interviews.

During my stay in the UK, I visited several places where Italian Bangladeshi gathered, mainly in East London and Bradford, such as bar, restaurant that opened by Italian or other European Bangladeshis who moved to the UK, and the British Bangladeshi solicitors' offices where Italian Bangladeshis used to go to seek the immigration and social welfare related advice. As it was Ramadan, I also participated in some *Iftar*[3] parties hosted by Italian Bangladeshis' regional associations. During the Eid-ul-Fitr festival[4], I spent one week in East London and visited several post-*Eid* parties arranged by Italian Bangladeshis.

Furthermore, in Bangladesh, I have visited several areas - mainly Sylhet, Dhaka, and Comilla districts. I talked informally with the family members and relatives of my respondents. This field observation helped me to listen to non-immigrant views regarding many issues relating to my research, in particular, why their family members and relatives made multiple migration journeys and later moved to Italy. And why they are now moving to the UK after getting Italian citizenship. This visit also helped me to observe from a practical point of view the transnational engagement that Italian Bangladeshis maintain with their country of origin.

In every case, in order to keep track of the participant observation data, upon returning home after each shift, I wrote down everything that I could remember in a fieldwork diary.

Participant recruitments

I used several techniques in recruiting participants, including snowball sampling, a technique used for sensitive cases and hidden target population (Faugier and Sargeant, 1997). For instance, with the help of acquaintances I had made earlier, I first tried to meet some Bangladeshi migrants, such as Bangladeshi associational members, leaders and students, living in these three Italian cities

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[3] *Iftar* is the meal with which Muslim people end their daily Ramadan fast at sunset.

[4] *Eid-ul-Fitre* and *Eid-ul-Azha* are two main religious festivals for Muslim communities. Eid-ul-Fitre is the day following Ramadan, the month of fasting.

and in London. Afterwards, the potential interviewees were recruited by maintaining diversification according to age, gender, profession and religion as well as their region of origin in Bangladesh[5]. During the interview, I introduced myself to them as a Ph.D. researcher from the University of Padova and promised to maintain anonymity.

More specifically, in the case of Bologna, I met an acquaintance who had been living in Bologna for seven years. I visited him in the second week of September. During this visit, he introduced me to three Bangladeshis who had migrated earlier and who have Italian citizenship. I told them about my research and the potential respondents who I was looking for and wished to interview. They gave me 15 names and phone numbers of Bangladeshi migrants who have citizenships. I phoned all of them. Among them, 10 Bangladeshis were interested in participating in this study. Afterwards, I made an appointment in early December 2017 for their interviews. Moreover, regarding participant selection in Venice, I gained access to the community through two Bangladeshis migrants living in Venice with whom I met in Istanbul Airport during my transit time while they were travelling, like me, from Bangladesh to Italy. With their help, I collected the phone numbers of one potential participant who is the president of Venice Bangla School. Afterwards, with his help, I met with another three Bangladeshis who have citizenship. Finally, these three Bangladeshis helped me in finding another six respondents. In each case, I called them and first told them about my research and made an appointment for the interviews. In the case of Padova, based on my earlier contact and my knowledge of the Bangladeshi community, I selected 10 potential participants bearing in mind the criteria.

For selecting the potential interviewees in the UK, I first met with two British Bangladeshi solicitors who are working and providing immigration and benefit services/advice in London and Bradford to European Bangladeshis in the UK. It

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[5] Bangladeshis abroad, in most cases, originated from limited geographical regions. For instance, the majority of Bangladeshis in the UK are from the greater Sylhet region (Garbin, 2008:2) and those in the Middle East are from its Noakhali and Chittagong regions (Knights, 1996:112). For that reason, I was interested to recruit my respondents from as great variety of geographical regions as possible.

is worth mentioning that immediately after arriving in the UK, Italian Bangladeshis met the Solicitors in order to claim the benefits he or she entitled to get as a European citizen. In such cases, they generally prefer Bengali speaking solicitors because of the language barriers. These two British Bangladeshi lawyers in London and Bradford helped me to find four Italian Bangladeshis. Afterwards, with the help of these respondents in London and Bradford, I found my other respondents from London and Bradford. It is also worth mentioning that some of migrants who I interviewed in Italy and later moved to the UK, also helped me to find some of my respondents.

Transcription and data analysis

With regard to data analysis, my plan was to listen to audio recorded interviews at least twice and then the interviews were translated (Temple, 1997; Temple and Young, 2004) and fully transcribed in English in sequence.

Table 1.4: Phases of Thematic Analysis

Familiarizing with data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data (listening to audio data at least once), identify and record interesting features relating to the research question(s).
Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
Reviewing themes	Checking that the themes work in relation to the coded extracts, i.e. either the important features of the coded data are relevant to the research questions or not (Level 1) or checking the entire data set that involves a final read-through of the whole dataset (Level 2).
Defining and naming Themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, here the researcher prepared detailed and complex definitions of each theme. In addition, the researcher selects the data extracts that will be used in the final report and develops and builds the analysis into its final form, with each theme (and the analysis overall) clearly addressing the research question.
Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, the final analysis of selected extracts, relating back to the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Source: Braun and Clarke (2006:87); Clarke and Braun (2014)

As I transcribed the interviews in full myself, this process of transcription allowed me to listen with greater care to the participant's narratives which gave me the opportunity to go through the research question. The method of data analysis was thematic; I first identified different themes and categorised them according to the patterns that emerged by considering several steps which are proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006:87); and Clarke and Braun (2014) [Table 1.4].

Self-reflexivity

In this research, I primarily consider myself as an 'insider' in terms of my ethnic/cultural origin, physical traits, my cultural competence (e.g. language competence), and also as a member of the migrant group under study (Carling et al., 2013; Ganga and Scott, 2006). I found that my position as an 'insider' made access to my informants easier in most cases, and my insider knowledge also helped me in understanding their 'spoken and unspoken language' and allowed me to see the research situation more accurately (Ganga and Scott, 2006; Kusow, 2003). I hope that I was better able to interpret their lives in Italy and the UK in the proper frame of reference.

However, as several migration scholars have argued, from my fieldwork it seems to me that the 'insider-outsider' status and 'building trust' in migration research settings are not only determined by the "shared ethnic background", it also determined by the differences between the researcher and the participants in terms of gender, class, education, and socio-economic status, and even with reference to migration history (Carling et al., 2013; Ganga and Scott, 2006; Vathi, 2015). At this point, I sometimes found myself as an outsider from the point of view of some respondents.

At first, before I started the fieldwork, I thought that my insider status, as a Bangladeshi, would give me easy access to my informants. However, soon after I discovered that I was seen as a kind of "suspicious insider, (Kusow, 2003). Some of Italian Bangladeshis, both in Italy and the UK, who agreed to be interviewed when I spoke to them on the telephone, did not come to the meeting place where they were supposed to be interviewed. When I tried to reach them by telephone, they did not answer my call. Later, I again tried to these research

participants through my key gatekeeper, but they refused to give me an appointment. Such respondents are uncertain about my research. Due to a lack of education, they have very little idea about research and instead identified me as a journalist or thought of me as an informer for Italian administrative authorities, collecting information about naturalized citizens. As one of my intermediaries who had introduced me to two respondents, explained to me:

> I think I need to tell you something, he [one Bangladeshi who made an appointment three times] is afraid of being interviewed. I talked to him, it seems to me that he does not have any idea about research. He is suspicious and thinks that you are here on behalf of the Padova Questura [police headquarter] to get information about our community which is not otherwise available. I also talked to the other one I introduced you to. He told me that you may be a journalist from Bangladesh. I am sorry they feel hesitant to talk to you" (Hakim, my gatekeeper in Padova and London).

The most challenging part of this research which made me an outsider within my own community was from the point of view of gender, as research has pointed out that that gender relations are vital in shaping the interview process (Herod, 1993). The gender balance of interviewees was male-biased for two reasons. First of all, as already mentioned, this research was conducted among first generation Bangladeshis in Italy who have Italian citizenship, as this citizenship allows them to move within the EU (Ahrens et al., 2014; Danaji and Caro, 2016; Della Puppa and Sredanovic, 2017; Della Puppa and Morad, 2019; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007; Kelly, 2013; Mas Giralt, 2016a). During my fieldwork, I have found that there are few Bangladeshi female migrants in Italy who have Italian citizenship. This is because, in the Bangladeshi community in Italy, once the head of the family, the husband, acquired citizenship, the whole family moved to the UK without waiting for the wife to obtain a passport[6]. However, there were some first generation Bangladeshi women who had Italian citizenship in the families

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[6] According to the present regulations, two years from the date of the husband's citizenship a wife becomes eligible to apply for citizenship who does not have 10 years of continuous residence in Italy and came with a family reunification visa. In this case, in Bangladeshi families, after the husband obtains citizenship, the wife moves to the UK with her husband on visitor's visa.

who had decided not to move to the UK. However, in Italy, I only managed to find one first generation woman/female for my research interviews and in the UK only three[7]. I tried to interview another 10 female respondents who I found had Italian citizenship, but their husbands would not allow me to talk to them. As the following conversation with the Bangladeshi indicated the following:

> Your *Bhabi*[8] [his wife] does not talk to strangers. Tell me what you want to know from my wife. I know everything about her. So I can explain everything, you do not need to go to my house to carry out an interview. (Bacchu, a male migrant

Similar to the findings of Kusow (2003) on Somaly immigrants, as Bacchu's statement highlights, in the Bangladeshi social context, one cannot simply make an appointment with a married woman, especially a female belonging to a middle class family. Her husband's permission is first required to gain access for an interview. Furthermore, during the family and community gatherings of Italian Bangladeshis to which I was invited in Italy and the UK, I interested in having at least some informal conversation with women from Italian Bangladeshi families. But the social and cultural barriers do not permit me to do so. I have to maintain a certain distance from the women at events because I found the seating arrangements meant that men and women were seated in separate room. A stranger is not allowed to go into the room where all women are gathered.

The third aspect that made me an outsider is the subject of my research. In most cases, before starting the interviews and after introducing myself and my research objectives, the conversation would progress in a friendly way. Even after discussing all the research subjects listed in my questioner guide, I found that most of my respondents added some issues that they thought were missing during our conversation and might be helpful for my research. But as I did not

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[7] Among these four female respondents, one respondent in Italy is a relative of my friend's wife. In the UK, two respondents have a very good relationship with my cousin's wife because their children are classmates of my nephew and nieces in London. The fourth one, I was motivated to ask for an interview after establishing my respectability as I used to take launch in her husband's restaurant.

[8] Bhabi is a Bengali term that refers to the brother's wife.

have a similar migration history like them, I found some respondents were reluctant to discuss issues related to their migration experiences in Italy and their life in the UK, for instance, the reason why they left Italy and why they chose the UK, their economic lives in Italy and the UK and the benefits they are receiving now in the UK. It seems to me that these few respondents were a little bit suspicious about my identity as a researcher (Kusow, 2003).

Furthermore, in two cases, I was not able to finish the interview in one session, I had to reschedule the interviews due to the unexpected intervention of other people. For example in Newham in East London, when I was in the middle of finishing an interview in a popular coffee bar[9], a group of Bangladeshis (10 people) entered the bar and stood around us. I stopped my interview and started to introduce myself to them. One elderly man who seemed to me the leader of this group introduced himself as a founder president of Bangladesh Awami League Italy. And he asked me what I was doing there. I introduced myself as a Ph.D. student from the University of Padova and I also told him that I came from Bangladesh and about the objectives of my research. After introducing myself, I asked the leader of this group to give me some time, only 20 to 30 minutes, to finish my interview. But they were interested in being present to listen what I was discussing. As he said to me "What [is the] problem if you interview him [the respondent] in front of us. It is not a conversation between husband-wife or something private. You said that this is related to your PhD research, so what's wrong if we [are] present here" (Mahatab, a Political leader). At that point, I thought it was better to stop the interview for that day and I joined them in conversation. Nevertheless, after an hour's informal conversation with this group, I had become good friends with them. Later they invited me to a family party arranged by an Italian Bangladeshi family who had moved from Venice to London. Here the conversation with Mahatab is a good example of class

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[9] This Bar is owned by one Italian Bangladeshi where European Bangladeshi, mostly from the Sariatpur region, gathered most afternoons. Behind the shop there is a big room which is usually used for meetings. The owner was so kind as to allow me to use this room sometimes, when it was empty, for my interviews.

differentiation. Mahtab identified himself as a president of the present ruling party of Bangladesh for Italy Branch, and represented me as a student and forced me to listen to them.

Moreover, I also had the feeling of being an outsider based on the region I come from Bangladesh. I found the majority of the Sylheti people in Italy, also the British Sylheti, were more welcoming towards me when they knew that I was a faculty member of a university that is located in Sylhet, Bangladesh.

However bearing in mind the insider and outsider issues, I also tried to be aware of the subjective prejudices in my analytical process. During data analysis, I considered self-reflection and also maintained an inner distance from my own cultural and ethnic background (Amelina, 2010). Furthermore, taking into consideration the ethical issues, I conducted my interviews after acquiring the consent of interviewees. I assured them I would use this data only for research purposes and in research publications and that any information, directly or indirectly, relating to the interviewee's identity would not be revealed. Moreover, I also maintained the anonymity of my respondents with regard to some sensitive issues (Kvale, 2007).

THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

In order to answer the research question, the following layout has been chosen for this thesis.

Chapter One has already discussed the introduction to the research that covered a brief background, the objectives and research questions, the significance and value of the research, and the method and activities.

Chapter Two provides, on the one hand, a brief description of Bangladesh as a migrant-sending country and, on the other hand, a presentation about Italy as an immigrant-receiving country. The discussion is divided into three parts. The first part mainly outlines the historical context of international migration from Bangladesh and its countries of destinations and an analysis of its stock of international migrants. The second part is about immigration in Italy, mainly its immigration history, trends, and channels of Italian immigration. In addition, it also provides a brief description of irregular migration to Italy since it is a common

scenario of Italian immigration. Finally, the third part highlights the historical context, trends, and channels of Bangladeshi migration to Italy, mainly towards Northeast Italy as it is the location for this research.

Chapter Three is devoted to making a theoretical understanding of the concept of 'multiple migrations'. This chapter is divided into two parts. It begins by conceptualizing the term multiple migrations by highlighting several terminologies that existing studies adopted in their analysis of multi sage migration trajectories. By doing so, later it tries to provide a working definition of 'multiple migrations' for this research. The final section reviews available scholarly literature that has already explored the motivational aspects and profile of migrants who tend to be multiple

Chapter Four theorises social networks and transnationalism in order to provide a better understanding of how these two concepts are related to the concept of 'multiple migrations'. The first part of this chapter is about the discussion of social network theories. At the beginning, it presents the existing literature, addresses the issue of migrant access and utilisation of social ties in the (multiple) migratory processes. The second part theorised the concept of transnationalism. It begins with the conceptualisation of transnationalism by focusing on the definition proposed in contemporary migration studies. The subsequent section reviewed the relevant literature on migrant's various transnational links with the country of origin as well as with several host countries. Finally, an analytical framework is proposed for this study to analyse how the three main concepts of this research - multiple migrations, social networks, and transnationalism - are interrelated in the case of migrants' multiple migration trajectories.

Chapter Five is the first empirical chapter of this dissertation that examines the motivation behind emigration, socio-demographic and economic profiles and the region of origin of Italian Bangladeshis who participated in this study. The primary data comes from the 50 in-depth interviews conducted through face-to-face interviews and participant observation in three Northeast Italian cities- Venice, Padova, and Bologna - and two cities in the UK - East London and Bradford - with Bangladeshi migrants who have Italian citizenship.

Chapter Six analyses and discusses the empirical findings on previous migration trajectories of Italian Bangladeshis before arriving in Italy and within Italy. This chapter first highlights how the destination of their first migration was selected. It then traces their multiple migrations before arriving in Italy. The subsequent sections are related to their onward migration to Italy and their further internal migration to Northeast Italy. By doing so, this chapter attempts to answer the first research question of the dissertation - the previous destination and motivation of multiple migratory trajectories of Bangladeshi migrants before arriving in Italy and within Italy.

Chapter Seven aims is to analyse the drivers of onward migration for Italian Bangladeshi in Europe. In this regard, it presents, on the one hand, the factors that influenced Italian Bangladeshis to move from Italy and, on the other, looks at the factors associated with intentions to relocate to the UK. Furthermore, this chapter also documents the reason why some Italian Bangladeshis are not interested in making any further migration from Italy. This chapter answers the second, third, and fourth questions of this research - why they want to move onward from Italy to other destinations; why they choose the UK as their onward migration destination instead of other countries; and why some migrants want to remain in Italy. The first section outlines the empirical findings on the reason for leaving Italy. The second section addresses the factors regarding the reason why they select the UK as their relocating destination. The subsequent sections present the findings on why Italian Bangladeshis want to remain in Italy and the downside of this onward migration from Italy to the UK.

Chapter Eight shows how the composition of social networks and transnational ties facilitated multiple migrations of Italian Bangladeshis - first and subsequent migrations until arriving in Italy and onward migration from Italy to the UK. This chapter answer the fifth research question of this dissertation- the roles of social networks and transnational ties in facilitating the multiple migrations of Italian Bangladeshis. The analysis and discussion are organized into three main sections. The first section is about how transnational ties based on family and kinship networks play the main role in selecting their first country of destination. The second section focuses on how friendship networks in the 'transnational

social field' play an important role in facilitating multiple migrations compared to that of family or kinship connection. However, this section also argues that in the case of Bangladeshis who arrived in Italy via several transit countries, the family networks are important. Moreover, the last section identifies how Italian Bangladeshis' onward relocation decisions are influenced by transnational networks with friends and family members living in the UK.

Chapter Nine is about the transnational lives of Italian Bangladeshis that they maintain in multiple locations, not only the home country and but also their country of origin. Based on the distinction between "ways of being' and 'ways of belonging' in the transnational social field proposed by Levitt (2012), this chapter describes their everyday transnational practices from the perspective of individual level and group level activities (Guarnizo, 1997). The first part of this chapter presents and discusses individual level transnational activities, such as social, economic, political, religious, and cultural practices (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007) by placing these activities into transnational "ways of being" and transitional "ways of belonging" (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). By following the same theoretical framework, the second part analyses the group level transnational engagement of Bangladeshi migrants by analysing their activities which were organised by various Bangladeshi migrant associations in Italy. By doing so, this chapter answers the last research question of this dissertation, e.g., in what ways Italian Bangladeshis maintain their transnational connection across multiple destinations, with the home country as well as with several host countries.

Chapter Ten is the concluding chapter of this dissertation. Outlining the findings, this chapter discusses the theoretical and empirical contributions of the study. More specifically, here I outline major findings and try to relate them to the existing literature on migration. Finally, I set out the policy implications and also focus on areas for future research.

CHAPTER TWO
THE CONTEXT: BANGLADESHI MIGRATION TO ITALY

INTRODUCTION

According to Castles and Miller (1998), we are living in the 'Age of Migration'. This phase may be referred as a combination of the 'globalization of migration', the 'acceleration of migration', the 'differentiation of migration' the 'feminization of migration, 'and 'politicization of migration' (Castles and Miller, 1998:8-9). According to the United Nations (2017:4), there were 258 million international migrants in the world in 2017, which was 220 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000. The IOM report has indicated that even though most of these migrants migrated due to the economic reason, family and study purposes, a significant number of them also taken migration for escaping conflict, persecution, and disaster (IOM, 2017c).

Whereas traditionally, the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Argentina were migrant-receiving countries, the last few decades have seen an increase in the number of immigration countries (Castles and Miller, 2009). Nearly all Western European and Northern European countries emerged as countries of immigration between 1945 and the beginning of the 1970s (ibid). Moreover, many Southern European countries such as Italy, Spain, Greece has turned from emigrant sending to immigrant-receiving countries (ibid). Today in Europe, the top five migrants' favourite destinations are Germany, the United Kingdom, French, Spain, and Italy respectively (IOM.2017c).

It is estimated that about half of the international migrants were originated from Asia. For instance, the United Nations (2017:9) estimated that among the 258 million migrants in 2017,106 million migrants' countries of birth were in Asia, followed by Europe (61 million), Latin America and the Caribbean (38 million) and Africa (36 million). In particular, the top five countries of migrants origin are India followed by Mexico, the Russian Federation, China, and Bangladesh (ibid).

The aim of the chapter is to provide a brief description of Bangladesh as a migrant-sending country, and on Italy as an immigrant-receiving country. This discussion has divided into three parts. The first part mainly outlines the historical context of Bangladeshi international migration and its countries of destinations along with an analysis of the stock of its international migrants. The second part provides general background on the present scenario of history, trends, and channels of Italian immigration along with a description of irregular migration to Italy which is a common scenario of Italian immigration. Finally, the third part highlights the historical context, trends, and channels of Bangladeshi migration to Italy along with a special focus on Northeast Italy which is a research location of this project.

BANGLADESH AS A COUNTRY OF EMIGRATION

The country context

Bangladesh, called officially the People's Republic of Bangladesh, is a country in South Asia, emerged as a sovereign state on December 16, 1971, after a nine-month Liberation War against Pakistan (BBS, 2015). It should be noted that previously, this territory was under the Muslim rule from 1201 to 1757 A.D. Later on, it was the part of British India for nearly 190 years until the termination of the British rule in August 1947. Lastly, Bangladesh was a part of Pakistan with taking the name of East Pakistan for 24 years since its independence (ibid). Bangladesh lies in the North-Eastern part of South Asia with a total land area of 147,570 square Kilometers (BOI, 2013). It is bordered by India on three sites- West, North and North-East. Besides, it has a boundary with Myanmar to the South-East and with the Bay of Bengal to the South [Chart 2.1]. The total population of Bangladesh is estimated at 162.95 million which makes the country eight most populous in the world (World Bank, 2017). About 61 per cent of the total population is in the age group of 15 to 49 years (ILO, 2014). Therefore, the country has a huge surplus labourer.

Bangladesh is characterized as a country of high population density, high unemployment and underemployment rate, poverty, land scarcity, low rate of economic development, political turmoil, heavy dependency on foreign aid, as well as regular natural disasters like floods, cyclones, droughts (ILO, 2014;

Siddiqui, 2003a ,2004). Such factors made Bangladesh one of the most important migrant source countries in Asia. A large number of Bangladeshis are migrating abroad as permanent and temporary every year, an average of around 0.6 to 0.7 million each year (ILO, 2014). With regard to permanent migration, as Siddiqui (2003b) has explored, Bangladeshis pulled towards several wealthy countries for accessing to specialized jobs, better health care system, having wider opportunities for 'self-actualization' and better educational opportunities for the children. And pushed due to the political turmoil, violence, insecurity, and corruption in Bangladesh. However, in the case of temporary migration, the main factors are searching for better job opportunities and escaping unemployment and poverty (Joarder and Hasanuzzaman, 2008)

Chart 2.1: Map of Bangladesh

The historical context of migration

Bangladesh's history as 'migrant-sending' country goes back to many centuries, even before the colonial era (Siddiqui, 2003a). For instance, Siddiqui (2004:16) points out that the *Sinhala* community of Sri Lanka first migrated to that island centuries back from this area which was East Bengal in the colonial regime. During British India, since a part of the British colonial policies, jute and cotton industry of Bengal were destructed, many people from this area migrated to Assam, India, and Myanmar in order to look for a job (Sikder, 2008). During the colonial period, migration from this region happened internally within the British Empire and expanded within it (Clarke et al., 1990). However, since the partition of India[10], when the border-controlling regulation of the individual states took place, the migration became international.

There is evidence that Bangladeshi migration to the Western world, mainly to Europe is connected with the British Colonialism (Siddiqui, 2003b). It is argued that people from the Southeast part, Chittagong and Noakhali districts of present Bangladesh, had a reputation of the *Lashkar* (Seamen) since this region is closed to the Bay of Bengal. People from this region were finding jobs in the British merchant navy ships over the late nineteenth and early twentieth century which carried goods from Kolkata in India to several parts of the world (Siddiqui, 2004, Morad et al., 2014). In addition, people from *Sylhet* region in Bangladesh, who were mostly landless people, could also get a job as dockyard workers, cooks, cook-mates or cleaners on British ships (Alam, 1988). This latter group of people did not have very good seafaring experiences like the people from Chittagong and Noakhali. According to researchers, they left ships when they presented with an opportunity (Siddiqui, 2004; Sikder, 2008). In that way, they migrated to a number of countries such as Singapore, Hong Kong, USA and the UK where they introduced many small Bangladeshi communities (Carey and Shukur, 1985; Alam, 1988; Sikder, 2008).

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[10] The British withdrew from the subcontinent on August 14-15, 1947 and they divided British India into two separate independent countries, i.e. India and Pakistan.

Nevertheless, due to the colonial times and the enormous opportunities in sea-going jobs, these *Sylheti* seamen jumped ship mostly in the UK and settled in the Stepney area of London, Cardiff, South Shields and Sunderland, all of the area which was well connected with India and the Far East through shipping (Carey and Shukur, 1985). From the 1850s onwards, they employed as peddlers, or workers in hotels and restaurant (Change Institute, 2009; Gardner, 2006). These *Sylheti* people are found to be the main pioneers of Bangladeshi diaspora in the West. It is claimed that still, nearly 95 per cent of the British Bangladeshi population has a *Sylheti* origin (Gardner, 2009). The second phase of Bangladeshi migration to the UK started in the 1950s when British Government took a new immigration policy to boost labour migration from its previous colonies due to the labour scarcity (Siddiqui, 2004; Gardner, 2006, and Change Institute, 2009). Bangladeshi migrants who already settled this country took advantage of this opportunity and sponsored their family members and relatives in their migration to the UK (Gardner, 1993; Siddiqui, 2004). As a result, a large percentage of Bangladeshis, especially from *Sylhet* region, migrated to the UK who mostly started to live in Birmingham and Oldham and worked as labourers in the heavy industries (Siddiqui, 2004; Gardner, 2009). A few of them were moved to London to work in the garment sectors as pressers or tailors (ibid). However, this Bangladeshi migration to Europe has a long history of male immigration. Their family mainly joined them in the 1970s (Change Institute, 2009; Morad et al. 2014). Moreover, as Siddiqui (2004) explained, a very small number of highly educated migrants from Bangladeshi upper and middle class migrated to the UK even before the Second World War for pursuing higher studies.

From its independence, international migration from Bangladesh mainly flourished. While the emigration was a silent phenomenon and only originated from a limited number of areas with a selected group of people, it became one of the most widespread and widely-diffused aspects after independence (Mahmood, 1994). In particular, the labour migration from Bangladesh has developed when the Bangladesh Government started to promote international migration as a part of their overall development plan like other countries in Asia (e.g., Rodriguez, 2010). Bangladesh established a government agency named the Bureau of

Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET) in 1976 for utilizing the employment opportunities in the Middle Eastern countries and the newly Industrialized South-East Asian countries (Rahman, 2012). And from 1976 onward, the country emerged as a major migrant source country and the number of emigrants and the country of the destinations grew sharply (Farid and et al, 1996).

However, Bangladeshi migration was male-dominated for a long time. In more recently female from poor families are also migrating, especially to the Middle East and Malaysia as temporary labour migrants, who are mainly working in the domestic sectors (Barkat and Ahsan, 2014, Dannecker, 2005). Like men, they are also supporting their families by sending remittances. Nevertheless, women in the total stock of Bangladeshi international migrants are still very small (Barkat and Ahsan, 2014). Indeed, it has been argued that whereas some Asian countries, e.g., Philippines, Sri Lanka and Indonesia, migrations flow has been feminized, but most of the countries, such as Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Myanmar, migration flows are still male-dominated (Oishi, 2005). It is argued that still the policy of these countries, is not more women emigration friendly (Oishi, 2005). It has been argued that in Bangladesh, neither policies nor the gender order is supporting female migrations (Dannecker, 2005); in most cases the women' autonomous migration, e.g., crossing borders without male guardians, was not allowed in Bangladesh as this migration has been considered as a violation of the traditional norms and values of *purdah*[11] (Dannecker, 2005).

Countries of destination and number of Bangladeshi emigrants

It is explored that Bangladeshis are now living and working in more than 157 countries across six continents and the number is, according to a recent estimation, about 11.15 million (BMET, 2017). According to Siddiqui (2003a), two types of international migrations are generally found in Bangladesh; first, short-

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[11] *Purdah* is a Bengali word for curtain. It used to indicate the system of female speculation from the public sphere and considered as an important instruments for enforcing high standards of women modesty that lead to limit the social activity of female (Dannecker, 2005; Papanek, 1973).

term contract emigrations with specific employment as contract and second, permanent or long-term emigration.

With regard to the short-term migration, the main destinations of half of its total migrants are the Middle-East countries, mainly the Gulf countries and the newly industrialized countries in South-East Asia, (Siddiqui, 2004; BMET, 2017). However, the precise figure of these short-term emigrants is not available as the Bangladeshi government only possesses the data on registered emigrants from Bangladesh, and there are no statistics on how many returns having finished their jobs (Moses, 2009; Zeitlyn, 2006). Table 3.1 presents a summary of the number of short-term labour migrants who were registered with the Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET) of Government of Bangladesh. The table shows that the number of short-term labour migrants was 11.46 million from 1976 to 2017, with Saudi Arabia as the first in rank, a total of 3.39 million (29.60 per cent) migrants migrated to this country during this period. The second favourite destination was the United Arab Emirates with about 2.36 million (20.63 per cent) Bangladeshi immigrants working there during the said period. The other main destinations are Oman followed by Malaysia, Singapore, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Lebanon, and Jordan. These temporary migrant workers are divided into four categories. Namely professional (2.21%); skilled (31.53%); semi-skilled (13.98%), and less-skilled (52.29%) (ILO, 2014).

In the case of long-term or permanent emigration, the favourite destinations of Bangladeshis are Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand (Siddiqui, 2004). However, the two prime destinations for these emigrants are the UK and the USA. Other important destinations are Italy, Germany, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Netherlands, Spain, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and Japan (Siddiqui, 2004). The presence of long-term Bangladeshi has also been observed in Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Romania, and Poland and some other countries in Eastern Europe (Siddiqui, 2004). However, like the statistics of the stock of short-term migrants, the accurate numbers of long-term Bangladeshi migrants is not available. As it is pointed out by Rahman (2017), "Bangladeshi migration to the developed countries is not recorded in the official data because such migration is not considered labour migration. As a result, official statistics

do not reflect the outflows of Bangladeshi migration to the West. It is assumed that there are several million people of Bangladesh origin currently living in the West". However, through collecting information from 'informed sources' (the first-hand knowledge), Siddiqui (2004) has provided an approximate number of long-term migrants living in several countries. These statistics show that almost 1.2 million Bangladeshis living and/or working in several industrial countries permanently as citizens or with other valid documents. But except Siddiqui's (2004) study, so per any research yet to be analyzed the comprehensive scenario of Bangladeshi long-term migrants are living abroad. According to Siddiqui's (2004) estimation, among the total numbers, there are 500,000 Bangladeshis living in the UK and the same number in the USA. She finds that Italy, in particular, has the third-largest Bangladesh community after the UK and USA. Canada and Australia have the next largest Bangladeshi immigrant communities after Italy.

IMMIGRANTS IN ITALY: ITALY AS A DESTINATION COUNTRY

A general background

Italy is a country which experienced both emigration and immigration (Andall, 1990). It is argued, that Italy has a long tradition of the migrant-sending country. It is estimated that between 1861and 1976 during the time of Italian unification, above 26 million Italian migrated to several destinations; around fifty per cent of them migrated to other European countries while the rest moved to North and South America. Two-fifths of these total migrants were originated from the South of Italy (Del Boca and Venturini, 2003). It is estimated that there were above 27 million Italian migrated abroad since 1800, of which over half returned to the country (Gabaccia, 2000). However, it was not before the end of1960s when Italy has emerged as a destination country for both European and non-European immigrants (Zincone and Caponio, 2006; Del Boca and Venturini, 2003; Colombo and Sciortino, 2004). There were 156,179 foreign residents in 1971 (Ruspini, 2009). Italy is the only country in Mediterranean Europe that achieved a positive balance in migration during 1972 (Knights, 1996: 106).

In particular, the oil shock of 1973 and the introduction of very rigid immigration policy in Western and Northern European countries worked as a turning point in

making Italy from a country of emigration to immigration (Andall, 1990; Colombo and Sciortino, 2004; Baldwin-Edwards and Zampagni, 2014). During this period, as an immigrant-receiving country, Italy offered standard wages to foreign workers which often higher than that of France (Del Boca and Venturini, 2003). The immigration also geared up by the need of its foreign labourer because of demographic decline. This opened up available jobs to foreign labours in various sectors like domestic services, agricultural, construction, small industries, and in various informal sectors (Baldwin-Edwards and Zampagni, 2014; Del Boca and Venturini, 2003). Moreover, Italy is often seen as the main centre of Mediterranean Europe; its extensive coastline, prominent tourism and pilgrimage industries have opened up this country as more prospective destinations for non-European migrants (Rahman and Kabir, 2012).

In this earlier period, migrants were mostly students and political dissidents from Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia. However the labour immigration flows for an economic reason have actually been started at the beginning of the 1960s (Colucci, 2019). And these immigration flows have begun to raise from the early 1980s (Zincone and Caponio, 2007). These immigrants were classified into three main subgroups, such as i) Male migration from North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa who worked as fisherman, carpenters, street-vendors or on the tomato harvest in Southern Italy without valid documents; ii) women migrants originated from Eritrea, Somalia, and the Philippines; and iii) the Chinese entrepreneurs who opened up the restaurants or cottage industries that offered employment to their fellow-nationals (Ambrosini 2001; Zincone and Caponio, 2006).

As regard to trends of migration, in the last fifteen years, Italy has been received a substantial amount of immigrants in Europe that only the next to Spain (Fullin and Reyneri, 2011). The number of migrants grew from over 0.14 million in 1970 to about 0.3 million in earlier 1980 (Del Boca and Venturini, 2003:18). But between the 1980s and 1990s, there was a change in the composition of the immigrants. Whereas the number of immigrants from the European Union was declined, and immigrants from third-country nationals have increased which constituted 86% of the total foreigners (ibid, 19). During this period, there was

also a relative decline of Eastern European immigrants who previously were the fastest-growing group, and the number of Asian and African immigrants have begun to increased (ibid). Nevertheless, data shows that further, the number of immigrants increased from half a million to above one million from 1991 to 2005 (Reyneri, 2007:4). Currently, in Europe, Italy is home of over 5 million migrants that constitute 8.3 per cent of its total 60.6 million population (IOM, 2017a:1).

As illustrated in Table 2.2 below, one can see that among the top ten foreign nationalities in Italy, Romania (around 1.2 million) comprise its largest migrant groups. There are further a large number of people from Albania, Morocco, China, Ukraine, Philippine, India, Moldova, Bangladesh, and Egypt. However, among the largest five foreign nationals with the outside of European background, Morocco is the largest immigrant group in Italy followed by migrants from China, Philippine, India, and Bangladesh.

More recently family reunification visa has become a more popular channel of migration in Italy. In 2016, among the total permit issued in Italy [Chart 2.2], around half (45%) were for family reunification purposes; 34 per cent were for humanitarian grounds (i.e. asylum and others allowed from the humanitarian ground), and only 5.7 per cent were job-related permits holders (IOM, 2017a).

However, in recent years, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of naturalized citizens. The IOM (2017a) evident that whereas the number of third-country Italian citizens were 50,000 in 2011, in 2016 this number increased to 184,638. A large number (39%) of these new Italian citizens have an Albanian and Moroccan origin and nearly half of them were below 20 years of age (ibid). In addition to these, in the year 2016, there were 16,953 EU citizens achieved Italian citizenship (Ibid). It is also shown that from 2007, a total of 956,000 naturalized Italian citizens have been found which was significantly higher than that of undocumented migrants arrived by sea (Ibid). Nevertheless, several researchers have found that there is a tendency among the naturalized Italian citizens in moving onward to other EU country, especially to the UK (Colombo, et al, 2011; Della Puppa and Sredanovic, 2017; Barbiano di Belgiojoso and Ortensi, 2013; Tuckett, 2016).

Irregular migration and regularization of undocumented immigrants

It is argued that a major portion of Italian immigrants entered Italy by following the undocumented way (Delicato, 2004; and Reyneri, 2007). Since Italy is surrounded by a long coastline, 'ease of entry' geared up the illegal migratory flows (Delicato, 2004). It is also closed to migrant-sending and transit regions such as North Africa and Albania. The illegal migratory flows mainly arrived from the Horn of Africa, West Africa, the Balkans, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, the Far East, and the Indian sub-continent (Delicato, 2004). More specifically, the major portion of the illegal immigrants is migrated from the near costs of Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia travel by sea and enter to the coastal areas of Italy (Reyneri, 2007). Illegal entries also take place through the land borders. In this case, illegal migrants, on the one hand, use the Italian-Slovenian border and also entered through the French, Switzerland, and Austrian border (Delicato, 2004).

However, research has shown that there are several aspects in which migrant become undocumented in Italy. First, migrants enter by taking a flight to Italy on a short-term visa, e.g., seasonal work, student, and tourist visas, but they become illegal due to overstay without any authorization after its expiration (Reyneri, 2003). Second, migrants may enter this country without passing through border controls or with a false paper and later find them in an irregular status (ibid). Third, they arrive as asylum seekers but become undocumented when their application is denied (Reyneri, 2003; and Bloch, 2013). It is commonly believed that these migrants who illegally entered Italy and become undocumented after a certain period are able to survive easily due to Italy's large flourishing underground economy, which offers irregular migrants a wide range of jobs without requiring any documents (Reyneri, 2001).

It was estimated that in 2014, 6% of the total stock of foreign nationals in Italy was irregular migrants (Delvino and Spencer, 2014). A recent article in *POLITICO* has estimated, on the basis of the statement of Italian Interior Minister, Matteo Salvini, there are 500,000 migrants living as the undocumented way in Italy (Borrelli, 2019). However, it has been argued that Italy is the country in Southern Europe had the longest experiences in regularizing the undocumented migrants through several amnesties (King and DeBono, 2013). Since 1982, Italy enacted

several regularization schemes and legalized around 5 million migrants until 2006 [Table 2.3]. For instance, the first regularization initiative enacted in 1982 by the Italian Ministry for Labour. This administrative regularization offered permits to 5000 foreigners (Ruspini, 2009:353). The second regularization was taken in 1986 by the law no.943. This legislative regularization offered permits to 105000 migrants (ibid). The third regularization was framed by the law no 39 of 1990 which is known as a "Martelli Law". A total of 220000 migrants were regularized by this law. The fourth regularization was also a legislative regularization (Law Decree No 489 of 1995) that provided a permit to 246000 migrants (ibid, 353-354). The fifth regularization was taken by the Italian Senate in1998, therefore it was an indirect regularization that accepted overall 217000 application (ibid, 354). The sixth regularization was also legislative that a product of Law no 189 of 2002 is called as "Bossi-Fini" Law. In this regularization, overall 650000 application was accepted from 702156 applications (ibid: 354-355). In 2006, there were 350000 migrants were regularized under the seventh regularization held in Italy.

RESEARCH SETTING: BANGLADESHI MIGRATION TO ITALY

A brief history

Italy recently has emerged as one of the major destinations of Bangladeshi long-term migrants in Europe (Knights, 1996; Zeitlyn, 2006; Morad and Gombac, 2015, 2018). It is already mentioned that Bangladeshi emigration to the UK, the main centre of Bangladeshis in this continent, is connected with the British Colonialism (Siddiqui, 2003b, 2004; Gardner, 1995; Morad et al., 2014). In the case of Italy, however, it is explained as a symptom of the new globalization of migration process as any geographical boundaries, colonial relationship, religious, or linguistic connection were not exist between these two countries (Knights, 1996; Knights and King, 1998).

It has been reported that while other European countries- such as Germany, France, Netherlands- have restricted their migration policies and reduced the prospects to legalize the undocumented migrants, Italy's flexible migration policy, and periodic regularization procedures, encouraged these South Asians to move to Italy as they have the opportunity to be a permanent residence and citizens of

the EU (Della Puppa, 2013, 2014; Priori, 2012; Knights, 1996, Morad and Gombac, 2018). In this regard, the amnesties those were taken in Italy to regularize irregular migrants – especially the ones in 1986, 1990, and 1998 - speeded the Bangladeshi migration flows towards Italy (Knights, 1996; Knights and King, 1998; Morad and Gombac, 2018). But it is also true that Italy presented relatively an inclusive labour market and "instrumentally lax" migration policies which were an encouraging factor for Bangladeshi migrants (Della Puppa, 2014; Morad and Gombac, 2018).

As research has argued, Bangladeshi migrants first started to arrive this Southern European country in the late 1980s, but the rapid growth was started from early 1990s (Knights and King, 1998; Zeitlyn, 2006; 2007). Many authors (Knights, 1996, Della Puppa, 2014; Priori, 2012) indicated that most of the Bangladeshi migrant who came to Italy in the period of 1980s and even in 1990s came from other countries of Europe by taking various statuses such as refugees, students, short-term trainees, and some as undocumented. However, it is also found that Bangladeshi migrants not only came from different European countries like Germany, Bulgaria, Russia, Greece, and Romania but also came from the Middle Eastern countries, such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (Morad and Gombac, 2018). Moreover, these earlier Bangladeshis in Italy first arrived in Rome and Milan, later many of them made an internal migration and relocated to the other main urban centres once they succeed in obtaining a resident permit (Della Puppa, 2013; Zeitlyn, 2006; Morad and Gombac, 2018). Especially the industrial development in Northeast Italy- for instance, Bologna, Vicenza, Padova, Venice, Verona, and Treviso- encouraged Bangladeshi internal migration towards a better social condition, secured employment and expected earnings (Della Puppa, 2013, Morad and Gombac, 2015, 2018; Zeitlyn, 2006; 2007). From then several "Bangla towns", e.g., a large concentration of Bangladeshi migrants, have been inaugurated in various locations of the country (Della Puppa, 2015; Morad and Gombac, 2015, 2018).

Channel of migration

Several studies (Knights, 1996; Rahman and Kabir, 2012; Morad and Gombac, 2018) have argued that Bangladeshi migrant usually maintains both legal and

irregular channels in their migration process to Italy. With regard to regular channels, they mostly followed a labour visa. Nevertheless, some Bangladeshis also enter to Italy with a short-term permit, such as seasonal labour visa, a tourist visa, Schengen visa of other EU states, and with training visa (Morad and Gombac, 2018). But most of them have the tendency to be overstayed after visa expiration as they had the opportunity to be offered various jobs in the shadow economy as well as hope to regularize migration status by the Italian periodic declaration to legalize the irregular migrants (ibid). Moreover, more recently, family reunification visa has become a more popular channel to enter Bangladeshis legally to Italy (Rahman and Kabir, 2012; Morad and Gombac, 2018). However, it has found that the rate who arrived in Italy on a family reunification visa is relatively low. Because, the family visa application processing is very complicated (Bonizzoni, 2015); especially family reunification visa processing is very lengthy procedures in Italian Embassy in Dhaka, Bangladesh (Rahman and Kabir, 2012).

Scholars have mentioned that the earlier Bangladeshi migration to Italy that happened during the 1980s and 1990s was largely irregular (Knights, 1996b; Knights and King, 1998; Morad and Gombac, 2018). Even though the irregular flows further declined, a good number of migrants entered Italy illegally every year (IOM, 2017b; Morad and Gombac, 2018). They used several routes in their irregular migration. Most of these migrants usually used more than one route which is a combination of 'air and land' or 'air and sea', or 'air, sea, and land' routes (Rahaman and Kabir, 2012; Morad and Gombac, 2018).

As regards air and land route, it has shown that Eastern Europe was an important intermediate destination for Bangladeshi transit migrants. A good number of Bangladeshi first travelled to Eastern European countries on a tourist visa for one or three weeks and later they arrived in Italy overland illegally where the transit countries were found as Romania, Hungary, Austria, and Bulgaria (Morad and Gombac, 2018). In particular, in this air and land route, the entry points were on the land frontiers with France, Switzerland, Austria, and Slovenia (ibid). Nevertheless, in recent years, these routes have become less popular.

However, presently the air and sea routes became most popular in arriving in Italy illegally. It is recently reported that in 2016, nearly 8000 Bangladeshi citizens arrived in Italy by sea. And between January and May 2017, this Bangladeshi illegal entry through the sea has been calculated as 7,106 persons (IOM, 2017b). In this regard, research indicates that Bangladeshi migrants first managed a tourist visa for Middle East countries than from there they go to North African countries, especially Libya. Later they arrived in Italy by crossing the Sicily channel on the Mediterranean Sea along with other countries migration flows such as from the Horn of Africa, Western Africa and Indian sub-continent towards Europe (Delicato, 2004; Morad and Gombac, 2018). Some migrants also used Turkey and Malta as their transit countries for moving Italy via the Mediterranean Sea (ibid). Furthermore, some of the Bangladeshi irregular migrants used more than two routes in their migration process which is a combination of air, land, and sea to reach Italy. Here, Turkey, Greece, Malta, and Russia, are revealed as desirable transits countries (ibid).

Trends and motivation for migrating

It has already been mentioned that Bangladesh is one of the largest source countries of immigrants to Italy. The number has increased rapidly in present times. In Italy, according to the estimates of Italian official data source *Istat* in 2017, Bangladesh is the second-largest South Asian living in Italy [Table 2.4]. In his seminal studies, Knights (1996:105) argued that the Bangladesh community in Italy entirely lived in Rome. Recent data, however, shows that Bangladeshi spread into the Peninsula, especially in Central Italy, North-Eastern, and North-Western, they are also living in other parts including South Italy and its' Islands [Table 2.5].

It is evident that the number of Bangladeshi immigrants in Italy has increased in recent times. According to the official data source *Istat* (2017a)*,* [Table 2.6], Bangladeshi immigrants living in Italy oscillated only around 35785 in 2004. This official number has increased to almost as twice (73,965) in 2009, as trice (111223) in 2013 (*Istat*, 2017a). It will be interesting to mention here that, like Knights and King (1998) found out, among the foreigners, Bangladeshis position was 40th in Italy with 5541 members in 1995. However, the most recent published

data by the Italian government statistics website (for 31 December 2016) have shown that Bangladeshis are the 5th largest non-European community in Italy with 122,428 persons (*Istat*, 2017a. These numbers of regular immigrants are projected to reach 158,000 in 2020 and 232,000 in 2030 (Blangiardo, 2010). Apart from that, Italy also hosts some undocumented Bangladeshi immigrants; therefore the real number may be higher. It was estimated that there were nearly 74000 undocumented Bangladeshi migrants living in Italy in 2009 (Rahman and Kabir, 2012).

It has argued that gender identity is also important; in the earlier Bangladeshi migrants in Italy was entirely of men (Della Puppa, 2016). After fulfilling the necessary condition when Bangladeshi irregular migrants received their stay permit in Italy, they returned to their country to marry and later wife was reunited (Bonizzoni, 2009) with the husband in Italy (Della Puppa, 2016). The gender composition of Bangladeshi immigrants in Italy is highlighted in Table 2.6. The data shows that there is an imbalance in favour of male immigrants; the number of Bangladeshi male immigrants is twice as high compared to female immigrants. Whereas in 2016 there was a total of 88263 male migrants, the number of female migrants was only 34165 [Table 2.6]. However, as it was mentioned earlier, family reunification is now the most popular channel of migration from Bangladesh to Italy. It is expected that the number of female migrants in Italy will increase in the future.

Regarding the Bangladeshi migration to Italy, studies have also shown that (Della Puppa, 2013) since global inequality (Cohen, 1987) put Bangladesh in a subordinate position compared to Europe. The migration to Italy, therefore, would offer Bangladeshis possibilities of having better employment with higher salaries compared to Bangladesh (Morad and Gombac, 2018). Furthermore, the unemployment and lack of job opportunity in Bangladesh, followed by a poor economic condition in the families pushed them to move to Italy. In this case, the migration is part of their family strategies for ensuring the standard of living of their families by providing health care and educational support to the members along with fulfilling other daily needs. And it has often become necessary when the earning member of the family became ill or died (Morad and Gombac, 2018).

However, it is also true that this migration motivation had also been arisen from non-economic motive for achieving a stable and good life, upward social mobility, for enhancing social status and prestige (ibid). In some cases, Bangladeshi migration to Italy is also considered as living in a safe destination. Here for some people due to the political reason, Bangladesh has been constructed as a place of insecurity and political vulnerabilities for living their life in the country of origin (Della Puppa, 2013; Morad and Gombac, 2018).

Bangladeshi in Northeast Italy: The research setting

Northeast Italy is a geographical area [Chart 2.3] of Italy made by four regions, such as Trentino-Alto Adige, Veneto, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, and Emilia-Romagna (Istat, 2017a). As many provinces of this geographical location are experienced with the industrial development and economic growth, it has emerged as one of the prime destinations of migrants from the 1970s (Luongo, 2011). In 2016, there were nearly 11.64 million inhabitants living in Northeast Italy (Istat, 2017b), of whom almost 1.2 million were migrants (Istat 2017a). Bangladeshis were the fifth-largest non-European migrant community in the region, numbering 29488, after Moroccans, Chinese, Indian and Pakistan (Istat, 2016a). Among the several provinces, however, the highest number of Bangladeshi migrants are living in Venice (7620) followed by Bologna (3441), Vicenza (3995), Gorizia (2234), Treviso (2005), and Padova (1655) [Table 2.7].

Researching on the province of Padova, Morad and Gombac (2018) have found that the Bangladeshi community in northeast Italy started to arrive during the 1990s. And day by day, the community has grown due to the strong social ties between Bangladeshi migrants and with their non-migrant family members. It was commonly seen that when one family member or relative migrated to Italy, he helped others member in their migration process (ibid). Bangladeshi migrants in this region participate in the Italian economy in several ways, entrepreneurs to employees (Morad and Della Puppa, 2018; Morad and Gombac, 2018).

As an employee, they mostly work in manufacturing factories, restaurant, and in the market stalls of fruits and vegetable (Morad and Gombac, 2018). Besides, in Northeast Italy, the street-hawking are also mentionable jobs of Bangladeshis for

those who are irregular. These undocumented migrants mainly sell flowers, toys, jewellery, and souvenir, handbags, and umbrella and tourist material on the streets (ibid). As a small entrepreneur, many Bangladeshis are working as the owner of clothing business, or vegetable and fruits shops, pizza and *kebab* shop while some of them opened up Bangla alimentary in several Northeast Italian cities. Research also indicates that in recent years a few Bangladeshis started seasonal agricultural farming for cultivating various Bangladeshi leafy and non-leafy vegetable in several parts in order to sell these food items to the Bangladeshi community lives in Italy (ibid).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Taken as a whole, 'Chapter Two' has delineated the fact that Bangladesh is one of the main migrant-sending countries in Asia. Even though Bangladeshi migration to Europe is connected with the British Colonialism, however, from its independence, international migration from Bangladesh mainly flourished. Since then a strong migration flows emerged who mainly migrated to the Middle-East countries (BMET, 2017; Siddiqui, 2003a). But after the Gulf crisis of war in 1990-1991, Bangladeshi migration to the Southeast and Asian countries have got a big concentration (Rahman, 2000; Ullah, 2013). Among the migration destinations, Middle Eastern countries, mainly Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Lebanon, and Jordan, and the South East Asian countries, mostly Malaysia, Singapore, and South Korea, are the prime destinations of short-term migrants. However, with regard to the long-term migrants, the main destinations are Europe, North America, and Australia where the two top countries that hosting the majority of migrants are the UK and the USA.

Bangladeshi migration to Italy is a recent phenomenon; Bangladeshi has started to arrive this country from the late 1980s, but the number has grown rapidly since the 1990 amnesty, i.e. Martelli Law, which offered Bangladeshi irregular migrants a path of Italian citizenship (Knights and King, 1998; Zeitlyn, 2006). Now Bangladesh is one of the largest source countries of immigrants to Italy; it's emerged as the fifth largest non-European community in Italy (Istat, 2017a). The earlier Bangladeshi migrants since 1990s were entirely male. But when they

started to receive the Italian stay permit and the family reunification visa has been inaugurated, migrant wife from Bangladesh started to joint them in Italy. However, the number of Bangladeshi female in Italy estimated as around half of the total Bangladeshi male migrants.

Whereas the first settlement of Bangladeshi migrants was in Rome, recent data shows that now Bangladeshis have spread to almost all corners of Italy. The major concentration of Bangladeshi immigrants seems to be in the Central, North-Eastern, and North-Western parts including South Italy and its different Islands. More specifically, it was the after the 1990s once the number of Bangladeshis has started to become larger in Rome after regularizing their administrative position, they started to move in other Italian Provinces, mainly to the Northeast Italy towards a better life (Morad and Gombac, 2018).

Tables and Figures

Table 2.1: Top 10 Countries of Bangladeshi Migrants with temporary employment

Destination Country	Total (1976-2008)	Percentage
Saudi Arabia	3,393,271	29.60
United Arab Emirates	2,364,992	20.63
Oman	1355712	11.82
Malaysia	880584	7.68
Singapore	691435	6.03
Qatar	681238	5.94
Kuwait	589014	5.14
Bahrain	409516	3.57
Lebanon	156232	1.36
Jordan	150492	1.31

Source: Bureau of Manpower, Employment, and Training (BMET), 2017

Table 2.2: Top ten foreign nationalities in Italy (2016)

Country Name	Number of Immigrant
Romania	1168552
Albania	448407
Morocco	420651
China	281972
Ukraine	234354
Philippine	166459
India	151430
Moldova	135661
Bangladesh	122428
Egypt	112765

ISTAT (2017): http://demo.istat.it/str2016/index_e.html

Table 2.3: Numbers of Migrants Regularized in Italy, 1982-2005 Year

Year	Number regularized
1982	5000
1986	105000
1990	220000
1995 -1996	246000
1998	217000
2002	650000
2006	350000
Total	4943000

Source: King & DeBono (2013:10); Ruspini, (2009:353-355)

Table 2.4: South Asians in Italy, Resident Population by sex and citizenship on 31st December 2016

South Asian Country	Males	Females	Total
India	89778	61652	151430
Bangladesh	88263	34165	122428
Pakistan	74186	34018	108204
Sri Lanka	56356	48552	104908
Nepal	890	593	1483
Bhutan	12	9	21
Maldives	12	0	12

Source: ISTAT (2017a) (http://demo.istat.it/str2016/index_e.html

Table 2.5: Bangladeshi Citizens living in the different region in Italy 31st December 2016

Geographical Area	Region	Male	Female	Total
North-West	Piemonte	2109	731	2840
	Valle d'Aosta	13	6	19
	Liguria	2480	811	3291
	Lombardia	13526	6224	19750
	Total Area	18128	7772	25900
North-East	Trentino-Alto Adige	871	481	1352
	Veneto	9602	6250	15852
	Friuli-Venezia Giulia	2046	1462	3508
	Emilia-Romagna	5645	3131	8776
	Total Area	18164	11324	29488
Center	Marche	2677	1457	4134
	Toscana	4202	1598	5800
	Umbria	374	119	493
	Lazio	26991	8057	35048
	Total Area	34244	11231	45475
South	Campania	7176	1047	8223
	Abruzzo	752	192	944
	Molise	137	9	146
	Puglia	1498	209	1707
	Basilicata	139	11	150
	Calabria	929	143	1072
	Total Area	10631	1611	12242
Islands	Sicilia	6155	2055	8210
	Sardegna	941	172	1113
	Total Area	7096	2227	9323

Source: ISTAT (2017b) (http://demo.istat.it/str2016/index_e.html)

Table 2.6: Bangladeshi in Italy in different Year

Year	Males	Females	Total
2016	88263	34165	122428
2015	84141	34649	118790
2014	81185	34116	115301
2013	77750	33473	111223
2012	63204	29491	92695
2011	54622	27061	81683
2010	55642	26809	82451
2009	49662	24303	73965
2008	43684	21845	65529
2007	37359	17883	55242
2006	33927	15648	49575
2005	29020	12611	41631
2004	25625	10160	35785

Source: ISTAT (2017a) http://demo.istat.it/index_e.html

Table 2.7: Bangladeshi in Northeast Italy on 31st December 2016

Provinces	Male	Female	Total
Venice	4878	2751	7629
Bologna	3441	2180	5621
Vicenza	2136	1859	3995
Gorizia	1298	936	2234
Treviso	1161	844	2005
Padova	1053	602	1655
Other	4197	2152	6349
Total	18164	11324	29488

Source: ISTAT (2017a) http://demo.istat.it/str2016/index_e.html

Chart 2.2: Type of permits issued to third-country nationals by 2016
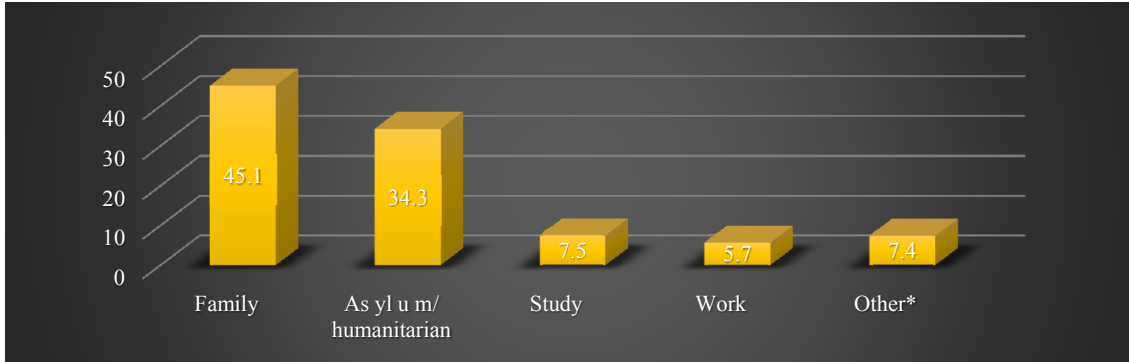
*It includes sport & arts, religious and other permits.

Source: IOM (2017a

Chart 2.3: Map of Northeast Italy

Northeast Italy consists of the following oblasts (marked in differ violet); Trentino-Alto Adige, Veneto, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, and Emilia-Romagna. The fieldwork for this thesis was conducted in Veneto and Emilia-Romagna (see methodology section for more detail about the location)

CHAPTER THREE
THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING: MULTIPLE MIGRATION

INTRODUCTION

The current era of globalization has witnessed an increase in the numbers of complex patterns of international migration which becomes increasingly diverse in recent years. Until reaching their targeted destinations or fulfilling the desired goal, after migration to a host country, a significant numbers of migrants keep them moving on instead of settling down in the origin or returning back to his/her country (Ahrens et al., 2014; Kelly, 2013; Lindley and van Hear, 2007; Mas Giralt, 2016a; Nekby, 2006; Paul, 2011, 2015; Takenaka, 2007; Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Tuckett, 2016).

It is argued that due to the constraint of capital, migrants often start their migration journey from a country, e.g., the Middle East, that imposes comparatively less restricted immigration policies and required less human and financial capital for immigration compared to the western country (Paul, 2011, 2015). From this initial destination, migrant accumulate necessary capitals which give them qualifications in moving to final destinations to the West (Paul, 2011, 2015), such as Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom (Takenaka, 2007).

However, studies also have shown that the several socioeconomic, cultural, and political factors drive migrants to take subsequent migrations from his/her first destination in order to fulfil their migration aspirations (Kelly, 2013; Mas Giralt, 2016a; Nekby, 2006; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007). In this case, even a well-off country such as Germany, Spain, Italy, Netherlands, and Sweden may work as an intermediate country. From these destinations, migrants may further move to another country where they have the possibility to achieve the expectation that they failed to receive in their current destination. For instance, Iranian refugees from Sweden to the United States (Takenaka, 2007); Latin American from Spain to the UK (Mas Giralt, 2016a), Somali from Netherlands to the UK (Van Liempt, 2011) and Iranians from Sweden, and Nigerians from Germany to the UK (Ahrens et al., 2014).

The main objective of this chapter is to provide a theoretical understanding of the main concept of this study, i.e. multiple migrations. In this connection, this chapter is divided into two parts. It begins by conceptualizing the term multiple migrations by highlighting the various concepts on multi-stage migration trajectories those are outlined in existing studies. By doing so, the first part will try to provide a working definition of 'multiple migrations' for this research. The second first will review the scholarly literature that already has explored the drivers of facilitating multiple migrations. Lastly, a profile of migrants who tend to be multiple will be presented based on the available studies.

CONCEPTUALIZING MULTIPLE MIGRATIONS

There have been a number of studies analyzed multi-stage trajectories of international migrants by proposing various concepts. For instance, first, Takenaka (2007) proposed the term 'secondary migration' in her analysis of two-step or multi-step migration trajectories among the migrant population in the US. According to her analysis, multiple secondary migrants originated mostly from developing countries who usually lived two or more intermediary richer countries before undertaking their final onward migration to the United States. Here the UK, Germany, Japan, and Canada were found to be leading transitional destinations while India was explored as top sending countries followed by China and the Philippines (ibid).

Second, researching Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong, Singapore, Philippine and Canada, Paul (2011, 2015) used the concept of 'stepwise migration' to denote the migrants who initially move towards several intermediate countries before arriving their ultimate destinations. This 'stepwise international migration' has been considered as a 'conscious strategy of low-capital migrants' (Paul, 2011, 1880). As she mentioned, "I argue that prospective migrants create in their minds a hierarchy of destinations, ranked according to multiple criteria and that the goal of stepwise international migrants is to climb as high up this hierarchy as possible until they eventually reach their preferred destination" (Ibid: 1845).

Moreover, since the early 1990s, the concept of 'transit migration' has been addressed in the plenty of 'conference and policy documents of international and intergovernmental organizations (Collyer, 2007; Düvell, 2012). This term refers to the temporary migration of asylum seekers and irregular migrants (Düvell, 2012). Here, taking a clear intention of moving, migrants stay a limited period of time in some intermediate countries without integrating into their social system (ibid).

In aforementioned three cases- secondary migration, stepwise migration, and transit migration- such researchers have argued that migrants have a clear plan in advance with regard to the preferences of intermediate and final countries of settlements (Ahrens et al., 2014; Mas Giralt, 2016a; Paul, 2011). In their multi-stage movements, migrants often create a hierarchical ranking among the destinations and from the intermediate countries migrants often acquire necessary experiences, training, and skills; accumulate necessary finance; and develop overseas networks that qualify them in entering to the ultimate destination (Ahrens et al. 2014; Paul, 2011).

In the connection of intra-EU mobility of naturalized EU citizens, several scholars (e.g. Ahrens et al., 2014; Kelly, 2013; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007; Mas Giralt, 2016a; Nekby, 2006; Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Tuckett, 2016; Haandrikman and Hassanen, 2014) coined out the term 'onward migration'. Such researchers have argued that to a large extent, migrants do not have any pre-plan for moving to intermediate or final countries when they start their first migration journey (Ahrens et al., 2014). Instead, the decisions of the relocation come later; mainly propel from the experiences migrants face in their first settlement or other following destinations (Mas Giralt, 2016a). Here migrants continue to reevaluate their opportunities in new locations in order to fulfil their migration aspiration (Toma, and Castagnone, 2015:84).

Similarly to the argument draws by the scholars of onward migration, Das Gupta (2005) referred the term twice migration to explain the two stages migration process of Indian migrants who moved from the Middle East to Canada for fulfilling their further migration goal. At the same vein, addressing on Moroccan migrants, Ossman (2004:114) recommended the term 'serial migration' to refer

the people who have moved at least three countries and lived a significant period of time with successfully integrating into each of the three locations before moving to the final one. According to him, unlike many other migrants, they move to a new country in order to have educational or professional chances, or because of personal relationships or due to family obligations. He defines multiple mobilities as a "kind of freedom in ways that might be taken as contradicting the difficulties they have experienced" (page: 117).

Furthermore,Oishi (2014) and Ciobanu (2015) used the term 'multiple migrations'. Here multiple relocations are not preplanned similarly to the above noted onward migration. According to these two researchers, multiple migrations is a journey of a migrant which first started from his/her country of origin to a primary destination. And after a period of residence in the first settlement, migrant again moves to the second country for fulfilling their migration goal. In the same way, migrations may happen in several locations in their life trajectories (Ciobanu, 2015).

Drawing on Oishi (2014) and Ciobanu (2015), this study has chosen the term multiple migrations for tracing the previous country of settlements as well as the onward migration journies of Bangladeshi first-generation migrants who are now Italian citizens. This research also keen to accommodate the ideas of above-stated various concepts, e.g. secondary migrations, stepwise migration, transition migration, and onward migration. At this point, this study is going to see either their multiple journeys are pre-planned or primarily generate from the experiences they encountered in several societies of destinations or by both.

MIGRANTS' LIKELIHOOD OF MULTIPLE MIGRATIONS: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATUR

Even though in recent years a substantial body of literature explicitly suggests that emigration to a particular country is not permanent, there is no clear consensus among the scholars on the drivers of multiple migration trajectories. However, studies those analyzes the various patterns of remigrations have indicated some factors why more and more migrants keep on moving instead of settling down in their first country of destination (Oishi, 2014). The following

section tries to synthesize these empirical findings in order to identify the factors induce multistage migrations.

For accumulating the necessary capital

Some scholars have argued that multiple migrations are necessary for a migrant who did not able to move to his/her prepared destination because of the limited economic, social and cultural capital and due to the shortage of necessary finance, work experience and educational qualification (Paul, 2011, 2015; Takenaka, 2007). For instance, most of the migrant-receiving countries in the developed world, such as. Western Europe, North America or in Australia, have formulated very strict immigration policies. In many cases, therefore, migrant first move to a country that imposes lower barriers to entry (Paul, 2011, 2015). This first migration has been considered as a way of increasing migrant's limited capacity of agency (Kelly, 2013).

In this regard, interviewing 95 Filipino migrants in several locations, Paul (2011), finds that multiple migrants often first start their migration from Middle Eastern countries such as UAE, Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia. Afterwards, migrant take an upward trajectory to Southeast Asia (Singapore, Malaysia, and Brunei) and East Asian countries (Hong Kong and Taiwan). Furthermore, these stepwise migrants keep their migration project ongoing until arriving their "dream destinations" i.e. usually Europe (Italy, UK, Spain, Cyprus) and North America (Canada, USA) by pulling towards obtaining permanent resident status and citizenship and upward employment mobility. Here the first and subsequent destinations often work as a "stepping-stone" since migrants accumulate necessary all types of capital from these transitional countries which qualify them in moving to a final destination (Paul, 2011, 2015). In this regard, Paul (2011:1843) pointed out the following:

> While working overseas, stepwise international migrants attempt to increase their savings, gain the necessary work experience and educational certifications to qualify for jobs in more preferred countries, and/or build their network of overseas contacts, all with the goal of accumulating sufficient migrant capital resources so as to gain entry into a more desirable destination country.

In this regard, analyzing the experiences of migrants originated from Asia, Oishi (2014) have argued that more and more people are engaged in multiple

migrations because of the demand of experienced migrants in the global labour market. She finds that, for instance, if a semi-skilled and unskilled Asian migrant wants to live in Canada as a caregiver, he/she must need prior work experiences in the same field from a country like Hong Kong or Singapore. So that he/she obtains the permit to stay in Canada which ultimately provide them with the possibility to stay there as a permanent residence or citizen.

To escape financial difficulties and securing employment

Research has shown that global economic recessions generate the likelihood of remigration (Bastia, 2011; Martin, 2009; Papademetriou and Terrazas, 2009). By the same token, in some EU countries (e.g., Spain, Italy) economic hardship and it's severe impacts on the economy has generate intra-EU mobility among the naturalized EU citizens[12] and long-term residence (Benton and Petrovic, 2013; Domínguez-Mujica et al., 2014; Mas Giralt, 2016a; Sacchetto and Vianello, 2012; Toma and Castagnone, 2015). For instance, Mas Giralt (2016a) work found that since 2008 due to the deep economic depression, a high number of Latin American migrant moved from Spain to the UK as a result of the loss of jobs mostly in the construction and hospitality sectors and also for decreasing the salaries. As she suggested, "Unemployment and existing debts in Spain were cited by many of the participants as the main motivations that led Latin Americans to undertake onward migration to the UK" (Ibid: 7).This economic crisis of a particular migrant-receiving country can also generate return migration. For example, on the basis of Bolivian returnees from Argentina (18 interviews) and from Spain (11 interviews), Bastia (2011), argued that migrant decides to return their country of origin in the period economic downtown.

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[12] EU citizenship has been considered as an ultimate goal for the migrants with non-EU background (Sredanovic and Della Puppa 2017; Danaj and Çaro, 2016; Van Liempt, 2011). This is because after the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, citizens of one of the EU member state are recognized as the EU citizens (Ahrens et al., 2014). EU citizenship therefore provide the free movement inside the EU and give access to the equal right to the citizens of 32 countries (EU, European Economic Area, and Switzerland) (Ahrens et al., 2014).

However, in the context of Europe, some studies pointed out that onward relocation of naturalized citizens is not always related to the economic recession in the country of their residence. This happens because citizen with the background of migrant origin often encounter with the underemployment and finding a qualified job. For instance, Kelly (2011: 21), researching of Swedish Iranian migration to the UK, pointed out that most of them have difficulties in getting meaningful employment; and the limited jobs and income have an impact on their decision of re-movement to the UK. In a similar track, Lindley and Van Hear (2007), focusing on the relocation of Somalis and Sri Lankan Tamils from several EU countries to the UK, argued that employment prospects of migrants are getting limited and unemployment rate are increasing in mainland Europe. As they revealed, migrants are facing a problem even into accessing to unskilled jobs due to the insufficiency of required language skilled whereas they have the ample opportunities of getting jobs in the UK as language is not the barrier there.

Nevertheless, researchers also have noted that this onward relocation is not always a case of semi-skilled and unskilled migrants, highly-skilled migrants having university graduations also often involved in multiple migrations because of the below-average employment and low paid income in the country of citizenship (Nekby, 2006; Kelly 2012). It has shown that the citizenship status has very little influences on migrants' employment advancement or and the equal prospects in the labour market of their first EU country (Ahrens et al., 2014). There are also difficulties in transferring the credentials migrants achieved in the home country. So they often failed to manage better employment even though they have such qualifications. For instance, some Tamil migrants with Sri Lankan university degrees relocated to the UK from Netherlands and France as they had a problem to qualify for a better job with their degrees achieved from the home country (Lindley and Van Hear, 2007). Moreover, in the case of Japan, Oishi (2014:8) found out that this highly skilled migrants' multiple relocations are not always "money-driven"; many of them give the priority to the 'career development' instead of giving priority on more salary.

Towards building the future of the next generation

There is evidence that 'the career of the second generation' is also crucial for multiple migrants. In this regard, research has shown that third country EU citizens have the tendency of moving to the UK for providing English education to their children. Such studies indicate onward migrants think that if their children obtained British universities degrees, they can easily have a better career everywhere; especially when they go back to their home country. For example, many European Somalis from Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, and many European Tamils from mainland Europe (Lindley and Van Hear, 2007); Dutch-Somalis, Swedish-Iranians, and German-Nigerians (Ahrens et al., 2014) are relocating to the UK mainly to provide their kids English educations. Besides, taking the same motivation, some Swedish African migrated to Australia (Haandrikman and Hassanen 2014).

In line with EU migrants, Oishi (2014) noted that various highly skilled Japanese immigrants re-migrate to other countries by having the aspiration of providing quality English education to their children. Similarly, Das Gupta (2005) finds that South Asian migrants who lead their comfortable lives with higher salaries and various opportunities in the Middle East, made their second migration to Canada only for ensuring English education for their offspring. Likewise, Jung et al. (2017), revealed that many North Korean refugees in South Korea who have the very limited social, cultural or financial capital to send their children overseas for pursuing education, has taken onward migration to Australia by submitting another refugee protection application. According to Jung et al. (2017), many of these North Korean refugees considered this onward migration for educating children in English as crucial for taking upward social mobility and surviving in the global market completion.

However, from various EU countries, this onward migration for the career of offspring is also taking place because students in some migrant families, mainly who acquired secondary and higher secondary education from their home country, often forced to repeat their previous education in getting the university admission. Therefore, they are relocating to a country where their home country degrees are recognized. For instance, some German Nigerian moved to the UK

as Nigerian education is accepted in qualifying the admission in the British universities (Ahrens et al., 2014). Besides, there are also difficulties of migrants over transferring the credentials achieved in the home country (Ahrens et al., 2014). So they often encounter with the constraint in managing better employment even though they have higher university degrees. For that reason, some Tamil migrants with Sri Lankan university degrees relocated to the UK from the Netherlands and France (Lindley and Van Hear, 2007). Moreover, onward migration is also generated by the motivation of keeping their children away from the discrimination they faced in their first EU country of residence (Ahrens et al., 2014).

For social regrouping and retaining cultural identity through staying inside the diaspora

It has been argued that diasporic consciousness and networks are also important factors in driving onward migration (Jung et al. 2017). In this regard, some migrants reallocate from several EU countries to the UK for staying close to their bigger diaspora community that has already been established there (Ahrens et al., 2014; Bang Nielsen, 2004; Lindley and van Hear, 2007; Toma and Castagnone 2015). This relocation, therefore, has addressed as migrants 'social regrouping' (Lindley and van Hear, 2007). When migrants achieved the qualification (e.g EU citizenship), they moved to that destination where their family members and friends already settled (ibid). For instance, after getting the citizenship various Somalis and Tamils from continental Europe are moving to the UK to rejoin with their family and friends that already moved there (Lindley and Van Hear, 2007).

In addition to this regrouping, the relocation decision has also pulled by their possibility of retaining cultural identity with staying inside the bigger diaspora where they can keep them get in touch with several cultural objects and able to maintain their own style of living. As two research findings have shown the following:

"A further important socio-cultural factor encouraging movement specifically to the UK is the greater critical mass of the Tamil population, which sustains temples, Tamil language classes, Saturday schools, and meets other cultural needs. The

contrast with life in continental Europe in this respect is often articulated. For example, the Tamil family formerly living in Germany felt isolated there" (Lindley and Van Hear, 2007:15).

"Somali mother who moved to Leicester to be close to Somali friends and family, to have Somali shops on her street, eat Somali food, speak the language, to be able to dress the way she wants and to give her children a religious upbringing. She said there was no mosque in the Dutch village where she lived and she constantly felt guilty that she was not giving her children a good upbringing. Now they have a mosque close by" (Ahrens et al., 2014:9).

These all the home country's cultural aspects, provide the relocated migrants with a feeling of home. In this regard, Bang Nielsen (2004,:9) revealed that whereas migrants have the possibility to have a feeling of foreigners in some EU countries (e.g. Somalis in Denmark), but in a multicultural society like Britain, due to the larger presence of their community people, they construct their image about British society in a different way which they signify as a part of their own society: "One positive thing I can say about Britain is that you don't feel like a foreigner. It's really a multicultural society. You can say that you are at home… that you are part of the society" (Ibid, 2004:9).

To avoid formal and informal discrimination

Research with the naturalize EU citizens indicates that the decision of onward migration is also happening as a result of formal and informal discrimination and racism in some EU countries (Ahrens et al. 2016; Van Liempt, 2011b). In this regard, such studies have shown that the decision of remigration is largely made by the feelings of exclusion due to the changing policies, the attitudes of the civil societies, and the increasing anti-migrant sentiments in some EU countries (Kelly, 2013).

Nevertheless, the disappointment has also arisen from cultural and religious points of view. In this sense, Lindley and Van Hear (2007) research on Somali and Tamil Sri Lankan Europeans' onward migration to the UK address this relocation motivation as a matter of '*feeling of being pushed back*' which create for several reasons:

"People often emphasized hostile political attitudes, adverse public opinion, and negative media coverage regarding immigrants and Muslims in their country of citizenship, citing particular controversies relating to anti-immigration politics and anti-Islamic news coverage in the Netherlands, debates in Denmark on the circumcision of Somali girls, and the controversy over the wearing of veils in French schools" (Lindley and Van Hear, 2007, 9:10).

Similarly to Lindley and Van Hear's (2007) findings, researching on twelve Danish Somalis who moved to the UK after achieving the citizenship, Bang Nielsen (2004) indicated that the decision of relocation is made on the basis of their feelings of dissatisfaction with their life in Denmark. Based upon such frustration they constructed an image about their next destination where they expect a most multicultural environment:

"Denmark is thus a society of control, racism, and discrimination in employment opportunities, whereas Britain, or 'England' as they most often name it, is a country of freedom, tolerance, and opportunities. That is, Britain consists of all the good aspects that Denmark does not possess and this is the image, which has made some of the respondents migrate to Britain as well as the image they communicate to Danish Somalis still living in Denmark" (Bang Nielsen, 2004:10).

Research on multiple migrations on Italian naturalized migrants

So far, there has been little research conducted specifically on the drivers of onward migration from Italy to other countries, with the exceptions of Della Puppa and King, 2018; Ortensi and Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2018; and Tuckett, 2016 Conversely, most of the research that conducted on remigration address mainly on migrant intention to stay in Italy or return back to the country origin (Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2016; Barbiano di Belgiojoso and Ortensi, 2013; Bonifazi and Paparusso, 2018; Paparusso and Ambrosetti, 2017).

Among the above-mentioned research on onward migration, Della Puppa and King (2018) address on Italian Bangladeshis onward relocation to the UK. They have argued that such relocation is happening for escaping socially limiting factory work in Italy, investing the educational career of the second generation, living with the bigger Bangladeshi community established there, for a feeling of a

home towards the UK, and for receiving several facilities including the religious freedom that are not available in Italy.

Ortensi and Barbiano di Belgiojoso (2018), based on 2014 ORIM data, analyzed the historic and economic factors for moving onward of migrants from Italy. Their quantitate analysis suggested that the recent trend of onward migration from Italy is largely a cause of the economic crisis. Their article also highlights that relocation tendency is an "opportunity for the spouse and again in the economic prospects of the entire family" (page 1).On the contrary, they find employment of female has a substantial role in avoiding such migration from Italy. Their paper finally argues that the 'onward migration intention' is largely described as "part of a reactive strategy to cope with the rise of unemployment and economic uncertainty among foreign-born citizens in Italy" (page, 3).

Furthermore, Tuckett (2016) finds that migrants in Italy encounter a certain level of racial discrimination in their everyday life. As a result, migrant parents have worries with regard to the future of their second generation. They thought that their children are treated as "second-class citizens". Even though their offspring born and raised in Italy, they have a fear that maybe their second generation has a little possibility in getting higher status jobs with having the Italian educational achievement. Therefore, they would like to move somewhere towards a more multicultural country where they have a very fewer possibility of encountering such situations and have better prospects of their children (ibid).

Similarly, Fullin and Reyneri (2011) explained how a sense of disappointment immerge on the migrant mind due to the limited prospects are available to migrants. They have shown that Italy is one of the developed countries that provide a minimal level of social benefit, thus during the unemployment period migrant must depend on their family's assistance. They argued that university education even does not protect them from the threat of unemployment. There is a job readily available for them are 'skilled blue colour jobs' which bring low social standing. Thus migrants are nearly excluded from a minimum level of qualified jobs that indicate their good social status.

In the other studies, Barbiano di Belgiojoso (2016) has found in his research that one-third of Italian immigrants are intended to stay permanently in this country. Among the others who are interested to take onward migration, the majority of them are male and graduate, or a long and short term unemployed. Similarly to Nekby (2006) research in Sweden, Barbiano di Belgiojoso (2016) also finds that male migrants with a higher education certificate are more likely to leave Italy. Mainly, migrants who are looking better employment outside of Italy for contributing better financial supports to back home. In this case, according to her analysis, the Italian economic recession also has an impact on remigration. Here she argued that migrant economic conditions are also a matter for remigration; who are able to make sufficient saving are less interested to move.

Moreover, Barbiano di Belgiojoso and Ortensi (2013) have found that irregular migrants have a higher tendency to both re-migrate to a third country and return to the home country. Their studies also suggest that there is an intention to use free mobility in other EU states among the educated documented migrants. But this intention is less in the case of female migrants with equal educational background. Here they pointed out that " A stronger commitment to the family and the higher costs (also psychological) of first migration could also determine women's greater reluctance to change the original migration project" (ibid, 36)

After the aforementioned discussion, one can argue that a combination of socioeconomic, cultural, and political drivers propel multiple migrations. However, these factors can vary from one individual migrant to another migrant based on his/her career path in his entire life trajectories. As it is argued by Oishi (2014:7) "It is important, however, to note that each factor often explains only one of the entire multiple migration segments. An individual migrant can have several pathways caused by different factors. The factors can change over time throughout his/her life stages". At this point, it also has shown that existing studies have a little discussion about the previous migration experiences of the migrants in one of the EU countries who are taking onward migration to the UK or any other destinations. But their previous experiences also need to take under the consideration for getting a better understanding about in what extent migrants

take multiple migrations decisions at different stages of their lives (Oishi, 2014; Schapendonk, 2012), which this PhD research is also hoping to address.

MULTIPLE MIGRANTS: WHO ARE THEY?

The above-mentioned review has already underlined that migrants with more limited employment opportunities and low level of income tend to be more multiple (e.g. Barbiano di Belgiojoso and Ortensi, 2013; Haandrikman, and Hassanen, 2014; Kelly 2013). Nevertheless, some studies depict that who made onward relocation had higher income and education compared to those who return home country and settled down the country of citizenship (Nekby, 2006) and those are highly skilled usually have the tendency of taking multi-stage migrations (Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2016; Takenaka, 2007). However, it is argued that although women have the same qualification, education, and skill, they are not largely engaged in multiple migrations on their own (Ciobanu 2015; Barbiano di Belgiojoso and Ortensi, 2013) except who have the highest education, i.e. PhD (Ciobanu, 2015). As, addressing Romanian migrants in Portugal, Ciobanu's (2015) research highlights:

> "…men are more involved in multiple migrations. Women, meanwhile, most often follow their husbands both in the contexts of the first and second migration experience. The only variable that appeared to change this dynamic was the level of education. In the case of women who pursue or have a PhD degree and work in research, the fieldwork showed that they experienced multiple migrations on their own" (Ciobanu, 2015:481).

However, in terms of the gender profile, studies on multiple migrants have found out the different result. Some identified that more multiple migrants tend to be female (King and Newbold, 2007). But others indicated that male are experienced multiple migrations more compared to that of female (Aydemir and Robinson 2006). Furthermore, there is no consensus regarding whether multiple migrants are like to be old or young (Oishi, 2014).

Furthermore, it could be interesting to outline the typology provided by Ahrens et al. (2014) regarding multiple migrants[13]. In the European context, they classify onward migrants into four categories. First, 'career migrants' who relocate for building their employment. Second, 'student movers' who become onward for taking better educational opportunities. Third, 'family movers' who are moving toward enhancing their children's prospects. Fourth, 'political movers' who decided to move again because they lost their sense of belonging to their EU country of citizenship due to the changing policies as well as increasing discrimination. Fifth, 'diaspora movers'- they are moving mainly for staying close with their family and friends in other countries by following family or other networks. Finally, 'cosmopolitan movers' who wish to stay in a multicultural global city like London.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This Chapter provided a theoretical understanding of multiple migrations by analyzing existing literature.

With regard to conceptualization of the term multiple migration, the discussions have shown that in recent years several studies have been conducted on similar studies of multiple migrations, such as 'stepwise migrations' (Paul, 2011, 2015), 'secondary migrations' (Takenaka, 2007), 'transit migrations' (Collyer, 2007; Düvell, 2012), 'twice migrations' (Das Gupta, 2005), 'serial migrations' (Ossman, 2004), 'onward migrations' (Ahrens et al. 2014; Kelly, 2013; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007; Mas Giralt, 2016a; Nekby, 2006; Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Tuckett, 2016; Haandrikman and Hassanen, 2014), and 'multiple migrations' (Oishi, 2014 and Ciobanu, 2015). Drawing on Oishi (2014) and Ciobanu (2015), this research selects the term 'multiple migrations' to discuss the previous migration experiences and onward migration tendencies of Italian Bangladeshis. This study also interested to accommodate the ideas of above-stated various concepts to see either their multiple journeys are pre-planned or

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[13] At some points this typology may be overlapped with the discussion of previous section about the drivers of multiple migration. However, it is provided to have a clear idea about various type of multiple migrations.

primarily generate from the experiences they encountered in several societies of destinations or by both.

Concerning the drivers of multiple migrants, after reviewing the literature, this chapter finds that existing studies identified a combination of socioeconomic, cultural, and political drivers those propel multiple migrations. We may summarize these aspects into some broadhead such as, for accumulating necessary capital; to escape financial difficulties and securing employment; towards building the future of the next generation; for social regrouping and retaining cultural identity through staying inside the diaspora; to avoid formal and informal discrimination. Taking these research findings into consideration, this study analyzes a series of individual factors associated with the multiple migrations experiences of Italian Bangladeshis in Europe- Italy and the UK.

This study also considers the fact that the drivers may vary from one individual migrant to another migrant based on his/her career path in his entire life migration trajectories. In this regard, this study argues that the previous migration experiences of naturalised third-country EU nationals, who are making onward migration, is also necessary to analyze for developing a better conclusion regarding in what extent migrant takes multiple migrations decisions at different stages of their trajectories (Oishi, 2014; Schapendonk, 2012). But the previous migration experiences of onward migrants, who are moving from one of the EU countries, are not largely focused on the current migration literature. But existing literature focus very little about the previous migration trajectories of EU naturalized onward migrants.

Furthermore, above review of the works of literature have also indicated another limitation; i.e. there is less attention has been paid on how migrants' social networks and transnational ties influence their subsequent mobilities (Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Koser, 2010). Nevertheless, it is undeniable that migrants with transnational connections in several locations may influence them in taking remigration to a new destination to fulfil their further migration aspiration (Kelly, 2013; Carling and Erdal, 2014; Carling and Pettersen, 2014). This PhD research is also going to address these less explored issues.

CHAPTER FOUR
SOCIAL NETWORK AND TRANSNATIONALISM:
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

In migration studies, from the late 1980s, there has been significant scholarly attention of the role of social networks in the direction and persistence of migration streams (e.g. Boyd, 1989; Faist and Ozveren, 2004; Massey, 1988). However, Social network theory has a long history going back to the 19th century. Earlier sociological theorists such as August Comte, Ferdinand Tönnies, Emile Durkheim, Herbert Spencer, were very likely the precursors of this approach (e.g. Freeman, 2004). All of these classical sociological theorists explained different types of social ties that link individuals with various forms of social collectivities. Nevertheless, it is believed that Georg Simmel was the first scholar at the turn of the twentieth century who used directly the term 'social network' (Freeman, 2004).

On the other hand, whereas the early sociology of migration research addressed mostly the ways in which immigrant adapt themselves to their country of migrations and socially excluded from their country of origin (Vertovec, 2001), in the 1990s, however, social scientists introduced a new perspective 'the migrant notion of transmigration' by focusing on Latin American and Caribbean migration to the United States (Glick Schiller et al., 1992, 1995). Whereas the assimilation theory describes immigrants as people who uproot themselves and sever linkages with their homeland, but the basis of the transnationalism is migrants' cross-border practices (Glick Schiller et al., 1995). This new approach underlines that during the process of incorporation into the new places, migrants also maintain the transnational connections with the home society. Thus, transnational perspectives argue that the process of integration and homeland ties can happen simultaneously (Levitt and Glick Shiller, 2004).

This chapter is devoted to theorizing social networks and transnationalism with respect to providing a better understanding of how these two concepts are related

to multiple migrations. The first part of this chapter is related to the discussion of social network theories. This part presents the existing literature in order to understand how migrant access and utilize their social ties in the (multiple) migratory processes. And lastly, transnationalism will be theorized which begins with a conceptual definition about transnationalism with relation to its meaning in contemporary migration studies. Afterwards, the pertinent literature on migrant's various transnational linkages will be presented.

THEORISING SOCIAL NETWORKS

Conceptualizing social networks

The term social network refers to a set of social actors, members, or nodes that are connected through different types of relations (Zhang, 2010). In the same vein, Goss and Lindquist (1995:329) argued that social networks are 'webs of interpersonal interactions' mainly include of relatives, friends, or other relations sustaining by the social and economic activities that act as channels through which information, influence, and resources move. In the network, members are linked to their common interests and/or obligations that primarily remain active due to personal contact. Nevertheless, these social networks operate on many levels, from families to nations (ibid).

In migration studies, sociologist Douglas Massey and his associates are thought to be the pioneer who used social network concept (Massey and España, 1987; Massey, 1988). Massey (1988: 396) defines that migration social networks are "sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in the origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin". Massey and España (1987) pointed out that the migrants' social networks are an important social institution that bridge between countries of origin and countries of destination. In the same vein, in her fascinating study, Boyd (1989) views migration social networks as structural factors which provide individuals or groups with a context for making migration decisions. In this regard, she argued that networks in migration studies indicate "migration as a social product - not as the sole result of individual decisions made by individual actors, not as the sole result of economic or political

parameters, but rather as an outcome of all these factors in interaction" (p, 642).

Moreover, migration scholars have often presented the concept of social networks as synonymous to the social capitals (e.g. Bloch, 2013; Ryan et al. 2008). Bourdieu (1986:51) defined social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group". Here, according to Bourdieu (1986), the level of social capital is determined, first, by the social relationship that provides access to the resources, and, second, by the stock and quality of the resources. In a similar way, Putnam (2007:137) describes social capital as "social networks and associational norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness". Moreover, Coleman (1988) has also contributed to the concept of social capital which is associated with the work of Bourdieu (1986) and Putnam (2007) since he sees social capital as "relations among person" (p, 100). Later, Portes (1998:9) illustrates social capital as (i) 'a source of social control'; (ii) 'a source of family support'; and (iii) 'a source of benefits through extra-familial networks'.

Social networks, therefore, signify as the key sources of migrant social capital (e.g. Bloch, 2013; Ryan et al., 2008). But migrants' 'volume of social capital' depends on the size of their networks (Bourdieu, 1986). In this sense, Putnam (2000, 2007) lists two types of social capital- bonding and bridging capital. According to Putnam, bonding social capital is the 'ties to people who are like me in some important way' (2007: 143). Bonding social capital thus indicates the strong connection exists within the ethnic group (e.g. ties with family members, close friends, and neighbours that help migrant in developing, protecting and integrating the strong social networks (Lancee, 2010; Vasey, 2015). In contrast, Putnam referred to 'bridging social capital' as 'ties to people who are unlike me in some important way' (Putnam, 2007: 143). Bridging social capital thus refers to the social networks between groups that extend ties into more diverse groups (Bloch, 2013; Lancee, 2010; Vasey, 2015). Nevertheless, there is evidence that 'bonding capital and bridging capital' may exist simultaneously (Putnam, 2007).

Furthermore, to identify fully how social networks denote the link with several social addresses, Granovetter (1973, 1983, 1985) divided this concept into "strong" and "weak ties. These are two different forms of the 'social cap', generally recognized as 'the norms and networks of trust and cooperation in a society' (Ashman et al, 1998:168). According to Granovetter, strong ties are determined by the connection with family members, relatives, good friends, and neighbours, while weak ties are measured by the contact with outside the immediate circle of family and close friends, such as acquaintance or friends of a friend (Granovetter, 1983: 206, 207). Granovetter pointed out that these two types of ties provide different resources: "weak ties provide people with access to information and resources beyond those available in their own social circle, but strong ties have greater motivation to be of assistance and are typically more easily available" (ibid: 209). He argued that weak ties are so vital but one need to link that with people from various social locations (ibid). Nevertheless, both ties are not found to be equally important in all countries. For instance, like the findings of Granovetter (1973), focusing on social networks in job findings, recent studies have found that in USA people are most likely to rely on weak ties (Gee et al., 2017). But in the case of some countries, for instance in southern Europe (Bentolila and Ichino, 2008) and in China (Bian, 1997) strong tie are more important.

Access to and use of social networks in the migration process: Review of recent research

A substantial body of literature finds that social networks provide potential migrants information about their available destinations, the gatekeeper for contacts, and money to moves on the one hand, and it provides several assistances, like accommodation, employment, information as well as psychological and cultural supports, upon arrival at their destinations on the other (Boyd, 1989; Goss and Lindquist, 1995; Ryan et al. 2008; Vertovec, 2002). Especially, as regard undocumented migration, migrant networks facilitate the emigration process by providing migrants with information about their new host society, travel routes to reach the destination, and the provision of false documents for traveling (Stöbbe, 2000; Ryan et al, 2008; and Rainer and Siedler,

2009), and several supports and assistance useful for coping with the daily hardship in the destination (Kosic and Triandafyllidou, 2004; Stöbbe, 2000; Reyneri, 2001, Rainer and Siedler, 2009; and Sumption, 2009).

Nevertheless, all network ties are not identified as equally important. Boyd (1989: 661), for instance, has argued that kinship ties are the main bases of migrants' personal networks that play an important role in shaping migration decision. In this connection, Herman (2006) findings with the Moroccan and Senegalese migrants in Spain and Egyptian and Ghanaian migrants in Italy, revealed that family networks provide important support in facilitating migration compared to a tie with friends and acquaintances. Van Meeteren and Pereira (2013), in their research with Brazilian migrants in Portugal and the Netherlands, also noticed that migrants who have the family members in the destinations provided the fund for paying the trip and all the primary assistance upon arrival, mostly related to the housing and finding jobs. In addition to this, as Pathirage and Collyer (2011) study on Sri Lankan migrants in Italy indicates, most of the material support which migrants need urgently upon arrival, for instance, financial assistance for maintaining the daily needs until finds a job is mainly arranged by the kinship related ties.

However, Palloni et al., (2011) have explored that in shaping migration decision, kinship networks are not always the main vehicle, other ties, such as friendship or acquaintance ties are also equally important. Even in some cases, these weaker ties play a more important role compared to the kinship one as Liu (2013) observed this in his study with migration between Senegal and Europe. His findings indicate that strong ties, such as a closed family network with aunt/uncle/niece/nephew are essential in the case of female migration, but friendship networks are the main vehicle in facilitating male migration. Similarly to these two studies, Cummings et al, (2015) noticed that irregular migrants who arrived in Europe have received assistance largely from friends instead of relatives.

Ryan's (2011) study on Polish migration to London, has shown that ethnic networks may work at the beginning of migration stages, but the dynamics of networks are needed over time. As a newcomer to the host country, migrant often

has very few weak ties, but they may construct and maintain several weak ties by utilizing their immediate environment (Giulietti et al, 2014). In this regard, Comola and Mendola's (2015) study indicates that migrants have the tendency to develop a relationship with the co-nationals from their own areas of regions who provide them with a certain level of support. In addition, as Ryan (2007) has revealed, even though migrants have the relative in the destination country, they have the tendency in building a close friendship with other countries' migrants who often provide them various types of emotional and instrumental support. But Ryan (2011) research have shown that for creating this new friendship, some sort of similar social position is required. More specifically, the most essential elements are needed to develop the friendship are shared interests, same professions and educational qualifications, and a common interests or motivations (ibid).

Role of Social Networks in International Migrations from Bangladesh: Existing Studies

The migration literature on Bangladesh to date have analyzed very little the role of social networks in facilitating international migration. Some studies, Ullah (2013); Nayeem (2012); and Rahman (2017), those have addressed on migrant social networks, mainly focuses on Bangladeshi labour migration to Asia. Among these three studies, Rahman (2017) study on Bangladeshi migration to Singapore has provided a general scenario of the ways in which social networks facilitate Bangladeshi migrations. According to Rahman (2017), in the formation of social networks, kinship ties are the most significant bases in the case of Bangladeshi migration. He founds that in the Kinship networks, a closed relation such as brothers, brother-in-law, first uncles, and cousins are most important. Here family connection has been considered as the more secured bond in making interpersonal relationships. However, as he finds, among the family members, brothers have always the first priority when it comes to supporting. As he argued,

"The strongest relationships in the networks are between migrants and their brothers. Receiving many demands for assistance from friends and relatives while in Singapore, migrants naturally display a preference for their brothers [.....]. To a brother arriving in Singapore without prior experience of cosmopolitan living, a

series of obligations is owed: a place to stay, help in getting acquainted with local disciplinary rules and regulations and workplace behaviour, a loan of money or payment for the trip are just a few examples of how sibling ties are extended and tested in the migrant context" (Page -82).

In terms of provision of assistance, the second important ties within Bangladeshi migrant family networks are consist of between a migrant with his uncles or cousins or brothers-in-law (ibid,82-83). Aside from this family bond, according to Rahman, two types of ties exist in the migration networks, such as *esthanio* and *attiyo*. Here the term *esthanio* refers to the people who are originated from the same geographical location based on village, *union Parishad, Upazila*, or district. And the term *attiyo* implies extended kin relationships. In his research, he found that in most case, *attiyo* holds thousands of persons, who are regarded as an 'insiders' even though they are not immediate family members (Ibid, 83). In the destinations, these two bonds- all *attiyos* and *esthanios* are important for coming forward with mutual aid (ibid). Moreover, outside of the family, the strong bond is created by the individual of the same age group who raised together in their village and shared formative experiences in school or sports. In the networks, these migrant friend groups help one another in several ways, mainly through searching for new jobs, providing information, sharing resources, and lending or giving money (ibid).

Taken as a whole, this section has delineated the fact that social networks have an important role that provides social capital which migrants utilize in several ways in their pre-and post-migration settings. But the studies mainly focused on the role of social networks in the case of migrants' first international move. Less attention has been paid to the ways in which migrants use their social ties in their subsequent mobilities (Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Koser, 2010). It is quite expected that migrants have social connections in several locations may be influenced in taking remigration to a new destination to fulfil their further migration aspiration (Kelly, 2013; Carling and Erdal, 2014; Carling and Pettersen, 2014). So, in order to draw a broader conclusion regarding the multiple migration decision, it is needed to analyze the role of social networks in promoting relocations of multiple migrants.

THEORIZING TRANSNATIONALISM

Conceptualizing of transnationalism

Whereas classical migration theories highlights on reasons and consequences of international migration within the frame of one nation-state, the transnational migration perspective see migration as an ongoing and complex process in which migrants have a continuous engagement with multiple localities and build different cross-border formation (Faist, 2000; Amelina, 2010; Withaeckx et al., 2015). Current migrant studies, thus, recognized that increasing number of immigrants are transmigrants (Glick Schiller et al., 1995) who have dual lives, speak two languages and have a home at least in two countries and maintain constant contact across the national boundaries (Portes et al., 1999). Under conditions of transnationalization, persons may hold multiple memberships in different social spheres with which they affiliate themselves. To be more precise, persons are able to hold different ethnic, national or religious affiliations simultaneously (Faist, 2012). Advanced, cheaper, and more efficient means of transport and communication have been described as the key drivers of this increased density, multiplicity, and importance of the transnationality of transmigrants (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Verhulst, 1999; Vertovec, 2001).

Regarding the definition of transnationalism, contemporary sociological and anthropological research has indicated its various directions. The widely cited definition of this concept is provided by Basch et al. (1994:7): "the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-standard social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement". More specifically, as Glick Schiller and Fouron (1999:344) mentioned, transnational migration is nothing but a pattern of migration which indicates that migrant maintains ongoing social relations with his country of origin even though they move across the nation-states' borders, and settle and create a relation in a new country. In a similar vein, Vertovec (1999a: 447) describes transnationalism as "a condition in which, despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders (and all the laws, regulations and national narratives they represent), certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place

paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common –however virtual–arena of activity". Thus, according to him transnationalism indicate the 'linkages between people, places and institutions' that cross the international borders (Vertovec, 2009). Moreover, highlighting the diversification of this concept, Vertovec (1999a:449-456) conceptualizes this term as a 'social morphology', 'type of consciousness', ' mode of cultural reproduction', 'avenue of capital', 'site of political engagement', and 'reconstruction of place or locality'.

Some authors focused on the types of transnationalism. For instance, first, Smith and Guarnizo (1998) have categorized transnationalism as 'from above' and 'from below'. According to them, the activities of transnationalism from above denotes the activities of multinationals with transnational capital, global media, and so on. And, from below it indicates the activities in which migrants engage in the transnational social space (Faist, 2000). Besides, Guarnizo (1997) divided transnational activities from 'group level' and 'individual level'. According to him, the group level activities refers to a series of economic, socio-cultural, and political relations that go beyond the territorial boundary of the nation-state. At the individual level, transnational practices related to the habitual part of an individual migrant's social, economic, cultural, or political life. Besides, Al-Ali et al. (2001) classified transnational activities into political activities (lobbying), economic ties (remittances and investment), social connection (promotion of the human and other rights) and cultural belonging (articles in newspapers). According to them, these activities go beyond either at the individual level (by family networks) or institutional channels (e.g. through community or international organizations). Furthermore, Levitt and Waters (2002) argue that at the beginning this transnationalism emerged from migrants' economic connection with non-migrants. And religious, political, and social ties also appeared later in these networks.

Therefore, according to existing research, migrants involve various transnational attachment. The next section will outline the pertinent available literature to focus on transnational linkages that migrant maintains to operate the transnational social field.

Maintaining 'Transnational Social Fields': Review of some pertinent previous research

For ensuring the establishment of the transnational social field, according to Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004), migrant maintain 'ways of belonging' and 'ways of being'. According to them, ways of belonging" implies practices that indicate a conscious connection of a specific migrant group with their country of origin. According to them, "these actions are not symbolic but concrete, visible actions that mark belonging, such as wearing a Christian cross or Jewish star, flying a flag, or choosing a particular cuisine' (2004, 1006). This indicates both combined actions and an awareness of a kind of identity. On the contrary, 'ways of being' highlights migrants' cross-border social relationships and practices, rather than identities associated with their actions. Through these transnational attachments, migrants create their own transnational social field – an interlinking network of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are irregularly exchanged, organized and transformed in a way that transects borders (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). In this transnational social field, the migrant has several transnational attachments. We may divide them into economic, social, cultural and religious, and political transnationalism.

First, economic transnationalism refers to the financial attachment of immigrants in which they are connected with their homelands (Ambrosini, 2014a). Highlighting on the Italian case, Ambrosini (2014a:4) divided economic transnationalism into three broad types. i. First one he refers as the 'circulatory transnationalism' which operated by the activities that physically connect various host cities with many destinations through the land carriers. ii. The second one he named as the 'connective transnationalism' functioned by activities that link the society of origin and destination through economic remittances and regular communications operated by modern technologies. iii. The third one he called as a 'commercial transnationalism' that referred to the businesses activities processes in which several ethnic products (especially food), furniture, clothing, and gift items are circulated. iv. The last one is 'leisure activities' that denotes the symbolic connotation, for instance, Turkish baths, yoga centres, etc.

Guarnizo (2003) also worked on economic transnationalism. He argues that by three types of monetary transfer immigrants maintain their economic linkage with their countries of origin. These include monetary remittances, business investments, and support to local community development. Among these three types, monetary remittances express migrants' *'long-distance social ties of solidarity, reciprocity, and obligation'* which linked migrants with their kin and friends across the national borders (ibid, 670). In contrast, business investment is part of migrants' transnational living practices that emerged from immigrants' web of social expectations and obligations to their society of origin. Moreover, the third kind of economic transaction is immigrants' local community development activities implemented through immigrants' collective transfer of resources, philanthropic activities, and post-disaster relief efforts for their homeland. However, this collective initiative is mainly undertaken by a group of immigrants who have the background of the same place of origin and the activities are organized through their hometown associations.

As like as Guarnizo (2003), several scholars also noticed that migrants collectively maintain economic connections with the home country by forming associations. Orozco (2005), for instance, by means of surveying in the USA, the UK, and Germany with the Ghanaian diaspora, found out that immigrants involved with community development of their homeland, which is organized through several hometown associations. According to him, these associations work to provide support in the homeland for health, education, infrastructure activities, etc. (ibid). As a result, according to his explanation, migrants are transnational agents as their ties and obligations link with both origin and the destinations.

Just as Orozco (2005), in his research with Tamil diaspora, Cheran (2003) reviewed how ethnic associations have played roles in the diaspora circulation for their homeland. By analyzing the situation of the northeast part of Sri Lanka, he has identified three major areas where Tamil diaspora members are involved through associations. These three activities are the following: (i) knowledge capital and knowledge transfer for the rebuilding activities of their ancestral areas;

(ii) capacity building such as planning, training etc, and investing in several sectors; and (iii) Peacebuilding and strengthening civil society.

In sum, it can be argued that through sending remittance, buying land and establishing business back home, migrants play key roles as the chief supporter of families and relatives living in their society of origin (Ambrosini, 2014a; Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Guarnizo, 1997, 2003; Olwig, 2003). Besides, through associational (Orozco, 2005; Cheran, 2003) activities and entrepreneurial activities (Lauer and Wong, 2010, Guarnizo 2003) migrants' economic transnationalism also operated.

Second, social transnationalism indicates that migrants kept alive their social relationship with their family members, friends and relatives and others whom they left and live in their home and stay several countries by remaining in contact through regular visits and communications (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Vertovec, 2003; Olwig, 2003; Guarnizo, 2003; Valenta and Strabac, 2011; Coughlan, 2011).

Based on their study with Colombian immigrants to the U.S., Guarnizo and Diaz (1999) explored that for maintaining social relations, migrants visit their homeland especially during local and religious holidays such as a holy week, Christmas, Mother's Day, summer vacation, or during annual festivals of their natal cities of origin. In a similar vein, researching Bosnian migrants live in different countries of Europe, Valenta and Strabac's (2011) findings have indicated immigrants remain socially connected with home by using both modern ways of communication and social media, including Facebook, Skype, and email. They maintain face to face interaction with family members, old friends, and acquaintances that live in Bosnia as well as scattered in different countries.

Nevertheless, social transnationalism also includes social remittances, such as ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from residing country to country of origin (Levitt, 1998; Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, 2011). As Levitt (1998) argued, social remittance flourished through return migration and migrants' regular visit to the home country. It also happens when non-migrants family members' visit to their migrant member's families or through exchanges of letters, telephone calls, videos, and cassettes. These social remittances are transmitted

from individuals to organizations by the role of individuals in the organizations or even by the 'informally-organized groups' and social networks in the formal organizations (p-936).

Moreover, Vertovec (2003) argues that three key terms are very much vital for transnational social formation; these are social networks, social capital, and embeddedness. With regard to networks, he has claimed that "in order to find jobs and accommodation, circulating goods and services, as well as for psychological support and continuous social and economic information social network are vital for immigrants" (ibid, 650). On the other hand, he mentioned that 'social capital' is an immigrant "individual ability to mobilize them on demand", and migrants maintained this social capital through their visits, communication through the post or telephone, marriage, participation in different events, and membership in associations of their country of origin (ibid,648). By contrast, according to him, embeddedness provides a full appreciation of both social network and social capital. All immigrants activities not only go beyond the individual motive of immigrants but also embedded through an ongoing network of their individual relationship (ibid, 649).

Third, cultural transnationalism highlights migrants' sense of belonging to their home countries. Guarnizo and Diaz (1999) illustrate immigrants' dense cultural relationship with their homeland based on their study with Colombian immigrants from the cities of *Cali* and *Pereira* to the U.S. They argued that *Caleños* and *Pereiranos* in the United States are connected to their home cities by transnational cultural activities such as regular exchanges of folkloric dance groups and soccer teams with their home cities. Even their New York soccer teams participate regularly in the home city annual tournament in Pereira. Besides, *Caleños* and *Pereiranos* immigrants invite famous popular orchestras, singers, and artists from *Cali* and *Pereira* to the US in several cultural programs. By doing so, soccer and music emerged as the most prime 'national' symbols of Colombian immigrants' life in the U.S. (Ibid, 412). Authors' analysis has also highlighted that these migrants maintained a connection with their ethnic radio and television channels. In order to fulfil the demand of their immigrants, several Colombian ethnic media established substations in the U.S. For instance, the

largest Colombian radio and TV network '*Caracol'* had stations in the Miami metropolitan area, and the second-largest network, '*RCN',* built stations in the New York metropolitan area. In addition, *Cromos,* which is the *largest* Colombian weekly, produces special editions from Miami. These Colombian print and electronic media had programs on Colombian news, music, sports, talk shows, and celebrations of Colombian traditional and patriotic holidays (ibid).

On the other hand, Povrzanovic Frykman (2001), on the basis of her field research on Croat immigrant workers and Croatian Refugee in Malmö, Sweden, argues that ethnic awareness and national struggle for independence were the central areas for construction cultural diaspora. Her analysis has illustrated that there were 6 Croatian clubs in Malmö, which emerged from their ethnic awareness. The active members meet regularly in these clubs and other people from the Croatian community in Malmö visit those clubs on a weekly basis or other festive occasions. In that way, Croats engaged with organizing various cultural activities in their host society, Malmö, for instance, ethnic sporting activities, folk dancing, festive gatherings and dance evening, and some other programs on the occasions of Croatian national days, Catholic holidays and others big days. During the cultural programs, pop singers from Croatia were invited to perform in the events (ibid 167). The author has also highlighted that Croats along with family members from the community participated in the programs, where Croats also found wearing their traditional dresses. Her findings claim that the main goal of these club activities is the promotion of Croatian culture and identity.

In sum, it can be argued that for maintaining cultural relations, immigrants create various ethnic associations to preserve their ethnic culture in the background of the host society (e.g. Povrzanovic Frykman, 2001; Vertovec, 2003). Therefore, scholars often acknowledged immigrants' organizations as *'*cultural brokers*'* for the immigrants' communities and a 'representatives of ethnic communities that contribute to a nation's cultural diversity' (Glick Schiller et al: 1995: 56). Migrants are also involved in promoting their ethnic culture through maintaining a connection with their native radio, television channels and the newspapers (e.g.

Guarnizo and Diaz, 1999) and preparing, eating and sharing their ethnic food (e.g. Vallianatos and Raine, 2008; Morad and Gombac, 2015).

Forth, several researchers (e.g. Levitt, 2003, 2004; Wuthnow and Offutt, 2008) also discussed religious transnationalism. With regard to the religious aspect of migrants, Levitt (2003) argues that religious identities and practices also enable migrants to sustain memberships in multiple locations and by doing so migrants stay connected with their native societies. Her analysis illustrates that some immigrants maintain long-term and long-distance membership with the religious organizations of their countries of origin. As long-distance members, for this religious organizations, immigrants usually provide a significant financial contribution, they perform fundraising activities, long-distance spiritual and practical guidance, and homeland visits to participating in worship and cultural programs (ibid, 851). The author also highlights that some of the migrants take part in religious pilgrimages, worship, or are involved in informal and other popular religious activities that testify their regular connection to a particular native country group or place (ibid). Based on the analysis, Levitt argues that religious activities play vital roles in identity construction, and value formation of immigrants, and often immigrants use religion to develop their alternative allegiances and places of belonging (ibid).

In a similar vein, in another paper, Levitt (2004) worked with Gujarati migrants in the United States, where she found that Indian immigrants from Gujarat in the United States were involved with religious activities along with their economic activities for their homeland, India. Her analysis highlighted that this immigrant group in the U.S. works closely with their religious leaders in order to achieve three objectives: (1) to set up Hindu groups in the U.S.; (2) to strengthen religious life in their homeland, India; and (3) to build a global Hindu community transcending national borders (Levitt, 2004.1).

Finally, some scholar (Bermudez, 2010; Berg and Tamagno, 2006; Tintori, 2011) argued that transnational social field also includes a political link with the home country. In this political transnationalism, individual migrant engaged with the home country's politics through membership in the party, their financial

contribution, voting, and being a candidate or participating in the meeting and campaign for helping their diaspora member to be elected (ibid). On the other hand, migrants also formed and participated in their own political organization such as Kurds, Kosovars, and some other migrant associations in Europe (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003). However, the studies also analyzed the connections between political transnationalism and integration in the societies of destination as part of migrants' political transnationalism (Bermudez, 2010).

Transnational engagement of Bangladeshi migrants: Existing research

In recent times, some researchers have worked on Bangladeshi migrants to explore their diasporic and transnational linkages. Even though these studies have mainly focused on the Bangladeshi diaspora in the UK and the USA, it would be interesting to highlights on some of them for taking a general idea about the dynamics of ongoing economic, socio-cultural and political linkages of the Bangladeshi migrants with their homeland.

Siddiqui (2004), for instance, studied the Bangladeshi diaspora in the USA and the UK. She argues that in many ways, the Bangladeshi diaspora in these two countries maintains strong linkages with their country of origin. Bangladeshi diaspora in the UK and the USA are two major sources of foreign remittance for Bangladesh. Bangladeshis in these two countries also maintained various social and cultural linkages with their homeland through several activities. In this regard, her findings illustrate that Bangladeshi immigrants have formed various associations in the USA and the UK, which are mainly based on district, village, and the town of their local area of origin. These institutions are performing various types of activities for Bangladesh such as fundraising for providing a scholarship to poor students in local school, repairing infrastructure, building mosques, and relief and reconstruction activities during natural disasters. They also celebrate different Bangladeshi national, traditional social, cultural and religious festivals in their host countries, the UK and the USA. Namely, Bangladeshi immigrants observe all the national days, *Ekushey February[14],* Independence and Victory

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[14] Ekushey February is the mother language day in Bangladesh. It has also been observing as an international mother language day since the announced by UNESCO on 17 November 1999.

day, in their host countries. According to Siddiqui, these activities provide Bangladeshis with opportunities to gather and to build up the social linkage between their community's people who live and work in these two host societies. Focusing on their social bond, Siddiqui (2004:33) also points out "all these (activities) give a diffused sense of belonging to a larger entity, (i.e. a set of people from home) and contribute to the development of a bond of the ethnic community". Similarly, she finds that Bangladeshi diaspora maintains its cultural linkage by means of several ethnic newspapers and TV channels in their host countries. For example, the Bangladeshi diaspora in the UK introduced various electronic and print ethnic media such as Bengali newspaper including *Janamat, Natun Din, Shurma, Patriaka, Sylheter Dak, and Euro-Bangla*; English newspapers such as *Dainik Bangladesh*; Other forms of media such as radio and television channels including *'Bangla TV* UK have also been introduced. This TV channel had almost 10,000 subscribers in 2002 (Ibid: 36). According to her research these media provides necessary information related to several immigration issues, it helps to close the gap with second generations, and it provides an update of day to day politics and economic and social aspects of Bangladesh. These media tend to be involved with lobbying and networking with the British and the U.S. Governments on behalf of the Bangladeshi community for their homeland (ibid).

Garbin (2005) have focused on transnational aspects of Bangladeshi diaspora in the UK. The authors have argued that the linkage of Bangladeshis in the UK with their country of origin is materially maintained through the sending of remittances. However, they showed that the financial relationship of British Bangladeshis with their kin in Bangladesh has decreased in recent time. According to their findings, the cost of living, housing, or education for the children is the major constraints for maintaining their regular financial commitment towards Bangladesh. For these cases, they have argued that the emergence of a second and a third generation amongst British Bangladeshis is an important aspect. They are less interested to invest in Bangladesh for a long time though most of those young British Bangladeshis still preserve the value of Bangladesh as the 'ancestral home' and their cultural 'roots'. The authors also noted that British Bangladeshis maintain

transnational ties with other Bangladesh diaspora elsewhere. This is sustained through their religious rituals; circulation of goods and gifts; communication over the phone, e-mail, and other social media; matrimonial links, i.e. selection of partners from Britain, America or other parts of the world instead of Bangladesh, and entrepreneurship for partnership business with Bangladeshis living elsewhere.

In another study, Garbin (2008) found out that nearly all Bangladeshi political parties are represented in the UK from mid1980s. However, majority members of these Bangladeshi political parties are first-generation migrants who mostly settled this country during the 1960s. They mainly do a campaign for their parties during election times in Bangladesh and tries to help their fellow first-generation migrants to get elected as Member of Parliament and in other local bodies. Besides, these parties also work in developing economic activities and protecting business interests in Bangladesh. (ibid).

Eade and Garbin (2006) have analyzed transnational aspects and identity issue of Bangladeshi Muslims in Britain. Their analysis shows that Bangladeshis are working to preserve their national heritage and Bengali culture. They made Brick Lane[15] as "Bangla town' through their cultural activities. In Brick Lane, they celebrate the 'International Curry Festival' and the '*Baishaki Mela'* every year. During this occasion, different homemade food and small handcrafts stalls, and staging several cultural programs where different artists performed traditional Bangle folk music, dance, drama and pop music, etc. Indeed, the authors argue that in Britain, the distinct secular nationalist Bengali heritage is expressed by the

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[15] Brick Lane is a street located in London Borough of Tower Hamlets, East London. It is famous for the British Bangladeshi owned curry restaurants and used to call as the Capital of Curry (Mushtaq, 2017). Brick Lane is also considered as the 'political and cultural heartland' of the British Bangladeshi diaspora, therefore it is referred as to Bangla town (Alexander, 2011). Indeed nearly 65,000 Bangladeshi people lived in Tower Hamlets (Alexander, 2011:212), which is the 32 percent of the total inhabitants of this municipality. Nearly, 38 per cent of the residents of this city council are Muslim (Tower Hamlets Council, 2018).

visible symbols of Bangladesh national heritage the *Shaheed Minar*[16] that was built in Oldham in 1997, along with the sculpture of the *Shapla* (the national flower of Bangladesh) by the British Bangladeshi community people. Eade and Garbin highlight that for the Bangladesh community, this visibility are a sense of Bengali identity and a sense of national belonging.

Moreover, Mand (2010) worked with British-born Bangladeshi children aged from 9 to 10 years and explored their experiences of 'home'. He finds that most of the children whom she interviewed maintain the transnational relationship between Bangladesh and Britain as a part of the active members of transnational families. Her findings illustrate that they often visit their natal home, the Sylhet region in Bangladesh twice, or even three times in a year along with their families, where they attend major festivals and functions such as weddings. In addition, she argues that weekly conversation over the telephone with kin in Bangladesh was found to be the most common way in which children kept in touch with their grandparent and other family members in their natal villages and towns. Through maintaining these transnational linkages, children have portrayed Bangladesh as their *desh* (home) and Britain is *bidesh* (a country away from home).

Nevertheless, research in the province of Padova in northern Italy, Morad and Gombac (2015) reveal that a high proportion of Bangladeshi migrants maintain strong transnational ties with their family members who live in their homeland, Bangladesh. They have also transnational relation with relatives, friends, and neighbours in their local area of origin. These relationships are maintained through sending remittances, homeland visit and regular communication. Besides, their findings highlight that these Bangladeshis shows a strong transnational way of belonging to their home country. This is expressed in their daily activities for retaining their Bangla identity by connecting with ethnic media, preparing and enjoying Bangla dishes. In this sense, they also formed several associations for promoting ethnic identity among the second generation through observing several national days and cultural programs.

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[16] The *Shaheed Minar* is a Bangladeshi monument commemorating the martyrs of the Language Movement on 21 February1952 in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Therefore, the above arguments made on the status of the Bangladeshi diaspora show that Bangladeshi immigrants residing outside of the country maintain transnational linkages through their emotional, socio-cultural, economic and political connections with their homeland just as many other diasporas.

Migrants and the transnational social field

Scholars have pointed out that transnational practices go through household and family networks as part of the immigrants' 'transnational family strategies' (Bonizzoni and Boccagni, 2014; Glick Schiller et al., 1995). This is also supported by Olwig (2003). She also mentioned that family networks are vital for immigrants' transnational linkages with the homeland. In this regard, in her ethnographic study of immigrants who have a Caribbean origin, her main argument was that family generate a 'central socio-cultural framework of life', where the specific notions of a family's livelihood create interpersonal relations among the family members that connect immigrants with their home societies (ibid, 788). In this study, her analysis presents that the construction of the place of origin among the immigrants has emerged from their family network that generates their cultural values and social ties for their homeland. Thus, she mentions that through the family network immigrants try to identify their roots. As she points out:

> Indeed, many identified with their Caribbean place of origin through the family network that provided for them their most concrete and immediate tie to the Caribbean. Their sense of Caribbean identity, in other words, was mediated by the family network and depended on the notions of Caribbeanness that this network maintained through family interrelations, family reunions, stories about the family's past in the Caribbean, and visits to the family's Caribbean place of origin"(Olwig, 2003: 805).

On the other hand, based on his study of migration from Cape Verde to the Netherlands, Carling (2008) argues that the 'notion of relational asymmetries' is basic to the analysis of migrant transnational linkages at the micro-level. According to him, these asymmetries are found in three spheres of transnational life: transnational moralities, information, and imagination in transnational relations, and transnational resource inequalities (ibid, 1453). His research findings highlight that the issue of transnational moralities is basically involved

with migrants' obligations towards non-migrants which are seen as a way of ' repaying the gift of commonality' (i.e. sense obligation towards non-migrants in the family, community or whichever social group they have left behind through remittance, calling, holiday visit and so on (ibid, 1457-1458). He claims that these transnational moralities are also seen as a feeling of 'moral economies of ingratitude'. This is one kind of social belonging where migrants involve in supporting to prove that they are not ungrateful to those they have left behind (ibid, 1459). In addition, in the case of information and imagination in transnational relations, his findings indicate that immigrants' long-distance communication has become easier with technological and telecommunication development, but still physical distance between migrants and non-migrants can produce gaps in information that can be influential in their transnational interaction in various parts of the transnational social field. Moreover, with regard to transnational resource inequalities, he mentions that transnational relations between migrants and non-migrants have originated from the gross inequalities of the global economy. This asymmetry clearly affects immigrants' transnational relationships.

In the same direction of above mentioned Carling (2008) argument, Valenta and Strabac (2011) study with Bosnian migrants claims that the motivation for transnational activities came from a sense of obligation to family and close relatives left behind. According to them, this sense of obligation has several dimensions including the following: (a) individual responsibilities that came from their empathy and sense of emotional attachment to their close family members; and (b) image about "what the non-counterparts will think about me" if obligation is not fulfilled (ibid, 173). Moreover, the authors have argued that the motivation for visiting homeland emerges from their nostalgia and by different kinds of moral obligations to non-migrants who were left behind (ibid, 177).

MULTIPLE MIGRATIONS, SOCIAL NETWORKS AND TRANSNATIONAL TIES: BUILDING AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

It has already been discussed that existing empirical research appears to have disregarded the role and the ways in which migrant social networks and transnational ties in multiple locations may influence multiple migrations. However, with regard to the remigrations of EU naturalised citizens, some studies (Haandrikman and Hassanen, 2014; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007; McIlwaine, 2011; Toma and Castagnone, 2015) have argued that networks do have an important role in shaping onward migration.

For instance, regarding Latin American migrants in Europe, McIlwaine (2011) has argued that social capital provides important facilitation of remigration. In particular, he discovered that prior to migration, migrants would collect information through networks about available employment in their prospective onward destinations. In most cases, the migrant would select the country for relocation based on where they would potentially receive initial support from the contact, mostly related to employment and accommodation. Similarly, Lindley and Van Hear (2007), in their research on the onward relocation of Somali and Tamil Sri Lankan from several EU country to the UK, have revealed that the existence of relatives and friends in the UK strongly encourage migrants in their decision to relocate. This is also supported by Haandrikman and Hassanen (2014) in their research on Swedish African onward migration to Australia. They also find that migrants select their onward destination based on the location of contacts, who are essential in the process of settling in and integration into the new society.

Furthermore, similarly to the onward migration of EU citizens, Paul's (2011) findings on the international stepwise Filipino migrants indicated that having relatives or friends in the various destinations, encouraged subsequent migrations by providing several kinds of assistance and advice. In a similar vein, in another study, Paul (2015:13) points out that 'stepwise migration aspirations are developed through interactions with earlier cohorts of migrants who had

previously engaged in such journeys' (Paul, 2015:13). Indeed, her analysis also reveals that these stepwise migrants often create new friends in their first country who provide the necessary information about the new destination (Paul, 2011). Much like Paul's findings, Tsujimoto's (2016) research on Filipino migrants who moved from South Korea to the Middle East and later on to Canada, also suggests that migrants, who move to multiple countries, were provided several kinds of support by the networks. Namely, reception at the airport upon arrival, assistance in finding accommodation and employment, as well as emotional support.

Moreover, some studies argue that many migrants maintain transnational engagement with their family and friends who live in other host societies. In particular, by maintaining durable social ties across boundaries, migrants create, sustain, and discover transnational networks, which influence the decision to migrate. For instance, Withaeckx et al. (2015), in their research on Brazilian and Moroccan migrants in Brussels and Antwerp, report that most migrants maintain a close relationship with their relatives who live in other countries through regular communication via Facebook, Skype, and telephone (mobile), as well as by paying short visits. Through these transnational ties, they would obtain information and try to create an image of the country where their family members and relatives live. Likewise, Nielsen's (2004) study reveals how Danish Somalis' decision to re-migrate is based on information regarding the opportunities in Britain that are circulated transnationally. He finds that prior to the move, Danish Somalis obtain information about British society through telephone conversations and by exchanging letters and emails with their friends and family who already live there. Afterwards, they pay short visits to their British family or friends. These visits give them the opportunity to see their relatives' lives in practice, as well as the opportunities available for them as an EU citizen.

Nevertheless, all network ties are not identified as equally important with regard to the likelihood of remigration. For instance, Paul's (2011) findings on stepwise international Filipino migrants indicate that aspirations for multiple migrations emerge through the connection with earlier cohorts of migrants who did analogous journeys previously. Similarly, Tsujimoto (2016) suggests that

friendship networks provide important support in facilitating multiple migrations, compared to ties with close kin. Moreover, on their research on inter-EU mobility, Toma and Castagnone (2015) have shown that only the weaker ties, such as friends or extended kin have a strong effect in facilitating remigration whereas strong ties – siblings or parents – have little influence.

Bearing the aforementioned line of research in mind, Figure 4.1 presents an analytical framework for this study. Firstly, as discussed in chapter three, some scholars have pointed out that multiple migrations are part of a pre-planned journey (Paul, 2011, 2015; Takenaka, 2007). In this regard, research has shown that migrants usually have a shortage of the necessary capital for migration, such as the necessary finance, work experience, educational qualifications or social networks (Paul, 2011, 2015). In this regard, migrants first start their migration from a country – e.g. Middle Eastern countries, those in Southeast Asia – which impose lower barriers to entry (Paul, 2011, 2015). Afterwards, many migrants keep their migration project going until arrival at their final destinations, usually in EU countries and North America (Canada, USA). Conversely, a different group of scholars, who addressed mainly the onward migrations of naturalised EU citizens, have argued that migrants usually do not have any pre-defined plans to keep moving on from their destinations (Ahrens et al., 2014; Mas Giralt, 2016a). Instead, they maintain that their decision to relocate comes later; mainly due to socio-economic, cultural and political experiences which the migrants face in their first and following destinations (Mas Giralt, 2016a). Through these connections, research has shown that migrants continue to reevaluate their opportunities in new locations for the fulfilment of their migration goals (Toma, and Castagnone, 2015:84). In light of these two arguments, my study explores the extent to which multiple migratory trajectories are pre-planned or primarily generated from the experiences they encounter in their first and subsequent destinations [Figure 4.1].

Secondly, this study analyses how the composition of social networks and transnational ties facilitate their multiple migrations from the first country of migration until arrival Italy and after Italy to other destinations, mainly to the UK. In particular, it will show the ways in which they utilise their strong ties (family and kinship networks – a close relationship with migrant family members and

relatives) and weak ties (friendships with earlier cohorts of migrants; co-nationals or ties with migrants from other countries). It also shows the ways in which they maintain transnational networks in several locations with several actors who facilitate these multiple migrations [Chart 4.1].

Moreover, this study also documents the migrants' everyday transnational lives through exploring their 'ways of belonging' and 'ways of being' (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004) through which they create their own transnational social field. Here, this research first explores their socioeconomic and cultural transnational connections with their family and friends living in their country of origin, their previous country of destination or elsewhere with their diaspora. Moreover, it demonstrates how and to what extent these transnational engagements accelerate their social networks of family and friends in driving multiple migrations [Chart 4.1].

Figure 4.1: The analytical framework for discussing multiple migrations, social networks and transnational lives
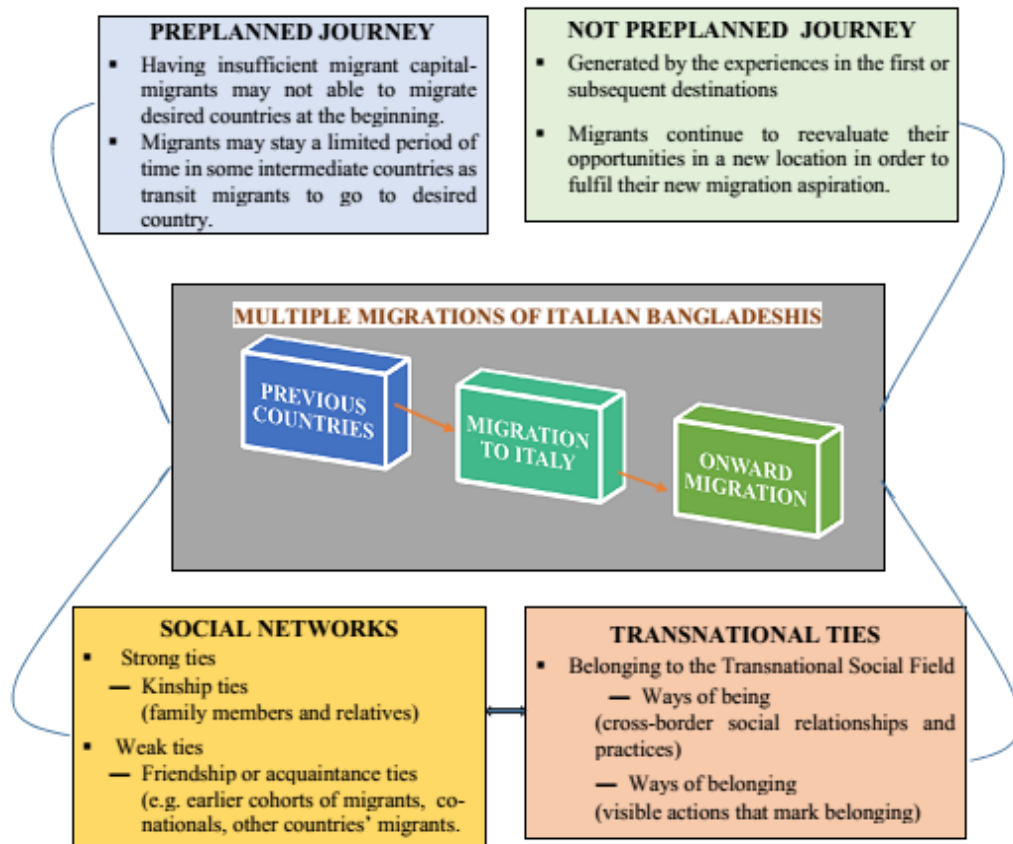
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has explained the theoretical understanding of social networks and transnationalism.

The discussion underlines that social networks are the key sources of migrant social capital. In general, social networks provide a potential migrant with information about their available destinations, the main contact who has many useful connections, and the money needed to make the move. Social ties also provide several forms of assistance to migrants upon arrival at their destinations (Ambrosini, 2006; Boyd, 1989; Goss and Lindquist, 1995; Ryan et al., 2008; Vertovec, 2002). With regard to Bangladeshi migration, some studies, e.g. Ullah (2013), Nayeem (2012), and Rahman (2017) have addressed the role of migrant social networks in the case of first international migration from Bangladesh to an Asian country. Research has shown that kinship ties - brothers, brother-in-law, uncles and first cousins are the most important in the formation of social networks and close relations. Apart from these family bonds, two other ties exist in Bangladeshi migration networks, i.e. *esthanio* (those who originated from the same geographical location) and *attiyo* (extended kin relationships). But such studies mentioned and analyzed very little how social networks influence and multiple migrations of Bangladeshi international migrants.

In the connection of transnationalism, in this chapter we have shown that whereas the assimilation theory describes immigrants as people who uproot themselves and sever linkages with their homeland, but transnational perspectives argue that the process of incorporation and homeland ties can happen simultaneously (Ambrosini, 2012, 2014a, Basch et al., 1994; Glick Schiller et al.,1995; Smith and Guarnizo,1999, Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004; Vertovec, 2009). It has been pointed out that many immigrants create their own social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders (Basch et al.,2005; Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004).In that way migrants involved in transnational attachment with their family members, relatives and friends left behind in their countries of origin as well as with their diaspora members living in other host countries.

However, existing empirical research appears not to have largely analysed and discussed the role and the ways in which social networks and transnational ties may influence multiple migrations. Some studies argue that networks and contacts with relatives and friends in other host societies increase the possibility of further migrations (Paul, 2011; Toma and Castagnone, 2015) since prior contacts are essential in settling down and integrating into the new society (Haandrikman and Hassanen, 2014). In this regard, migrants used their transnational networks to obtain information through telephone conversations, exchanging letters and emails with relatives and friends living in other countries and making short visits to them (Ahrens et al., 2014; Nielsen, 2004).

CHAPTER FIVE

EMIGRATION: PROFILE AND GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

INTRODUCTION

In his seminal studies, Knights (1996:105) argued that the Bangladesh community in Italy entirely lived in Rome. Recent data, however, shows that Bangladeshi spread into the Italian Peninsula- in Southern, Central, North-Eastern, and North-Western Italy [17] (Della Puppa, 2014; Morad and Gombac, 2015, 2018; Priori, 2012). Bangladeshi migration today a structural element in the Italian migratory scenario and several Bangla towns, e.g. a large concentration of Bangladeshi migrants, are inaugurated in various corners of this country. However, most of the studies have mainly been conducted in large cities that have relatively a long tradition of hosting Bangladeshi community such as Rome and Milan (e.g. Knights, 1996; Knights and King, 1998; Priori, 2013). As this is a relatively new immigrant community it comes as no surprise that there was little research being done about their cultural, socio-demographic and economic profile, and their geographical areas of origin in Bangladesh (except the studies of Della Puppa, 2013 and Morad and Gombac, 2018).

Given the above arguments and considering the fact, by analyzing 50 interviews on Italian Bangladeshis, the main body of this chapter is addressing three issues. First, it first identifies the reason for their emigration from Bangladesh. Second, it discusses the background with respect to their socio-cultural and economic profile. Moreover, it highlights their regional origin to see from which area of Bangladesh, migration to Italy is originated. The empirical findings further rationalized by highlighting the existing literature available on Bangladeshi migration to Italy, and with the participant observations conducted in the study areas.

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[17] There is a big Bangladeshi community in Sicily, especially in Palermo.

LEAVING BANGLADESH: MOVING TO DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

It is already mentioned in the second chapter that Bangladeshi migration to Europe is connected with the British Colonialism and it has traditionally been perceived as the favourite destination of Bangladeshi migrants, in particular for those who have the aspiration of settling abroad as long-term migrants (Gardner, 1993, 1995; Siddiqui, 2003b). However, from the independence of Bangladesh, strong flows of short-term migration developed mainly to the Middle-East countries (BMET, 2017; Siddiqui, 2003a). In particular, after the Gulf crisis of war in 1990-1991, Bangladeshi migration to the Southeast and Asian countries have got a big concentration (Rahman, 2000; Ullah, 2013).

The next section analyzes the migration motivation of the research participants by dividing them into two groups: i, long-term (permanent migrants) and ii, short-term migrants (temporary contract migrants), on the basis of their first country selection for migration[18]. Here migrants who were working in the Middle Eastern countries and South and East Asian countries are considered as short-term migrants and those were first migrated to several EU countries or in Italy are referred as long-term migrants (Joarder and Hasanuzzaman, 2008; Siddiqui, 2004).

The Long-term migrations

In Bangladeshi migration literature, two Bengali terms, *desh* (home) and *bidesh* (abroad) were first used by Katy Gardner (1993;1995) to explain how the image of destination (about London) is constructed among the Bangladeshi people and how the geographical imagination (Gilley, 2010) works as powerful motivational factor to an individual in taking decisions to migrate.[19]. Gardner (1993:2) reveals

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[18] According to Siddique (2003), from Bangladesh two types international migration occure. One is towards the industrialised west which defined as long-term or permanent emigration; and another one is to Middle east and southeast Asia which perceived as short-term or temporary contract migration

[19] Gardner used these two concepts in her ethnographic studies '*Desh-Bidesh: Sylheti Images of Home and Away* (1993)' and '*Global Migrants, Local Lives* (1995)' conducted in a village in Sylhet district, Bangladesh, from where the majority of British Bangladeshi are originated.

that *Sylheti*[20] villagers in Bangladesh who never left the country think that *bidesh* (migration to London) is the only way to achieve economic power and material transformation. As she mentioned, "the economic dominance of families with migrant members has meant that *bidesh* is associated with success and power, which the *desh* is unable to provide". And in that way, this geographical imagination shape Bangladeshi people's views of Europe that is a favourable migration destination in order to 'fulfil a dream' (Rahman, 2017).

Similarly to Gardner study (1993, 1995), the power of '*bidesh*' has been explored as vital in the case of my respondents' decision of migration to Europe. The findings have shown that at the beginning of their migration journey, Italian Bangladeshis who first migrated to Europe had an aim of achieving success and power through migration. Migrants' constructed this geographical imagination from their observation about the gradual economic progress and material betterment in their relatives or neighbouring families which were achieved after sending one or more family member(s) to Europe. As it is pointed out by one of my respondent, Shikder, whose first migration was in Italy via Bulgaria, Serbia and Slovenia:

> My dream was to earn huge money from Italy like many others of my relatives and neighbours from my Naria Thana [municipality] of Shariatpur. I saw that after migration to Italy, most of them became very rich, bought many lands and constructed new houses in their villages as well as in Dhaka city. I dreamed that I will also have a house in Dhaka city and my family will be one of the richest family in my village. (Shikder, Interview 07, 1-11-2017, Padova).

Like Shikder, Monir's quote, who also migrated to Italy via several Eastern European countries, highlighted the followings:

> Simply, I would like to tell you that I was influenced towards Italy to see the economic progress and changing social statuses of them [his relatives in Italy]. Actually, I born in a middle-class family; my father was a governmental employee,

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[20] Sylhet, a Northeastern division of Bangladesh, is subdivided into four districts- Sunamganj, Sylhet, Moulvibazar, and Habigonj. It has been indicated that the majority of the British Bangladeshis are originated from this northeastern part of Bangladesh.

my mom was a family planning inspector in my Union [the local administrative centre]. So we were not a poor family indeed. But many of my relatives, such as my younger maternal uncle, my uncle's daughter and her husband, my wife's brothers, my three paternal uncles, were living in Italy. When they visited Bangladesh, I saw they were expanding huge money, they were always well dressed, and they built new houses and bought many lands. I observed how all of these changing aspects through migration increased their social statuses in my village. This is actually influenced me to choose Italy for my migration. (Monir, Interview 9, 13-11-2017, Venice).

As Shikder and Monir's statements reveal, the other interview conversations have also indicated that Bangladeshi migrants constructed Europe as a place for acquiring economic and social success (Gardners, 1993). In their conversation, it has shown that the power of *bidesh* usually reflects in the display of new house, lands, household properties and foreign goods in the migrants' families back home. According to them after migration when these economic and material changes happen, the migrant's families acquire a new social and economic position in migrant's natal village or towns. This positive image spreads from the village to the union, the local administrative centre (Rahman, 2017). For that reason, a non-migrant start to take an aim to leave Bangladesh towards Europe, so that he/she also will also able to enhance the social and economic position of the family.

The motivation to achieve upward economic and social mobility through migration to Europe also fueled by the global inequality (Cohen, 1987) that put Bangladesh in a subordinate position compared to a developed country, e.g. EU countries (Della Puppa, 2013; Morad and Gombac, 2018). Findings have also indicated that our respondents were worried about their career in Bangladesh and they believe that the migration to Europe would offer them many possibilities, mainly better employment with higher salaries which they faced difficult to find in Bangladesh. In this regard, like many other migrants, Masum's, who first migrated to Switzerland, explained:

I was worried very much about my career in Bangladesh. So, in the year of 1992, I moved to Switzerland immediate after completing my graduation to become a

successful man economically and socially. (Masum, Interview 18, 4-12-2017, Bologna)

Similarly to Masum, another respondent mentioned:

I moved to Austria after completing Alim Examination [higher secondary]. I thought about what I will do with the educational qualification that I achieved. At best I will be a Primary School Teacher or an Imam of a mosque. As you know in my country one cannot able to develop economically with these type of jobs. I think, I am very happy today and my migrations decision was right. (Tamjid, Interview 38, 29-04-2019, London)

Moreover, Mamun's quote highlights:

I know that Europe is the first world, so I thought if I go there I can change my life and I find a better job. I mean my plan was to do something better in Italy that I failed to do in Bangladesh. For instance, I will have much money, I will be established. (Mamun, Interview 11, 2-12-2017, Bologna).

Findings also reveal how some of my respondents pulled toward Europe to see the changing lifestyles of their migrants' family members or relatives in Europe (Benson and O'reilly, 2009; Robins, 2019). Instead of gaining economic success, these respondents were aspirant to lead a better quality of life what they perceive and depict as 'European lifestyle'. In most cases, they had a background of well-off families in Bangladesh; had own family business or very good employment. For instance, Amir's, who first came to Switzerland before migrating to France and later to Italy, quote highlights:

My dream was to lead a European lifestyle. Our family economic condition was always good. For instance, we were four brothers and three sisters. Among them, my elder brother was AGM [assistant general manager] in a bank and the younger brother was doing business. My wife was a teacher and my three sisters are teachers too. One of my brother's wives is a school teacher and another one's wife is a banker. So, I never motivated by observing the economic progress of my migrant relatives in Europe. Rather, I was encouraged to see their tidy lives, their changing attitudes, behaviour, and lifestyle. (Amir, Interview, 17, 4 -12-2017 Bologna).

The short-term migrations

According to Siddiqui (2003a), the temporary migrants from Bangladesh mainly generated for searching a better job, escaping unemployment and poverty. Similarly to Siddiqui (2003a), findings of this study indicated that among the respondents who first emigrated to the Middle Eastern countries or other Asian countries as a short-term migrant, they mainly took migration as a path of escaping poverty. Their migration was often a 'household investment strategy' that one or more members need to send to abroad for financial advancement of the household while others engaged in the local economy (e.g. Lindstrom and Saucedo, 2007; Stark and Bloom; 1985; Yang, 2008). In this regard, the larger family size drives the migration (Lindstrom and Saucedo, 2007). For instance, Buain case, whose first migration was in Singapore, highlights the following:

> We were 10 siblings, six brothers and four sisters. My two elder brothers were doing service, another one was helping my father in our family farming. The rest were students. We were lower-middle-class family, my father was facing a huge problem to run our family due to the big number of members. After the higher secondary exam, my family sent me to Singapore to help the family expenditure and for the economic solvency of the family. (Buian, Interview 42, 5-12-3019, London)

These short term migrations are also found necessary when the main earning member of the family became ill or died. So, it can also be described as a part of the family strategies (Lauby and Stark, 1988) in order to ensure the standard of living by fulfilling the daily family needs and providing health care and educational support to the members. For example, Sahab case, who migrated to the Middle East before coming to Italy, implied that:

> My father was Kanongo [a governmental officer] in Chittagong. He was attacked by diabetes and unable to continue his job. We all requested him to surrender the job and came to the home. Therefore, all the family responsibilities came to my head since I am an elder son. We were seven brother sisters. At that time, all of them were students at Colleges and Universities. I asked my father to send me to Dubai. I would say here that the economic problem in my family pushed me to leave my country. (Sahab, Interview 3, 02-10-2017, Padova).

Similarly to Sahab, Hashem's statement, who come to Italy after living several years in Qatar and Kuwait, indicated the following:

> I left Bangladesh in 1987. After passing the SSC [Secondary school certificate] in 1983 when my father died, I did not continue my study. I migrated to Qatar with taking a work visa of gold jewellery making shop. (Hashem, Interview 1, 18-9-2017, Padova)

Furthermore, in line with some other studies conducted elsewhere on international migrants (Hahn and Klute, 2007; Kandel and Massey, 2002; and Asis, 2006), the findings indicated that a part of the research participants left their country by influencing with the trend of 'culture of immigration'. This has been emerged in Bangladesh after its independence in 1971 from then millions of Bangladeshis have been taken international migration as a way of livelihood strategy. In this regard, these migrants confirmed that they were just the follower of their relatives or friends were leaving Bangladesh towards several Asian or Middle Eastern countries for a future career. As it is mentioned by Salim who first migrated to Singapore:

> Our family had not a much economic problem, but I migrated to Singapore because I saw everybody [friends and the relatives] was leaving the country for the future, so I thought I also need to leave. (Salim, Interview 6, 8-10-2017, Padova)

In the same way, another respondent's, who migrated Singapore first and later arrive in Italy via Switzerland, quote illustrates:

> Actually, it is not mainly the financial reason. We do not have a family crisis [economic]. But everyone is leaving abroad. So I was a follower of them and migrated to Singapore. (Firoj, Interview 2, 23-9-2017, Padova)

Country selections: socio-economic background matters

This study findings also indicate that the country preference in their first migration was shaped by their family's socio-economic condition. It has shown that the majority of migrants, who first migrated to one of the EU countries or in Italy, arrived mostly from an economically middle and upper-middle-class family (Della Pupa, 2013). They not only came from the families of a governmental officer but also came from a landowner family. They have either a good job or family

business or farming land in their country. They choose Europe as their most desired destination since they considered migration to the Middle East or elsewhere in Asia is less desirable. For instance, it is mentioned by Masum who first migrated to Switzerland:

> My family background, status, and position were not permitted me to go to the Middle East like other *sadharon manush* [general people]. So I did not have any intention about the Middle Eastern countries. (Masum, Interview 18, 4-12-2017, Bologna)

It is the same story in the case of other Bangladeshis who arrived in EU countries at the beginning of their migration journey. Their view is that only migrant from the lower middle class go to the Middle East which they mentioned as a destination of "*sadharon manush*". This is also evident that a small number of migrants who first choose the Middle Eastern countries as their first destination, mainly come from economically lower-middle-class families and have less education- higher secondary and less. Studies have shown that Bangladeshi from economically lower middle class used to migrate to the Middle-East countries, such as the Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, and Southeast Asian countries, i.e. Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Republic of Korea, Brunei Darussalam, as short-term migrants due to the shortage of financial capital that they need to migrate to the Western countries (BMET, 2015). However, as my respondents from the economically upper middle class and rich families usually migrated to Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand as long-term or permanent migrants (Siddiqui, 2004). They are also less interested in Middle Eastern or Southeast Asian countries as these host countries do not allow their migrants citizenship status.

In this country selection, research has shown that Bangladeshi migration to Europe is required more financial cost compared to that of Southeast Asia and the Middle East. For instance, Rahman and Kabir (2012) found out that a Bangladeshi migrant needs to expand on average about USD 10000 to migration to Italy. However, the findings indicate that the earlier Bangladeshis, who arrived from1980s to 1990s, paid between USD 5000 and 8000. On the other hand, in the case of migration to Singapore, Rahman (2017:100) have argued that the

financial cost of migration for a Bangladeshi to Singapore was between US$3600 and US$5000 while for some Gulf countries (Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, the UAE, and Oman) this cost is on average USD 3000 (Rahman, 2011:400).

Thus, this study argues that since Bangladeshi migration to Europe has the highest economic investment compared to the industrial countries of Southeast Asia and in Gulf Petro-Monarchies, only aspirant migrants from middle and upper-middle-class families can afford the necessary financial capital to support such migration cost (Rahman and Kabir, 2012). In this connection, it is also arguable that some Bangladeshis who initially arrived to the Middle Eastern countries or in other Asian destinations maintained this high cost for their further migration to Europe through their necessary economic savings from their first or subsequent country of migrations.

However, interview findings also show that their first international migration destination was also shaped by their transnational kinship networks. They already had someone from their family or close relatives in the preferred country with whom they were connected. The empirical findings on the role of social networks and transnational ties in migrations of my research participants will be analyzed and explained in details in 'Chapter Eight' of this dissertation.

PROFILES OF ITALIAN BANGLADESHIS

Cultural and socio-demographic profiles

Among the research participants in Northeast Italy and the UK, the majority (48 out of 50) were Muslims and the rest two were Hindu and Christian respectively. This findings have been supported by the educated guess of Bangladeshi community leaders during informal interviews and participatory observation in Bologna, Venice, and Padova (Northeast Italy) and London and Bradford (the UK) who estimated that the among the Bangladeshis in Italy, the majority are religiously Muslim, the number of Bangladeshis Hindu, Cristian or Buddhist are very minimal.

In this study, the majority of the participants were male (46 respondents out of 50) [Table 5.1]. This is because my field observation shows that the female

migrants were mostly dependents who joined their husbands on a family reunification visa category mostly after the 2000s. Most of the first generation female now either about to qualify their citizenship status or their citizenship decisions are under processing. Fieldwork in the UK has also indicated that before applying the citizenship status for wife, once husband received the passport the entire family moved to the UK. Afterwards, in most cases, they did not continue the procedures (e.g., residence in Italy) that need to be eligible to apply the citizenship status of wife. Therefore, since the study focuses only on Bangladeshi migrants with Italian citizenships, the interviewees for this study had to limit on the first-generation male. Indeed, the literature gives us a general overview of the gender composition of Bangladeshi migrants in Italy. Studies (Knights and King, 1998; Morad and Gombac, 2018; and Rahman and Kabir, 2012) show that in Italy the Bangladesh community are predominately male. This is also supported by the Italian governmental statistics which shows that Bangladeshi migration to Italy was mostly male migration (72% male against 28% female) (ISTAT, 2017a).

With regard to the educational background, among the Italian Bangladeshis who participated in the interviews, a good number of them have Bachelors (11 out of 50) and Masters (02 out of 50) degrees. Among others, 20 had Higher Secondary Certificates, and 13 had Secondary School Certificates. Only 03 responded found to be below Secondary School credentials. These findings are also supported by other studies conducted in Italy those argued that Bangladeshi migrants in Italy had higher educational attainment compared to Bangladeshi migrants in some other countries (e.g. Knights's findings on Bangladeshi community in Rome, 1996b; Della Puppa's findings on Bangladeshis in Vicenza, 2013; and Morad and Gombac's findings on Bangladeshis in Padova, 2018). For instance, in the case of UK, it has been evident that the earlier Bangladeshi settlers, i.e. the pioneer of Bangladeshi migrants in Europe, were largely illiterate and those joined later with them through chain migration had a low level of formal education (Gardner, 1995). Besides, in the case of Middle Eastern countries, Osmani (1986) revealed that 83 per cent Bangladeshi migrants had not finished secondary school

certificates, while only 7 per cent of Bangladeshis lives in Singapore had graduate degrees (Rahman, 2010).

As the present study has focused on the Bangladeshi first-generation migrants who are holding Italian citizenship, half of the total participants' age was between 50 and 60 (25 out of 50). Besides, respondents between the ages of 40 and 49 make up 17 respondents [Table 5.1]. And 7 participants' age is between 30 and 39 [Table 5.1]. Some sort of similar findings has also been indicated from the participatory observation and informal interviews of this research. During the fieldwork, the majority of Bangladeshi first-generation migrants I met on the street, Bars, Mosques, and several gatherings such as religious and cultural programs, birthdays, family functions, and national day celebrations, seemed to be not very young. But existing literature has also indicated that Bangladeshi migrants in Italy in general still young since Bangladeshi migration to Italy is a recent phenomenon (Della Pupa, 2013; Knights, 1996; Knights and King, 1998). For instance, in their study in Padova, Morad and Gombac's (2018) have pointed out that 50 per cent of the Bangladeshis in this Northeast Italian city is between the ages of 18 and 35.

Economic profile

In her fascinating study with the Bangladeshi migrants in Rome, Knights' (1996b) have argued that Bangladeshi migrants tend to participate in the Italian economy in three ways: as employees, as street-hawkers, and as small entrepreneurs. The majority of research participants in Northeast Italy (14 out of 30) mainly work in various types of factories as a worker. Some are working in the hotel and restaurant as a chef and waiter (03 respondents). Some others are self-employed such as the owner of a Bangla alimentary, telephone, photocopy and money exchange café (08 out of 30). However, upon arrival in Italy, as undocumented migrants, they started their working lives as a car cleaner in the street of Rome, or as a hawker selling various items- kids toys, sunglass, tissue packets, flower bouquets, umbrella, lighter, sunglass. According to their biography, in their undocumented period, they used to sells various tourist items in the Italian beaches during winter, but when summer started they went back to the city and sold out them on the street.

It has been further tried to get an overall scenario of the economic activities of Bangladeshi migrants in three cities-Venice, Padova, and Bologna- through participant observation and informal interviews with the community leaders. In the case of Bologna, it has shown that a large number of Bangladeshis are working as a small entrepreneur. Besides, a large number of Bangladeshi are also working in factories around Bologna. As it is mentioned by Niamot who also work as a president of *Bangladesh Samity* (Bangladeshi association) and secretary of Bangladeshi business associations in Bologna:

> The number of alimentary is around 200, the number of telephone and internet café is 50, the number of Kebab shops are 20, and the number of Bars is 11. We established our own Bangladeshi business associations which have a total of 185 members who are operating alimentary, telephone fax shop, and Kabab shop. Our people are also working in the factory, and the restaurant. (Niamot, Interview 13, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

In Padova*,* as employees, Bangladeshi are mostly worked as factory labourers, restaurant waiters or chef, and assistants on market stalls of fruits and vegetable. There are 10 Bangladeshi owned pizza and kebab shops, and seven mini supermarkets (alimentary) around the Padova and Cadoneghe municipalities. In addition, many of them are the owner of a small stall of cloth, vegetable, and fruits those mainly located at the square of the city centre.

Moreover, in Venice, Bangladeshi are working in various sector-restaurant, ship making industry, as well as an as self-employment. In this regard, one of the earlier Bangladeshi, who is involved with the Islamic cultural centre and Venice Bangla School, provided a general overview of the jobs of Bangladeshi community people:

> Here most of the people are working in the restaurant, the second-highest is working in shipbuilding industries in Marghera. The third highest number is running the business. In this commune, we have approximately above 300 Bangladeshi traders who have Bangla alimentary, restaurant, kebab shop in around Venice city, and various small souvenir shop in several tourist points of Venice. A few Bangladeshi also involved with the hotel business. (Sayed, Interview 19, 02-04-2018, Venice)

Moreover, the field observation shows that in these three cities the street-hawkers also a prominent feature who mainly sell flowers, toys, jewellery, and souvenir, handbags, and umbrella and tourist material on the streets. However, these street merchants are mostly undocumented. It is mentionable that some shop workers and restaurant waiters also appears to be of Bangladeshi origin with illegal status who work commonly in their ethnic shops (Morad and Gombac, 2018). This research has also shown that a few Bangladeshis also worked as seasonal agricultural workers in Padova and Venice who cultivate various Bangladeshi leafy vegetable such as *Pui Shak* (Indian spinach), *Mulashahk* (Radish leaf), *Lalshak* (Red Spinach), *Palongshak* (Spinach) *Lau-shak* (Bottle Gourd Greens), *Pat shak* (Jute leaves) and also non-leafy vegetable such as *Dherosh* (Ladyfinger), *Misti Kumda* (Sweet Gourd), *Lau* (Bottle Gourd), *Chichinga (*Snake gourd) and so on. They mostly supply this vegetable to the Bangladeshi run mini supermarkets. And some are also directly selling their vegetables in the Bangladeshi neighbourhood (Morad and Gombac, 2018).

Moreover, among the 20 Italian Bangladeshis who participated in this study, 7 are working in Bengali restaurant and bar (among them 2 are owner), 3 are workers of Bengali supermarket, 3 are Uber drivers, 2 are housewives, and 1 is camera operator of a London Bengali TV, called 'Channel S'. Among the participants, one is unemployed. The fieldwork has also indicated that the majority of Italian Bangladeshi are working in mainly three sectors- i) employee in the British Bangladeshi owned restaurant and grocery shop, ii) taxi cab drivers and iii) as a self-employed, owner of Bengali clothing store (sell the traditional wear such as Sarees and Salwar Kameez, Pyjama Punjabi, Lungi) and Bengali restaurant (served popular Bengali food items). Interviews suggest that in Italy, almost all of them were very successful in setting up businesses or finding relatively permanent jobs in factories or restaurants. For instance, before moving to the UK, majority of them (17 out of 20) have a permanent job in Italy- factory workers (8), restaurant chef (5), owner of kebab shop (2), and owner of the coffee bar (1) [Table 5.1].

With regard to the income of the respondents, data shows that the highest income group among the interviewees was entrepreneurs- the owner of Bangla

alimentary, internet, photocopy and print shop, money sending shop, clothing business, pizza, and kebab shops. The bottommost income of this group was found 2000 euros while the maximum income was around 5000 Euros monthly. Nevertheless, among the total respondents, the second-largest income group was factory labourer, the minimum income of this group are 1600 and the maximum income is 2500 Euro monthly. In the case of the participants in the UK, while the majority of them had a monthly income between 1500 and 2500 euros in Italy, in the UK their monthly income is 800-1200 pound [Table 5.1].

During fieldwork, research participants often argue that their education level has little or no influences on their current employment both in Italy and the UK (Morad and Gombac, 2018). They are mainly engaged in the blue-collar sector, working in factories, restaurants, owner of the small stall of clothes, vegetable and fruits, and farmers. Those with university degrees in most cases earn as much as those with secondary level education. Similarly to Zeitlyn's (2006) findings on Bangladeshis in Madrid, some of the interviewees mentioned that they have the feeling of 'stepping down' in their occupations if they compared with their situation in Bangladesh. Some of them stated that while they had their own business in their country of origin, but they are working now for someone else as manual labourers (Morad and Gombac, 2018). But with regard to the total monthly income, they have some satisfaction as the range of salary or monthly earning is higher from that of Bangladesh. As one of the respondents mentioned:

> I am satisfied with my work, but if I compare with my education, I might say I have underemployment. (Atique, Interview 10, 19-11-2017, Padova)

REGION OF ORIGIN

Concerning their regional background in Bangladesh, similarly to other studies (e.g. Bangladeshi migrants in Rome by Knights, 1996 and Knights and King, 1998), the regional distribution of the respondents indicate that they are much

more heterogeneous than that live in some other destinations.[21] Bangladeshi who were participated in this study originated from the seven divisions (out of eight) accepts Rajshahi division. For a district-wise distribution, the respondents were found to migrate from 19 districts of Bangladesh [Table 5.1]. On the other hand, they are originated from 34 Thanas [Table 5.1]. Qualitative findings of this study indicate that the presence of Bangladeshi from some local administrative centre is larger in number in the Bangladeshi community in Northeast Italy due to their migration networks. For instance, in Venice, people from *Shariatpur*, *Kishoreganj* are larger, in Padova, people from *Comilla* and *Sylhet* are the majority in number, and in Bologna migrant from *Shariatpur*, *Comilla* and *Dhaka* are the majority.

In general, their regional diversity shows the gradual development of international migration from various corners of Bangladesh rather than just from *Sylhet*, the district from which the Bangladeshi migration to the UK "traditionally" come from (Garbin, 2008; Gardner, 1995; 2010) and *Noakhali* and *Chittagong* region, from where Bangladeshi migrants in the Middle East mostly originated (Knights, 1996).

On the other hand, it has been shown that the first generation of Bangladeshi migrants in the UK- people from *Sylhet* region of Bangladesh people - who inaugurated the Bangladeshi community in Europe had rural agricultural background (Zeitlyn, 2006). However, my research indicated a good number of the respondents among the Italian Bangladeshis (14 out of 50) migrated from several urban areas of Bangladesh. Even though some others were born in rural areas, the majority of them were staying in the city for the purpose of education and jobs. However, it is mentionable that among the respondents who have a rural origin and agricultural background, are mostly originated from the region of *Sariatpur* and *Kishoregonj*.

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[21] In this study, the regional origin of Bangladeshi migrants are analyzed on the basis of three different administrative level- Division, District, and Thana. Bangladesh is parted into eight divisions (Barisal, Chittagong, Dhaka, Mymensingh, Khulna, Rajshahi, Rangpur, and Sylhet) that are the major administrative regions of the country. These divisional headquarters are the major cities of the country. Besides, the divisions are further divided into 64 districts and these districts again subdivided into 493 Thana, i.e. Sub-district (BBS, 2011).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Whilst these 50 interviews and 500 hours participant observation on Italian Bangladeshis in Northeast Italy and the UK is not sufficient to draw generalizing conclusions about the migration motivation and socio-demographic and economic profile and the regional origin of Bangladeshis in Italy, they provide a primary picture on the background of the Bangladeshi community in Italy.

The empirical evidence suggests that the migration motivation of my respondents, who moved to South East and East Asia, and the Middle East at the beginning of their migration journey, are mainly related to the fulfil of the family need and enhance the family economic status. Their migration also influenced by the 'Bangladeshi culture of migration' which has been developed since 1971. On the other hand, the motivation for migration to Europe or in Italy is mainly aimed at achieving economic and social success and power, ensuring better employment and higher salary as well as leading a European lifestyle. However, findings indicate that their country was shaped by their family's socio-economic status. The interviews also show the importance of networks and transnational ties in the selection of their first migration destination. The vast majority of my respondents already had someone from their immediate family or a relative in the preferred country with whom they have transnational ties before migration.

The fieldwork and related literature have shown that the Bangladesh community in Italy is predominantly Muslim. It seems that Bangladeshi migrants' in Italy have higher educational attainment than that of Bangladeshi migrants in Asian countries. However, in general, it seems that there is less influence of education on their job selections and wages. Moreover, their geographic distribution enhances our understanding of the gradual development of international migrations from all over Bangladesh since it shows that Bangladeshi migrants who live in this region also arrive from several corners of Bangladesh. This regional diversities are not common in the case of Bangladeshi migration to the UK – mostly originated from Sylhet region- and the Middle East that mostly migrated from Chittagong and Sylhet region (Garbin, 2008; Gardner, 1995; 2010; Knights, 1996b; and Knights and King 1998).

Tables

Table 5.1: Profile of the Respondents

Interview Name	Religion	Gender	Education	Age	Occupation			Income	Geographical Origin in Bangladesh	
					Upon Arrival	Italy	UK		Thana	District
1. Hashem	Muslim	Male	Secondary	52	Stand shop helper	Restaurant Chef	-	2000 Euro	Sadar Comilla	Comilla
2. Firuz	Muslim	Male	Bachelor	55	Stand shop helper	Owner of photocopy and print shop	-	3000 Euro	Debidwar	Comilla
3, Sahab	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	58	Street Hawker.	Factory worker	-	1600 Euro	Kanaighat	Sylhet
4. Chowdhury	Muslim	Malle	Secondary	49	Unemployed (supported by uncle)	Factory worker	-	1700 Euro	Araihazar	Dhaka
5. Shofiq	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	44	Waiter in the bar, restaurant	Factory worker	-	1900 Euro	Lalbagh, Dhaka City	Dhaka
6. Salim	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	53	Stand shop helper	Shop owner of photocopy, internet café and money exchange	-	3000 Euro	Kapasia	Gazipur
7. Shikder	Muslim	Male	Secondary	50	Street hawker,	Factory worker	-	1800 Euro	Naria	Shariatpur
8. Sattar	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	44	Street hawker	Factory worker	-	1800 Euro	Naria	Shariatpur
9. Monir	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	41	Street hawker	Factory worker	-	1700 Euro	Naria	Shariatpur

Table 5.1 (continued)

Interview Name	Religion	Gender	Education	Age	Occupation			Income	Geographical Origin in Bangladesh	
					Upon Arrival	Italy	UK		Thana	District
10. Atiq	Muslim	Male	Masters	45	Street hawker	Factory worker	-	1900 Euro	Tangail Sadar	Tangail
11.Mamun	Muslim	Male	Secondary	42	Unemployed, (supported by Sister family)	Factory worker	-	1700 Euro	Rajbari Sadar	Rajbari
12. Salam	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	50	Carpenter	Factory worker	-	1900 Euro	Dohar.	Dhaka
13. Niamot	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	39	Street hawker,	Owner of 17 Bangla Alimentary	-	6000 Euro	Bhedarganj	Shariatpur
14. Babul	Muslim	Male	Secondary	53	Unemployed (managed by savings from the previous destination)i	Owner of the shop of tourist items in beach	-	2000 Euro	Khulna Sadar	Khulna
15. Swadin	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	45	Street hawker,	Owner of money exchange and internet café	-	2000 Euro	Narayongonj, Sadar	Narayongonj,
16. Costa	Christian	Male	Bachelor	55	Street hawker	Worker in hotel	-	2000 Euro	Kaliganj	Gazipur
17. Amir	Muslim	Male	Bachelor	50	-	Factory worker	-	2200 Euro	Dohar	Dhaka

Table 5.1 (continued)

Interview Name	Religion	Gender	Education	Age	Occupation			Income	Geographical Origin in Bangladesh	
					Upon Arrival	Italy	UK		Thana	District
18.Masum	Muslim	Male	Bachelor	50	-	Restaurant sheaf	-	2000 Euro	Sreenagar	Munshiganj
19. Syed	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	50	Agricultural labour	Owner of the restaurant	-	3000 Euro	Muladi	Barisal
20. Bari	Muslim	Male	Bachelor	57	Newspaper seller	Worker in shipbuilding	-	1200 Euro	Austagram	Kishoreganj
21. Ziku	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	35	Unemployed (supported by brothers)	Owner of tex and benefits advice centre	-	1500 Euro	Austagram	Kishoreganj
22. Akter	Muslim	Male	Master	52	Street hawker	Worker in storehouse	-	2000 Euro	Galachipa	Patuakhali
23.Hannan	Muslim	Male	Secondary	52	Street hawker & Car cleaner	Restaurant chef	-	1800 Euro	Bhairab	Kishoreganj
24. Golam	Muslim	Male	Bachelor	44	Street hawker	Factory worker	-	2000 Euro	Jagannathpur	Sunamganj
25. Sharif	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	50	Street hawker	Factory worker	-	1900 Euro	Naria	Shariatpur
26.Sarmin	Muslim	Female	Higher Secondary	31	House wife	Housewife	-	-	Debidwar	Comilla
27. Kajal	Muslim	Male	Bachelor	47	Street hawker	Owner of a shop	-	2000 Euro	Sonargaon	Narayanganj
28.Humyun	Muslim	Male	Bachelor	52	Street hawker	Factory worker	-	2200 Euro	Sadar	Comilla

Table 5.1 (continued)

Interview Name	Religion	Gender	Education	Age	Occupation			Income	Geographical Origin in Bangladesh	
					Upon Arrival	Italy	UK		Thana	District
29. Akon	Muslim	Male	Secondary	41	Street Hawker	Factory worker	-	2200 Euro	Jatrabari	Dhaka
30. Alam	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	54	Construction worker	Owner of three vegetable shops and restaurant chef	-	7000 Euro	Kachua	Chandpur
31.Rahela	Muslim	Female	Higher Secondary	35	Housewife	House Wife	Housewife	-	Moulvibazar	Moulvibazar
32. Dipu	Hindu	Male	Secondary	46	Street hawker	Restaurant chef	Salesman in a grocery shop	2200 Euro (Italy) (1300 Euro (UK)	Barisal Sadar	Barisal
33. Kamal	Muslim	Male	Secondary	44	Cleaning car glass on the street	Factory worker	Restaurant	2000 Euro (Italy) 1650 Euro (UK	Osmani Nagar	Sylhet
34. Rahman	Muslim	Male	Bachelor	42	Domestic helper	Owner of the stand shop and restaurant chef	Worker in Storehouse	3000 Euro (Italy 1050 Euro (UK)	Kerani-ganj	Dhaka

Table 5.1 (continued)

Interview Name	Religion	Gender	Education	Age	Occupation			Income	Geographical Origin in Bangladesh	
					Upon Arrival	Italy	UK		Thana	District
35. Hamid	Muslim	Male	Class Eight	38	Restaurant waiter	Restaurant chef	Restaurant chef	1300 Euro (Italy) 876 Euro (UK)	Biswanath	Sylhet
36. Nazrul	Muslim	Male	Class Nine	47	Street hawker	Factory worker	Helper of a chef in restaurant	2500 Euro (Italy) 1095 Euro (UK)	Zakiganj	Sylhet
37. Majid	Muslim	Male	Class Nine	52	Street hawker	Factory worker	Salesman in a grocery shop	2200 Euro (Italy) 1314 Euro (UK)	Barura	Comilla
38.Tamjid	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	50	Domestic worker	Restaurant chef	Unemployed	1500 Euro (Italy)	Jagannathpur	Sunamganj
39. Risco	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	52	Street hawker	Porter in hotel	Security guard	1400 Euro (Italy) (876 Euro (UK)	Naria	Shariatpur
40.Sumon	Muslim	Male	Bachelor	50	Domestic worker	Factory worker	Helper of the chef in Restaurant	2200Euro (Italy) 1314Euro (UK)	Muladi	Barisal
41. Sumi	Female	Male	Higher Secondary	35	Student	Owner of Coffee Bar	Owner of Bengali restaurant	-	Bikrampur	Munshiganj

Table 5.1 (continued)

Interview Name	Religion	Gender	Education	Age	Occupation			Income	Geographical Origin in Bangladesh	
					Upon Arrival	**Italy**	**UK**		**Thana**	**District**
42. Buian	Muslim	Male	Higher Secondary	42	Street H hawker	Owner of three Kebab shops and job in cooperative	Owner of Coffee Bar	5000 Euro (Italy 2190 EuroUK)	Debidwar	Comilla
43.Mustafiz	Muslim	Male	Bachelor	49	Car washing in the petrol pump	Factory worker	Uber driver	2500 Euro (Italy) 1095 Euro (UK)	Raipura	Narsingdi
44. Shanaz	Muslim	Female	Higher secondary	36	Student	Housewife	Housewife	-	Sitakunda	Chattagram
45. Motin	Muslim	Male	Higher secondary	43	Street Hawker	Restaurant	Uber driver	1500 Euro (Italy) 1423 Euro (UK)	Satkania	Chattagram
46. Imdad	Muslim	Male	Secondary	50	Fruit shop worker	A worker in an export-import company	Restaurant	1500 Euro (Italy) 1314 Euro (UK)	Jury	Moulvibazar
47. Khasru	Muslim	Male	Secondary	50	Street hawker	Factory worker	Grocery shop	1750 Euro (Italy) 1369 Euro (UK)	Kanaighat	Sylhet

Table 5.1 (continued)

Interview Name	Religion	Gender	Education	Age	Occupation			Income	Geographical Origin in Bangladesh	
					Upon Arrival	**Italy**	**UK**		**Thana**	**District**
48. Sabbir	Muslim	Male	Secondary	43	Street hawker	Factory worker	Uber driver	2000 Euro (Italy 1500 pound (UK	Kanaighat	Sylhet
49.Mannan	Muslim	Male	Secondary	62	Street hawker	Owner of Kebab shop	-	-	Naria	Shariatpur
50. Mridha	Muslim	Male	Bachelor	53	Street hawker	Factory worker	Camera operator Bangla TV	2300 Euro (Italy 1300 Pound (UK)	Harirampur	Manikgonj

CHAPTER SIX

MULTIPLE MIGRATION TRAJECTORIES OF ITALIAN BANGLADESHIS BEFORE ARRIVING IN ITALY AND WITHIN ITALY

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I analyse which factors influence the multiple migration trajectories of Bangladeshi international migrants. It is worth mentioning that few research analyses on such multiple migrations of Bangladeshis, with the exceptions of Della Puppa and King (2018), but they looked at the onward migration of Bangladeshi Italians to the UK. Indeed scarce attention has been paid to the details of stepwise multiple migratory trajectories of Bangladeshi international migrants and the motivations for their several migratory mobilities. This chapter draws on 50 in-depth interviews undertaken on Italian Bangladeshis in three cities in Northeast Italy and two cities of the UK that have recently emerged as one of the main destinations for Italian Bangladeshis.

The first generation migrants in Italy that we have focused on in this chapter[22] are a very recent addition to the Bangladeshi diaspora in Europe. We consider them as multiple migrants since they migrated to two or more intermediary countries and later moved to Italy. They are now Italian citizen after having 10 years of continuous residence and fulfilling other necessary requirements. First, we analyse the previous migration destinations and the factors that account for several migratory trajectories. At this point, here I also want to highlight the decisions of their onward migration towards Italy. Second, I identify the reason for their internal migration within Italy. The main research questions here I am going to answer is, 1) What are the previous destinations of and motivation for

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[22] Part of the discussion within this chapter has already been published in the journal of International Migration - Morad. M., & Sacchetto, D. (2019). Multiple Migration and Use of Ties: Bangladeshis in Italy and Beyond. *International Migration*

the multiple migratory trajectories of Bangladeshi migrants before arriving in Italy and within Italy?

The next section traces their multiple migration trajectories before arriving in Italy. It then discusses the findings of their migration to Italy and their internal migration within Italy.

TRACING MULTIPLE MIGRATIONS EXPERIENCES BEFORE ARRIVING IN ITALY

The participants' narratives indicated that, before arriving in Italy mainly between 1980 and 1999, Bangladeshi first-generation migrants who participated in this study had lived in at least two countries within three continents, such as Asia, Europe and Africa. More specifically, before their migration to Italy, they lived 13 countries such as Russia, Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands, France, Greece, South Africa, Japan, Singapore, Malaysia, UAE, Kuwait, and Qatar [Figure 6.1]. In order to trace their multiple migration experiences, we can put them into four categories:

   i) migrants whose first migration is to Italy but they have stayed in several countries as transit migrants;

   ii) migrants who first migrated to several European countries before arriving in Italy;

   iii) migrants who first moved to the industrial countries of East Asia;

   iv) migrants who first started their migration journey from the Middle East.

As it has discussed in chapter three, scholars, for instance, Paul (2011), researching Filipino stepwise migrants, argued that migrants have often preplanned the destinations of their multiple migrations. She finds that at the beginning migrants create in their minds a hierarchy of destinations, and because of limited financial resources, they often start their journey from a country offering the lowest wages but imposing few restrictions on immigration (e.g. the Middle East). However, they keep moving on until reaching to a pre-arranged destination in the West. On the contrary, addressing on several migrant groups, some other scholars (Newbold and Bell, 2001 in their study return and onwards migration in Canada and Australia; Kelly, 2013 on their research on onward migration of

Iranian in Sweden; and Toma and Castagnone, 2015 on their paper on Senegalese migrations between France, Italy and Spain) have pointed out that such migrations are not a pre-planned journey and international migrants do not have preferred destinations in advance, but they could develop multiple migrations strategies for achieving the socio-economic and legal status that they failed to do in their first and subsequent destinations since they re-evaluate the opportunities continue that are available elsewhere.

Figure 6.1: Previous Country of destinations of Italian Bangladeshis
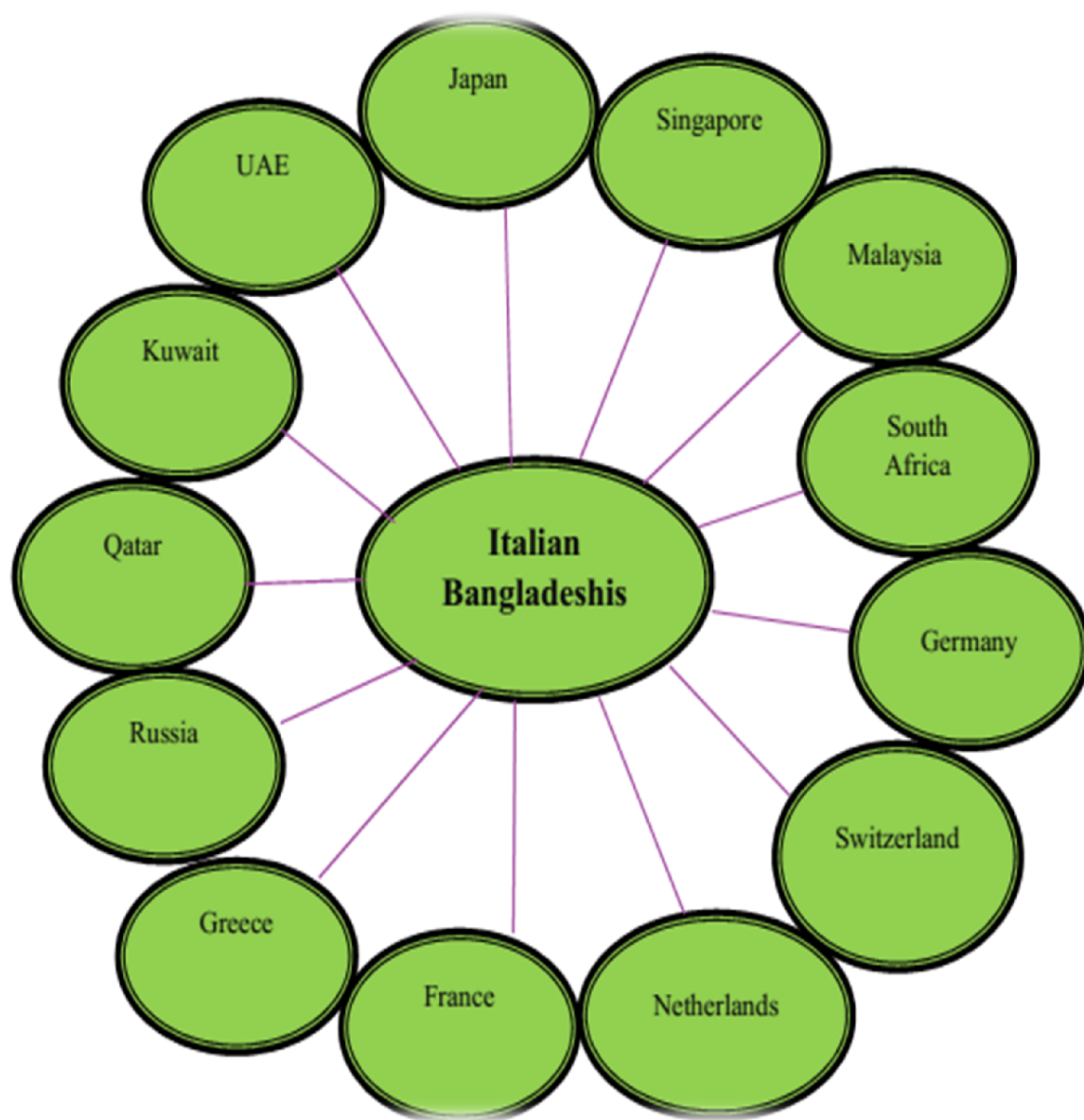
In the following section, considering these two arguments, I analyze the empirical findings on multiple migration trajectories- before arriving in Italy and within Italy- of Italian Bangladeshis who participated in this study.

 i. **Migrants whose first migration is to Italy but they have stayed in several countries as transit migrants**

The participants' narratives have shown that multiple migration journeys were only preplanned in the case of group (i) who, having a clear intention to move to Italy, spent a limited period of time in intermediate countries as transit migrants [Table 6.2], but without integrating into the social system of those destinations (Collyer, 2007; Düvell, 2012). Interviews also revealed the fact that these earlier migrants in Northeast Italy usually used mainly a combination of 'air and land' route' [Table 6.2], which has become less and less used in the recent years as the air and sea routes to Italy have become more popular (Morad and Gombac, 2018). In their journey, they travel a couple of months while others take years to reach Italy. The transit countries were found to be Russia, Belorussia, Ukraine, Turkey, Greece, Albania, Romania, Hungary, Austria, Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia, and Slovenia, and in some cases Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon and Senegal. But in most cases, their entry points were on Italian land frontiers with France, Switzerland, Austria and Slovenia.

> I first went to Russia with a tourist visa in 1998. Then entered to Belorussia, Ukraine by train, after that Romania by bus, and then by car to Rovigo, Italy. After 4 months journey, I arrived in Italy. (Niamot, Interview 13, 3-12-2017, Bologna).

> In my journey towards Italy, I spent 9 months in several countries. I started the journey in January 2000, but I arrived in Italy in November 2000. I first came to Belorussia through student visa, I was there around 3 months. After that, I moved to Slovakia where I stayed for four months. Later I entered Austria. After staying 2 months there, finally, I managed to arrive in Italy. (Sattar, Interview 9, 13-11-2017, Venice)

> I was observing that many of my friends and neighbouring people were arriving in Italy via Bulgaria. By following them, I took a tourist visa for Bulgaria, and I arrived in Sofia on October 89. I tried to enter to Belgrade by crossing the border but failed to do that. Then I moved to Istanbul, Turkey on a tourist visa. I was there about four months while I was searching broker [….]. One Agency told me that they can

arrange a tourist visa to send me in Belgrade. But I have to pay for USD 2500. By paying such amount, I arrived in Belgrade along with a Turkish broker. Later I reached in Ljubljana. The Turkish broker arranged an Italian broker for my journey to Italy. And in May 1990, I arrived in Mestre. (Risco, Interview 39, 29-04-2019, London)

Like Niamot, Sattar, and Risco, majority of the respondents who have arrived in Italy via several transit countries are mostly originated from the Sariatpur region of Bangladesh. In most of the cases, their whole journey was arranged and facilitated by their early migrant family members and/or relatives who live in Italy[23]. These irregular migrants mostly followed the same routes that former migrants used to arrive in Italy. Following the directions of such migrant family members or relatives, with the help of *Adam Baparis[24]*, these migrants mostly first arranged a student visa or tourist visa for an Eastern European or a former Soviet country through several travel agencies located in Dhaka Bangladesh. From the first transit country, they moved to other countries. They stayed several months in every stop until their brokers from other stop gave them a signal to move there.

However, a few irregular migrants looked for several possible routes during their transit to Italy, a combination of air, land, and sea routes. In this regard, Turkey, Russia, Romania, and Greece were the most frequently mentioned transit countries. It has shown that migrants also used several African countries as a transit country for arranging migrations to Italy.

In December 1992 I started my journey towards India. From there through the help of one of my friends, I arranged a tourist visa and arrived in Moscow. After one month, we arrived in Romania by train. But we caught by border police and sent back to Russia. After a few days, again we made our journey to Romania by train through the help of another broker. In Bucharest, we found with some other Bangladeshis. [-----]. After a few months, we started journey toward Greece by train. By following the direction of the broker, we get off the train in Skopje, the capital of Macedonia, and started walking towards the border. But after a few

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[23] In the chapter seven- multiple migrations and networks- , the details discussion about networks will be presented.

[24] "Adam bepari' is a Bengali term which is denote the person who deals human business.

minutes, we caught by the Macedonian police. The sent back us to Romania, we were arrested and put to Romanian jail for two months. When we were released, we came to Turkey via Bulgaria. After staying 7 days there, we started our journey towards Greece through the sea by boat. After three nights three days, we arrived in Thessaloniki, Greece. And the next day, we reached Athens [……]. Latter, I arrived in Italy through a Large Lorry which crossed the sea by ferry. We were being dropped off near the Bari train station in June 1994. (Akter, Interview 22, 5-5-2018, Venice)

I started my journey from Dhaka in 2000 along with my 6 friends. By arranging tourist visas, we first flew to Niger, afterwards from Niger to Nigeria, from Nigeria to Cameroon, and from Cameroon to Ghana. […..]. In these four countries, we tried to find out a way to arrive in Europe. But when we failed, later I moved to Senegal. [……]. There I met a Srilankan broker. He gave me a way to come to Italy by arranging a tourist visa for Brazil where the transit stop was Milan. I mean the flight route was Dakar to Milan and Milan to Rio de Janeiro. In this regard, the broker also arranged 2 days transit visa for Italy. In February 2001, I arrived in Milan Airport, I went to the hotel, and I stayed there one day and one night. And the next day, instead of taking a flight to Brazil, I moved to Rome. (Golam, Interview 24, 25-05-2018, Venice).

ii) Migrants who first migrated to several European countries before arriving in Italy

The multiple migration journeys of the second group, who first moved to an EU country other than Italy, was made when they failed to regularize their status in their first EU country of sojourn due to the tightened migration policies which reduced their opportunities to become legal immigrants (Knights, 1996). After being rejected, they often create a migration map in their mind - a 'wish list' of their preferred destinations - for making a second, third or even fourth migration within the EU. Here they took into consideration several options such as the possibilities of asylum acceptance, social benefits, and the availability of jobs during the application period. In that way, the majority of them moved at least two countries within the EU before making the final move to Italy [Table 6.3]. For instance, Masum a middle-aged Italian Bangladeshi who arrived in Switzerland

in 1992, then moved to Germany in 1993 and later lived in France from 1994 to 2000 before finally moving to Italy. He shares his experiences:

That time we drew a hierarchical chart on our future migration countries. Our plan was that if we got a rejection in one country then we move to another country within the EU. For instance, my plan was if I will reject in Switzerland, I will go to Germany, after that, I will try for French. (Masum, Interview 18, 04-12-2017, Bologna).

Similarly to Masum, Babul, a 55-year-old Bangladeshi, moved to Italy in 1990 after living four years in Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. He noted the following story about his previous multiple migration journeys:

On 10 February 1986, I arrived in West Berlin, Germany. My plan was to settle there. But when I failed to regularize my status there, I searched for another country to migrate to looking for a better place and a better life. I was informed by one of my friend, who moved to the Netherlands before me, that the Netherlands provides very good social facilities. Even though they did not provide work permits to asylum seekers, we could easily save from the amount that we will receive as social benefits. By sending these savings, my family in Bangladesh could easily exist. So, after a year, on 10 February 1987, I left Germany for Holland. I also stayed there for one year. And again, I left this country on February 14, 1988, and came to Switzerland for the same reason. (Babul, Interview 14, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

As the above Masum and Babul's statement reveals, in the participants' narratives, it is found that migrants did not have any preplanned about moving onward when they started their first journey from Bangladesh, rather they wanted to be settled in the first country where they arrived. They moved further to Italy as they have shown the prospect to be a permanent residence or citizen of Italy (Della Puppa 2013, 2014; Morad and Gombac, 2018, Priori 2012; Knights 1996a, 1996b) that allow them to move within the EU. Especially these Bangladeshis in different European countries were encouraged by the Italian amnesties that let irregular migrants regularize, mostly the ones in 1986, 1990, 1996 and 1998.

The analysis shows that in their journey to Italy they used mainly irregular migration channels. More specifically, the entry points were on the Italian borders with France and Switzerland [Table 6.3]. In this connection, most of them entered Italy through Como and Ventimiglia. But our interviews tell an interesting story:

some of these migrants whose asylum case was in the processing in former EU country, after submitting their application for the residence permit in Italy and even after receiving the Italian permit, they again moved there by following undocumented way with a hope that their asylum applications will be granted. Thus, they moved back and forth several times between Italy and one of the EU country where their asylum application was pending. For instance, Masum's statement revealed the following:

> Actually, after application submission in Italy, I return back to French through Ventimiglia to Monte Carlo within the tunnel because my political asylum was under consideration in France and I had also a good job there. After 6 months, when I informed that my document in Italy is ready then I again moved to Italy on foot from Monte Carlo to Ventimiglia within the tunnel. And I picked up my permit from Rome. And again I moved to French by keeping my original copy of residence permit to one of my friend house in Rome by following the same route. I finally came back permanently in 2000 from Paris when the Italian Government formulated a new law that migrant who does not have a regular job would not renew their permit. (Masum, Interview 18, 4-12-2017, Bologna).

iii. Migrants who first moved to the industrial countries of Southeast Asia

In this study, a small number of migrants first move to Southeast Asian countries, for instance, Japan, Singapore or Malaysia. They mostly made their further migration after returning home when they failed to regularize their status and their job contract expired as they were short-term migrants (Rahman, 2017; Ullah, 2013). Among them, some made their second migration to a Middle Eastern country and later third migration to Europe, another EU country or Italy. And some made second migration to another EU country before arriving in Italy. Moreover, some of them made the second migration directly to Italy via Eastern European countries. In their migration journey towards Europe, all of them follow the irregular migration routes; the entry point was the Italian land frontiers with France, Austria and Slovenia [Table 6.4]. It is mentionable that their multiple migration journeys were not pre-planned; when they were migrating to the East or South Asian countries. For instance, Chowdhury, who first tried to be settled in Japan in 1987 and later arrived in Italy in 1999 after several mobilities, mentioned:

I do not have any plan to come to Europe, my plan was to be settled in Japan. In this regard, my family financed me three times. But I was not able to legalize my status. Then I started a business in Malaysia but I failed. So I migrated to Saudi Arabia in 1990. But, I did not like the Middle East. They have very little respect for labour; they think labour means labour, labour does not belong to the same class or have the same status as Arabian people. I am a Muslim, they are also Muslim, but I observe that they recognized us as a labourer. So, I again migrated to Germany with a hope that if I live in Europe, I could change my life which is not possible in the Middle East even though I would stay more than 30 years (Chowdhury, Interview 4, 7-10-2017, Padova).

As Chowdhury's example illustrates, in this study Bangladeshi migrant who made their second to the Middle East, encountered with the harsh labour market. So, further, they were encouraged towards Europe for a better income, better employment and a better life. Besides, some migrants, after returning from Southeast Asian countries, who tried to relocate to one of the EU countries, they further moved to Italy when they failed to regularize their status in their EU country. For instance, Salim, after returning from Singapore who made the second migration to Switzerland, third migration to Germany before arriving in Italy, mentioned the following:

In 1981, I left Bangladesh and migrated to Singapore….. I was there for four years, after that, I returned back to Bangladesh in 1985 when my visa was expired. ….Then I left towards Switzerland in 1997 with a business visa by the help of my friend. But after one month I became illegal there. Then I moved to Germany. Because I informed that the process to get the asylum in Germany is easier than Switzerland. I knew it from my relative, my nephews who were in Germany at that time. I was there for about 1 year. When I found a declaration in Italy in 1998, I came here to regularize my status (Interview 6, 8-10-2017, Padova).

iv) **Migrants who first started their migration journey from the Middle East**

Furthermore, in the case of the fourth group [Table 6.5], who first migrated to the Middle East, a combination of socio-economic factors motivated them to leave the destination and choose Europe, mainly Italy, for onward migration. More specifically, in Middle Eastern countries they met with unexpected economic and social circumstances because their working conditions were extremely harsh in

relation to salary and other working conditions. They also encountered discriminatory behaviour and exploitation. For instance, the following three respondents mentioned, they were living in Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Dubai, respectively:

I went to Qatar in 1983. I was working in an electrical factory. There were no fixed working hours, the job sometimes started in the early morning, and sometimes at night. I had long working hours and no day off. Even during *Eid* [religious festible], we did not have any time off. There were no overtime payments and no bonuses. There was no freedom what I have now in Italy. Therefore, in 1988 I went back to Bangladesh from Qatar [...]. I went to South Africa in 1991. I worked there in a supermarket [....]. And on 17 October 1993, I arrived in Rome, Italy. (Salam, Interview 12, 2-12-2017, Bologna)

I was in Saudi Arabia for 8 years, it was a life of hell, there was no time table, no weekend, no yearly leave. (Majid, Interview, 37, 29-04-2019, London)

My cousin was in Dubai, my father contact with him. He sent me a visa for camel racing. But after going there when I saw the big camel, I got scared and started to cry. I told the owner that it is not possible for me to race camel since I am too small. Then they provided me with another job in the kitchen. But I had to work since morning from 6 a.m. to 2 a.m. a late night. My salary only 600 Dirham [145 Euro]. I used to cry every day. In the morning, I first cooked and served breakfast, then worked for preparing food for camels. Afterwards, I had to work in the tomato garden and date garden till 12 p.m. After that when I returned home, I had to start preparing lunch for all. That was horrible time, I feel really sad now to tell you this story, I feel I am crying now. It was usually 4 to 5 p.m when I finished the kitchen work and I got time to have my lunch. Then again I had to go the agricultural land and always it was about 8 p.m when I get home. Then they sent me to the kitchen again to prepare dinner for about 20 members. It was around 2 a.m. late at night, I used to finish my daily work and got time to bad. They have two boys who sometimes beat me. (Nazrul, Interview 36, 18-04-2019, Bradford)

Even though some were very successful entrepreneurs in the Middle East, they also faced different kinds of harassment in running a business by the *kafala* system. Under this system, as is the rule of *kafala,* the *kafeel* (sponsor) is the actual owner of any business run by a foreigner. Therefore, losing ownership of

business organization often got them into trouble. In this regard, one Bangladeshi migrant, who was first migrated to Qatar and later moved to Kuwait for improving his situation, mentioned:

First, we started a workshop [gold jewellery making shops] with four workers, day by day the number of workers increased and finally, we had 23 workers. After that, we started another workshop with 39 workers. The monthly income was around 5 lakh [around 5000 Euro] which increased to 10 lakh [10,000 euro] in some months. But since our business was regulated by the kafala system, our two shops were owned by a Kuwaiti. He became jealous about seeing our success. He started to demand extra money every week. One day when we did not pay the extra he demanded, he locked up one of our shops. Since the license for the shops was owned by this Kuwaiti man, we could do nothing about it. (Interview 1, 18-9-2017, Padova)

Interestingly, for fulfilling their migration goal, all of these migrants choose Italy as their further migration destination instead of selecting other EU countries which we have not seen in the previously mentioned group two and three as they arrived in Italy via other EU countries. These migrants had the information that for undocumented migrants Italy is a better destination compare to other EU countries. And they had the hope that during their undocumented period they will receive help from their relatives or friends:

When I decided to again migrate to EU, I discussed with my fellow friends who have relatives in Italy, they told me that there is one country in Europe you can stay without document. (Interview 11, 2-12-2017, Bologna).

My analysis finds that most of them maintained irregular channels in their migration process to Italy. Most of these migrant use air-land route to entered to Italy. My studies show that Eastern Europe was an important transit area for their migration to Italy. From the Middle East, these Bangladeshis first travelled to Eastern European countries on a tourist visa of one or three weeks and later they came to Italy overland illegally [Table 6.5]. One Bangladeshi who entered Italy from Austria described his experience as follows:

In January 1994, I arrived in Austria from Dubai…. I managed a *dalal* [broker] by paying 900 dollars to enter in Italy. After 5 hours journey by bus, we arrived in the Austrian and Italian border. Then we walked for five hours and crossed the Udine

border. Our dalal [brocer] left us in Udine and told us to go to Rome by train. (Interview 03, 02-10-2017, Padova)

Table 6.1: Previous Multiple Migration Experiences of Italian Bangladeshis

First destination	The reason for leaving first and subsequent destinations	Migration to Italy
Italy, but spent a limited period of time in some intermediate countries	They were transit migrants	Planned
One of the EU country other than Italy	Failed to regularize their status in their first and other EU countries of sojourn due to the tightened migration policies.	Not planned
Southeast Asia	Failed to regularize their status after their job contract expired in the first destination in Southeast Asia, and further failed to obtain a legal permit in their first and other subsequent EU countries of migration.	Not planned
Middle East	Unexpected economic and social circumstances because of working conditions were extremely harsh	Not Planned

Taken as a whole, this section has delineated the fact that whereas in the case of group (i), multiple migrations is a preplanned trajectory (Paul, 2011; and Takenaka, 2007), the groups (ii), (iii) and (iv) did not have any advance plan to move on from their initial destination when they were leaving Bangladesh, rather they wanted to settle in the first country of migration. Their multiple migrations are strategies in order to achieve the socio-economic and legal status that they failed to obtain in their first and subsequent destinations (Toma and Castagnone, 2015). It is also an outcome of continuous re-evaluation of migration opportunities (Kelly 2013; Newbold and Bell 2001; Schapendonk 2012; Toma and Castagnone 2015) [Table 6.1].

MOVING TO ITALY AND INTERNAL MIGRATION WITHIN ITALY

The findings of this study have shown that Bangladeshi migration to Italy started in the earlier time of the 1980s. In my study, the majority of the respondents arrived in this country between 1980 and 1998. According to their narratives, the number of Bangladeshis in Italy was very small until the year 1990. How Bangladeshi migration to Italy has been inaugurated is well explained by one of the earlier Bangladeshis in Italy who live now in London:

> I arrived in 1980 on April 27 in Rome on a tourist visa, I found the number of Bangladeshis were only 7. Still, I remember their name, *Bulbul, Helal, Habib* from Dhaka, *Rafique* from Chittagong, me and my brother *Haque* from Shariatpur, and *Nasir* from Barisal. They all arrived in Italy on a tourist visa with a motive to migrate to Germany. But when they failed to move to Germany, they decided to stay in Italy [….]. After the second legalization 1986, the number became 70, they were mostly our relatives; we brought them through the tourist visa of Yugoslavia. During the declaration of 1990, Bangladeshis who were undocumented in other European countries all arrived in Italy and the number became around 3500. (Mannan, Interview 49, 7-6-2019, London).

As Mannan recalled the introduction of Bangladeshi migration to Italy, for instance, another earlier Bangladeshis mentioned during his interview that the number of Bangladeshis (both legal and illegal) was only around 600 when he first arrived in Rome in 1987 (Costa, Interview 16, 04-12-2017, Bologna). As Mannan and Costa explained, other narratives also indicated that the number of Bangladeshis has enormously started to grow once the majority of undocumented Bangladeshi migrants obtained a residence permit in 1990 under the Martelli Law (Knights, 1996). As the interviews have indicated, the number that gained legal status mostly came from different European countries; especially from Germany, the Netherlands, France, Belgium and Switzerland.

Similarly to the seminal studies of Knights (1996), this study findings have indicated that the first settlement of these earlier Bangladeshi migrants was in Rome. However, my findings have revealed that after 1996, when the Bangladeshi in Rome became large in number after the second declaration to legalize irregular migrants, they faced problems in finding employment as well as housing. Even though they were legal migrants, the only job readily available to

them was as a street vendor. Some of them worked for cleaning cars, some were selling flowers, umbrellas or jewellery, lighters and packets of tissues by walking around the city. Others were selling newspapers in the traffic lights. Some had a job in the restaurant but hardly any had a regular job contract. For instance, the lives of Bangladeshis in 1996 in Rome is well explained by Swadin and Risco:

> Life in Rome was chaotic, if you want to an easy life then Rome was not suitable. We don't have a regular job contract or a proper salary. As we did not have a regular contract, we were not entitled to health care. Besides we were not given annual leave to spend holidays in Bangladesh. It is also hard to find a house for rent. Therefore, in order to have a good life like many other Bangladeshis I left Rome. (Swadin, Interview 15, 3-12-2017).

> When I became documented, I tried to find a fixed job, but most of the employer offered a job to me without a permanent contract. But I needed a regular job with a contract to visit my family in Bangladesh during holidays and also start bringing my wife in Italy. For that reason, I moved to Venice where I found a job in a five-star hotel. I worked there for around 14 years until moving to the UK. (Risco, Interview 39, 29-04-2019, London)

It was mainly 1996, Bangladeshi migrants have started to move in other cities of Italy for searching better social conditions, employment prospects and expected income (Zeitlyn, 2006; Della Puppa, 2013; and Morad and Gombac, 2018). My fieldwork has indicated that mostly as the result of the industrial development, Bangladeshi migrants also were drawn to Northeast part of Italy since the job was available in the factories, restaurants, and some other sectors. And since then, a large concentration of Bangladeshi migrants have appeared around the northeast region, for instance in Bologna, Padova, Venice, and Vicenza.

In Northeast Italy, I further tried to see how the Bangladeshi community have been inaugurated in this region. More specifically, first, in the case of Bologna, findings have shown that the four Bangladeshis, who initiated the Bologna Bangladeshi community are originated from Comilla, Shariatpur, and Dhaka districts of Bangladesh. They arrived in this Italian province from Rome during the 1990s. But the community started to raise after 1996, after the fourth legislative regularization, Law Decree No 489 of 1995 (Ruspini, 2009). The rough estimation

of an earlier Bangladeshi indicates that around 150 Bangladeshi were living in this city during 1995 when he arrived. But this number has grown to 3000 just after five years in 2000 (Swadin, Interview 15, 3-12-2017, Bologna). The number was reached to pick in number during the time of 2007 and 2008 (e.g. 10000 Bangladeshis), and this number is now around 8000 (Masum, Interview, 18, 4-12-2017, Bologna).

Second, with regard to Padova, findings of this study have revealed that the establishment of Bangladesh community in Padova emerged during the mid-1980s upon arrival of three Bangladeshi from Rome who played the pioneering role in building the Bangladeshi community of this city. The qualitative interviews result indicated that the number of Bangladeshis have been trending to upward since1998 but the large number arrived during the 2000s.

Third, Venice Bangladeshi community also started to build during the late 1980s. Interview conversation with an earlier Bangladeshi indicated that in 1990, only 7 Bangladeshi lived in Venice. They were from Shariatpur and Kishoreganj districts of Bangladesh (Bari, Interview 20, 8-4-2018, Venice). But since1996 the rapid growth started when many Bangladeshis arrived from Rome for doing the job in the restaurants, factories, and shipbuilding industry. The number of Bangladeshis in this Italian cities became around one thousand in 2000 which is now nearest 8000 (Syed, Interview 19, 2- 4- 2018, Venice).

However, my interviews also suggest that several re-migrations have emerged from this region since the economic crisis hit Italy and Bangladeshis have started acquiring Italian citizenship. For instance, secondary migration from this region to another urban centre; return migration to Bangladesh (Bastia, 2011; Carling and Erdal, 2014) and onward migration to a number of new destinations, mainly in the UK (Della Puppa and King, 2018). Therefore, it seems that even though many of my respondents thought that Italy was the final destination in their migratory journey, numerous socio-cultural drivers (e.g. better career prospects for the second generation, disappointment in everyday life; uncertainty regarding their future in Italy due to changing political anti-immigrant sentiment) motivated them to take another international migration. This scenario is well explained by Masum, one of the pioneers of Bologna Bangla community:

We do not have accurate statistics [the number of Bangladeshis] now. But I would say during 2007 and 2008 the number of Bangladeshi had reached its highest number. At that time nearly 10,000 Bangladeshis were living in this city. Now without taking a survey, from the observation of our participation in several programs and seeing the numbers in the elections of Bangladesh Samity [Bangladesh associations], we can assume that the present number is no more than 8,000. I mean the rest of the people moved. Some left Italy permanently for Bangladesh, this number is very small. Some re-migrated to other cities in Italy when some factories closed and they lost their jobs. These people mainly returned to Rome and Milan to look for work. But of course, a large number left Italy and migrated to the UK when they acquired Italian citizenship. (Masum, Interview, 18, 4-12-2017, Bologna)

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In conclusion, concerning the research question- previous destination and motivation for multiple migratory trajectories of Bangladeshi migrants before arriving in Italy and within Italy – this study concluded that my participants worked for several years in at least two different European, Southeast Asian or Middle Eastern countries except for a few who arrived directly from Bangladesh but who had also stayed a certain period of time in several countries as transit migrants. In most cases – those whose first migration was to other EU countries, Southeast Asia or the Middle East - multiple migrations were not preplanned. More specifically, their relocation plan to Italy from other EU countries was motivated by their precarious status in their country of sojourn (Knights, 1996) and failure to regularize their status.

Bangladeshis, who first moved to South East and East Asia, then migrated to Italy via several EU countries after the expiry of their job contract or failure to regularize their status. Besides, migrants who first immigrated to the Middle East experienced extremely harsh economic and social conditions, such as a low salary, no regular day off and long working hours as well as suffering discriminatory behaviour and exploitation. Furthermore, they moved directly to Italy with the hope that for migrants without documents, Italy would be the most appropriate destination.

Moreover, for some migrants, mostly originating from the region of Sariatpur in Bangladesh, Italy was a pre-planned destination which they reached via several transit countries. The analysis has also shown that after arriving in Italy, the first place of settlement for my participants was Rome. When the number of Bangladeshis in Rome became large and they were able to regularize their administrative position through several amnesties, they faced the problem in finding a job and housing. And after the second amnesty allowing legalization in 1996, they mainly started their internal migration to other parts of Italy, especially Northeast Italy as most of the factories are located here. But again several re-migrations- return migration to Bangladesh, secondary migration to other Italian cities, onward migration to another third country- have been emerged from this Italian region since the economic crisis hit Italy and when the earlier Bangladeshi started to acquire Italian citizenship.

Tables

Table 6.2: The channel of Migration to Italy: Migrants whose first migration is to Italy but they have stayed in several countries as transit migrant

Interview no/ Name	The channel of Migration to Italy	Year
Interview 7 Shikder	Irregular channel: Arrived Sofia, Bulgaria by a one-month tourist visa. • Later reached Italy after around 2 months through land route via several transit countries, Bulgarian, Serbia, and Slovenia. • The entry points were on the land frontier with Slovenia.	Arrival:1990 Documented:1996 Citizen:2017
Interview 8 Sattar	Irregular channel: Arrived Kyiv, Ukraine with a student visa in September 1992. • Later reached Italy in October 1992 through land route via several transit countries, Romania, Hungary, Slovenia. • The entry points were on the land frontier with Slovenia.	Arrival:1993 Documented:1996 Citizen:2013
Interview 12 Niamot	Irregular channel: Arrived Moscow, Russia with a tourist visa in February 1997. • Later reached Italy in June 1997 through land route via several transit countries Belarus, Ukraine, Romania, Hungary, and Austria. • The entry points were on the land frontier with Austria.	Arrival: 1997 Documented:1998 Citizen: 2012
Interview 22 Akter	Irregular channel: Arrived Moscow, Russia with a student visa in December 1992. • Afterwards reached Greece through land route, crossing Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, and Macedonian border. Finally, arrived in Italy in June 1994 through sea route from Greece to Bari.	Arrival:1992 Documented:1996 Citizen:2013
Interview 23 Hannan	Irregular channel: Arrived in Moscow, Russia with a student visa in January 1993. • Afterwards, by following land route arrived in Italy on June 1993 via transit countries- Romania, Ukraine, Serbia, and Slovenia. • The entry points were on the land frontier with Slovenia.	Arrival: 1993 Documented:1996 Citizen: 2013
Interview 24 Golam	Regular channel: Arrived Niger by managing a tourist visa in January 2000. • Afterwards, moved to some African countries (in searching migration route to Europe) - Nigeria, Cameroun, Senegal. Later managing a tourist visa for Brazil arrived in Italy by taking Milan as transit.	Arrival: 2001 Documented: 2002 Citizen: 2018

Table 6.2 (Continued)

Interview no/Name	The channel of Migration to Italy	Year
Interview 25 Sharif	Irregular channel: Arrived Sofia in April 1990, Bulgaria with a tourist visa. • When failed to cross the border of Serbia, moved to Istanbul, Turkey with a tourist visa. But when did not find any way out, moved again to Sofia. Later able to cross the border of Serbia and arrived in Italy in September 1990 via Slovenia. • The entry points were on the land frontier with Slovenia.	Arrival: 1990 Documented:1990 Citizen: 2018
Interview 32 Dipu	Irregular channel: Arrived Moscow, Russia with a student visa in January 1995. Later reached Italy in July 1995 through land route via crossing several borders of Ukraine, Hungary, and Slovenia. • The entry points were on the land frontier with Slovenia.	Arrival: 1995 Documented:1996 Citizen: 2014
Interview 38 Tamjid	Irregular channel: Arranging a tourist visa first arrived in Amman, Jordan in July 1990. Later managed another tourist visa for Austria and arrived Vienna. Afterwards moved to Italy crossing Austria and Italian border and reached in Rome on September 1990. • The entry points were on the land frontier with Austria.	Arrival: 1990 Documented:1990 Citizen: 2012
Interview 39 Risco	Irregular channel: Arrived Sofia, Bulgaria in October 89 through a tourist visa. Later moved to Istanbul, Turkey on another tourist visa. From there arrived in Belgrade on a tourist visa. Later moved to Italy through land route crossing Slovenia and Italian border and arrived in Rome on May 1990. • The entry points were on the land frontier with Slovenia.	Arrival: 1990 Documented:1990 Citizen: 2015
Interview 40 Sumon	Irregular channel: Arrived Zagreb, Croatia by arranging a business visit visa. After around one month, moved to Italy by crossing Croatia, Slovenia. • The entry points were on the land frontier with Slovenia.	Arrival: 1998 Documented:1999 Citizen: 2016
Interview 43. Mostafiz	Irregular channel: Arrived Moscow, Russia with a business visit visa in December 1996. • Later moved to Istanbul, Turkey on a tourist visa. From Istanbul, by following irregular land and sea route via Greece, Albania arrived in Lecce, Italy in October 1997.	Arrival: 1997 Documented:1998 Citizen: 2014
Interview 46	Irregular channel: Arrived first Bulgaria on a tourist visa in December 1990. Then move to Turkey on another tourist visa. Afterwards, he moved to Malta following undocumented sea route. Finally, in May 1991, he reached Ancona, Italy from Malta through crossing sea via another undocumented way.	Arrival:1991 Documented:1996 Citizen:2014

Table 6.3: Multiple Migrations of Italian Bangladeshis who first migrated to several European countries and later moved to Italy

Name	Previous Migration to Europe (other than Italy)	Migration to Italy	
	Country, Year, Migration channel	**Migration channel**	**Year**
Interview 5 Shofiq	i. Germany (1996-1997) Irregular channel: Arrived Moscow, Russia on a tourist visa. Later moved Germany through land route via several transit countries: Belarus, Lithuania, and Poland.	Irregular channel: Arrived from Germany through land route via France The entry points were on the land frontier with France (Ventimiglia).	Arrival:1998 Documented:2000 Citizen: 2017
Interview 10 Atiq	i. Germany (1997) Regular channel: With a student Visa	Irregular channel: Arrived from Germany through land route via France. The entry points were on the land frontier with France (Ventimiglia).	Arrival: 2001 Citizen:2014
Interview 14 Babul	i. Germany (1986) Regular Channels: with business visit visa ii. The Netherlands (1987) iii. Switzerland (1988-1989) Irregular channels: Crossing the border	Irregular channel: Arrived from Switzerland through crossing its land frontier with Italy (Como).	Arrival: 1990 Documented:1990 Citizen: 2017
Interview 15 Swadin	i. Russia (1993) Regular Channel: Arrived with student visa ii. Germany (1994-1995) Irregular Channel: Arrived from Russia through land route via Belarus, Poland.	Irregular channel: Arrived from Germany through land route via France. The entry points were on the land frontier with France (Ventimiglia).	Arrival:1996 Documented:1996 Citizen:2017
Interview 16 Costa	i. Germany (1984) Irregular channel: Arrived East Germany by tourist visa and afterwards enter West Germany through crossing DDR. ii. France (1985); iii. Spain (1986) Irregular channels: through land route moved France from Germany and later migrated to Spain from France by crossing the border.	Irregular channel: Arrived from Spain through land route via France. The entry points were on the land frontier with France (Ventimiglia).	Arrival:1987 Documented:1997 Citizen:2013

Table 6.3 (Continued)

Name	Previous Migration to Europe (other than Italy)	Migration to Italy	
	Country, Year, Migration channel	Migration channel	Year
Interview 17 Amir	i. Switzerland (1990-1994) Regular Channel: Arrived with a business visit visa. ii. France (1995-1997) Irregular channels: through land route crossing Swiss and Fence border.	Irregular channel: Arrived from France through crossing its land frontier with Italy (Ventimiglia).	Arrival: 1998 Documented:1998 Citizen: 2017
Interview 18 Masum	i. Switzerland (1992) Regular channel: With managing a fake Portuguese passport. ii. France (1993 to 2000). Irregular channels: through land route crossing Swiss and Fence border.	Irregular channel: Arrived from France through its land frontier with Italy (Ventimiglia).	Arrival: 1996 Documented:1996 Citizen: 2017
Interview 19 Syed	i. Germany (1986) Irregular channel: Arrived East Germany by tourist visa and afterwards enter West Germany through crossing DDR. ii. Switzerland (1987-1989) Irregular channels: through land route crossing the German-Swiss border.	Irregular channel: Arrived from Switzerland through crossing its land frontier with Italy (Como).	Arrival: 1990 Documented:1990 Citizen: 2012
Interview 20 Bari	i. Germany (1986-1987) Irregular channel: Arrived East Germany by tourist visa and afterwards enter West Germany through crossing DDR. ii. France (1988) iii. the Netherlands (1989) Irregular channels: moved to France through land route by crossing German France border, and later moved to the Netherlands from France by crossing France Belgium and Belgium Netherlands border.	Irregular channel: Arrived from the Netherlands through land route via Belgium, Belgium and France. The entry points were on the land frontier with France (Ventimiglia).	Arrival:1990 Documented:1990 Citizen:2013

Table 6.3 (Continued)

Name	Previous Migration to Europe (other than Italy)	Migration to Italy	
	Country, Year, Migration channel	**Migration channel**	**Year**
Interview 27 Kajol	i. France (1990-1995) Regular Channel: Arrived with a tourist visa.	Irregular channel: Arrived from France through its land frontier with Italy (Ventimiglia).	Arrival:1996 Documented:1996 Citizen:2018
Interview 28 Kabir	i. Germany (1992) Irregular channel: Arrived East Germany by tourist visa and afterwards enter West Germany through crossing DDR.	Irregular channel: Arrived from Germany through land route via France. • The entry points were on the land frontier with France (Ventimiglia).	Arrival:1995 Documented:1996 Citizen:2014
Interview 29 .Akon	i. Greece (1995-1997) Irregular channel: Arrived at Turkey with a tourist visa entered Greece by crossing the land border.	Irregular channel: From Greece, by following sea route arrived in Italy.	Arrival: 1998 Documented:1998 Citizen: 2018
Interview 50 Mrida	i. France (1989) Arrived on a tourist visa.	Irregular channel: Arrived from France through crossing its land frontier with Italy (Ventimiglia).	Arrival: 1990 Documented:1990 Citizen:2010

Table 6.4: Multiple Migrations of Italian Bangladeshis who first moved to the industrial countries of East Asia

Name	Previous Migration before arriving in Europe	Previous Migration to Europe (other than Italy)	Migration to Italy	
		Country, Year, Migration channel	Migration channel	Year
Interview 2 Firuz	i. Singapore (1984-1988)	Switzerland (1993-1995) Irregular channel: Arrived Budapest, Hungary on a business visa. Afterwards through crossing its land frontier entered Italy. And finally reached to Switzerland via crossing the Italian border.	Irregular channel: Arrived from Switzerland through crossing its land frontier with Italy (Como).	Arrival:1996 Documented:1996 Citizen:2014
Interview 4 Chowdhury	i. Japan (1987) ii. Malaysia (1988) iii. Saudi Arabia (1990-993)	Germany (1994-1997) Regular channel: Through managing one-month tourist visa for Germany.	Irregular channel: Arrived Bratislava, Slovakia in later reached Italy through crossing Slovakia and Austrian, and Austrian and Italian border.	Arrival: 1998 Documented:1998 Citizen:2014
Interview 6 Salim	i. Singapore (1981-1985)	i. Switzerland (1997- Six months) Regular Channel: By arranging a one-month tourist visa. ii. Germany(1997-1998) Irregular Channel: through land route crossing Swiss-German border.	Irregular channel: Arrived from Germany through land route via France. The entry points were on the land frontier with France (Ventimiglia).	Arrival:1998 Documented:1998 Citizen:2017
Interview 9 Monir	i. Singapore (1997-1999) ii. Saudi Arabia (2000)		Irregular channel: Arrived Belarus with a student visa in January 2001. Later reached Italy in November 2001 through land route via transit countries (Slovakia, Ukraine and Austria). The entry points were on the land frontier with Austria.	Arrival: 2001 Documented:2003 Citizen: 2007

Table **6.4** (Continued)

Name	Previous Migration before arriving in Europe	Previous Migration to Europe (other than Italy)	Migration to Italy	
		Country, Year, Migration channel	Migration channel	Year
Interview 42 Buian	i. Singapore (1997-1999)		Irregular channel: Arrived Kyiv, Ukraine on Student Visa in November 2000. Afterwards to Hungary, and Hungary to Padova via Slovenia by a lorry in May 2011.	Arrival: 2001 Documented:2002 Citizen: 2015

Table 6.5: Multiple Migrations of Italian Bangladeshis who first started their migration journey from the Middle East

Name	The previous country of migrations	Migration to Italy	
		Migration channel	Year
Interview 1 Hashem	i. Qatar (1987-1991) ii. Kuwait (1994-Mid 1999)	Regular channel: Arrived in Italy with a one month 'Business Visit Visa'. But became undocumented when the visa expired.	Arrival:1999 Documented:2002 Citizen:2017
Interview 3 Sahab	The United Arab Emirates (1990- 1993)	Irregular channel: Arrived Budapest, Hungary on a business visit visa • Later arrived Italy through crossing the land frontier between Hungary and Slovenia, and Slovenia and Italy.	Arrival: 1994 Documented:1996 Citizen: 2014
Interview 11 Salam	i. Qatar (1983-1987) ii. South Africa (1991-1993)	Regular Channel: Arrived by managing a fake South African passport. But become undocumented after arrival.	Arrival: 1993 Documented:1996 Citizen: 2017

Table **6.5** (Continued)

Name	The previous country of migrations	Migration to Italy	
		Migration channel	**Year**
Interview 30 Alam	i. Lybia (1988-1989)	Regular channel: By arranging a one-month tourist visa for Italy. But become undocumented after one month.	Arrival: 1990 Documented:1990 Citizen: 2010
Interview 29 Kamal	i. Saudi Arabia 1992-1996	Regular channel: Arrived in Italy with a one-month tourist visa. But after one month became undocumented.	Arrival: 1997 Documented:1998 Citizen: 2015
Interview 36 Nazrul	i. The United Arab Emirates (19985-1996)	Irregular channel: Arrived in Switzerland with the employer from the UAE on a tourist visa. Later moved to Italy through land route crossing Swiss and Italian border.	Arrival:1996 Documented:1998 Citizen:2015

Table 6.5 (Continued)

Name	The previous country of migrations	Migration to Italy	
		Migration channel	Year
Interview 37 Majid	i. Saudi Arabia (1990-1997)	Irregular channel: Arrived in Moscow by a student visa in December 1998. • Further, through crossing land route, Ukraine, Hungary, Slovenia border arrived in Italy on January 2000.	Arrival:2000 Documented:2002 Citizen:2017
Interview 45 Motin	i. Lybia 2003-2004)	Irregular channel: Through sear route, crossing the Mediterranean sea from Libya to Palermo.	Arrival: 2005 Documented:2006 Citizen: 2018
Interview 47 Khasru	i. The United Arab Emirates (1992-1997)	Irregular channel: First arrived in Budapest, Hungary by visit visa. • Afterwards, by route entered Italy through Slovenia.	Arrival:1998 Documented:1998 Citizen:2013
Interview 48 Sabbir	i. The United Arab Emirates 1997	Irregular Channel: First arrived Vienna, Austria with a fake British passport. • Later arrived Italy by crossing the border.	Arrival:1998 Documented:1998 Citizen:2014
Interview 37 Majid	i. Saudi Arabia (1990-1997)	Irregular channel: Arrived in Moscow by a student visa in December 1998. • Further, through crossing land route, Ukraine, Hungary, Slovenia border arrived in Italy in January 2000.	Arrival:2000 Documented:2002 Citizen:2017

CHAPTER SEVEN

ENJOYING FREE MOVEMENT INSIDE THE EU: THE ONWARD MIGRATIONS OF ITALIAN BANGLADESHIS IN EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

Migrants are rarely in a position to travel to where they would like to go (Van Liempt, 2011a). It is likely that those who originate from poor countries migrate to intermediate countries before arriving at their final destination (Takenaka, 2007). And, after migration to a host country, they usually have three choices: stay permanently in the destination, return to their home country or relocate to a third country (Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2016). However, recent literature shows that instead of settling in the first country or returning to their home country, migrants keep moving onward until they reach their dream destination or fulfil their desired goal (Ahrens et al., 2014; Kelly, 2013; Paul, 2011, 2015; Mas Giralt, 2016a; Nekby, 2006; Toma and Castagnone, 2015).

As it has explained in the second chapter, a number of studies have analysed this multistage movement of international migrants by proposing various concepts. For instance, first, Takenaka (2007) proposed the term 'secondary migration' to refer to two-step or multistep migration trajectories. Second, Paul (2011, 2015) used the concept of 'stepwise migration' to denote the migrants who initially move towards several intermediate countries before arriving at their ultimate destination. Third, the concept of 'transit migration' has been addressed by Collyer (2007) and Düvell (2012) to refer to the temporary migration of asylum seekers and migrants without documents, when they stay somewhere for a limited period of time before arriving at their final destination (Collyer, 2007; Düvell, 2012). Fourth, Das Gupta (2005) coined the term twice migration to explain the two stages of the migration process. Fifth, Ossman (2004) recommended the term 'serial migration' to refer to the people who have moved through at least three countries, lived a significant period of time there and successfully integrated into each of the three locations before moving on to the final one. Furthermore, regarding the connection with the inter-EU mobility of

naturalised EU citizens, several scholars coined the term 'onward migration' (e.g. Ahrens et al., 2014; Kelly, 2013; Mas Giralt, 2016a; Nekby, 2006; Toma and Castagnone, 2015).

In Europe, recent literature has witnessed increased onward migration of naturalised EU citizens (Ahrens et al., 2014; Danaji and Caro, 2016; Kelly, 2013; Mas Giralt, 2016a). The UK is the most popular destination for these migrants. It is estimated that 600,000 EU citizens had applied for the UK settled status by August 2018 (O'Carroll, 2019). However, research on onward migration within Europe has mostly addressed the refugee groups or African economic migrants (Ahrens et al., 2014; Haandrikman and Hassanen, 2014; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007; Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Van Liempt, 2011). These studies underline a combination of economic, social and cultural factors for this inter-EU mobility. Much of this work, first, views that economic reasons, such as high unemployment and the loss of jobs in their first EU country, are the central motivational factors; for instance, this is the case with Latin Americans' migration from Spain to the UK (Mas Giralt, 2016a). This onward relocation for economic motives is not always the case for semi-skilled and unskilled migrants. Highly skilled migrants also often undertake onward migration (Nekby, 2006; Kelly, 2013).

Studies have also found that social factors are key for onward migration. In this regard, education and language are found to be influential. There has been a tendency among naturalised citizens to move to the UK to provide English education for their children. Studies indicate that these onward migrants have the motivation of their children obtaining British university degrees in order to get better careers (Ahrens et al., 2014; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007). In line with EU migrants, Oishi (2014) noted that various highly skilled Japanese immigrants remigrate to other countries with the aspiration of providing quality English education to their children. Similarly, Das Gupta (2005) finds that South Asian skilled migrants made their second migration to Canada by leaving their comfortable lives with higher salaries in the Middle East, especially to ensure an English education for their offspring.

Besides, studies also identified that relocation decisions have arisen from the possibility of retaining cultural identity through being part of the biggest community established outside of the home country (Ahrens et al., 2014; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007). Moreover, the decision to remigrate has also been fuelled by the feelings of exclusion that have emerged from the changing policies and the increasing anti-migrant sentiments in some EU countries (Kelly, 2013), as well as by the discrimination that comes from cultural and religious points of view (Tuckett, 2016; Van Liempt, 2011a).

In the case of Italy, research has indicated that a large percentage of naturalised citizens are moving towards several locations but mainly the UK. However, so far, there has been little research conducted specifically on the drivers of onward migration from Italy, in particular, addressing those who are moving to the UK, with the exceptions of Della Puppa and King (2019), Ortensi and Barbiano di Belgiojoso (2018) and Tuckett (2016). Conversely, most of the research conducted on remigration mainly addresses migrant intentions to stay in Italy or return to the country of origin (Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2016; Barbiano di Belgiojoso and Ortensi, 2013; Bonifazi and Paparusso, 2018; Paparusso and Ambrosetti, 2017). Among the studies on onward migration, Della Puppa and King (2019) addressed the idea that relocation happens to escape socially limiting factory work in Italy, to invest in the educational careers of the second generation, to live within a bigger community and to receive several facilities, including religious freedom. Ortensi and Barbiano di Belgiojoso's (2018) quantitative analysis suggested that the 'onward migration intention' is largely described as 'part of a reactive strategy' for escaping the rise of unemployment and economic insecurity. Furthermore, Tuckett (2016) finds that migrant parents in Italy would like to move to a country where they have less possibility of encountering racial discrimination in their everyday lives. Fullin and Reyneri (2011) also explained the way in which a sense of disappointment commands the migrant mind during the unemployment period as they have a low level of social benefits.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the drivers of the onward migration of Bangladeshi migrants with Italian citizenship in Europe. In this regard, it presents, on the one hand, the factors that influenced Bangladeshi migrants with Italian

citizenship to move and also looks at the factors associated with the intention to relocate to the UK, on the other. Besides, this study also documents the reason why some Bangladeshis with Italian citizenship are not interested in migrating farther. It is worth mentioning that little research has been undertaken on the onward migrations of Bangladeshi international migrants, with the exception of Della Puppa and King (2018), who have looked at the onward migration of Bangladeshi Italians to the UK. But they give very little explanation as to why some Bangladeshis are not moving and consider Italy as their final destination. The main research questions here are threefold: 1) Why do they want to move onward from Italy to other destinations? 2) Why do they choose the UK as their onward migration destination instead of other countries? and 3) Why do some migrants want to remain in Italy?

Findings have indicated that a large number of Bangladeshis in Italy have left the country soon after acquiring Italian citizenship. However, there are no accurate statistics regarding the total number that have left. But, as mentioned earlier, these Bangladeshis are mostly relocating to the UK. A recent newspaper article in the *Dhaka Tribune* estimated that more than 50,000 European Bangladeshis live in the UK and among them, almost 30,000 are Italian Bangladeshis (Chowdhury, 2018).

During the interviews, I tried to get a rough estimation of the number those left from the study area in Northeast Italy[25]. For instance, in the case of Bologna, one of the participants, the president of *Bangladesh Samity* (Bangladeshi migrant association) in Bologna, mentioned:

As far as I know, nearly 250 families are left from Bologna. When I participated in the election of *Bangladesh Samity*, here we had around 10,000 Bangladeshis. From my participation in association activities, I would estimate that about 1,000

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[25] They have been living in these cities for a long time and they have good communications with the Bengali community and also have a general idea of a number of issues concerning their community - the size of population, their profession, and the community activities - as leaders of Bangladeshis associations working these cities.

Bangladeshis are missing, a small number have returned to Bangladesh, but the majority have left for the UK. (Niamot, Interview 13, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

In the case of Venice, another respondent who is the president of 'Venice Bangla School' also made an estimation of the number of Bangladeshis left in this city:

Actually, I do not have the statistics for the whole of Italy but I can make a guess about Venice. I would say among the Bangladeshis who hold Italian passports, 70 per cent of them have already moved from this city. Many of them have left permanently, selling their homes and businesses and leaving their permanent jobs. But, some families, whose children are adult and have entered the job market, did not move. (Sayeed, Interview 19, 2-04-2018, Venice

Considering the above two statements of Niamot and Sayeed, one can argue that a large number of Bangladeshis are moving after getting Italian citizenship. During fieldwork, most of the interviewees also indicated their intention to leave Italy. Among them, the majority want to move to the UK or some other destination where they tried to settle at the beginning of their migration journey in Europe, e.g. Germany and France. Moreover, some migrants stated that they are interested in returning to their home country after getting a pension. But a small number of respondents mentioned that they do not have any plans to move, they want to stay in Italy.

The first section outlines the empirical findings on the reason for leaving Italy. The second section will address the factors regarding the reason why they are selecting the UK as a destination when relocating. The subsequent sections present the findings on why Italian Bangladeshis want to remain in Italy and the downside of this onward migration from Italy to the UK.

THE REASONS FOR LEAVING ITALY

My husband had a permanent job at the factory, we had no economic problems, but we moved to the UK to provide English education to our kids. We were also interested in the availability of greater Islamic culture in the UK, which we did not have in Italy. Our community is yet to be established there […]. We were also worried about the future of our kids there in Italy. In fact, it is hard to find any foreign children working in a very good public job. But Bangladeshis have been living here

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in the UK for almost 200 – 250 years. So, I know that our people work in every sector here. (Rahela, London, 14 June 2019)

Rahela's case, mentioned above, is not an isolated story. Regarding the reasons why Italian Bangladeshis do not want to remain in Italy, we have found that many of my respondents, who are planning to leave Italy or have already left Italy to travel towards the UK, consider several socio-cultural aspects instead of just one single reason, e.g. economic motivation. In this regard, the following section lists and discusses a series of individual factors that have been mentioned by my respondents regarding their intention to leave.

Economic reasons: the tension of losing their jobs and the careers of their offspring

Research has shown that global economic depressions generate increased likelihood of onward migration (Bastia, 2011; Benton and Petrovic, 2013; Domínguez-Mujica et al., 2014; Mas Giralt, 2016a; Papademetriou and Terrazas, 2009; Sacchetto and Vianello, 2012). However, in this study, only a few participants among those intending to leave Italy mentioned the economic crisis as the main reason. Interviewees outline the fact that like in many other southern EU countries, when the global economic depression hit Italy in 2008 (Lafleur and Stanek, 2017; Della Puppa and King, 2019), migrants left Italy to travel towards the UK.

They were mainly those who lost their jobs when factories closed and did not obtain another new job or those whose salary decreased and/or did not have sufficient unemployment benefits to cope with the monthly expenses. According to the respondents, since 2013, only a small number of Italian Bangladeshis are moving due to the economic crisis. It is not that they were unemployed, but rather they were scared, thinking that if Italy suffers an economic recession again, there is a possibility that they could lose their jobs. They also think that they will not have sufficient social benefits to survive with a family during another crisis (Tucket, 2016; Fullin and Reyneri, 2011). In this case, they are aware that some EU countries offer higher social benefits than in Italy, and, therefore, they want to move there. For instance, Sumon and Sayed's statement reflects the following:

Italy is a first world country, but if one loses his or her job, he or she will not get unemployment benefits for a long time. It was not only me who experienced this tension. Many Bangladeshis who are now in Italy have this stress, thinking that if they lose their jobs, how will they survive? For instance, in 2009, when the crisis started, many factories shut down, and I also lost my job. But the amount of benefit I was receiving was not sufficient to survive with my family. I had to return my wife and kids to Bangladesh. I was always in a state of tension thinking 'After two years, when my unemployment benefit stops and if I don't manage to find a job, how will I survive?' But fortunately, when the recession was over, our factory reopened, and I got my job back in 2011. However, in 2016, when I received my [Italian] passport, I left Italy only because of this uncertainty. Actually, it is a reason why some of our people are leaving Italy to travel towards a country that provides more social security. For example, some Bangladeshis are moving to Germany, some are heading to Sweden, but of course, the majority are coming here to the UK. (Sumon, Interview 40, 30-04-2019, London)

Actually, when Bangladeshis started to move from this region at that time there was an economic crisis in Italy. It was hard to survive with their family since many of them lost their jobs and received a very small amount of benefit. Now our people don't have to deal with an economic crisis, but some are worrying about how the family would survive if they lost their job again since they have so little social security. But in some countries like Switzerland, Germany and the UK social security payments are very high. This is also one of the reasons why some Bangladeshis are leaving Italy. They hope that in a crisis, for instance, if they do not have the job, they will be able to survive on benefits. (Sayed, Interview 19, 2-04-2018, Venice)

The above quotes from Sayeed and Sumon echo the comments made by most interviewees in conversation. Most of the interviewees who moved to the UK left their permanent jobs in factories or restaurants or abandoned their own businesses. For instance, among the 20 interviews conducted in the UK, the majority of them (except for two female respondents who were housewives) informed me that they moved to the UK having left their permanent jobs in the factories or restaurant, or their own business [Table 7.2]. Likewise, my respondents interviewed in northeast Italy who indicated their interest in moving,

all had a very good job or were running their own business. In this regard, for instance, Golam's statement is mentionable:

> I would say of my friends who left Italy, 70 per cent had a very good permanent job in a factory or a restaurant or had a very good business. (Golam, Interview 24, 25-5-2018, Padova).

Similarly to Lindley and van Hear's (2007) findings, my interview narratives indicated their frustration regarding the employment prospects of their second generation in Italy. They do not necessarily intend to move for their own employment and labour market opportunities, but rather they have the long-term career interests of their children in mind. They think that their descendants face the possibility of below-average employment prospects and low pay even though they are graduating from an Italian University. Such views influence their decision to leave Italy in order to ensure very good future employment prospects for their offspring. Two Bangladeshis in Bologna, for example, told me:

> My sister's daughter has graduated from the University of Bologna with a very good degree, but she did not get the job she expected. In this case, my brother-in-law told me that 'if I was in the UK and my daughter had a very good British degree, she would have been highly valued everywhere'. It is not because she is a foreigner, it's because of the job crisis. So if I moved, it would be to set up my child. (Mamun, Interview 11, 2-12-2017, Bologna)

> None of them [his friends who moved] was unemployed here. Many of them did not migrate for better jobs and better earnings. They went mainly to help build a career for their offspring. And I am planning to move as well for the same reason. (Salam, Interview 12, 2-12-2017, Bologna)

Similarly to Tuckett (2016), some of my participants also have the feeling that their children have fewer possibilities to become as professionally successful as a white native Italian as their children are still treated as foreigners even though they were born and raised in Italy. Here, they often referred to some EU countries where they see Black, Asian or other naturalised citizens working as doctors, engineers, police officers, lawyers or in other white-collar jobs. Such ideas also push them to move away from Italy towards a more multicultural country where migrants do not face this type of informal and structural discrimination (Andall,

2002). For instance, outlining the reason for his onward migration to the UK, two respondents explained the following:

> I have not found any change in my position in Italian society. I received citizenship, but I was feeling uncertainty regarding the future of my children, thinking about when they finish their education and whether they would have a government job or not. […]. Here, I want to mention a point, a few years ago I went to Sweden, and after going out of the airport, I saw Black and Asian police officers besides the white Swedish police officers. I suddenly thought that if Sweden can make this change, why can't Italy? […]. But of course, a few of us [naturalised citizens] are doing governmental jobs in Italy, which is exceptional and very rare. For example, I saw one woman wearing a *burqa* working in my city post office. I mean Italy has just begun what some countries started 100 years ago – for instance, the UK. (Mostafiz, Interview 43, 02-05-2019, London)

> It does not matter whether you have the Italian citizenship of not. In Italy there are differences based on skin and colour, I mean between an Italian and a foreigner [….]. I cannot find anyone from our community whose child obtained a very good job after finishing their degree in Italy. So it made me think about whether or not my children would really get a good job after finishing their education in Italy. For that reason, I moved to the UK when I got an Italian passport (Rahman, Interview 34, 16-04-2019, Bradford)

Less opportunity to provide English education, Bengali culture and Islamic education

As English is not the lingua franca in Italy, the aspiration of educating their children in English was cited by many of the participants as one of the main drivers of their intention to leave Italy (Ahrens et al., 2014; Das Gupta, 2005; Jung et al., 2017; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007). Parents believe that not learning good English will be a problem in building future prospects outside of Italy, in particular, in their home country of Bangladesh if they go back (Ahrens et al., 2014; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007). In this regard, they want to provide schooling and university education from an English-speaking country with a view that their children will cultivate English language skills (Van Liempt, 2011). For instance, Salam's two children are now going to Italian School and he explains why he is planning to move:

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My children are studying in the Italian language. They are very good at Italian for writing and reading. But outside Italy, it has very little value since English is applicable everywhere. When they return to Bangladesh, they will not be evaluated. My children are little now, so it is a good time to move to London to ensure English schooling for them. So that they can develop their futures. (Salam, Interview 12, 2-12-2017, Bologna)

Like Salam, another respondent, Shofiq, whose two sons are studying in class four and class two respectively in a primary school in Italy, highlights the following during the interview:

If you know the Italian language you can live in Italy very well, but if you know English you can go everywhere. I mean, if you go to any country in the world you need a good knowledge of English. (Shafiq, Interview 5, 8-10-2017, Padova)

However, some of the respondents also mentioned that there are private English schools in Italy that teach children. But they are too expensive to afford on their salary. If their children had access to this British education system, they might not move. As explained by one of my respondents in Bradford who moved to the UK in 2015:

In Italy, there are private English schools, but if one wants to send children there, you need a well-paid job and we can't afford it. If we were able to have our children taught there on our limited income, I would not have moved here to the UK, I would have stayed in Italy. (Nazrul, Interview 36, 18-04-2019, Bradford)

Moreover, many of my research participants expressed frustration over the way their children are growing up in a kind of Italian cultural environment. Many of them think that day by day, their children are becoming distanced from their home culture and Islamic norms, as is explained by two respondent in Bologna:

My child spends eight hours at school so he is growing up in an Italian environment. For instance, Natale [Christmas] is coming, and in his school, they are now planning a programme for that. So he is busy with the activities of the Natale [Christmas] celebrations, for instance, a song about Jesus. My child is very good at all these songs. He has a very clear idea about what he needs to do for the Christmas celebrations, and he is very happy to participate there because of his environment. But, when he goes to Jumu'ah [Friday Prayer] and Eid prayers

[offered to commemorate two main Islamic festivals, Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adh], he feels a little bit embarrassed. I mean he is growing up day by day in the Italian culture. (Swadin, Interview 15, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

Day by day they [his children] are moving away from Bengali culture as well as our religion. I am disappointed by it. They are less interested in speaking the Bangla language. They like Italian food best. They are less interested in saying prayers and making *dua* to Allah to seek forgiveness for themselves and their parents. (Babul, Interview 14, 3-12-2017, Bologna).

Like Swadin and Bbaul, many of my respondents expressed their frustration that they are not able to provide proper Bangla culture and a good Islamic upbringing for their children. They think that it is because they do not have a mosque nearby and because there are almost no Islamic schools in Italy. Since the Bangladeshi and South Asian Muslim community is very small, their children have no scope for socialising with other Muslim kids in school and after school. Therefore they want to move to a country where they able to raise their children in a more Bengali and Islamic environment.

Informal and formal discrimination: a feeling of disappointment in daily life

As Van Liempt (2011b) observed in Dutch Somalis, my findings have indicated that the Italian passport reminds Bangladeshis that Italy is a country that was very generous to make them Italian citizens. They said that they felt Italian and considered Italy as their second home after Bangladesh. But, they realised that their citizenship is only 'on paper' because it has not brought any changes in their social lives (Andall, 2002). Their narratives suggest that they encounter discrimination at a different level in their daily lives (Andall, 2002; Tuckett, 2016). As was explained by Imdad:

I think Italy is my home after Bangladesh. I long desired to one day have Italian citizenship […]. But I do not find any change in my life, people are not recognised as citizens, and they always think of us as *Straniero* [foreigners]. (Imdad, Interview 46, 5-6-2019, London)

As Imdad indicated, their decisions to relocate also came from the feelings of exclusion that emerged from their daily experiences in the country of citizenship

(Ahrens et al., 2014; Tuckett, 2016). For instance, a 59-year-old Bangladeshi in Padova recalled how he had experienced undesirable experiences in his factory:

> I did not recognise any discrimination outside, but in my workplace, there is a division and classification based on colour and race, I mean between the Italians and the outsiders. Which I do not like. For instance, in my factory, we have Italian, Bangladeshi and some other countries' nationals. All hard and risky work is allocated to foreigners. If you are a foreigner, they always make you hurry to do the work quickly. They never tell other Italian native workers to do it quickly. But the salary and other facilities are the same. I am not the only one who has experienced this; I have also been informed about this from other Bangladeshis who are working in the factory. (Sahab, Interview 3, 2-10-2017, Padova)

Similarly to Sahab, another respondent who worked in a factory in Bologna explained that because they are immigrants, they do not have the same salary as native Italians, although the nature of the jobs is similar:

> The foreman in my section suddenly resigned from his job without any prior notice, and I replaced him. None of the employees in the factory has the skill for this job except me because I was his helper for a long time. [...].The previous foreman was receiving a higher salary than me even though the nature of the work and the position are the same. As I was his helper, I know he was receiving 2800, but now I am receiving only 1700. (Mamun, Interview 11, 2-12-2017, Bologna)

As well as in the workplace, migrants also faced behaviour that they were not expecting in other areas of their lives as explained by another respondent:

> For 14 years I have been living in an apartment in Padova. My next-door neighbour has also been living there for the last 14 years. But I find he is always complaining. For instance, one day when I was cooking he told me to close all the doors and windows. He didn't like the smell of my cooking. I have many examples like this. Sometimes I received a telephone call from my child's school saying that my child is being naughty. I replied that being a child he may do naughty things, but what am I supposed to do. I believe if this had been an Italian child, the school teacher would not make a phone call to their parents. (Atique, Interview 10, 19-11-2017, Padova)

Moreover, some interview conversations have shown that even though they are Italian citizens, they are treated as outsiders because their religious upbringing

separates them from the mainstream Italian culture (Strabac and Listhaug, 2008; Strabac et al., 2016). In this respect, they find that in some cases, Bangladeshi females are viewed negatively because of 'the symbolic connotations of their style of clothing' (Strabac et al., 2016). In particular, Italians sometimes show more negative views of Muslim women who wear a *niqab* (face veil) or *hijab*. This paradox was explained by Buain, an Italian Bangladeshi (Interview 43, 02-05 2019) in London. According to him, some of his friends left Italy to go to the UK before him and had been trying to persuade him to move as well. But, he decided to stay as he was very successful economically in Italy. In 2015, however, he left for the UK as his wife was facing negative comments after wearing a *niqab*. He told me that he was not interested in raising his children in a country where the Islamic way of life is still portrayed negatively (Van Liempt, 2011b).

THE REASON FOR SELECTING THE UK AS A RELOCATION DESTINATION

Education from '*Bilat*': a symbol of prestige and high social standing

One important explanation emerging from most of my interviewees regarding the reasons for their onward migration to the UK is providing their children with English education from *Bilat* (England), which is identified as a "symbol of prestige and high social standing" (e.g. Jung et al., 2017) that only high-class people in Bangladesh can afford.

> You know that, in Bangladesh, *Bilat Ferat* [England Returned] is a symbol of high status. Still, the majority of the successful professionals like university professors, engineers, judges and barristers are educated in England. The majority of our politicians, MPs [Members of parliament] and ministers' children are studying in the UK. (Masum, Interview 18, 4-12-2017, Bologna)

> It was my dream that since I did not have a degree from *Bilat* [England], that one day my kids may have this opportunity. Still, I remember one thing, when I was a student in school, one of my neighbours returned to Bangladesh after completing his education in *Bilat*. Thousands of local people went to his house to see him, to greet him. Then it struck me, why could I not have a degree from *Bilat* too? (Mridha, Interview 50, 8-06-2019, London)

Some of my respondents mentioned that this desire to educate children also emerges from the colonial legacy. The Bangladeshi education system is somehow still following the British education system. Because of the colonial past, many respondents are also well informed about the British schooling system:

> Psychologically they always think that English education is important for their kid because we were part of an English colony. If we were part of a French colony then perhaps we would be interested in moving to France. As we were part of British India and our country is still ruled by British law including our academic system. Our academic curriculum is based on the British curriculum. (Sayed, Interview 19, 2-4-2018, Venice).

Moving to the UK in order to provide a British education to kids is an 'opportunity because of the Italian passport'. According to the respondents a student with a Bangladeshi passport needs to spend huge amounts of money to be able to afford a British education. But as a European citizen, they can be provided with British schooling without paying almost any tuition fees. And to pay for UK university education, they are entitled to get an education loan from the government.

> From Bangladesh, not just anyone can come to London to receive an education if they want. Only Bangladeshi big businessmen, politicians and high professionals can afford it because British education requires huge tuition fees. As an Italian citizen, when we get this opportunity, we believe we should use it. (Dipu, Interview 32, 14-04-2019, London)

However, Italian Bangladeshis do not think that education in the UK is better than that in Italy. Rather, they consider the fact that in terms of recognition, the credentials from a 'British education' are better in the case of getting a job elsewhere, mainly in Bangladesh. Most of the interviewees in London and Bradford mentioned that their children are doing well in UK schools with the basic education they received from Italian schools. In particular, in some subjects, their children's basic level is even better than that of the UK school kids, e.g. in mathematics. But, they moved only for the better prospects associated with UK degrees:

In Italy, the standard of education in schools is sometimes better than here. For instance, our community children here who came from Italy are all doing well in school. In mathematics, their performance is better than UK kids. But, in Italy, the only problem is the language, we are not able to teach our children in English. […] I think the universities of England are accepted all over the world, it doesn't matter what the rank of the UK university is. Suppose that my children graduate in Italy, they will not have a good job in the Middle East. But with a UK degree, they will be welcome there because Arabs need English-speaking people. If my daughter goes back to her country with a master's degree from the UK, regardless of the subject, she will get a very good job in a bank, the private sector, a school or a private university. (Mostafiz, Interview 43, 02-05-2019 London)

As Mostafiz's quote elaborates, my respondents have an overwhelming desire that after being educated in the UK their children will be fluent in English. And this will also increase the social status of their family in Bangladesh. They think that during the family's visit to Bangladesh, their relatives and neighbours will see that their children are speaking in English and they will be seen as being similar to the upper-class children who are pursuing a UK based educational curriculum in Bangladesh. Therefore, as the findings of Das Gupta (2005) show, in considering a better future of their children and hoping to increase the family's status through providing a English education in Britain, many of my respondents move to the UK, giving up their permanent jobs in the factories and restaurants and selling their own houses and properties before moving to the UK.

A diasporic reunion: keeping a connection with their roots

Bangladeshi migration to Britain has existed since British Colonial India (Siddiqui, 2003). The UK has the largest Bangladeshi settlement outside of their home country. As of 2015, the number of Bangladeshis settled in the UK was 600,000, of which 70 per cent live in London (Wigmore, 2016). They are mostly concentrated in inner London in boroughs such as Tower Hamlets, Newham, Camden and Southwark. Besides, there are also small numbers of Bangladeshis living in Manchester, Oldham, Birmingham, Cardiff, Portsmouth, Luton and Bradford. Because of a long emigration history, the Bangladeshi community has already established itself there, and British Bangladeshis hold important government and administrative positions.

For instance, in British mainstream politics, Rushanara Ali was the first Bangladeshi born British MP elected in 2010. Afterwards, in the election of 2017, three Bangladeshi born women have been elected as Members of the House of Commons - Rushnara Ali, Tulip Siddiq, and Rupa Huq. In the last local election, 16 British-Bangladeshis have been elected councillors in the London boroughs of Camden, Croydon and Redbridge. Most of the Bangladeshi national newspapers and TV channels have their offices in London. Throughout London, because of the greater demand, Bangladeshi spices, vegetables, fish, fruits, sweets and snacks are readily available in Bangladeshi shops and supermarkets (Jennings et al, 2014). Most of the Bangladeshi national newspapers and TV channels have their offices in London too.

Therefore, as Ahrens et al. (2014) have argued, onward migration to the UK is also driven by the opportunity to be closer to family friends as they have a bigger diaspora community already established there. In this regard, most of my interviewees, originally from the Sylhet region of Bangladesh, where a large part of British Bangladeshis are originated (Gardner, 2009), often told how they have many family members and relatives who are living there from generation to generation. Their social, economic and political success were also motivating factors when taking the decision to migrate to the UK.

> As you know, here the majority of Bangladeshis are from Sylhet. I chose England because I have relatives who have been living here for four generations. I have more than 250 relatives, and on my wife's side, she has over 100. For instance, my fathers-in-law, my nephews and my wife's brothers and sisters live here in Bradford. My cousins and their families are living in London, and many people from my own locality are here. If my family live here, and I am not alive, my babies will get all the support from my relatives. (Kamal, Interview 33, 16-04-2019 Bradford)

> In the future, if my kids are able to get higher education in the UK, I hope they will get jobs in places like banks, post offices, and the police everywhere. Two of my wife's nieces work in the bank here. In London, I have also other relatives who are working in post offices, banks and even as police officers. (Hamid, Interview 35, 18-04-2019, Bradford).

As Hamid's statement revealed, my participants perceived UK as the perfect destination from the point of a better career for their offspring (Van Liempt, 2011). In this regard, during interviews, they often mentioned that Bangladeshis have good jobs in almost all public and private sectors in the UK just like the native British, such as engineers, doctors, police, and lawyers.

Because of the large presence of Bangladeshis, the relocation decision to move to the UK is also attractive because of the possibility of raising children in a greater Bangla cultural atmosphere (Lindley and van Hear, 2007). In this regard, my interviewees mentioned that they have the feeling that they are living in their home country because they are able to maintain their own style of living. Bangladesh migrants in the UK have their own ethnic shops on every street, they can use the Bengali language in daily life, and they are able to dress in the Bangladeshi way if they want (Ahrens et al., 2014). It is worth mentioning here that during the fieldwork, I visited Brick Lane and the surrounding area and I have met vendors (fish, vegetable shops, Bangladeshi sweets and snacks shops, Bangladeshi restaurant) who were calling out to the customers in Bengali. I have passed many elderly Bangladeshi people who are walking in the street wearing Bengali dresses- *Lungi*. These are all home country cultural aspects that provide these relocated migrants with a feeling of home (Bang Nielsen, 2004).

> Here nobody treats you as a foreigner. Here [East London] Asian is the majority – there are Bangladeshis, Indians, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans. You can lead your life without English. You will find everything that you need. For instance, in Italy, green chilli you only find in Bengali shops. But here you find it in every shop, even in Tesco and Sainsbury […]. Here, in the underground ticket machine, you have the option to select the Bengali language which is unthinkable in Italy. (Mostafiz, Interview 43, 02-05-2019, London)

> Some areas are like our country with people walking about wearing Lungi, sometimes you have the feeling that this is not Europe, you are in Bangladesh. Within walking distance, you will find a Mosque and Madrasa. That's why many of them think ' let's move to the UK to have an Islamic environment'. (Sayed, Interview 19, 2-4-2018, Venice)

The Bangladeshis who participated in this study signified that the UK is a better country for maintaining their Muslim way of life. In the UK, they can enjoy formal religious freedom, and their Islamic way of life is more accepted by UK society (Van Liempt, 2011a). While they felt anxious in Italy about how their children would be able to read the Quran and learn to pray five times a day, in the UK, it is easier because of the abundance of mosques and *Madrasah* (Koranic schools).

> Here you find many mosques nearby in every neighbourhood. You send your children based on your preference. *Alhamdulillah* [thanks to God], now my two sons have finished the Quran twice, and they are fluent in reciting the Quran and the five-times-a-day prayers. Now, they are more advanced in terms of maintaining our religious and cultural norms. My daughter is now going to high school every day wearing the burka and hijab, which she would never be able to do in Italy because the environment in school does not support that. (Kamal, Interview 33, 16-04-2019, Bradford)

As Kamal's quote highlighted, my respondents often mentioned that if they want to wear religious dress, in the UK they never feel shy and religious dress like the hijab and the niqab are quite accepted. As mentioned by one of the second generation Italian Bangladeshis, who is studying at the University of Westminster, during an informal interview about their life in the UK.

> The UK is more tolerant than Italy. I have seen my mum suffering there because of her hijab. Generally, it was some Italian grandmothers from our neighbourhood who sometimes told my mum that 'you are so beautiful, take your headscarf off and you should not hide your beauty'. You know it's a nice thing to say you are beautiful, she gave my mum a compliment. But at the same time, she was showing respect for our culture. The Hijab is my mum own choice, you cannot say something like that. The majority are Italian, obviously, here the area is inhabited by lots from the Muslim community with Bengali, Pakistani and Indian Muslim. So in that way, it's very easy to wear the hijab here. (Ria, Informal Interview 1, 2-05-2019, London).

As Kamal indicated, in terms of adaptation regarding the Bengali culture and Islamic norms, the respondents also explained the changes that occurred in their children after moving to the UK:

When they went to Bangladesh [from Italy], they did not feel comfortable in conversation with my mother and mother-in-law as they were not fluent in Bengali. But after arriving here in London, now they are fluent in Bengali and they are accustomed to the Bengali culture. Now when they go to Bangladesh, I observe they feel very at ease in communicating with others. The UK is actually a real multicultural society, and our babies had great scope for learning Bengali as well […]. During the Eid festival, our children get the real flavour of it here. For Eid shopping, we went to South Hall and Green Street to buy clothing as you can find all types of ethnic dresses, whatever you need. But in Italy, my kids did not properly experience the festival, we had to collect *Eid* Clothes from Bangladesh. (Mrida, Interview 50, 8-06-2019, London*)*

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DECISION OF BANGLADESHIS TO REMAIN IN ITALY

In Italy, 12 respondents mentioned that they do not have any plans to move, and, rather, they want to stay in Italy. In this regard, our interview findings show that some of the respondents have a job in the factory and are less interested in leaving because of their salaries, permanent contracts and regular days off with annual holidays, which they think that they will not get in the UK. In this case, the interviews also show that some of the Bangladeshi entrepreneurs, whose average income is above 3000 euros, are found to be less interested in onward relocation because of their constant and secure income.

I do not have any plans to leave Italy at this moment because I am working in a very good factory and my working day is only 8 hours. I have two full days off. I also get a house from the Commune. I would not have this permanent job and house if I moved to London. (Shafiq, Interview 5, 8-10-2017, Padova)

I observed in my community that those whose income is very high are not moving. Me and my brothers will not leave Italy because our monthly income is around 5000 euros, and we have 17 grocery shops in Bologna and Perera. If we moved to the UK, I doubt I would ever be able to earn such an amount there. (Niamot, Interview 13, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

Bangladeshi migrants who intend to stay also considered onward migration as the means to a new start. Onward migration means changing their children from

Italian citizens to foreigners in a new country. In this regard, for instance, a Bangladeshi community leader said that even though he has citizenship and has married a native Italian, he still feels that he is a foreigner, and he does not want his kids to have the same feeling after moving to a new country. As he explains:

> Well, if I wanted to move, then I would move to Germany because my brother, his children and my grandson live there. After migrating many years ago, I am now a citizen in Italy, but I feel like a foreigner. My son and daughter were born in Italy, but if I move to another new country, it will mean that they will be foreigners there again. I do not want them to identify as foreigners. So, I think Italy is my last stop. (Sayed, Interview 19, 2-04-2018, Venice)

Some Bangladeshi families, whose second generation had already integrated into Italian society through finishing their university education there, were not interested in moving. Respondents think that their children have already created their own life so if they move, then it will have a negative impact on their children. For instance, Salim explains the consequences that might happen if he was to move:

> No, I do not have a plan. This year, my son completed his MBBS degree from the University of Padova, and my daughter is also studying there in the third year in the School of Medicine […] My children were raised in Italian society, they have their circle of friends here. If I move to another place, they have to create their own society again, but it will take time. In fact, I do not give priority to language, and instead, I will concentrate on their careers. (Salim, Interview 6, 8-10-2017, Padova)

This study also indicated that age is a factor in deciding to undertake onward migration. Some elderly earlier migrants are not interested in moving as they think that their age gives them an important social position in the Bengali community and that all the members respect them. They think that they will not have this in the new destination. As Amir, who is 50 years old, explained:

> A new migration means a new start. Because I *have been* living *in* this city for a long time, I know every street. When I am outside of my house, people give me salam. I have an invitation to every social gathering in my community […]. Since 1998, I have created a society day by day. If I go to London, I have to start from the beginning (Amir, Interview 17, 4-12-2017, Bologna)

THE DOWNSIDE OF ONWARD MIGRATION OF BANGLADESHIS FROM ITALY

A Missed opportunity of building a strong Italian Bangladeshi diaspora

The findings have indicated that Bangladeshi migrants who are less likely to move are very disheartened about the possibility of building a strong Bangladeshi diaspora in Italy as already exists in the UK, e.g, the British Bangladeshi diaspora. Since Bangladeshi migration to Italy is a recent phenomenon, dating from the early 1990s, their second generation has just entered Italian university, even though very few have already finished their Italian university education. They had hoped that one day this new Bangladeshi generation would work as lawyers, doctors, teachers, professors and bankers, and also become involved in mainstream Italian politics since they were born, raised and educated there. But this hope is evaporating as Bangladeshi families are starting to move from Italy to the UK. In relation to this issue, Swadin, a Bangladeshi entrepreneur and also the Bangladeshi cultural activist in the Bologna Bangla community, expressed his worries and hopes:

> We have a lot of hope, we want a Bangladeshi community to be created here. We hoped that our next generation who are being educated in Italy will work in various sectors, like doctors, police, lawyers, and in the Italian administration, but they left. But I am still hopeful that because last year there was a change, very few are leaving. If this continues a Bangladeshi community will be established in Italy. (Swadin, Interview 15, 03-12-2017, Bologna)

Like Swadin, Masum, another respondent who is the president of a Bangladeshi Political Party, BNP Bologna Branch, mentioned:

> There was a strong possibility of our second generation integrating in Italian society. Because most of us came here without high qualifications. We are not professional. Some of our next generation became the possible doctors, engineers, and lawyers of the future. But they moved with their families. (Masum, Interview 18, 04-12-2017, Bologna)

Some of the respondents who are involved with the Bangladeshi associations have mentioned that they think that it is their duty to stay here in order to establish their community in Italy. This is also one of the reasons why they are forming

several associations. They told me that in their programme of association, they tried to motivate people from their own community to stay in Italy by explaining that their children can also have a bright future if they are able to finish their Italian education. In this respect, they give as an example three Bangladeshi students who recently graduated in Medicine in Padova, Venice and Palermo. And all of them are found work in the public sector. In this regard, one respondent who is the president of Bangladeshi cultural association, *Rangdonu,* explained the following:

> Since we are involved with some social organizations, we know that outside the UK, Italy is the country in Europe where we have the possibility of building the second biggest Bangladeshi community whose members will work in all sectors in Italy. You know in Italy we have the largest Bangladeshis community after the UK. I think we need to stay here in Italy. But the goal will not be achieved in a day. For instance, in the UK the first generation really suffered a lot. Today there is a third-generation who are working in every sector of British society. So we, the first generation, don't need to worry, our second or third generation will do better here. I think we need to establish more social and cultural organizations here in Italy, by using these organizations, we can motivate and provide support to the next generation so that they will integrate properly into Italian society. (Golam, Interview 24, 25-5-2018, Padova)

Feelings of stepping down in the labour market

During the interviews, the participants in the UK indicated their feeling of 'stepping down' when it comes to comparing their current employment and the job they had in Italy. As Table 7.2 shows, almost all of these Italians were very successful economically since they had a permanent job in the factories or restaurants or were the owner of a small enterprise. But in the UK all are doing part-time jobs as a dishwasher in Bengali restaurants, a sales assistant in a Bengali supermarket, a security guard, and Uber drivers. As they are part-time workers, their salary is very low, mostly less than 1,200 Euro in most cases. Therefore they had to rely on the welfare benefits to survive economically. However, at this point, some of the respondents mentioned that since they are unskilled, and already middle-aged and also do not speak English well, they are not able to get a good

permanent job with a good salary. They can get a full-time job in British Bangladeshi owned restaurants or supermarkets, but in that case their monthly salary will not be large enough to meet their family expenses. Also if they have a full-time job, they will not be eligible for social security benefits. For that reason, they are forced to take a part-time job in order to qualify for welfare benefits.

During fieldwork, my respondents also mentioned that while in Italy they had fixed working hours and two days off a week, but they do not have that in the UK. As mentioned by one respondent in Bradford:

> I am working in a restaurant, where there are no fixed working hours. My salary is based on an 8 hour day, but often I have to work for 10 hours. My income is 380 pounds per week. I really miss my Italian working life. Sometimes when I think about my life there I became disheartened. In Italy, my job was in a factory where I had worked for about 14 years. I used to work five days a week, and I had two days off. I had time to meet and chat with my friends during our Saturday and Sunday gatherings. Sometimes after returning home from work in the evening I even used to go to a bar to meet and chat with our friends. But I did not have this chance here in the UK because my job starts in the afternoon and I come back at midnight. Here we work on Saturday and Sunday. (Interview 33, Kamal16-04-2019)

As Kamal's statement revealed, many of my respondents told me that in the UK, they are missing their social life in Italy too. The British Bengali employer does not provide them any fixed working hours or fixed days off as they had in Italy. They feel that since they do not have fixed working hours, their social life in the UK is narrowing. Outside their job, they did not manage time to socialize with others who had arrived from Italy or with their British Bangladeshi relatives and friends. In this regard, Khasru, who was a factory worker in Padova now works for a British Bangladeshi owned grocery shops, mentioned:

> I would say in terms of working life and opportunity, for me Italy is thousand times better, I had all the freedom, as Saturday and Sunday were my days off and I can spend time with my family and friends. I received 14 salary payments in a year, 12 salaries for 12 months, and two at for Christmas, and annual leave. Here we don't have this benefit because I am a temporary worker. Here we don't have time to meet friends, because everyone has a different day off, for instance, one has

Monday off, another one has a day off on Thursday and another has another day. It also creates a distance between us and our kids. Babis school weekend is Saturday and Sunday, but here most work on Saturday and Sunday. So, parents cannot spend time with the baby. Or someone who works in the restaurant, mostly starts work in the afternoon, he doesn't even see his kids. Because when kids go to school, he is sleeping and after work, when he returns from a job at midnight, the kids have already gone to sleep. (Khasru, Interview 47, 6-6-2019, London).

However, my respondents mentioned that they were well informed beforehand that they would not have as good a job as they had in Italy, but they can survive with welfare benefits. In this respect, leaving their good working and social lives in Italy they moved to the UK for the career prospects of their second generation. As one of the respondents in Bologna, who is now living in London, mentioned during his interview:

I am sure I would not have the same job in London that I have now in Bologna. I might get a lower grade job compared to the present one. But I will go solely for the career of my children. My baby will be fluent in English, they will speak English like a bird which is also a matter of pride. (Salam, Interview 12, 2-12-2017, Bologna)

Like Salam, my respondents in London and Bradford often explained this downside of their labour market situation as a kind of sacrifice for their children.

When I moved, I knew that I would not get a good job in the UK because of my age, around 46, and I have only secondary education. I am now working in a Bengali Grocery shop, it's not a very good job. It is very simple, I will always miss Italy as I was a restaurant chef and my salary was around 2,200 Euro. Sacrificing my good job and life in Italy, I now start a new life only for the future of my children. (Dipu, Interview 32, 14-04-2019)

Treated as a foreigner: A community insight the community

From the interviews in London and Bradford, one aspect has emerged that there is a mental tension within the Bangladeshi community in the UK, between the British Sylheti and the European Bangladeshi. My respondents have shown their disappointment by mentioning that they were not accepted by the British Bangladeshi community, who are mainly from the Bangladeshi Sylhet region. According to most of the respondents, this Sylhety community identified

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themselves British, while they identified the Bangladeshi who arrived from Italy and other EU countries as outsiders. In relation to this issue, the following statement by an Italian Bangladeshi, who originated from the Barishal region, mentioned the following:

> I don't know where the problem lies, but they did not accept us. When I first came from Italy I went to the NI [National Insurance] office to get my national insurance card, then they ask me some questions in English. As I can't speak English very well, I did not understand what the officer told me, but then this officer called another officer who speaks Bengali. But I was surprised to see that she was speaking with me in the Sylheti dialect. The women asked me in front of the officer "Why are you people here?" I wanted to say something like she is Bangladeshi and I am also Bangladeshi. If she lives in the UK, what's the problem if we live here. But I did not answer from the fear that maybe she will be angry and make it difficult for me to get my NI card. (Dipu, Interview 32, 14-04-2019).

My respondents mentioned that the British Sylheti community is somehow afraid of these new EU migrants. Italian Bangladeshi claimed that the British Sylheti people voted for Brexit to stop this EU mobility to the UK. As mentioned by one Italian Bangladeshi who originated from the Noakhali region of Bangladesh:

> Their attitudes are very negative. They recognized us as refugees. The attitude is as if we create a lot of trouble for them. I think they are jealous. They don't like that we are coming here. That's the reason why they are a supporter of Brexit, They think this is their country, they are British and we are refugees. (Majid, Interview 37, 4-29-2019, London)

Like Dipu and Majid, the majority of Italian Bangladeshi who originated from outside of the Sylhet region gave several examples of how they are treated by the British Sylheti community. I have tried to explore the reason why this gulf exists. In this regard, one point from my fieldwork which was explored is that almost all of the Italian Bangladeshis are dependent on the British welfare benefits system. Dependency had led the older generation of British Bangladeshis to think that maybe, in near future, the present generous welfare system in the UK will collapse, and ultimately the British Sylheti will suffer.

Here language is also one aspect that makes distinguishes Sylhety people from other Bangladeshi. My respondents explained that instead of speaking the national Bengali language, the Sylheti community love to speak in their own local dialect. At this point, they tried to differentiate Bangladeshi between Sylheti and non-Sylheti (who don't speak Sylheti dialect). In this regard a second-generation Italian Bangladeshi during informal conversation mentioned the following:

> I will give you an example here of how I am treated as a foreigner. When I meet with any Sylheti girls and boys at my University or other places, they asked me where my country is. When I say I am Bengali, they asked me I am Sylheti [From Sylhet region] or Dhakian [from Dhaka region]. Why are these two different? Both Sylheties and Dhakians and other districts are all from Bangladesh. We are all Bengalis. They are almost showing that they are British. And the rest who we came from the EU we are foreigners. I mean what we feel is that we are not insiders or one of them because of the language. We are not able to speak Sylheti [Sylheti dialect]. (Ria, Informal Interview 1, 2-05-2019, London

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter aims to contribute to the literature on migration studies, and especially to that on Bangladeshi diaspora in Europe, by presenting in-depth qualitative research on the key drivers of onward migration among naturalised EU citizens, which is still considered to be an under-researched subject.

With regard to the first research question on the intention to leave Italy, my fieldwork has shown that Italian Bangladeshis want more control for their children; they want cultural reproduction for their second generation by providing Bengali traditions and a religious upbringing. In this regard, many of them think that their children are growing up in a kind of Italian cultural environment and that day by day their children are becoming distanced from their home culture and Islamic norms. Second, the aspiration of educating their children in English is also one of the main drivers of the intention to leave Italy. Italian Bangladeshis think that not learning good English will perhaps be a problem in building future prospects outside of Italy, in particular in their home country. Third, they also described the racial discrimination they experienced in their daily lives, which gives them a sense of dissatisfaction. At this point, they have the feeling that their citizenship

status is only 'on paper' and that it has not brought any changes in their social lives.

Concerning the second research question regarding the selection of the UK as an onward migration destination, findings indicate the centrality of colonial legacy from a cultural and economic point of view. Since the UK has the biggest Bangladeshi diaspora, there are more opportunities in terms of practising Bengali culture as well as for enjoying religious freedom. The political climate of the UK is also crucial, and my respondents described it as more welcoming towards migrants and more multicultural. In that case, my respondent considered that UK society is the perfect place to reproduce the Bengali culture and Islamic norms for their children. At the same time, Italian Bangladeshis consider British education to be a symbol for increasing their social status in their home country, as only high-class people can afford it in Bangladesh. My participants also perceived the UK as the perfect destination for securing better careers for their offspring, since they observed that Bangladeshis are employed in almost all public and private sectors of the UK like the native British.

With reference to the third research question on the motivation to remain in Italy, this study indicates that because of their secure employment, some of the Bangladeshis are not interested in onward migration. They portray onward relocation as a 'new beginning of migration', something they would not like to undertake since they have already established themselves socially and economically in Italy. In that way, some of them evaluated onward migration as a great loss when it comes to the second generation, especially for those who already integrated into Italian society through completing their university education.

Moreover, findings have revealed that the onward migration has a downside. Some of the respondents think that there is a possibility of building a strong Bangladeshi diaspora through their second generation, however, this possibility is receding since a large number of Bangladeshi families are moving to the UK. My respondents feel that they have taken step down in the UK labour market. And also they think that they are not fully accepted by the British Bangladeshi (Sylheti) in the UK.

TABLES

Table 7.1: Year of Migrations and Citizenship of Italian Bangladeshi interviewees in the UK

Interview no; Name	Migration to Italy	Citizenship	Migration to UK (Bradford/London)
31. Rahela	2006	2015	2016 (London)
32. Dipu	1995	2014	2016 (London)
33. Kamal	1998	2015	2016 (Bradford)
34. Rahman	2000	2015	2016 (Bradford)
35. Hamid	1996	2017	2017 (Bradford)
36. Nazrul	1996	2015	2018 (Bradford)
37. Majid	2000	2017	2017 (London)
38. Tamjid	1990	2012	2013 (London)
39. Risco	1990	2015	2015 (London)
40. Sumon	1998	2016	2016 (London)
41. Sumi	2000	2016	2016 (London)
42. Buian	2001	2015	2015 (London)
43. Mustafi	1997	2014	2014 (London)
44. Shanaz	1995	2015	2016 (London)
45. Motin	2005	2018	2018 (London)
46. Imdad	1991	2014	2015 (Bradford)
47. Khasru	1998	2013	2015 (London)
48. Sabbir	1998	2014	2014 (London)
49.Mannan	1980	20110	2019 (London)
50. Mridha	1990	2010	2011 (London)

Table 7.2: Job and income of Italian Bangladeshis interviewees in the UK

Interview no, Name	Italy		The UK	
	Occupation	Income	Occupation	Income
31. Rahela	House Wife	-	Housewife	-
32. Dipu	Restaurant Chef	2200 Euro	Salesman in a Grocery shop	1200 Pound (1300 Euro)
33. Kamal	Factory worker	2000 Euro	Restaurant	1500 Pound (1650 Euro)
34. Rahman	Stand shop of cloth & restaurant chef	3000 Euro	Worker in Storehouse	960 Pound (1050 Euro)
35. Hamid	Restaurant chef	1300 Euro	Restaurant chef	800 Pound (876 Euro)
36. Nazrul	Factory worker	2500 Euro	Helper of a chef in restaurant	1000 Pound (1095 Euro)
37. Majid	Factory worker	2200 Euro	Salesman in a grocery shop	1200 Pound (1314 Euro)
38. Tamjid	Restaurant chef	1500 Euro	Unemployed	-
39. Risco	Porter in hotel	1400 Euro	Security guard	800 pound (876 Euro)
40. Sumon	Factory worker	2200Euro	Helper of a chef in restaurant	1200pound (1314Euro)
41. Sumi	Owner of a coffee bar	-	Owner of Bengali restaurant	-
42. Buian	Owner of three kebab shops and job in cooperative	5000 Euro	Owner of a coffee bar	2000 Pound (2190 Euro)
43. Mustafiz	Factory worker	2500 Euro	Uber driver	1000 pound (1095 Euro)
44. Shanaz	Housewife	-	Housewife	-
45. Motin	Restaurant chef	1500 Euro	Uber driver	1300 Pound (1423 Euro)
46. Imdad	A worker in an export-import company	1500 Euro	Restaurant	1200 pound (1314 Euro)
47. Khasru	Factory Worker	1750 Euro	Grocery shop	1250 pound (1369 Euro)
48. Sabbir	Factory Worker	2000 Euro	Uber driver	1500 pound (1642 Euro)
49.Mannan	-	-	-	-
50. Mridha	Factory Worker	2300 Euro	Camera operator Bangla TV	1300 Pound (1423 Euro)

CHAPTER EIGHT

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND TRANSNATIONAL TIES IN FACILITATING MULTIPLE MIGRATION

INTRODUCTION

As we have seen in the review of the literature of the fourth chapter, the networks have an important role in providing social capital which migrants utilize in several ways in their pre-and post-migration settings (Boyd, 1989; Massey, 1988; Goss and Lindquist, 1995; Ryan et al. 2008; Vertovec, 2002). However, many of these studies have focused on the role of social networks in the case of migrants' first international move; less attention has been paid to the ways in which migrants use their social ties in their subsequent mobilities (Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Koser, 2010). But it is argued that belonging to the transnational networks, migrants connect themselves with different places; this networks and contacts with relatives and friends in other host societies increase the possibility of further migrations (Paul, 2011; Toma and Castagnone, 2015). In this regard, migrants used their transnational networks to obtain information through telephone conversations, exchanging letters and emails with relatives and friends living in other countries and making short visits to them (Ahrens et al., 2014; Bang Nielsen, 2004). Here migrants select the destination by considering their prior contacts that are essential in settling down and integrating into the new society (Haandrikman and Hassanen, 2014).

Nevertheless, not all network and ties are identified as equally important in the case of the likelihood of remigration. For instance, Paul's (2011) findings on stepwise international Filipino migrants indicated that multiple migration aspirations emerged through the connection with earlier cohorts of migrants who had previously made similar journeys. Likewise, Tsujimoto (2016) suggests that friendship networks provide important supports in facilitating multiple migrations compared to ties with close kin. Moreover, researching on inter-EU mobility, Toma and Castagnone (2015) have shown that only the weaker ties, such as friends or extended kin have a strong influence on facilitating remigration while strong ties – siblings or parents - have little influence.

The aim of this chapter is to understand how the composition of social networks and transnational ties facilitated the multiple migration trajectories of Bangladeshi international migrants[26]. As we have shown in the fourth chapter so far very few research analyzed the role of social networks in the case of international migration from Bangladesh to Europe. Some studies, e.g. Ullah (2013); Nayeem (2012); and Rahman (2017) address the role of migrant social networks in initiating the first international migration from Bangladesh to an Asian country. But in order to draw a broader conclusion regarding the decision to make multiple migrations, such studies did not mention and analyze the role of social networks in promoting this mobility. In this chapter, we show how the composition of social networks and transnational ties facilitated multiple migrations of Italian Bangladeshis- first and subsequent migrations until arriving in Italy and the onward migration from Italy to the UK. The main research question here is:
What are the roles of social networks and transnational ties in facilitating the multiple migrations of Italian Bangladeshis?

The analysis and discussion are organized into three main sections. The first analysis is about how transnational ties based on family and kinship networks play the main role in selecting their first country of destination. The second section focuses on how friendship networks in the transnational social field play an important role in facilitating multiple migrations compared to that of family or kinship connections. This section also argues that in the case of Bangladeshis who arrived in Italy via several transit countries, the family networks are important. Moreover, the last section identifies how the Italian Bangladeshis' onward relocation decisions are influenced by transnational networks with friends and family members living there. Here the findings show that along with prior information through regular communication, their transnational social connection with a short visit (Coughlan, 2011; Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Guarnizo, 2003) to

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[26] Part of the discussion within this chapter has already been published in the journal of International Migration - Morad. M., & Sacchetto, D. (2019). Multiple Migration and Use of Ties: Bangladeshis in Italy and Beyond. *International Migration*

the UK also help them to create an image as the UK is the perfect destination for onward relocation (Bang Nielsen, 2004).

LEAVING BANGLADESH AND COUNTRY SELECTIONS: FAMILY AND KINSHIP TIES MATTERS

As has been argued in several studies (Boyd, 1989; Herman, 2006; Koser, 2010), the interviews have shown the importance of networks and transnational ties in the selection of their first migration destination. The vast majority of the respondents already had someone from their immediate family or a relative in the preferred country with whom they have transnational ties before migration. Thus, belonging in the transnational social field (Levitt and Glick Shiller, 2004) through regular communication between migrants and non-migrants was found to be very influential in taking the decision to migrate. As it is mentioned by one of our respondents regarding the role of networks in his first migration towards Japan:

> At that time my elder sister's husband was living there [Japan]. He told me to migrate there. I followed the same *dalal* [broker] who sent him and some of my friends in Japan. He encouraged me by saying that 'You will have a good future here in Japan. What you will do in Bangladesh after completing your higher secondary and bachelor degrees? It is only a waste of time if you continue your education; in fact, you still need 4 years to complete your education. But within four years, you will be established if you come here. (Arif, Interview 4, 7-10-2017, Padova)

Reflecting Arif's experience, my analysis reveals a similar picture for the majority of the respondents. Just as in the findings of Rahaman's (2017) study with Bangladeshi migrants in Singapore, we found that in this kinship network, a close relationship such as with migrant brothers, brothers-in-law, first uncles, and cousins, are the strongest link when making transnational ties in pre-migration settings (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Vertovec, 2003; Olwig, 2003; Guarnizo, 2003). For instance, Salam who migrated in Qatar in 1988, mentioned:

> My elder sister husband advised me to go to the Middle East. He lived there with his family. He told me to go there so that I could easily earn money. I thought I should go, because what I will do after completing education in Bangladesh. (Salam, Interview 12, 2-12-2017, Bologna)

Thus, the destination has also been selected where they have any relative or family member lives. As Kamal's quote illustrates:

> My target was to go abroad, as my cousin (paternal) was in Saudi Arabia, I targeted to go there because he arranged domestic work visa to work for a Saudi Family in 1992. (Kamal, Interview 33, 16-04-2019, Bradford)

In the migration process, as Kamal case has indicated, it is not only information and encouragement they receive but transnational networks also influence family members or relatives back home by arranging the necessary financial capital as well as a work visa (Schapendonk and Van Moppes, 2007). For instance, Sahab's case, who migrated to Dubai in 1990 by the help of his sister's husband 1990, indicates how migrant and their non-migrant family members were engaged in the transnational social field in order to facilitate the migration:

> There [in Dubhai] was my brother Khasru and my sister's husband. My father and I wrote two letters first to Khasru. Khasru replied to the letters by saying, 'Okay I will ask my brother-in-law and let you know the details'. Then my father sent a letter to my sister's husband asking for help and saying that I am unemployed and I need work to support our family, please arrange a work visa. Then he [sister husband] arranged a visa and I went to Dubai in 1990. (Interview 3, 2-10-2017, Sahab)

Sahab statement has also evident in the case of other migrants who initially migrated to a Europen country. As Masum explained his first migration decision to Switzerland was influenced and arranged by his cousin through providing information and a fake Portuguese passport:

> I got an opportunity to come to Europe [Switzerland] because one of my first cousins was living in Switzerland. He had two passports, one Portuguese and another one Swiss. While he was visiting Bangladesh in 1992, he asked me that 'you could migrate using my Portuguese passport, but you have to change the photo' [. …]. But instead of Portugal, he suggested to me to go to Switzerland since the document was not genuine. He told me that "it was so risky for you to go to Portugal [….]. But with this fake passport, you have also chance to be caught by the police at the Swish airport. In that case, you have the scope to claim the political asylum at the airport. And there is a tendency in Switzerland that if you do not want

to return back willingly to your country they will not send you back from the airport

forcibly". (Masum, Interview 18, 4-12-2017, Bologna)

As the above Sahab and Masum cases illustrate, in this study family or kinship connection were revealed as the more secured bond in making transnational ties in the pre-migration settings (Coughlan, 2011; Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Olwig, 2003; Guarnizo, 2003; Valenta and Strabac, 2011; Vertovec, 2003). This study suggest that the migrants kept alive their transnational social ties with their family members, friends and relatives whom they left and who live in their home country by remaining in contact through regular visits and communication (Coughlan, 2011; Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Guarnizo, 2003; Olwig, 2003and Vertovec, 2003; Valenta and Strabac, 2011).

In this way, a nonimmigrant's kin has seen the luxury and social and economic success of the migrant member which motivated them to become a migrant (Schapendonk and Van Moppes, 2007). And they construct a "geographical imagination" that migration overseas is the only way to achieve economic power and material transformation (Gardner, 1993, 1995). Thus, being part of the transnational social field (Levitt and Glick Shiller, 2004) through regular communication between migrant and non-migrant family members and relatives were found to be very influential in taking the decision to migrate:

My family is neither well off nor poor, so migration was not necessary, but my sister's family influenced me. They visited Bangladesh once after two years, they told their story about the good life in Europe. I also observed their economic success and European lifestyle. (Mamun, Interview 11, 2-12-2017, Bologna)

ROLE OF NETWORKS IN MULTIPLE MIGRATIONS UNTIL ARRIVING IN ITALY

As we have seen in the sixth chapter before arriving in Italy between 1987 and 1999, Italian Bangladeshis who participated in this study had lived at least in two countries of the three continents, such as Asia, Europe, and Africa. The sixth chapter has also remarked that their migration to Italy, after several migratory trajectories, was happened since they failed to achieve their socioeconomic success or attain legal status in their first and subsequent destinations. However,

this chapter argues that their country selection for subsequent migrations was influenced by migrants' social networks (Boyd, 1989; Ryan et al., 2008). In this regards, the first section highlights how multiple migrations are developed through interactions with earlier cohorts of migrant friends and co-nationals who arrived, and the second section discusses the 'transnational syndicates of *Adam Bepari'* [brokers] operated by the family and kinship networks to bring the non-migrants family members to Italy via several transit countries.

Multiple migrations through transnational ties with earlier cohorts of migrants' friends and co-nationals

Existing studies suggest that friendship is a source of social capital which provides migrants with the resources necessary for migrating to a new country (Boyd 1989; Massey et al. 1993; Ryan et al. 2008). Especially, in the case of multiple migrations, friendship ties found to play a vital role in some cases compared to the ties with the family members or close relatives (Dahinden, 2010; Paul 2011). For instance, in her studies, Paul (2015) argued that the aspiration of stepwise migration is influenced by the connections with earlier migrant fellows who had previously made similar multiple trajectories. In another study, Paul (2011) shows that these stepwise migrants have the tendency to develop a new friendship in their first country of destination in order to get necessary information about the new destination. Similarly to Paul, Tsujimoto's (2016) also suggest that an 'effective friendship' can construct transnationalism that sustains various host societies which guide a migrant to follow a sequence of mobility.

Somewhat a similar finding has also demonstrated by a good number of the research participants, especially those who first arrived in one of the EU countries and later moved to one or two or even three EU countries and tried to be settled there until finally moved to Italy. However, while study argues that (e.g., Ryan, 2011) nationality (own country people) was not sufficient in building the close bonds of friendship, in the case of my respondents we have shown that they mostly developed friendships ties with other Bangladeshis who were mostly their earlier cohort of migrants.

Here it is mentionable that when they failed to grant their asylum applications in their first EU country of sojourn or they were long waiting about the acceptance of asylum claim, relying upon this friendship networks they tried to select their second destination within the EU. As they were belonging to the transnational social field by maintaining regular connections with the Bangladeshis fellow migrants living in other EU countries, the respondents made them updated about the next destination. As we have seen in chapter six, based on the information collected through transnational networks, they created 'an onward migration map' in their mind – a list for subsequent destinations for making a second, third or even fourth migration. By promising various assistance, friendship networks made by an earlier cohort of migrants encouraged their onward relocations from one country to another. At this point, this chapter argues that the role of weak ties, such as the transnational connection with friends or acquaintance, is a key resource facilitating multiple migrations, compared to the strong ones, e.g, connection with family members and relatives. For instance, the following two cases of *Bari* and *Amir's* multiple migration stories have shown us the following:

The multiple migrations of Bari happened through friendship networks

Bari, a 57-year-old Shipbuilding worker in Venice, had first migrated to Germany in 1986. When he was in Germany, some of Bangladeshis moved from his shelter home to France after their asylum appeal rejected. Bari was in regular communication with them. Two years later, when his political asylum case was pending, he was a little bit disappointed whether his application in Germany will be granted or not. Later he took a plan for another migration. In this regard, he started to make contact with his fellow migrants who were moved to France earlier. They inspired Bari to move there by saying that the asylum granting procedures are easiest in France. They also recommend Bari an Indian broker, who sent other Bangladeshis previously from Germany to France. By following this irregular way through the prescribed broker, he entered France in 1988.

But after a few months living there, he started to look for a new destination when he observed that the social benefit he had been receiving there was not sufficient for maintaining living expense. In this regard, he contacted with Faysal, a Bangladeshi asylum seeker in the Netherlands, who was living with

Bari in the same asylum accommodation centre in Manheim, Germany. Even though Bari and Faysol moved to two different countries, they had been in regular communication. When Bari explained his condition in France and sought Faysol advised regarding his intention to move to the Netherlands. Faysal informed Bari that the Dutch city, Den Helder, where he lives is very migrant-friendly. Faysal also told that the Netherlands provides good social facilities; if Bari would move, he could easily save money from the amount he will be provided during his asylum decision processing time. Bari also informed that there was an empty room in the asylum home where Faysal lives. If Bari came, he could help him to find this room.

Getting an encouragement from Faysol, managing a Sri Lankan broker, Bari migrated to the Netherlands in 1989. Even though Bari was in the Netherlands, he had also contact with some of the earlier cohorts of his Bangladeshi fellows who move to Italy when Bari was in Germany and France. One day, Bari informed from some of them that Italy is going to be documented the irregular migrants, and if Bari moved there he has the chance to be documented in Italy. Then Bari moved to Italy in 1990. That time he had not anyone from his family or kinship networks there, except these earlier country fellow mates. The day when Bari arrived in Rome train station, some of these friends were present there to receive him.

(Bari, Interview 20, 08-04-2018, Venice).

The story of Amir who migrated three countries within the EU based on friendship networks

Amir, a 50 years old metal factory worker in Bologna, first came to Switzerland in 1990 by managing a business visa with the help of one of his relative. There he applied a request for asylum on the grounds of political persecution. Living one month in the initial reception centre near Zurich, he assigned to another centre in the canton of Fribourg. Amir spent 4 years in this centre. There he met with some other Bangladeshis who also waiting for the decision of asylum claim. After some days, Amir became good friends of them. During these four years of his stay in Switzerland, he observed that from the shelter home his Bangladeshi fellow mates were moving to France once their asylum claim was rejected.

> *In 1994 when Amir case was dismissed, he contacted with those earlier acquaintances relocated to France. He was assured that he would be provided necessary shelter there from them. By getting motivation from these earlier fellows, Amir moved to France in 1994. After arriving in France, the next day he filled his asylum application through this Bangladeshis. He had been in France for almost four years. When he was in a confusion either his asylum application to be granted or not, he heard the news of declaration in Italy from some of the Bangladeshi friends who moved to Italy from France earlier. And in January 1999, in order to make him documented, he moved to Italy.*
>
> (Amir, Interview 17, 04-12-2017, Bologna).

The above mentioned Bari's multiple migrations from Germany to France, Netherlands and later to Italy, and Amir's multiple migrations from Switzerland to France and finally to Italy are two classical examples of the strength of weak ties (Granovetter, 1973). It was their co-migrants from their country, who helped them to get ahead. Bari and Amir became good friends of these Bangladeshis in their initial and other destinations. Like Bari and Amir, most of the participants in this study gradually started to build up a new friendship and social ties with other Bangladeshi who were staying in the same asylum shelter home in their first EU country of sojourn. Later, even though, their fellow migrant friends moved to a new destination before them, they maintained a closed relationship through regular communication on telephone. By maintaining these durable social ties, which was mobilized across boundaries, they create, sustain, and discover transnational networks to facilitate onward migrations (Ahrens et al., 2014; McIlwaine, 2012; Withaeckx et al, 2015). Therefore, their ensuing move from one EU country to another EU country was often operated by their belonging in the transnational social field (Levitt and Glick Shiller, 2004) that spanned several European boundaries. As study argues (e.g, Granovetter,1983: 208; Ryan, 2011), this study finds that the weak ties functioned most effectively in generating migration because it bridges the social distance and links Bangladeshis from various locations.

However, in this transnational network, to facilitate irregular migration within the EU, they were more likely to trust fellow multiple movers compared to a migrant

who directly migrates to an EU country from Bangladesh. It is linked with the fact that their fellows had made a similar journey before. This is also because after arrival in Europe they experienced that they were mainly received sympathy from those who had arrived by following the same irregular migration route and gone through similar circumstances. As it is highlighted by Masum, he was staying in an asylum reception centre in Switzerland for one and half year between1992 and 1993 at the beginning of his migration journey in Europe:

> Some Bangladeshi in Sweden, who once lived in our shelter home, sometimes come to visit the centre to see is there anyone new asylum seeker from Bangladesh is admitted. Upon my arrival, I met with some of them who invited me several times in their house to eat and they gave me my first month's bus ticket. (Masum, Interview 17, 4-12-207, Bologna)

Along with the friendship networks of co-migrants, some research participants have also illustrated that they mobilized social networks and extend ties into more diverse groups (e.g, Bloch, 2013; Lancee, 2010; Vasey, 2015) to facilitate their multiple migrations. These networks occur across multiple borders (McIlwaine, 2012). For instance, migrants who made their second migration from an Asian country to an EU country and later a third or fourth migration to Italy, majority of their social exchanges in order to facilitate subsequent migrations was operated through together with transnational networks with co-migrants friends and with their co-nationals they encounter along the way to the destination *(*Collyer, 2007*)*. In this transnational social field, the friendship networks provided support in obtaining information, getting help to prepare false papers, and arranging the brokers to move to the destinations and after arriving facilitation in processing the stay permit. At the same time, the co-national they encountered in their journey provide reciprocal support with sharing food and providing shelter and the information on travel routes (Cummings et al., 2015). For instance, the migration history of Firoj cited below indicates how such ties were important in facilitating onward migration:

Firoze's Multiple Migrations operated by the fellow migrants and with co-nationals

Firoje, a 55 years old Bangladeshi small business owner in Padova, whose first migration was in Singapore (1984-1988). Later he migrated to Switzerland since one of his friend, name Sayeed, lived there who promised to help him. By following Sayeed's guideline, Firoje prepared some falls documents where he presents himself as a managing director of a rice milling factory in Comilla, Bangladesh and his brother as a technical director of this false factory. In the paper, the showed that their factory needs to buy a boiler machine from Hungary. To support the application, they also submit an invitation letter from a company of Budapest which they managed by his friend Sayeed. After arranging a business visit visa, Firoje and his brother arrived in Budapest. They stayed there for 15 days. By this time, they phoned Sayeed in Switzerland. Sayeed gave them information of a Romanian broker for arranging migration first from Hungary to Italy.

While they were travelling to Italy, they caught by police in the Trieste border, After maintaining some formalities police left them. From Trieste, when they called to Sayeed, they were advised to go to Milan by train. After arrival in Milan, the next day Firoze called again to Sayeed. Sayeed told Firoje to look for any Bangladeshi to stay a few days there by this time he would manage a broker to take them to Switzerland. Firoje and his brother started looking for Bangladeshis and they met a Bangladeshi from Shariatpur region of Bangladesh. They asked this stranger to help them by finding anyone from their own region of Comilla. This person gave an address of one family from their region in Milan. After arriving at the house, when this Bangladeshi knows that Firoje is from Comilla, the family received them very cordially and told them to take a shower and provided them with food.

After staying 3 days in that house, when Firoje communicated with Sayeed, they were instructed to wait in a coffee bar near the Como train station and from there, an Italian broker would pick them up. By following the instruction they went to Como, and the broker received them and helped them to cross the border. After that, they arrived in Lugano station where one Bangladeshi received them and took them in his house. In the next morning, this Bangladeshi helped them to ride a bus towards Geneva where Sayeed was waiting at the Central Bus station.

Firoje and his brothers stayed two nights in Syeed house in Geneva. In the third day, they were taken to the asylum reception centre to submit the asylum

> *application. During his stay in Switzerland, he had been in touch via telephone with that Bangladeshi man by whom he got shelter in Milan during his way to Switzerland. One day, that man informed Firoje that Italy declared an amnesty to legalize undocumented migrants. Then along with his brother, Firoje moved to Italy in1996 following the same route he used previously to enter Switzerland.*
>
> *(Firoje, Interview 2, 23-9-2017, Padova).*

Like the cases of Bari, Amir and Firoje, many of the interviewees have illustrated how social capital is mobilized by belonging to the transnational social field which not only spanned across multiple borders but also to Italy. Here interviews show that Bangladeshis from several European and the Middle Eastern countries moved to Italy because they already knew someone here with whom they had a transnational connection. For instance, the above Bari and Amir story indicated that it is their earlier cohort of migrants, with whom they had transnational social ties with telephonic communication, who inspired them to arrive in Italy while they were waiting for the asylum appeal result in another EU country. But the Firoje story indicated that it was a Bangladeshi from his local district of Comilla he met in Milan while he was moving to Switzerland from Hungary via Italy. Firoje maintained regular communication with this acquaintance from Switzerland. In this way, Firoje got the information on the Amnesty of 1996 in Italy. Similarly to Firoje, Bangladeshi multiple migrants who arrived in Italy from the Middle East also indicates that they had transnational networks either with someone from their *esthanio* (someone from their close-by localities) or with their earlier fellow migrants who arrived in Italy before them. For instance, the following Salim's quote mentioned how this connection with the people from his particular geographic area was important in the case of his onward migration to Italy from Germany:

> Some Bangladeshis from my home region were living in Italy. I have always kept in touch with them by telephone. One day, they informed me about the declaration in 1998 in Italy. At that time my case [asylum application] was being processed in Germany, but I thought I should go to Italy to get documents. I came illegally, through Austria, and arrived in Rome because there were some Bangladeshis from

my own region who promised to help me to get a document [residence permit]. (Salim, Interview 6, 8-10-2017, Padova).

Since they belonged to the transnational network, participants often were advised that, for making onward migration, Italy was the right destination where they would have the possibility of receiving Permit of Stay. In this connection, they were inspired to know that someone without documents easily earns money which they had failed to do in other EU countries. They were also motivated by being told that they could be regularized in a short time by the Italian amnesties, e.g. mostly the ones in 1986, 1990, 1996 and 1998. For instance, Salam, who arrived in Italy after two migrations in the Middle East and South Africa, mentioned:

When I decided to leave South Africa, I discussed my next destination in Europe with my fellow friends. My friends who have relatives in Italy told me that, 'Italy is the only country in Europe where you can stay and work without documents'. (Salam, Interview 12, 2-12-2017, Bologna).

Transnational Syndicates of *Adam Baparis*: Operated by Kinship Networks to Facilitate Transit Migration to Reach to Italy

In this study, the group who left Bangladesh intending to go to Italy but stayed in several intermediate countries as transit migrants, received help mainly from kinship ties, especially from family members (brothers) or relatives (first cousin, brother-in-law) who migrated before them to Italy. Their journey has operated by the transnational syndicates of *Adam Baparis* (Brokers) made of European and Bangladeshi brokers originated from several former Soviet States (e.g. Russia, Ukraine and Belarus), Eastern European Countries (e.g. Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary), Balkan countries (e.g. Serbia and Slovenia) and Austria, Greece and Turkey.

In most cases, before migration starts from Bangladesh, the networks of brokers were arranged by their migrant family members who lived in Italy. And they were well informed about the journey routs, the transit countries, and the brokers with whom they will need to meet in their way to Italy. For instance, the following narratives of three Bangladeshis from Naria, Shariatpur region- Sattar (arrived Italy in June 1993), Shikder (arrived Italy in September 1990) and Sharif (arrived

Italy in September 1990) - described how their family or kinship networks assist their migration to Italy by a group of brokers:

Sattar Migration Journey towards Italy

Sattar, a 45 years old factory worker in Venice, arrived in Italy in 1993. That time his elder brother, one cousin, one maternal uncle, and many other relatives and neighbouring people lived in Italy who moved to Italy between 1987 and 1990. But Sattar's irregular migration to Italy was arranged by his elder brother. His journey was operated by a syndicate of Italian, Bangladeshi, and Ukrainian brokers. As he has said "there were several agencies in Bangladesh, mostly from our district who sent the people to Italy via several countries. These local brokers have the link with their relatives or family members in Italy or in some other countries. We mostly follow the same process that our earlier family members used to arrive in Italy. The routs and the channels that need to follow to enter in Italy was well known to all us".

For his migration, his brother who lived in Rome first managed a Bangladeshi broker based in Italy. This broker arranged an offer letter from a Ukrainian University with the help of the broker in Ukraine. Afterwards, Bangladeshi broker in Italy sent this offer letter to the local agent in Bangladesh. And the agent processed the study visa for Sattar from India. After receiving the visa, with some other Bangladeshis, Sattar flew to Ukraine in September 1992. He was there for 6 months, then in Romania for 2 months, and some months in Hungary before arriving in Italy in June 1993. In every stop, there was a broker who received Sattar and helped in illegal border crossing. The last broker left him in Verona, from where Sattar called his brother and he was instructed to go to Rome by train where his brother was waiting to receive him.

Satter resided in his brother house for three months, he also received all the expenses for daily needs. After three months, he started to work as a street merchant. In 1996, when Sattar was regularized thanks to the amnesty, he was trying to find a permanent job. As many of his relatives and neighbouring people were living in Venice, he moved there in 1998.

(Sattar, Interview 8, 13-11-2017, Venice).

Shikder's Migration Story to Italy

Shikder, a 52 years former factory worker in Padova, now lives in Eastham, the UK. He arrived in Italy via Bulgaria and former Yugoslavia (Serbia and Slovenia) in 1990. Before Shikder's migration, many of his relatives, friends, and neighbouring people from his village were in Italy. He had been in communication with them. And also his relatives and neighbours visited Bangladesh from Italy. In his migration to Italy, his cousin from Rome assisted him by providing information about visa processing and managing two brokers- one Sri Lankan, and one Slovenian- and financing the migration journey.

As Shikder told me "I have a cousin in Italy, the elder son of my third paternal uncle. He asked me to communicate with Mr Gomaj, an officer in the Bulgarian embassy, Dhaka. That time it was easy to get the Bulgarian tourist visa. On a one-month tourist visa, I arrived in Sofia. It was summertime in Europe, my cousin was in the Mare [an Italian Beach] to sell tourist items. He told me to stay in Bulgaria until he went back to the city. After one month and 11 days, two Bangladeshis from Rome [.....] went to Bulgaria together with a Sri Lankan broker to help their relatives to migrate to Italy. My cousin made an agreement with this broker to help me to arrive in Belgrade. For this purpose, he paid 1000 Euro to the broker. Then I crossed the border of Bulgaria over the hill by the help of this broker. He left me near the centre of Belgrade. There in Serbia, another Slovenian broker received me who also arranged by my brother from Italy by paying 1000 Euro to cross the Slovenian and Italian border [……]. This broker left us in Trieste. Then by the direction of the broker, I arrived in Mestre where my cousin was waiting to receive me at the train station. Afterwards, I arrived in Rome with him".

As Shikder mentioned, after arriving in Rome, he first went to his cousin's husband residence. He met there with around 30 of his relatives and friends from his local municipality, Naria Shariatpur, Bangladesh, who arrived mainly from Germany, Netherlands and France since Italy had the amnesty, 'Martelli Law' in 1990 to regularize the emigrants. He stayed there for about one month until starting street vending.

(Shikder, Interview 7, 1-11-2017, Padova).

Migration journey of Sharif

Sharif is 50 years old Bangladeshi lives in Padova who works in a factory near Vigonza. In 1990, when he was a student of the higher secondary school, he

decided to migrate to Italy since many of his relatives lived here. With the instruction of his paternal cousin from Rome, Sharif first arranged a tourist visa for Bulgaria from Bulgarian Embassy in Dhaka. When he reached in Sofia, he found that the only way to enter to Serbia for going Italy was crossing the border through long walking over the hill, which he thought was so dangerous. When he told his cousin that he is afraid to enter to Serbia by crossing hill, his cousin advised him to go to Turkey on a tourist visa because in Istanbul there are some brokers who sent people to Belgrade on a false visa by managing immigration officers in both part- Istanbul airport and Belgrade airport.

Later after 13 days staying in Sofia, he moved to Turkey with some other Bangladeshi fellows by arranging tourist visas. After one week of staying in Istanbul, the Turkish broker gave them a positive signal that they can fly to Belgrade. But in the day when they arrived at the airport, their broker found that the immigration officer with whom he had a contract for boarding them in the flight was on holiday. And while they were crossing the immigration, they were caught by police and sent back to the hotel. After waiting another week when their Turkish broker failed to send them to Belgrade, Sharif again returned back to Sofia by using his Bulgarian tourist visa.

Upon arrival again, he phoned to his brother in Italy and he was advised to stay in Sofia until summer arrives as the only way to arrive Belgrade is crossing the hill. His brother also provided him with some addresses of Bangladeshis from his own region who were also waiting there to enter to Belgrade. Sharif went to their house and lived with them for around four months. And when summer arrived, his brother managed a Sri Lankan broker in Belgrade. With this broker, along with other 11 Bangladeshis, Sharif crossed the border through hills by foot in the night. The broker left them in Belgrade.

The next day Sharif arrived in a house, Koper, Slovenia following advised of his cousin from Rome. He found there around 40 Bangladeshis who were waiting to enter Italy. After staying, two nights, his cousin sent one Italian broker to bring him to Italy. In a very early morning, the broker arrived in Mestre with Sharif and four others Bangladeshi by a car. They were dropped near to the train station of Mestre where his cousin was waiting for receiving Sharif. Immediate after his reception, his cousin gave him a receipt and told him that his stay permit is ready to receive from Questura [Police Headquarters] of Rome. How his permit was got ready before his arrival, Sharif mentioned: "that time it was easy to submit the

> *stay permit application, the physical presence of the applicant and their fingerprint was not required. When there was a declaration in the 1990s, for the application of Bangladeshi irregular migrants, Bangladeshi associations were assigned to submit all the application. I sent my photo and photocopy of my passport to my cousin in Rome from Bangladesh. My cousin was one of the leaders of Bangladeshi association Rome. He filled my form and submitted it along with much other application".*
>
> (Sharif, Interview 25, 24-5-2018, Padova.)

The above mentioned Sattar, Shikder, and Sharif's stories illustrate the importance of family and kinship networks in facilitating irregular migration. It is an almost similar story for other migrants who arrived in Italy from Bangladesh via several eastern European countries. It is either their brother or cousin who motivated them to arrive in Italy.This family or kinship networks facilitate the whole journey by helping migrants with providing necessary information, the provision of false documents for travelling, and necessary finance to pay the trip (Stöbbe, 2000; Ryan et al, 2008; and Rainer and Siedler, 2009). However, the most common form of mobilizing social capital across transnational social spaces relates to sharing information and managing brokers. In most cases, the brokers were managed before, and in some case, the brokers were managed on the way from the first country where they arrived with a tourist visa or student visa. In their total migration journey from the first transit country through the strong ties with family or kinship provide 'a transnational security' to the transit migrant (Rahman, 2017).

As Sharif's case has revealed, my interviews have also shown the strength of strong ties (Krackhardt, 1992) in irregular migration. Like Sharif, some of the respondents' permit of stay were getting ready before their arrival in Italy by the facilitation of their brothers, cousin or uncle. Several participants' conversation has indicated that during the 1990 regularization, Italian administration gave a chance to the migrant association to submit the application of their own undocumented people in Italy. And also fingerprints were not required. Since the application procedures were flexible, some Bangladeshi migrants in Italy

arranged a permit of stay by using their weak ties with the leaders of Bangladesh Samity in Rome for their non-migrants family members lived in Bangladesh.

Reciprocal Obligation in the Migration process to Italy

The fieldwork also indicates the importance of the role of reciprocity in the migration process (Faist, 2000a). The reciprocal obligation to provide assistance in the migration process can be described as a responsibility on the part of earlier migrants to their prospective migrants' family members and kin, by which they try to give the same support that they received earlier (Rahman, 2017). In this regard, findings have shown that nearly all of my participants who arrived in Italy via several countries with the facilitation of their family members or relatives, further brought their family members, even relatives, by providing the same supports, e.g. financial assistance, information and arranging routs and brokers. For instance, the above mentioned Sattar's story highlights that his elder brother brought him in Italy, later he brought his next brother, and finally they three brothers helped their younger brother in migrating to Italy (Sattar, Interview 8, 13-11-2017, Venice).

Like the Sattar story, it was commonly found that when one of the family members or relatives migrated to Italy, he helped other members to move to Italy. In that case, some of my participants also used their weak ties with their Italian employer to arrange a sponsored visa to bring the family members. For instance, Khasru case, who arrived in Italy in 1998 via Austria from the Middle East after his elder brother Sahab who arrived in Italy in 1994. Now their family members and relatives are around 50 relatives who live in Padova. As Khasru explained they brought their family members and relatives arrived in Italy one after another:

> First came my brother, Sahab, then I arrived. Later we brought our third and fourth brother. Later my cousin, my nephew and my sister's husband, my wife brother, and my wife cousin arrived. Here interesting point is, I and my brother came on Tarzan visa[27], but the rest came directly flying from Dhaka to Venice. They all came

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[27] This is not any official visa. These immigrants, who followed irregular channels to enter Italy, mentioned that their recruiting agents named it a Tarzan visa. Because from their transit countries, they had to travel through the jungles, and hill in order to reach Italy.

on a domestic contract visa when Italy has a labour shortage during 2007. We, me and my brother, sponsored some of them by showing yearly income was more than 18000 Euro. That time you brought someone on a domestic work visa if you have such amount. For some of them, we managed the sponsored visa from our factory owner and through arranging the declaration from my Italian friends with whom I and my brother have a good relation. We only need to pay the plane fares and government fees. We did not need to pay any amount to our factory owner and the Italian friends. In 2012, some of our relatives who were students in the UK and facing problem in arranging the permit also arrived in Italy to become documented. I helped alone around 14 of them. Now including our brothers' wife and kids, total family members and relatives who are in Italy are nearly 50. Within a few months, my third brothers who received an Italian passport joint to me here in London. (Khasru, Interview 47, 6-6-2019, London)

Like Khasru, Niamot, who arrived in Italy through irregular channels in 1998 with the help of his cousin, brought many relatives and family members in Italy:

The number who came here to Italy from my family and relatives with my help is around 100. They were my brothers, my cousins, husbands of my nieces, my neighbours and some others. They also followed the same route that I took to arrive in Italy. (Niamot, Interview 13, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

It has shown that in this migration journey, their remittances (in most cases as grant and some case loans to the non-migrants) have played a vital role in maintaining the meeting migration cost, which Rahaman (2003, 2017) explained as "kinship acts as social insurance in Bangladeshi society". In this regard like the findings of Rahman (217) in Singapore, this study has argued that kinship ties are one of the most important bases of migrant social organizations. As Khasru statement has indicated in this networks, brother, first cousin, uncles, nephews, sister's husbands and wife brothers (brothers-in-law) all are important when it comes to the support of the migration process of non-migrant family members and relatives left behind. In particular, in this transnational family networks for showing the reciprocal obligation, by supporting migration is first goes to the brother as above Sattar and Khasru case indicated. The next important ties are between a migrant and his uncles or cousins or brothers-in-law who are referred to as *attiyo* (relatives) are particularly important. This *attiyo* also received almost

similar assistance like the brothers- in terms of provision of assistance with providing money from his migrant kin in Italy. It is worth mentioning here that for bringing brothers or brothers-in-law and nephews they paid this total amount as a grant, but other relatives mostly provided the full or a portion of their migration cost as a loan. However, as Niamot case indicated, the next ties what is important in the Bangladeshi migration networks is relation between migrants and their *esthanio*[28] (people from the same locality). In this case, the respondents have provided to their *esthanio* necessary information regarding the visa processing, availability of brokers, and the migration route to Italy, instead of providing money or arranging the whole migration journey (Rahaman, 2017).

My fieldwork has also shown how important migrants' weak ties with the native people in the destination in facilitating migration. For instance, the above mentioned Khasru and his brother Sahab cases. With using their ties with their Italian friends and their owner, they arrange necessary sponsor to bring their family members and relatives from Bangladesh. However, findings have shown that most of the respondents did not have such strength of weak ties. Therefore these migrants had to buy sponsor to arrange a domestic work visa or seasonal worker visa to bring their family members and relatives in Italy.They mostly brought this sponsored from other Bangladeshis in Italy who had sufficient income to declare such sponsor on the need of domestic worker. While Khasru and Sahab, who had weak ties with Native Italian, did not need to pay any charge to manage such documents, the other migrants who did not have such ties with the Native Italian, paid 5000 to 8000 Euro to other Bangladeshis. Besides, some of them brought their brothers by managing brokers through following irregular way. In that case, who arrived by 1990s, had to spend 5000 to 8000 USD, but after 1990, this irregular migration cost was around 8000 to 10000 USD.

The above mentioned the examples regarding the reciprocal obligation between migrants and their non-migrant family members, *attiyo* and *esthanio* suggest why

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[28] The term *Esthanio* refered to the people who are from a particular geographic area that may include a village, Union Parishad (the smallest rural administrative center), Upazila (an administrative region, or District (e.g. Rahaman, 2017)

Bangladeshi migration process to Italy is a 'location-specific phenomenon' (Rahman and Kabir, 2012). In this regard, chapter six already has shown that in every province of Italy, the majority of the Bangladeshis are from different Bangladeshi regions.

MIGRATORY NETWORKS IN THE PROCESS OF SETTLING IN AND FORMATION OF INTERNAL MIGRATION DECISION WITHIN ITALY

It is well recognized that upon arrival as a newcomer's migrants need to rely on the social networks in order to have various assistance, e.g., accommodation, credit, job, information as well as psychological and cultural supports (Ambrosini, 2006; Boyd, 1989; Goss & Lindquist, 1995; Massey et al. 1999; Ryan et al. 2008; Vertovec, 2002). Findings have also shown that both type of link- strong ties and weak ties- are playing an important role in their initial settling in Italy. However, as the above mentioned the migration story of Satar, Shikder, and Zamsu illustrates, the group who left Bangladesh arrived in Italy directly via several transit countries received help mainly from family and kinship ties, especially from family members (brothers) or relatives (first cousin, brother-in-law; sister husband, uncle) who were in Italy. It has often shown these close connections with family members or relatives are very common ties for relying on their everyday life. As it is mentioned by two respondents in Bologna and Padova respectively:

> My sister husband went to Rome train station to receive me. I was at his house for about 3 months. In the beginning, I received help from my close relative, they were my sister, my brother in law (sister husband) and his siblings. My sister provided me with accommodation, and even gave money that I needed for maintaining daily expenses. And also provided me bus tickets for my daily rides. Three months later when I got a job in the restaurant, I left my sister house and rent a room in a shared apartment with other Bangladeshi people with whom I became friends soon after arrival. (Mamun, Interview 11, 2-12-2017, Bologna)

> Before riding to the train from Vienna to Rome, I called my maternal uncle and aunt who was in Rome. The train arrived in the morning, and I saw my uncle was waiting at the platform. Then I arrived at their house. After two days, I submitted for the document through arranging necessary papers by the help of my cousin [son of

his aunt]. Until I have the document, they did not allow me to do any job, I stayed in their house. When I have received the document, I came to Padova because here I have some friend from my local area who told me here the job in the factory is available. (Arif, Interview 4, 7-10-2017, Padova)

As Mamun and Arif noted, my interview findings have shown several examples of how family ties are worked at the beginning in their settlement in Italy. Towards the newly arrived family members, the kinship ties in Italy showed a series of obligation. For instance, upon arrival in the unknown city, the relatives or family members often picked these new migrant family member or kin up from the train station and accompanied them to their apartment. Afterwards, provided free accommodation, food and the daily expenses along with other assistance necessary in daily life until helped them to start a job (Rahaman, 2017).

However, the participants who arrived in Italy from several European countries, have got the initial supports mainly from their earlier cohort of migrants who moved to Italy before them. For instance, Atiq who migrated to Italy from Germany explained the following:

When I arrived in Italy, I received help from my friend who came to Italy from Germany just 15 days before me. After arriving in Rome, I called him, he advised me to take a train to go to Milan. When I reached in Milan train station, I saw that my friend was waiting for me at the platform. He brought me to his house, I was with him three months in Milan. I started selling tourist item in Duomo di Milano [Milan Cathedral]. After that when I got the document, I moved to Padova with another Bangladeshi with whom I made friends in Milan. (Atiq, Interview 10, 19-11-2017, Padova)

Findings have also shown that a network can be formed by belonging to the same Bangladeshi political Party when it comes to receiving the initial support in the new destination. As Masum case, who arrived in Italy from France upon the declaration of 1996, highlighted:

I did not have any relatives in Italy, but my network was very strong as I was involved in politics. When I came to France I became organizing secretary of the French BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party]. My political fellows in France, who moved to Italy before me, met me and helped me. For example, in preparing my passport from Bangladesh Embassy Rome and other necessary documents and

arranging a proof of my living in Italy for the last 6 months that I was required to be eligible to apply for the stay permit. (Masum Interview 18, 4-12-207, Bologna)

Moreover, as studies (Reyneri, 2001, Rainer and Siedler, 2009; and Sumption, 2009) find that after arrival, even those who have no relatives or friends in the host society seek help from co-nationals whom they may encounter at train stations or at the meeting place of any other immigrant groups. Similarly, my participants who did not have any relatives and friends in Italy, upon arrival they walked through the streets and tried to find a countryman or someone from their area of origin in Bangladesh, from whom they initially received support and assistance:

On 17 October 1993, I arrived in Italy. I stayed in a hotel that night. In the early morning, I started to walk the streets trying to find Bangladeshis. Suddenly I met one. I introduced myself to him and asked him to help me find accommodation. He took me to a house and I met a man from my neighbouring thana [local municipality]. Then I took a shower and ate. I asked him about the chance of a job. He told me there was a job, cleaning cars. Some others advised me to sell flowers. Later through their help, I met one of my school friends and he helped me in finding a job in a restaurant. (Salam, Interview 12, 2-12-2017, Bologna).

As Salam case explained, in the absence of formal kinship or friendship networks, the ethnic ties are found to be an important form of social capital for Bangladeshi migrants upon arrival (Ryan et al. 2008). But within this ethnic network, migrants mostly got support from their *Esthanio* migrants. In this regard, Hashem, a 52 years Bangladeshi restaurant chef in Padova, who was a successful small entrepreneur in Kuwait. He arrived in Italy in October 1999 on a business visit visa for 15 days but later decided not to move. He explained his earlier settlement in Italy:

I did not have any relatives, friends in Italy. After staying eight days in the hotel, I started to find out any Bangladeshi from my area of the region. Fortunately, I met some migrants from my region, Debidwar municipality of Comilla district. They took me to their house. As they were undocumented, I saw that the majority were working for car washing, selling several items in the street, such as flower, Jewelries, umbrellas, lighters, and tissue packets. After observing their hard life, I decided to go back to Kuwait again since we [he and his brother] had three gold

jewellery shops there. But they got me the motivation by saying that 'here a new amnesty to legalize the irregular migrants will be declared soon. And when you will be documented you will find a good job'. Then I changed my decision to return back to Kuwait. (Hashem, Interview 1, 18-9-2017, Padova)

As Hashem's quote illustrates, the majority of the Bangladeshis mostly started their earlier lives as a street vendor. Before starting this business, all of them received the necessary information in this regard from their personal contacts, such as which items are attractive to the Italian native or the tourists, and the best place to buy these items with the cheap price, and which points of the city they can sell that. My interviews have shown that Bangladeshi migrants often also provided initial capital as a loan to buy these several items to start their new street hawking; mainly those who had family and kin networks in Italy. But here migrants who arrived in Italy directly from Bangladesh as transit migrants, mostly rely on the strong ties (e.g., brothers, cousin, brother-in-law) and others who arrived from one of the EU countries or from the Middle East got the assistance from weak ties (fellow migrant friends and or Bangladeshis from their area of origin).

Research has pointed out that the migratory networks have an important role in the initial process of 'settling in' to a new country, but migrants do not essentially spend their all post-migration lives only inside these pre-exit ties. The networks may change over the life course (Creese et al., 1999; Ryan, 2007). Similarly, these study findings indicate that even though pre-exist family and kinship ties, and the friendship networks with an earlier cohort of migrants were crucial in the early settling stage, but quickly our respondents put more attention to make new friends beyond this pre-exist migratory network. My respondents have mentioned that when they started to live in the sharing apartment with other Bangladeshis, it provided them with an opportunity to create new friendship networks.

Ryan (2011) finds that 'shared ethnicity' may not be a sufficient basis for close friendships. However, the findings of this study have shown that my participants mainly made new friendships with other Bangladeshi migrants. Shared apartment, similar workplace, belonging to the same Bangladeshi associations and the same Bangladeshi political party, and their common area of origin in Bangladesh, all shaped these friendships. This post-migration friendship network

assists migrants one another in several ways: helping to find jobs, sharing information, sharing resources, and borrowing or lending money. However, my participant's narratives have indicated that the important friendship bonds were mainly formed between the migrants who originated from same local area in Bangladesh that what we referred before as *esthanio*.

It has argued that 'ethnic-specific networks' may work in the beginning stage of settlement, but more attention is necessary later to build a dynamics of networks, e.g., forming a friendship outside of ethnicity (Ryan, 2011). However, among the 50 research participants, this study has found only very few Bangladeshis who established weak ties with migrants of other ethnicities or Italian natives. In this regard, the previous section has already shown Khasru and Sahab cases how they used their weak ties with Italian natives to bring there several family members in Italy. Similarly, here a Bangladeshi migrant, Niamot in Bologna is an exception regarding how migrants became economically and socially successful in the destination by using weak ties with the native people. He migrated to Italy in 1998 by following undocumented way through the help of his cousin. But later he extended his ties with Italian Natives which help him to become a successful enterprise. His earlier life was started as a street vendor like my other respondents. But after two years of his migration, when he started a small Kebab shop near the University of Bologna, he started to build friendship ties with native Italian students. When these students entered several profession after finishing University education, they continuously helped Niamot in order to expand his business. He is now a successful entrepreneur: he has 18 alimentary shops in Bologna city and Perara city. Around 150 Bangladeshis are working in his shops. In his 35 years old, he became the president of Bangladesh Samity in Bologna. As regarding how he became economically and socially successful Bangladeshis in Italy, he explains the following:

> I have a minimum of 10 hundred thousand euro investment in my 18 shops. I first started one shop, then another one, then another one. And day by day my business has been flourished [.....]. Of course behind this success, I have a secret. It is possible because of my Italian friends who helped me a lot. They are engineers, architects, lawyers, bankers and *commercialista* [business consultant]. They

helped me in several ways, for instance, one of my friends has an agency business for renting shops. He gave me many good shops in a good location with cheap price. And the architect who used to do the design of my shops with almost free service. When I need bank loan my banker friend helped me, and when I needed the permission from Commune and the license my lawyer friends came forward to help me. [….]. My first shop was as Kebab shop near to the University of Bologna. Since then I have relationship with them that time they all were students. They used to come to my shop. When they ordered something, I always tried to sell items at less price compared to other shops. And also give them some without cost. Suppose, if they order Kebab, I gave them one Coca-Cola free. Or if they ordered five beers, I gave them one free. And day by day, I became good friend of them. They remember that day and when I need them, they try to help me without thinking much about money. Actually, majority of Italian people are very kind, I think our community people need to develop intimacy with them. But unfortunately our community people don't have this relationship. (Niamot. Interview 13, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

Furthermore, with regard to internal migration, as we have seen in chapter six after the legalization of 1996 when the number of Bangladeshis are bigger, there was a crisis of finding job and housing. Since then Bangladeshis started to migrate to other Italian cities, mainly to Northeast Italy because most of the factory are located in this region. The most important thing is that Bangladeshis select another city for their internal migration based on the existence of family, friends or contacts with their *Esthanio* people. It is important to mention that the Bangladeshi community has grown day by day in Northeast Italy due to the strong transnational ties between Bangladeshi migrants living in this region and with their non-migrant family members in Bangladesh and through the local networks with other Bangladeshis living in different Italian cities.

It was commonly seen that when one Bangladeshi re-migrated to any of the cities of northeast Italy, many of their relatives and other people from their region later joined to them. For instance, the Bangladeshi community in Bologna was started by four Bangladeshis originally from the Comilla, Shariatpur, and Dhaka regions of Bangladesh who arrived from Rome, their first destination in Italy. We have observed that in Bologna, the majority of Bangladeshis are mostly from these

three Bangladeshi administrative centres. Besides, with regard to Padova, this findings have revealed that three migrants from the Shariatpur, Comilla, and Sylhet districts of Bangladesh played a pioneering role in building the Bangladeshi community of Padova. Therefore, the majority of the Bangladeshis in this city today are from these three Bangladeshi regions. For the same reason, in Venice, people from the Sariatpur and Kishorgonj districts are in the majority. How these transnational and local ties work is mentioned by an earlier Bangladeshi who arrived in Italy after migrating Germany, France, and the Netherlands. He moved to Venice from Rome in 1991:

> The community is actually based on our family ties and links with people from our area of origin. When someone from Kisorgonj [a Bangladeshi district] comes to Italy they definitely choose Venice as we are the majority here. In Venice, you find a large number of people from my village which is not common in other cities in Italy. When someone from the *Austogram* municipality of *Kisorgonj* district arrives in Italy they choose Venice first because of us. In fact, they were provided with all the initial help by us, for instance, accommodation which is very important for a newcomer. At one time in Venice, a job was available but a house was not. So getting shelter was very important. (Bari, Interview 20, 8-04-2018, Venice)

As Bari quite illustrates, in the case of internal migration, the most common form of mobilizing social capital is to sharing information available job, and promising support regarding accommodation and finding a job upon arrival. As it is explained by Kamal who moved to three cities in Italy before finally relocated to the UK:

> When Italy offered a regularization in 1998, I arrived in Rome from Paris. But after one month, I went to Palermo because there was my relative, paternal uncle. I was there for two years. In Palermo there was a job crisis, then I decided to move to another city. I communicate with one of my friend from our Sylhet district who moved from Palermo to Bologna before me. He told me 'here is plenty of jobs in the factory'. The day I arrived in Milan, he was in his work but he sent a person to receive me from the station. This person picked me and accompanied me to my friend house. I met here with other people from my Sylhet region. They show me the area of the factory zones during the weekend and advised me to look for a job from the next morning by submitting my CV in each and every factory. Then I

started to look for a job, and I got a job in a factory. (Kamal Bradford, the UK, Interview no 33: 16-04-2019)

CONSTRUCTING AN IMAGE OF THE UK AS AN ONWARD DESTINATION: TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS AND THE DECISION TO REMIGRATE

Studies have shown that social networks facilitate onward migration by bonding migrants to cross-country transnational ties (Kelly and Lusis, 2006; McIlwaine, 2010). In this regard, Sarpong et al., (2018) have pointed out that the intra-EU migration of naturalised third-country nationals (NTCNs) are influenced by 'co-ethnic diaspora kin'. The authors explain that through verbal transnational conversation, naturalised citizens in the EU country would share information about their lives in their country of citizenship with their 'co-ethnic diaspora kin' living in other EU countries (ibid.). Through this transnational communication for the purpose of sharing information, 'co-ethnic diaspora kin' give NTCNs the opportunity to know about the opportunities available in other host societies (ibid.). However, Bang Nielsen (2004) has argued that migrants no longer rely only on this firsthand knowledge that they gather through transnational conversations. It is also supplemented by taking a short visit to the destination in order to see the opportunities that available for the migrants in practice.

My findings also demonstrate that the transnational connections between Bangladeshis in Italy and Bangladeshis in the UK are the key for the onward migration decisions to go to the UK. The transnational social fields (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004) connect Italian Bangladeshis with their family members, relatives and friends living in the UK through a direct relationship. These social ties are developed and sustained through periodic conversations and visits.

The next section will elaborate, how, by being part of the transnational social field (Levitt and Glick Shiller, 2004), Italian Bangladeshis obtain information about UK society. This happens through conversations with their friends and family, from both the British Bangladeshi and Italian Bangladeshi communities, already living there, as well as through short visits to the UK.

Information and the decision to relocate

In the fieldwork carried out in the northeast of Italy, my participants indicated that they were in regular communication with their family members, relatives and friends who had moved to the UK after acquiring Italian citizenship. Two of my respondents stated the following:

> I have many friends who moved to the UK, among them, I am in regular communication with around 50 to 60 who are my close friends, via IMO and Facebook messenger. (Salam, Interview 12, 2-12-2017, Bologna)

> I have many friends, relatives and neighbours from our district, Shariatpur, who arrived in Italy during my time there – between 1990 and 2000 – as well as after. They left Italy for England. Sometimes they call me on the phone and we are also connected through Facebook. (Shikder, Interview 07, 1-11-2017, Padova).

As Salam and Shikder's cases highlight, my respondents are in regular communication with relatives and friends living in the UK in the form of conversations over the telephone and by using social media. The findings indicate that these conversations were an important source of information about UK society; about the daily lives of Bangladeshis in general as well as the opportunities available for the European Bangladeshi community there. However, my respondents indicated very little about the transnational communication that takes a written form, such as through sending letters and emails, which some studies described as important (e.g, Bang Nielsen, 2004). As Shikder, who was planning to move to the UK during my interview and currently lives in Eastham, London, describes in this quotation:

> I have a permanent job in a factory, the owner likes me very much. But I am leaving Italy in June [2018], because of my wife and children. My son and daughter do not want to study in Italy, they would prefer to go to the UK. Their mother somehow encouraged us that the UK is the right destination for their future. Also, many of my friends and relatives have already moved there from Italy. My wife has regular conversations with my friends' wives who moved there from Italy. They often ask my wife why she is still in Padua, and they advise her by saying that we should leave Italy before March 29, 2019, when Brexit will be implemented. (Shikder, Interview 7, 1-11-2017, Padova)

As Shikder quote highlights, much like the other studies (Bang Nielsen, 2004; Robinson and Segrott, 2002), this research shows that the ensuing move to the UK by Italian Bangladeshis was often influenced by these conversations. The information that my respondents gathered through transnational social networks provides them, primarily, with an image of the UK. As we have already demonstrated in chapter seven, some aspects, such as control over children, instilling the cultural tradition and religious norms in the second generation, influence the Bangladeshis' desire to leave Italy. Therefore, the transnational social networks disseminate information to my interested migrants, that informs them that UK society is perhaps the right destination for the fulfillment of their aspirations.

As we have already explained in the earlier chapters, when Bangladeshi migrants move from Italy, they also leave their permanent job with a satisfactory income. For this reason, some of my respondents were confused about their migration to the UK since, during the conversations, they were informed that they might not be able to have as good a job as they have in Italy. However, the networks assured my respondents that they will not be unemployed because of the large availability of jobs in the UK as well as the fact that there are also sufficient social benefits once they have part-time employment. In this respect, Rahman's case is an example. In Italy, he has a shop stand and also a permanent job in a restaurant, so he was unsure as to whether he should leave or not. However, the transnational networks influenced him to migrate to the UK by informing him that, perhaps, with regards to labour, his position will be worse, however, there will be a bright future for his children:

> Many of my friends came to the UK before me; I was in communication with them. They told me 'if you leave your job and come to the UK, perhaps you will not find the same job, but jobs are available. You have to consider that it will be very good for your two sons. Because after their education, they will get a very good job here'. My friends also told me 'if you come please come before 2019, otherwise, you will not be able to. Because after then, the UK will implement Brexit. (Rahman, Interview 34, 16-04-2019, Bradford)

Through these transnational networks, as mentioned by Shikder and Rahaman in the above quotes, the majority of my respondents who originated from several regions in Bangladesh, except the Sylhet region of Bangladesh, were mainly connected through the weak ties of friendship networks. These friends are generally fellow Bangladeshis who have already moved to the UK from Italy and who encourage their migrant fellows still living in Italy by advising and promising their support.

As mentioned previously in the chapter, around 95 per cent of British Bangladeshis come from the Sylhet region of Bangladesh (Gardner, 2009). The Italian Bangladeshis who come from this region generally have connections with their family members and close kin who have been living the UK for at least three generations. These strong transnational ties between Bangladeshis in Italy and their British Bangladeshi family members and relatives are sustained for many years, even before my respondents' migration to Italy.These respondents, therefore, were well informed about UK society and what facilities their relatives have in the UK. Bangladeshis from Sylhet region, usually wait for Italian citizenship in Italy; once they receive the Italian Passport, they immediately move to the UK to join their family and relatives.

> Yes, the majority of them are Sylhti because they tend to settle in London, as you live in Sylhet you probably know many people in Sylhet have the plan to settle in London. They prefer London and therefore when they get the passport they move to London. They come to Italy in order to get citizenship. (Hashem, Interview 1, 18-9-2017, Padova)

The presence of relatives in the UK, therefore, represents a strong incentive in their decisions to relocate. For instance, Kamal who currently lives in Bradford, explains why he chose the UK for relocation:

> In London, my relatives are here: my paternal uncle and aunt, my mother's sisters, brothers and my own brother and sisters, as well as many other relatives. So I am well informed about their UK lives. When I got the passport in Italy, they told me to come here and join them. They often told me "your children will have a better future if they have an English education like our children here, and they will do better.

And we are also here so that they will feel good". So, I arrived here in 2013. (Tamjid, Interview 38, 29-05-2019, London)

Some of the Italian Sylheties were also advised by their British Sylhety family members and relatives that, in the future, when they are no longer alive, their wife and children will still receive support from other family members if they join them in the UK. For instance, one respondent in London mentioned:

I loved Italy very much and I have many Italian friends, but it is my family members in the UK who forced me to come by saying 'when you will be dead how will your family live there [in Italy]? Here is where all your relatives live, you should move here'. And I thought that they are right, since I have many relatives there, so if I go my family will still receive support in the absence of me. (Imdad, Interview 46, 5-6-2019, London)

Moreover, this study also indicated that all migrants were not involved in the transnational connections for getting information about UK society. However, the information was also gathered from and discussed with the Bangladeshis living in Italy (Bang Nielsen, 2004). Here some respondents mentioned that they attained their primary impressions of the UK from their migrant friends during their visits to Italy from the UK for holidays or for any other business.

Visiting and evaluating information on UK society

As Bang Nielsen notes (2004), in order to construct a true image of UK society, migrants do not always depend solely on information gathered from transnational networks. The majority of my respondents (but not all Sylheti migrants) conducted a short visit to their family or friends in the UK during holidays before taking the final decision to leave Italy. This study argues that through this transnational engagement – receiving information and visiting the UK – the respondents were able to create their final image of UK society either as a potential destination for relocation, or not.

During these visits, Italian Bangladeshis had the opportunity to form a brief impression of the lives of their friends who moved to the UK before them. As part of their assessment, they also focussed on opportunities available around aspects that had been lacking in Italy. For instance, in the previous chapter, regarding Mrida's case, Mrida's long-held desire was that one day his son would

receive a British education since he failed to attain one himself. Therefore, when he received citizenship in 2010, he made a short trip to London to see how British Bangladeshis live, as well as education prospects for his children. During our conversation he states the following with regard to his first visit to the UK:

> I was staying in my friend's house who had come over from France where we originally became friends. I stayed one week in London. I observed Bengali lifestyles in London. I asked my friend about the areas where the best schools are located. I visited some schools in East London. During that time, the Mayor of Tower Hamlets was Lutfur Rahman (a British Sylheti Bangladeshi). It gave me real inspiration to see a Bangladeshi as Mayor and so I became interested in this particular zone of London. My friend also showed me other surrounding areas of London and helped me to apply for a NI [National Insurance] card, and to rent a house through an agency (Mridha, Interview 50, 8-06-2019, London)

The above case by Mridh brings to light two aspects. Firstly, the importance of his long-term transnational ties with a Bangladeshi who was a fellow migrant from his first destination in France. Even though Mridha later moved to Italy, they maintained their transnational ties. As a result, when Mridha first visited, he was hosted and supported by these French Bangladeshis. Another aspect illuminated through Mrida's case is his positive first impression of the UK. This is because of his realisation that the Mayor of Tower Hamlets is from his country of origin. The fact that he rented a house and applied for a NI card which indicates that during his first visit he had already decided to move to the UK.

Some migrants were also interested in the opportunity to maintain Islamic and Bengali lifestyles over in the UK. These migrants were concerned about passing down their own traditions and Islamic norms to the second generation. An example is seen in Bhuian's case, mentioned in the previous chapter, where Bhuian decided to leave Italy when his wife faced problems relating to wearing the Niqab. Bhuian states in the quote below:

> When I first came to London for a short visit, I walked through East London and Central London and tried to observe our peoples' lives. I saw that women were driving cars even whilst wearing the Niqab [the face veil]. And I also saw that London has a Madrasah [Religious school]. So this reassured me that my kids can

have a religious upbringing here and that my wife can easily maintain her Islamic way of life. (Bhuian, Interview 43, 02-05 2019, London)

Many Italian Bangladeshis, like Bhuian, were motivated to move by the thought that UK society holds more freedom for them. This was observed during their visits where they saw a larger presence of Bangladeshis and a more multicultural environment. Risco states:

Immediately after receiving my passport, I visited London. I tried to observe the Bengali culture and religious aspects. I saw that our people have more freedom here, which we do not have in Italy. For instance, if 20 of us were to gather somewhere in Italy, the Carabinieri may arrive and ask us why we are gathered because they are always suspicious of us. But here I saw a crowd of Bangladeshis in every street, no problem, and the police are not suspicious, some police are even from our country. During Jumma [Friday] prayers, I saw a huge crowd inside and outside of the Mosque, but native British people do not feel disturbed. These aspects motivated me to move. (Risco, Interview 39, 30-05-2019, London)

However, unlike Mridha, Bhuian and Risco above, some respondents' first visit to the UK after gaining Italian citizenship was not undertaken willingly. These respondents told me that they were not interested in leaving Italy, but rather that it was their wife who was interested in moving to the UK. In Sumon's case, he was invited by Italian Bangladeshi friends to visit London jointly with his wife:

I first came here for a visit with my wife. My friend who was already here told me to come and see everything firsthand. He advised me, 'well, come first with *Bhabi* [his wife] and see everything – the job opportunities, the kids schooling and the life of the people'. So I went to the UK with my wife for a one-week visit. (Sumon, Interview 40, 30-05-2019)

Moreover, some of the respondents mention that after visiting the UK, they came back with a negative impression after having seen the downsides for Italian Bangladeshis in the UK labour market. However, their transnational family forced them to later change their minds again. An example can be seen in Khasru's case. Khasru was President of one of the Bangladeshi Associations in Padova and had a permanent job in a shoe factory in Padova. He first visited the UK in 2013 to see London life. However, when he saw the labour market situation, a low-class part-time job and no regular work hours he decided not to move. Yet,

due to constant encouragement from his British Sylheti family members and relatives, he finally moved to the UK in 2015:

> In 2013, after receiving my passport, I came to London for a week's visit and my relatives picked me up from the airport. I observed that on Saturdays and Sundays people do not have the time which we had in Italy. And the only jobs available were washing dishes in a restaurant or being a vendor in a grocery shop. I decided not to leave my fixed factory job to come here. But in 2015, I saw that all my Sylheti relatives were moving to the UK. My cousin also frequently asked me to come. They advised me that my circumstances will perhaps not improve, but my children's circumstances will improve. They told me that education is good here and that after finishing education my children will get a good job. (Khasru, Interview 47, 6-6-2019, London)

As demonstrated by Khasru's case, my study also reveals the strength of migrant transnational family networks in facilitating the onward migration of Italian Bangladeshis. Among the respondents, after arrival migrants, who had strong ties- what only the Sylheti people- were provided various support from their family members and relatives. In most cases, Italian Bangladeshis from outside of the Sylhet region, decided to rent a house during their first visit to the UK, since they found they like it. After that they then moved with the rest of their family. However, Sylheti people from Italy would often move to the UK without renting a house. In these cases, they were also picked up from the airport and provided accommodation in their relatives' house. In most cases, they did not visit first to see the lifestyle of Italian Bangladeshis in the UK. Rather, they visited to meet their relatives and family members as a type of long-cherished reunion. After moving to the UK they were provided with various types of support. As Khasru and Tamjid state in their interviews:

> Here I have 2 maternal cousins – my wife's cousins and their family. They are all are British Bangladeshi and they have all helped me. One week we did not need to cook since my relatives brought us food from their home. Secondly, when I applied for council housing benefit, there was a delay and the council asked me to provide several documents. I was able to manage this thanks to my relatives. After seven months of waiting, the council again sent me a letter asking how, as I do not have a full-time job, I bore the expenses of the last six months. My maternal cousin

and my wife cousin's husband were able to give a written declaration that they provided me with financial support. My relatives and my wife's cousin's husband also helped me to find three jobs, including the one I have currently. (Khasru, Interview 47, 6-6-2019, London)

After coming over, I arrived at my wife uncle's house who has two homes. He gave me one apartment, and for the first 6 months they did not ask me for any rent. He provided me with a declaration that I live in his house and with this paper I was able to register with a doctors' practice and open a bank account. My father-in-law also helped me to find a job in a grocery shop, whose owner comes from the Sylhet region. (Tamjid, Interview 38, 29-05-2019, London)

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter analysed how the composition of social networks and transnational ties facilitate the multiple migrations of Italian Bangladeshis in Europe, which is still an under-researched issue (Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Koser, 2010). The chapter revealed the fact that transnational connections in several locations influence migrants to undertake remigration to a new destination in order to fulfil their aspiration of further migration (Kelly, 2013; Carling and Erdal, 2014; Carling and Pettersen, 2014). However, the study results indicate that, for the most part, when remigration was already quite likely, the weak ties (friendship or acquaintance ties) are found to be key, compared to the strong ties (kinship networks).

For instance, the findings and observations have shown that 'strong ties' play a prime role in the selection of their first migration destination. In this regard, similar to the conclusions drawn by several other studies (Boyd, 1989; Herman, 2006; Koser, 2010; Richter et al. 2017), the transnational kinship networks play an important role in their first migration to the Middle East, or East Asia, or to an EU country. The vast majority of my respondents already had a relative or family member in their preferred country, with whom they had transnational ties before migration. Just like the findings of Rahaman's (2017) study, concerning Bangladeshi migrants in Singapore, the findings of this study indicate that within these kinship networks, a close relation, such as with migrant brothers, brothers-in-law, first uncles, and cousins, are the more secure bond for the formation of

transnational ties in the pre-migration context (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Vertovec, 2003; Olwig, 2003; Guarnizo, 2003). These transnational social ties developed through the migrants' regular visits to their family members in their home country (Guarnizo, 2003). The process of migration is facilitated by, not only, the information and encouragement they received, but also by the transnational kinship networks which influenced the family members or relatives back home by arranging necessary financial capital as well as work visas (Schapendonk and Van Moppes, 2007).

However, in the case of their subsequent migrations before arriving in Italy, weak ties have been found to be key in the selection of destinations and in taking the decision to remigrate (Paul, 2011, 2015; Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Tsujimoto, 2016). At this point, this research indicates that soon after arriving in the first destination, my respondents developed relationships with the co-nationals from their own areas of regions (Comola and Mendola, 2015). Even though these earlier cohorts of migrants moved to other destination before them, my respondents maintain regular transnational communication through periodic conversations over the landline phone. The findings of this study suggest that these friendship networks with their earlier migrant fellows provide them with a great deal of encouragement for their further moves before arriving in Italy. Likewise, after several migrations, my respondents who arrived in Italy from other EU countries, or from the Middle East or from Southeast Asia via other EU countries, had connections either with someone from their local region in Bangladesh or with migrants whom they had become friends with when they met in an earlier destination and who moved to Italy before them.

Nevertheless, the group who left Bangladesh with the intention of moving to Italy stayed in several intermediate countries as transit migrants, received help mainly from kinship ties, especially from family members (brothers) or relatives (first cousins, brothers-in-law) who migrated to Italy before them. The journey of this group of migrants was facilitated by the transnational syndicates of *Adam Baparis* (group of transnational brokers).

This study has also revealed the importance of the role of reciprocity in their transnational networks for the migration process (Faist, 2000a). In this regard,

findings have shown that nearly all of my participants who arrived Italy via several countries with the help of their family members or relatives, later brought over their family members, even relatives, by providing the same support, e.g. financial assistance, information and arranging routs and brokers.

In the case of facilitating internal migration within Italy, their kinship networks, ties with *esthanio (*who originate from same geographical location) and the *attiyo* (extended kin relationships) are important. Based on these three ties, for instance, the Bangladeshi community in Northeast Italy was created through strong transnational social ties between Bangladeshi migrants living in this region and their non-migrant family members in Bangladesh, as well as through their local ties with the Bangladeshis from their local area of origin living in different Italian cities. This is the reason why Bangladeshis in each of the northeastern Italian cities tend to be from particular districts of Bangladesh. For instance in Venice, Bangladeshis mainly originate from the Sariatpur and Kishorgonj Districts; in Padova, Bangladeshis are from the Shariatpur, Comilla, and Sylhet districts, and in Bologna, the majority of Bangladeshis come from three districts: Comilla, Shariatpur, and Dhaka.

Nevertheless, in the case of the Italian Bangladeshis' onward migration to the UK, the transnational networks were more important. The transnational social fields (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004) connect Italian Bangladeshis with their British Bangladeshi family members, relatives and friends, and also with their Italian Bangladeshi friends who moved to the UK (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). However, the weak ties have a stronger influence compared to the strong ties. The majority of the respondents, who originated from several regions in Bangladesh, except its Sylhet region, were mainly connected through the weak ties – with their fellow Italian Bangladeshis who had already moved to the UK from Italy. The transnational social ties which facilitate their onward migrations are primarily sustained by regular communication for the sake of sharing information. In doing so, Italian Bangladeshis obtain firsthand knowledge about the opportunities available for them in the UK (Sarpong et al., 2018; McIlwaine, 2010). In particular, the networks disseminate information that describes UK society is the right destination for promoting their cultural and religious tradition

to their children. It also provides them with an impression that the UK could be a better destination for the future prospects of the second generation, as British Bangladeshi offspring work in every sector after completing their education in the UK. Along with this primary image of UK society, their short visits also help them to observe the lives of their friends who moved to the UK from Italy before them (Bang Nielsen, 2004). Nevertheless, the findings also indicate that some of my respondents were not interested in moving to the UK thereby leaving their permanent jobs in the factory or own business, rather, it was their wife who was more interested in moving to the UK. Through regular conversation with other Italian Bangladeshi wives living in the UK, they aquired the belief that the UK is the right destination for them in terms of the future prospects for their children.

However, for what concerns the onward migration of some of the respondents, who were from the Sylhet region of Bangladesh, those decisions were mostly influenced by the strong ties (their British family members and close kin). As those within British Bangladeshi community mostly originate from Sylhet, Italian Bangladeshis from this region were well informed about UK society. It seems that, due to their long-standing transnational family connections, they usually wait for Italian citizenship; once they attain the Italian passport they then move to the UK to join other family members and relatives. The presence of relatives in the UK, therefore, represents a strong incentive in their decision to relocate. In this regard, the findings also uncovered that, even though some of the Italian Sylheties had originally decided not to move and leave their permanent job in Italy, they had to rethink their onward migration decision and finally decided to move to the UK as a result of the constant encouragement from their British Bangladeshi family members and relatives.

CHAPTER NINE

MAINTAINANCE OF THE TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL FIELD: TRANSNATIONAL LIVES OF ITALIAN BANGLADESHIS IN EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

From the 1990s onwards, migration researchers have paid particular attention to the ways in which migrants maintain durable ties with their country of origin while they incorporate themselves into the country of migration (Basch et al., 1994; Glick Schiller et al.,1995; Smith and Guarnizo 1999, Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004; Vertovec, 2009). Scholars found that economic, political, social, and religious practices of migrants do not end at the boundary of their destination, due to their integration into this new society. Rather, these activities are extended to their societies of origin (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Khagram and Levitt 2008; Moret, 2018; Vertovec, 2009). Studies have produced several concepts that refer this transnational relationship sustained across the borders, such as "transnational social space" (Faist, 2000), transnational social field (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004), transnational social formation (Guarnizo and Smith, 1998; Vertovec, 2003). Faist (2000:189) argues that, regardless of the name, these three concepts hold a similar meaning, i.e. the immigrants' cross-border relationships. As he points out: "Whether we talk of transnational social spaces, transnational social fields, transnationalism or transnational social formations in international migration systems, we usually refer to sustained ties of persons, networks and organizations across the borders, across multiple nation-states, ranging from little to highly institutionalized forms" (ibid,189).

This chapter discusses the everyday transnational lives of Italian Bangladeshis who were interviewed in Northeast Italy and the UK[29]. For this analysis, I will

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[29] Part of the discussion within this chapter has already been published in the journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies- Morad. M., & Della Puppa, F. (2018). Bangladeshi Migrant Associations in Italy: Transnational Engagement, Community Formation, and Regional Unity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *42*(10), 1788-1807.

utilise the concept of the transnational social field proposed by Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004). It has been argued that many immigrants today create their own social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders (Basch et al., 2005). According to Levitt and Glick Schiller, (2004:1009), the transnational social field is "a powerful tool for conceptualizing the potential array of social relations linking those who move and those who stay behind".

In order to describe how Bangladeshi migrants maintain their everyday transnational lives, here I address Levitt and Glick Schiller's (2004) distinctions between 'ways of being' and 'ways of belonging' in the transnational social field. As we have shown in chapter four, according to Levitt and Glick Schiller, 'ways of being' implies the cross-border social relations and practices of migrants. Conversely, 'ways of belonging' refers to practices that indicate a conscious connection between a specific migrant group and their country of origin. As they state:

> If individuals engage in social relations and practices that cross borders as a regular feature of everyday life, then they exhibit a transnational way of being. When people explicitly recognize this and highlight the transnational elements of who they are, then they are also expressing a transnational way of belonging (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004: 1011).

Through ways of being and ways of belonging, migrants create a specific transnational social field – as a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organised, and transformed (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004:1009).

The fascination for these two concepts – 'ways of being' and 'ways of belonging'– also arose from Levitt's (2012) argument in her article 'What's Wrong with Migration Scholarship? A Critique and a Way Forward'. In this article, Levitt argues that a transnational perspective should not be limited to only considering how migrants participate in the economics or politics of their country of origin, rather the perspective should include how migrants become part of the places where they settle whilst simultaneously remaining connected to a range of other places. Therefore, addressing these two aspects will, therefore, help this study to

extensively understand Italian Bangladeshis' attachment with other actors across borders through direct and indirect relations.

Moreover, the discussion also considers the transnational activities of Italian Bangladeshis from the perspective of individual and group level activities (Guarnizo, 1997). As I explained in chapter four, 'group level' activities highlight migrant collective socio-cultural, economic, and political engagement that goes beyond the boundary of the nation-state. Furthermore, at the individual level, transnational activities indicate the individual migrant's regular social, economic, cultural, or political relationships with their country of origin.

The first part of this chapter presents and discusses the individual level transnational activities, such as social, economic, political, religious, and cultural practices (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007) by dividing them into transnational ways of being and transitional ways of belonging (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). The second part analyses the group level transnational engagement of Italian Bangladeshis that has been maintained through the formation of various migrant associations in Italy. Finally, considering migrant associations as a particular space can reveal how migrants express both ways of being and ways of belonging in the transnational social field. Through this approach, the chapter answers the last research question of this dissertation: in what ways have Italian Bangladeshis maintained their transnational connections across multiple destinations, with the home country as well as with several host countries?

MAINTAINING THE TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL FIELD IN DAILY LIVES

This study has shown how important transnational engagement is for the Italian Bangladeshis that I interviewed in Italy and the UK. During this fieldwork, many Italian Bangladeshis indicated that even though they lived in Italy or in the UK with family (with their wife and children), they nonetheless maintain a transnational social field through various transnational engagements with their extended family members (parents, siblings, nephews and nieces), and friends and relatives "back home" in Bangladesh and in other countries. The next section analyses and discusses these individual-level transnational practices.

Ways of being: Social and Economic practices

Social Transnationalism

Most of the interviewees engaged in transnational social attachment with their family, friends and relatives through regular conversations (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Vertovec, 2003; Olwig, 2003; Guarnizo, 2003; Valenta and Strabac, 2011; Coughlan, 2011). As it has been shown in several studies, compared to past, today, Italian Bangladeshis can more easily maintain this social connection with their country of origin due to the advances in transport and communication technologies (Faist 2004). In this regard, they mentioned that the frequency of their trans-border connections has increased, compared to their earlier years in Italy **(**Withaeckx, et al, 2015). Now they use several modes of connection: social media communication – such as Facebook, IMO, Whatsapp, Viber – and mobile/land phone. How this transformation has occurred over the years is well explained by one of the respondents who arrived in Italy in 1990 and now lives in London:

> In previous years, until '92, the only way of communication was by sending letters. I used to send letters to my brothers, sisters, and sometimes to some of my school friends. After '95, we started to communicate using the landline telephone. There were some mobile cafes in the centre of our *Naria* municipality [*Shariatpur* district in Bangladesh]. We used to ask the café owner to allocate a fixed time and would ask him to pass on news to our families. My brother or mother would be present at the agreed time and we would talk for only for a few minutes, mainly about the important family affairs. Because it was expansive to call, we had to pay around 9 Euro per minute. But since 2000, calling to Bangladesh has become cheap. [….]. Now communication is so easy. I used to communicate over the phone until 2012, whereas now I am connected through Facebook, IMO, Whatsapp. I call my mother on messenger at least twice in a week, Saturday and Sunday. I also speak with my sisters and brothers at least twice a month. But through Facebook, we are actually connected with and updated about my other relatives, such as my brothers-in-law, fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law. (Shikder, Interview 7, 1-11-2017, Padova)

As Shikder mentions, now due to the rapid improvement of transport and communication technologies, my respondents are able to easily keep close

contact by mobile phone technologies and social media applications with parents and siblings in Bangladesh (Castles and Miller, 2009:3). Findings have also shown that along with family members, respondents also continue communication with relatives and friends that live in their home country. This study demonstrates a wide breadth of their transnational family and kinship relationships which are sustained through regular conversations. This transnationality connects not only their immediate family members, siblings and parents, but others also included: their maternal, paternal aunts and uncles' family members, even their own and siblings' fathers- and mothers-in-law (Morad and Gombac, 2015). In this respect, for instance, Sahab's quote illustrates following:

> I speak once a week with my sisters and their families who live in Bangladesh, but with my mom every day. I also communicate from time to time with my maternal uncles and their family members. I also keep in touch with my father-in-law and also with my cousins. (Sahab, Interview 3, 02-10-2017, Padova).

The findings have revealed that most of the respondents stay connected with the extended family members left behind, in order to stay updated with news from their parents, siblings and others members of the extended family that they consider themselves responsible for (Bonizzoni and Boccagni, 2014; Morad and Gombac, 2015).This interweaving of transnational family relationships (Bonizzoni and Boccagni, 2014; Glick Schiller et al., 1995:53) enables Italian Bangladeshis to continue to act as the key family decision makers in Bangladesh. Furthermore, it is also crucial for taking care of their own property and investments in Bangladesh.

The findings related to communication with home have also revealed the emotional dimension of these transnational practices. Their regular conversations negotiate their co-presence by minimising their physical distance. In particular, by staying in touch via long-distance conversations, my respondents remain virtually connected with non-migrant family members and relatives in Bangladesh, which provides moral, emotional support and care across the border (Baldassar, 2008; Bonizzoni and Boccagni, 2014; Mas Giralt, 2016b). This also

helps them to maintain their long-distance familyhood (Baldassar, 2008; Mas Giralt, 2016b).

My respondents mentioned that these conversations sometimes becomes necessary when they feel homesick and depressed. However, much like the findings of Withaeckx (2015), my respondents did not disclose their daily hardships fully during these conversations, since the participants were concerned about upsetting their parents, siblings or other relatives that live in their country. They told me that even though at the beginning of their migration journey, as an undocumented migrant, they suffered a great deal, yet their family were informed very little about that. In particular, prior to arriving in Italy, some migrants had attempted to settle in other EU countries but were rejected documentation. These migrants had to go through a long period of uncertainty with regard to their permit of stay and, furthermore, had to endure many years of precarious work. Yet, they explained very little to their family during their conversations (Withaeckx, et al. 2015). For instance, Atique, who first migrated to Germany in 1997, recalled his earlier life:

> A few months after arriving in Germany, my father in Bangladesh got cancer. Every month he needed 30 thousand takas [300 Euro] for chemotherapy. As I was an irregular, I decided to sell as many flowers as I could, because I had to save some money for my father [.....]. The communication was not so easy then, compared to what we have now; mobile technology was not available, speaking over the phone was very expensive. However, I used to talk on the telephone with my parents at least twice a month. My father would ask me what I was doing in Germany, I never told him that I was selling flowers in the street or in front of the bar or a restaurant. I did just answer them 'no worries dad and mom, I have a good job here. Please take care of your health'. Because I know my parents would be disappointed to hear that their son with a master's degree in Physics from Bangladesh works an odd job in Germany. (Atique, Interview 10. 19-11-2017, Padova)

These transnational social ties, enabled through conversation, also occur in order to foster transnational family ties between their children in Italy and with the rest of the family members and relatives that live in Bangladesh (Mand, 2010, Morad

and Gombac, 2015). For instance, one of the respondents in Bologna, during the interview, explains this aspect:

> My children are not interested in their relatives in Bangladesh. But I think it is important for them to know their other relatives who are in my country. I encourage them to speak with their mum's relatives, their maternal aunt and uncle, and with my brothers, sisters and with their cousin at least once during the weekend. (Salam, Interview 12, 2-12-2017 Bologna)

Some of the interviewees mentioned that through their continuous desire to keep in touch with their kin in Bangladesh, they observe that now their children have a sense of emotional attachment towards the country. As Swadin's narrative describes:

> They [the kids] now have continuous connections. I am now able to keep them in touch with my origins, with their parents' country. My intention is that even though they were born and are being raised within Italian culture, I want them to have a feeling about Bangladesh in their hearts. Alhamdulillah, my children now feel that part of their family lives in Bangladesh. They know that their grandmother, aunt, uncle all live there. (Swadin, Interview 15, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

Furthermore, in addition to the country of origin, my respondents also maintained periodic communication with their relatives and friends living in other countries (McIlwaine, 2011). As the majority of my respondents arrive in Italy after previous migrations, they consequently have friends that live in their first and subsequent destinations. Some of my respondents have kept in touch with those migrant friends. In their conversations, they would share many aspects regarding their daily lives and obtain information regarding the available opportunities in order to fulfil their further migration aspirations. This transnational connection with other host societies influenced our respondents to undergo remigration (Kelly, 2013; Carling and Erdal, 2014; Carling and Pettersen, 2014). For example, it is mentioned by Atique, who initially attempted to settle in Germany:

> I have so many friends in Germany because I used to live there. I am in close contact with these earlier friends. I speak with them sometimes and we discuss our lives in Italy and Germany. As I told you my intention is to move to Australia since my wife's brother lives there. But if I am not able to settle in Australia, Germany is

my second choice. During conversations with my friends in Germany, they informed me that Germany provides many opportunities for European citizens. (Atique, Interview 10, 19-11-2017, Padova)

As Atique's statement indicates, much like the findings of the previous chapter, my respondents also communicate with their family members and relatives in a country other than Bangladesh. The main aim of this communication is to obtain information about onward migration destinations. For instance, there is regular communication between the Italian Bangladeshis that still live in Italy and their British Bangladeshis relatives and family members or with their kin and friends who moved to the UK from Italy. As demonstrated earlier, their conversations are mostly related to the opportunities for Italian Bangladeshis in the UK. As Arif, who recently moved to the UK, during interview conversation in Padova, mentioned the following:

> I have one brother in Italy, another brother lives in Saudi Arabia. My uncle's family and most of my friends moved to the UK from Italy after receiving the passport. In daily matters, I am in communication with them. I also seek advice about whether to leave Italy and move to the UK or not. They always advised me to move there for the sake of a good future for my kids. They also told me that for practising our Muslim way of life, the UK is the best place. (Arif, Interview 4, 7-10-2017, Padova)

Regarding transnational social ties, along with their regular conversations, many respondents also maintain their social relationships with their family members, friends and relatives in Bangladesh by means of regular visits home. (Morad and Gombac, 2015; Zeitlyn, 2012). Findings have shown that in the lives of Italian Bangladeshis, the visit has a symbolic and practical importance for 'sustaining transnational kin relationship[s]' (Mason, 2004: 421). Amir's interview reflects this aspect:

> I visit [home] at least twice a year. My parents, my brothers, sister and my father- and mother-in-laws all are in Bangladesh. I want to keep my relationships with them strong. For that reason, I feel I need to visit them. (Amir, Interview 17, 4-12-2017, Bologna)

Much like the study by Glick Schiller et al. (1995:53), the findings also indicate that the transnational family networks also encourage them to travel to

Bangladesh at regular intervals. As a part of their family strategy, this visit also serves the purpose of looking after their family investments, purchasing land and building new houses. For instance, one respondent stated:

> After migrating to Italy, where I became documented, I tried to visit [Bangladesh] every year. I have family property there. It's worth 5 Crore taka [54000 Euro]. So the motivation is to take care of my properties along with visiting my relatives. (Mridha, Interview 50, 8-06-2019, London)

Like the Amir and Mridha, in this study, I found that some migrants visit every year either during the two Eid, religious festivals[30] or during the summer vacation when the children have school holidays. However, most of the respondents disclosed that they did not undertake their homeland visit every year. Whilst, before their wives had joined them in Italy (Bonizzoni, 2009), they used to visit at least once a year, now most of them visit Bangladesh only on special occasions, such as for weddings, deaths and funerals of their family members and relatives (Zeitlyn, 2012). However, when the visit does happen, they have to prepare and plan in advance. In this regard, they need to save a certain amount of money in order to pay the airfares, as well as to purchase gifts for family members and relatives back home (Zeitlyn, 2012). Syeed, and Majid, two Italian Bangladeshis, explain how these financial aspects are important when arranging a visit:

> I married one of my Italian colleagues here in 2003. Before 2003, I used to visit my country twice a year. I could afford the travel cost because I was single that time. But my last visit was in 2014 when my mother died [….]. Actually, since my wedding, I have not been able to go every year. This is because my wife and kids are here. There is also the financial reason. Even though my feelings towards my relatives and my country haven't changed, I haven't travelled because I could not effort it. Each trip requires huge amount of money to go with my wife and kids. (Sayed, Interview 18, 2-04-2018, Venice)

> Actually, before my wife arrived in Italy, I used to go every year. In the past seven years, I haven't managed to visit Bangladesh. The last time was in 2012 when I visited with my family. I do not know when I will next go to Bangladesh with my

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[30] The term *Eid* refers to Islam's two biggest religious festivals, i.e., Eid-ul-Fitr and Eid-ul-Adha.

family. From the UK, if I want to visit Bangladesh with my family, I need around 7000 pounds [around 8000 Euro], I do not know when I will be able to save this amount. (Majid, interview 37, 29-04-2019, London)

However, I have found that some respondents who are economically very successful, visit Bangladesh for political motivations. These migrants plan to participate in the local election in their area of origin. However, their visits would usually occur during the period of religious festivals, in order to participate in the distribution of zakat[31] to the poor people. Here the motive is to present themselves as a charitable person and gain the trust of poor villagers as a potential candidate in the local election. In this regard, Niamot, a successful Bangladeshi entrepreneur in Bologna, states:

I visit a minimum of 4 times a year; it is related to my father and my involvement with the local politics in Bangladesh. Last year my father ran as Chairman for the Union Parishad [the smallest rural administrative unit] election. So, I went 4 times within 3 months. But usually I go every year, during two Eids [*Eid ul Fitr and Eid ul Adha]*, I go to Bangladesh to provide zakat to the poor people in my Union as well as in my Thana [sub district]. This is because my father is the chairman of our Union and I will be running for the mayoral position in the next municipality election. (Niamot, Interview 13, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

Moreover, some of my respondents visit Bangladesh every year along with family members who support it. Here Italian Bangladeshi parents have the motivation of instilling their children with their culture and family values (Mand, 2010; Mas Giralt. 2016b; Vathi and King, 2011; Zeitlyn, 2012). According to them, this visit helps their children to nurture their family relationships. Children can be introduced physically to their relatives – aunts, uncles, cousins and grandparents – whom they have seen only virtually during conversations whilst in Italy or the UK (Zeitlyn, 2012). It also gives this new generation an opportunity to generate a sense of belonging within their inherited society, by seeing the home culture in practice, participating in weddings, festivals, local events and within other family

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[31] For Muslim people, Zakat is considered a religious obligation to donate a certain amount of his/her wealth to charity.

gatherings (Mas Giralt, 2016b; Zeitlyn, 2012). In this regard, during interview in the UK, one Italian Bangladeshi mother explains why she would like to visit Bangladesh with her children:

> I consider ourselves Bengali, it's not a matter how much we are British or Italian. The reason is that their [kids] parents are Bangladeshi, so I consider our children as Bangladeshi too. So they go to Bangladesh with us. I feel they need to learn Bengali and need to know their family who live there. When they participate in the family events there, they see our culture in practice and are able to develop a relationship with their cousins and other relatives. (Rahela, Interview 31, 14-04-2019, London)

As Ambrosini (2012) argues, in the case of transnational family relationships, gifts indicate the migrants' transnational care towards family members left behind. Findings have shown that during the visit they try to bring something for their relatives which, according to them, strengthen the family ties.

> When I go to Bangladesh I bring something such as a cosmetic item, a perfume, shampoo or soap for my nephew nieces. This is so that they are happy to see that their *mama* [uncle] from Italy has brought something for them. If I do not bring anything, they might feel bad and think that I do not care for them very much. (Sahab, Interview 3, 02-10-2017, Padova)

As it was shown in the previous chapter, Bangladeshi migrants, once they have received their Italian passport, will often take a short trip to the UK in order to see the lives of their relatives and friends who live there. Conversely, I have also seen that the Italian Bangladeshis who have already moved to the UK, visit Italy many times in a year, since they have still some belongings, as well as family members and relatives, in Italy. Findings from interviews with Italian Bangladeshis in the UK have shown that they consider Italy as their second home after Bangladesh, which also motivates their visits to Italy during holidays. For instance, one of the respondents explains:

> I often visit Italy; once every two-three months. I have still a house there. Sometimes, I need to go when documents from Italy should be submitted here. But one thing I would like to mention is that we who came here from Italy, we always miss Italy, we spent half of our lives there. (Kamal, Interview 33, 16-04-2019, Bradford)

Economic Transnationalism

It was discussed in chapter four that, according to Guarnizo (2003), there are three types of economic transnational relationship that immigrants maintain with their country of origin, e.g., monetary remittances, business investments, and support for local community development. Similarly, most of the Italian Bangladeshis who participated in this study send monetary remittances to their country of origin. This transnational activity expresses their *'long-distance social ties of solidarity, reciprocity, and obligation'* (Guarnizo, 2003: 670) towards their family members, relatives and friends left behind in Bangladesh. This study also finds that remittance is an important part of Italian Bangladeshi transnational life for the maintenance of transnational family and kinship relations with those back home (Valenta and Strabac, 2011:171). For instance, Kamal, an Italian Bangladeshi in Bradford, explains his economic attachment to his family:

> As the eldest son, I am used to taking care of my joint family by sending money. I built a new house by spending around 40 thousand Euro and bought some agricultural land in my village. Now, I do not need to send money regularly since all of my brothers live in the UK and Italy, and my parents are not alive. But sometimes I send some to my sisters in Sylhet. The amount is usually around 40 thousand taka [430 Euro] a year. I think it is their right to ask for money as I am living abroad and I am economically solvent. Besides during Eid festivals, I also send a certain amount to my sisters' families as a gift, which I consider as my responsibility towards them. (Kamal, Interview 33, 16-04-2019, Bradford)

As Kamal statement highlights, in this study, I found that almost all of the respondents would send a large amount of money every year to their family in Bangladesh. But now most of them do not need to send money regularly since their other male members have already migrated to Italy and some to other countries. For instance, as we have seen in chapter eight, the majority of our respondents brought their brothers, sisters' husbands, nephews and other male members to Italy. Later, their wives would also join them through the family reunification visa (Bonizzoni, 2009). So, in most cases, sending remittances every month is no longer necessary. However, some of my participants still

regularly send a part of their income to the country where their parents are still alive:

> Every month, I sent 30 to 40 thousand [300 to 400 Euro] to my parents. (Golam, Interview 24, 25-5-2018, Padua)

> Before my family [wife and children] arrived here in Italy, I would transfer almost all of my income that I earned in Qatar and Italy, back home. But now I sent very little; only 100 Euro every month to my mother. (Salam, Interview 12, 2-12-2017, Bologna)

Studies (Aziz, 1979: 29) have argued that in Bangladesh kinship is considered as an important social institution, which connects people with many different kinds of relationship, through the bonds of *atmyo* (friendships and affinal bonds) and *swajan* (consanguineal relations). Likewise, our findings have shown how important transnational kinship relationships are for Italian Bangladeshis, when it comes to the matter of sending remittances. As Kamal's case above highlights, I found that most of my respondents have maintained a certain responsibility towards their relatives who live in Bangladesh that is sustained through sending remittances occasionally. They are for their non-migrant nephews, nieces and married siblings. As Babul explained:

> I have two sisters in Bangladesh, I always help them financially. My younger sister's daughter is studying architecture at university, she is a very good student. I also send money for her education expenses. I consider them part of my family, I want to see them established. (Babul, Interview 14, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

Babul's gestures of solidarity towards extended family members in his country of origin were also expressed by most of our respondents. After many years since their immigration to Italy and even though they are now Italian citizens, they have never forgotten their non-migrant relatives. They continue to keep their transnational kinship relationships (Baldassar, 2007) alive through maintaining an economic connection. Our study has also revealed the great extent of *atmyo* and *swajan*. In the case of the Bosnian diaspora, Valenta and Strabac (2011:171) have shown that migrants maintain transnational economic responsibility only towards close relatives, such as siblings and parents. But this

study indicates the fact that Italian Bangladeshis send remittances not only to their siblings and parents (*swajan*) but also to other relatives such as maternal and paternal aunts and uncles, old friends (*atmyo),* as well as for the poor people of their locality. One of my respondents, who is the owner of remittance transferring agency in Bologna, gives a general picture of migrant Bangladeshi's long-distance kinship networks that are sustained by remittances:

> As I told you, 'family' does not necessarily indicate only their [Bangladeshis in Bologna] parents and siblings who live in Bangladesh. Here, uncles, aunts and cousins are also included**.** From my perspective, as the owner of money transfer business, I can reveal some interesting aspects. I saw that Bangladeshis here in Bologna respond immediately during any crisis that their relatives may face in Bangladesh. For instance, one maternal uncle was sick and hospitalised in Bangladesh and he needed 20000 takas [200 Euro] in order to pay the hospital bill; our people sent this amount immediately. I am sometimes surprised to see that if an old friend from Bangladesh asks for help, our people usually to cooperate. For instance, if someone is migrating to Saudi Arabia, Malaysia or to other country and he has a shortage of money, like 2000 Euro. This man can call any school friend that lives here in Bologna and ask for a loan, and Bangladeshi migrants here will try to send this amount to his friend immediately, even borrowing from other people. (Swadin, Interview 15, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

As Swadin explains, and as the interview findings suggest, Italian Bangladeshis maintain transnational economic ties that can also be with someone outside of their immediate family, such as uncles, aunts and cousins in the home country. These transnational economic ties also connect them with neighbouring people and old friends in their home villages and towns in Bangladesh. For instance, two statements from my respondents reveal the following:

> I do not send money on a monthly basis to the country, as the majority of my family members are now in the UK and Italy. But occasionally, I send money to my relatives; they are my paternal cousins and some of my mother's relatives and some are my fellow villagers. They usually call me for help when they have a crisis, for instance, their baby is sick, or for the wedding of their daughter, or they need some help for their children. The amount is not big, yearly around 50 thousand takas [500 Euros]. (Hamid, Interview 35, 18-04-2019, Bradford)

Yes, I send them [relatives] money when any crisis occurs, such as for medical-related costs and for any occasion like the wedding of one of my relatives. I consider this support as my responsibility. I was also poor once. So when I provide this financial help, I feel happy. I might spend 2000 taka [20 Euro] for a relative during a crisis, but it gives me pleasure like I have fulfilled my responsibility to my community. (Atique, Interview 10, 19-11-2017, Padova)

Although the amounts which they might send to their relatives and others are not monetarily large, it nonetheless demonstrates their sympathy, empathy and commitment towards relatives back home. Carling (2008: 1457-1458) describes these activities as 'transnational moralities' – a way of 'repaying the gift of communality'. In other words, it is a sense of obligation towards non-migrants in their family, community or any social group in their country of origin.

As Guarnizo (2003) describes, the second type of these economic transnational ties are business investments in the home country, and this is also the case for Italian Bangladeshis in Europe. Most of my respondents have investments in land, businesses and other forms of property in Bangladesh. They have invested in the construction of multi-story houses in their home city and also in the capital city of Dhaka for commercial purposes. I also found that some of our respondents have opened various types of shops in their villages as well as in the district centre. This activity may explain the migrants' transnational living practices, which emerge from the web of social expectations and obligations to their society of origin (Guarnizo, 2003). As Niamot explained:

We [a family in Bangladesh] belonged to the middle class before my migration. After migrating, we now have three cars with drivers. In the capital of Dhaka, we have many properties. We have 8 seven-story buildings in Uttara, Dakshin Khan, and Mirpur of Dhaka City. My income from these 8 building is around 15,000 Euros monthly. (Niamot, interview 13, 3-12-2017, Bologna).

In this regard, many of my respondents who are working as vegetable vendors or clothes sellers (market stall) or as factory workers or restaurant chefs in northeast Italy, in the Italian context belong to the lower-middle class of immigrants in Italy. However, many of these first-generation migrants have multi-story buildings in their home city and some of them in the capital city. There, they have the image

of a landlord and a rich *Probashi*[32] man, which is an important position in Bangladesh society (Beserra, 2003; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007).

Ways of Belonging: Cultural Transnationalism

Castles (2002:1159) has argued that in everyday lives, individual migrants have shown various 'ways of belonging' in their homeland: "Individuals and groups constantly negotiate choices with regard to their participation in host societies, their relationships with their homelands, and their links to co-ethnics". It seems that the Bangladeshi migrants, who I met, had strong attachments with their home culture. Their cultural sense of belonging is sustained through their connection with Bangla TV channels and newspapers, incorporating Bangla dishes in their daily meals, and preserving some other Bangla traditions (Morad and Gombac, 2015). For instance, regarding my question about how they maintain their Bengali way of life, some respondents replied the following:

> If you were to enter my house, you would know that it belongs to a Bengali family. For instance, inside my home, you can hear the sounds of Bengali songs such as *Rabindra*, *Nazrul* or and other folk songs. Inside my house, you can see that our TV is connected with all the Bengali channels that are broadcast from the UK [….]. This is because I want to be attached to my *Shikor* [roots]. I get much joy from watching Bangla drama on TV compared to Italian dramas. My child speaks Bengali. As parents, we ensured that my child would first learn Bengali, as a priority, then Italian. [….] Actually, it is hard to explain why I am protecting my Bengali heritage. I would say, this attraction came from my innermost feelings towards my country. (Atiq, Interview 10, 19-11-2017, Padova)

> I would say my family here in Italy maintain a Bengali way of life. For instance, I would try to bring my sons to the Mosque with me, at least once a week, on Friday. I advised them to make friends with others within the Bangladeshi community. Because, I am worried that if they have Italian friends [Italian natives], they might be influenced by Italian culture. In my house, we speak *Sylheti* [a dialect of Sylhet region, Bangladesh]. For our daily meals, we eat traditional Bangla dishes. I have satellite TV with all the Bangla television channels that are broadcast from the UK. (Sahab, interview 3, 02-10-2017, Padova)

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[32] Probash is a Bengali term for expatriate.

You can observe it in our dress. Inside the house, my family members – my kids, me and my wife – all wear traditional dress. Here in my family we eat Bengali dishes six days a week and Italian one day a week. I have Bangla television channels, we mostly watch the news and my children watch Bengali cartoons. (Mamun, interview 11, 2-12-2017, Bologna)

Atique, Sahab and Mamun's extracts, described above, illustrate that even though the participants of this study have been living outside of their country of origin for many years and are now in possession of an Italian passport, they remain attached to Bengali culture, both in its material and non-material aspects. This study understands this cultural attachment as a 'transnational way of belonging' to the homeland.

Firstly, most of the interviewees mentioned that in their house, they have satellite TV with Bangla Television channels broadcast from London. As mentioned previously, the majority of the Bengali TV channels have offices in the UK. And some Bengali TV stations are only broadcast from the UK. Behind this connection, Italian Bangladeshis highlighted their strong sense of attachment to their homeland, through their desire to keep up to date with the day-to-day affairs of Bangladesh. Here, findings also indicated that Bangladeshi parents would like to pass on their cultural tradition to the new generations born in Italy and who have a little knowledge about their ancestral country (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). For instance, in the following interview extracts, respondents indicate the aspects that have motivated them to stay connected with Bengali TV channels:

My children watch Bangla cartoons as they are little. My wife watches cooking programmes. I watch talk shows related to my country's political and social issues. It doesn't matter where we live, we are still attracted to Bangladesh. For instance, when a Bangladesh cricket team plays with another country's team, we watch them on TV, if they lose the match we feel very sad, but when they win we are so happy. (Swadin: Interview 15, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

'Channel S' broadcasts all the programmes in our *Sylheti* language [*Sylheti* dialect]. This channel has some shows where they advise us [Bangladeshis who live in Europe] to visit *desh* [Bangladesh] at least once every two years along with our kids. This is so that our children will have strong ties to their parents' country.

This TV channel also has another popular show where they focus our local villages, *haat bazaar* [open-air market], tourist spots, live cultural musical shows, wedding ceremonies held in our Sylhet region. It is really nice to see our children becoming attracted to their country by watching this TV channel. At the same time, I'm also updated on the daily matters of our Sylhet region. (Sahab, interview 3, 02-10-2017, Padova)

Secondly, I have also found that Bangladeshi immigrants strongly maintain their Bangla identity by preserving their language in their daily life. In this case, they speak with the community and family members in Bangla. They also try to teach their children the Bengali language through conversation and at the same time by motivating them to watch Bangla TV channels. During my fieldwork, while I was visiting some of my respondents' houses, I observed that the children would communicate with their parents in Bengali, even in their local dialects. For instance, Golam, the extract below, indicates why he feels the necessity to teach Bengali to the second generation who are growing up in Italy:

As a Bangladeshi, I communicate with our kids in Bengali, this means, I speak Bengali at home. My kids were born in Italy. We are trying to teach them Bengali because Bangladesh is their parents' home. If they are not able to speak Bengali, one day they will lose interest in Bangladesh. My objective behind teaching them Bengali is also allowed them able to read Bengali books about our history and tradition. So that they will know about my country. (Golam, Interview 24, 25-5-2018, Padova)

As Golam indicates, many of our respondents think that their next-generation needs to learn Bengali in order to maintain their connection with their ancestral roots. They are worried that if their children are not able to speak and read Bengali, in the absence of the parents, in future this new generation might lose the attraction of the property and other belongings that their parents have in Bangladesh. As Salam mentioned:

My children are not very skilled in Bengali. I am trying to teach them Bengali through inspiring them to watch Bangla TV channels and communicating with them in Bengali. Because I have assets in my country, if they do not speak and read

Bangla then how will they deal with them when I am not alive? (Salam, Interview 12, 2-12-2017, Bologna)

Thirdly, as we have seen in the case of Mamun's statement earlier, our respondents also keep themselves connected with traditional Bangladeshi clothing. This is not only for special occasions but also in their everyday life. I also observed this in my field visits when I visited some of the Bangladeshi houses in Italy and the UK. I found that most of the respondents would wear their traditional dress. In particular, I found that the men wore *Lungi*, but women usually wore *Salwar-Kamiz-Urna* or *Sari.*

Fourthly, much like Atique, Sahab and Mamun's cases, previously detailed, findings have shown that our respondents maintain a strong connection with their ethnic cuisine by incorporating Bangla dishes in their daily life. For instance, this is demonstrated in a quote from one of my respondents:

It [the daily meal] is off course Bangla. My wife usually cooks it. The strange thing is if you ask my child what that would like to eat, they will tell you that they want to eat rice. I never expected it before, but I've noticed that they are becoming accustomed to their parents' food habits. (Swadin, Interview 15, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

The importance of Bangla food in the transnational lives of Bangladeshis is evidenced through the presence of Bangla supermarkets in almost every Northeast Italian city – Bologna, Venice, and Padua – where this research was conducted. In these ethnic shops, due to high demand, Bangladeshi spices, vegetables, fish, fruits, sweets, snacks rice, oil, *halal* meat are readily available. Moreover, in order to fulfil the growing demand for Bangla food, some Bangladeshis have started growing all the popular Bangladeshi leafy and non-leafy vegetables commercially in Italy (Morad and Gombac, 2015, 2018). Aside from these findings, my observations have also revealed that Bangladeshi people in Italy have strong linkages with their ethnic cuisine. For instance, I rented a room in the apartment of a Bangladeshi family in the Arcella area of Padua, from October 2016 to July 2017, and with another Bangladeshi family in Brusegana area of Padua, from September 2017 to May 2018. Here, I found that, in line with Bangladeshi tradition, these two families always have rice with different curries

for their lunch and dinner. For breakfast, they have different *Rutee* (bread) with Bangladeshi vegetables and *Dal* (lentils). During my field visit, I was also invited for meals by some of the Bangladeshi families, where I was served several Bangladeshi dishes. In some families, I even observed that they maintain the tradition of chewing *Paan*[33] – a mixture of betel leaf and areca nut, in line with the tradition of their country of origin.

Fifthly this study has also shown that religion is an important aspect of their 'transnational ways of belonging' to the home country. It has been the fact that immigrant children turn to the "inherited religion" is one of the foundations of maintaining a transnational identity (Aarset, 2016; Levitt and Jaworsky. 2007). The findings of this study have revealed that Italian Bangladeshis try to transmit their religious tradition, through reading and reciting the Quran and teaching the practice of the five times of prayer to their children. In Italy, they send their children to the Islamic cultural centres where Quran courses are offered twice a week: Saturday and Sunday. However, since in Italy they do not often have Islamic cultural centres nearby, some families provide these lessons through private religious tutors who are also from Bangladesh. However, in the UK, in Bangladeshi neighbourhoods, there are many mosques and private Madrasahs (Islamic Schools), so Italian Bangladeshis in the UK do not face any hurdles in providing Quran lessons and other religious practices.

Finally, some of the Bangladeshi immigrants in this study have also maintained transnational ways of belonging to Bangladesh by involving themselves in Bangladeshi politics. Their political transnational practices include electoral participation by voting during visits to Bangladesh at the time of the national elections, as well as being members of Bangladeshi political parties. In this regard, we also found some migrants holding leadership positions in branches of

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[33] Paan is a part of South and South East Asian tradition and is prepared with betel leaf and areca nut. It has been argued that in Bangladesh, irrespective of class and sex, people chew *Paan*. Furthermore, all the religious and wedding festivals remain incomplete without the inclusion of *Paan*

Bangladesh Awami League Italy and Bangladesh National Party Italy[34]. Some of them have the hope that one day they will be a candidate in the local elections of their natal village or town. We already have come across this example from Niamote's quote in the previous section – his homeland visits are specifically related to his intention to be a candidate in the mayoral election of his home city (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007).

Furthermore, in the last chapter, we saw that the UK is considered as the Bangladeshi centre in Europe. Since the UK has a larger Bangladeshi diaspora, many migrants think that compared to Italy, in the UK, there is the space, already carved out, to practice and retain their Bengali cultural tradition and Islamic way of life, thereby passing this tradition on to their children.

> Compared to Italy, the UK is better for staying connected Bengali culture as we have a huge number of Bangladeshis here, you don't even need to speak English, you can survive just speaking Bengali. (Kamal, Interview 33, 16-04-2019, Bradford)

Considering the entirety of the above discussion – the ways of being, and the ways of belonging – it can be argued that Italian Bangladeshis have maintained several transnational attachments. They maintain a variety of explicit and implicit ties with their homelands (Vertovec, 1999b:3). Their social and economic connections, in order to fulfil obligations toward their family, friends, and relatives back home, express their ways of being to their country of origin. Their transnational ways of belonging is sustained through watching with Bengali TV channels, incorporating Bengali dishes into daily meals, wearing traditional Bengali dress, preserving their language and transmitting their religious tradition to their children. These activities also express their commitment to retain their Bangla identity. These cultural activities express their distinctive way of life in their host society (Cohen, 2008; Vertovec, 1999b).

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[34] Bangladesh Awami League is the current ruling party, while Bangladesh National Party is in the opposition, this party is also in the power in past.

TRANSNATIONAL ENGAGEMENT THROUGH MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS

There has been renewed interest in migrant associations among migration scholars (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Olwig, 2003; Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005). Researchers hold the view that migrants establish different associations, mainly based on their country of origin, home towns, common cultural heritage, ethnicity, language and religion, which play an important role in their lives (Sardinha, 2005). Even though such associations help with the settlement process, they maintain a certain level of transnational engagement with their country of origin, where the cultural issues rooted in their homelands are often central to their aims (Owusu, 2000). They work to preserve familiar practices and values by observing the national days and festivals of their home countries, and by organizing ethnic sports, folk dancing and gatherings (Marquez, 2001). Through associations, migrants also work to retain what they perceive and present as their "religious identity"[35], which could be distinguished from other migrant groups belonging to the same religion by language and specific practices (Akcapar, 2009).

Some associations also work as transnational actors in the development of their country of origin (Rex et al., 1987; Glick Schiller, et al., 1995; Faist, 2008; Akcapar, 2009) by maintaining various links. These include mobilizing and transferring financial capital, resources and knowledge in order to provide relief and rehabilitation following a natural disaster or any other kind of emergency, as well as providing regular support to several sectors, such as health, education and infrastructure development in their natal villages and towns of origin (Guarnizo, 2003; Cheran, 2004). In so doing, migrant associations create a new sense of community among their members (Sardinha, 2005; Orozco and Rouse, 2013).

Regarding migrant associations in Italy, there have been no systematic studies to date on the topic, although it should be underlined that there has been some

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[35] We are aware that what is perceived and represented as "religious identity" within the migration experience is often reinvented or invented, tout court (Eade et al., 2002; Eade and Garbin 2006; Kibria 2011).

regional insight in areas of higher immigration (Caselli, 2006). Mantovan (2007) categorizes studies on the self-organization of migrants in Italy in three areas: those that focus on participation by institutional means (Attanasio and Facchini, 2004); those that focus on migrant associations (Palidda and Consoli, 2006; Camozzi, 2008); and those that take into account different types of participation (Kosic and Triandafyllidou, 2005). As part of his analysis comparing nativist policies and social commitment in favour of irregular migrants, Ambrosini (2014a) explores the relationship between the activism of Italian civil society and migrant associations, investigating the reasons for their weakness (Boccagni, 2012).

Using the concept of "political opportunity structures", some scholars analyse the way in which migrant associations in Italy function and develop over time (Pirkkalainen, 2013), as well as how these associations cope with development issues and the impact of these activities in terms of new forms of citizenship. These new forms of citizenship refer to transnational dimensions, which also represent the framework within which this article is placed. In fact, we observe that Bangladeshi associations in Italy are a form of bottom-up transnationalism and a constitutive element in the construction of a collective transnational identity Despite this growing scientific interest in the so-called "Bangladeshi diaspora" (Alexander, Joya, and Jalais2016), existing empirical research on international migration from Bangladesh has not taken significant account of the engagement of migrant associations. However, some studies (Eade et al., 2002; Kibria, 2011) have indicated that Bangladeshis have formed various associations in the USA and the UK, which are mainly based on their districts, villages and towns of origin. Nevertheless, it is true that the USA and the UK have a long history of Bangladeshi migration and that bigger Bangladeshi communities have already been established there (Gardner, 1995; Kibria, 2011). However, it could be interesting to know, as they are a relatively new migrant group in other European countries, why Bangladeshis form their own associations and how these organizations help them to sustain their transnational engagement.

The subsequent sections present and discuss the findings and analysis in relation to the typology of Bangladeshi associations, their transnational engagement and "community formation".[36]

A Typology of the Associations

As aforementioned in chapter six, when Bangladeshis began to migrate to Italy in the early 1980s, they established their own association – Bangladesh Samity Italy – in Rome, 1988. Instead of maintaining transnational engagement, the main objective of this association was to support undocumented Bangladeshi migrants, who were mainly arriving from different European countries, in order to help them become documented. It is stated in the quote below by one of the respondents, who was the secretary of the first organising committee of Bangladesh Samity, Rome:

> Here I would like to mention one important thing to you. In 1988, the first Bangladesh Samity [Bangladeshi association] was formed in Rome. I was the secretary. The goal was to form an association that would present our demands to the Rome Commune, for instance, at that time, our undocumented Bangladeshis needed health facilities, housing facilities, and work permits. It was a platform was needed as a means of supporting our people. For instance, in 1990, during the declaration, a huge number Bangladeshis were legalised; this was only possible because of association. Since they were undocumented they did not have their own passports. The association helped them to collect their nationality report from Embassy of Bangladesh. It also provided them with letters as proof that they were residing in Italy before December 1990. Because, as per the amnesty of regularisation in 1990, only undocumented migrants who were living in Italy before the declaration were eligible to apply. But even though they arrived here after the announcement from several EU countries, through the association we were able to declare that they were in Italy before the announcement. (Costa, Interview 16, 4-12-207, Bologna)

However, mainly from 1996 onwards, when Bangladeshi migrants in Italy began internal migration from Rome, their number was becoming larger day by day in

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[36] We are aware of the social stratifications and political divisions running through what we have called the "Bangladeshi community" and we do not want to propose a homogeneous, compact and uniform representation.

other Italian cities. Therefore, they started to establish their own associations, mainly, *Bangladesh Samity*, in each of the cities. Here the main objective was to maintain the transnational engagement with their country of origin. In general, these associations fall into two broad categories: associations focussed on their homeland and associations focussed on migrants' regional origins. Homeland-focussed associations are inclusive of all Bangladeshis, regardless of their regional origins in Bangladesh. For instance, there are *Bangladesh Samitys* in Bologna, Padua, and Venice. It is worth mentioning that the *Bangladesh Samity* was established to serve as an umbrella organisation in order to unite Bangladeshis of all regional backgrounds. Similar to this organisation, they also have another homeland-focussed association – the Bangladesh Islamic Cultural Centre – in almost all Italian cities. Besides these, there are some cultural associations too, for instance, Shabuz Bangla, Rangdonu in Padua, and Bangla School in Venice. My fieldwork in Northeast Italy has shown that these types of cultural association are mainly involved in several activities in which involves the entire Bangladeshi community living in a particular city.

Besides the homeland based association, Bangladeshis have also established some regional associations on the basis of their area of origin in Bangladesh, which is measured by the district boundary.[37] We identified various associations that belong to this category: Comilla Samity; Dhaka Samity; Sylhet Samity; Noakhali Samity. However, unlike the homeland-based associations, these regional associations are not registered with the municipality; rather, they seem to be more informal associations. These associations tend to have a much smaller membership and activities compared with Bangladeshi national organizations.

Finally, it should be underlined that, apart from these types of associations, some of the Bangladeshis in Italy have informally opened up branch offices of two major Bangladeshi political parties: this is Bangladesh Awami League Italy and the Bangladesh National Party Italy. These two homeland based political parties have also Branch offices in other Italian cities. However, the majority of people from

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[37] Bangladesh is divided into 64 districts

the Bangladeshi community do not appear to be involved with these organizations. In particular, it has been shown that the followers of these political parties sometimes sit together in other associations in Padova, which suggest that associations are not based on loyalties related to politics in Bangladesh.

Social and cultural activities: transnational "ways of belonging" to the homeland

As has been shown in the case of many migrant communities (Povrzanovic Frykman 2001; Kelly, 2011), my fieldwork reveals that the establishment of Bangladeshi associations, mainly homeland-based ones, are aimed at the preservation, expression and transmission of "Bangladeshi culture". Inevitably, then, their main activities involve the celebration of all Bangladeshi national days, e.g., *Ekushey February* (Mother Language Day), 26 March (Independence Day) and 16 December (Victory Day). They also celebrate Bengali New Year (*Boishakhi Mela*), which is observed in Bangladesh at the start of the monsoon season. In this regard, Niamot, President of Bangladesh Samity in Bologna, stated the following:

> For instance, we celebrate Bengali New Year, we organise *Boishakhi Mela* [fair of Bengali New Year] for the Bangladeshi people so that they can enjoy *Boishakh* here abroad. We also observe other national days, 21 February [Mother Language Day], 26 March [Independence Day] and 16 December [Victory Day]. Occasionally we bring artists from Bangladesh for musical performances for our community. In every programme, almost 5000 Bangladeshis get together. We also arrange for various traditional food dishes to be available during these occasions. This way, during the year, our community can enjoy their Bangladeshi celebrations abroad. (Niamot, Interview 13, 3-12-2017, Bologna)

However, study participants affiliated with other homeland-based associations, especially *Rangdonu and Shabuz Bangla* in Padova and Venice Bangla School, also mentioned that cultural activities constitute the primary purpose of their bodies. Their goal is the promotion of a cultural "Bengaliness" (Eade and Garbin, 2006; Garbin 2008). On occasion, they present Bangladesh's diverse culture through different events, including Bangla music, dance, exhibitions of arts and crafts, and food festivals. Some special events are also arranged by these

associations. For instance, in Padova, during the day of Ekushey February, they go to Shahid Minar, the monument to the language martyrs (Monument of Martyrs) constructed by the Bangladeshi community in Breda Park, Cadoneghe, and pay homage by laying flowers on it. Moreover, on Independence and Victory Days, singing the Bangladeshi national anthem, giving speeches and reciting Bangla poems take place, while sports events and painting contests for children are organized. As such, it could be argued that the transnational ways of belonging for the Bangladeshi migration are maintained in their host country through the observation of various days and festivals related to their common origin and the national history of their homeland (Vertovec 1997). Such activities thus demonstrate their "emotional, historic and imaginative link to Bangladesh's liberation struggle, and to the nation that emerged from it" (Alexander 2013, 591), while these activities express their diasporic sense of 'Bengaliness' (Garbin 2008).

In addition, homeland-based associations arrange occasional music performances to fulfil the cultural needs of the community. Renowned Bangla rock and folk legends from Bangladesh and the UK are often invited to perform Bengali music at these concerts. By doing so, Bangladeshi associations connect Bangladeshis in Italy with those in the UK, Bangladesh and other locations. Moreover, in order to support the community's sporting demands, some associations will often organize popular sporting events. For example, in Padova, the Shabuz Bangla association has formed their own cricket team. In summer, they play against migrants from other countries, such as Indian and Sri Lankan migrants in Padova, whose' most popular game is also cricket. Moreover, in order to meet the sporting demands of the 'second generation', the Shabuz Bangla association rents an indoor stadium on Saturday and Sunday evenings, where young Bangladeshis gather to play different games while wearing the jersey of the Bangladeshi national teams.

These cultural activities (festivals and national commemorations) work to shape ethnic awareness and promote a Bangladeshi cultural identity, which is rooted in their homeland (Povrzanovic Frykman 2001; Marquez, 2001). This is such that second-generation Bangladeshis who are growing up in Italy can still claim this

heritage, as Shikder, the election commissioner of *Bangladesh Samity* in Padova*,* explained:

> If we want the second-generation to grow up as Bangladeshis, they need to know the history such as how Bangladesh got independence, who lead the liberation war, what is our main tradition, what is our culture. So, the target is our new generation who are growing up here. (Shikder, Interview 7, 1-11-2017, Padova)

Consistent with Shikder's quote, other Bangladeshi migrants proudly mentioned that attending these types of cultural programmes taught their children about Bangla culture. For instance, Shofiq the present secretary of Bangladesh Samity, Padova, stated:

> We try to familiarise them [the children] with our national days and other aspects of our history. Whenever my sons have attended the programmes with me, they then want to know about many of the aspects related the programmes. For example, during the event for Victory day, they asked me about what happened on 16 December [the Victory Day], and what is significant about it? I explained the history behind this to them. They also learnt many aspects related to the history and tradition of my country from listening the speeches during the celebration*.* (Shofiq, Interview 5, 8-10-2017, Padova).

Moreover, it is through these association activities, as often expressed by Bangladeshis in the interviews, that the richness of the Bangladeshi cultural heritage is presented to Italians in the spirit of multiculturalism; likewise, Bangladeshis participate in the major Italian carnivals in the Municipalities of Padova, Venice and Bologna, joining the carnival parades with their organizations, especially Shabuz Bangla and Rangdonu, by wearing their traditional dress. They also bring their national flag to represent Bangladesh*.* Here, the motivation is to present their rich cultural heritage in order to encourage Italians to adopt a positive attitude towards their homeland, as well as towards the Bangladeshi community in Italy. In this connection, Golam, President of Rangdonu, mentioned:

> As a result of our organisation, we participated in the carnival rally. Our members wore our traditional dress and carried the Bangladeshi flag. In *Boishakhi Mela* [festival for the Bengali New Year] we invited the mayor and councillors of their

city. We want to show them we also have a similar programme to their 31 December. (Golam, Interview 24, 25-5-2018, Padova)

The formation of association is also motivated by the aim of preserving their ethnic identity for the second generation through language (Miller and Hoogstra, 1992). In order to achieve this cultural maintenance, the Bangladeshi community in Venice, for instance, has established a cultural association, called 'Venice Bangla School'. The aim is to organise several Bengali cultural programs and provide lessons on Bengali for their children (who only speak the mother language with their parents and do not know the written form). Every week, on Mondays from 3 to 5 pm, they offer free Bengali language lessons to the children of the Bangladeshi community who attend Italian school. This is described by the president of Venice Bangla School:

> The objective of Bangla School Venice is to teach our children the Bengali language. This is because the majority of our next generation were born and are growing up here in Italy. They are used to speaking Italian in school, and they tend to forget their mother tongue Bengali, day by day. We want them not forget our language, so that they will be attached to the Bengali heritage. Therefore, we established Bengali school here Venice. (Sayed, Interview 19, 2-04-2018, Venice)

The associations are also established by the aim to maintain the bonds of language and religion (Cohen, 2008). For instance, the philosophy behind the establishment of the Bangladesh Islamic Cultural Centre, the community's own religious organization, is related to the desire to maintain close contact with the religion and mother tongue of the homeland. As their language is Bangla, Bangladeshis feel the need to set up their own religious centre at which religious lectures and other meetings are communicated in Bangla. As it is explained by the senior vice president of the centre:

> We established this Islamic cultural centre in order to be able to hear the sermons from the imam in Bengali. This is so that our people and our children can understand. In Arabic Mosques, communication is in Arabic. Here we would pray, but we did not understand what imam was speaking about (Firoje, Interview 2, 23,09,2017, Padova)

During fieldwork, I visited the Islamic Cultural Center in Bologna, Venice and Padova several times and saw that the *imam* delivered his lecture in Bengali. As has been the case with Turkish associations in the USA, because of the differences in religious practice and language with other Muslim communities in Italy, the religious identity of Bangladeshi migrants serves as an ideological-cultural base, which links them with their homeland (Akcapar, 2009).

It should also be stressed that, in the context of "mosque conflicts" taking place in Italy and the rest of Europe (Cesari, 2005; Saint-Blanc and Schmidt di Friedberg, 2005), the presence of the Islamic centre prompted many criticisms from among local political groups, which exploit the issue of migration to attract votes, and residents of the neighbourhood. However, the Bangladeshi community and its associations have not adopted any particular public or private strategies to deal with the growing Islamophobia.

Economic activities: transnational "ways of being" with home

Another key objective of the associations is the forging of economic connections with their country of origin. However, unlike other migrant associations (Guarnizo, 2003; Cheran, 2004), Bangladeshi national associations in Italy are not largely involved in the development of their home communities through the collective transfer of resources or philanthropic activities, although they have occasionally been involved with these types of activities. In particular, under the leadership of Bangladesh Samity, all of the national and regional associations have collectively raised funds and transferred money to their home country for relief purposes when any natural disaster has occurred in Bangladesh. They also collect monetary donations to repatriate their community members after death. Local organizations also undertake this type of initiative. The President of Dhaka Samity stated:

> Basically, we established Dhaka Samity, primarily to help the migrants from Dhaka. For instance, if someone from Dhaka would die here, we would help to send the dead body. Some months ago one Bangladeshi from Dhaka died in Venice, we created a fund of around 2500 Euros for him, from the community of Bologna, through the Bangladesh Samity. (Amir, Interview 17, 4-12-2017, Bologna)

Nevertheless, regional associations sometimes become individually involved in making direct contributions to their local villages or towns of origin. In cases such as these, they collect and raise funds from among their own regional people to contribute towards relief activities during natural disasters. In common with Bangladeshi associations in the UK (Eade et al., 2002), they carry out fundraising activities for local schools, Madrasas, infrastructure development, building local mosques and providing scholarships to underprivileged students. However, these activities are not as frequent as those undertaken in the UK.

Building a Community through the Transnational Activities of Associations: The Main Spirit Is *Shahid Minar* and the Bangladesh Islamic Cultural Centre

In the first seven years after I arrived in Italy [in 1998], I noticed that Italians thought that we were from India: they called us Indian. But, now, this has changed. Most Padovans know that we are from Bangladesh; now they call us Bangladeshi. I think this is a great achievement. We achieved this through cultural activities carried out by our associations. (Shahab, Interview 3, 02-10-2017, Padova)

As Shahab's quote above illustrates, my participants proudly mentioned in their interviews that their association activities have played an important role in building their own Bangladeshi community in these Italian cities. In particular, their activities to promote cultural belonging with their country of origin distinguish them as an 'ethnic/cultural' community consisting of a secular nationalist Bengali heritage (Alexander, 2013; Eade et al., 2006; Kibria, 2011). In the collective imagination of the native Italian population, India holds a more recognizable, and often stereotypical, image. For this reason, Shahab proudly affirms that the Bangladeshi community is finally recognized as being distinct from that resulting from Indian immigration by the native people. This is due to the quantitative increase in Bangladeshi migrants in Padova and, consequently, to the intensification of their relations with the local society, the active participation of Bangladeshi members of the "Municipal Council of Foreign Citizens" within the

Municipal Council[38]; the strong activism of the Bangladesh associations, especially during the Italian carnivals, the activities of the Bangladesh Islamic Cultural Centre, which has helped in depicting Bangladeshi migrants as a Muslim community, thus limiting the extent to which they are stereotypically identified with Indian Hindus.

In turn, such activities act as a focal point for social networking and enhancing social relationships between fellow migrants, which is vital in the formation of a community. Moreover, Bangladeshi associations fulfil a vital judicial function in the building of these communities. They often work to resolve problems and disputes involving their members, thereby helping to maintain peaceful relations within the community. For instance, Shabuz Bangla in Padova works to resolve all kinds of personal, marital and family-related disputes in order to enable Bangladeshis to minimize disputes and avoid going to the Italian police and/or courts. In agreement with the findings of Owusu (2000), Bangladeshi associations use their traditional customs and social practices, as well as the legal and social norms of their new host society, to minimize disputes.

However, in Northeast Italy, we can argue that this association also making a place for Bangladesh community. For instance, the *Shahid Minar* monument and the Bangladesh Islamic Cultural Centre are two visible symbols marking a place for Bangladeshis in Padova. First, as Safran (1991) has argued, collective memory and rituals of memorialization are pivotal to the formation of a diasporic community. These Bangladeshi monuments, i.e., the *Shahid Minar* Monument of Martyrs in Padova and the rituals surrounding it, are playing an active and significant role in the formation and transformation of the Bangladeshi community in this host society (Alexander, 2013). This is the third permanent *Shahid Minar* in Europe, which was built in 2013 at Breda Park, where the land was allocated to the community by the city council for 99 years.[39] Even though it was an initiative

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[38] For instance, the Municipality of Padova established, within the Municipal Council, a council of migrants with a purely advisory function

[39] In Europe, the first permanent *Shahid Minar* monument was built in London, the second was erected in Bari.

of the Shabuz Bangla association, Bangladeshi migrants in this Italian province financed this monument in its entirety (20,000 euros), regardless of their regional origin or political background. It is important to note that this monument is a replica of the original *Shahid Minar*, which was built outside Dhaka Medical College to also commemorate the Bengali students and political activists who were killed by the Pakistani police when protesting against the process of Urduization in East Pakistan on 21 February 1952. The Language Movement of 1952 is considered as the starting point of Bengali nationalism. Therefore, the visibility of this monument in this Italian Province is a crucial marker of a collective Bangladeshi identity. It also represents the Bangladeshi community in the Italian public sphere as a secular Bengali nation (Eade and Garbin, 2006).

Apart from the monument, the Bangladesh Islamic Cultural Centre has helped to represent Bangladeshi migrants as a Muslim community. For instance, the building that houses the 'Bangladesh Islamic Cultural Centre Padova' was purchased by Bangladeshi migrants in Padova in 2012, who paid the sum of 350,000 euros. In addition to its daily religious activities, all types of community meetings take place at the centre, in particular, meetings of all regional associations have taken place there. It is worth mentioning that, during the *Jummah* and *Eid* prayers, the Bangladeshis have a big get-together. During Ramadan, the regional associations help the Cultural Centre to raise the funds for a free *Iftar*. The respondents mentioned that this gathering provides them with the feeling of being at home. One of the members of Bangladesh Islamic Cultural Centre in Padova commented:

> In our Islamic centre, Muslims from many countries, such as Pakistan, India, Nigeria, Senegal, Tunisia, Morocco, and many other countries, carry out their daily prayers. But during the *Jummah* [Friday prayer], there is a big get together. On that day, approximately 500 Muslims perform their J*ummah*. But during the time of *Eid* prayer, the number can reach over 1000. We have separate rooms for men and women, so that women can also participate in the Eid prayers along with their children. People from many different corners of the community arrive in the centre. These large gatherings of Bangladeshi people, provide us with the feeling that perhaps, we are celebrating Eid in Bangladesh. [Hasem, Interview 1, 18-9-2017, Padova]

Therefore, this centre has made a great contribution to the formation of the Bangladeshi community in Padova. Nevertheless, there has been a great deal of conflict in the case of UK Bangladeshis with people associated with the activities related to London's *Shahid Minar* monument and Islamic centres. For instance, the cultural activities of Banglatown in the UK have been challenged and criticized by leaders of the East London Mosque and its affiliated organizations. Besides, the East London Mosque maintains a clear distance from the cultural activities that take place in Altab Ali Park and around the *Shahid Minar* monument in London. They have often interpreted these activities as un-Islamic and influenced by Western secular values and Hindu practices (Eade and Garbin, 2006; Alexander 2013). Above all, the East London Mosque is supported economically by the Saudi monarchy and especially the Islamic Bangladeshi party, *Jamaat*-e-*Islami*, *Bangladesh* (Eade and Garbin, 2006), whose leaders do not recognize such celebrations.

However, my fieldwork reveals that, within the Bangladeshi community, there were no ideological conflicts between Bangladeshis involved with the Bangladesh Islamic Cultural Centre and other secular organisation in Italy. For instance, in the case of Padova, the Bangladeshi community leaders associated with the Islamic Cultural centre are simultaneously involved with other national associations. It seems that they also belong to Bangladeshi secular political parties, such as the Awami League and the Bangladesh National Party. However, it has shown that the Bangladesh Islamic Cultural Centres in Northeast Italy, does not seem to have any formal ties with national and transnational religious organizations, such as the Islamic Forum Europe, in which the East London Mosque would be included. Such associative links with other parts of Italy and the rest of Western Europe would seem to have not yet developed by the relatively young Bangladeshi community of Padova, Venice, or Bologna, whose organizations – both the 'secular' ones as well as the religious one – would mainly have contacts at the regional level.

Moreover, in terms of community formation, Bangladeshis in Italy also work towards unity, based on their regional origin in Bangladesh. In this regard, all of

the associations that have been formed according to Bangladeshi regional origin (e.g., Comilla Samity, Dhaka Samity, Sylhet Samity and Noakhali Samity) clearly organize activities for building up regional unity. Such regional associations therefore seek to enhance relationships between their own regional people through a variety of social gatherings, such as picnics, *Iftar* parties and *Eid* reunions. They feel the need for unity, which is essential to achieve effective leadership over the Bangladeshi community.This sentiment manifests itself in their programme to have their own people voted in during elections for the executive committees of Bangladesh Samity and the Bangladesh Islamic Cultural Centre. During this time, each local association sits with its members to select candidates and to get them elected. This is considered as a means of enhancing the status and influence of their own migrants within the Bangladeshi community. As highlighted by the secretary of Dhaka Samity:

> The reason for the formation of Dhaka Samity is similar to many other Bangladeshi regional associations. We want to live unitedly. This unity is also needed because we want our Dhakaian [People from Dhaka] to lead the Bangladeshi community in Padova. (Shofiq, Interview 5, 8-10-2017, Padova)

Nonetheless, this regional unity within the Bangladeshi community has also emerged from its members' regionally distinct cultural practices, which bring them much closer to their own regional people. In interviews, the respondents also mentioned that, even though Bangladeshis in several Italian cities work together as a community, their regionally distinct cultural practices mean that they have a greater affinity with people from their own region, which is why they formed their own associations in the first.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided insights into the transnational engagement of Bangladeshi first-generation migrants who acquired Italian citizenship. Thus, in conclusion, the empirical findings related to the research question – in what ways do Italian Bangladeshis maintain their transnational connection across multiple destinations, with the home country as well as with several host countries – have revealed the following conclusions.

Even though the participants of this study have lived with their family (wife and children) in Italy and the UK, experiencing many years outside of their country of origin and are now in hold of Italian citizenship, they nevertheless maintain regular social, economic, cultural, or political attachment with their country of origin and also with Bangladeshi migrants living in other countries. Such activities express their 'ways of being' and 'ways of belonging' in the transitional social field (Levitt and Glick Schiller. 2004).

With regard to the 'ways of being', this study has shown their variety of explicit and implicit ties with their homelands (Vertovec, 1999b:3). Most of them engage in transnational social attachment with their family, friends and relatives through remaining virtually connected with non-migrant family members and relatives in Bangladesh (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Vertovec, 2003; Olwig, 2003; Guarnizo, 2003; Valenta and Strabac, 2011; Coughlan, 2011). The findings have revealed that these transnational family relationships (Glick Schiller et al., 1995:53) enable the Bangladeshi migrants to continue to act as the key family decision-makers back home. This transnational connection also provides migrants and their non-migrant family members and relatives, moral, emotional support and care across the border (Baldassar, 2008; Mas Giralt, 2016b). Similarly to those of Glick Schiller et al. (1995:53), these findings also indicate that their transnational family networks also motivated them to visit Bangladesh on a regular basis, mainly for special occasions, such as weddings, deaths and funerals of their family members and relatives (Zeitlyn, 2012). However, due to financial reasons, most of them are not able to visit every year, as they used to, prior to their wives joining them in Italy. Furthermore, this study has also found that in addition to their country of origin, my respondents also maintained transnational social ties – communications with and visits to – their relatives and friends living in other countries, mainly with Bangladeshis in the UK (McIlwaine, 2011).This transnational connection with Bangladeshi migrants living in other host societies (the UK) influenced my respondents' decision to onward migrate from Italy to the UK (Bang Nielsen, 2004; Kelly, 2013; Carling and Erdal, 2014; Carling and Pettersen, 2014).

With regard to 'ways of being', the findings of this study have also indicated that remittance is an important means to maintain their transnational family and kinship relations back home (Baldassar, 2007; Valenta and Strabac, 2011). The study has found that Italian Bangladeshis send remittances not only to their siblings and parents (*swajan*) in Bangladesh but also to other relatives such as maternal and paternal aunts and uncles and cousins (*atmyo),* as well as to old friends and the poor people of their locality. Although the amounts that they send to help their relatives and others are not monetarily large, it nevertheless expresses their 'long-distance social ties of solidarity, reciprocity, and obligation' towards family and relatives back home (Guarnizo, 2003: 670), which Carling (2008: 1457-1458) describes as a way of 'repaying the gift of communality'. As Ambrosini (2012) argues, in the case of transnational family relationships, gifts also indicate the Bangladeshi migrants' transnational care towards family members left behind.

Furthermore, in regard to 'ways of belonging' (Levitt and Glick Schiller2004), we can conclude that the Italian Bangladeshis who participated in this study expressed their commitment to retain their Bangla identity (Eade et al., 2002; Eade and Garbin, 2006; Kibria, 2011). In this regard, they maintained strong linkages with their home culture – e.g., through watching Bengali Television Channels; incorporating Bangla dishes in their daily meals; maintaining their religious identity; and preserving some other Bangla traditions such as wearing traditional Bengali dress and speaking their mother tongue, Bengali, in their daily communication with family members and the people of the community. (Castles, 2002; Guarnizo and Diaz, 1999; Povrzanovic Frykman, 2001; Siddiqui, 2004; Levitt, 2004, 2003). These cultural activities express their distinctive way of life in their host society (Cohen, 1997; Vertovec, 1999b).

Regarding the 'ways of being' and 'ways of belonging', findings have also shown that Italian Bangladeshis in this study are working to foster transnational family ties among the new generations born in Italy and who have a little knowledge about their ancestral country (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). In this regard, they encouraged their children to keep connected virtually with their cousins, uncles, aunt, grandparents and some other relatives in Bangladesh (Mand, 2010). Some

of them also participated in regular family visits to Bangladesh with the motive of introducing the children to their parents' country as well as to their home culture in practice (Mas Giralt, 2016a; Zeitlyn, 2012). Similarly, Bangladeshi parents worked to create a transnational identity for their children by motivating them to speak and learn the Bengali language and transmitting their 'inherited religion', by reading and reciting the Quran, and teaching the practice of five daily prayers to their children (Aarset, 2016; Laurence and Vaisse, 2006; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007).

Finally, it could be argued that through forming the associations, Bangladeshis in Italy also maintain strong "ways of belonging" to their homeland (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). Their migrant associations have emerged from their ethnic awareness, while the main goal of their association activities is to promote their identity (Eade et al., 2002; Eade and Garbin, 2006; Kibria, 2011). In this connection, they work to retain their cultural roots in the transnational dimension, which is reflected in their observation of festivals, national days, and other practices and rituals (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Owusu, 2000; Marquez, 2001; Kelly, 2011). Even though their economic activities that maintained through associations are not that significant, as a recent migrant community in Italy, these activities express a diffused "way of being" with their country of origin. These transnational activities of Bangladeshi migrant organizations in Italy have created a sense of community among their members (Orozco and Rouse 2013).

CHAPTER TEN
CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

It is argued that there is limited research into why some migrants keep on moving instead of settling down in their first country of destination. There has also been little attention paid to how migrants' social networks and transnational links in multiple locations influence migrants to re-migrate in order to achieve further migration goals. Migration literature has also shown much less discussion of the ways in which multiple migrants use their social networks and transnational ties in facilitating their subsequent migration from the first country of destination till arriving at the final country of settlement. This dissertation attempts to address this gap in research and hopes to make a contribution to the literature on international migration.

Indeed, Bangladesh is one of the most important migrant source countries in the world with a large number of Bangladeshis migrating abroad every year as permanent and temporary, an average of around 0.6 to 0.7 million each year (ILO, 2014a). Based on the statistics of BMET (Bureau of Manpower Employment and Training), Morad and Gombac (2018:38) estimated that there are 10.5 million Bangladeshis living and working in around 157 countries in the World. Most of the studies analysed the migratory trajectory of these Bangladeshi emigrants considering their migration journey as one-way mobility - for instance from Bangladesh to a destination. Scarce attention has been paid on how and why these emigrants take multiple migrations. Moreover, to date, very few studies have analysed the role of social networks and transnational ties in facilitating their multiple migration trajectories. As I have shown earlier, some studies, e.g. Ullah (2013); Nayeem (2012); and Rahaman (2017), have addressed the role of social networks in facilitating international migration from Bangladesh. But such studies have very little discussion of how Bangladeshi international migrants who tend to migrate to multiple destinations utilize their social networks in promoting relocation.

In the context of Italy, this study has also taken into consideration the fact that little research has been conducted that analyses both previous countries of destinations (before arriving in Italy) and onward migrations (from Italy to several locations) of naturalized Italian citizens. This research argues that for a better understanding of the complex intra-EU migratory phenomenon, these two aspects need to analyse simultaneously (Paul, 2011, 2015; and Oishi, 2014, 2015). More specifically, to better explain the migratory trajectories, experiences and motivations of naturalized third-country citizens in Italy, it is necessary to know, on the one hand, why migrants from developing countries are moving to Italy after taking several re-migrations in EU countries or in the Middle Eastern countries, or in the industrialized countries of Asia, and what drivers again influence them to leave Italy once they acquire an Italian passport. There is some similar research, but mainly focused on their onward migration from Italy (e.g. Della Puppa and King, 2018; Ortensi and Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2018; and Tuckett, 2016), and their intention of stay in Italy or return back to their country origin (Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2016; Barbiano di Belgiojoso and Ortensi, 2013; Bonifazi and Paparusso, 2018; Paparusso and Ambrosetti, 2017).

The first generation Bangladeshi migrants who participated in this study are a very recent addition to the Bangladeshi diaspora in Europe. These Bangladeshis started to arrive in Italy from 1980. However, the majority of them came to Italy between 1990-1998, when Italy enacted three regularisation schemes (the amnesties of 1990, 1996, and 1998). After, about 15 to 20 years of living in Italy, this earlier cohort of migrants now acquired Italian citizenship by fulfilling 10 years continuous residence and meeting other criteria (Della Puppa and Sredanovic, 2017). This study has called these migrants Italian Bangladeshis because of their status as Italian citizens and also considered them as multiple migrants (Ciobanu, 2015; Oishi, 2014, 2015) since they arrived in Italy after migration to two or more intermediary countries and are now moving on once again to several destinations, but mainly to the UK.

In the first chapter, as I have already shown, the main objectives of this study are threefold. First, this research analyses the factors that account for the multiple migrations of Bangladeshis in Italy - their previous countries of migration before

arriving Italy and within Italy, and onward migration from Italy to several destinations, mainly to the UK. Second, this research reveals the interplay of social networks and transnational ties in facilitating their multiple migrations; Third, this dissertation also discussed the transnational connections of these naturalised Italian citizens that they maintain across several locations. In this regard, the next three sections, reflecting on the analytical frameworks presented in chapter four, outline the major findings and will relate them to the existing migration literature. Finally, a concluding remark will be provided along with setting out some policy recommendations.

MULTIPLE MIGRATIONS OF ITALIAN BANGLADESHIS

Previous Migrations before arriving and within Italy

Concerning the first research question – the previous destination and motivation for multiple migratory trajectories of Bangladeshi migrants before arriving in Italy and within Italy - this research has shown that, before arriving in Italy, Bangladeshi first-generation migrants who participated in this study worked for several years in at least two different European, Southeast Asian or Middle Eastern countries. However, some migrants came directly to Italy, but they also stayed for a certain period of time – from a couple of months to years - in several countries as transit migrants without integrating into the social system of these intermediary destinations (Collyer, 2007; Düvell, 2012).

Studies argued (e.g.Takenaka, 2007; and Paul, 2011, 2015) that multiple migrations are often pre-planned. However, this study finds that the in most cases multiple migrations of the research participants before arriving in Italy were not part of their pre-migration plan. Instead, their multi-stage migrations were motivated by the experiences they encountered in several societies of destination (Kelly, 2013; Mas Giralt, 2016; Toma and Castagnone, 2015). For instance, the majority of these first-generation Bangladeshis - those whose first migration was to other EU countries, Southeast Asia or the Middle East - did not have any advance plan, when they were leaving Bangladesh, to move on from their initial destination, rather they wanted to settle in the first country of migration. But their several migrations before arriving in Italy were mainly related to their migration

failure, a means of achieving the socio-economic success and legal status that they failed to attain in their first and subsequent destinations.

In particular, migrants who first moved to an EU country other than Italy, made their multiple migrations when they failed to regularize their status in their first EU country - e.g. France, Netherlands, Germany and Switzerland - since these countries tightened their migration policies. After being rejected in their asylum application to become regularised in one of the EU countries, they made a second, third and even fourth migration within Europe. Besides, Bangladeshis in this study who first move to Southeast Asian countries, for instance, Japan, Singapore or Malaysia, mostly made their further migration when they failed to get an extension of their permit to stay after their job contract expired. Later some of these migrants made their second migration to the Middle East and, after staying several years there, later migrated to an EU country, while others moved directly to an EU country like Germany, Switzerland and France. Afterwards, they all moved to Italy in the hope of becoming documented migrants and permanent residents of a European country. Furthermore, from the same motives, those who first migrated to the Middle East faced unexpected economic and social circumstances relating to extremely harsh working condition - lower salary, long working hour and no day off – which pushed them to leave the destination and move to Europe, mainly to Italy.

It is worth mentioning that, as the findings of this study have shown, all of these migrants attracted to Italy as they had found that there was the prospect of becoming regularized by the Italian amnesties, mostly those in 1986, 1990, and 1996 and 1998 (Della Puppa 2013, Priori 2012; Knights 1996). The analysis shows that in their journey to Italy they mainly used irregular migration channels. The entry points were on the Italian borders with France, Switzerland, Austria and Slovenia.

Nevertheless, in the case of some migrants, those mostly originating from the region of *Sariatpur* in Bangladesh, Italy was a pre-planned destination, as was shown in the studies of Takenaka, (2007) and Paul (2011, 2015). By obtaining a tourist or student visa these migrants first fly to one of the Eastern European or Balkan countries, or Austria, or Turkey. Later they travel to Italy by passing

through borders. Here the transit countries were found to be Russia, Belorussia, Ukraine, Turkey, Greece, Albania, Romania, Hungary, Austria, Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia, and Slovenia. But their entry points were mostly on the Italian frontiers with France, Switzerland, Austria and Slovenia.

In most cases, after arriving in Italy, Bangladeshis in this study moved first to the capital city of Rome. After two regularization scheme in 1990 and 1996, when the number of documented Bangladeshis in Rome became larger, these earlier Bangladeshis started to face problem in finding employment and housing. The only jobs that were readily available to them were as streetsellers, selling flowers, umbrellas or jewellery, lighters and packets of tissues in this Roman city. Some were working cleaning car windows at the traffic- lights, and others were selling newspapers. Nonetheless, some migrants had a job in a restaurant but without a regular contact. Considering these circumstances, they later started internal migration (King and Skeldon, 2010) to other Italian cities, mainly to Northeast Italy as most of the factories are located here, for permanent employment with a fixed contract and guaranteed income.

Onward Migration from Italy towards the UK

Findings related to onward migrations in this study document the fact that a large number of Bangladeshis in Italy left the country soon after acquiring Italian citizenship, moving mainly to the UK. Here this research highlighted the drivers that influenced Italian Bangladeshis to leave Italy and also analysed the factors linked to their desire to relocate to the UK. In addition, this study also documents the reasons why some Bangladeshis with Italian citizenship want to remain in Italy instead of making a new migration.

With regard to the second research question in this research - the intention of leaving Italy - findings have shed light on the fact that Italian Bangladeshis want more control over their children by instilling Bengali cultural traditions and inherited religion into their second-generation. In relation to this issue, many of them think that their children are growing up in a kind of Italian cultural environment and day by day their children leaving behind their home culture and Islamic norms. Besides, as English is not the lingua franca in Italy, many of the

participants also cited the aspiration of educating their children in English as one of the reasons behind their intention to leave Italy (Ahrens et al., 2014; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007). In this connection, these Bangladeshis think that not learning good English will perhaps be a problem in building a professional career outside Italy, in particular in Bangladesh if they want to go back in the future (Das Gupta, 2005; Oishi, 2014; Jung et al., 2017). Furthermore, they also pointed out the racial discrimination which they experienced in their daily lives in Italy (Andall, 2002; Tuckett, 2016). On this point, they are dissatisfied that their Italian citizenship is only 'on paper', it has brought very little change in their social life (Van Liempt, 2011b).

Concerning the third research question of this study – the selection of the UK as an onward migration destination – the findings of this research revealed the centrality of the colonial legacy from the cultural and economic perspective. As I stated previously, Bangladeshi migration to Britain started at the time when India was a British colony (Siddiqui, 2003b, 2004) and at present, the UK has the largest settlement of Bangladeshi people outside their home country. Since the UK is hosting the biggest Bangladeshi diaspora, there is more space created in terms of maintaining and enjoying both Bengali culture and more freedom in practising the religion (Ahrens et al., 2014; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007; Van Liempt, 2011b). The findings of this study also indicate that the political climate of the UK, which my respondents experienced as more welcoming to immigrants and more multicultural compared to their country of EU citizenship, i.e. Italy, is also crucial (Bang Nielsen, 2004; Van Liempt, 2011a). In that case, my respondents considered that the UK society is the perfect place to reproduce the Bengali culture and Islamic norms for their children. At the same time, their onward relocation to the UK is also fuelled by the thought of 'the British education as a symbol of increasing the social status' in the home country, which is only enjoyed by the economically upper-class people in Bangladesh (Das Gupta, 2005; Jung et al., 2017). Even though they did not belong to this class, EU citizenship provides them with this opportunity to educate their children in the UK without paying any tuition fees. From the point of a better career for their offspring, Bangladeshis in this research also judge/consider the UK as the perfect

destination since British Bangladeshi descendants are employed in almost all public and private sectors in the same way as the native British (Maxwell, 2006).

With reference to the fourth research question, motivation to remain in Italy - some of my participants considered Italy as their last destination. So they were not interested in a further move because they had secure employment. As they were already established in Italy socially and economically, they were afraid that if they made an onward relocation to a new destination it would be a 'new beginning of migration'. Therefore they identified this onward migration as a great loss for their second-generation as their children were already integrated into Italian society through having completed their Italian university education.

Furthermore, even though it was not the objective of this study, the findings have indicated some downsides to this intra-EU mobility. This study has shown that as the Bangladeshi families are moving from Italy to the UK after acquiring citizenship, the possibility of building a strong second Bangladeshi diaspora by letting the second generations integrate socially, economically and politically into Italian society is disappearing. Besides, Italian Bangladeshis in this study, who moved to the UK have feel they have taken a 'step down' in the UK labour market (Della Puppa and King, 2019). While most of them were economically very successful in Italy – they either had a permanent job in the factories or restaurants or were self-employed, in the UK they are mostly engaged in a part-time job as a dishwasher in the Bengali restaurants, or a helper in the Bengali supermarket, or a security guard, or an Uber driver. Now they had to rely on the UK social benefits for the survival of their family. This research also indicated that the Bangladeshis' onward migration from other EU countries to the UK, has also created tension inside the Bangladeshi community. The community is divided between the British *Sylheti* and the European Bangladeshi. My respondents often mentioned that they were not warmly welcomed by the British Bangladeshi community who are mainly from the Bangladeshi Sylhet region. It will need to further analyse empirical studies to examine what are the downsides of onward migration of naturalized EU citizens to the UK.

MULTIPLE MIGRATIONS AND USE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS AND TRANSNATIONAL TIES

This study revealed how important the composition of social networks and transnational ties is for facilitating the multiple migration trajectories of Bangladeshi international migrants - first and subsequent migrations before arriving in Italy and the onward migration from Italy to the UK. With reference to the fifth research question of this study - the role of social networks and transnational ties in facilitating multiple migrations - the findings have indicated the following.

As argued in several studies (Boyd, 1989, Massey, 1988; Goss and Lindquist, 1995; Herman, 2006; Koser, 2010; Richter et a. 2017), this research shows the importance of transnational kinship networks in the selection of their first migration destination. Most of the respondents already had someone from their immediate family and relatives in the country of destination. The belong to the transnational social field (Levitt and Glick Shiller, 2004), which is sustained through regular communiaction between my respondents and their migrant brothers, brothers-in-law, first uncles and cousins were living several countries in Europe, Southeast Asia and the Middle East (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Guarnizo, 2003; Olwig, 2003; Rahaman, 2017; Vertovec). These transnational social ties have also been maintained through migrants' regular visits to their family members in the home country (Guarnizo, 2003). In this way, a non-immigrant's kin has observed the luxury and social success of their families and relatives back home (Schapendonk and Van Moppes, 2007). In that way before leaving Bangladesh my respondents have observed the economic and social success of their migrant kin and construct a "geographical imagination" that overseas migration is the only way to achieve economic power and material transformation (Gardner, 1993, 1995).

In the case of their subsequent migration from the first destination to other destinations, the role of weak ties (Granovetter, 1973, 1983) was important compared to ties with close kin (Toma and Castagnone, 2015). They had transnational connections with their earlier fellow migrant friends or acquaintance

who were living in other countries (Paul, 2015; Tsujimoto, 2016). For instance, as explained in chapter eight, Bangladeshis who first migrated to one of the EU countries when their asylum application was rejected, then migrated to another country within the EU on the basis of their transnational networks with earlier fellow Bangladeshi fellow migrants living in other EU countries. By promising various assistance, friendship networks made by an earlier cohort of migrants encouraged their onward relocations from one country to another (Tsujimoto, 2016). Obtaining information from their fellow migrants through telephone conversations (Ahrens et al., 2014), they often create a migration map in their mind - a 'wish list about preferred destinations' for making a second, third or even fourth migration within the EU. Thus, this study finds that weak ties functioned most effectively in generating multiple migration because they bridge the social distance and link Bangladeshis from various locations.

With regard to their migration to Italy, the findings indicate that Bangladeshi multiple migrants who arrived in Italy from other EU countries or from the Middle East mostly had transnational networks with someone from their local district in Bangladesh or with their earlier fellow migrants who moved to Italy before them (Pathirage and Collyer, 2011). Belonging to the transnational networks through periodic communication using the landline telephone, they were often advised that Italy was the right destination. They were also motivated by being told that they have the possibility of becoming regularized in a short time because of the Italian amnesties, e.g. mostly the ones in 1986, 1990, 1996 and 1998. Their networks have also assured them that during the undocumented period, they can easily earn money which they had failed to do in other EU countries.

However, the group who left Bangladesh intending to go to Italy but who had stayed in several intermediate countries as transit migrants, received help mainly from the strong ties (Granovetter, 1973, 1983), especially with family members (brothers) or relatives (first cousin, brother-in-law) who migrated before them to Italy. These family or kinship networks facilitate the whole journey by helping with providing the necessary information, the provision of false documents for travelling and the necessary finance to pay for the trip (Stöbbe, 2000; Ryan et al., 2008; and Rainer and Siedler, 2009). Before starting the journey from

Bangladesh, my participants were well informed about the route of the journey, the transit countries and the brokers with whom they will need to meet in their way to Italy. In their whole irregular journey towards Italy, their strong ties - family and kinship - in Italy provided them with transnational security (Rahman, 2017).

This study has also shown the importance of networks in facilitating their internal migration within Italy. For instance, in the case of northeast Italy - Bologna, Padova, Venice and Vicenza - the study findings have indicated that the Bangladeshi community has grown day by day in this region due to the strong transnational ties (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Guarnizo and Diaz, 1999; Levitt, 2004; Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004; and Vertovec, 2003) between Bangladeshi migrants living in this region and with their non-migrant family members in Bangladesh and through the continuing local ties among the Bangladeshis living in different Italian cities. At this point, this study has indicated that their concentration in the Italian cities is a 'location-specific phenomenon (Rahman and Kabir, 2012). It was a common practice that when one Bangladeshi re-migrated to any of the cities of northeast Italy, many of their relatives and other Bangladeshis close to their local area of origin later joined to them. For instance, in Bologna, the Bangladeshi community have been started by four Bangladeshis from the Comilla, Shariatpur, and Dhaka regions of Bangladesh, who arrived from Rome. This study's findings have indicated that the Bangladeshi community of Bologna are mostly from these three Bangladeshi administrative centres. Besides, since the Bangladeshi community in Padova was established by three migrants from the Shariatpur, Comilla, and Sylhet districts of Bangladesh. Therefore, the majority of the Bangladeshis in this Italian province are now from these three Bangladeshi regions. Similarly, in Venice, Bangladeshi migrants mainly originated from two districts- Sariatpur and Kishorgonj.

In the case of Bangladeshi migration to Italy, this research has also revealed the significance of the role of reciprocity in the Bangladeshi migration process to Italy (Faist, 2000a). Analysis has shown that the majority of my participants brought their family members, and in some cases their relatives, by providing several forms of support, e.g. financial assistance, information and arranging routes and brokers (Faist, 2000a; Rahman, 2017).These activities can be explained as a

responsibility of earlier migrants for their prospective migrants' family members and kin. In this way they try to provide the same support which they have been given earlier by their kin (Rahman, 2017).

Furthermore, as regards onward migration, this study argues that the transnational cross-country networks (Kelly and Lusis, 2006; McIlwaine, 2010) play an important role in the relocation of Bangladeshi from Italy to the UK. In particular, their relocation to the UK is mainly influenced by the transnational social ties (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Coughlan, 2011; Guarnizo and Diaz, 1999; Valenta and Strabac, 2011; Vertovec, 2003) with their Italian Bangladeshi fellow migrants who moved from Italy to the UK (McIlwaine, 2010; Sarpong et al., 2018). In this regard, maintaining regular communication through conversations, they received first-hand information about the lives of British Bangladeshi people in the UK (Bang Nielsen, 2004; Sarpong et al., 2018). But in order to get a real picture of UK society, my respondents did not necessarily depend only on the information they gathered from transnational networks. Most of the interviewees also made a short visit to their family or friends in the UK before taking final decision to leave Italy (Bang Nielsen, 2004. During their visit, they broadly observed the lifestyles of Bangladeshi people, the opportunity of practising their Bengali traditions, and an Islamic way of life in the UK. They were also motivated by seeing the prospects of their second generation by observing that British Bangladeshis descendants hold various professional positions in the UK - doctors, engineers, lawyers, police, and even councillors, local mayors and members of the British parliament. In relation to this, the study findings indicated the importance of weak ties in facilitating their onward migrations to the UK compared to their strong ties.

Nevertheless, in the case of some of my respondents who originated from Sylhet region of Bangladesh, their onward migration to the UK was influenced by strong ties. As the British Bangladeshi community are mostly from their own region, they had long existing transnational family and kinship ties with their British Bangladeshi relatives and kin. In this study, I observed that once Bangladeshi migrants from the Sylhet region received a passport, they moved to the UK, which is explained as a long cherished family reunion.

TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS ACROSS MULTIPLE DESTINATIONS

The empirical findings related to the sixth research question – in what ways do Italian Bangladeshis maintain their transnational connection across multiple destinations – this study suggests that the respondents - Bangladeshi earlier migrants who have Italian citizenship – create their own 'transnational social field' by their social, economic, political, religious, and cultural practices across borders through direct and indirect relations (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). Even though these Italian Bangladeshis lived with family (with their wife and children) for many years outside of their home country and now hold Italian citizenship, but they maintain various transnational contacts with their extended family members (parents, siblings, nephews and nieces), and friends and relatives (maternal and, paternal aunts and uncles' family members, even their own and siblings' fathers- and mothers-in-law) ''back home'' in Bangladesh and in other countries. Their transnational activities express both 'ways of being" and 'ways of belonging' (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004).

Namely, they engaged in transnational social attachment through regular conversations (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Vertovec, 2003; Olwig, 2003; Guarnizo, 2003; Valenta and Strabac, 2011; Coughlan, 2011). These long-distance conversations helped them to stay together virtually with other family members and relatives which provides moral and emotional support and care across the border and helped them in maintaining long-distance family ties (Baldassar, 2008; Bonizzoni and Boccagni, 2014; Mas Giralt, 2016a). In addition, their visit to Bangladesh has symbolic and practical importance in 'sustaining their transnational kin relationship' across the borders (Mason 2004: 421). Furthermore, they keep their transnational kinship relationship (Baldassar, 2007; Bonizzoni and Boccagni, 2014) alive by sending remittances to their country of origin. By doing so, they express a kind of 'long-distance social ties of solidarity, reciprocity, and obligation' not only to the family members left behind but also to their relatives and friends in Bangladesh (Guarnizo, 2003: 670). Most of my respondents have invested in land, businesses and other forms of property in

Bangladesh. Finally, their sending gifts to relatives in Bangladesh has also indicated their transnational care towards family members left behind (Ambrosini, 2012).

As Castles (2002:1159) has argued, in everyday lives, Italian Bangladeshis shows various ways of belonging to their homeland through maintaining links through watching Bangla TV channels and reading newspapers, having Bangla dishes in their daily menu and maintaining religious identity and observing other Bangla traditions. Besides, the findings of this study revealed that Italian Bangladeshis are passing on their cultural traditions to the new generation who was born in Italy and have little knowledge about their ancestral country (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). In particular, Italian Bangladeshi parents socialise their children with the home culture and family values by taking a family visit to Bangladesh (Mand, 2010; Mas Giralt. 2016a; Vathi and King, 2011; Zeitlyn, 2012). And through motivating children to have regular conversations with their kin in Bangladesh, parents are trying to fostering transnational family ties among their children (Mand, 2010). Many of my respondents think that their next-generation need to learn Bengali in order to maintain the connection to their ancestral roots. They also work encourage their children to practice their "inherited religion" in order to generate a transnational identity (Aarset, 2016; Laurence and Vaisse, 2006; Levitt and Jaworsky. 2007).

Moreover, Bangladeshi migrants established different associations in Italy, based mainly on their country of origin and local area of origin which play an important role in their lives (Sardinha 2005). These Bangladeshi migrant organisations work to maintain 'transnational ways of belonging' by enabling Bangladeshis to retain their cultural roots. This is reflected in their observation of festivals, national days, organising ethnic sports, occasional Bengali music and other practices and rituals (Marquez, 2001). This association also helped them in retaining their "religious identity", which could be distinguished from other migrant groups belonging to the same religion by language and specific practices (Akcapar, 2009). As several studies have pointed out, however, their migrant association does not work as a transnational actor in the development of their country of origin (Akcapar 2009; Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Faist 2008; Rex et al., 1987) since they do not share

as many economic links through these associations. But migrants widely express a sense of 'ways of being' through providing relief and rehabilitation following a natural disaster or any other kind of emergency, (Guarnizo, 2003; Cheran, 2004). Their transnational activities operated through Bangladeshi migrant organizations in Italy have created a sense of community among their members (Sardinha, 2005; Orozco and Rouse 2013), which distinguishes them as a "community" consisting of a secular nationalist Bengali heritage and a religious identity.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

With regard to the theoretical and empirical contributions of the study, it has been shown that this research enriches migration literature by giving an analysis of the drivers of migrants' step by step migrations, and providing a discussion about the interplay between social networks and transnational ties in driving multiple moves. Furthermore, this study has enriched the literature on transnational migration too by presenting how the transnational lives of naturalized EU citizens that sustain not only the home country but also different host country, has still been discussed very little in the literature on transnational migration. This study also supports other research by showing how the transnational connections in other host societies influence migrants to take various remigrations (Kelly, 2013; Carling and Erdal, 2014; Carling and Pettersen, 2014). In this regard, this study indicated that, while in the case of the selection of the first migration destination, strong ties, such as brothers, brother-in-law, uncles and first cousins, have vital role, in the case of remigration weak ties, e.g. friendship or acquaintance ties with earlier cohorts of migrants who had previously gone through similar migration journeys, have a strong influence on facilitating remigration (Toma and Castagnone, 2015; Tsujimoto, 2016).

As this study illustrates, my research suggests that migration policymakers need to consider that international migrants could develop multiple migrations strategies in order to achieve the socio-economic and legal status that they failed to obtain in their first and subsequent destinations (Toma and Castagnone, 2015). From this point of view, migration scholars need to aware that a migration project is always ongoing; after migration to one country migrants often create a migration map in their mind in order to make several onward relocations, taking

into consideration several factors, which are speeded up by their transnational networks with migrants in other countries. At this point, this study also suggests that onward relocation needs to be re-defined as the outcome of continuous re-evaluation of migration opportunities (Toma and Castagnone, 2015), instead of a preplanned trajectory (Paul, 2011). Here this study also argues that in order to analyze the factors motivating onward mobility within Europe, policymakers need to think that the reorganization of migration policy in one EU country could produce new and unexpected mobility within the EU. In this case, amnesties offered in one country in the EU can generate internal mobility within the EU. For instance, in order to obtain a legal permit, most of the earlier migrants in this study who were living in other EU countries were encouraged to relocate to Italy because of flexible migration policy and periodic Italian amnesties, mostly the one in 1990, 1996 and1998.

Moreover, as the findings revealed, this research suggests that migration policymakers should be aware that intra-EU mobility is not always driven by the need to escape economic vulnerabilities, which some researchers identified as being the prime reason (e.g. Bastia, 2011; Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2016), but rather by disappointment in everyday life due to the anti-migrant sentiments and discrimination, which also push naturalised EU citizens to choose a country that is more multicultural and tolerate towards migrants. From this point of view, migration scholars need to consider that the citizenship status that migrants acquire after living several years in and fulfilling the requirements of one of the EU countries brings little change in their social lives. This research also argues that in order to analyse the drivers of onward migration within Europe, policymakers need to be aware that changing policies, civil society attitudes and anti-Muslim migrant prejudice can make naturalised citizens feel isolated and excluded from the majority society. Therefore, they want to relocate to a third country where their own diaspora community has already established itself in order to provide control for the second generation in terms of reproducing their own traditions and religious way of life.

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Interview guide

Research Project
Multiple Migrations: Social Networks and Transnational Lives of Italian Bangladeshis in Europe

General Information	**Would you please introduce yourself?** Your age, your marital status, and your thana (municipality) of origin in Bangladesh. **Would you please describe your life in Bangladesh before leaving your country?** Study/work/family etc. **Would you please describe the conditions of your family in Bangladesh at the time of your departure**
Previous migratory experience	**Would you please tell me your previous migration history from the beginning to until arriving in Italy?** When did you leave Bangladesh, why and in which country/countries? Who took that migration decision? What made you choose this country? Did you consider any other options? Had anyone else you knew before migrated this country? What factors did you take into account before deciding to move? **How do you arrange that migration- was there anyone of your friends or and family members helped you?** Who and how did they help you- providing information, money, arranging a visa? **Can you tell me about your life in the country/countries?** What was your aim there? Did your experience coincide with your expectations? Did your family live with you there? Where was your first accommodation? How did you find it? Was it difficult to find accommodation? Where did you go from there? How did you find a job? What kind of jobs have you done there? Were

	you satisfied with your work?
	Did you receive any help there from your relative/friends/ fellow countrymen? Please mentioned.
	Social life
	Who did you mix with? (Bangladeshi, other immigrants)
	What sort of things did you do in your social life?
	What kinds of friends did you make? How did you meet them?
	Did you make friends with the migrants from another country? Why and how they helped you there?
	Would you please tell me what type of relationship you maintained with your country that time
	e.g. Remittances, communication, visit
	When and why you left this country/ these countries?
	How did you come to decide to leave these country/countries? Is there anything you disappointed?
	What has been the difficulties- language, new culture, job etc?
	Where you wanted to go? Have you consulted/talked to anyone regarding your further journey?
	Do you have still communicate with your family members/friends/ countryman live there?
	How often and why?
Migration to Italy	**Would you please tell me the story of your migration to Italy?**
	How did you know about Italy? What did you expect to find?
	When you started the journey towards Italy, and what type of visa did you have during the time of immigration to Italy?
	How did you manage to arrive? (**Have you consulted/talked to anyone)?**
	Did you know anyone before coming here- any family members, friends? How did they help you, for instance providing information, arranging visa/ helping with money etc?
	Would you please tell me where you did first arrive and after that where were you living before moving to the UK?
	Where you did first arrive
	Who helped you in the beginning here in Italy?

	Where was your first accommodation? How did you find it? Was it difficult to find accommodation?
	How did you find a job? What kind of jobs have you done (one after another)?
	Were you satisfied with your work? Did it coincide with your expectations?
	When and why did you arrive at the present city?
	What kind of job did you have? Were you satisfied with that work? How does it coincide with your expectations?
	What about your family? Your children? Your wife, were they living with you in Italy?
	When you got married and your wife and other member joined with you in Italy?
	What do the members of your family do (study, work, looking for work...)?
	Are your children going to Italian school?
	Are you happy with their school performance?
	If (family in Bangladesh), why did not you bring your family here in Italy?
Citizenship	**When you acquired Italian citizenship?**
	How did this idea come about?
	Why did you take it? Do you feel (remain) safer / protected/guarded?
	What about your children? And your wife?
	What benefit did you have after getting citizenship?
	Do you feel more Bangladeshi, Bengali or Italian?
	Do you want to leave Italy? (if yes),
	Is there anything makes you disappointed in Italy?
	Why have you decided to move again? (Crisis/unemployment? Improving working condition? Better opportunities for the children? Education? Feeling at home/cultural proximity/feel foreigners even if European citizens? Religious practices? Welfare? Want to leave with wider Bengali community? What others---?)
	Did any form of discrimination happen to you? (How? How did you feel? What did you do? Did someone help you? How did this change your attitude/perception?

Onward migration	Where you want to go- London/ Australia/ America/ Canada /why you chose this country for further migration? **Why do you want to move to the UK/ why did you migrate from Italy to the UK?** Do you have any relative/family members/friends in the UK? How do (did) you maintain communication with them (e.g. visit, sending a gift, communication) Are they (did they influence) influencing you to go there? How? What do you expect to find there that you do not have in Italy? **What about your wife's opinion on this onward migration to the UK? (** Image of Britain**)** Can you explain the relationship between you (Bangladeshi who arrived from Italy) and British Sylheti? **(If want to remain in Italy),** What aspects motivated you to stay in Italy? Would you tell me a particularly positive experience that happened in Italy? Is there something you like about Italian families/ societies/Italian culture? And one you do not like?
Transnational relations in multiple locations	**Would you please tell me your visit to Bangladesh and other countries where your family members or relatives live?** How often do you visit Bangladesh? What are the reasons behind this visit? Do your visit along with your family? If yes, what are the purposes motivating you to visit with family members? What places do you travel during your visit to Bangladesh? (if no), why you do not visit Bangladesh? Apart from Bangladesh, do you also visit elsewhere you family members/friends live (other cities in Italy or other countries)? Please mentioned where, why and how often? **Would you please tell me a little bit about the remittances you send in Bangladesh?** Do you send money to Bangladesh? If yes, (2) (a) for whom and what are the reason?

	Apart from your extended family members, do you also send money for your relatives and others? If so, (a) who are they and for what purposes?
	Do you have any investment in Bangladesh? (what sectors and motivation)
	Do you also make relation with your members and friends live in other countries (or even in other cities in Italy) by sending gift or money? Who are they, where are they living, why you do that?
	Would you please mention here your communication with Bangladesh or other places?
	How often and with whom you maintain communication in Bangladesh? please mention.
	What is the reason behind this communication?
	Do you also communicate with your relatives and friends live in some other countries (or even in other cities in Italy)? Please tell me who are they and what is the reason motivating this communication?
	How do you maintain contact with Bangla culture?
	Do you have connections to Bangla television channels (if yes) (i) would you tell me why have you have this the connection? And what programs do you watch?
	If not, what channels do you have connections at home?
	Do you read Bangla Newspapers, why and how often?
	What types of dishes do you eat at home? (*if it is Bangla*)- Why do you prefer this food? Where do you buy this Bangla food? If no, why not?
Associations	**Do you please tell me the number of Bangladeshi Associations in your city and what is their goal and what activities are they doing?**
	Do you involve with any of this association?
	What aspects motivate you to involve with this association?
	Do you receive any help from these associations after arriving in Italy? Please mention how and what types?
	Do these associations have any special activities for Bangladesh?
	Do you think that the programs of Bangladeshi associations are playing a role to uphold the exercising of the Bengali culture abroad? How?
Others	Would you like to go back to Bangladesh? When and why?

	Would you like to add some more? **Thank you**

Interview guide (Bengali)

সাধারণ তথ্যাবলী	১. আপনি কি প্লিজ আপনার পরিচয়টা বলবেন? (বয়স, বৈবাহিক অবস্থা, বাংলাদেশে বাড়ি কোথায়- থানা/জেলা)
	২. বাংলাদেশ থেকে মাইগ্রেশনের আগে দেশে আপনার লাইফ টি একটু সংক্ষেপে বলেন (যেমন, পড়াশুনা, চাকরি/ ব্যবসা)
	৩. তখন আপনার ফ্যামিলি মেম্বার ও অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থা কি একটু বলবেন?
পূর্বের মাইগ্রেশনের অভিজ্ঞতা	**১. আপনি কি বাংলাদেশ থেকে ইতালি তে আসা পর্যন্ত আপনার মাইগ্রেশন হিস্ট্রি টা বলবেন?** -কখন আপনি বাংলাদেশ লিভ করেন, কেন? -প্রথম কোন দেশে, সেই দেশটি সিলেকশনের পেছনে কি কারণ ? -ওখানে কি আপনার কোন ফ্যামিলি মেম্বার, আত্মীয়স্বজন, বন্ধুবান্ধব বা অন্য কোনো পরিচিত কেউ ছিল? তারা কারা? তাদের মধ্যে কারা আপনাকে কি কি ভাবে হেল্প করেছে, যেমন- যাবার আগে (providing information, arranging visa/ helping with money etc? -এবং সেই দেশে যাবার পর কাদের কাছে কি কি হেল্প পেয়েছেন (যেমন একোমোডেশন, জব, ইত্যাদি) ? -কি ভিসায় গিয়েছেন, টোটাল কত খরচ হয়েছে, এই টাকাটা কিভাবে ম্যানেজ করেছেন ? -ওখানে আপনি কি কি ধরণের জব/বেবসা করেছেন এবং মাসিক আয় কেমন ছিল? (যাবার পর থেকে এই কান্ট্রি লিভ করা পর্যন্ত) -বাংলাদেশ থেকে মাইগ্রেশনের আগে আপনার স্বপ্ন কি ছিল, আপনার যে প্রত্যাশা ছিল এইটা কতটুকো ওখানে পূরণ হয়েছে? **২. সেই দেশ ছেড়ে ইতালি তে আসার আগে পর্যন্ত অন্য কোন দেশে কি মাইগ্রেশন করেছিলেন?** (যদি হা হয়) -কোন কোন দেশে মাইগ্রেশন করেছেন ? কখন কেন? -আগের দেশটি ছেড়ে ঐদেশে যাবার পেছনে কি কারণ? -সেই দেশ গুলো সিলেকশনের পিছনে কি কি কারণ ছিল? সেই দেশে কি আপনার বন্ধুবান্ধব বা ফ্যামিলি মেম্বার ছিল? থাকলে তারা কি ওখানে যেতে আপনাকে মোটিভেট করেছে, ও হেল্প করেছে, একটু বলেন প্লিজ **৩. ইতালিতে আসার আগে যে দেশ গুলোতে ছিলেন, সেখানে কি পরিমান আয় হয়েছে, এবং এই ইনকাম দিয়ে বাংলাদেশে কি কি করেছেন? একটু বলবেন কি?** **৪. তখন অন্য কোন ভাই বা ফ্যামিলি মেম্বার, বা রিলেটিভ কে মাইগ্রেশনের ক্ষেত্রে হেল্প করেছেন?** -করলে তারা কারা (কত জন), তারা কোন কোন দেশে মাইগ্রেশন করেছেন? এদেরকে কি কি ভাবে হেল্প করেছে (ভিসা, ইনফরমেশন, ফাইনেন্স), এই হেল্পটা কি মোটিভেশন থেকে করেছেন একটু সংক্ষেপে বলবেন কি?
Migration to Italy	

	১. আপনি কি, আমাকে আপনার ইতালিতে আসার গল্প টা বলবেন?
	-কোন সালে? আপনি কি ভিসায় ইতালি তে আসলেন?
	-ইউরোপের অনেক দেশর মধ্যে ইতালিকে কেন সিলেক্ট করলো, অন্য কোন দেশ কি টার্গেট ছিল ?
	-ইতালি কে সিলেক্ট করার ক্ষেত্রে কি কি বিষয়কে আপনি গুরুত্ব দিয়েছেন? ইতালি সম্পর্কে আপনার কি ধারণা ছিল, এটা কিভাবে পেয়েছিলেন ?
	২. ইতালিতে আপনার কোন ফ্যামিলি মেম্বার, আত্মীয়স্বজন, বন্ধুবান্ধব বা অন্য কোনো পরিচিত কেউ কি ছিল?
	-তারা কারা? তাদের মধ্যে কারা আপনাকে কি কি ভাবে হেল্প করেছে , যেমন- যাবার আগে (ভিসা, ফিনান্স, ইনফরমেশন ইত্যাদি দিয়ে)
	৩. *যারা অন্য কোন দেশে মাইগ্রেশন না করে সরাসরি ইতালির উদ্দেশে রওয়ানা দিয়ে বিভিন্ন দেশে ট্রানজিট মাইগ্রেন্ট হিসাবে ছিল তাদের কে জানতে চাইবে- কখন বাংলাদেশ থেকে রওয়ানা দিলেন , কোন কোন দেশে কতদিন ছিলেন , এবং কখন এসে পৌঁছলেন , এই যাত্রা পথে কারা কি কি ভাবে সাহায্য করেছে ?*
	৪. ইতালির যাত্রায় আপনার কোন কোন খাতে টোটাল কত টাকা খরচ হলো (যেমন দালালদের ফী , ভিসা খরচ)?
	৫. আপনি প্রথমে কোন শহরে আসলেন তারপর ওখান থেকে লাস্ট ইতালি থেকে চলে যাবার আগে পর্যন্ত কোন কোন শহরে ছিলেন? এই ইন্টারনাল মাইগ্রেশানের কি কারণ?
	৬. কোন সময় আপনি পামিট পেলেন, লিগাল হলেন ?
	৭. ইতালিতে আসার পর কাদের কাছে কি কি হেল্প পেয়েছেন (যেমন accommodation, employment, information, psychological, cultural supports etc.?)
	৮. প্রথমে কি কাজ শুরু করেন, তারপর লন্ডনে চলে যাওয়া পর্যন্ত কি কি জব/ব্যবসা করতেন একটু বলবেন কি?
	৯. শেষে যে কাজটি/ব্যবসা টি আপনি ছেড়ে আসেন , তার বেতন/ইনকাম কেমন ছিল?
	১০. ইতালিতে কি পরিমান আয় হয়েছে, এবং এই ইনকাম দিয়ে বাংলাদেশে কি কি করেছেন? একটু বলবেন কি ?
	১১. অন্য কোন ভাই বা ফ্যামিলি মেম্বার, বা রিলেটিভ কে ইতালিতে মাইগ্রেশনের ক্ষেত্রে হেল্প করেছেন কিনা? করলে তারা কারা (কত জন), এদেরকে কি কি ভাবে হেল্প করেছে (ভিসা, ইনফরমেশন দিয়ে ,ফাইনেন্স), এই হেল্পটা কি মোটিভেশন থেকে করেছেন একটু সংক্ষেপে বলবেন কি?
	Family
	১. আপনি বিয়ে কোন সময় করলেন , আপনার পরিবার ইতালিতে কোন সময় আসলো ?
	২. আপনার বাচ্চাদের জন্ম কোথায় ? তারা ইতালিতে কোথায় কতটুকো পড়েছে ? আপনি কি তাদের পড়াশুনা নিয়ে সন্তুষ্ট ছিলেন?
	3. বাচ্চারা এখন লন্ডনে কিসে পড়ে ? আপনি কি তাদের পড়াশুনা নিয়ে সন্তুষ্ট?
	৪.আপনি বাচাদের পড়াশুনা নিয়ে ইতালি আর লন্ডনের মধ্যে কোনটাকে আপনার বাচ্চার জন্য ভালো মনে করেন? এই দুই দেশের মধ্যে একটা তুলনা?
নাগরিকত্ব	১. আপনি কোন সালে ইতালির নাগরিকত্ব লাভ করেন?
	2. ইতালির সিটিজেন হতে হবে, এই ধারণাটা কিভাবে আপনার মাথায় আসলো ?
	৩ .আপনি ইতালির নাগরিকত্ব কেন নেয়া দরকার মনে করলেন?

	৪ . এটা নেবার পর ইতালিতে আপনার ডেইলি লাইফে কি কোন পরিবর্তন আসছিলো (যেমন, নিজেকে অনেক সেফ, প্রোটেক্টেড মনে করা, ইতালিয়ান সমাজে একসেপ্টেন্স বেড়ে যাওয়া, ৫ .কি কি সুযোগ সুবিধা যেগুলো আগে পাচ্ছিলেননা, তা নাগরিক হবার পর তখন পেয়েছিলেন? ৬ . বাচ্চারা আর ওয়াইফ ও কি সিটিজেন?, তারা কোন সময় সিটিজেন হলো?
অগ্রগামী মাইগ্রেশন	১. কখন (সাল ও মাস) এবং কি কি কারণে আপনি ইতালি ছেড়ে লন্ডনে চলে আসলেন একটু সংক্ষেপে বলবেন ? (ইতালিতে অর্থনৈতিক ক্রাইসিস/ বেকারত্ব/ আরো ভালো কর্মসংস্থানের আশায়/ ইতালিয়ান সিটিজেন হবার পর ও নিজেকে ফরেইনার ভাবা/ বাচ্চাদের শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা ও ক্যারিয়ার ইত্যাদি) ২. ইতালিতে এমন কি বিষয় ছিল, যেটা আপনাকে হতাশ করতো? ৩. কোন ধরণের বৈষম্যের শিকার হয়েছিল কিনা , যেমন চাকরি ক্ষেত্রে, ডেইলি লাইফ এ, একটু বিস্তারিত বলবেন কি? ৩. এই মাইগ্রেশন কি বাচ্চাদের ক্যারিয়ার এর সাথে রিলেটেড ? হলে কিভাবে? ৪. লন্ডনের কি কি বিষয় আপনাকে এখানে আসার প্রতি প্রভাবিত করেছে একটু বলবেন কি ? (Feeling at home/cultural proximity/ Religious practices? Welfare? Want to live with wider Bengali community? What others---?) ৫. ইংল্যান্ডে আপানি আসার আগে, আপনার কোন ফ্যামিলি মেম্বার, আত্মীয়স্বজন, বন্ধুবান্ধব বা অন্য কোনো পরিচিত কেউ কি লন্ডনে ছিল? তারা কারা? -লন্ডনে আসার আগে তাদের সাথে কি আপনার যোগাযোগ হতো, তারা আপনাকে এখানে আসার প্রতি কিভাবে মোটিভেট করেছে ? -তাদের মধ্যে কারা আপনাকে কি কি ভাবে হেল্প করেছে , যেমন- যাবার আগে (ফিনান্স, ইনফরমেশন ইত্যাদি দিয়ে) এবং আসার পর তাদের কাছে কি কি হেল্প পেয়েছেন (providing accommodation, arranging job, arranging housing, providing job information etc). ৬. আপনার এলাকা (জেলা, থানা) থেকে কেমন লোকজন ইতালি থেকে লন্ডনে চলে এসেছে? (এ প্রক্সিমেট নাম্বার) ইংল্যান্ডের জীবন ১. লন্ডনে এখন আপনার ইমিগ্রাশন স্টেটাস কি? নিজেকে কি বাংলাদেশী (বাঙালি), ইতালিয়ান , নাকি ব্রিটিশ ভাবতে ভালোবাসেন? কেন?

	২. আপনার লন্ডনের জীবন সম্পর্কে কি একটু বলবেন? (যেমন আপনি এখানে কি জব করেন, আপনার বেতন কত?
	৩. আপনার বাসা ভাড়া কত? সরকার থেকে হাউজিং, বাচ্চাদের জন্য বা অন্য কি কি খাতে কি পরিমান হেল্প পান?
	৪. আপনার ইতালিয়ান লাইফ এর সাথে লন্ডনের লাইফ এর মধ্যে কি একটা তোলনা করবেন? (দুই টার মধ্যে ভালো মন্দ), ইতালিতে কোন কোন বিষয় আপনি পাচ্ছিলেন না যা লন্ডনে পাচ্ছেন, বা লন্ডনে কোন বিষয়টা পাচ্ছেন না, যে টি ইতালিতে পাচ্ছিলেন ?
	৫. আপনি কি ইতালিকে মিস করেন? কিভাবে ?
	৬. এখানে ব্রিটিশ বাংলাদেশী (সিলেটি) যারা অনেক বছর ধরে লন্ডনে আছেন, তারা আপনারা যারা ইতালি থেকে এসেছেন তাদেরকে কিভাবে গ্রহণ করেছে? একটু বলবেন কি ?
	৭. আপনার বাচ্চাদের ইতালি বা লন্ডন সম্পর্কে মনোভাব কি? তারা কি ইতালি কে মিস করে, কিভাবে?
আন্তঃদেশীয় সম্পর্ক	ভিজিট
	১. বাংলাদেশে কেমন যাওয়া হতো/ হয়? এই ভিজিট গুলোর উদ্দেশ্য কি কি থাকে? (ইতালিতে থাকতে ও ইউকে আসার পর)
	২. আপনি কি ফ্যামিলি সহ ভিজিট করেন? হলে মোটিভেশন টা কি ?(ইতালিতে থাকতে ও ইউকে আসার পর)
	৩. ইতালি তে কেমন যাওয়া হয়?আপনি কি ফ্যামিলি সহ ভিজিট করেন? কি কি কারণে এই ভিজিট? (যেমন - ইতালিতে বাড়ি আছে , বেবসা আছে, এখনো অনেক ফ্যামিলি মেম্বার আছে তাই বা অন্য কি কারণ?)
	৪. বাংলাদেশ বা ইতালি ছাড়া অন্য কোনো দেশে কি যে ফ্যামিলি মেম্বার, রিলেটিভ বা ফ্রেন্ডস আছে তাদেরকে ও কি আপানি মাঝে মাঝে দেখতে যান? কি কি কারণে ?
	যোগাযোগ
	১. বাংলাদেশ, ইতালি, লন্ডন বা অন্য কোনো দেশে আপনার ফ্যামিলি মেম্বারদের মধ্যে কে কে থাকেন ? তাদের সাথে কেমন যোগযোগ হয় (দৈনিক/সপ্তাহে)? একটু বলবেন কি?
	-(মাধ্যম- লেটার, মোবাইল ফোন, সোশ্যাল মিডিয়া)
	-কি কি কারণে (মোটিভেশন) এই যোগাযোগ গুলো হয় ?
	২ ফ্যামিলি মেম্বার ছাড়াও কি অন্য কোনো রিলেটিভ বা ফ্রেন্ড দের সাথে যোগাযোগ হয়?
	-তারা করা তাদের সাথে কেমন যোগযোগ হয় (দৈনিক/সপ্তাহে)? একটু বলবেন কি?
	-কি কি কারণে (মোটিভেশন) এই যোগাযোগ গুলো হয় ?

	রেমিট্যান্স
	১. বাংলাদেশে আপনার ফ্যামিলি মেম্বার যারা আছেন তাদের কাছে কি টাকা পাঠান? তারা কারা? কি কি খাতে, কি পরিমান পাঠানো হয় (মাসিক/বাৎসরিক)?
	২. পরিবারের সদস্য ছাড়া অন্য কোনো আত্মীয় বা প্রতিবেশীকে ও কি টাকা পাঠানো হয় ? এর পিছনে মোটিভেশনটা কি, বলবেন ?
	৩. বাংলাদেশে আপনার কি কি খাতে কি পরিমান ইনভেস্টমেন্ট আছে? (বাড়ি, ফ্ল্যাট, ল্যান্ড বা অন্যান্য)
	বাঙালি সংস্কৃতি
	১. আপনি পরিবার ও ব্যক্তি পর্যায়ে কি কি ভাবে বাংলা সংস্কৃতি কে চর্চা করেন? এই বাংলা সংস্কৃতি চর্চার ক্ষেত্রে আপনি কি মনে করেন ইতালি'র চাইতে লন্ডন অনেক বেটার? কিভাবে ?
	২. আপানি ইতালিতে কি কি সমিতির সাথে জড়িত ছিলেন? এগুলোর কর্মকান্ড কি ছিল ? লন্ডনে কি কি সমিতির সাথে জড়িত? এর মেম্বার সংখ্যা কত? কার্যক্রম কি ?
	সমিতি
	আপনি কি দয়া করে ইতালিতে কোন কোন বাংলাদেশী সমিতিগুলির সাথে জড়িত ছিলেন?
	সমিতি গুলোর লক্ষ্য কী এবং তারা কী কার্যক্রম করছে, বলবেন?
	- কোন বিষয় আপনাকে এই সমিতির সাথে জড়িত হতে অনুপ্রাণিত করেছে ?
	- আপনি ইতালি পৌঁছানোর পরে এই সমিতিগুলি থেকে কোনও সহায়তা পেয়েছিলেন ? কীভাবে এবং কী ধরনের উল্লেখ করুন?
	- এই সমিতিগুলির কি বাংলাদেশের জন্য কোন বিশেষ কার্যক্রম রয়েছে?
	- আপনি কি মনে করেন যে যে বাংলাদেশী সমিতিগুলির কর্মসূচি বিদেশে বাঙালি সংস্কৃতির অনুশীলনকে সমর্থন করার জন্য একটি ভূমিকা পালন করছে? কিভাবে?
অন্যান্য	১ আপনি কি বাংলাদেশে ফিরে যেতে চান? কখন এবং কেন?
	২ আপনি কি আরও কিছু আমার এই গবেষণায় যোগ করতে চান?