What do we mean when we say that transnational communities are double-rooted?

In this essay, I will be focusing on transnational migrant communities. Despite being intricately linked, this term differs slightly to that of diaspora as it transcends it 'analytically' by encapsulating the 'elective modes of identification' when settling in a new nation, rather than being primarily 'co-ethnic and culturally identified' (Quayson and Daswani 2013:4). These 'elective modes of identification' (ibid.) (i.e. physically, politically, economically, culturally, mentally, and socially) are the underlying ties to which I will be analysing how transnational communities identify across nations. I will compare how scholars describe double-rootedness in two sections: "home away from home", analysing how transnational communities are divided by being physically rooted in nation and economically, politically, and culturally rooted in another; and "there is no place like home", examining the further rooting of transnational communities socially and mentally due to migration. When using the term "home" I am referring to the homeland of the members of transnational communities. By comparing the nuances within these ideas surrounding double-rootedness I hope to delve into the "grey-area" that transmigrants inhabit through being connected simultaneously to multiple nation-states and the implications of their membership transnationally.

"Home away from Home"

"Home away from Home" acknowledges the physical rooting in a new country of settlement, as well as rooting to a homeland, politically, economically, or culturally. These 'elective' ties allow communities to be transnational (Quayson and Daswani 2013:4)

Transnational political ties are illustrated by the Haitian "10th department" (Basch et. al 2015:1). In 1991, The Haitian Presidential palace specially invited a Haitian diaspora within the U.S. to visit as a form of inauguration of the newly elected president, Father Astride, incorporating them in the rebuilding of the Haitian Nation State (ibid.). They were greeted as "the 10th department". This is significant as Haiti is divided into *nine* administrative districts, thus 'no matter where they settle… people of Haitian ancestry remain an integral part of Haiti' (ibid.). This suggests Haitian migrants are rooted physically in the U.S. and politically rooted in Haiti, as 'loyal citizens' (ibid.3). Though appearing endearing, overseas migrants being an equal member of the nation, the "10th District" is still a separate part; this became apparent

particularly when Astride differentiated between those stayed in Haiti, 'Lavalas at Home' and those abroad 'Lavalas for home', as an "inflection of nationalism" (Richman 1992a as cited in Basch et. al 2015: 297). Thus, giving the impression that the framing of transnational migrant communities as an extension of the country is purely out of political interest.

On the other hand, political rootedness might manifest itself through 'long distance nationalism' (Matsuoko 2003), whereby migrants 'play identity politics' through 'citizenshipless participation'(ibid.77). In doing so migrants create an imagined homeland that isn't necessarily a physical entity (though its lack of physicality does not make it any less real) and consequently allows them to add to participate politically at a distance. Matsuoko argues that the attachments to ''roots' are constructed and promoted through images and symbols' (2003:106). Nationalist organisations 'mobilise identities' through this and create 'moral pressure to contribute' (ibid.). This longing to 'transform the imagined homelands' they have left (ibid.) is illustrated through the participation in struggles for homeland by Irish and Jewish diasporas in the US (ibid. 78). Migrants are therefore 'less the representatives of already formed, fixed entities than the creators of those realities' (ibid.80).

The concept of being physically rooted elsewhere but an active member of the state economically is seen by the financial support of the Grenadian "constituency" in New York to Grenada (ibid.2). In 1984, 200 Grenadian immigrants gathered in a catering hall in Brooklyn for the Grenadian Minister of Agriculture and Development to share his plans for agriculture in Grenada to their "constituency" in New York. Despite many being U.S. citizens, Grenadian immigrants were addressed as nationals, suggesting the expectation for them to be national members in political and economic ways by being encouraged to aid the development of 'an exotic fruit industry for export' (Basch et. al 2015:2). By asking the immigrants to "do what they could" to promote Grenada's agricultural goods in the U.S market through lobbying (ibid.) the Minister addresses the physical aspect of the Grenadian agricultural transnational community by making the boundaries of the national agricultural economy permeable. Therefore, Grenadian migrant community in New York is seen as a permanent extension of the homeland financially, making their economy transnational.

This economic extension need not be permanent, as seen by the 'balikbayan', "Home-comers" in Filipino (Basch et. al 2015). 'Balikbayan' denotes the expectation put upon overseas Filipino migrants to return as a financial member of the state whilst also contributing during their

temporary sojourn. This originates from the 'balikbayan box' that can be admitted to the Philippines virtually taxless which originated in New Jersey 1988 when a Filipina customer at a company office regularly shipped "home" a box of goods, usually appliances, electronics etc. (Basch et. al 2015:3). President Marcos describes the 'balikbayan', referring to the economic "heroes and heroines" (ibid.) that were the overseas Filipino migrants who, much like the 'balikbayan boxes' they would send, were expected to return home. Through stirring economic nationalism, politicians guarantee financial contribution from oversea migrants through a sense of duty. Despite being awarded $1,000 in duty-free gifts upon returning to the Philippines (ibid. 297), the expectation of return is not necessarily fulfilling; Marcos sold the term in a sense of endearing welcome; however, overseas Filipinos were not allowed to visit or return to the Philippines without paying taxes on the incomes they earned abroad (ibid. 297). Therefore, although transnational migrant community is 'built on family networks and sustained through economic exchanges and gift-giving' (ibid.3), it can be framed as rooted to benefit the migrant's homeland.

The idea of constituency and district as an extension of a country can also be not just political and economic, but also cultural. This can be seen in areas in which migrants congregate to celebrate national culture as seen with Carribean migrants during Notting Hill Carnival (Cohen 1993 cited in Werbner 2013:118), Filipinos in Central Hong Kong and Lucky Plaza in Singapore to the old central bus station in Tel Aviv (Constable 2007; Liebelt 2013 cited in Werbner 2013:118). Werbner describes as 'chaordic transnationalism...predictable, yet uncoordinated and unsupervised grassroots transnational creations' (P. (Werbner 2002c cited in Werbner 2013:118) whereby specific locations in a places of settlement act as a form of replacement for the original place of cultural congregation. This suggests the double-rootedness lies in the physical place the cultural celebrations are held and the space created by those celebrating. As described by Tondo (2010 cited in Johnson and Werbner 2018:5) Auckland is transformed into a 'diasporic home' through the Santo Niño fiesta imported from lowland Philippines. This implies that 'migrants inscribe a tangible connection across space to home' (ibid.) and transcend a private religious practice to 'assert a collective identity' within New Zealand's multiculturalism. However, assuming that it is the same cultural 'space' held in a different 'place' does not fully capture the nuances within the transnational migrant experience as though the cultural celebration relocated, it is not free from being warped and altered by the experience of migrants themselves within the new country the cultural celebrations are being held.

Furthermore, the convivial nature of migrant communities abroad alters national cultural practices into their own diasporic versions. This is demonstrated in particularly cosmopolitan 'heteroglot' cities, as described by Paul Gilroy's experience sharing a building with Jamaican, Indian, French, Algerian, Jewish, Sikh, and Cypriot people (Gilroy et al. 2018:176) where he mentions all being 'altered by that encounter' (ibid.). Through ritually celebrating amongst each other 'transnational migrants reshape their subjectivities' and forge relationships with each other in an 'alien environment' (Liebelt 2010 cited in Werbner 2013:118). Cultural practices do not exist in a vacuum, diasporas are affected by their location and those surrounding them to transform cultural practices into diasporic versions and practices in themselves.

"There is no place like Home"

The consequence of physical displacement and these political, cultural and economic ties creates a new sense of division whereby migrant transnational communities are double-rooted socially and mentally. Homes are not easily substituted (Basch, Glick Schiller, and Blanc 1994 in Quayson and Daswani 103: 5-6), as "Home" means 'one thing to the man who never has left it, another thing to the man who dwells far from it, and still another to him who returns' (Schütz 1945). Instead, by being simultaneously connected between nation-states, being double-rooted, a migrant's relationship to home alters to adjust between nations of sojourn and the homeland.

Transnational community members' relationship with "home"

"The homecomer is not the same man who left. He is neither the same for himself nor for those who await his return" (Schütz 1945: 374, 375); By moving, migrants within transnational communities alter their relationship with their original country, so their double-rootedness extends to not only where they have joined but also who they have left behind. Stuart Hall describes migration as 'a one-way trip, there is no 'home' to go back to' (1989: 44). This is compelling particularly in the case of Hall whereby the Jamaica he had left he no longer identified with (Ang 2019:174). However, why there is no "home" to go back to can be not

necessarily down to the nation changing but the relationships changing when joining a transnational community.

Alternatively, despite migrating, one can become part of a 'deterritorialised' nation-state. This is a form of postcolonial nationalism that reflects how nation-states stretch 'beyond geographic boundaries' and 'involves a social fabrication from different diasporic imaginings' (Basch et al. 2015:293). A deterritorialised nation-state is the idea that a no matter where a member of a nation is, they do not live outside the state (Basch et. Al. 2015:293) and through this logic, diasporas do not exist 'because wherever its people go, their state goes too.' (Basch et. Al. 2015:293). Diasporas transnationally therefore have a notion of collective identity and unity as 'a people' (Safran 1991 cited in Smith 2017:229). This inherently links a 'common past and biological bond of solidarity' (Basch et al. 2015:236). Haitians, for example, will publicly acknowledge themselves as a dispersed people in many locations but with 'an enduring national bond' (ibid.). Or for example Grenada, whereby their adult population consists of 30,000 who live within the geographic borders and 60,000 who live outside the nation's geographic borders (ibid.294). However, does not credit the alteration between the outlook and interests between those who stayed in the nation and those who migrated. Furthermore, transmigrants might ideologically disagree with the leadership within their nation-state and though they may be 'a people' they do not necessarily hold the same class status inside and outside of the original nation-state. Thus, a 'deterritorialised' nation-state does not account for the difference in social rooting and is therefore not convincing.

The difference between those who stay and those who go leads on to how double-rooting can also be mental, as seen through the idea of 'double-consciousness'. Initially coined by W.E.B Dubois (1994) this concept addresses the awareness of seeing oneself personally and through the eyes of others.Werbner (2013:107) adds 'A homecomer must manage the insider and outsider perspectives simultaneously, seeing herself through the often disapproving eyes of those who stayed at home'. When a homecomer expects gratitude for remittances and gifts, they oft find to be 'a crop of bitterness' that has been 'sown and reaped' through distance (Glick Schiller and Fouron 2002: 84). Werbner argues that despite the modern changes in communication between a migrant's home country and place of settlement, via easy access technology and cheap travel, the gap between the two 'gradually widens and cannot be easily sutured', no matter how frequent it is (2013:107). Madianou and Miller (2011) describe the cruciality of long Skype conversations, to give the 'illusion of simultaneity' (Werbner 2013:

115); migrant Philippine mothers leave the call on throughout the day so that the migrant mothers can supervise and communicate with their children and their carers 'in real time' (ibid.). Though appearing to bridge the distance for the mothers, the 'rupture persists from the children's viewpoint' (ibid.). Similarly, Amrith (2011) describes how Filipino domestic workers spend the majority of their spare time on Yahoo Messenger talking to family "at home", however when they return to the annual fiestas their children struggle to recognise them. This double-rooting extends to what they perceive as their relationship with their children and what their children's perception of their relationship is: they attempt to maintain the same relationship with their children but technology fails to capture the crucial part of intimacy of the relationship that they would be able to nurture if they were physically present. This makes the bridge between physical roots, technology, only a vessel in which transnational communities carry connection and remain at times in denial of the hardship of living abroad. Furthermore, Glick Schiller and Fouron's (2002) study corroborates the ruptures felt by Haitian returnees that expect to go home and put on 'old and comfortable clothes' but upon return 'Home is not what they remember it to be… It is as if the old clothes no longer fit'. (Glick Schiller and Fouron 2002: 84). Therefore, even the most successful transnational communities undergo complex changes. For Ghassan Hage, the lifelong 'price to pay' to being born into a community is participation (2002:203 cited in Werbner 2013:116), and in transnational communities participation is challenging.

Another way in which transnational communities are mentally double-rooted is through the idea of nostalgia; how one remembers the homeland versus its reality. The term nostalgia derives from the Greek *nostos* ("to return home") and *algos* ("pain") (Quayson and Daswani 2013:16); To transnational migrant, the pain of wanting to return home, and in reference to the previous point, perhaps the pain of returning to a different version of home. "Home" is constructed through memory, and as described by Jacqueline Nassy Brown, 'memory can be a political act' (Thomas and Campt 2006:167). Werbner argues, the 'idealised whole self' cannot be realised in a diaspora as it is 'haunted' by the place left behind (2013:116). Therefore, construction through nostalgia creates a 'ghostly, doubly-imagined homeland' (Matsuoko 2003: 80) that is not necessarily truthful. This constructed idea of home is what encourages migrants to be part of transnational community, which becomes problematic when returning to a homeland to find that it is not what was remembered. For example, some early Pakistani returnees found that the 'ambience of rural life' was 'nostalgically remembered', however, when returning home found that they had become accustomed to British ways and it

was 'impossible for them to deal with Pakistani red tape and corruption' (Bolognani 2007 as cited in Werbner 2013:112). Tsuda (2003) describes how Japanese Brazilian workers were denigrated in Japan upon return, as opposed to their relatively high-status in Brazil. This rejection, Tsuda argues, made them inclined to realise themselves as "Brazilian". Therefore, double-rootedness can lie betwween the imagined homeland (one root) and the reality to which they have grown unaccustomed (another root).

Transnational communities may look to cultivate, connect, and nurture the constructed idea of home whilst abroad through places such as ethnic supermarkets where migrants can attain not only familiar flavours but 'news from home, gossip about the local community, lamentations about the recalcitrance of children' (Hage 1997; Mankekar 2002 as cited in Quayson and Daswani 2013:2). However, connection is not necessarily successful across generations; 'diasporas are divided along generational lines' (Matsuoko 2003:104), and although children born in diasporas are 'socialised' to consider Eritrea or Ethiopia as their 'real home' (Matsuoko, 2003:105), they 'don't have any memory of Ethiopia. They are Canadian. To them, it's nothing.' (ibid.104). Therefore, upon returning they can feel 'misperceived or misunderstood' as in the case of some second-generation British Pakistanis (Cressey 2006: esp. 58–67 as cited in Werbner 2013:112) or later-generation Japanese Americans who insist 'I am American, not Japanese!' (Tsuda 2014).

<u>Transnational community members' relationship with their place of settlement:</u>

Transnational migrant communities are double-rooted in how they view themselves in their place of settlement and how their place of settlement views them. This addresses the complex question of how national membership and identification is rooted.

In more traditional terms, the citizenship model of membership in a national political community is coterminous and exclusive; one can be a member of only one state and nation at a time (Brubaker 1989: 3 cited in Smith 2017:199). Therefore, the link between territory and community is necessary (Walzer 1969 in Smith 2017:199) and is arguably the opposite of a 'deterritorialised' nation. Given this definition, members within transnational communities are nationally uprooted and create a "clean break" with their country of origin (Handlin 1951 in Smith 2017:199). Arguably, migration does 'rupture' and 'creates new configurations and clusterings' (Quayson and Daswani 2013:5). In this context, it is difficult for transnational

communities to exist if national membership is exclusive. By naturalising the 'fictitious hegemony' nationalism is connected to racism (Yuval-Davis 1997 as cited in Matsuoko 2003:110). This is how right-wing organisations evoke nationalism to 'other' migrant communities (Abbas 2020).

Because nation-states are still seen as hegemonic representations of...spatial identity' (Gupta 1992:75), immigrants often have 'second class status' holding what Brubaker calls 'membership without residence' (Brubaker 1989 cited in Smith 2017:200). Tsuda attributes national belonging to not only 'socio-economic integration and cultural characteristics but also by race.' (2014: 409) particularly when a nation is 'mono-racially' dominated (ibid.). Through this, one can see how a diaspora is a 'fractured reality' (Gilroy, 1993: 126) as rooting is split by how a transnational community may identify and how others identify them. This relates again, to Du Bois's (1994) 'double-consciousness' and the awareness of being black in America (Werbner 2013:107) and Matsuoko's argument as although second-generation Ethiopian immigrants in Canada see themselves as Canadian, it is argued 'they will never be real Canadians either. That is because they are black' (2003:104). However, invoking one's place of ancestry can 'undermine their entire identity as a member of that society' (Thomas and Campt 2006:167). Through this migrant communities are being denied transnationality through their ties to their place of settlement not being recognised.

The contestation of membership is a key aspect of understanding transnational communities as it is the 'betweenness' that illustrates their double-rootedness. Guarnizo (1993) successfully analyses this through 'los Dominicanyorks' who are members of both New York and the Dominican Republic but are not considered native to either (cited in Smith 2017:204). This explanation I find the compelling particularly as being part of both nations recognises the ties and attachments to both in diverse ways, and how such attachments need not be mutually exclusive, but by being in both the 'Dominicanyorks' inhabit a space of their own; in-between; transnational. Despite appearing to be a bleak view of transnationalism, as it insinuates isolation and alienation (Werbner 2013:113), it answers Avtar Brah's question (1996: 190): When does a location become home? Arguably never. It is not necessarily negative: due to being double-rooted the space one inhabits in a transnational community is one of liminality, it does not mean one is nowhere it just means they inhabit their own space. However, it is optimistic as it is successful when transnationals are equally admitted to both nations rather than being denied membership of one through whichever root.

In conclusion, transnational communities are double-rooted through being physically in one place and politically, culturally, and economically in another. Physical displacement is further divided between how one identifies and how one is identified in both their homeland and their place of settlement. The conversation surrounding transnational communities makes me question what the implications are of our acknowledgement as anthropologists as positioned observers of transnationalism. Werbner argues that for overseas migrants 'home is neither entirely individualized nor forever absent' but instead 'embedded' in 'social relations and moral engagements' (2013: 111). This idea closely encapsulates the complex and contradicting elements of membership within transnational communities.

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