

Connecting place and placing power: a multiscalar approach to mobilities, migrant services and the migration industry

Nina Glick Schiller

To cite this article: Nina Glick Schiller (2023) Connecting place and placing power: a multiscalar approach to mobilities, migrant services and the migration industry, *Mobilities*, 18:4, 677-690, DOI: [10.1080/17450101.2023.2229051](https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2023.2229051)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2023.2229051>



© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.



Published online: 11 Jul 2023.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 637



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Connecting place and placing power: a multiscalar approach to mobilities, migrant services and the migration industry

Nina Glick Schiller

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

ABSTRACT

This paper historically situates and explores the strengths of multiscalar analysis, at a moment when the term ‘multiscalar’ has been adopted by researchers within the intersecting scholarships of migration, mobilities, and urban studies. Developed by critical geographers to speak about the intersection of processes of capital accumulation, governance, and urban regeneration, the meaning of multiscalar has become diffuse and conflated with terms such as entwined networks, multisited ethnography and assemblage. Countering these trends, this paper develops as a ‘multisighted’ explanatory framework. A multisighted analysis begins with individual local actors, their motivations and emplacements, and explicates the dynamics of power that extend across multiple units of governance and contribute to processes of capital accumulation. To illustrate the strengths of this approach, the paper draws from a study of the provision of migrant services, which local interlocutors in a relatively impoverished east German city label ‘the integration business’. The arrival of Ukrainian migrants in 2022 is shown to have further enmeshed multiple interrelated individuals, migrant-serving projects, charities, foundations and governmental institutions into networks that supported migrant settlement and became intertwined in a globe-spanning migration industry.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 19 March 2023

Accepted 16 June 2023


KEYWORDS

Migration; multiscalar; capital accumulation; migration industry; arrival infrastructure; volunteer

Introduction

Critical geographers have begun to include migrants more systematically as place-makers (Brenner 2019; Hart 2018). Meanwhile, mobilities scholars address both stasis and mobilities, speaking of a ‘global order ... of multiple and intersecting mobilities [that] seem to produce a more “networked” patterning of economic and social life, even for those who have not moved’ (Hannam, Sheller and Urry 2008, 2; see also Adey 2006). Introducing a concept of ‘entangled mobilities, Wyss and Dahinden (2022, 2) argue that ‘the potential of a “mobility lens” has not yet been fully exploited in migration’.

As these discussions extend migration, mobilities, and urban studies beyond the migrant-non-migrant divide (Çağlar and Glick Schiller 2018) and contemplations of ‘demigratization’ (Dahinden 2016), scholars from several cross-fertilized disciplines increasingly signal simultaneous connectivity and emplacement by deploying the term ‘multiscalar’ (Cirolia and Scheba 2019; Salazar 2022, Williamson 2015). However, the concept of multiscalar is often not sufficiently

CONTACT Nina Glick Schiller  schiller@eth.mpg.de  Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale, Germany

© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

explicated nor are its multiple historical conceptual roots adequately acknowledged and traced. Lacking conceptual clarity, researchers often conflate the term multiscalar with other methodologies or analytics such as ‘multi-sited’ (Marcus 1995, 1) or multi-level comparison (Schnegg 2014, 55) or reduce it to a descriptor without explanatory power.

In this paper, I argue for a multiscalar analysis that moves beyond descriptions of multiple connections in and across political boundaries. The ‘multisighted’ analysis I outline reveals how locally engaged actors participate as agents of globe-spanning processes including the accumulation of capital. I illustrate this multiscalar approach with an example of how a nexus of local people in an impoverished east German city, who welcomed migrants including those fleeing the war in Ukraine in 2022, became agents and co-constitutors of a multiscalar migration industry.

Historically situating multiscalar analysis

Multiscalar methods reveal connections among multiple local migrant and non-migrant individuals, households, families, members of informal and formal associations, as well as public and private institutions of governance, finance, production, and service located in multiple elsewhere. At the same time, as this paper will demonstrate, multiscalar analysis explains the dynamics of power that account for the constitution and transformations of interconnections that extend across multiple units of governance, while highlighting the underlying dynamics of capital accumulation. Each location can potentially serve as an entry point in an analysis of interlinked institutions and agents within the mutually constituting processes through which territorial units, institutions, social relations and individual lives are remade, delineated, and governed (Brenner 2019; Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2011; Çağlar and Glick Schiller 2018, 2021).

However, the potential of a multiscalar analytical framework continues to be undervalued because, even as they evoke the term multiscalar, researchers reproduce understandings of scale inherited from the past. It is worthwhile briefly addressing the conceptual heritage of debates about the concept of scale in order to exorcise these ghosts.

Comparative scales of complexity

In the post-World War II era of the twilight of colonialism, while a handful of scholars looked globally and acknowledged Europe and North America’s imperial expropriations (Balandier [1951] 1966), most Euro-American social scientists took another path and resisted the global scale. Rather, they used the term ‘scale’ to produce comparative studies of the differential social complexity of what they conceived of as bounded societies. Occasionally these comparisons connected ‘small-scale’ societies to the ‘four quarters of the globe’, including daily life in England (Wilson and Wilson 1945, 25). However, even the Manchester school scholars, who studied social networks, generally were constrained by a penchant for face-to-face study. They followed Max Gluckman’s suggestion that analysts should be open to broader connections but could proceed as if systems were ‘closed’ (Devons and Gluckman 1964, 13; Barnes 1954; Bott 1957; Epstein 1961; Mitchell 1969; Wolfe 2008). When, in the 1970s, ‘a number of intelligent individuals struggle[ed] to define scale’ – still understood as an index of comparative social complexity – they made ‘little headway’ (Weis 1980, 135, see also Barth 1978; Berreman et al. 1978). This view of scale persists; it is evident in Schnegg’s (2020, Hannam, et al. 2008) call for ‘scaling ethnography up.’

The re-emergence of a global perspective

In the 1970s, just as national liberation struggles were being superseded by the initiation of neo-liberal agendas in various localities around the world, scholars in multiple disciplines broke away

from the vision of bounded societies of different scales of complexity. Building on Marx's global perspective on processes of capital accumulation, they produced wide-ranging, if short-lived, conversations about world systems, dependencies, core and periphery, and unequal global relationships (Cardoso and Faletto 1979; Cox 1964; Frank 1967; Hopkins and Wallerstein 1982; Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1984; Rodney [1972] 2018; Robinson 2019; Williams 1964; Wolf 1982).

Analysts connected the reorganization of the global economy by financial institutions and corporations to increasing migration, tracing the movement of workers and professionals from post-colonial countries to capitalist centers and noting the emergence of remittance economies (Portes and Walton 1981; Chaney 1979). At this juncture, a set of anthropologists initiated a 'transnational framework for the study of migration' (Glick Schiller, Linda, and Cristina 1992) that situated migrants as actors within the restructuring of global processes of capital accumulation (Basch, Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc 1994; Kearney and Nagengast 1989; Rouse 1991). However, although these migration scholars deployed this explanatory framework to critique the methodological nationalism of migration studies, they failed to explore place-making and the restructuring of governance within transnational processes of capital acquisition. This analysis only emerged as critical geographers developed an analysis of 'actually existing neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 1), urban regeneration and the relationship between mobile capital and fixed spaces of investment.

Neoliberalism and the loss of explanation

By the last decade of the 20th century, the conjunctural transformations that came to be known as neoliberalism intensified. In the primarily descriptive globalization studies of that moment, authors highlighted fluidity, mobility, and networks (Appadurai 1996; Bauman 2000). Latour (2007). They set aside earlier frameworks rooted in an analysis of the dispossessive forces of capital accumulation. Castells (1996, 417 & 429), for example, argued that 'the global city is not a place, but a process connecting a global network on the basis of 'information flows'; 'a space of flows' .

Seeking to speak about interconnected action and process across various spaces and to counter the tendency to privilege one particular spatiality (Leitner et al. 2008), even some geographers lost their advocacy 'for space' (Massey 2005). They foregrounded motion, plurality, and 'spatio-temporal process' within the 'global scale' (Inda and Rosaldo 2002, 9; McFarlane 2009; Sheppard 2002).

To signal multiple entanglements, many processual scholars adopted the term 'assemblage' but jettisoned Deleuze's initiating force of desire. Instead they deployed Deleuze and Parnet's ([1977] 2006, 52) notion that 'assemblage's only unity is that of a co-functioning ... contagions, epidemics, the wind.' In this approach, all things – human and non-human – work together in a mechanical fashion so that they do not fundamentally alter each other. Despite emphasizing process, most assemblage scholars dismissed efforts to explain transformations of scalar relations in terms of processes of capital accumulation as 'totalizing' (Li 2007, 265). This has left their references to 'the age of neoliberalism,' 'the neoliberal context,' and the 'neoliberal concern to downsize and decentralize' (Li 2007, 284) on the level of description.

In the first years of the 21st century, an interdisciplinary cohort of scholars led by Sheller and Urry (2006) articulated a 'new mobilities paradigm' that urged processual scholars to remember space and place. They stated that 'places are thus not so much fixed as implicated within complex networks by which hosts, guests, buildings, objects, and machines are contingently brought together to produce certain performances in certain places at certain times' (Urry and Sheller 2008, 214). While they revived an interest in studying motion and location as shaped by the powerful processes of empowerment and exclusion, mobilities scholars have continued to favor

description over explanation, despite arguing that the mobility turn provides ‘compelling new modes of knowing’ (Büscher and Urry 2009, 110).

Ethnography of plain site

Meanwhile, the celebration of the processual fluidities, networks, and spatialized performances left ethnographers with the challenge of locating their research site and units of study and analysis. George Marcus (1995, 97; 1986, 166,168) responded by advising anthropologists to retreat from the study of globe-spanning interconnections, which he deemed the domain of those pursuing ‘macrosociological questions’. Instead, building on an ‘anthropological understanding of space and place’ (McKenzie Aucoin 2017, 395), which continued to favor ‘committed localism’ and immersion in ‘face-to-face communities and groups’ (Marcus 1986, 99), Marcus advised ethnographers to respond to the mobilities of people and objects by following them as they moved between ‘discontinuous multi-sited objects of study’. Accordingly, ethnographers studying transnational migration traced social relations across national boundaries but focused on kin, ethnic or ethno-religious bounded spaces, transnational or diasporic communities, transnational social formations, transnational villages or families (Al-Ali and Koser 2003; Faist 1998; Olwig 2007; Vertovec 1998).

Arriving at multiscalar analysis by theorizing neoliberal capitalism

In geography, scale had historically denoted fixed bounded territorial units of governance, ‘nested’ in a hierarchy of spatial expanse: individual, household, neighborhood, city, province, nation-state, and the globe. The term was used as an abstraction that crystalized ‘historically and geographically specific social relations’ (Brenner 2011, 31). As neoliberal policies were initiated globally, critical geographers began examining the reorganization of scales of governance and refined a concept of multiscalar (Smith 1996; Brenner and Theodore 2002). Debates raged about how to conceptualize the social construction of spaces, their relationality, and the term ‘scale’ (Marston 2000). Some geographers turned to Lefebvre’s ([1974] 1991) theorization of the relationalities of urban spaces of capital accumulation.

Lefebvre ([1974] 1991) approached cities as sites of conflict over the construction and destruction of capital within globe-spanning dispossessive processes of accumulation. This perspective on cities facilitated explorations of the interlinks between global capitalist crisis and temporary spatializations. Building on Marx’s ([1867] 1976, chapter 33) understanding that ‘capital is not a thing, but a social relation between persons,’ Lefebvre stressed that ‘when no heed is paid to the relations that inhere to social facts, knowledge misses its target; our understanding is reduced to a confirmation of the ... multiplicity of things and gets lost in classifications, description and segmentation’ (Lefebvre [1974] 1991, 81).

Entering into the fray with this Lefebvorean perspective, a new critical geography of multiscalar analysis brought together discussions of globalization, interconnections, spatialization, migration and urbanization in a potent scholarship that combined description and explanation (Hart 2002, 2018). A cohort of researchers furthered Harvey’s (2001, 23) analysis of the uneven spatialization of processes of capital accumulation. They deepened his portrayal of the relationship between fluidity and fixity, and the way urban regeneration provides short-term ‘spatial fixes’ to crises of capital accumulation and falling rates of profit.

Critical geographers developed a set of key concepts including ‘the politics of scale’ (Smith 1996, 63), ‘multiscale’ governance, the ‘rescaling’ of statehood (Jessop 2009), ‘socio-spatiality’ (Jessop, Brenner, and Jones 2008); ‘the processes of “rescaling” of cities’ (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2011; Glick Schiller 2012) and ‘relationality’ (Brenner 2004, 257; McCann and Ward 2010, 175),

which discarded notions of levels of analysis – macro, meso, and micro – as well as bounded territorially nested concepts of scale.

Synthesizing this literature, Brenner (2019) has offered a multiscalar approach to social transformation that joins mobilities and settled spaces. However, Brenner doesn't sufficiently develop research modalities capable of exploring the specific local ways in which people bring together, and are reconstituted within changing moral economies, and multiple relationalities including relations of capital within their daily multiscalar lives. Yet multiscalar analysis has the scope to address the embedding of values and moralities within social and economic relations. To date scholars have expanded a multiscalar analysis of the moral economy of migrants and non-migrant within city-making processes, focusing on sociabilities forged within urban regeneration, displacement, and dispossession (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2011; Glick Schiller and Schmidt 2016, Çağlar and Schiller 2018; Glick Schiller 2022).

The multiscalar framework, with its concerns for location and networks of governance and capital accumulation, has not been brought to bear on the emerging theorization of migration as an industry, and an industry that transforms moral economies. The terms 'migration industry' and 'migration infrastructure' are increasingly used to acknowledge the nexus of private and public organizations and government agencies that profit from human mobility, in both activities that facilitate movement across borders and in efforts to manage and prevent such movement (Xiang and Lindquist 2014; Gammeltoft-Hansen and Nyberg Sorensen 2012; Hernández-León 2012).

The migration industry literature unites the analysis of legal and illegal human mobility and activities organized to impede and facilitate mobility (Lindquist, Xiang, and Yeoh 2012). Gammeltoft-Hansen and Nyberg Sorensen (2012, 9) note that this industry includes a humanitarian sector 'driven by motives other than merely commercial gain [...] that] tend to justify their role on the basis of other kinds of capital, e.g. social or humanitarian'. However this framing of the 'humanitarian sector', which Dadusc and Mudu (2022) call the 'humanitarian industrial complex', acknowledges the entanglement of political economy and moral desire.

In the last few years, researchers have explored the migrant settlement processes that are part of this complex, including them in the term 'arrival infrastructure' (Meeus, Heur, and Arnaut 2019.) In formulating the term 'arrival infrastructure', Meeus, Heur, and Arnaut (2019, 2) emphasize the processual aspects of migration that include both mobility and emplacement.

The notion of arrival infrastructures hence emphasizes the continuous and manifold 'infrastructuring practices' by a range of actors in urban settings, which create a multitude of 'platforms of arrival and take-off' within, against, and beyond the infrastructures of the state. Moreover, it opens up avenues to examine and align the resistance against exclusionary bordering practices in a multitude of sites, and to rethink the role of a supportive state that is not conditional on permanency and assimilation.

Multiscale methods and analysis encompass these processes of governance and resistances, while explicating and locating the globe-spanning activities that have been termed the migration industry. These activities include the local forms of non-government organizations that engage in what can be called the integration business. As the following illustration of migrant services in Ostburg¹ makes clear, a multiscale analysis of the linkages between local organizations and corporate or public/private entities can make visible the connections between global processes of capital accumulation and various efforts of local actors to support and welcome refugees, including those organizations funded to provide 'integration'.

Refugee resettlement: illustrating multiscale methods and analysis

Mikael described himself as being in 'the integration business', which he said worked through a series of umbrella organizations.

You found an umbrella. You take the money but others are allotted to do the work. You give out work and a small amount of money. They produce statistics from this work and you write a good report. You use the money you get for the umbrella to finance your organization. The umbrella doesn't do the work.

Mikael made this statement after he had gone from being a committed volunteer providing refugee support in Ostburg for a number of years to a grant writer and disenchanted paid staff of Migrant Partners, a local 'umbrella organization.'

Mikael went on to explain what he meant by umbrella organization, describing them as coalitions of organizations that provided migrant services. Umbrellas were active in the city, the regional state (*land*), and on the federal level. These umbrella organizations had small paid staffs who raised money, initiated projects, networked and recruited and supervised volunteers. It was usually volunteers who provided assistance, advice, support, education, and referrals to migrants. Mikael had become an expert in this integration business and his work over the years had given him personal relations to members of the city administration and the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF).

Umbrella proved to be a key word among those active in the organization of migration services in Ostburg and functioned as a local idiom for the unequal and extractive multiscale relations of the integration business. Umbrellas were funded structures with small staffs that claimed to represent, coordinate, or facilitate the activities of the handfuls to hundreds of organizations the umbrella oversaw. A central activity of the staff was to create new projects and apply for new funding, since many projects required annual reapplication and none were funded for longer than three years. The influx of millions of euro into Ostburg from an array of federal, regional states, and city funding sources, foundations, and charitable donations primarily went to maintain the hierarchy of umbrella organizations and their staff.²

Mikael was one of four interlocutors who invoked the term 'integration business' in discussions of their work as staff or volunteers in umbrellas or migrant service organizations. At the moment in 2022 when the arrival of several thousand Ukrainian migrants in Ostburg intensified the need for humanitarian support, others spoke in similar terms.³ Staff spoke of cost accounting, production statistics, and described how, as they worked in migrant service organizations, their motivations were transformed from a desire to contribute to society to a search for personal job security. Some approached refugees as commodities, which their organization had to acquire in order to compete for funding (Wenger 2023).

Our research explored how the multiscale transmission of organizational funding, information, and assistance within the arrival infrastructure connected migrants and non-migrants to various institutions of power, processes of governance and modes of capital accumulation. Research methods that traced multiscale relations included interviews of one to three hours, participant observation in events linked to organizations, and scrutiny of official documents, statements, news stories, websites and social media. Our analysis traced the power dynamics and interactions between individual actors, organizations, and corporations in the city and land, German federal government, the EU, and international investment and banking interests.

Over eight months, three co-researchers, a research coordinator and I spoke with fifty-three interlocutors, who represented forty-two organizations, government offices, or projects providing migrant services. Half of our interlocutors were leaders or staff in organizations working with migrants, 30% were volunteers and 21% were officials or governmental staff.⁴ Seventy-two percent were of German background and 28% were of migrant background. The organizations researched were not a random sample; they represented the broad range of governmental, public/private charitable and service providing organizations and independent voluntary organizations in the city.

Migrant support in Ostburg built on a local infrastructure of umbrellas and their member organizations and projects, which offered a range of services and civic culture initiatives. These had been developing slowly ever since German unification in 1990 but expanded and became more migrant focused in response to the 2015 arrival in Germany of approximately one million

refugees. However, as Ukrainians began fleeing from the Russian attack in 2022, it was volunteers, who at first were not linked to the migrant service arrival infrastructure, who initiated support activities. They organized collections of supplies and informal convoys to bring supplies to Ukraine and bring back women and children fleeing the war.

Nonetheless, by beginning with individual actors and briefly tracing their engagement in volunteer initiatives to assist Ukrainian migrants, it is possible to identify the forces that forged connections among volunteers, paid staff, the city government, and multiple multiscale institutions. At the same time, applying a multiscale analysis elucidates why the staff of local projects spoke of 'the integration business'. Tracing the linkages of these projects, staff, volunteers, and migrants to multiscale institutions through funding and governance structures makes visible the presence and dynamics of a migration industry.

Even if our analysis steps away from the types of funded projects that Mikael and other interlocutors identified as 'the integration business' and begins with Ukrainians seeking help from the clusters of unfunded volunteers, a multiscale approach makes clear how these efforts became enmeshed in the broader corporate charitable organizations that can be seen as a humanitarian sector of the migration industry. It reveals the conjoining of individual desires to contribute to social justice and the globe-spanning nexus of a migration industry, whose humanitarian as well as punitive sectors engage in capital accumulation.

For example, Irina, her mother and children came to Ostburg from the Ukraine with the help of Volunteer Caravan. The Caravan was organized by Herman, who had responded to Ostburg's post-socialist trajectory of deindustrialization and subsequent repositioning as a regenerated but relatively impoverished city by establishing a business but seeking a meaningful life through humanitarian actions. His previous social justice and commercial experience gave him multiple ties to public and private organizations, from which he obtained support for the Caravan. The dedicated volunteers of the Caravan relied on their own multiple personal connections to sustain the Caravan. These included church congregations in Ostburg, the local and international Red Cross and German, Polish, and Ukrainian national and local officials, who assisted in border crossings.

Melissa, one of the local volunteers, connected the Caravan to her neighborhood Lutheran church, which offered to store donated supplies until they could be sorted and shipped. Born in the GDR, and living on the small federal disability payments, Melissa became active in the church in her search for community, social equality and a meaningful life. The congregation she joined had begun refugee support in 2015, when Syrian and Afghani refugees arrived in the city. Melissa and the church refugee support committee convinced the congregational leadership to assist the Caravan.

Once the Caravan delivered its supplies and brought Irina, her kin, and many other new arrivals to Ostburg, they entered an arrival infrastructure that connected migrants to volunteers with humanitarian motivations, organizations engaged in the integration business and political actors within the city administration, *land*, and German federal agencies. As Ukrainians such as Irma joined the population of refugees and asylum seekers striving to settle in Ostburg, their presence and needs led to increased public and charitable funding for the structures of migrant support. Each umbrella organization sought and received the new funding available from federal and EU sources for projects based on volunteer labor. Pan-Culture was one of the members of a local structure of umbrella organizations that became active in Ukrainian support.

After February 2022, Pan-Culture, which had originated as a local pan-Slavic cultural organization, transformed its office into a venue where volunteers projects brought donated food and supplies. Pan-Culture then organized convoys of volunteers to bring these supplies to the Ukraine and to bring back and try to settle Ukrainians seeking refuge. Contributions flowed into its office and Pan-Culture members were overwhelmed. At this juncture, many organizations and public actors in Ostburg, including a city councilman, set up websites soliciting donations for Ukrainian support. However, rather than assisting Pan-Culture or the two other local Ukrainian

organizations to establish a well-funded Ukrainian project, the existing umbrellas strove to set up their own projects. Even Migrant Partners, the umbrella to which Pan Culture belonged, sought to establish and fund its own Ukrainian project. Meanwhile, Regional Coalition, the umbrella of migrant-based organizations in the *land*, to which Migrant Partners belonged, obtained more than 6 million euros for new Ukrainian projects from the Federal Ministry of Education and funding from the *land*. The new monies were for integration projects for Ukrainian children in the Ostburg schools.

As the various local organizations and umbrellas competed with each other for new projects, their activities sustained dense, intertwined multiscale networks that extended across time and space. Migrant Partners, for example, where Mikael worked, was part of Ostburg's City Migrant Umbrella, which in turn was part of the Ostburg Migrant Network embedded in the City Integration and Democracy Hub. In the Hub, according to a city official, the Ostburg Migrant Network represented a local network 'of about 250 people who are active in different specialist groups and are affiliated with different institutions from the city administration, the Department of social affairs, the Foreigners Council, the Jobs Center, City Volunteer Recruiters Association, BAMF, as well as many organizations active in the field of integration work including day-care centres' (City of Osburg 2022). In 2022, the annual Ostburg Migration Report listed 269 organizations as part of this network (City of Osburg 2022). According to the Report 'The Network ... is a necessary control instrument with the help of which integration measures and offers are coordinated and made accessible to the respective target group [working] together with volunteers and full-time network members.'

Migrant Partners was not only a member of the City Migrant Network and the Regional Coalition but also of Federal Migrants and Act-Now. Act-Now was an east German coalition that obtained federal and charitable funding to advocate for refugees. Federal Migrants was an umbrella representing migrant organizations in several dozen cities in ten federal states.

The multiscale channels of funding and the hierarchies of supervision that underlay the local integration business revealed the intersection of public narratives of rescue and welcome for migrants and the humanitarian sector of the globe-spanning migration industry. For example, Historic Charity Corporation-Ukrainian Project was one of the projects funded in 2022 to assist Ukrainians with applications to the German-language-only bureaucracies that allocated residence permits and multiple public benefits. Noting the business aspects of her work, Viktoria, a staff member and project director, described her organization's inclusion of Ukrainians as follows. The Corporation added Ukrainians but it is 'basically the same project ... as the one I have been running since 2016, ... supporting refugees in the city with so-called "integration" with the help of volunteers. ... My job is to acquire volunteers, supervise them, train them, and support them where they need help. This project initially was funding by the BAMF in 100 locations all over Germany ... and the new Ukrainian funding came from them.'

Viktoria, who grew up in eastern Germany and sought meaningful employment by assisting migrants, was clear about how her low-waged job fit into the larger corporate and governance structure and was linked to global scale actors. The central office of Historic Charity reduced the project budgets to compete for grants by having 'even more work taken over by the volunteers.... However, ... if the global situation worsens and more people flee, then there will be more money again and things will change again. The changes [in the local services] depend largely on the funding pots and on the global situation - less on city political things'.

Historic Charity was the German division of a venerable world-wide institution, which functioned in Germany as a German limited liability corporations. 'The German limited liability company, or GmbH, is increasingly used in Germany to create not-for-profit entities', which are exempt from most taxes but do accrue corporate capital through wholly-owned subsidiary businesses⁵ (<https://cof.org/content/nonprofit-law-germany>). These non-profit entities are organized as national or international charities, religious organizations, or welfare associations.

In Ostburg, Historic Charity provided refugee services but elsewhere in Germany it owned an array of businesses including nursing homes, training institutes, and counseling programs. These businesses profit from publicly-funded contracts, while the humanitarian activities are able to obtain tax-free government funding and donations to sustain the organizational infrastructure and public profile. Historic Charity is one of several organizations our research team encountered that maintained this Janus-face humanitarian/corporate profit-making profile. Each of these organizations strongly advocated for service provision through volunteer unpaid labor.

The arrival of several thousand Ukrainians into Ostburg highlighted the contradictions of German migration policy that maintained substantial barriers to migration and settlement and yet sustained the humanitarian branch of the migration industry. On the one hand, in the case of Ukrainians, the federal government dropped many of its barriers to service for non-citizens, granting Ukrainian entrants temporary residence with access to the Jobs Center, daycare, schools, universities, healthcare, employment, welfare, private and corporately held housing and stipends for housing and furniture. On the other hand, newcomers had to learn a complex bureaucratic system, applications for services remained in German, and official offices had only German-speaking staff. To overcome the barriers that it had itself produced, the German government provided public funding – supplemented by grants from tax-exempt foundations and charities – for the densely inter-meshed multiscale projects of the local integration businesses.

If examined as mechanisms to procure funds for jobs, office rentals, meetings, events, websites and publicity and to justify the financing of hierarchies of supervisory organizations, the local migrant service projects and their umbrellas can indeed be considered as local businesses within a far-reaching migration industry. Meanwhile relatively minimal amounts of funds go to the actual provision of services, since projects are built on volunteer workers – including increasing numbers of people of migrant background. A full multiscale analysis of the migration industry in Ostburg would trace the legal status, fundraising strategies, arrival infrastructures and pathways through which local integration businesses were linked to powerful corporate interests and tax-free profit-making activities. Such an analysis would contribute to the historic quest in social science to join individual motivations and action, the constitution of place, and the movement of people, goods, ideas and capital.

I should note that the topics of concern to critical geographers, such as the restructuring of urban governance and the role of the real estate industry in creating spatial fixes for contradictions in the rates of capital accumulation, were also evident in the research. The second division of the Ostburg Migration and Democracy Hub linked newly arrived Ukrainians and refugees to housing. With the use of federal subsidies, newcomers were placed in properties controlled by housing corporations, in an arrangement that benefited both the city government and the corporations. Newcomers were also placed in former socialist housing now owned by international finance corporations. Low-income tenants, including refugees, served as a form of state-subsidized low market income stream for the corporations that bought former socialist housing in eastern Germany (Bernt 2021).⁶ The arrival infrastructure's multiscale linkages to the real estate industry located migrants within place-making processes.

Conclusions

Having traced the historical development of and arguments for multiscale methods and analysis, I provided an example of this approach by explicating the intersections of individual motivation, humanitarian organization and political economy. I explained how researchers can begin a study with an individual Ukrainian migrant seeking refuge from the devastation of war for herself, mother, and children and link her presence to the actions of volunteers and staff of migrant service organizations responding to a humanitarian crisis. After situating all of these actors, I argued that the intertwining personal, organizational, governmental, and corporate dynamics in which

they were emplaced as agentive participants can be said to constitute a migration industry. The concept of 'migration infrastructure' has been useful in migration studies by serving to 'unpack the process of mediation 'and identifying 'the systematically interlinked technologies, institutions, and actors that facilitate and condition mobility' (Xiang and Lindquist 2014, S112)'. By situating the exercise of various types of power in space and time, a multiscalar approach develops the concepts of 'migration infrastructures' and 'arrival infrastructures' while demystifying and materializing the term 'migration industry'.

The data presented here illustrated the way in which multiscalar methods were able to identify the structure and the links between local actors, the infrastructure of volunteer services, and the multiscalar migration industry locally, regionally, in Germany, the EU, and globally. Moreover, I indicate how such a multiscalar method can reveal how individual actions and desire to contribute to social justice through assisting refugees may constitute modes of capital accumulation. Local project staff and administrators, and the various umbrellas to which they belong, can be seen as both supporting and contesting directives, organizational structures and modes of governance that transform their efforts to meet social needs into a business of applying for and obtaining funding for organizational infrastructures. Multiscalar methods allow analyses of the perspectives of multiple actors with different degrees of power, situated within far-ranging networks of political, economic and discursive power.

Further explorations of the relationships between humanitarian projects of Ostburg's migration businesses would explicate how cities forge welcoming public profiles within their urban regeneration projects yet encapsulate local sociabilities between migrants and non-migrants within a far-reaching profit seeking migration industry. That is to say, the ethnographic example presented here contributes to ongoing analyses of multiscalar place making within processes of capital accumulation by dispossession and displacement (Brenner 2019; Çağlar and Glick Schiller 2018, 2021; Glick Schiller 2022; Hart 2018).

Hence, multiscalar analysis speaks to the ongoing reconstituting of peoples' lives as they engage in the multiple networks of disparate power, including the power of capital, that reach across various territorially-based scales of governance. In a multiscalar methodology, the researcher not only examines multiple connections across time and space but also accounts for the transformative dynamics that underlie what Massey (1993) called 'power geometry'. Multiscalar analysis furthers Hannan, Sheller and Urry (2006, 3) observation that 'mobilities also are caught up in power geometries of everyday life'. Therefore, multiscalar analysis moves beyond description, explaining the dynamics that entangle and interweave disparate social networks, hierarchies of power, the governance of territory, the movement of people and capital, and the social constitution of space into place. It integrates analysis of spatialization, political economy, processual transformations over time, mobilities, and cultural reformulations. Multiscalar analysis allows researchers to maintain a global perspective and yet do a more fine-tuned reading of the connections and agentive processes that underlie the entangled interconnections such as the local migration businesses of the arrival infrastructure.

A multiscalar framework not only combines the scholarships of migration, mobilities, and place-making as interrelated relational processes but also lends them elucidatory strength. Therefore, it also assists researchers, practitioners, and social activists to explore the contradictions, tensions, and possibilities that we face when – as in the case of those who reach out to welcome refugees – we seek to contribute to movements for social justice. It allows us to connect what feels like disparate and dispiriting aspects of our lives, bringing together the connectivities among people, places, and diverse forms of power and providing us with empowering insights into contemporary transformations of capitalism. We move beyond the label 'neoliberal' to understand the way humanitarian motivations and processes of capital accumulation become joined. The power of the term comes from its exposure of the dynamics that join the actions and motivations of diverse actors, the instruments of governance, and political economy. However, if multiscalar analysis is stripped of its explanatory potential by being defined as

synonymous with descriptive terms such as multiple entwined networks or assemblage, then it leads nowhere. We need to build an analytical framework robust enough to explore future configurations of place, mobility, and power.

Notes

1. All personal and organizational names and the research site are pseudonyms. This research followed informed consent procedures with interview partners, which included an explanation of the study and the uses of information obtained together with an assurance of anonymity. The research team, whose collective insights are embedded in this analysis, included Johann-Christian Niebuhr, Sonja Hasse, Anna Francesca Kern, and Sabine Blechschmidt. Special thanks to Julia Wenger for her assistance, research and theory-building and to Max Planck Directors Ursula Rau and Xiang Biao for their generous support and encouragement.
2. In 2019, the year before the pandemic, the Federal government spent about 14.6 billion euros on services related to migrants with approximately 6.3 billion euros of this allocated to the Länder and municipalities. (Malteser Hilfsdienst 2021, 22)
3. The arrival of large numbers of Ukrainians fleeing war in the Ukraine in Germany, the EU, the UK, and North America in the spring of 2022 and the different arrival infrastructures they experienced in various nation-state, regions of countries, and cities is an important topic of research. See for example the survey of Ukrainian refugees in Konstanz, Baden-Württemberg Germany conducted by Sydorov and Kovalska (2022).
4. Many respondents fit in more than one category—staff of an organization and also an official; many had also moved through various positions such as from volunteer to city official
5. See Federal Court (Bundesgerichtshof), 16.5.2017–II ZB 7/16, and NJW (Neue Juristische Wochenschrift) 2017, 1943.)
6. Along with Sydorov and Kovalska (2022), we found that the ability of the city to provide flats for newcomers and the location of affordable housing affects migrant emplacement and migrants' ability to access services.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported by Max-Planck-Gesellschaft.

References

- Adey, Peter. 2006. "If Mobility is Everything Then it is Nothing: Towards a Relational Politics of (Im)mobilities." *Mobilities* 1 (1): 75–94. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450100500489080>
- Al-Ali, Nadjie, and Khalid Koser. 2003. *New Approaches to Migration?: Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home*. London: Routledge.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Balandier Georges. (1951) 1966. "The Colonial Situation: A Theoretical Approach." In *Social Change: The Colonial Situation*, edited by Immanuel Wallerstein, 34–61. New York: Wiley.
- Barth, Fredrik, ed. 1978. *Scale and Social Organization*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Barnes, J. A. 1954. "Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish." *Human Relations* 7 (1): 39–58. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872675400700102>
- Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton-Blanc. 1994. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. New York: Gordon and Breach/Routledge.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. 2000. "Time and Space reunited." *Time & Society* 9 (2–3): 171–185. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X00009002002>
- Bernt, Matthias. 2021. "Work Package 2: Governance Analysis." *Research Project: Estates after Transition* (MOBERA-14, Era.NET RUS PI).
- Berremann, Gerald D., Yehudi A. Cohen, Victor S. Doherty, Marilyn Gates, Ulf Hannerz, Fuad I. Khuri, Robert F. Murphy, Stuart B. Philpott, K. N. Sharma, and Zoltán Tagányi. 1978. Scale and Social Relations." *Current Anthropology* 19 (2): 225–245. <https://doi.org/10.1086/202073>
- Bott, Elizabeth. 1957. *Family and Social Network*. London: Tavistock.

- Brenner, Neil. 2004. *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brenner, Neil. 2011. "The Urban Question and the Scale Question: Some Conceptual Clarifications." In *Locating Migration, Rescaling Cities and Migration*, edited by Nina Glick Schiller and Ayşe Çağlar, 23–41. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Brenner, Neil. 2019. *New Urban Spaces: Urban Theory and the Scale Question*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brenner, Neil, and Theodore Nik. 2002. "Cities and Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism." In *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, edited by Neil Brenner, and Nik Theodore, 1–32. Malden: Blackwell.
- Büscher, Monika, and John Urry. 2009. "Mobile Methods and the Empirical." *European Journal of Social Theory* 12 (1): 99–116. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431008099642>
- Cardoso, Fernando, and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Castells, Manuel. 1996. *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*. Volume One. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Çağlar, Ayşe, and Nina Glick Schiller. 2018. *Migrants and City-Making: Dispossession, Displacement, and Urban Regeneration*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Çağlar, Ayşe, and Nina Glick Schiller. 2021. "Relational Multiscalar Analysis: A Comparative Approach to Migrants within City-Making Processes." *Geographical Review* 111 (2): 206–232. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00167428.2020.1865817>
- Chaney, Elsa. 1979. "Foreword: The World Economy and Contemporary Migration." *International Migration Review* 13 (2): 204–212. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2545027>
- Cirolia, Liza Rose, and Suraya Scheba. 2019. "Towards a Multi-Scalar Reading of Informality in Delft, South Africa: Weaving the 'Everyday' with Wider Structural Tracings." *Urban Studies* 56 (3): 594–611. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098017753326>
- City of Osburg. 2022. *Migrationsbericht 2021*.
- Cox, Oliver. 1964. *Capitalism as a System*. New York: Monthly Review
- Dahinden, Janine. 2016. "A Plea for the 'De-Migranticization' of Research on Migration and Integration." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39 (13): 2207–2225. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.1124129>
- Dadusc, Deanna, and Pierpaolo Mudu. 2022. "Care without Control: The Humanitarian Industrial Complex and the Criminalisation of Solidarity." *Geopolitics* 27 (4): 1205–1230. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2020.1749839>
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Claire Parnet. 2006 [1977]. *Deleuze: Dialogues II*. Translated by Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam. New York: Continuum International.
- Devons, Ely, and Max Gluckman. 1964. "Conclusion." In *Closed Systems and Open Minds: The Limits of Naivety in Social Anthropology*, edited by Max Gluckman, 158–257. Chicago: Aldine.
- Epstein, A. L. 1961. "The Network and Urban social organization." *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal* 179: 29–62.
- Erda, Marta Bivand. 2020. "Theorizing Interactions of Migrant Transnationalism and Integration Through a Multiscalar Approach." *Comparative Migration Studies* 8 (16): 1–16.
- Faist, Thomas. 1998. "Transnational Social Spaces out of International Migration: Evolution, Significance and Future Prospects." *European Journal of Sociology* 39 (2): 213–247. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003975600007621>
- Frank, Andre. 1967. *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. New York: New York University Press.
- Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas and Ninna Nyberg Sørensen, eds. 2012. *The Migration Industry and the Commercialization of International Migration*. London: Routledge.
- Glick Schiller, Nina. 2012. "A Comparative Relative Perspective on the Relationships between Migrants and Cities." *Urban Geography* 33 (6): 879–903. <https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.33.6.879>
- Glick Schiller, Nina. 2022. "Multiscalar Social Relations of Dispossession and Emplacement." In *Dynamics of Identification and Conflict: Anthropological Encounters*, edited by Markus Hoehne, Echi Gabbert and John Eidson, 308–334. New York: Berghahn.
- Glick Schiller, Nina and Ayşe Çağlar, eds. 2011. *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Glick Schiller, Nina, and Garbi Schmidt. 2016. "Envisioning place: urban sociabilities within time, space and multiscalar power." *Identities* (Special Issue, Seeing Place and Power, N. Glick Schiller and G. Schmidt co-editors). 23 (1): 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2015.1016524>
- Glick Schiller, Nina, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, eds. 1992. *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity and Nationalism Reconsidered*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.
- Hart, Gillian. 2002. *Disabling Globalization: Places of Power in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hart, Gillian. 2018. "Relational Comparison Revisited: Marxist Postcolonial Geographies in Practice." *Progress in Human Geography* 42 (3): 371–394. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132516681388>
- Harvey, David. 2001. "Globalization and the 'Spatial fix.'" *Geographische Revue: Zeitschrift für Literatur und Diskussion* 3 (2): 23–30.

- Hernández-León, Ruben. 2012. "Conceptualizing the Migration Industry." In *The Migration Industry and the Commercialization of International Migration*, edited by Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen and Ninna Nyberg Sørensen, 24–44. Routledge London .
- Hopkins, Terrace, and Immanuel Wallerstein. 1982. *World-Systems Analysis: Theory and Methodology*. London: Sage.
- Inda, JonathanXavier, and Renato Rosaldo. 2002. "Introduction: A World in Motion." In *The Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader*, edited by Jonathan Xavier Inda and Renato Rosaldo, 1–34. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Jessop, Bob. 2009. "From Governance to Governance Failure and from Multi-Level Governance to Multi-Scalar Meta-Governance." In *The Disoriented State: Shifts in Governmentality, Territoriality and Governance*, edited by Arnoud Lagendijk, Henk van Houtum and B. Arts, 79–98. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Jessop, Bob, Neil Brenner, and Martin Jones. 2008. "Theorizing Sociospatiality." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 26 (3): 389–401. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d9107>
- Kearney, Michael, and Carol Nagengast. 1989. "Anthropological Perspectives on Transnational Communities in Rural California," Working Paper 3." In *Working Group on Farm Labor and Rural Poverty*, Davis, CA: California Institute for Rural Studies.
- Latour, Bruno. 2007. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lefebvre, Henri. (1974) 1991 *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Li, Tania. 2007. "Practices of Assemblage and Community Forest Management." *Economy and Society* 36 (2): 263–293.
- Lindquist, Johan, Biao Xiang, and Brenda Yeoh. 2012. "Opening the Black Box of Migration: Brokers, the Organization of Transnational Mobility and the Changing Political Economy in Asia." *Pacific Affairs* 85 (1): 7–19. <https://doi.org/10.5509/20128517>
- Malteser Hilfsdienst. 2021. "Facts, Not Feelings." *Malteser Migration Report*. https://www.malteser.de/fileadmin/Files_sites/malteser_de_Relaunch/Angebote_und_Leistungen/Migrationsbericht/2021/Malteser-Migration-Report-2021.pdf.
- Marcus, George. 1986. "Contemporary Problems of Ethnography in the Modern World System." In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, edited by James Clifford and George Marcus, 165–193. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Marcus, George. 1995. "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1): 95–117. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.24.100195.000523>
- Marx, Karl. (1867) 1976. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. London: Penguin.
- Marston, Sallie. 2000. "The Social Construction of Scale." *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (2): 219–242. <https://doi.org/10.1191/030913200674086272>
- Massey, Doreen. 1993. "Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place." In *Mapping the Futures*, edited by John Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim Putnam, and Lisa Tickner, 75–85. London: Routledge.
- Massey, Doreen. 2005. *For Space*. London: Sage.
- McCann, Eugene, and Kevin Ward. 2010. "Relationality/Territoriality: Toward a Conceptualization of Cities in the World." *Geoforum* 41 (2): 175–184. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2009.06.006>
- McFarlane, Colin. 2009. "Translocal Assemblages: Space, Power and Social Movements." *Geoforum* 40 (4): 561–567. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2009.05.003>
- Meeus, Bruno, BasVan Heur, and Karel Arnaut. 2019. "Migration and the Infrastructural Politics of Urban Arrival." In *Arrival Infrastructures: Migration and Urban Social Mobilities*, edited by Bruno Meeus, Karel Arnaut, Bas van Heur, 1–32. Cham: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Mitchell, J. Clyde. ed. 1969. *Social Networks in Urban Situations*. Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Nash, June, and Maria Fernandez-Kelly, eds. 1984. *Women, Men, and the International Division of Labor*. Ithaca: State University of New York Press.
- Olwig, Karen. 2007. *Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks*. Durham, NC: Duke.
- Portes, Alejandro, and John Walton. 1981. *Labor, Class, and the International System*. New York: Academic Press.
- Robinson, Cedric. 2019. *On Racial Capitalism, Black Internationalism, and Cultures of Resistance*. London: Pluto Press.
- Rodney, Walter. [1972] 2018. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London: Verso.
- Rouse, Roger. 1991. "Mexican Migration and the Social Space of Postmodernism." *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1 (1): 8–23. <https://doi.org/10.1353/dsp.1991.0011>
- Salizar, Noel. 2022. "Mobile Places and Emplaced Mobilities: Radicalizing the Entangled Relation Between Movement and Space." *Invited Lecture* <https://soc.kuleuven.be/anthropology/staff/00059545/view?pubsonpage=20&sortby=scdate&fromnr=21&pubtype=>
- Hannam, Kevin, Mimi Sheller, and John Urry. 2006. "Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings." *Mobilities* 1 (1): 1–22.
- Helga Leitner, Helga, Eric Sheppard, and Kristin Szianto. 2008. "The Spatialities of Contentious Politics." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series* 33 (2): 157–172.

- McKenzie Aucoin, Pauline. 2017. "Toward an Anthropological Understanding of Space and Place." In *Place, Space and Hermeneutics*, edited by Bruce Janz, 395–412. Cham: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-52214-2_28
- Schnegg, Michael. 2014. "Anthropology and Comparison: Methodological Challenges and Tentative Solutions." *Zeitschrift Für Ethnologie* 139: 55–72.
- Schnegg, Michael. 2020. "Scaling Ethnography up, Comparing Cultures: Innovations in Comparative Ethnography." In *Comparing Cultures: Innovations in Comparative Ethnography*, edited by Michael Schnegg and Edward Lowe, 133–159. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Sheppard, Eric. 2002. "The Spaces and Times of Globalization: Place, Scale, Networks, and Positionality." *Economic Geography* 78 (3): 307–330. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4140812>
- Sheller, Mimi, and John Urry. 2006. "The New Mobilities Paradigm." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 38 (2): 207–226. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a37268>
- Smith, Neil. 1996. "Spaces of Vulnerability: The Space of Flows and the Politics of Scale." *Critique of Anthropology* 16 (1): 63–77. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X9601600107>
- Sydorov, Mykola, and Yeliena Kovalska. 2022. "Status Characteristics and Peculiarities of Accommodation of Ukrainian War Refugees in Germany (Konstanz)." *Sociological Studios* 2 (21): 20–32. <https://doi.org/10.29038/2306-3971-2022-02-20-32>
- Vertovec, Steven. 1998. "Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (2): 47–62.
- Weis, Gerald. 1980. "Review of Scale and Social Organization." *American Anthropologist* 82: 135–137.
- Wenger, Julia. 2023. "The Commodification of Refugees!" Master Thesis., Martin Luther University, Halle/Saale, Germany
- Williams, Eric. 1964. *Capitalism and Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Wilson, Godfrey, and Monica Wilson. 1945. *The Analysis of Social Change*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Williamson, Rebecca. 2015. "Towards a Multi-Scalar Methodology: The Challenges of Studying Social Transformation and International Migration." In *Social Transformation and Migration*, edited by Stephen Castles, Derya Ozkul and Magdalena Arias Cuba, 17–32. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Wolf, Eric. 1982. *Europe and the People without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wolfe, Alvin. 2008. "On Structural Comparisons of Networks." *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie* [Canadian Review of Sociology] 7 (4): 226–244. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1755-618X.1970.tb01296.x>
- Wyss, Anne, and Janine Dahinden. 2022. "Disentangling Entangled Mobilities: Reflections on Forms of Knowledge Production within Migration Studies." *Comparative Migration Studies* 10 (1): 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-022-00309-w>
- Xiang, Biao, and Johan Lindquist. 2014. "Migration Infrastructure." *International Migration Review* 48 (1_suppl): 122–148. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12141>