Translocal resilience
in a changing environment

Rural–urban migration, livelihood risks,

and adaptation in Thailand

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Acronyms

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BKK	Bangkok
BMR	Bangkok Metropolitan Region
DfID	Department for International Development of the United Kingdom
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
ILO	International Labor Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
NESDB	National Economic and Social Development Board (in Thailand)
NSO	National Statistical Office (of Thailand)
THB	Thai Baht
TRANS|RE	Research project: *"Building resilience through translocality: climate change, migration, and social resilience of rural communities in Thailand"*
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs

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SUMMARY

Especially in the past few years, migration has sparked the interest of policy makers and the wider public alike. Oscillating between enthusiasm and skepticism, debates on migration and on its outcome, in particular, usually show a high degree of dissent. While migration has always been essential in facilitating social change and progress through economic and cultural exchange across borders and by interlinking regions and nations, it has gained even more importance in this current age of mobility. Especially "migration flows" across national borders and so-called "South–North migration" have been attracting enormous attention. Regardless of the latest political and public interest in these specific types of movements, migration has for a long time been a strategy to improve living conditions in diverse regional, cultural, and socio-economic contexts – for instance, in rural areas in so-called Global-South countries. Both politics and science, for instance geographic research, have addressed migration-related diversification and stabilization of livelihoods in rural areas to quite some extent. Drawing on this link between migration and the diversification and enhancement of livelihoods in rural areas of origin, migration has more recently also gained currency in debates on adaptation to climate change, framing migration as a means of adaptation. Impacts from changing climatic circumstances and weather patterns as well as climate-related risks have already altered the shape of everyday lives, especially in agriculture-based livelihoods, in socio-economically less developed parts of the world. At the same time, climate change is one process amongst others currently occurring, and thus but one factor that constitutes the dynamism of "rural" life – besides societal and economic changes, such as demographic transition, globalization, urbanization, and digitization. Hence, facing a changing environment – in both its social and ecological sense – characterizes livelihoods in rural areas.

Against this backdrop, this dissertation addresses the intersection of rural livelihoods, resilience towards risks and changes (induced by climate change, for instance), and migration. By and large, it spotlights the migration–resilience interaction in the context of rural transition from an everyday-life perspective by elucidating the role of rural–urban migration for rural livelihoods undergoing change, i.e. against the backdrop of environmental stress and changing weather patterns, amongst other factors. More specifically, it explores how connections between migrants and their respective households of origin influence capacities and resources of these households, located in rural areas, to manage risks and opportunities in a changing environment. The aim is thus to comprehend how migrant–household connections between the places of origin and destination shape the social resilience of households across space and place boundaries. Emphasis is placed on the circumstances of migration and its potentials for the social resilience of migrant households. Moreover, the thesis focuses on domestic migration in particular. In academic and policy debates, in general domestic migration tends to be underrepresented, although in terms of people involved domestic migration outnumbers international migration due to its low-

threshold accessibility in comparison to the latter. In view of this unfounded lack of attention, this study spotlights domestic migration. Specifically, rural–urban migration in Thailand has served as the empirical example, based on which the links between migration-induced connections and the capacities and resources of migrant households both to deal with risks and to make use of opportunities were addressed. Ensuing multi-local livelihood arrangements are at the same time one dimension of the aforementioned wider social process of rural transition that is also observable in Thailand.

Substantiating the link between migration and environmental changes, the thesis builds on research on the migration–development nexus, migration as adaptation, translocality and social resilience. To better comprehend the intersection of rural–urban (migration-related) exchange relations and strategies for facing risks in agriculture-based livelihoods, a practice-oriented translocal-resilience approach has been developed which accommodates place- and scale-specificity and spotlights the interlacing of places through connections and multiple socio-spatial embeddedness. Translocal social resilience thus frames this thesis conceptually. This framework integrates the three analytical axes of social practice, scalar multiplicity, and positionality in translocal space. The aforementioned analytical core elements – multiple social and spatial embeddedness and connectedness – are regarded as social practices that shape the social resilience of households across space. Embeddedness and connectedness are formed by a multitude of everyday activities and routines performed by migrants and non-migrants to maintain or establish connections between each other and to position themselves in multiple social and spatial frames of reference at the same time, such as their respective places and households of origin, places of destination, and the latters' multiple social subspaces. Such everyday activities and routines include, for instance, remittance transactions, the transfer of ideas, skills, attitudes, and identities as well as care relations across distance, re-organization of livelihood activities, everyday communication, and home visits or temporary returns. Through the positioning at one place while reaching out to "significant others" at another place at the same time, spatial boundaries are transcended and links between different places and social spaces of embedding are produced. Hence, to comprehend the links between rural–urban migration and resilience to risks and change, the circumstances, overlapping positionings, and interconnected everyday activities at both migrants' places of origin and destination are addressed at the same time. Accordingly, this thesis' empirical data basis was produced by means of a multi-sited research strategy. This involved the use of mixed-methods in three rural study sites in North and Northeast Thailand and in peri-/urban neighborhoods in Bangkok (Metropolitan Region).

The results of this research display a typology of translocal migrant–household constellations, revealing both disparate degrees of entanglement of migrants and households of origin (mediated through remittances, reciprocity, and returns) and different modes of multi-sited socio-

spatial positioning. The circumstances in translocal relations affect households' livelihoods and resilience differently, ranging from stabilizing to destabilizing effects for both the migrant at the place of destination and the household at the place of origin. That is to say, translocal connections can enhance the resource base and capacities of households, but can also reinforce the difficulties of individual household members at the place of destination, for instance if exposed to precarious working and living conditions. One important factor influencing this variety of migration outcomes is the multiplicity of socio-spatial levels and positionings that social practices in translocal space encompass. Hence, the central conclusions that can be drawn from this thesis relate to conceptual approaches to the migration–resilience nexus in the context of environment–migration research and to policy making in the field of migration, specifically migration–development and migration-as-adaptation. First, this research illustrates that the process of social resilience is shaped by practices across multiple socio-spatial levels and timescales and thereby contributes to migration–resilience debates on a conceptual level. Accordingly, to comprehend the links between migration and ways of dealing with environmental change, including impact from climate change, both everyday practices and circumstances in multiple specific places and factors and variables on more encompassing levels than those of the individual and household need to be taken into account, including socially constructed and constantly renegotiated gender and class relations, socio-economic circumstances, and the rural–urban interlacing beyond individual migrant–household connections. Secondly, in terms of implications for policy making, this study's results suggest that the area of responsibility for dealing with environmental risks and change, including, for instance adaptation to climate change, cannot be devolved to individual households and migrants, despite their agency and partially extended room for maneuver through migration and translocal connections. This also implies that resilience should not be misunderstood as a norm or a guiding principle in policy making focusing on migration and adaptation or migration and development. Instead – as shown by this thesis – social resilience, viewed from a translocal and practice-focused perspective, enables a profound analysis, and therefore a more nuanced understanding of migration impacts in the context of environmental risks and change.

1.) Introduction

> *"I cannot go back home because in that case, nobody would send money home. [...] I've got six days off per year, so the best I can do is go home for that time and work in the field." (Wirun[1], 30/06/2016)*

This is how Wirun, a 47-year-old security guard originating from a village in Buriram, Thailand, summarized his rural–urban life, spanning both his sojourn and work in the peri-urban outskirts of BKK and the connection to his household of origin at home. As the household had been facing continual difficulties regarding its socio-economic conditions and was thus affected relatively severely by the then latest dry-spell-induced crop loss, Wirun and his sister had agreed that the household would rely on his remittances as regular cash income while she takes care of their aging mother in the village. Usually transferring most of his wages to his sister's bank account, Wirun manages to support his mother and sister in the village but, as a consequence, also accepts considerable restrictions in his own everyday life in Bangkok, such as refraining from social activities and purchasing his everyday commodities on credit. In this particular example, the household maintains a rather modest livelihood, lacking the means to improve their living standard and to devise a viable long-term strategy to spread risks. Although Wirun and his family are but one example, their constellation depicts some of the typical dimensions of a household's translocal living arrangement in a rural–urban migration setting and against the backdrop of social and environmental changes which this research seeks to examine: the interdependence of everyday life realities across space, the linkage of places through migrant–household connections, the role of multiple social and spatial positioning in translocal constellations, and the link between embeddedness at multiple places and the social resilience of households.

As the case of Wirun indicates exemplarily, rural lives in Thailand and other places in the so-called Global South are no longer to be associated solely with agriculture-based and natural-resource-dependent livelihoods and remoteness. Instead, rural livelihoods have become "increasingly multifunctional and multi-sited, combining an economically and spatially stretched portfolio of livelihood activities" (Walker 2012: 75), a phenomenon also referred to as "occupational diversity" (Martin et al. 2013) or "pluriactivity" (Andriesse & Phammalath 2012), and implying the delocalization of livelihoods (Rigg 1998; Rigg & Salamanca

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[1] All names have been changed to preserve interviewees' anonymity.

2011; Rigg et al. 2014). That is to say, households' livelihood activities have increasingly comprised both small-scale agriculture for household subsistence and contract farming for cash income, as well as off-farm income sources, both within the village and in urban labor markets. Even the role of farming in the household economy has changed from constituting the most important livelihood source in the vast majority of households to being a supplementary livelihood activity (Rigg et al. 2016). Livelihood security and social safety nets are rather constituted by both land holdings and (a certain level of) farming activities in the village (also depending on the household composition), and non-agricultural income in a peri-/urban surrounding. Especially young people no longer aim for smallholder-based livelihoods but increasingly engage in non-agricultural work (e.g. Huijsmans 2014; Ensor et al. 2019). These trends also accentuate the close link between migration and the overall process of change manifesting in rural life. Overall, strong links to people, places, regions, and developments beyond community boundaries, e.g. migration-induced or due to economic exchange, loom large in "rural"-life. In sum, "rural"-life no longer implies remoteness or seclusion.

Besides this increasing interconnectedness as a key characteristic of rural life, the overarching process of rural transition – for instance, in Thailand – as well as environmental and climate change also imply a multitude of risks. Major changes characterizing rural areas over the past decades include the integration of economies and labor markets on a global scale; the extension and internationalization of production chains; deagrarianization (i.e. the marked decline of the agricultural economy) (Preston & Ngah 2012; Pujiriyani et al. 2018); and the gradual marginalization and displacement of small-scale agriculture (or subsistence farming) as a livelihood-securing activity through the industrialization and (neo-)liberalization of agriculture, implying contract farming and the marketization, monetization, and commodification of natural resources and land – overall involving both opportunities and risks and constituting lives in flux (Goodman & Watts 1997; Eder 1999; Pye & Schaffar 2008; Rigg et al. 2012; Rigg et al. 2016; Rambo 2017). This major rural transition – as observable in Thailand, for instance – is closely related to gradual societal shifts (Tacoli 1998; Rigg 1998; Kelly 2011; Preston & Ngah 2012), such as demographic change (ageing population), urbanization and individualization, the increasing significance of educational and occupational aspirations and life-styles, and gradual changes in family life and household configurations and in underlying gender and intergenerational relations (e.g. women in employment, decreasing fertility rates) (e.g. Elmhirst 1998; Mills 1999, 2005; Tacoli & Mabala 2010; Huijsmans 2013; Liu et al. 2014; Østby 2016; Jacka 2017). Last but not least, climate change has an enormous impact on lifestyles, livelihoods, and economies all over the

world. Adverse impacts from changes in weather patterns and extreme events already call for responses (substantial change, even reorganization of livelihoods), putting coping capacities to the test (quick response) and demanding adaptation strategies (anticipative action). Especially smallholder households in a "rural" Global South context are exposed to additional stress due to changing seasonal patterns and magnitudes of extreme events related to global climatic changes. Yet, as already mentioned, dealing with risks is nothing new or unusual in so-called "rural" lives. One of the strategies households apply to spread risks (i.e. to diversify livelihoods) is migration. Migration is in general a very common part of rural livelihoods and an important component of household economies in rural areas in Southeast Asia, amongst other places.

In the context of "rural" life in flux in a Global South region and the well-nigh normality of life plans spanning multiple places, this thesis specifically addresses the intersection of increasing connectedness in rural lives with the multi-faceted exposure to risks, as well as with practices to handle risk and change, including environmental and climate-related stress. The main objective of this research is to explore the interdependencies between translocalized lives – as induced by rural–urban migration, for instance – and the social resilience of households, by which I mean, broadly, strategies of households and the capacities and resources they utilize in order to deal with risks (and change) and take advantage of opportunities to handle risks and change. This is based on the central hypothesis that the connections between migrants and non-migrants and their multiple social and spatial embedding shape the social resilience of migrant households. The thesis focuses in particular on rural–urban migration (domestic migration), which tends to be neglected in migration–development and migration–adaptation research despite its high prevalence and its significance among sources of livelihoods. Within this framework spotlighting the influence of translocal connections and embeddedness on the social resilience of migrant households, the following aspects will be examined: 1) the circumstances of maintaining connections between migrants at their respective places of destination and places and households of origin, i.e. the circumstances of multi-embeddedness, of linking places and connecting multiple reference systems with each other; and 2) the impact of these practices on the livelihood of migrant households, specifically taking into account the transgression of local boundaries and the blurring of rural–urban boundaries. The core issue this thesis seeks to shed light on pertains to the effects rural–urban migration has on the social resilience of migrant households, i.e. on the capacities and resources a household can utilize to deal with risks and seize opportunities. This overarching question comprises the following three more specific research questions:

i. What patterns of multi-local embedding and connections can be identified?

ii. What factors influence the (dis-)continuation of translocal connectedness between migrants in urban areas and their family and household at the rural places of origin?

iii. Under what circumstances and how does rural-urban translocal connectedness induced by migration affect capacities of households to deal with risks?

The study is embedded in research addressing migration and its impacts from the perspective of human geography. In particular, it builds on and contributes to research on translocality and social resilience, and to debates addressing migration in the context of adaptation, environmental change, and development, as well as to research on rural life and rural–urban interaction in a Global South context. Interpreting the intersection of connectedness in rural lives and risk exposure in a changing environment from a social-practice perspective, a practice-based translocal resilience approach will be developed to frame this thesis. Emphasis is thus placed on the multi-embeddedness of migrants and non-migrants and the connectedness among them, which transgress and reshape boundaries of places (and scales) and produce translocal spaces. This is to say, the multitude of migrants' and non-migrants' connections, interactions, and everyday activities at their places of destination and origin produce links between these places and blur the boundaries between rural and urban areas (in the sense of both as spatial and social configurations). Exploring and systematizing the diversity of translocal practices of (rural–urban) migrants helps to reconcile the macro and micro levels of migration, i.e. the aggregated level of international migration and remittance flows on the one hand, and individual reasons, motivations, and purposes on the other. The social-practice perspective allows the identification of mechanisms and patterns of everyday activities of and connections between migrants and non-migrants in interaction with contextual factors at both the place of origin and destination – resulting in a useful level of context-specificity and allowing the transferability of results at the same time.

The findings resulting from this thesis draw on empirical data collected in Thailand by applying qualitative research methods. Informed by multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995), semi-structured and in-depth interviews were conducted with migrant households in three rural areas in North and Northeast Thailand and with current migrants from these rural areas at their places of destination in Greater Bangkok. The empirical research phase (of twelve months in total) also comprised participant observation and informal conversations in study areas. It was, moreover, preceded by a series of focus-group discussions on community livelihoods, and accompanied by a household survey in the aforementioned rural

research sites, which were also the study areas of the larger research project (TRANS|RE) within which this thesis is embedded.

The subsequent considerations informing this thesis are structured as follows: after reviewing the literature of the relevant research strands, i.e. rural livelihoods and rural development, migration impact, translocality, and social resilience, the conceptual approach of this research will be elaborated on, namely a practice-focused translocal-resilience approach, based on which the interdependence of migration and constantly changing livelihoods will be analyzed. Thirdly, the research design and applied methods will be expounded, before concisely illustrating the regional research context. The subsequent section presents and discusses the results of this research along the three main dimensions of translocal social resilience: spatiality and scales, social practices in translocal space, and positionality in livelihood constellations that span multiple places. After summarizing and presenting the conclusions that can be drawn from this research as a whole, the last part of the thesis will depict the contributions of the three research articles that were produced in the course of this research, as they relate to the overall thesis.

2.) Geographical perspectives on rural–urban interaction in the context of environmental stress and rural transition

The research is embedded in and contributes to the following four research strands: first, research examining the potentiality of migration including both the migration–development nexus and the migration–adaptation nexus; secondly, migration and precarity, placing emphasis on labour relations; thirdly, translocality, which spotlights the interlinkage of places and helps to address the multiple social and spatial scales featuring in migration processes; and fourthly, social resilience as a lens through which the impact of migration in the translocal field will be assessed in this thesis.

2.1. The potentiality of migration: remittances, development, and adaptation

An extensive body of literature from a range of disciplines, including migration studies, development studies, anthropology, and social and development geography provides evidence for the impact of migration – both international and internal – on rural areas in terms of both livelihoods and adaptation (e.g. De Haan & Van Ufford 2002; Rigg 2006; Le Mare et al. 2015; McLeman & Smit 2006; Black et al. 2011; Warner & Afifi 2014). The focus of these studies ranges from rural development (Ellis 1998; DfID 1999; de Haan & Rogaly 2002;

Ratha 2005; World Bank 2006; Özden & Schiff 2006; Faist 2008; Piper 2009) and rural transition (Massey 1988; McMichael 1997; Ilbery 1998; Kelly 2011; Rigg et al. 2012; Rigg et al. 2016), through socio-economic (e.g. Evans & Ngau 1991; Rubenstein 1992; Chant & Radcliffe 1992; Skeldon 2002; Spaan et al. 2005; Ghosh 2006; de Haas 2012; Clemens et al. 2014; Steinbrink & Lohnert 2018) and socio-ecological impacts of migration (Moran-Taylor & Taylor 2010; Quisumbing & McNiven 2010; Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2012) to effects of migration on adaptation to environmental and climate-related risks (Sørensen et al. 2003; McLeman & Smit 2006; Tacoli 2009; Banerjee et al. 2012; Black et al. 2011; Geddes & Jordan 2012; Warner & Afifi 2014; Warner et al. 2015; Bettini & Gioli 2015)[2]. A majority of studies contributing to the debate on migration impact emphasize the specific impact on households (e.g. Chant 1998; Osaki 2003; Thieme & Wyss 2005; Thieme & Siegmann 2010; Greiner 2011; Pickbourn 2011; Junge 2012; Huijsmans 2013; Huijsmans 2013; Naumann & Greiner 2016) and communities (e.g. Paris et al. 2009; Moran-Taylor & Taylor 2010; Quisumbing & McNiven 2010; Agergaard & Brøgger 2016) in migrant sending areas. Overall, these studies form part of academic and policy-focused debates on the potential of migration to instigate positive change – in terms of development or adaptation.

Migration and development

The migration–development nexus has been discussed for several decades, starting in the early 1970s when the main focus was still on domestic migration, specifically on rural–rural and rural–urban migration (e.g. Harris & Todaro 1970; Fields 1975; Lipton 1980; Oberai et al. 1980; Massey 1988). Complementing such earlier research on migration and rural development that spotlighted effects of migration on rural production and income distribution as well as disparities within rural communities and between rural and urban areas, another strand in the debate on migration–development has been informed by the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) (Lucas & Stark 1985) and the "Sustainable Livelihoods Approach" which frames labor migration as an income-diversifying and risk-spreading strategy of households. In contrast to the neo-classical economic theory for the study of migration from a micro-level perspective, placing labor markets, rational choice, and households' needs to accumulate economic capital at centre stage (push-pull theories and brain-drain vs. brain-gain), the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) draws attention to the minimization of risk exposure as a considerable driver of migration (Stark & Bloom 1985). Migration is thus framed as a strategy employed by households to diversify their income sources

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[2] For a comprehensive review of the different stances on migration in the evolution of the debates on migration–development and migration-as-adaptation, see Bettini & Gioli 2015.

in order to spread livelihood risks, mainly by means of financial remittances (Stark & Bloom 1985; Taylor 1999). In a similar manner, the sustainable livelihoods approach considers migration as one livelihood factor (Chambers & Conway 1992; Ellis 1998; Scoones 1998; Bebbington 1999; De Haan 2000). To "achieve a livelihood" (de Haan 2000), households make use of various forms of capital(s) – human, natural, physical, financial, and social. These capitals are their resources and assets. The essential criterion is, however, their endowment with or access to these capitals (de Haan 2000; Scoones 2009) – which depends on both households' (individual members') activities and broader socio-economic and political processes. Based on the idea of using migration as a strategy to spread risks and improve livelihoods in places of origin (Faist 2008; Naik 2009; Leighton 2009; Le De et al. 2013), migration, especially international migration between countries of the Global North and South, has been conceived of as fostering development in places and countries of origin. Key concerns of migration–development debates have thus been remittances, the diaspora, and the bottom-up dimension of development, i.e. the significance of individuals and communities in initiating development (Kapur 2005; Faist 2008; Skeldon 2008; de Haas 2012; Clemens et al. 2014)[3].

Migration-as-adaptation

Migration-as-adaptation shares its conceptual origins with the migration–development nexus, building on core elements of both the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) and the Sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) (see above). Against this conceptual backdrop, migration-as-adaptation can be referred to as "human mobility as a livelihood strategy" (Adger et al. 2002) through which households intend to diversify their income sources and reduce risks vis-à-vis diverse stressors, including impact from climate-induced slow- or rapid-onset (extreme) events (McLeman and Smit 2006; Black et al. 2013; Warner & Afifi 2014; Gioli & Milan 2018). Related research has shed light on the role of migration in diversifying livelihoods (Black et al. 2011; Scheffran et al. 2012; Tacoli 2011) and coping with or reducing risks (Afifi et al. 2015; Maharjan et al. 2020), particularly in the context of agriculture-based livelihoods and small-scale rainfed agriculture (Deshingkar 2012), e.g. in terms of agricultural practices (Manivong et al. 2014; Vanwey et al. 2012; Hull 2007; Taylor et al. 2006; Lukasiewicz 2011; Radel & Schmook 2009; Mendola 2008) and landuse (McKay 2005; Davis & Lopez-Carr 2014; Jokisch 2002; Radel et al. 2010; Hostettler 2007; Peluso & Purwanto 2018), and on building resilience at the household and community level through re-

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[3] Comprehensive reviews on the migration-development nexus have been provided by Skeldon 1997; de Haan 1999; Nyberg-Sørensen et al. 2002; Page & Plaza 2006; de Haas 2005; Clemens et al. 2014, amongst others.

mittances, e.g. strengthening capacities driven by migrants' new knowledge and extended networks (Adger et al. 2003; Barnett and Webber 2010; Scheffran et al. 2012).

The crucial role of remittances

Those predominantly optimistic stances on migration in debates on both the migration–development nexus and migration-as-adaptation relate both to the triple-win effect of migration (i.e. for both countries of origin and destination, and for migrants themselves) and to remittances (Nyberg-Sørensen 2004), which meanwhile far exceed, in monetary terms, official development assistance (ADB 2012; UNDESA 2017; World Bank 2019). Besides the understanding of remittances as financial transfers from countries of destination to countries of origin, conceptions of remittances also encompass the transfer of immaterial resources, e.g. ideas, skills, knowledge, experiences, habits, attitudes, identities, and social capital – usually referred to as social remittances (Levitt 1998; Vertovec 2004). Expectations are thus high regarding the potential of remittances to enhance a household's living standard (Taylor et al. 1996; Orozco 2002; Adams & Page 2005; Gupta et al. 2009; Rao & Hassan 2009), to enable investment in new business or in improved agricultural techniques, for instance (e.g. Mendola 2008; Radel et al. 2010; Manivong et al. 2014), and to trigger long-term development processes (Ratha 2003; Sabates-Wheeler & Waite 2003; Skeldon 2008), including initiatives for infrastructural improvements (e.g. Martin et al. 2002), fostering political participation, promoting equal rights, e.g. gender equality (e.g. de Haas & van Rooij 2010; Burgess 2012; Tabar 2014; Kessler & Rother 2016), and ultimately feeding into a household's ability to cope with and adapt to climate change (Adger et al. 2003; Tacoli 2007; Barnett & Webber 2009; Black et al. 2011; Scheffran et al. 2012; Deshingkar 2012; Warner & Afifi 2014). On this level of abstraction, migration, including remittances, seems highly important to foster development and facilitate adaptation to climate change in countries, communities, and households of origin. Reducing the transfer costs of financial remittances from host to home countries has therefore also been stipulated as part of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals adopted in 2015 (World Bank 2016). Remittances have also been considered in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Target 10.c; 2015) and in the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (Objective 20; 2018), as well as in policy papers with a specific focus on climate-change adaptation (IOM 2008; ADB 2012; IPCC 2012).

To analyze remittances, scholars have highlighted the influence of individual rationalities, aspirations, and capabilities on remittances and their interaction with both interpersonal relationships and social norms, cultural values, and economic considerations (Posel 2001;

Osaki 2003; Orozco et al. 2009; Kusakabe & Pearson 2015; Collier et al. 2011; Carling & Hoelscher 2013; Harper & Zubida 2017; Szabo et al. 2018). Besides capturing mechanisms and patterns of remittance transfer and usage, the impact of remittances on development has been vividly discussed (see Eversole & Johnson 2014 for a critique), firstly, by focusing on the economic dimension of development, i.e. diversifying income sources, accumulating assets, and augmenting the material and financial resource endowment of households (consumer products, vehicles, electronic devices, housing equipment etc.), and instigating investment in micro-business (e.g. Durand et al. 1996; Conway & Cohen 1998; Taylor 1999; McCormick & Wahba 2001; Cohen 2001; Francis 2002; Siddiqui & Abrar 2003; Ratha 2013). Secondly, light has been shed on the social dimension of development (Portes 2010; Zhunio et al. 2012), e.g. favorable effects on school enrolment and education (Acosta 2011; Gioli et al. 2014), on the social status of households (Skeldon 2002; Piper 2009), and on gender equality, unfolding, for instance, in a more equal participation in decision-making processes within households or communities (de Haas 2006; Koenig 2005; Portes 2010). Additionally, anthropological approaches to the (development) impact of migration have suggested an analysis of remittances in their social-relational context, from the household perspective on the understanding of "success" ("successful" migration and remitting), the household's development logic, and their vision of the impact of migration and remittances on e.g. community development (Eversole & Johnson 2014; Agergaard & Brøgger 2016).

Furthermore, social categories of differentiation, especially gender, have been taken into account in the analysis of remittance transfers and usage (e.g. Curran & Saguy 2001; Piper 2005; Nyberg-Sørensen 2005; King et al. 2006; 2010; Radel & Schmook 2009; Rahman & Fee 2009; Petrozziello 2011; van Naerssen et al. 2015). In general, gender refers to social constructions of masculinity and femininity and of the respective positionalities, roles, power relations, and power imbalances as well as negotiations over power (Connell 1997; Moeckli & Braun 2001; MacGregor 2010). Besides gender being situated in power-laden systems of social structures, gender is moreover conceptualized as a process which partially constitutes space, while also being produced by space (Butler 1990; Massey 1994; Nightingale 2006). As a consequence, gender qualifies as an analytical concept in the migration and remittance context, and gender relations are also reflected in migration and remittance practices in multiple ways. Gender thus helps to dissect remittance practices. It is, however, only one marker of difference – which is inflected by others. These intersecting factors, such as age, class, and religion, need to be taken into account too (e.g. Semyonov & Gorodzeisky 2005; Rindfuss et al. 2012; van Naerssen 2015; Platt et al. 2016). Besides gender relations and the role division between sexes, a migrant's age, generation, and life-cycle status (Piper

2005:12; Osaki 2003) as well as their place of destination, their household composition (De la Brière et al. 2002; Osaki 2003) and their role in relation to their household of origin (Semyonov & Gorodzeisky 2005) also affect remittance transfers. Moreover, the level of qualification, the type of occupation, and the duration of employment and length of stay at the place of destination have been identified as influential factors in terms of remitting (Ramamurthy 2003; van Naerssen 2015).

Connections and social interaction between migrating and non-migrating household members, including remittance transfers and usage, have been deciphered in terms of the implications of gender roles and relations on remittance practices (e.g. Lopez-Ekra et al. 2011; IOM 2010; Semyonov & Gorodzeisky 2005; Piper 2005; King et al. 2006, 2010, 2013; Paerregaard 2015); and vice versa, in terms of the influence of remittance transfers on gender roles (e.g. Kunz 2008; Paris et al. 2010; Lindberg-Falk 2010b; Parreñas 2005; Gresham et al. 2016). The strand of research pointing out the effects of gender relations on remittance sending, and through remittances, on households, builds on the notion that role expectations differ with sex and such gendered roles play out in interaction between migrants and their households of origin. Additionally, gender relations have a significant influence on the control over remittance deployment in the receiving household – albeit in conjunction with the sender–receiver relationship and the household constellation (i.e. daughter to mother, wife to husband or vice versa) (Rahman & Fee 2009). As these gender effects on remitting and control over and deployment of remittances indicate, remittance practices likewise influence gender relations. Studies account for such effects on gendered roles and intra-household relations by analyzing women's roles both as non-migrating household members while a male household member migrates and transfers remittances (Lawson 1998; De Haas & Van Rooij 2010; Radel et al. 2010; King et al. 2010, 2013; Paerregaard 2015) and as migrating and remitting household members themselves (Radel et al. 2010; Francis 2002; Le Mare et al. 2015; McKay 2005; Resurreccion 2005). Accordingly, in some cases, women, who stay put and receive remittances from their husbands, decide upon their usage and thus take up roles as remittance managers (Paris et al. 2010; Paerregaard 2015). In that instance women take over responsibility for the household's agricultural activities for example (Jokisch 2002; Paris et al. 2010; Lukasiewicz 2011). Such (temporarily) modified gender roles and power relations influence livelihood activities of households of origin, and the use of resources, such as land, and thereby also potential adaptive capacities and adaptation activities in the face of risks.

Contesting the migration enthusiasm

This overall rather positive view on migration as a means of adaptation, highlighting resilience as a guiding principle, households' self-help capacities and migrants' agency, and their remittance-related potentials and entrepreneurial activities, has also provoked criticism. First, the concept might be understood as shifting the responsibility from the state to communities and individual households and migrants affected by climate change and related risks (e.g. slow- or rapid-onset "disasters" related to long-term changes in weather and seasonal patterns and atmospheric phenomena) (Piper 2016; Davoudi 2016; Klepp & Chavez-Rodriguez 2018), thus fostering neoliberal policy making (Bettini & Gioli 2015; Evans & Reid 2013; Felli & Castree 2012; Klepp & Chavez-Rodriguez 2018). For instance, Bettini et al. (2016) argue that the migration-as-adaptation concept conceals the root causes of migration in the context of a changing climate and therefore detracts attention from global structural inequalities and discrimination, and from responsibilities; instead, it builds on the "resilience paradigm" which is inclined toward neo-liberal ideas of self-regulating markets and individualism, and calls for the acceptance of constant change as an organizing principle (of societies, life, nature, economy, etc.) (Dunn Cavelty et al. 2015; see also Cannon & Müller-Mahn 2010). As a consequence, everyone must find ways to deal with such all-encompassing contingency. Such a reading of migration-as-adaptation also reflects parts of its conceptual roots in the livelihoods framework with its tendency to neglect power relations and structures of domination while (over)emphasizing the choices of households and individuals (Prowse 2010; Sakdapolrak 2014); and to overestimate the strategic intention and full-information basis of decision-making (de Haan & Zoomers 2005). Migration-as-adaptation is thus suspected by these scholars to promote a market-based, economistic, neo-liberal approach to adaptation, in which individuals are responsible for improving their livelihoods and adapting to climatic changes through migration, and in which the market will even out inequalities (or rather differences in the conception of migration-as-adaptation) if households live up to their opportunities (Bettini et al. 2016). The criticism also pertains to international development organizations that have adopted a resilience concept that builds on the aforementioned self-help capacities of households and individuals in adapting to climate change, implying the shift of responsibilities from the state to the individual household and migrant and promoting a market-based approach to sustainable development and resilience (Felli & Castree 2012; Piper 2009; Bettini & Gioli 2015; Thieme 2011; Evans & Reid 2013; Kapur 2005; Hernandez & Coutin 2006; Datta et al. 2007; Kunz 2008; Rigg & Oven 2015), instead of centering "purposeful development", i.e. the overall improvement of people's lives through poverty reduction, livelihood enhancement, and education improvements, for in-

stance – a criticism put forward by Cannon and Müller-Mahn (2010). Analyzing the frictions between vulnerability, resilience, development, and adaptation in climate-change discourses, they suppose a close link between the neglect of (government) responsibilities and the depolitization of inequalities, poverty, and disparate risk exposure with the shift in the analytical basis of development and adaptation activities from vulnerability to resilience thinking (ibid.).

The second main strand of criticism relates to the limited consideration of power inequalities and ensuing disparate degrees of vulnerability among individual household members, whether at the place of origin or as a migrating household member at the place of destination, as well as inequalities at the community level (Arango 2000; Skeldon 2008; de Haas 2010; Kunz 2011; Lindley 2009; Piper 2009; Siegmann & Thieme 2010). Contrasting the potential development- or adaptation-conducive effects of migration for households at migrants' places of origin, light has been shed on the (individual) vulnerability of migrants due to informal work relations and overall insecure living conditions at their places of destination. In the realm of migration–development and environment–migration nexuses, this place-related contrast in migration impacts has mostly been discussed in the context of remittance transactions (Skeldon 1997; Taylor 1999; De Haas 2007; Gielis 2009; Bertoli & Marchetta 2014; Resurreccion 2005; Agergaard & Thao 2011; Vari-Lavoisier 2016; Singh & Basu 2019). For instance, Carling (2014), analyzing the vulnerability of migrating household members, highlights the simultaneity of privileges, which *some* migrants encounter relative to non-migrating household members, and migrants' individual vulnerabilities deriving from their home communities' expectations and their placing additional burdens on migrants. Similarly, Platt et al. (2016) highlight the vulnerability of international labor migrants in Singapore due to migration-related indebtedness, dependency-based work relations, and the temporariness of jobs and sojourns. And Etzold (2016) highlights the burden of providing financial help, which might imply severe constraints on the remittance-sender's everyday life. Hence, besides the potentiality of migration that has extensively been discussed – and legitimately so – migration, specifically labor migration, may for instance also be linked to informality, insecurity, social vulnerability (Etzold & Mallick 2016) or precarity. Discussing links between migration and social inequality, scholars have, moreover, largely challenged the universal applicability of migration-as-adaptation as a strategy for handling climate-related risks and unfavorable impact (Sward 2016; Rigg et al. 2014; Schade et al. 2016; Radel et al. 2017; Ackerly 2016). Sward, for instance, examining the environment–migration nexus against the backdrop of rural development, remarks that "internal migration cannot make winners out of everyone…", which, he continues, "has implications for

thinking about the adaptive potential of migration" (2016: 197). That is to say, migration (both international and domestic) – despite its potential – cannot (and should not) be considered a universal remedy for inequalities, e.g. regarding access to and distribution of resources, amenities, well-being, etc., because migration itself reflects power relations and reproduces disparities (see also Singh & Basu 2019). Consequently, the impacts of migration may diverge depending on the actor, the place, and the time. To assess migration impact, attention therefore needs to be drawn to the frame of reference in terms of the spatial and social level at which this impact is assessed. And multiple places, social and spatial scales, and timeframes must be taken into account. Hence, stronger emphasis has to be placed on the specific circumstances of migration and migrant–household connections.

In sum, debates on the migration–adaptation nexus have been oscillating between enthusiasm and rejection, mirroring the ambiguity involved in the notion of migration-as-adaptation. From a potentiality-oriented point of view, migration is framed as a process that can facilitate adaptation. In this reading of the nexus, migration, remittances, and migrants' agency are critical components of adaptability. Besides its focus on the potentiality of migration, this framing of a migration–adaptation nexus also underscores the interdependence of migration, adaptation, and change. Using migration as a means of adaptation reflects the anticipation of change and the intention to adjust to change and take advantage of opportunities while adapting. Broader processes of change are actively faced or even embraced, and such changes, on more encompassing levels in the realm of human–environment interaction are thus simultaneously shaped at the household and the individual level. Hence, migration-as-adaptation both drives change and is embedded in broader processes of change – societal, economic, and environmental, as well as climatic.

However, not everybody disposes of the capacities to embrace or engage in migration, which concepts of migration-as-adaptation tend to neglect. Moreover, in a less migration-enthusiastic reading, adaptation, adaptive capacity, and development are not necessarily outcomes of migration, and clearly not the only types of outcome, as migration also involves risks, uncertainties, deterioration or de-stabilization of livelihoods and circumstances in everyday lives (Maharjan et al. 2020). As mentioned before, such forms of migration impact, rather in contrast to adaptation and development as migration-associated outcomes, can be captured by the notion of precarity, which has been regularly associated with migration. Particularly accentuating the multi-locality incorporated in migration-as-adaptation, the outlined ambiguity in migration impact will be further explicated in the following subsection.

2.2. Migration and precarity: labor, social obligations, and marginalization

While both the migration–development and the migration–adaptation narratives tend to highlight the potentiality of migration, other strands of migration research provide evidence for the close link between migration and precarity, suggesting, for instance, that precarity is part of many migrants' everyday lives. Precarity as a research concept has gained traction in analyses of the economic development and social changes that accompany the globalization and (neo-)liberalization of industrial production and labor markets in a post-Fordist era in industrialized countries (Neilson & Rossiter 2008; Standing 2011; Arnold & Bongiovi 2013; Siemann & Schiphorst 2016). Inextricably linked to the informalization of labor relations, precarity has been conceptualized as "all possible shapes of unsure, not guaranteed, flexible exploitation: from illegalized, seasonal and temporary employment to homework, flex- and temp-work to subcontractors, freelancers or so-called self-employed persons" (Neilson & Rossiter 2005, par. 4). On the part of workers, this results in multi-dimensional insecurity, encompassing ambiguous employment relationships (e.g. subcontracted work, working for multiple employers), unpredictability in terms of working hours and the period of employment (e.g. part-time or temporary contracts), income insecurity, unsafe and unhealthy work conditions, lacking access to or low level of social protection, such as poor pension and health benefits, and low level of union coverage (Standing 2011; Coe 2013; McDowell & Christopherson 2009; Peck & Theodore 2010; Herod and Lambert 2016; Schierup and Jørgensen 2016). Additionally, precarity stretches beyond the workplace. It affects private life, social contacts, and family planning, as well as the mental stability of workers in such employment relations in those segments of the labor market that are affected by deregulation, neo-liberalization, informalization, and flexibilization (ibid.).

Over the past decade or so, the informalization of formal (urban) employment has not only been analyzed in relation to neoliberal capitalism (Arnold & Bongiovi 2013; Chang 2009; Campbell 2013; Charoenloet 2002; Ettlinger 2007) but also in the context of labor migration (Lindell 2009; Munck 2011; Ghosh 2007; Tacoli et al. 2015; Craig et al. 2015; Tappe & Nguyen 2019). Labor migrants (international and domestic) are usually well represented in economic sectors with moderate requirement profiles and great demand for labor in general, such as manufacturing, consumer services, or construction (Piper 2009). And it is these very sectors in which precarious work tends to be particularly widespread (Waite 2009; Platt et al. 2016). In certain cases, one's status as a migrant even increases the risk of being confronted with precarity: hazardous circumstances may include migration-related indebtedness, temporariness of sojourns, dependency on visa and work permits or, at times, un-

clear residence status, and a lack of safety nets, amongst other predicaments (Şenses 2015; Platt et al. 2016). Certainly, domestic migrants do not necessarily share the experience of language barriers or exclusion related to their registration status, which, however, are factors that have an impact on the labor-market segment and type of job one can access. The exposure to precarious working and living conditions might therefore seem less pronounced for domestic migrants as compared to international, potentially undocumented migrants. On the other hand, domestic labor migrants in countries of the Global South also often enter lower market segments at their place of destination and are still expected to accrue substantial amounts of remittances. They thus have a similar experience of precarity to international labor migrants. Altogether, given the complexity behind precarity (McDowell et al. 2007; Waite 2009; Coe 2013), including the context- and actor-specificity regarding the "severity" of affectedness (Herod & Lambert 2016), light needs to be shed on the specific working and living conditions of domestic migrants in countries of the Global South, including their multi-locality as an influential factor.

While precarity is conceived of as applying to both the formal and the informal economy (Schierup & Jørgensen 2016), of which the latter is often linked to developing and newly industrialized countries, questions arise regarding the concept's transferability to countries of the Global South. Industrialization in many of these countries only began in the era of neoliberal capitalism in which informal and contingent employment, i.e. unstable jobs, wage work, low wages and long working hours, and limited social security and welfare, are normal. Hence, precarity can be considered the standard (Neilson & Rossiter 2008). Without diverting from the norm, though, the designation of these conditions as precarious has been challenged (Westerheide 2015). Rather than using precarity to capture class relations and class making in societies of non- or newly-industrialized countries, some scholars therefore give preference to marginality, informality, and social exclusion (Munck 2013; Vari-Lavoisier 2016) and contend that "economic insecurity is more widespread and digs deeper" in the Global South (Paret & Gleeson 2016: 285). Furthermore, critique relates to the generality of applying precarity, firstly to both work relations and social life, and secondly to an enormously heterogeneous group of working populations who face different kinds of precarious conditions, including laborers in different regional contexts, low-paid workers, and the higher-paid "creative class" (Waite 2009: 9), and migrant labor with different nationalities, amongst others.

Nonetheless, given the similarities between precarious and informal work relations (Waite 2009; Hewison & Tularak 2013), multiply insecure life and work realities have also been

framed as precarious in the so-called developing world (Alva & Entwisle 2002; Parsons 2016, 2017). In research focusing on both rural livelihoods (Rigg 2014; Rigg et al. 2016) and (rural–urban) labor migration in a Global-South context (Tappe & Nguyen 2019), precarity has served as an analytical concept to address the multiplicity of risks induced by the integration of "rural" labor migrants into the urban labor market. In fact, as part of a low-paid workforce in low-or semi-skilled jobs or as self-employed small-business owners, rural–urban labor migrants often lack employment stability and social welfare, work in unsafe, unhealthy environments, and remain separated from the "urban society" (Pye & Schaffar 2008; Hewison 2010; Tappe & Nguyen 2019). Precariousness induced by non-farm work in urban labor markets, e.g. in East and Southeast Asia, affect entire households. As a consequence – and in combination with a lacking (public) social safety net system – livelihood security needs to be "co-produced in the factories and the fields", as Rigg et al. suggest (2016: 130; see also Rigg & Salamanca 2014). That is to say, earning a living for a household necessarily has to be aggregated through multi-sited and diverse types of work, eventually – ideally – balancing out the multiple existential insecurities.

This juxtaposition of migration potentiality (chapter 2.1) with migration precarity links sheds light on the ambivalence of migration realities and effects. While migration can foster development and adaptation, the controversial tendency to shift the responsibility for helping people, e.g. in the face of climatic stress and changes, from national governments and international community to households and individual migrants themselves, must not be neglected. In the same vein, related analyses and debates must pay attention to precarity as a reality of many migrants' everyday lives. This implies that migration takes effect at multiple levels and places (e.g. household, individual; communities of origin and destination; rural and urban spaces; regional and global), i.e. the assessment of migration effects has a scalar dimension. It also calls for a more nuanced analysis of migration practices and the circumstances under which migration takes place.

2.3. Translocality: mobility, places, and connections

As elaborated on the basis of the literature on migration impact in the context of both development and adaptation, the level of analysis and assessments plays a critical role in determining the respective impact of migration. Against this backdrop, a recap of the important reconceptualization of migration in the scientific debate in the late 1980s and early 1990s proves useful: in the course of this process, transnationalism gained traction as a research strand in migration studies (amongst other areas of research). Beyond the framing of migration in the context of globalization, considering migration as part of international relations

and regarding migrants as flows of people between countries, engendering a simplified differentiation between countries of origin and countries of destination, stronger attention has since been drawn to spaces of reference beyond the national level, to specific places, actors and their agency (Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Basch et al. 1994; Vertovec 1999; Faist 1998, Portes 2001). While global economic processes and the persistence of nation-states at the same time were considered contradictory phenomena, transnationalism as a framework conceptualizes their concurrence in migrants' practices, including social relationships, political actions, beliefs, identities, and transnational embedding (Glick Schiller et al. 1992). Migrants' simultaneous embeddedness in the societies of both their countries of origin and of destination produces transnational spaces, which also form part of migrants' transnational frames of reference, predicated on their interpretations of their migration experiences (Pries 2010; Shinozaki 2015). Conceptually, transnational spaces have also been framed as transnational social fields constituted and sustained by e.g. material and immaterial resource flows, including financial and social remittances, symbols and values as well as ideas and knowledge, which people or institutional actors share across national boundaries, for instance through family ties, transnational political movements, and academic cooperation, amongst others (Guarnizo 1997; Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004; Smith 2005; Gargano 2009; Pries 2010; Banerjee 2011; Boccagni 2012). Yet, despite the intention to offer an approach that ensures deviation from methodological nationalism, the conceptual link between societies and nation-states was still rather close in research on transnational migration. For instance, one of the central elements in framing transnationalism is linking societies of origin and destination through the transgression of nation-state boundaries by people or resource flows (Basch et al. 1994) or the framing of transnational space, which spans nation-state borders, as based on the simultaneous embeddedness in the societies of both the country of destination and origin (see above) – hence suggesting the equation of society and nation.

Expanding the focus beyond the national level as a central frame of reference, social scientists from various disciplines have contributed to the development of translocality as a research focus. This body of knowledge has been constituted by research in the realm of migration (Brickell & Datta 2011; Gielis 2009; Hedberg & Do Carmo 2012; Rau 2012; Sterly 2015; Andersson 2014; Winters 2014; Etzold 2016; Fauser & Nijenhuis 2015), area studies (Oakes & Schein 2006; Sun 2006; Verne 2012; Bromber 2013; Benz 2014; Gilles 2015), and urban studies (Söderström & Geertman 2013; Main & Sandoval 2015; Kinder 2016; Brzezicka & Wisniewski 2016; Buffel 2015; Cory et al. 2020), as well as history (Freitag & Von Oppen 2010), cultural anthropology (Appadurai 1996; Ma 2002; Long 2008; Rogers 2011; Greiner 2012; Adams 2015; Pocapanishwong 2016; Kytölä 2016), development stud-

ies (Grillo & Riccio 2004; Zoomers & Westen 2011; Banerjee 2011; Van Ewijk 2016), and human ecology (Rios & Watkins 2015). Complementing transnationalism, the translocality perspective takes into account socio-spatial levels and boundaries beyond the national and beyond the transnational level in order to additionally turn the gaze to local contexts which also have a critical influence on connections across space, on multi-embeddedness, and on everyday practices in living arrangements that span multiple places at the same time (e.g. Freitag & Von Oppen 2010; Brickell & Datta 2011; Riccio 2011; Banerjee 2011). As related research suggests, movement and mobility involve the transgression of other spatial or sca-lar boundaries, too, besides national borders. For instance, rural–urban movements (within one country) (e.g. Schein 2006; Brickell 2011; Andersson 2014; Steinbrink & Lohnert 2018) and situatedness in multiple localities at the same time do not require the crossing of a na-tional border. Concepts of translocality still refer to the transnational level, e.g. the notion of the transnational social field as a socio-spatial configuration emerging from connections between actors, practices, and processes despite and across borders and spatial distance (e.g. Hall & Datta 2010; Spooner 2013; Nowicka 2013; Agergaard & Broegger 2016). Howev-er, the focus is explicitly shifted to the local. As for instance Banerjee (2011) elucidates, based on the empirical example of translocal political movements, identities travel across nation-states and are reconstituted in localities that transcend national territorial bounda-ries – making these spaces translocal rather than transnational. Despite the variety of disci-plines adopting and iteratively reinterpreting translocality, central elements of translocality concurrently discussed in these contributions include places, mobility, and connections, and especially the interlocking of these elements.

First of all, given the centrality of "groundedness" or situatedness, place features as one of the linchpins in translocal concepts, specifically as the spatial and social configuration(s) where people (or ideas, information, artifacts) are situated and from which people reach out to other places (Lohnert & Steinbrink 2005; Gielis 2009). Place can thus be conceived of as the social and spatial framing in which embedding unfolds and influences interactions with places and people elsewhere. Hence, place both essentially influences translocal practices and reflects them at the same time. That being said, place – through a translocal lens – can only be understood in conjunction with connections or connectedness. Place and connec-tions together are the components based on which a network of interlinked places emerges, overall constituting translocal space (Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2013). For instance, in the con-text of migration, places of both origin and destination become parts of the translocal space that is produced through the connections that migrants and non-migrants maintain between each other across space, through their everyday practices, and through embeddedness in

multiple places at the same time (see below). While linking places with each other, translocal embeddedness and the interconnectedness of migrants' and non-migrants' everyday lives also involve the transgression of spatial and scalar boundaries (e.g. Peleikis 2010; Hatfield 2011; Page 2011; Fauser & Nijenhuis 2015). Thereby these places are modified, e.g. in terms of their particular logic, their scope, or their composition (Hall & Datta 2010; Schetter 2012; Verne 2012; Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2013; Etzold 2016, Sterly 2015; Steinbrink & Lohnert 2018).

Secondly, translocality is based on mobility, specifically on the movement of people, goods, ideas or symbols spanning distances (spatially or ideologically) (Freitag & Von Oppen 2010). Mobility serves as a backdrop against which connectivity, and thereby change and progress, evolve. However, mobility is not referred to as constant movement. Instead, being mobile is inextricably linked to being situated – in association with specific places – and maintaining or establishing connections from one place to another. Instead of constant movement, from a translocal viewpoint, mobility involves particular places as anchors, rendering mobility across space, and place-focused embedding, simultaneous and complementary axes in the very same process. As much as mobility, e.g. mobile actors, shape translocal space, place and connections, translocality also allows for immobility. This pertains, for instance, to non-migrants who are likewise involved in translocal modes of living, given the connections between migrants and non-migrating "significant others" at the place of origin. That is to say, both mobility and immobility in conjunction span the space across which translocal connections are maintained or established and across which links between places are produced.

Thirdly, connections emerge from being mobile and being situated at the same time – not, however, in the sense of being "situated in mobility" but through being embedded in and attached to multiple specific locations at the same time (Brickell & Datta 2011). This implies both a multitude of place attachments and local-to-local interconnectedness. The simultaneity of mobility and situatedness, or "the fusion of locality and movement", as Mandaville put it (1999: 662), drawing on Appadurai (1996), thus features connections as constituents of this locality–mobility linkage and as structuring elements in translocal space altogether. Informed by practice theory, translocal connections have been conceived of as formed by everyday routines and activities (i.e. spatially and temporarily situated practices) that span multiple places and socio-spatial contexts (Vertovec 2004; Brickell & Datta 2011; Thieme 2011; Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2013; Agergaard & Brøgger 2016; Etzold 2017). Connections essentially shape, for instance, processes of migration. In this context, translocal connections are mainly composed of exchange relations between migrants and their households at

home, including e.g. remittance transfer and usage (McKay 2005; Long 2008; Porst & Sakdapolrak 2018), multi-local household organization in terms of income generation and reproductive tasks (e.g. care work and mutual moral support) (King et al. 2013; Locke et al. 2013; Fan 2015; Kochan 2016; Jacka 2017; Lawreniuk & Parsons 2017), the formation of and involvement in migration networks (Lohnert & Steinbrink 2005; Nguyen 2019), or the inseparable entanglement of routines and agency in everyday work and social lives at different places across space (Etzold 2016; Bork-Hüffer et al. 2016; Naumann & Greiner 2016; Parsons 2017; Peth et al. 2018), amongst others. As mentioned above, translocal connectedness and embeddedness are interdependent. For instance, sustaining one's connection to the place of origin and one's role within the household while migrating – e.g. by contributing to the household's livelihood, fulfilling family obligations, and retaining one's cultural identity (Ransan-Cooper 2014; Schade et al. 2016; Parsons 2016) – signifies embeddedness at home. At the same time, migrants position themselves within the social field at the place of destination, i.e. in relation to both other migrants and the local population in a social and economic setting (e.g. an urban area) which might differ from migrant sending areas (e.g. a rural place of origin) in terms of socio-cultural values and rationalities, as for instance reflected in lifestyles or consumption patterns (Vertovec 2004; Agergaard & Brøgger 2016). Connections to other places and to "significant others" at these places affect such everyday practices of embedding (e.g. Ransan-Cooper 2014; Kochan 2016). Hence, the interdependence of connectedness and embedding at multiple specific places determines translocal spatial relations.

In sum, mobility, place, and connections in conjunction characterize practices and processes in translocal space and in everyday lives that span multiple localities at the same time. Moreover, the above reflections on translocality research illuminate the tension between mobility-induced spatial links on the one hand and boundaries on the other, i.e. between the simultaneous processes of expanding spaces of opportunity and experiencing exclusion-based constraints and vulnerability. This strand of research has contributed to framings of migration impact, including in the context of rural livelihoods, encompassing the migration–development nexus and the notion of migration-as-adaptation, through the lens of mobility, multi-spatiality and connectivity. Seeking to complement this body of knowledge with research and concepts emphasizing environmental change and impact (including climate-related risks as an influential factor on livelihood trajectories), attention will be drawn to social resilience. Overlapping with translocality on an abstract level, e.g. in terms of the focus on agency and interaction between scales as a recurrent theme, social resilience – in a social-geography sense – has evolved from research in the realms of social ecology and sus-

tainability or sustainable livelihoods. In the context of this dissertation, the concept of social resilience will therefore facilitate the integration of the conceptual focus on mobility- and place with the consideration of human–environment interaction. This is an important step to eventually comprehend the links between agricultural livelihoods, rural transition, rural–urban interaction, and adaptation to environmental stress, including potential consequences of a changing climate.

2.4. Social resilience: risks, capacities, and agency

From a human-geography perspective, social resilience mainly builds on ecology-rooted research in the realm of social-ecological systems (Holling 1973; Gunderson 2000; Berkes et al. 2008) and social-science-based vulnerability research (Bohle et al. 1994; Wisner et al. 2004) and livelihood research (Chambers & Conway 1992; Ellis 1998).

The vulnerability-informed approach to social resilience has added reflections on differential access to resources and on socially produced risk exposure to conceptualizations of social resilience (Bohle et al. 1994; Wisner et al. 2004; Christmann & Ibert 2012; Etzold & Sakdapolrak 2016; Bobar & Winder 2018). In contrast to vulnerability – which accentuates power relations, domination and marginalization, and ensuing constraints of people's agency, altogether producing disparate risk exposure – resilience places stronger emphasis on the agency, capabilities, and opportunities of actors (resonating with migration practices and potentials, such as modifying or adapting livelihoods) as crucial elements in dealing with change and risks (Zoomers & Westen 2011; Sakdapolrak 2014). While vulnerability-focused research has thus advanced the debate on social resilience by highlighting the dimension of power relations and structural constraints, the sustainable-livelihoods approach has contributed to the conceptualization of social resilience by emphasizing the significance of capital endowment and choices to form livelihoods and cope with risks (Chambers & Conway 1992; Ellis 1998; Scoones 1998; de Haan 2000). In accordance with these two aforementioned concepts – vulnerability, and sustainable livelihoods – assets, which are considered crucial factors determining social resilience, are linked to capacities which can help facing risks or, for instance, handle environment-related stress(ors) (Keck & Sakdapolrak 2013). In the same vein, social-science-rooted framings of adaptation highlight, for instance, the significance of learning, self-organization, and decision-making capacities in the face of uncertainties (induced by climate change, amongst others).

Besides the influence of vulnerability and livelihoods research on social resilience, the concept has also been informed by framings of resilience, adaptation, and adaptability devised

in research on social-ecological systems. Concepts of social resilience drawing on these works consider capacities (or, partially, abilities) as core elements of systems (e.g. social systems) determining the functions of a system or the path a system takes, e.g. reactions or responses to stress or shocks (Adger 2000; Folke 2006). In this vein, Adger for instance refers to social resilience as "the ability of communities to withstand external shocks to their social infrastructure" (2000: 361). As indicated in this example, social resilience has often served as a conceptual approach to the analysis of actions or processes that systems (in terms of a spatial or social entity) make or undergo in connection with various kinds of disturbance. In this context, the capacities of a system essentially influence whether or to what extent it can for excample recover from natural disasters, cope with an event, reorganize in the aftermath of extreme events, or prepare in the face of potential hazards (Pelling 2003), absorb impacts or change (Glavonic et al. 2003) or learn in response to threats (Folke 2006). It is in connection with such drivers or triggers that capacities have been identified as the central components of social resilience. Based on the multiple specific descriptions of such capacities according to the respective context, the core features of social resilience have been condensed on an abstract level, and are held to consist of coping capacity, adaptive capacity or adaptability, and the capacity to transform (Walker et al. 2004; Folke et al. 2010; see also Keck & Sakdapolrak 2013). Coping, adapting, and transforming can be differentiated by the temporal scope of involved activities, degree of change involved, or degree of progressiveness, proactivity, anticipation, or calculation (vs. response, reaction, restoration) (ibid.). Folke (2006), for instance, differentiates between adaptability and transformability as follows: the former refers to the capacity to respond to ecosystem dynamics and change ("in an informed manner") and remain within the same social domain, while transformability refers to the capacity to create a new social-ecological system if the existing system becomes untenable due to changing or deteriorating ecological, political, social or economic conditions. Adger, analyzing vulnerability–adaptation–resilience links from a social-ecological-systems perspective, defines adaptive capacity as a system's ability "to evolve in order to accommodate environmental hazards or policy change and to expand the range of variability with which it can cope" (2006: 270). In these notions, capacity is considered a function of access to resources or distribution thereof and of social connections, e.g. immaterial and material resources, education, social networks, and cohesion, amongst others (Adger 2000; Folke 2006). Adaptive capacity thus includes the ability to mobilize social and physical resources that are needed for adaptation to take place (Nelson et al. 2007). For instance, innovation does not emerge from the mere presence of network structures, but "innovative entrepreneurs" are needed who ensure that the innovative process does really

happen (Pelling & High 2005; Rockenbauch et al. 2019; Black et al. 2011, 2013; Ensor et al. 2018; Ensor et al. 2019).

Altogether, drawing on the social-ecological entanglement, on the core idea of capacities of systems or actors as functionality-ensuring elements, and on the notion of agency, social resilience can be referred to as simultaneously a space and a process in which actors, e.g. households, deal with risks and seize opportunities according to their capacities and re-sources. Social resilience enables an understanding of different ways of facing change or options to handle stress or risks, which pertain to both the physical environment, including climate change as one influential factor, and constant changes in the social, economic, and political environment. Furthermore, regarding the meaning and purpose of resilience in ge-ographical research, the socio-ecological and socio-spatial conceptualizations of (social) resilience outlined above have emphasized its use as an analytical device, instead of foster-ing a normative reading of resilience as a desirable status or development goal featuring entrepreneurial individuals.
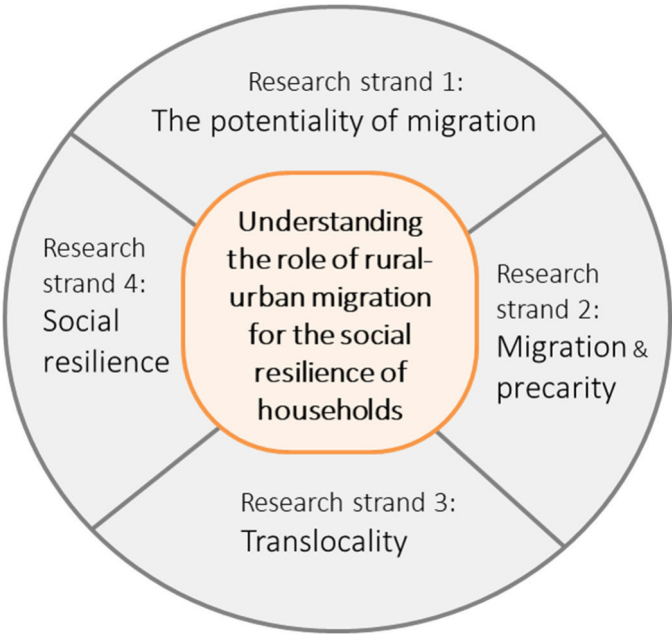
Figure 1: The research context in which this thesis is embedded (see inner circle for its central objective) can be divided into four strands of research. While research strand 1 emphasizes the utility of migration, strand 2 draws attention to the insecurities and instability that are likewise linked to migra-tion. Translocality (strand 3) spotlights place-to-place connections, situated-ness, and agency. Social resilience (strand 4) integrates conceptualizations of resilience devised in both social-ecology research and vulnerability research.

Summary and research gap

In total, comprehending the role of rural–urban migration for the social resilience of house-holds, which is the core objective of this study, is embedded in and informed by four partly interconnected research strands. The central dimensions constituting this overall research context relate to the multiple – partially ambivalent – facets of migration impact, the simultaneity of mobility and connectivity, and the interlacing of rural life and migration. Taking into account both the potentiality of migration on the one hand and the link between migration and precarity on the other helps to capture the spectrum of how migration affects places of origin and places of destination alike, as well as both non-migrants and migrants. Juxtaposing these contrasting dimensions of migration also shows that the impact of migration on the individual and household level spans multiple places and differs according to place. These research strands thus enable a more comprehensive picture of the role of migration for the social resilience of households, comprising the diverse ways of how migration possibly interacts with social resilience. Translocality as a research approach accounts for the multiplicity of places and scales and the connections between them as central constituting elements both of everyday realities of migration and of mobility and migration on a larger scale (e.g. referred to as 'the age of migration' (cf. Castles et al. 2014)). Translocality thus helps to strengthen the focus on the interconnectedness of processes, practices, people, lives (and so forth), despite distance, across space, and beyond socio-spatial and scalar boundaries. Conceptualizations of translocality therefore provide the context to which the central idea of this dissertation – i.e. the interdependence of multi-embeddedness and resilience – relates. Complementing this focus on mobility and connections, social resilience accounts for both risks and exposure on the one hand and capacities and agency on the other – at different levels. For instance, framing adaptability as a function of capacities and resource endowment, social resilience as an analytical approach locates adaptation at the household level, while taking into account the wider socio-ecological and socio-economic context. Integrating these conceptualizations helps to clarify the framing of migration as one strategy to respond to or adjust to change and risks, including environmental stress, and to make use of opportunities in the face of change.

Based on this rich body of literature, the present research seeks to contribute to the ongoing debate on the multifaceted links between livelihoods in rural areas, migration, and social resilience by addressing the following two important research gaps. The first one relates to the impact of internal migration on places of origin, particularly on social resilience. Re-search has provided extensive evidence on the huge importance of internal migration for

rural livelihoods, including rural development (Skeldon 2008; Campbell 2010; King & Skeldon 2010). Given, for instance, the easier access to internal migration, the number of people engaged in internal migration – on a global scale – far exceeds the number of international migrants (Housen et al. 2013; IOM 2019), and the corresponding larger magnitude of internal migration vis-à-vis international migration in terms of numbers has been acknowledged (Carling 2014; Schade et al. 2016). Yet internal migration is widely neglected in research on migration–development and migration–adaptation. Secondly, related research tends to focus on either the place of origin or the place of destination instead of analyzing the situation at both places as interlinked. However, both places as well as their interconnectedness need to be explicitly addressed simultaneously in order to comprehensively capture migration effects. Debates on migration-as-adaptation and migration–development need to explicitly address both perspectives, i.e. the interplay between embedding at the place of destination and within the household of origin (as remittance sender or source of additional social and economic capital). Discussing the potential of migration to foster (community) development and to enhance adaptive capacities of households toward climate-related risks requires more attention to be drawn to both the life situations of migrating household members at the place of destination, and the implications of translocal household arrangements (connectedness and socio-spatial multi-embeddedness) for migrants' (everyday) lives at their place of destination and for the social resilience of migrant households.

This thesis seeks to fill these gaps by means of a practice-focused translocal framing of social resilience which enables an in-depth analysis of the connections between migrants and non-migrants, the corresponding interconnectedness of places, and of the circumstances under which migration shapes the social resilience of households of origin.

3.) Translocal social-resilience approach

Based on the central objective of this research – to explore the interdependencies between translocalized lives and the social resilience of households – translocal social resilience has been formulated as the conceptual approach to analyze the role of migration in the process of dealing with risks and change; i.e. particularly to capture the specific links between migrant–household connectedness in rural–urban livelihood configurations and the capacities of these households to face risks. Translocal social resilience is thus referred to as the space and process of utilizing resources and capacities to deal with stress, risks or change and take advantage of opportunities in the face of change. The process of facing risks and change is

considered as practice-driven – that is, both agent-based and context-embedded – which requires concepts that accommodate agency and its limits or constraints. To complement this practice-oriented framing of translocal social resilience, the approach also adopts conceptions of scale and positionality as both analytical aids and essential structuring elements. Accordingly, the translocal social resilience approach encompasses the following three core dimensions:

1) Translocal resilience as social practice: mobility, connections between migrants and households of origin, embedding at multiple places at the same time, and the production of links between places are understood as social practices which constitute and shape translocal resilience.

2) Multi-scalarity of translocal resilience: producing links between different places through e.g. emotional and/or material migrant–household connections and embeddededness at multiple places at the same time – both spatially and socially – involves the integration of multiple social and spatial levels, e.g. individual and household; rural and urban, or more generally place of origin and place of destination; agriculture-oriented livelihoods and everyday lives characterized by urban-based jobs. To allow for this multiplicity of social and spatial levels implied in translocal social resilience, this conceptual framework draws on the notion of scale, both in its epistemological and empirical sense.

3) Positionality of translocal resilience: embedding at multiple places at the same time, i.e. in relation to multiple different spatial and social contexts, also comprises an intersectional dimension; that is, social axes of difference, such as age, gender, class, and their various intersections influence the negotiation of relational positions (among actors). In translocal space, intersections of social categories are additionally influenced by the simultaneity of embeddedness at home or within the household of origin and at the place of destination (or temporary sojourn). This interlinked multi-local socio-spatial embedding is framed as positionaliy in the context of translocal resilience.

3.1. Translocal resilience as social practice

Starting from the basic assumption in translocality research that, by means of translocal practices, actors are situated at multiple places at the same time, across spaces and scales (Brickell & Datta 2011) and, furthermore, informed by earlier conceptualizations of social resilience in human geography which highlight the interrelations between agency and structural context (Bohle 2005; Deffner 2007; Obrist et al. 2010; Christmann & Ibert 2012; Etzold

et al. 2012; Keck & Sakdapolrak 2013; Sakdapolrak et al. 2016), translocal social resilience is conceived from a practice-oriented perspective within this research framework. Connectedness and embeddedness are referred to as social practices structuring the process and space of translocal resilience. These practices are formed by everyday activities and routines of migrants at their place of destination and in interaction with non-migrants at their place of origin. In general, social practices are routinized interactions that make sense in and at the same time re/-produce a certain social field in relation to individual dispositions (Reckwitz 2002; Herzig & Thieme 2007; Page & Mercer 2012). Actions and their context are taken into account. This practice dimension of the translocal resilience approach reflects core ideas of the Theory of Practice (Bourdieu 1977; 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). From the Bourdieuian point of view, social practice is inextricably linked to capital, habitus (system of perceptions, thoughts, activities; internalized dispositions of individuals), and the social field. The interplay of the social field, the habitus, and the disparate endowment of agents with capital (i.e. the ability to act), defining positions in a social field and implicating power relations, determines social practice; it emerges from the dialectical relationship between habitus and the social field (capitals and power relations in a society). The social field is composed of positions of actors and relationships between them, involving power relations (Herzig & Thieme 2007), and the habitus represents the embodiment of the social order. The embodied social order, including relations of power, becomes part of both individuals' experiences and their 'perceptual basis' (= habitus) which determines an actor's understanding of their position in the field, and "place[s] limits on what practices are possible" (Page & Mercer 2012: 14). That is to say, one's understanding of positions and of negotiating one's positioning in a social field and in specific actor constellations shapes one's actions. These (unintentional) actions reproduce social order. At the same time, practices reshape social fields: individuals incorporate society into their habitus "through their practice with the social world", and they "carry on, change, and vary" everything that's incorporated within them (Krais 2006: 129); hence, "society and individuals create each other": individuals actively participate in the social world (ibid.). Emanating from the positioning at multiple places at the same time, connectedness across space as a social practice integrates "rules" applying to multiple (sub-)fields. For instance, being situated at multiple places at the same time, reaching out to "significant others" at the place of origin, establishing connections on a personal and socio-spatial level (i.e. to family at home, between one's home community and one's place of destination/temporary neighborhood, between one's work and private life at the place of destination and the family's everyday life at the place of origin, amongst others), and thereby transgressing boundaries can be regarded as practices that reshape spatial

boundaries and affect the "logic" (the "rules") of each place involved, thus modifying places and specific social fields.

Through the lens of this practice-centered approach, translocal resilience is based on both the ability to understand positioning in multiple social fields (habitus), and the opportunities a migrant is able to access in order to amass capital according to the logic of each social field (home and place of destination) (see also Thieme 2008; Sakdapolrak 2014); e.g. gaining access to paid work through education or social contacts (i.e. converting cultural or social capital into economic), or remitting money to fulfill family obligations or to improve the household's social status (converting economic into symbolic capital). From a social-practice perspective, agency can only be understood in conjunction with contextual factors, i.e. relations of power, disparate positions in social fields, and individual disposition, explaining, for instance, the actor-specific recognition of opportunities. In translocal space, multiple social and spatial levels play a role in shaping the everyday activities and interactions of migrants and non-migrants. This includes the household and the individual level, which differ in terms of accessible resources and the requirements to access them for the household as a whole and for individual household members, e.g. certain standards of working and living conditions for the latter. While the household, assessed as an entity, benefits from remittance transactions – as they imply a complementary income source, besides agriculture, and may contribute to the covering of short- and longer-term household expenses, possibly easing the household's financial situation to a certain extent – this might not hold true at the individual level. Scale-related tensions, moreover, arise between migrant workers and transnational companies as well as smallholder households and global markets. As translocal embeddedness and ensuing exchange relations transgress such socio-spatial and scalar boundaries or bridge gaps between scales, respectively, analyzing their influence on the exposure to risks (e.g. precariousness) and the abilities to use various forms of capital (opportunities, resources, access to jobs) in translocal space will be enhanced by taking scale into account as an analytical category.

3.2. The scalar dimension of translocal resilience

Translocal resilience draws on translocality as an analytical lens to examine the multi-scalarity of social space emerging from connectedness and multi-embeddedness. Overall, translocality (based on a social-constructivist concept of space and on relational space) helps to understand how forms and functions of connectedness transform localities and relations among localities (Freitag & Von Oppen 2006; Oakes & Schein 2009), and how (translocal) places are shaped by the production of links between them, across spatial and scalar

boundaries. Translocality concepts thus specifically address "multi-scalarity" (Brickell & Datta 2011) and multiple socio-spatial scales (referring to actor levels or different spatial categories) (Oakes & Schein 2009). Yet conceptualizations of translocality often include scale without explicitly elaborating on its specific function, rather presupposing scale's utility in translocal concepts. Both scale as materiality and scale as an analytical tool play a role in translocality research. In its *material(ized) sense*, scale refers to different actor levels or (socio-)spatial entities, differentiated by scope, size, or influence, which are, of course, socially constructed entities but have an impact in reality, and become influential. For instance, scalar hierarchies and struggles over power affect translocal practices and migrants' experiences; and the production of links between people and places and the establishing of translocal connections span multiple spatial levels. For example, everyday practices of crossing geographical demarcations or spreading over various locations (Lohnert & Steinbrink 2005), the "co-presence" of people in more than one place (Smith 2005) or (migration-induced) translocal modes of living and sustaining households incorporate the bridging of different economic systems (i.e. self-sufficiency vs. selling one's labor in exchange for money) and sectors of work (i.e. small-scale agriculture vs. off-farm wage work) to contribute to a household's livelihood. Scale *as an analytical tool* helps to differentiate between multiple levels of social spheres: e.g. (in connection with migration) macro-social context, self/body, household/family (which are not necessarily identical), national and transnational economic systems and markets, the community at the place of origin of migrants (village), the neighborhood and locations or space(s) of everyday life (of migrants at the place of destination, for instance), and the job market at the place of destination. Scale is one spatial concept, and a useful aid to structure and explore translocal (social) space. It helps to conceptualize boundaries, borders, and the size and scope of socio-spatial configurations, levels and differentiation of spatial levels. Scale helps us to zoom in and out, to take the continuum of micro and macro levels into account, to explore implications beyond the societal micro level (of everyday life), and to capture the interlacing of local, global, and transnational socio-spatial formations, and thus to conceptualize the local–global dualism, for instance. In other words, scale helps us to understand the multi-facetedness of translocal space and translocal relations and linkages.

To explore migration–resilience links in rural–urban livelihoods, scale and practice prove to be both individually important and complementary analytical concepts: migration and related practices can be considered as one example of a connecting practice between different socio-spatial scales (rural–urban, individual–household–community–national–global). For instance, everyday activities of migrants and non-migrants are embedded in different places

– destination and origin – but at the same time connected with each other, which produces links across space and boundaries. Practices, such as remittance transfers and usage, therefore interlink e.g. communities in rural areas with urban areas, more precisely with specific neighborhoods and sites of work in peri-/urban areas of destination, and link economies and livelihoods in the respective areas with each other. In view of the profound interlocking of places and related multi-sited socio-spatial phenomena, mainly through both commodity exchange and human mobility, framings of spatial relations *beyond* dichotomy, dualism, and complementation have been suggested; for instance with regard to rural–urban relations (Mora et al. 2018; McGee 2008; Steinbrink & Lohnert (2018). By placing emphasis on the interdependencies of livelihoods, households, and communities with places beyond the (alleged) boundaries of this place or of one type of space, e.g. a rural area or a place at the "rural scale", and on their embedding in networks and processes whose scope is also e.g. regional, national, and global, connections come to the fore, rather than the (alleged) contrasts and separating boundaries between places and spaces, e.g. between the rural and the urban scale, or between the level of the household and the globalized economy (as scales at which livelihoods are shaped).

Yet, concepts of scale have been harshly criticized for the oversimplification they imply, which obstructs the researcher's view. While scale, used as social and spatial levels and boundaries, facilitates the operationalization of translocal space in research on mobility and migration, for instance, those rather critical stances on scale call for the consideration of complementing approaches to the analysis of translocal social space in order to also further elaborate the conceptualization of translocality. For instance, translocality's focus on linking different places, transgressing boundaries, and reworking spaces necessitates the consideration of conceptual approaches that enhance our understanding of the multiple socio-spatial positionality of translocal actors, e.g. migrants and non-migrants. In this regard, integrating translocality, scale, and intersectionality frameworks (Anthias 2012b, 2012c; Carstensen-Egwuom 2015; Bürkner 2012; Didero 2011) could prove fruitful in exploring the various facets and practices of situating in translocal places in interaction with the production of links across scales.

3.3. Social and spatial positioning in translocal space

To accommodate the multiple diverse instances of positioning (i.e. relating to and interacting with actors and structural and spatial context) in everyday lives and livelihood constellations that span multiple places at the same time, translocal social resilience builds on intersectionality and positionality as analytical perspectives. Arguing from a poststructuralist

perspective – placing emphasis on internalized underlying discourses which reiterate power disparities and social inequalities, in comparison to the semi-structural rationale of the Theory of Practice – intersectionality and positionality frameworks also contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of links between migrant–non-migrant relations, connectedness, and social resilience of migrant households. These concepts help to explicitly address the interplay of migration, social positioning, and power relations, focusing on the individual actor level and on the transgression of boundaries – including categorical ones – and the malleability and socio-spatio-temporal context-specificity of categorical relations, such as gender. Intersectionality and positionality frameworks emphasize social categories of difference to account for constraints on agency due to power relations, inequality, hierarchy, and domination in social relations, privilege, and disadvantage (Crenshaw 1990; Waite 2009; Cranford & Vosko 2006; Bürkner 2012; Coe 2013). With regard to social practice, Thieme (2011), for instance, stresses the need to draw attention to axes of social differentiation to further operationalize habitus and social field and better understand *change* of habitus, power relations, position etc. Accordingly, in addition to migration as an influential factor, habitus (in a translocal-migration context) is also influenced by axes of social differentiation, such as gender, age, and class (Herzig 2006; Thieme 2008).

Intersectionality and positionality frameworks, with their theoretical roots in feminist theory of power and difference, have – more recently – advanced the understanding of migration in terms of migration experience, social embedding, and connections between migrants and families at home, for instance. In addition to gender theories, spotlighting power relations (imbalances and negotiations over power) that originate in the social constructions of masculinity and femininity (Connell 1997; Moeckli & Braun 2001; MacGregor 2010), intersectionality and positionality frameworks conceptualize "social identity" as defined by the interdependence of multiple categories of social difference – of which gender is only one (McDowell 2008; Erel 2010; Anthias 2012b; Calas et al. 2013; Alberti 2013; Paulus 2015). Yet gender theories substantially informed these frameworks in terms of the conceptualization of power imbalances and negotiations over power in social relations. These theoretical advances include the understanding of gender not as a static category but as a dynamic social construct that indicates differences, articulates power relations, and reflects social norms (Ferree 1990; West & Zimmerman 1987). Giving priority to a relation-focus over a structure-focus, gender is considered as being performed, rather than people having gender identities; and gender role expectations are negotiated, rather than people occupying gender roles (Butler 1990; Raju & Lahiri-Dutt 2011; Mahler et al. 2015; Rashid 2016). Gender relations thus shape an individual's social identity and position(ing) – without, however,

determining it. As mentioned above, increasing attention has been drawn to the intersections of gender with other markers of difference that also shape negotiation processes in social fields, e.g. age, class relations, origin, ethnicity, and religion. The mutual inflections of these axes among each other renders processes of defining identities and positions more multifaceted and complex (Crenshaw 1990; Lutz 2014, 2015; Bürkner 2012; Winker & Degele 2011). This concept has gained traction in migration research, as migration also implies (re-)defining one's location in social relations (positioning), and thus modifies social identities in addition to categorical intersections (Nowicka 2013; Fauser 2017; Erel & Ryan 2018). Consequentially, the fluidity (i.e. non-rigidity and non-fixity) of positions, and positioning, has been highlighted – in a social, spatial, and temporal sense (Manderscheid 2011). Although based on intersectionality, this extended framework has been referred to as positionality (Anthias 2002; Anthias 2008; Martinez Dy et al. 2014; Rashid 2016).

Though intersectionality and positionality frame social inequality from an individual/micro-scale perspective, they rather oscillate between identity and structure, or structural inequality, as their theoretical linchpin (Bastia 2014), suggesting that they share a focus on relations. While this helps to further operationalize social order or power relations in a social field, for instance, the theory of practice provides a more explicit conceptualization of individual actors and agency–structure relations. For instance, gender can be actively used as a form of capital, or as a means of power, in this case, to produce inequality and hierarchy (a domination–subordination relationship). While attention is drawn to the relation as a crucial constituent, social practice theory helps to specify the relation between capital (e.g. gender), the social field, actor, and practice. Yet, as above reflections indicate, intersectionality and positionality in addition to practice concepts help to grasp the multiple layers of categories of difference, and therefore of practices, and social positionings (of agents) within and across (multiple) social fields, i.e. in translocal social fields. Altogether, this results in an integrated translocal and intersectional social-practice framework. While translocal connectedness and embeddedness span multiple social levels (individual everyday routines; patterns of activities on a more aggregated level; and the macro scale of society as reflected in habitus-field interaction), this only relates to one dimension of multiplicity, namely socio-spatial levels or scope. In contrast, intersectionality and positionality place stronger emphasis on multiple layers of socio-cultural positioning (or identity formation). Intersectionality and translocality are thus interwoven insofar as both relate to "positioning at an intersection" – in a spatial and a socio-cultural (identity-focused) dimension – which accentuates the compatibility of intersectional frameworks with the translocality perspective of this research. Both intersectionality and (simultaneous) multi-embeddedness involve positioning

as emerging from interdependent socio-spatial positions and social categories; i.e. emerging from the interaction of positions within familial and intra-household power relations (gender and generational relations), as part of a kin-based or community-based social support network, as a labor migrant working elsewhere, earning an income, or as a student obtaining an educational degree outside the community of origin, as a rural–urban migrant and wage laborer in a sub-/urban neighborhood at the place of destination. Ensuing tensions and intersections also influence the everyday experience and practices in translocal social fields.

In sum, the translocal resilience concept applied in this research is based on a practice-focused conceptualization of translocality that explicitly accounts for the scalar and intersectional dimensions of translocal social space. On the epistemological basis of practice theory and by adopting the concept of translocal resilience, the role of migration in rural–urban livelihoods in which social changes and environmental stress and change loom large will be analyzed from an agency-oriented perspective, i.e. by examining how migration-induced translocal practices shape social resilience. Within this practice- and agency-oriented analytical reference frame, specific emphasis is placed on the household and the individual(-migrant) level, i.e. actor levels at which both adverse environmental effects including climate-induced impact and risks are perceived and migration is experienced and interlaced with livelihoods. At the same time, the translocal-practice focus on the migration–resilience links takes into account that both adaptation and migration are incorporated in practices and struggles over resources and positions in social fields; thus allowing for contextual factors and constraints on individual agency. Therefore, from a translocality and social-practice perspective, migration, connections, place-to-place links, spatial interlacing and scale- or boundary-transgression as well as multi-embeddedness are addressed as practices that shape livelihoods, yet in interaction with societal power relations and institutions. This interaction as a whole configures *translocal resilience* as an ongoing process; more specifically, a process of handling risks and changes depending on the capacities and resources whose accessibility is influenced by social and spatial positionings and changes over time, e.g. is accumulated or lost over time, and is accessible or not accessible, depending on power relations, positions, and time. This leads to a spectrum of ways of dealing with risk and change: e.g. responding (reactive), adapting (more or less proactive and anticipatory), facing risks and change (actively), or seizing opportunities.
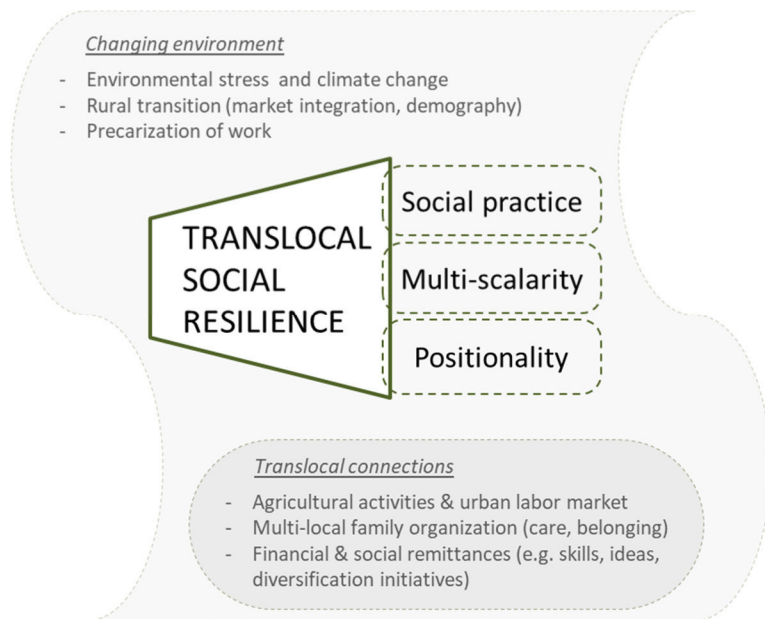
Figure 2: The research framework, including the operationalization of conceptual elements for the analysis of the empirical material

Building on this research framework, the research questions that this thesis seeks to address in order to capture the interaction of rural–urban migration and "rural" livelihoods under change and pressure can be specified as follows:

1) How do connections and multi-sited embedding shape the social resilience of migrant households?

2) Under what circumstances do rural–urban migrants live and work at the place of destination and reach out to or remain connected with their family or their household at the place of origin?

3) What impact does connectedness and the embeddedness of migrants and non-migrants at multiple places and social and socio-economic spaces have for the social resilience of households?

4) Under what circumstances can migrants at the place of destination and migrant households at the place of origin use migration, i.e. take advantage of the potentials of migration, (or not)?

4.) Research design and applied methods

To capture the connections between migrants and non-migrants in the context of rural–urban interrelations and their role in dealing with risks and change, a multi-sited mixed-method approach was chosen and qualitative research methods were applied. The data

gathering was geared towards translocal rural–urban lives, with particular emphasis on the circumstances of everyday lives of domestic migrants at their places of destination and their connectedness to their places of origin.

4.1. Multi-sited mixed-method approach

Understanding translocal social resilience calls for an empirical research strategy that helps to track people across space and life stages in order to comprehend the multiplicity and fluidity of their livelihoods (Page & Mercer 2012; Gupta & Ferguson 1997; Amelina 2010; Lauser 2005; Mazzucato 2008; Richter 2012). The "follow-the-people" approach as incorporated in multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995) is a suitable empirical method to tackle this multiplicity and fluidity. It builds on a conception of ethnography as following traces (*"Spurensuche"* – Lauser 2005) in order to expand the focus from small groups and their face-to-face interactions in one locality to social practices that are produced in different localities at the same time. Besides the actor him-/herself, "following" can also target things, metaphors, plots, stories, lives or biographies, or conflicts, amongst other formations engendering concrete, actual connections (Marcus 1995). In general, since localities no longer exist in isolation but are tied to the outside world via various kinds of connections accompanying globalization processes and the increased spatial mobility of people, objects, information, and ideas (Gille 2001; Falzon 2009; Fauser 2017), intensive research in a single site no longer suffices (Marcus 1995). It is also against this backdrop that the idea of translocal ethnography has been developed (Lauser 2005; Richter 2012; Verne 2012; Huijsmans 2013), suggesting the extension of participant observation to multiple sites in order to understand these sites' interconnectedness with the world surrounding them and to account for the simultaneity of situatedness and mobility. In the context of migration, for instance, links between places are produced through actors (migrants and non-migrants), as they maintain their relations, perhaps in a different way, altered to some extent and via means of telecommunication or visits instead of sharing a household. Since it is interpersonal relations which link different localities and hence form a certain field of translocality, the multiplicity of personal interactions between migrants and non-migrants is at center stage, rather than the multiplicity of sites (Boccagni 2010). As a consequence, the research field is demarcated and continuously explored and re-defined by focusing on the practices and activities through which it is produced (see also Verne 2012; Boccagni 2012). Following thus includes migrants' tracks, paths, their movements and transfers, personal ties, and social network links; following also means familiarizing oneself with migrants' neighborhoods, their circumstances of making a living and their everyday lives, taking their places of origin and

their "significant others" into account as well as circumstances of the latter's everyday lives at places of origin.

While "following people" as a methodological approach places emphasis on the individual migrants and their everyday lives, the method also implicates that attention is drawn to the household in relation to an individual migrant. It is regarded as both one of the reference points of an individual migrant and as a separate, more aggregated unit of analysis. The household level therefore adds another facet to the analysis of the link between macro and micro levels of society, since household relations and functions reflect development processes that occur in a society (Ellis 1998; Tacoli 1998; Barrett et al. 2001; Haan 2002; Williams et al. 2013; Williams et al. 2016). While the micro perspective on individual perceptions, rationalities, and everyday experiences – as addressed in interviews with migrants and non-migrating household members – is more easily manageable for an empirical study, it is also necessary to look beyond these individual-actor and household levels. In this regard, first, close ethnographic observation of everyday practices and meanings – underpinned by the idea that "individuals feature as the carriers or hosts of a practice" (Shove et al. 2012: 6) – helps to reconcile the twofold objective of understanding larger social structures and concentrating on those structures that become manifest in particular localities – referring to one of the principles in cultural anthropology: addressing large issues in small places (Eriksen 1995). And secondly, the social-practice approach has proven useful as one analytical technique to embed individual cases within their broader context (see also Dörfler et al. 2003).

Throughout the empirical research process and the data analysis, the identification of more general mechanisms, patterns, and types of interaction, relations, and social practice was facilitated by the triangulation of methods in the context of the larger TRANS|RE research project in which this dissertation was embedded. The additional empirical material that was available as an outcome of the TRANS|RE research project included qualitative data from key informant interviews with district administration personnel and from focus-group discussions with village representatives gathered in an exploratory pre-study and quantitative data from a household panel survey. As a consequence, the information gained by applying the qualitative empirical methods in the overall project context (key informant interviews and focus-group discussions) could be consolidated or reconsidered by means of the quantitative data from the household survey (and vice versa). Especially the results derived from the in-depth and semi-structured interviews with individual migrants and migrant households and from participant observation conducted in the context of my own research sub-

project could be validated by means of both the information gained through the focus-group discussions that had been conducted in the same villages and through the quantitative data gathered in the household panel survey, also in the same villages. This mixed-methods approach – which has gained traction in translocality- and transnational-migration research (Fitzgerald 2006; Mazzucato & Schans 2011; Fauser 2017) – contributed to the contextualization of this study's qualitative data, e.g. in order to prevent overstating the relevance of translocal connections and translocal livelihood arrangements, which appeared as an empirical reality.

4.2. Sampling and data collection – multiple sites, im-/mobile actors, and households

The selection of research sites – conducted in the context of the TRANS|RE project – was based on the following criteria: predominance of rainfed agriculture as livelihood activity; exposure of livelihoods to climate-related risks, perceived impact from changes in weather patterns, e.g. instances of extreme events, such as floods, erratic rain, or dry spell; relative remoteness, including e.g. non-(daily-)commutable distance to the provincial capital city and to BMR; and considerable integration into migration networks. The site selection procedure included the consultation of relevant previous research (surveys, case studies), and an explorative field trip to conduct expert interviews with selected resource persons (NGO personnel whose focus is social-development work in rural communities, representatives of local authorities on provincial, district, and sub-district level, as well as village chiefs and representatives) which was followed by a second round of consultations with sub-district and village representatives in a preselected sample of sites. Three (out of the four) rural sub-districts, which were chosen in that selection process, are migrant-sending areas which served as the starting points for the present study's empirical data collection. They are located in North and Northeast Thailand, specifically in the provinces of Phitsanulok (North), and Buriram and Udon Thani (Northeast). In the research site in Phitsanulok in the North, villages comprise between 30 and 130 households and 140 to 700 inhabitants. The terrain is mountainous, water resources are abundant, and conditions for agriculture (mainly rice, maize, and cucumber cultivation) generally favorable. Among the risk factors for farming, limited access to land and morphology-specific conditions (soil erosion, risk of landslides, flooding) rank highest. Especially soil degradation – due to deforestation, monoculture, and chemical inputs – bears risks in all three study sites. In the research area in Buriram Province, the village size was similar (50-190 households per village). The most relevant risks for people's agriculture – main crops are rice and cassava – included dry spells, pests, and declining soil quality and fertility. Both Buriram and Udon Thani are part of Thailand's north-

east plateau, where, in general the mean annual rainfall is lower and shows greater differences between dry and wet season than in Central Thailand, for instance; rather lowering the region's relative suitability for rice cultivation, for instance. In the research site in Udon Thani provice, conditions for farming are rather poor. Slightly higher mean temperatures and higher variability of precipitation (as compared to the Northern study site), saline soils, heavy deforestation, and a lower groundwater table characterize the environment in this area, where rice and sugarcane are the main crops. Here, both the number of households (140-360 per village) and the number of inhabitants per village (700-2,000) were higher than in Phitsanulok and Buriram. In particular, the research sites in both Udon Thani and Buriram showed strong involvement of households in rural–urban labor migration (besides international labor migration). Overall, these three research sites represent a variety of rural migrant-sending areas in Thailand. From there, migration connections were followed, to Bangkok and its industrial suburbs in the surrounding provinces and the Eastern Seaboard (Bangkok Metropolitan Region, BMR) – which were the most common places of destination of rural–urban migrants.
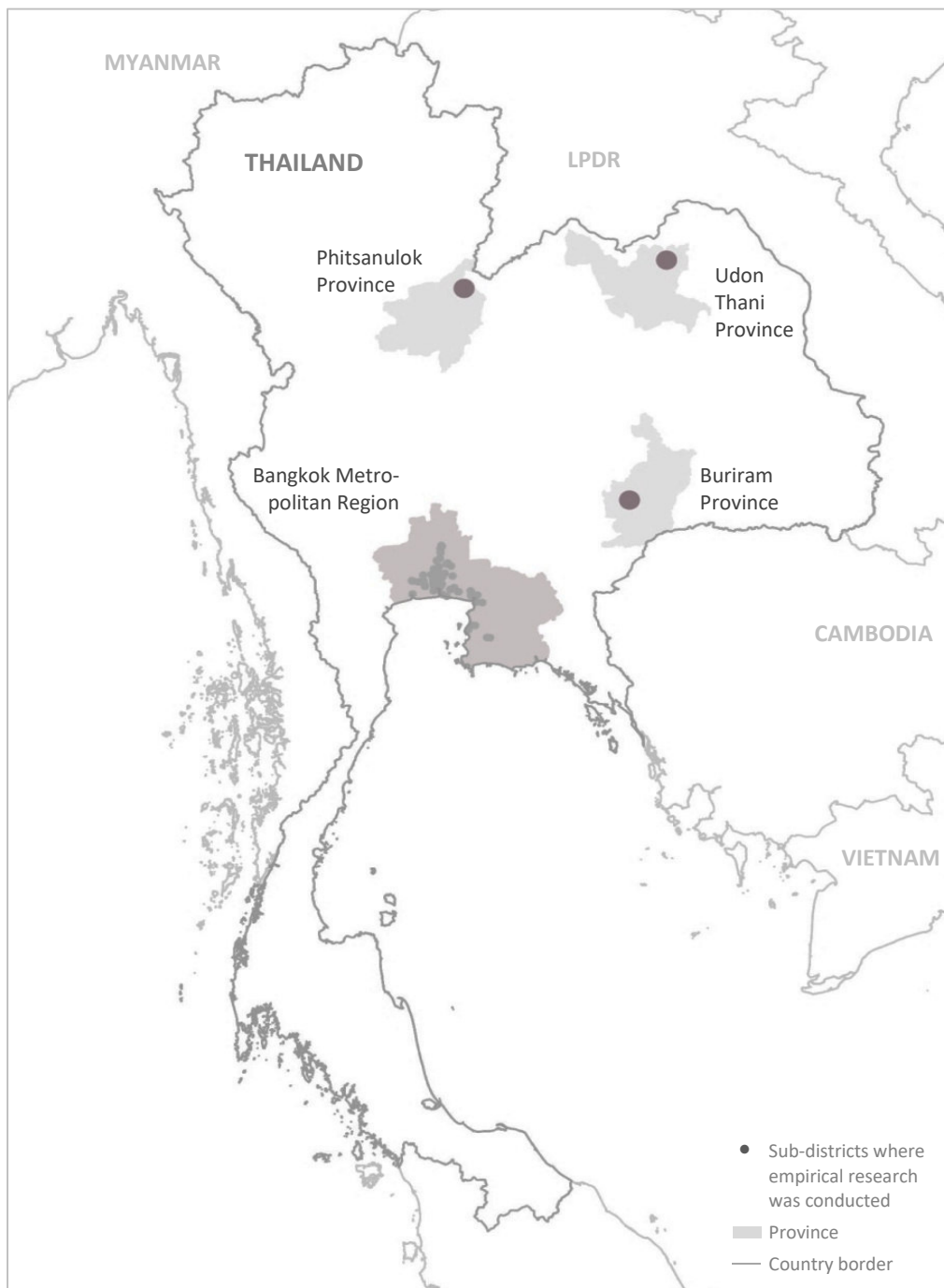
Figure 3: The four research sites in Thailand

Empirical research activities included qualitative semi-structured, in-depth and partially narrative interviews with returned migrants and families of current domestic migrants at the places of origin, and with migrants at the places of destination, as well as informal conversations, and observation in the three rural research sites and in Bangkok (Bangkok Metropolitan Region, BMR), over a period of 12 months in total (between February 2015 and September 2016). The data collection was supported by translators. Altogether 140 interviews were conducted (which were between approx. 50 minutes and 2.5 hours long). 71

interviews were conducted in the three rural research sites and 69 in BMR. Interview partners were selected by applying a purposive sampling strategy, mainly featuring the following categories as the basis for selection: migration experience, livelihood activities, work sector, and educational level. The criteria were refined based on preliminary analysis during the process of data collection (see also Richter 2012). Interview partners in BMR comprised both migrating household members of households which had been interviewed in the three aforementioned rural research sites (42 interview partners) and rural–urban migrants who originated from other villages in North and Northeast Thailand (27 interview partners). Following and interviewing migrating – Bangkok-based – family members of households interviewed in the research villages provided rich insights into the interconnections between migrants' lives at their places of destination, their relations to ther households and places of origin, and the livelihood (activities) of household members at home. This procedure of "following" migrants from their household of origin to their then current living places helped to capture the various migrant-specific approaches to leading an everyday life away from home (including work and social-life activities), establishing a certain level of social embeddedness within their respective specific neighborhood in BMR and, at the same time, retaining or renegotiating their position within the household and community of origin. It also helped to explore the connections between migrants and households from both "ends", i.e. examining the respective meanings associated with and expectations of the connection between a migrant and the household of origin. The other Bangkok-based group of interviewees, not originating from the three rural research sites in Phitsanulok, Udon Thani, and Buriram, were additionally chosen partially to compensate for a certain number of migrant connections that could not be followed from the three initial rural research sites (e.g. due to time constraints and incompatible time schedules), but mainly to be able to identify types, patterns, and recurrent mechanisms which depict the great diversity of migration connections and effects in a sufficiently in-depth and comprehensive, and yet appropriately generalized manner, to thereby enhance the understanding of migration patterns and types of rural–urban migrants. Interview themes comprised household's livelihoods, migration histories, remittance motives and flows; family relations and household responsibilities; as well as work and social life at the place of destination. Most interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed and translated. Besides conducting in-depth interviews, i.e. primarily listening to the experiences of work and everyday life away from home which the interviewees were willing to share, the qualitative methods applied in the field also included the researcher's own observations, informal talks with villagers, conversations with research assistants, and field notes taken during the multiple stays in the different research areas.

Table 1: Statistical description of interviewees at the places of origin (i.e. in Phitsanulok, Udon Thani, and Buriram; n=71)
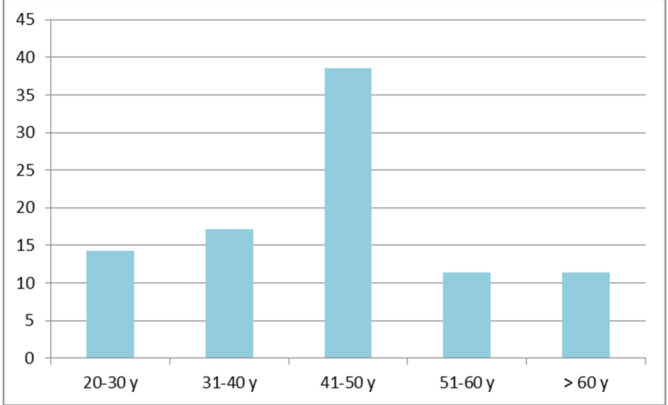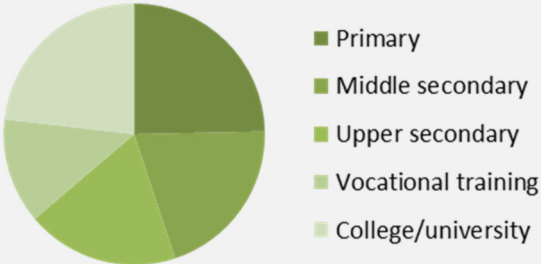
Gender ratio	¾ female ¼ male
Age groups	20-30 years: 14% 31-40 years: 17% 41-60 years: 39% 51-60 years: 11% > 60 years: 11%
Education	- Almost ½ of interviewees had primary education. - Approx. 45% of interviewees had lower or upper secondary level or had completed vocational training. - The remaining approx. 5% of interviewees had no education or higher education (college, university).
Access to land	Own land: ~ 80% of households Use of rented land: ~ 5% of households No access to land: ~ 15% of households
Main livelihood activities	Agriculture (incl. selling own produce): almost ²/₃ Agricultural wage labor: approx. 15% Off-farm employment: approx. 20%

Table 2: Statistical description of interviewees at the places of destination (i.e. in BMR; n=69)

Gender ratio	60% female 40% male
Age groups	20-30 years: ¼ of participants 31-40 years: ½ of participants 41-60 years: ¼ of participants
Level of education	 ■ Primary ■ Middle secondary ■ Upper secondary ■ Vocational training ■ College/university
Occupation	- Factory work: **38%** – a slightly higher number of these interviewees was *employed* in a factory (in contrast to wage labor; the proportions differed by a few persons) - Service sector: **20%** – e.g. shop keeping, security, transport (most of them as wage workers) - Construction work: **6%** – wage work - Self-employed: **10%** – e.g. street food restaurant, market stall - High-skilled work: **26%** – requiring higher education, e.g. office job, accounting, hospital, etc.
Marital/ family status	Single: 28% Married: 64% – almost all of them lived with their partner at the place of destination Divorced: 9%
Own children living at place of origin	21 interviewees (out of 43 interviewees with own children under the age of 18 years) let their children live with their grandparents at the place of origin

4.3. Data analysis

The method of analyzing the transcribed qualitative interview data included software-supported data structuring and was informed by both qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2010) and Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967). While the latter draws stronger attention to the inductive generation of theory – i.e. immediately linked to the empirical data – qualitative content analysis highlights the complementing of the empirically based theorization and a theory-based (deductive) analytical strategy to obtain research findings. Yet both grounded theory and qualitative content analysis share the same overall objective – that of capturing the content and meaning of statements, delineations, ideas, and thoughts that have been articulated in an interview. Drawing on these methodological concepts, the analytical plan built upon both preliminary analyses of empirical data during the process of data collection and on the operationalization of those theoretical notions that constitute the overall research framework. This analytical plan gave a first indication of pathways of data processing, based on which the iterative process of delving into the data began. Hence, a system of categories – themes and concepts – comprised of codes and memos, emerged from both thematic coding and theoretical coding. That is to say, first, codes originated in the interview data directly and accounted for the perceptions and knowledge of interview partners (thematic or "natural" codes, corresponding to the inductive research strategy), and secondly, codes were developed according to already existing theoretical concepts (theoretical or "sociological" codes, reflecting the deductive method) (Mayring 2010; Strauss 1998). Using these two types of codes, both conceptualized knowledge and perspectives beyond that were taken into account, e.g. context-specific perspectives on the respective subject matter or more recent developments. Attention was moreover drawn to perspectives that differed from the typical case or seemed rather exceptional. Given the iterative character of this data-processing method and due to the juxtaposition of theoretical and thematic codes, the category system was constantly refined and codes reassessed during the entire process of content-related data structuring (which was facilitated by Atlas.ti). The data analysis can thus best be described as an iterative process of reading, interpreting, and continuously consolidating initial codes and categories (derived over the course of transcribing all interviews), adding new ones, and revising and refining tentative codes and categories in the process of reading and rereading all interview transcripts. The analysis of each transcript added nuances to thematic pathways that had already been identified or it indicated new thematic strands. As mentioned earlier, emerging themes could be triangulated vis-à-vis information from the empirical material derived from the initial focus-group discussions and the household survey conducted as part of the TRANS|RE research project. The multiple

phases, steps, and cycles of analyzing the data yielded different versions of typologies of migration practices, of modes of embeddedness and connectedness, of translocal household constellations, and of migration–resilience links, which altogether helped to capture the various circumstances of rural–urban migration and its effects in terms of social resilience in a systematic manner. Altogether, this analytical strategy allowed the content analyses of both each interview in its own context, in the context of the overall data set, in the broader socio-cultural context, and in the context of macro-scale societal, economic, and political developments.

Additionally, this study's qualitative empirical data were contextualized by means of the TRANS|RE household survey (see above) and other relatively recent scientific studies – based on either a qualitative or a quantitative methodology – on "rural" life and migration in Thailand[4]. Data from the household survey and focus-group discussions served as background information and additional evidence. The quantitative household data were not specifically analyzed in the context of this study but within the framework of the larger research project of which this study was part. Additionally, statistical data on migration were taken into account, originating from migration surveys and the national census conducted by Thailand's National Statistical Office (NSO 2010; 2012) – although these data involve certain caveats relating to definitions of migration, time frames of migration, and the timing of data collection, for instance[5].

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[4] E.g. Guest et al. 1994; Chamratrithirong et al. 1995; Vutthisomboon 1998; Jones & Pardthaisong 1999; Singhanetra-Renard 1999; Rigg & Ritchie 2002; Clausen 2002; Guest 2003; Ryoko 2004; Rigg & Salamanca 2011; Gödecke & Waibel 2011; Rigg et al. 2012; Tubtim 2012; Amare et al. 2012; Hardeweg et al. 2012; Pholphirul 2012; Junge 2012; Sharma & Grote 2018

[5] While migration surveys focus on 1-year migrants, population censuses include data on 5-year migrants. However, the way of operationalizing the time frame of migration leads to a neglect of short-term migration. Especially seasonal migration can hardly be captured by the aforementioned modes of study, as data collection is usually conducted during the wet season when seasonal migrants tend(ed) to return to places of origin (Guest et al. 1994; Singhanetra-Renard 1999; Huguet et al. 2011).

Table 3: Descriptive migration statistics for the rural research sites (Buriram: n=254, Udon Thani: n=434; Phitsanulok: n=140)

	Buriram	Udon Thani	Phitsanulok
Domestic migration	- 1/3 of households have at least one currently migrating household member (2015) - > 50% of households have former and/or current migrants (as household members)		- ¼ of households have at least one currently migrating household member (2015) - Almost 70% of households have former and/or current migrants (as household members) - (In the past, mostly seasonal migration in the agricultural sector; mostly applicable for the "older" generation, i.e. >40 years)
Remittances from domestic migration	- Approx. 35% of all households receive remittances - >50% of households with current domestic migrant(s) receive remittances (from them) - On average 22,000 THB p. household p. year (approx. 580 Euro per household p. year)	- Approx. 45% of all households receive remittances - Almost all households with current domestic migrants receive remittances - On average 40,000 THB p. household p. year (approx. 1000 Euro p. household p. year)	- Approx. 21% of all households receive remittances - Approx. 1/3 of households with current domestic migrants receive remittances - On average 29,000 THB p. household p. year (approx. 750 Euro p. household p. year)
Access to land (% of all households)	- Own land: 69% - Use rented land: 7% - No access: 24%	- Own land: 79% - Use rented land: 5% - No access: 16%	- Own land: 91% - Use rented land: 4% - No access: 5%
Agriculture (% of cropped area per year)	- 65% rice - 21% sugar cane - 14% cassava	- 68% rice - 25% sugarcane - 5% rubber	- 60% corn - 37% rice
Major climate risks and hazards	- Drought - Unusual change of temperature - Insect infestation		- Flooding, flash flood, landslide - Drought - Storm

Sources: TRANS|RE household survey

4.4. Limitations: critical reflection of the research methods

Critically reflecting on the methodology overall[6], the following short-comings of applying ethnographic methods in the field and ensuing "blind spots" in the collected data can be identified: first, the researcher's own position(ality) (in terms of origin, social background, gender, religion, age) in the research field has an impact on the data gathered during the empirical research process (cf. Scott et al. 2006). On the one hand, the researcher as an external person, socially and culturally not related to the research area, has a rather neutral, less biased view on phenomena as described by interviewees. On the other hand, the language barrier and cultural difference – or foreignness – hampers mutual understanding and interpretation of accounts. Despite the presence of a translator as a linguistic and cultural intermediary, the multiple layers of translation and the remaining cultural and social distance between the researcher and the interviewee, e.g. pertaining to the social background or religious beliefs, lead to misunderstandings at times, or even induce suspicion, caution, hesitation, or distrust. As a consequence, controversial and sensitive topics were partially avoided; e.g. details of hardships, difficulties, or struggles were partially rather insinuated. In a similar vein, the positionality of the interpreter added another layer of interpersonal difference, and thus a potential source of communication obstacles within this empirical research setting and process. For instance, the dialect, religion, regional origin, age, generation, and social background influenced the approachability and openness of interview partners.

Secondly, the underlying idea of multi-sited ethnography – that a variety of connections ties localities to the outside world – entails the question of which sites and which connections to select. According to Marcus, sites are connected by following people, objects, metaphors, plots, stories, allegories, conflicts, and biography. This implies, however, that the researcher's interest in certain paths of objects or people and her logic of association defines the ties between locations (of fieldwork) (Gilles 2001: 322). While this seems highly subjective and prone to bias, the research field in a multi-sited study needs to be conceived of as co-produced. The researcher and the interviewees together define the field – iteratively – during the empirical research process. Key foci are multiple places, locations of work and social life, social relations within and connections between these places. Comprised of both existing connections and new ones that emerge during (and partially due to) the research, the translocal research field is dynamic – both temporally and spatially (see also Verne 2012).

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[6] This critical reflection is focused on the empirical methods applied in the field. For an exhaustive discussion on methodological problems occurring in qualitative empirical research, especially drawing on semi-structured interviews as a method to collect data, see Diefenbach 2009.

From a social-practice point of view, the question of what logic practices apply to helps to sketch the research field and related sub-fields on a more abstract level; specifically in terms of rural–urban migration, multi-local householding, translocalization, translocal rural–urban life, rural transition, and adaptation. Being shaped by migration practices (connectedness and embeddedness) and being incorporated in social relations and in struggle over resources, render these empirical phenomena sub-fields for the empirical and analytical parts of the research process and contribute to the complexity of the translocal research field.

Thirdly, following a multi-sited research strategy and applying ethnographic methods at the same time, which require e.g. proximity to the "field" (i.e. the research sites), in-depth and close observation, and participation – consequentially at each of these multiple sites – implied compromises regarding the time spent at each place and with each interviewee (see also Richter 2012). Nonetheless, each interview individually and the variety of interview partners, interview locations, sites, and settings – allowing their comparison, and the identification of patterns and contrasts – induced the gradually increasing understanding of the links, interdependencies, and disconnections between the respective migrants and households interviewed specifically, and between migrants and non-migrants and interconnected places on a more general level. Moreover, the entire period of empirical research involved the company of multiple translators – who also acted as "cultural mediators". This enabled the researcher to discuss and thus reflect on encounters and experiences during the process of data collection in a more comprehensive manner within the given time frame.

In total, and despite the aforementioned methodological limitations, the multi-sited qualitative research approach adopted for this study helped to capture the multiple social and spatial positioning in translocal livelihood constellations and to explore connections between the everyday lives at both migrants' places of destination and their places of origin. On the basis of the various in-depth, micro-level insights into everyday activities and overall circumstances of domestic migrants, i.e. students, employees, families, short-term sojourners and residents or new-urbanites, working and living in BMR neighborhoods, broader patterns of rural–urban connections and their influence on the ways of dealing with risks and change in rural areas could be identified. Before presenting the results and discussing ensuing findings, attention will be drawn to the relevant aspects of migration, rural transition and rural–urban relations as well as climate impact in Thailand as the socio-cultural context of this research.

5.) The regional research context: rural–urban relations and domestic migration in Thailand

In Thailand, approximately half of the population (of 68 Mio people) live in rural areas (World Bank 2014), where a significant proportion of them are engaged in agriculture, despite the rapid socio-economic development and structural transformation Thailand has seen over the last four decades – today it is considered a middle-income country. As livelihoods in the rural northern and north-eastern provinces largely depend on natural resources, environmental change, including climate-related risks, has a very tangible impact. At the same time, rural livelihoods in Thailand show a significant degree of diversification (e.g. Grandstaff et al. 2008; Taweekul et al. 2009; Santasombat 2008; Rigg et al. 2012; Rambo 2017), for instance due to the dense institutional landscape (agricultural policies, prize schemes, extension services), private-sector involvement in small-scale agriculture (contract farming), and smallholders' integration into national and global agricultural production chains. Moreover, the demographic transition (the ageing of the population), an overall increase in average income levels, and a growing prioritizing of education have implications for the once common system of small-scale agriculture-based livelihoods (e.g. Ensor et al. 2019; Hewison 2010; Jacka 2017; Alva & Entwisle 2002; Mills 1999; Rigg 1998, 2006; Rigg et al. 2008). Another important factor in this process of change is off-farm employment for income generation (e.g. Rigg 1998; Paris et al. 2010; Junge 2012; Le Mare et al. 2015).

In this context, both transnational and domestic labor migration play a pivotal role (Garip & Curran 2010). Between 2005 and 2010 almost 10% of Thailand's population had migrated, the vast majority within Thailand (approx. 80%) (NSO 2010; Huguet 2014: 9). Rural households have increasingly been relying on migration-related off-farm income and remittances, while dependence on land has been declining. Especially temporary and seasonal forms of migration qualify as crucial components of livelihood strategies. According to a migration survey in the early 1990s, one quarter of Thailand's population was migrating, and approx. 30% of all internal migrants moved temporarily, which includes seasonal and circular moves being moreover mostly directed to Bangkok initially (Anglewicz et al. 2005; Guest et al. 1994; Korinek et al. 2005). Until the 1970s, migration movements mostly spanned short distances within or between regions for seasonal wage work on plantations. Since then the proportion of rural-to-rural seasonal labor migration has been decreasing, while rural–urban migration paths have gained much more importance, as well as longer-term migration (from 5-year- up to life-time migrants) to urban agglomerations (Vutthisomboon 1998; Rambo 2017; Rindfuss et al. 2012; Huguet et al. 2011). An extensive and well-developed

transport infrastructure as well as information and communication technologies have kept the barriers to domestic migration low and contribute to its virtual omnipresence in Thailand. Especially the high demand for low- and semi-skilled labor in the rapidly growing export-oriented supply industry (manufacturing sector) has been attracting large numbers of rural–urban labor migrants to the Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR) and provinces along the Gulf coast of Thailand, particularly the Eastern Seaboard Region, for the past four decades (Hewison & Tularak 2013). Both levels of mobility and the prevalence of remittance-backed household subsistence are particularly high in Northeast Thailand (Garip & Curran 2010; NSO 2012; Rigg 2014) – where incomes are eight times lower than in Bangkok (spearheading the national average income ranking) and the lowest nation-wide (NESDB 2011, cf. ILO 2013: 5). The share of village households in the Northeast with at least one member working outside of their place of home (referring to the sub-district) meanwhile amounts to more than 50%, which is a duplication over the past 30 years (Rambo 2017: 229). Against the backdrop of such a considerable increase, Rigg et al. have observed the "disembedding of households and families" (2012: 1470) (for further discussion of the embedding in a rural–urban-migration context in Thailand see chapters 9 and 10).

On the part of the workers, Thailand's manufacturing-industry-driven economic growth has also involved exposure to the precarious working conditions that pervade Thailand's urban industries and service sectors (Vorng 2011; Rigg et al. 2016). Especially in the aftermath of the 1997 Asian financial crisis, the informalization of the formal economy by means of sub-contracting, utilizing temporary employment agencies, and outsourcing the production to small-scale workshops or home-based workers, augmented the level of precarity which employees, including labor migrants, are confronted with (Hewison & Tularak 2013). Its implications are ambivalent: on the one hand, remittance dependency, lack of agricultural labor, and diverging levels of socio-economic wealth among households may occur in areas of origin (Jones & Pardthaisong 1999; Chamratrithirong 2007). On the other hand, migrants' "success" can entail positive welfare effects for households of origin, including, for instance, a stabilized household income, improved housing conditions, health care, access to and improved levels of education, and means of transport and communication (Gödecke & Waibel 2011; Amare et al. 2012; Hardeweg et al. 2012; Guest 2003). Concordantly, Rambo observes a "rural urbanization" by which he refers to the availability of services and infrastructure in villages, which used to be city-specific, such as convenience stores, the omnipresence of mobile phones, and internet access (2017: 229). He moreover identifies a type of rather young-/middle-aged people who have turned into "urbanized villagers" (Rambo 2017: 237): they originate from villages, obtained higher educational degrees, and tend to establish an entre-

preneurial farming mode, i.e. they manage their farm as a business, partially remotely, doing off-farm work at the same time.

Altogether, both the overarching trend of the rural transition and the circulation of migrants imply a blurring of (alleged) rural–urban boundaries, accentuating rural–urban interpenetration and interconnectedness, networks, and linkages between villages and city neighborhoods and respective lifestyles, instead of separate, discrete spatial entities. However, scholars have also signposted the discursive maintenance and legitimization of rural–urban disparities in Thailand. Bangkok, in contrast to "rural" spaces, has always been perceived as civilized, modern, and privileged due to its function as a link between Thailand and global economies (Gullette 2014; Mills 1999; Charoenloet 2002) and as the center of Thai politics and political power (Glassman 2010). Although, according to Mills (2012), agriculture-dominated rural areas tend to lag behind regarding the availability of social services, such as health care, education, and physical infrastructure (water, electricity, roads, irrigation), the separation of urban and rural also has a symbolic dimension. That is to say, this rural–urban separation is actively and intentionally reiterated as it helps to justify and normalize inequalities – instead of considering them a result of economic marginalization and institutionalized exclusion (Mills 2012: 90). Yet against the backdrop of the profound interlocking of the multiple functions of both rural and urban areas in Thailand, it is important to specifically understand the rural–urban as an interlinked space – a translocale – instead of exploring the contrast between both.

6.) Synthesis and discussion: rural–urban spaces of social resilience in Thailand

To derive patterns of multi-local embedding and connections from the comprehensive and profound analytical results and to specify the circumstances under which households may benefit from migration-induced connections, the following presentation and discussion of research findings comprises three main parts. The first step is a concept-focused examination of the scalar dimension of translocal space. This involves specifying the epistemological basis of translocality research in general, and disentangling the interaction of translocal embeddedness, migrant–household connections, and the social resilience of households in particular. Parts two and three of the following section spotlight both the circumstances of rural–urban migration through the lens of translocal practices (i.e. embedding at multiple places, reaching out to "significant others" despite distance, and retaining connections) and

the potentials of migration for, or the influence of related practices on livelihoods and social resilience. Especially these two parts clarify the specific links between rural life, migration, and resilience in the face of changes and thereby contribute to a more profound understanding of the migration–adaptation nexus.

The multi-spatial dimension of translocal embeddedness and connections[7]

The first – concept-focused – part consisted of a systematic analysis of the uses of scale in translocality research and its added value for translocality as an approach to analyze migration in the context of rural life and adaptation in the face of change. From a human-geography perspective, scale serves as an analytical aid to distinguish between e.g. rural and urban, or individual, household, and community level, or between the regional and the national level. Such spaces with different size or scope are constructed by means of scale. While scale thus serves as a means to divide, structure, and rank different spaces (creating an order or a hierarchical system of spatial levels), concepts of translocality accentuate connections (as structuring elements of space) between specific places across and beyond spatial boundaries on the one hand, and draw heavily on scale on the other. For instance, connectedness and embeddedness imply the interconnection of activities and routines and of social and spatial relations at different places across distances and across socio-spatial boundaries. Despite this place- and connection-centered understanding of space in translocality research, related concepts have also highlighted the multi-scalarity of translocal space. This first – epistemological and concept-advancing – part of the analysis, therefore, addresses the question of how scale matters for translocality research (see chapter 8 for further details).

This translocality–scale relation has also been reflected upon against the backdrop of the recent vivid debate on the utility of scale as a theoretical concept among human geographers (e.g. Marston et al. 2005; DeLanda 2006; Hoefle 2006; Escobar 2007; Leitner & Miller 2007; Moore 2008; McFarlane 2009; Herod 2011). One major aspect of this debate was the juxtaposition of the use of scale as an ontological and an epistemological category (i.e. a material phenomenon and analytical tool), including a controversial discussion on whether only the former or the latter makes sense. Relating to the question of whether scale in its epistemological sense reiterates the rigidity of socially produced boundaries, vertical hierarchies, and (socio-)spatial marginalization, other spatial concepts were suggested instead, such as network, assemblage, or flat ontology. This controversy has been analyzed against the backdrop

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[7] How scale contributes to translocality research has been analyzed in detail in the **first research article** that has been produced in the context of this thesis; see part II, chapter 8: "How scale matters in translocality. Uses and potentials of scale in translocal research"

of translocality, given its agency-/practice-focus and its relational understanding of place and space. For instance, translocal practices, such as connectivity, connections, and multi-embeddedness, are conceived of as transgressing place and scale boundaries, as reshaping and blurring boundaries. Moreover, translocality as a concept is considered to mediate scale differences and gaps, such as between the local and the global. Those other spatial concepts have also been adopted in social-geographical migration and translocality research, e.g. networks, relational space and relational thinking, "meshwork of entangled lines" (constantly changing, processual, and dynamic), events as connectors of "internal spatiotemporal relations" (Jones 2009), or the "rhizome" (Deleuze & Guattari 1976; Verne 2012). Nonetheless, references to scale in research adopting translocality as a conceptual approach are common, albeit not necessarily explicitly used or comprehensively conceptualized.

The analysis of the various conceptualizations and uses of scale against the backdrop of translocality research yielded the conclusion that while translocality emphasizes connections as structuring elements, rather than boundaries, distance, and difference, scale remains an important analytical tool in translocality research. Its use, however, requires more explicitness. That is to say, first, translocality research adopting a social-practice approach (e.g. to understand the migration–adaptation nexus through connectedness in translocal space) necessitates a conception of the different actor levels and social fields, and time scales that are intertwined through practice, e.g. how circumstances at the place of destination relate to those at home, how these two places and social spaces intersect, and how this interconnection affects everyday lives at both places. Secondly, the scale-based differentiation of actor levels, socio-spatial scope, and temporal dimensions helps us to understand and assess the effects of connectedness and multi-embeddedness, such as the reshaping of boundaries (e.g. rural–urban boundaries) both in everyday life realities and in terms of theoretical concepts (see Figure 4).

Socio-spatial scales in rural–urban translocal constellations
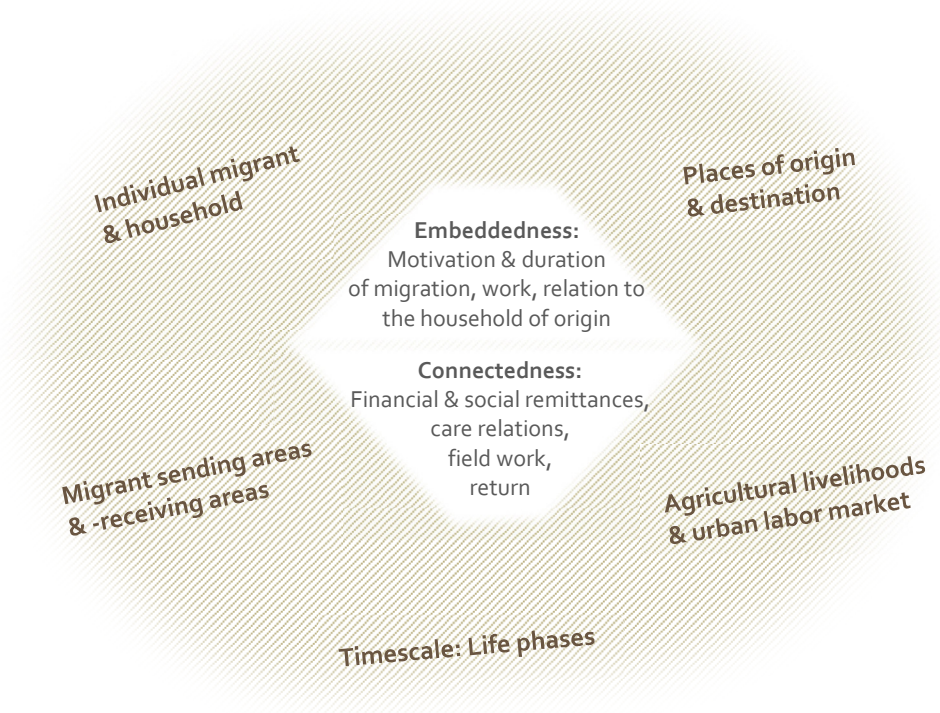
Figure 4: Social practices and socio-spatial scales in translocal space, specifically in the conceptual framework of this dissertation

Circumstances and potentials of connections and translocal embeddedness: shaping social resilience at the multiple places and levels of rural–urban household constellations[8]

The circumstances of rural–urban migrants at the place of destination and the potentials of rural–urban migration for the livelihoods and social resilience at places of origin have been explored from two specific vantage points: (1) precarity, and (2) remittances. More specifically, (1) the contrast between adaptation and precarity – as two possibly simultaneous versions of migration impact – has been examined through the conceptual lens of translocal embeddedness (see Figure 5). To dissect remittances (2) in the context of translocal connections and social resilience, intersectionality and positionality frameworks have been taken into account. That is to say, the analytical focus is on the underlying factors influencing the positioning of migrants and the connections between migrants and households, which are exemplified by remittance transfers and usage.

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[8] In-depth analyses of embeddedness and connectedness and their effects in translocal constellations in a rural–urban migration context in Thailand are provided by **the second research article** –_"Advancing adaptation or producing precarity? The role of rural–urban migration and translocal embeddedness in navigating household resilience in Thailand"_ – **and the third research article** –_"Gendered translocal connectedness: Rural–urban migration, remittances, and social resilience in Thailand"_ – which have been produced as part of this thesis; see part II, chapters 9 and 10.
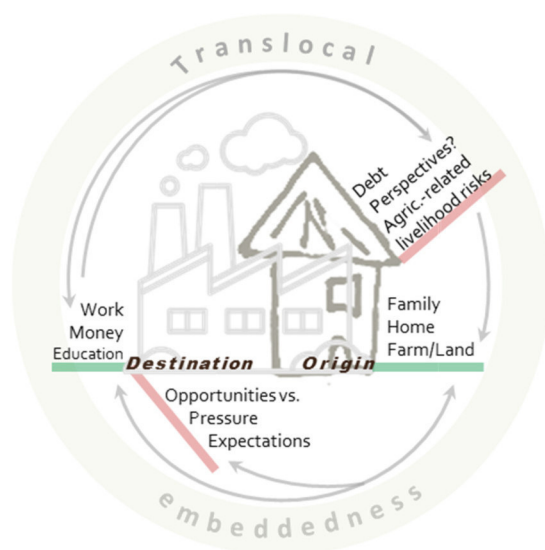
Figure 5: Translocal embeddedness

An important analytical component laying the ground for further clarity on the influence of rural-urban connections on household resilience was the exploration of migration-induced translocal practices. Basic structuring elements, emerging from the systematic analysis of the interview contents, were principal migration motives, individual drivers of migration, and attitudes towards migration, as well as conceptions of the phase of migration in terms of its duration, home-relatedness, and future plans in terms of time and life phase spent at a specific place. Adopting a translocal perspective, those various categories were developed by structuring and systematically aggregating the activities and routines in migrants' and households' everyday lives that had been identified as components of, for instance exchange relations between households and migrants. These exchanges include the transfer, reception, and usage of remittances, the multi-sited generation of household income, and care relations across space. Another type of everyday life practices comprises those activities and routines identified as components of social embedding, such as work and social life at the place of destination as well as household-oriented activities. The latter – including e.g. home visits, participation in the household's agricultural activities, anticipation of return, or planning or implementing changes in livelihood activities at home – likewise implies connectedness to the place and/or household of origin. While maintaining connections is one option in translocal migrant–household constellations, this relationship may also feature loose contact between a migrant and his/her household of origin; or may be interrupted, partially involving the separation and emotional and mental divergence from the place of origin. Altogether, identifying such migration-related patterns of everyday-life activities that interlink

migrants at their places of destination and migrant households at the places of origin result-
ed in a generalized synopsis of the migration-induced practices of translocality. Figure 6
depicts this synopsis as a condensed typology of mechanisms of translocal embedding and
connecting in migrant–household constellations. Contextual factors reflected in translocal
practices as well as the temporal scale (based on life events and phases in the life cycle)
were also taken into account and are thus outlined in the synopsis. This preliminary generic
consideration of these contextual and temporal dimensions was – later on – followed by a
more explicit examination of their interaction with translocal practices.
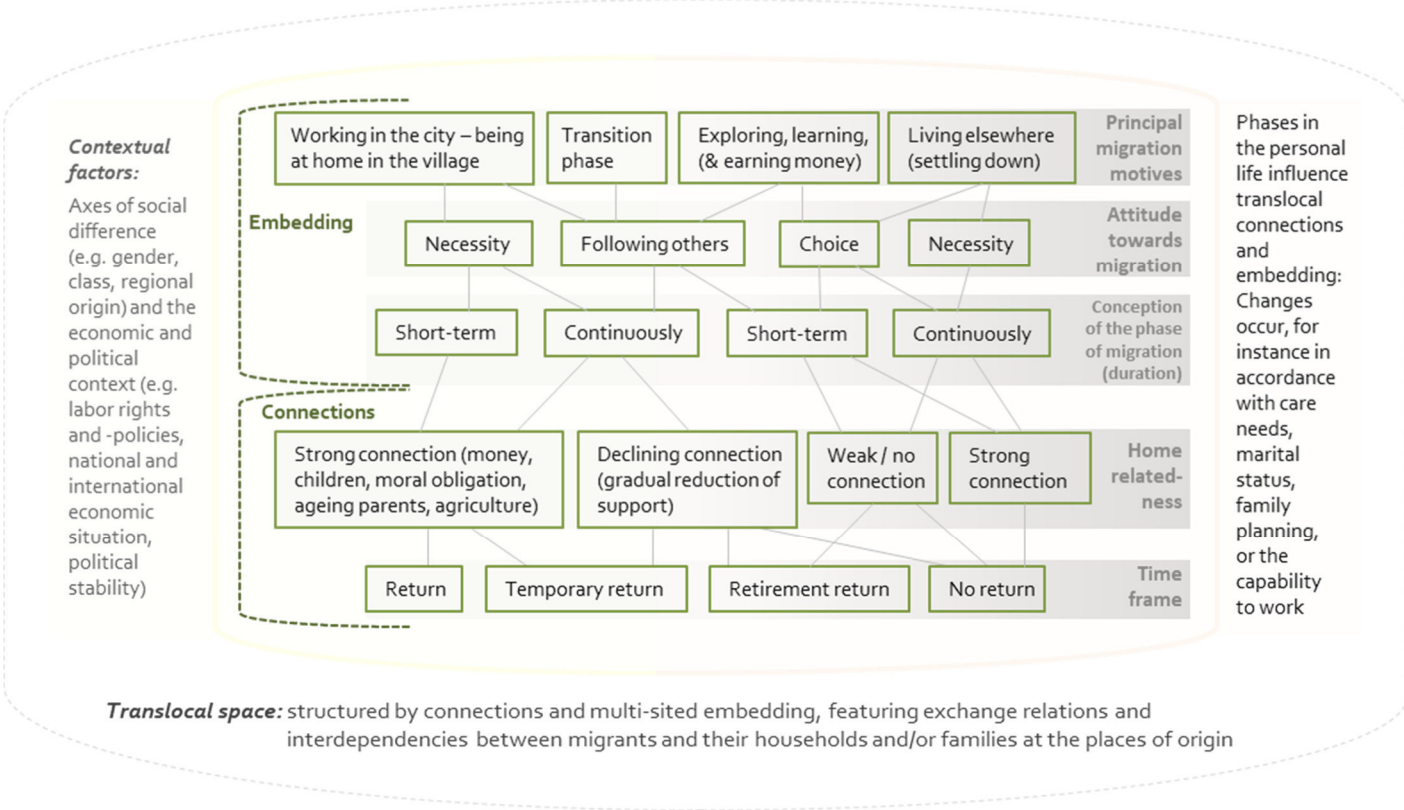
Figure 6: Patterns of migration-induced translocal embedding and connections between migrants and
households across space; the key characteristics of these patterns are summarized in the grey boxes to the
right, starting from the principal migration motive (top right); their respective specifications are charted
in the transparent boxes in the row next to them; the lines between these boxes indicate variations of how
the different modes of translocal embedding and connectedness can be linked, eventually forming types of
migration broken down by translocal practices. (See also chapter 9 for a more sophisticated presentation
and discussion of this typology.)

Following this systematization, the circumstances under which rural–urban migrants live
and work at the place of destination and reach out to their household at the place of origin,
and the circumstances under which households can benefit from migration-induced connec-
tions can be analyzed in more detail. As indicated in the typology above, remittances are a
pivotal element shaping patterns of embedding and connections across space. Through the

practice-focused lens of this research, emphasis is placed on the sending and using of remittances, including the negotiations around these transfers and uses, as well as on meanings associated with remittances from both remittance senders' and receivers' perspectives. Table 4 summarizes the types, uses, and effects of remittances which could be identified by using the aforementioned typology as an analytical basis for a more profound disentanglement.

Table 4: Dimensions and effects of **remittances** through a practice-focused translocal-resilience lens

Dimension 1: Supporting the household and agricultural activities	Dimension 2: Ideas, education, social network	Dimension 3: Social and moral support
- Additional cash income - Household expenses, repaying loans, purchasing a car, house construction or renovation, medical expenses - Children's school education and higher education - Agricultural expenses: fertilizer, hired labor, equipment *vs.* Increasing indebtedness and dependence on remittances	- Gaining experience, fulfilling aspirations - Investing in own higher education - Developing and implementing (small)-business ideas - Awareness of e.g. environmental or political issues	- Emotional connection: children, family, home - Regional identity - Satisfaying obligations - Symbolic value of remittance usage (reputation, status)

Based on the categorizations and identification of patterns of interrelated activities and routines in migrants and households everyday lives, the character of embeddedness and connectedness as social practices of translocality starts to take form. In the logic of a practice-focused view on translocality, translocal embeddedness is understood as a product of the interaction between a subject's culturally and socially conditioned dispositions toward social action (habitus) and the social field that is structured by the differential endowment of actors with different kinds of capital (economic, social, cultural, symbolic) and ensuing power relations under conditions of mobility and multi-sited living simultaneously. This requires a practical sense for interacting and positioning at multiple places and in relation to multiple social fields at the same time, engendering both complementary intersections and

tensions in the ensuing translocal field. While migrants position themselves within the social field at the place of destination through everyday practices related to their work, social activities, and residential choices, they are at the same time connected to their respective places and households of origin through remittance relations, (child)-care arrangements, and socio-cultural roots. Migrants define their position vis-à-vis both the place of destination and their household of origin, i.e. as a participant in the urban labor market or vis-à-vis other "urbanites", and as a member of a smallholder household in a rural area, for instance. Inter-connections between the everyday lives at the place of destination and at the place of origin, e.g. as articulated in negotiating remittance sending and usage, unfold for instance in a migrant's sense of responsibility for and belonging to the household of origin; in devising ideas and strategies of how to change or expand their family's activities in the village; in reserving a certain portion of monthly income for remittances; or in earning money for return-related or village-/household-centered purposes. Hence, connectedness comprises financially supporting the household (as the main source of income), covering the cost of children's higher education, and saving e.g. to start one's own business at the place of origin, to try new agricultural methods, or to simply be able to permanently live there and continue farm work (without additionally migrating for work). Furthermore, intentions to return, or actual (temporary) returns, as well as written and oral telecommunication and home visits, also form connectedness. Underlying influential factors include gender, life phase, marital status, household composition, children's whereabouts, and socio-economic standing as intersecting factors.

Translocal embeddedness evolves from these concurrent everyday practices at multiple places and produces a social space whose structure and logic are reworked due to the inter-linkage of the social fields at both the place of destination and origin. For instance, in seeking to stabilize the income situation of households (of origin), burdens are placed on migrating household members individually. A migrant's responsibilities within her/his household of origin or filial obligations, for instance, can increase the pressure on her/him to generate income and send money home or contribute to the household through other means. Schade et al. (2016) framed this as the "implicit social contract" through which the migrant and the household are connected. On the one hand, this can contribute to the migrants' vulnerability during their sojourn or upon return, which however also depends on their compliance with the "contract". Additionally, remittance needs of households of origin (e.g. in case of indebtedness, low level of education, little or no land, no other income sources, little flexibility of the household budget) often overlap with precarious work of migrating household members because the socio-economic situation of the household of origin is partially reflected in the

living and working conditions of the migrating household member in the city. However, working and living conditions that tend to be precarious at the place of destination and result in limited abilities to accumulate capital can still fulfill a valuable function within a given translocal constellation. At the same time, such connections and multi-embeddedness can compensate for instability at the place of destination, e.g. in terms of social security (e.g. child-care, fallback option, social network, "reverse remittances"), material support (agricultural produce), or moral and emotional support (home as place of belonging; mutual support and complementarity in household organization). (Reciprocity-driven) exchange relations in translocal household organization can thus have both stabilizing and destabilizing effects at the same time, for both the migrating and non-migrating household members. These migrant–household constellations are summarized in table 5 below. Four main types of migration are distinguished – based on the key characteristic of the respective migration experience and the prospect of the corresponding life phase. For each type, the central features describing the migrants' position are outlined vis-à-vis the role of the households of origin in the respective translocal constellation. Building on these descriptions, patterns of translocal embeddedness are portrayed by means of the following two components: firstly, the routines and circumstances in migrants' everyday lives at their places of destination, and secondly, the practices that shape the connections between the migrants and their family/household at their places of origin.

Table 5: Translocal constellations: migration, connectedness, and embeddedness

Principal distinctive element	Type of migration by main motivation and prospect of migration	Characteristics of household of origin	TRANSLOCAL EMBEDDEDNESS	
			Life at place of destination	Connection to place of origin
Choice — Multi-sited asset endowment	- Fairly stable conditions (in terms of education, professional skills, socio-economic wealth level, social network), i.e. disposing of "useful capital" to preserve the well-being of the household and contribute to its improvement - Rather long-term migration (planning)	- (Moderately) wealthy: land, education, livelihood stability, regular agricultural income and loan (for perennial agricultural activities), i.e. positive credit status (worthiness) - Migrating household members contribute to household well-being, i.e. more than only responding to urgent needs	- Financially independent - Familiarized with (peri-)urban life(style) - Semi- or high-skilled "white-collar" job (office job; and/or factory *employment* before) - Socially 'upgraded' (social mobility); not necessarily as a result of migration (but due to higher education) but migration has been one variable in this status upgrade (in comparison to other villagers, and to temporary migrant (wage) workers) - Basic social network or semi-reliable social contacts has/have been established at the place of destination (in compensation for the distance from family and relatives) - *In most cases, no family at place of destination*	- Return intention (for retirement) - Taking responsibility for household members at home - Constant regular remitting - Financially supporting parents at home ("moral" remittance obligation) - In some cases, engaged in small-scale agriculture (i.e. remote farm management); requires conviction or sense of responsibility for (and belonging to) place of origin - Mostly rather limited agricultural skills and interest
Choice — Destination focus	- Overall situation is comparatively slightly less stable (especially in terms of the educational degree) - Long-term migration (planning)	- Often **no** direct support-dependent and support-demanding family members (esp. parents) at place of origin anymore	- Own house - Entire nuclear family in BMR (i.e. same place of residence) - own business (e.g. own shop, retail, street food restaurant) *OR* - Stable long-term "white-collar" job (higher level of formal education)	- No return intention - Irregular or occasional financial support (remittances) - Tendency of disconnection between migrant and household of origin
Exploration	- Young, unmarried, (male) - Less stable overall situation - Medium- or lower education, no work experience	- No support-demand or support expectations by household at home	- Semi- or low-skilled job, (temporary) wage work - *In most cases, no family at place of destination*	- Not taking responsibility for household (members) at home - Money, income generation and sharing are rather secondary purposes in this migration phase - Irregular remittance sending, if at all

Principal distinctive element	Type of migration by main motivation and prospect of migration	Characteristics of household of origin	*TRANSLOCAL EMBEDDEDNESS* **Life at place of destination**	**Connection to place of origin**
Transition phase	- Higher level of formal education - Planning a village-based future - Either "choice" (in relative terms) led by education aspirations or necessity to sustain own life independently from parental household (*choice is relative*) - Medium- or long-term migration - "Instability-prone" but no general, that is all-embracing, precarity because of stabilizing factors (i.e. partner, education and employee-status, social support through household of origin, return option)	- Household has a regular bank loan (for perennial agric. activities), i.e. positive credit status - Parents' generation: used to be involved in int'l labor migration, investment of remittances in agricultural activities and/or additional land acquisition and/or higher education of children - Fairly low level of (material) wealth (e.g. little land, debts) - Remittance reliance or even dependency on remittances; perceived as reliable income source; depends on job security of the remitting household member - Exemplary household agricultural income: 100,000 THB per year (14 Rai maize field), i.e. 60,000 THB per year net income (~1,500 EUR per year)	- Semi- or low skilled work *OR* working and studying and remitting at the same time (in that case, higher education perspective) - Single, no children (therefore easier to cope with wage-work as only income source) - *[OR* (depending on age and length of stay): stable "white-collar" job *OR* double-income factory employee(s)] - Embracing opportunities of urban lifestyle: greater independence, horizon-broadening diversity, learning experience, difference from parents' and village lifestyle	- Strong return intention (despite lack of agricultural experience) - Planning to invest in future livelihood source in the village (saving money) - Children live in the village - Constant regular remittance transfers to the household of origin / the parental household - Stake (and interest) in supporting the household of origin, partially at least in times of need - Constant and considerable remittance contribution to the household: e.g. 78,000 THB per year (by a daughter); 48,000 THB per year (by a son) - *[OR* no full (exclusive) financial responsibility for the household of origin; remitting is more or less flexible] - "Life is in the village" (i.e. retaining family ties as social safety net in times of need, amongst other reasons; partially since this is not included in the work relation)

Principal distinctive element	Type of migration by main motivation and prospect of migration	Characteristics of household of origin	*TRANSLOCAL EMBEDDEDNESS* Life at place of destination	Connection to place of origin
Necessity Embracing urban life despite insecurities	- Low level of formal education - Precarious work (but compensating circumstances, e.g. own nuclear family is also at the place of destination; familiarization with the current place of living)	- Insecurity related to sources of livelihood - Fairly low level of (material) wealth (e.g. little land, debts) - Potential support (by migrant) in times of need, and continuous financial support by migrating household member(s) (for daily consumption)	- Semi-/low-skilled work - Embracing urban life and opportunities to earn cash money - Entire (core) family is at same place of residence (in BMR) (involving high living costs, though) - Defining the place of destination as one's home as one lives with family there and because of one's employment autonomy (and thus independence) (if owning a small business or being self-employed)	- No return intention - Regular remittances, i.e. regular support (moral obligation) - No agricultural perspective in the village, and no need and intention to stay put and improve household's or own livelihood in the village
Double pressure decreasing the room to maneuver	- Precarious work + household-related disadvantage, i.e. low education, lacking off-farm skill set, no or insufficient financial resources and thus limited financial flexibility to handle comparatively high(er) living costs in BMR with low wage and remittances expectations or requirements	- Remittance reliance or even dependency, especially due to limited sources of livelihood besides remittances; which bears a high risk due to job- and/or income insecurity of the migrating household- or family member at the place of destination	- Financial pressure - Work: wage work or employment in (low- or) medium-skilled service sector or manufacturing industry, or construction - Earning minimum wage (perceived as reliable) - *OR* own small-scale business (self-employment) - Living place: close to work place, i.e. in the suburbs (if factory work) or low-standard housing close to the work place in the city or next to the construction site (if this is the place of work) - Social activities and free time: barely applicable, limited social support network at place of arrival (perhaps spouse or relative) due to lack of time and money and trust; social and spatial distance to "local urban population"	- Responsibility for the household of origin: migration is perceived as necessary to sustain the household and to clear or reduce debt - Sending regular, monthly financial remittances (used for everyday expenses and monthly fixed costs) - Children: if possible, they live with their grand-parents in the village - Return option - Social support network through household of origin - Place of home, belonging - Agricultural skill set

No room to manueuver	- Precarious work + household responsibilities + lack of social support network (especially at place of destination)	- Household relies on financial support by the migrating household member – although his/her work and life involves multiple insecurities - Household _additionally_ relies on support in terms of (physical) work (e.g. farm work) by the migrating household member; as a consequence, unbalanced focus on capacities and physical resources of one household member	- Financial pressure - Low level of education - Temporary, e.g. seasonal, wage work - Divorced or single; parental household (household of origin) is main or only social support network and anchor - No or weak social network in the current residential area in BMR	- Regular remittances - Attached to (or member of) the parental household; e.g. through (grand-) children living there; care commitment (for ageing parents) - Return option - Social support through household of origin - Place of home, belonging - Agricultural skill set and thus participating in farm work at home
Specific/short-term needs	- Improvement of living conditions in the village (e.g. consumer products, car, machines, etc.) - _OR_ children's higher education - _Partially_ aiming at satisfying personal aspirations (e.g. regular employment instead of fieldwork)	- Investment in education; correspondingly promising perspective - _Short-term stay;_ hence complementation to livelihood at home instead of permanent/long-term substitution - Risk for both household and migrant: loss of physical strength and health due to demanding work	- Temporary jobs, job insecurity, wage-work income (contract labor) - With partner at place of destination – double income	- Remittances to support children - Remittances for specific purposes: e.g. children's higher education, new house, own land, etc. - Own land or household of origin owns land at home (as back-up)

In total, (translocal) embeddedness at multiple places and in multiple economic contexts, e.g. as a participant in the manufacturing industry and a member of a small-holder household in a rural area, can turn out to involve a two-dimensional identity as 1) a migrant living in and working under precarious conditions, and 2) an "agent of change" contributing to social resilience. Mediating the positions and particularities of both social spaces produces links between these multiple places and social fields. Such disparities in well-being between the migrating household member(s) and the household at home, which multi-embeddedness and connectedness in a translocal field can involve, requires us to take scale into account when assessing the value of migration as a means to enhance household resilience. This emphasis on translocal constellations and practices results in a multi-layered understanding of the effects of remittance transfers and usage on the social resilience of migrant households. Figure 7 and Table 6 (see below) indicate the links that can be drawn between everyday practices in translocal constellations and the potentials of migration to influence households' capacities and resources to deal with risks (see chapter 9 and 10 for an elaborated discussion and contextualization of these observations).
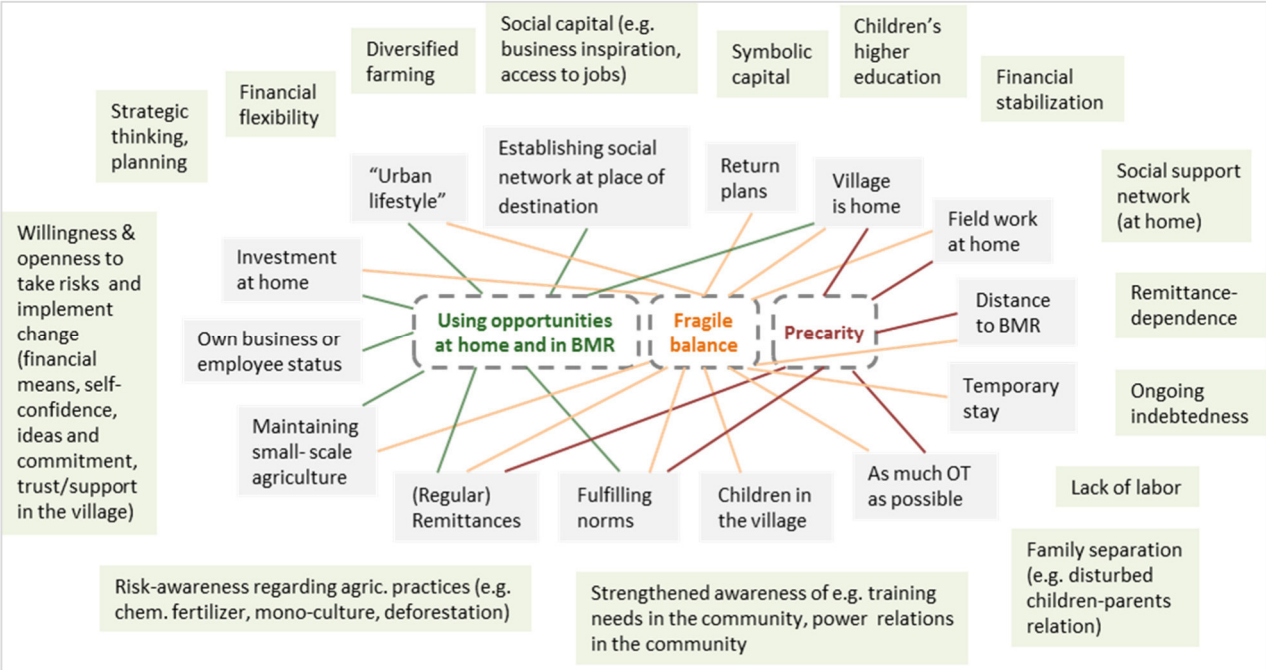
Figure 7: Dynamics and relationships in translocal constellations from the migrants' perspective; the boxes in the center of the figure describe the relationship between the migrant and the household of origin in the respective translocal constellation; the grey boxes (inner circle) form the level of everyday practices and positioning in everyday life (in relation to the place of destination and to the place and household of origin); the light green boxes (outer circle) display examples of potential outcome and specific effects of translocal connections.

Based on this schematic representation of migrants' positionings in translocal constella-tions, table 6 (below) delineates these constellations by means of opportunities and risks constituting the spectrum of migration impact. In addition to the first typology of translocal constellations depicting the modes and effects of migrant-household connectedness (see table 5), table 6 stresses the links between migration and resilience in each constellation. It thus summarizes how translocal connectedness influences the capacities and resources of households to face risks and specifies the circumstances under which translocal connected-ness tends to have either stabilizing or destabilizing effects differentiated by the socio-spatial level, i.e. the migrant's everyday life at the urban place of destination and the house-hold at the rural place of origin.

Table 6: Migration–resilience links in translocal constellations: Multiple socio-spatial levels and timescales are taken into account to assess the outcome of translocal practices

	Opportunities at home and in BMR		Fragile balance		Multiple insecurities – Precarity	
	Migrant	**Household**	**Migrant**	**Household**	**Migrant**	**Household**
Assets & opportunities	- Fairly stable conditions (education, work skills, socio-economic wealth level, social network); therefore relatively favorable terms to contribute to the household's socio-economic conditions; hence, more extensive support than response to urgent needs (*if support is provided ->* "*Case A*" *below*) - Medium or higher level of formal education - Own business or upgraded position in a factory or stable long-term "white-collar" job - Established social network or semi-reliable social contacts at the place of destination - (*In some cases:* entire family has also moved to BMR) - (*In some cases:* sense of responsibility for and belonging to the place of origin)	- (Moderately) wealthy: land, education, livelihood stability, regular loan (perennial agric. activities) including positive credit status (worthiness) - Migrating household member(s) contribute to the household well-being (e.g. financial support, prestige) *Case A)* - Migrant takes responsibility for household members at home - Migrant (intentionally) supports and maintains small-scale agriculture	- Advanced level of formal education - Stable "white-collar" job or double-income - Employee-status (including factory employment); therefore certain benefits, certain level of social welfare coverage - Social support through household of origin + return option - Belonging and sense of responsibility: stake (and interest) in supporting the household of origin, in times of need - Planning to invest in future livelihood source in the village (saving money)	- Parents: (former engagement in) international labor migration, investment of remittances in common agricultural activities and/or in additional land and/or in higher education of own children - Household has a regular bank loan (for perennial agricultural activities) including credibility (positive credit status) - Strong return intention of migrant(s) - Constant and important remittance contribution to the household	- Strong connection to and support of parental household (regular financial remittances) - Household of origin as social support network and anchor	- (Financial) stabilization (within certain bounds) through labor migration - In case of a short-term stay: labor migration complements livelihood activities at home instead of substituting them on the long run
Risks & difficulties	- (*In some cases:* divorced or single) - No or limited agricultural skills and interest *Case A)* - Constant regular remitting - Financially supporting parents at home ("moral" remittance obligation) *Case B)* - Irregular or occasional financial support (remittances) - Rather disconnected to household (and place) of origin	- Rather long-term migration, i.e. going without certain capacities on-site (in the village), such as labor	- Children live with grandparents at the place of origin - Long working hours - Regular remittances (thus noticeable as additional monthly costs) - Instability-prone but stabilizing factors (as mentioned above) prevent precarity	- Lack of labor for field work - "Generational gap" (grandparents and grandchildren), care responsibility	- Low level of education - Temporary (seasonal) wage work, low-pay - Deterioration of physical/health condition due to demanding work - Living place is located near the work place, i.e. in the suburbs (in case of factory work) or low-standard housing near the work place in the city or next to a construction site - If divorced or single: parental household is the main and/or only social support network and anchor - No or weak social network in the current residential area - Unbalanced focus on migrant's earnings and working capacities	- Fairly low level of (material) wealth (e.g. little land, debts) - Reliance (dependence) on financial support by migrating household member – although his/her work and life involves multiple insecurities - Relying on work support by migrating household member (on-site, for field work)
Migration-resilience-link	- Cultural capital (knowledge, experience, broadened horizon) - Higher-education advantage (+ relative job security) - Close connection to the family at home + fairly stable social support network at the place of destination	- Enhanced financial stability; remittances as additional safeguard - Sufficient financial flexibility to invest in crop diversity (within certain bounds) - Social capital (access to jobs, business inspiration)	- Strong connection to the place of home (anchorage); also as compensation for the lack of a social support network at the place of destination - Bearing the brunt of household sustenance - No agricultural experience, limited options for a village-based (agricultural) source of livelihood	- Comparatively stable remittance contributions - Debt reduction and higher financial stability (partially) thanks to remittances - Children's education - Partially diversified agriculture, and partially shift of (main) focus from (subsistence) agriculture to contract farming and urban off-farm work - Symbolic capital (reputation, prestige)	- Hardships (referred to as "burdens" or "struggle" by multiple interviewees) at the place of destination: in terms of work and restricted social life, and due to the pressurizing responsibility to support the household at home - "Being stuck" at the place of destination, i.e. no perspective to return or move or change jobs, given the financial burdens and the low pay level in certain segments of the labor market	- Dependence on urban wage (i.e. remittance dependence) - Long-term (investment) strategies are barely possible (not even through migration) - Slight improvement of children's education

7.) Summary and conclusion: empirical, conceptual and methodological contributions to the understanding of translocal social resilience

The overall aim of this research was to better understand the intersection of increasing connectedness and the multifaceted risk exposure in rural lives as well as practices and strategies to handle risk and change, including environmental and climate-related stress. The three research articles, which have been outlined and discussed in the previous section and are fully presented in sections 8-10, have contributed to a better understanding of migration-related translocal living arrangements as an empirical phenomenon, to the advancement of the methodological means to capture the migration–resilience nexus, and to a refinement of the conceptualization of migration impact in the context of environmental changes and risks.

In terms of empirical contributions, this research sheds light on how livelihoods of migrant households and their social resilience are influenced by migrants' lives at the place of destination and by connections between the migrant and the household of origin. So far, this specific interaction has only exceptionally been addressed by research focusing on migration, development, and adaptation. The empirical results explicate how translocal connections can extend resources and capacities of households, but can also reinforce the difficulties experienced by individual household members at the place of destination, especially if exposed to precarious working and living conditions, which is partially a reflection of the socio-economic conditions at the place of origin. For instance, migration to urban areas to earn cash money – which is used for education and consumption, invested in agriculture and livelihood improvement, and converted to symbolic capital – can also be accompanied by the exploitation of labor (regarding their health, physical condition, mental strength and self-esteem) in the manufacturing industry with its wide-spread consideration of workers as cheap, temporary, easily replaceable labor. This is additionally exacerbated by the marginalization of (migrant) workers in semi-skilled, low-paid jobs in an urban area as pervaded with social disparities as Greater Bangkok. Moreover, the potential of rural–urban migration to strengthen rural livelihoods in the face of a changing social and natural environment can be considered ambiguous given the often poor compatibility of the skill sets associated with urban-based semi-skilled jobs and agriculture-based livelihoods (see also Rigg et al. 2014; Le Mare et al. 2015). Likewise reflecting the tension between migration gains and losses, it is still open to debate to what extent migration and translocal connections contribute to choice- and agency-based change (and improvement) of people's lives in rural areas, or rather involve households' adjustment to neo-liberalized capitalism and labor markets, for

instance, by organizing family life around work, e.g. grandparental child care while both parents earn cash income for the household (e.g. Mills 1999; Jacka 2017). That is to say, migration and the ensuing spatial extension of livelihoods do not necessarily result in enhanced adaptability or improved capacities to face risks. In some cases, risks are rather multiplied or relocated, as socio-economic conditions of the household of origin might be reflected at the place of destination. Yet households faring socio-economically relatively poorly can capitalize on comparatively difficult working and living conditions of a migrating household member at the place of destination. As this research has shown, migration-induced links between places in rural and urban areas involve embedding within multiple socio-spatial frames of reference at the same time. Beyond the physical linkage between the multiple locations over which sources of livelihoods are spread, the multiple socio-spatial embeddedness of migrants and non-migrants in rural–urban household constellations implies an interdependent relation between the material and immaterial resources the household of origin disposes of and the experiences and circumstances of the migrating household member at the place of destination. Connections between migrants and non-migrants or connectedness as a migration-related social practice interlink resources and the lack thereof or improvements in living conditions and insecurities experienced either at the place of destination or at the place of origin. This mutual influence of everyday life circumstances across space has implications for the resilience of households in the face of risks and change.

On a conceptual level, this research makes a contribution to the study of migration, migration impact, and environment–migration links by developing a conceptual approach that builds on translocality and social resilience and integrates a social-practice focus, scale-sensitivity, and frameworks of intersectionality and positionality. Ways of dealing with uncertainties and risks are examined through the lens of everyday lives at the individual and the household level, and are embedded in a wider context by means of practice concepts. In the context of migration and rural–urban lives in the face of environmental change and stress, translocal social resilience places emphasis on everyday activities and routines that relate to practices and processes beyond the immediate place of action, as the lives of migrants and of their household of origin remain interconnected despite distance. These interconnections also influence how households deal with stress and face risks and change. By drawing attention to the connectedness and multi-embeddedness of migrants and non-migrants, the translocal-resilience approach helps to integrate agency perspectives and structural-context perspectives on the links between migration, capacities and resources of households, and environmental risks and change. Special attention has been drawn to the

disparate degrees of entanglement of migrants and households of origin, accentuating the multitude of socio-cultural, socio-economic, and socio-spatial factors influencing translocal connections, including both stabilizing and destabilizing factors for both the migrant at the place of destination and the household at the place of origin. In this integrated translocality–resilience framing, translocal practices are considered to shape the social resilience of households which thus interlinks places and spans multiple socio-spatial levels and time-scales. That is to say, everyday practices at multiple places and at different socio-spatial scales influence how households can handle stress and use opportunities. Through connectedness and translocal embeddedness, capacities to deal with risks and to seize opportunities are negotiated across the multiple socio-spatial layers that rural–urban interaction encompasses. Hence, complementing the practice-focus in examining and assessing migration impact on rural–urban lives, translocal social resilience also explicitly addresses the multiplicity of scales implicated in the migration–resilience nexus. Explicitly considering scale in the analysis of migration circumstances and its effects on the social resilience of migrant households helps to address different actor levels (individual, household) and different socio-spatial scales, such as rural and urban spaces, individual livelihoods and global climate change as different analytical frames of reference, and the tension between small-scale agriculture and economic integration in national and global markets. In this regard, emphasis is placed on interconnections between places and scales despite distance and difference, which is reflected in the interdependence of lives of migrants at urban places of destination and of households at rural places of origin deriving from translocal connections. Furthermore, by taking into account intersectionality and positionality frameworks, the translocal social resilience approach allows for the interaction of migration and dealing with environmental change with underlying socio-structural relations in translocal space, including gender and class relations, and the socio-economic-political context.

In terms of methods and methodology, the specific type of application of the multi-sited research approach in the context of this thesis – high mobility of the researcher, following people and connections (back and forth), covering different migrant sending areas and different specific localities in the migrant receiving area – reinforces the utility of that approach in identifying and examining connections and interdependences between processes and practices at different sites. The enormous importance of this connection focus particularly arises in research on the interaction of phenomena and processes as wide-spread, complex, diverse, multifaceted, multidimensional as, for instance, migration, rural transition, and environmental change (including climate change). Such processes are co-produced at

multiple different places and scales at the same time and interact with each other in one or another way. The multi-sited research strategy followed in the context of this thesis illustrates the added value of exploring such interlinked processes from multiple ends of the implied connections, i.e. processes at one place are seen through the lens of the circumstances and practices at another – connected – place in order to unravel their interweaving. Here, the multi-sited focus also accounts for multiple levels. Different actor levels and socio-spatial scales are addressed by distinguishing different scopes of an issue, i.e. practices, perceptions and rationalities on an individual and everyday level as well as on wider socio-spatial levels, e.g. regional, national or global. This multi-scale perspective was additionally strengthened by applying a mixed-method approach, mediating the focus on individual life-worlds and the wider context beyond the horizon of individual actors in specific sites. Combining ethnographical, thoroughly qualitative methods and more quantitative social research methods (focus-group discussions, household survey) proved a fruitful strategy in that regard. Altogether, the thesis clearly demonstrates the value of integrating multiple sites and multifaceted research activities for the comprehensibility of the diverse and diffused concrete and abstract, micro- and macro-level links between parallel processes, such as migration and resilience.

In sum, this research refines our understanding of how migration-induced connections influence "rural" life against the backdrop of social and environmental change. Beyond the discussion of translocality on a conceptual level, a specific translocal-resilience perspective has been developed placing emphasis on social practice, scale, and multi-spatial positioning as central components in the analysis of effects and potentials of migration-induced translocal connectedness for the social resilience of households of origin. Empirically, the study shows how migration expands the variety of situations, events, risks, and opportunities that influence the circumstances of livelihoods, the scope of action, and relations in the household of origin. It also provides a nuanced and ambiguous picture, in which the potentiality of migration and the possible loss of potential appear as two opposing ends of a spectrum of effects implicated in the migration–resilience nexus. Conceptually, translocal social resilience as a practice-based and place- and scale-sensitive approach stresses the reshaping of places through social practices across space, i.e. through translocal connectedness and embeddedness. It has thus enabled a profound analysis of practices and circumstances of rural–urban livelihood arrangements which has resulted in an improved understanding of the role of migrant–household connections in livelihoods in rural areas facing tremendous change. Methodologically, this research has demonstrated the potential of a multi-sited approach to

empirical research and of the integration of qualitative ethnography-informed methods with more quantitative methods. By unravelling the migration–resilience link in terms of specifying the practices and circumstances that shape the capacities of households to absorb or adapt to change, this research has, altogether, considerably advanced the knowledge about everyday lives in rural–urban migration contexts and about migration impact.

Implications and outlook

In view of the findings derived from this research and its aforementioned contributions to the state of knowledge in research on translocality and on migration impact, the following implications arise for both policy making in the multifaceted field of migration and for future research, specifically in terms of conceptualizations of and methodological approaches to migration (impact) in the context of resilience to environment-related stress and risks.

As indicated by this thesis, stressing connections (in contrast to absence and distance) and interdependence of circumstances at the multiple places involved in migration processes (i.e. places of origin and destination) is key to fully understanding everyday practices of migrants and the outcome of migration on a more encompassing level. This non-rigid and non-static perspective on places, space, and boundaries deserves due consideration by research focusing on processes and effects of migration. In this thesis, for instance, the increasing conflation of rural and urban everyday lives and livelihoods has been illuminated. Against the backdrop of this profound interdependence of conurbations and rural (but not remote) areas, it is important to explore the development and effects of new strategies in combining farming activities and urban-based work, such as remote farming (see also Rambo 2017) or the extension of knowledge and skill sets through digital means of information, communication, and learning with regard to migration–development and migration–adaptation links. Furthermore, in view of the generally increasing focus on educational aspirations and attainments, also observable in rural areas, more light needs to be shed on the specific role of education-related migration on rural–urban exchange relations and practices or strategies to tackle risks, including climate-related risks and adaptation needs.

While this thesis deeply analyzes the multiplicity of space and scales, it will additionally become increasingly important to consider virtual space as another layer in translocal space, as social interaction, especially across spatial distance, nowadays necessarily includes connections in virtual spaces. Given today's global scope of digitization, options for establishing and retaining connections across space have reached an entirely new level. Its effects on practices or strategies to deal with stress and risks, e.g. environmental changes, require

greater attention in future research on the environment–migration nexus. Ubiquitous digital communication and today's level of virtual-space-based connections will also be major concerns in translocality research in general, i.e. beyond the environment–migration context, and it is moreover an important issue with regard to the methodology of studying spaces of migration, e.g. in terms of defining the research field. A multi-sited research approach, as applied in this thesis, could thus be extended by the consideration of the virtual dimension of space. Especially the omnipresence of digital communication prompts questions about its influence on translocal connections and on the production, expansion, and the limits, or lack thereof, of translocal space in the context of migration.

With regard to policies in the realm of migration, the findings of this research imply that influential factors of migration need to be adjusted on a more encompassing level than that of the individual migrant or household, and responsibility must not be devolved to households and migrants individually (see also Maharjan et al. 2020). That is to say, besides responses to climate change on national and international level, governments are required to strongly respond to exploitative employment relations. While notions of positive and negative effects of migration rather tend to support anti-migration policies, disguised as a good intention to save people from exploitative labor, governments rather need to urge the systematic eradication of exploitative work relations (see also Housen et al. 2012). Implications for policy making thus include, amongst others, strengthening labor rights, stipulating and enforcing fair payment and fair, healthy working conditions and environments, and creating a situation in which people have a "real choice", i.e. a choice between one sufficient and acceptable setting of livelihood sources and another one, which would altogether equal a situation in which migration is, in fact, more of a choice than the lesser of two evils. Furthermore, instead of aiming to prevent or minimize migration, it needs to be recognized and accepted as a common part of livelihoods. This involves the creation of a respectful environment for (both temporary and long-term or permanent) migration, as well as awareness raising among potential rural–urban migrants about working conditions and occupation trajectories in urban areas, and the improvement of migration conditions, in terms of both the movement itself and working and living conditions at places of destination, whose economic success and progress is often intertwined with labor migration.

8.) How scale matters in translocality: uses and potentials of scale in translocal research

Article I: *Porst L., Sakdapolrak P. (2017): How scale matters in translocality: Uses and potentials of scale in translocal research. Erdkunde 71 (2): 111-126.*

Preface

This thesis as a whole uses translocal social resilience as its conceptual approach to accomplish its overarching aim to explore interdependencies between translocalized lives and the social resilience of households in rural areas. This approach focuses on social practices of connectedness and embeddedness which produce the translocal space that shapes social resilience of migrant households in "rural" Thailand. A core dimension of the approach is the concept of scale which facilitates the analytical conceivability of translocal social practices (connectedness and embeddedness), based on which the circumstances of rural–urban migration and their effects on social resilience are captured. While the notion of scale is omnipresent in publications on translocality, it is mostly used without precision. To tackle this shortcoming, this article seeks to elaborate and systematize the multifaceted notions of scale in translocal research, in order to enhance its conceptual understanding in and its implications for translocal research. Based on the analysis of different uses of scale in translocality research, the article interrogates the utility of scale for a translocality-based research framework. The discussion also takes into consideration the recent debate on scale in human geography. With regard to the thesis as a whole, this article accentuates the potential of scale-sensitivity in developing translocal social resilience as a conceptual approach to analyze migration circumstances and its effects on the social resilience of migrant households.

HOW SCALE MATTERS IN TRANSLOCALITY: *USES* AND *POTENTIALS* OF SCALE IN TRANSLOCAL RESEARCH

Luise Porst and Patrick Sakdapolrak

Summary: In a globalized world, the complexity of mobility prompts varied approaches to conceptualize connections across social and spatial boundaries. Over the past decade an increasing number of scholars have elaborated translocality as an approach to comprehend embeddedness while being mobile. Scale is one core dimension in conceptualizations of translocality. However, a systematic analysis of how scale is used in translocal research is lacking. Our core objective is to close this gap by reviewing and assessing how scale is conceptualized in research on translocality. Furthermore we discuss – against the backdrop of the rich literature on scale – how translocality research can benefit from considering notions of scale in a more systematic way. We find that by emphasizing the transgression and reshaping of spatial and scalar boundaries, translocality – beyond viewing scale as a category of spatial structuration – stresses the malleability of hierarchically ordered socio-spatial spheres. We accordingly conclude that scale is one conceptual approach whose explicit usage can help us to examine and operationalize practices of and power relations within social interactions by which translocal space is produced and reworked at multiple (abstract and concrete) levels.

Zusammenfassung: In einer in hohem Maße globalisierten Welt wie der heutigen, bedarf es vielschichtiger theoretischer Konzepte, um Mobilität in ihrer gesamten Komplexität zu erfassen. Dies beinhaltet insbesondere die Konzeptualisierung von Verbindungen, die soziale und räumliche Grenzen überschreiten bzw. einschließen. In diesem Zusammenhang gewann Translokalität als ein konzeptioneller Zugang an Bedeutung. Dieser stellt die Gleichzeitigkeit von Mobilität und Einbettung von Akteuren und sozialer Interaktion in den Fokus. Geographische Skalen sind ein Schlüsselelement der Translokalitäts-forschung. Was darin bisher allerdings kaum Beachtung findet, ist eine systematische Betrachtung der unterschiedlichen Skalenverständnisse. Das Hauptanliegen dieses Artikels besteht daher in der Systematisierung und Einordnung der Verwendungsarten von Skalen in Translokalitätskonzepten. Bezugnehmend auf die reichhaltige Literatur zu Skalen, gehen wir überdies der Frage nach, welchen Mehrwert eine explizite Verwendung von Skalen für die Translokalitätsforschung hat. Unsere Analyse zeigt – über die Verwendung von Skalen als bloße räumliche Kategorie hinaus – die schwerpunktmäßige Auseinandersetzung translokaler Konzepte mit der Überwindung und Umformung räumlicher und skalarer Grenzen, wodurch der permanenten sozialen Neu-Aushandlung sozial-räumlicher Grenzen und Hierarchien Rechnung getragen wird. Dementsprechend kann geschlussfolgert werden, dass die explizite Verwendung von Skalenkonzepten zur Weiterentwicklung translokaler Forschungsansätze beiträgt, da sich so Praktiken und Machtbeziehungen von sozialer Interaktion in der Produktion und Veränderung von Räumen auf unterschiedlichen (abstrakten und konkreten) Ebenen darstellen lassen.

Keywords: translocality, scale, mobility, place, boundaries, social-spatial interactions

1 Introduction

In the age of globalization, migration has become a constitutive element of more and more people's lives. People move across and beyond places, and settle in and link these places through their everyday activities. Connectedness to and embeddedness in multiple places constitute ways of living that are increasingly widespread. Various scientific disciplines seek to enhance the understanding of what can be described as *translocal modes of living* and have contributed to the development of the concept of *translocality*. Contributions come from migration studies (Brickell and Datta 2011; Lahiri 2011; Gielis 2009; Steinbrink 2009; Hedberg and do Carmo 2012; Sterly 2015; Andersson 2014; Winters 2014; Etzold 2016; Fauser and Nijenhuis 2015), area studies (Oakes and Schein 2006; Schetter 2012; Verne 2012; Bromber 2013; Benz 2014; Gilles 2015; Schröder and Stephan-Emmrich 2016), urban studies (Söderström and Geertman 2013; Liu et al. 2014; Main and Sandoval 2015; Kinder 2016; Brzezicka and Wisniewski 2016) and history (Freitag and Oppen 2010), as well as economic geography (Lange and Büttner 2010; Dubois et al. 2012; Kuah-Pearce

2016), development studies (GRILLO and RICCIO 2004; ZOOMERS and WESTEN 2011; BANERJEE 2011; VAN EWIJK 2016), cultural anthropology (APPADURAI 1996; MA 2002; LONG 2008; ROGERS 2011; GREINER 2012; AMELINA 2012; WEISSKÖPPEL 2013; ADAMS 2015; POCAPANISHWONG 2016) and human ecology (RIOS and WATKINS 2015).

The concept of translocality seeks to provide a frame to understand mobility, peoples' embeddedness while being mobile, and how mobile and immobile actors (re-)produce connectedness and thereby reshape places (FREITAG and OPPEN 2010; OAKES and SCHEIN 2006; BRICKELL and DATTA 2011). Translocal practices are not only considered multi-sited but also multi-scalar (BRICKELL and DATTA 2011; RAU 2012). *Scale* – as the literature clearly indicates – can be considered an important element in conceptualizing translocality (OAKES and SCHEIN 2006; PAGE 2011; CHACKO 2011; SMITH 2011; AMELINA 2012). Both translocality and scale are concerned with overlapping matters related to the structuring of socio-spatial entities, mobility, and connections across space, and linkages between places. Therefore, both concepts have already been connected throughout large parts of translocality research. However, the conceptual linkage between scale and translocality has not been systematically analyzed so far. Scale has heretofore been used differently, and in varying degrees of specificity. Hence, in order to contribute to the conceptual development of translocality, the objective of this paper is to systematize the ways of using scale in conceptualizations of translocality and in research on translocal modes of living. Moreover, we will assess how the scale literature can refine translocality as a research approach. The paper is based on the literature on translocality included in a comprehensive review paper on translocality by GREINER and SAKDAPOLRAK 2013, which was complemented by more recent works (ADAMS 2015; BENZ 2014; STERLY 2015; GILLES 2015; RIOS and WATKINS 2015; FAUSER and NIJENHUIS 2015; MAIN and SANDOVAL 2015; SCHRÖDER and STEPHAN-EMMRICH 2016; VAN EWIJK 2016; KINDER 2016; ETZOLD 2016).

The paper is structured in the following manner. First, we briefly outline both notions of translocality and of scale. Secondly, conceptualizations of scale in translocality research will be analyzed to then discuss its contribution to translocality. This will lead us to address the question whether the connection of translocality and scale prompts notions of a *translocal scale*, before concluding this paper with a reflection on the implications of our findings.

2   What is translocality?

The concept of translocality has been critically influenced by research on transnationalism. This approach originated in the need to re-conceptualize nationality and ethnicity in research on international migration, given the complexity and fluidity of migrants' lives and the unbounded nature of social spaces (GLICK SCHILLER et al. 1992). Yet transnationalism accounts for both global interconnectedness and the persistence of nation-states by linking these phenomena to migrants' practices. Extending this view, translocality addresses processes and practices producing local-to-local relations and thereby enunciates the simultaneity of mobility and situatedness in specific places (e.g. CHACKO 2011; SMITH 2011; SUN 2006; DATTA 2011; RAU 2012; BROMBER 2013). In earlier reflections on translocalities, APPADURAI (1996) described them as localities (e.g. neighborhoods) emerging from personal ties that weave together circulating populations with locals across and beyond boundaries of nation-states. Viewing the local as being "situated within a network of spaces, places and scales" (2011, 5), BRICKELL and DATTA define translocality as a "'field' of everyday practices across scales" (2011, 7). Likewise, *concrete* processes and networks are regarded as part and parcel of translocality as conceptualized by FREITAG and OPPEN (2010). They refer to translocality as "all phenomena which are created by circulations and transfers" (ibid. 5) of people, goods, ideas, and symbols, spanning spatial and ideological distances across boundaries at different scales. Places where mobility is actually grounded, where mobile actors meet, where connections converge, and towards which flows of resources are directed or from which they depart come into the focus of research. Connections between these sites thus emerge beyond and between the types of links that connect nation-states.

Deriving from transnationalism, one strand of translocality research focuses on migration-induced translocality. While migrants are situated in specific places, they are at the same time connected to others, e.g. the place of origin, and therefore link these places. Translocality thus encompasses the re-/shaping of "physical, political, social and cultural spaces and localities by [mobility]" (BROMBER 2013, 63). Within this field of research, emphasis is, for instance, placed on the role of family relations and the changes they undergo in the course of both rural-urban and transnational migration processes (e.g. GREINER 2012; ADAMS 2015). Related studies also focus on social practices of embedding in localities and con-

nectedness through place-based linkages (Hall and Datta 2010; Schetter 2012; Verne 2012; Etzold 2016), and on family- and locality-based references of identity formation (complementing the nationality-focused construction of identity) (Brickell 2011; Christou 2011; Datta 2011; Peleikis 2010). Moreover, concepts of migration-induced translocality have been elaborated in research on the migration-development nexus, exploring the influence of different forms of migration on development processes in (rural) sending areas of migrants (e.g. Sakdapolrak et al. 2016; Benz 2014; Grillo and Riccio 2004; McKay 2003).

Beyond the evolution of translocality in a migration context, the concept contributes to investigations into the spatial dimensions of socio-political movements (McFarlane 2009; Banerjee 2011) and other formations of cognitive exchange, such as business networks, innovation-oriented knowledge networks, "development corridors" constituted by the accumulation and usage of social capital, or community partnerships for mutual learning on an administrative level (Leung 2011; Lange and Büttner 2010; Dubois et al. 2012; van Ewijk 2016). In these studies, translocality enables the conceptualization of the spatial nature of social, political, and academic configurations whose emergence and performance suggest global references, while their embeddedness in specific local contexts is likewise pertinent. For instance, Banerjee conceptualizes the exchange of resources and ideas, political identities and strategies that actuate resistance against imposed extractive interventions as forms of *translocal* resistance (2011, 335). This framing is based on actors' connectedness across boundaries between levels of governance. While this notion of translocality does not draw on human migration, related research still addresses mobility and connectedness, namely through the exchange of context-specific ideas and knowledge, and in the form of distance-spanning socio-political (protest) movements.

To sum up, translocality scholars conceptualize mobility and emplacement as simultaneous processes (Smith 2005; Brickell and Datta 2011; Freitag and Oppen 2010). Opposing unmoored hyper-mobility (Smith 2011, 183), translocal approaches rather view the practice of producing places as situated in relational space, i.e. including remote interaction, social practices at a distance, and the connectedness of mobile and immobile actors. At the same time, the relational and processual character of producing space is taken into account (Oakes and Schein 2006; Schein 2006; Verne 2012). In order to capture such

multi-dimensional socio-spatial interweaving, which features places as reference points in mobility-intense contexts, and yet as re-shapeable, unbounded localities, translocal scholars employ concepts of scale (e.g. Christou 2011; Smith 2011; Hedberg and do Carmo 2012; Herzig and Thieme 2007).

3 Scale – a brief introduction

"Connecting the dots" between translocality and scale implies answering questions about the framing of spatiality that translocality necessitates; i.e. whether translocality is compatible with scalar thinking, and if so, with what approaches to scale, or whether translocal space can or even should do without scale. Before exploring answers to these questions in further detail in section five, scale will be depicted as one dimension of spatiality, and different notions of scale juxtaposed with one another.

The various meanings of *scale* encompass notions of size and scope, levels and spheres of influence, and the boundaries of socio-spatial entities, i.e. nested sets of spatial units appearing at different spatial resolutions (Gibson et al. 2000).

3.1 Scale as size

Scale is often referred to in terms of the *relative sizes of spatial entities*. By using scale as a measure, the extent and resolution or degree of generalization of such spatial units can be distinguished, resulting in the idea of small and large scales, such as village, province, and continent. This stance is rarely taken by human geographers, but is rather widespread among ecologists and biophysical geographers (Sayre 2009, 22).

3.2 Scale as level

Scale is also commonly understood as *spatial level,* which implies the utility of scale both as an analytical tool and as a structure in reality that is analyzed. While the aforementioned notion of scale as size refers to the relative spatial extent of specific entities, spatial levels usually range from the local to the global, encompassing the regional and national scales. As compared to scale-as-size, scale-as-level is more relevant to social scientists, including human geographers (e.g. Swyngedouw 2000; Brenner 2001; Sheppard 2002; Mansfield 2005;

Leitner and Miller 2007; Cox 2009; Neumann 2009). Beyond administrative, political and economic spheres of influence, the body has also been added, referring to the individual as a level of its own which influences and is shaped by socio-spatial relations (Casey 1997; Oakes and Schein 2006). Yet another differentiation is designated by rural and urban scales (Gibson et al. 2000). While they might also denote administrative spheres, these scales predominantly indicate areas differing in terms of socio-economic structures.

3.3 Boundaries and scale

Structuring physical and social space according to levels and their related scope implies a system of nested spaces or territories separated from each other by boundaries. This framing of scale as a spatial concept also entails a notion of a hierarchical order of scales within which norms, rules and regulations are embedded. Spaces are thereby structured according to scale. At the same time, spaces are equated with scales in terms of spatial size, and with scales referring to relative levels of administrative units that differ in reach and influence. Referring to scale as level, and to boundaries, implies a view of scale as a construct that is constituted by social practices and power struggles producing different spatial levels (Swyngedouw 1997; Leitner and Miller 2007, 119; Brenner 2009, 126; Taylor 2011; Marston and Smith 2001, 615; Paasi 2004, 542).

3.4 Scale as object of analysis, and as an analytical tool

A distinction can be made between scale as an object of analysis and scale as an analytical tool (Sayre 2009). Scale as an object of analysis relates to the production of specific scales by social relations as well as to the effects of such socially produced scales (Smith 1992; Brenner 1997; Swyngedouw 1997; Marston 2000; Oakes and Schein 2006; Schein 2006; see Chapter 4.3 and 4.4). Corresponding conceptions of geographic scale comprise, on the one hand, "space envelopes" (Brenner 2001) suggesting "scaffolding of spatial scales" (Brenner 1997) which encircle spaces. On the other hand, such scalar structures can also be circumvented by "jumping scales" (Smith 1993), and scalar boundaries become permeable by means of networks (Herod 2011, 250; Cox 1998; Latham 2002; Conway 2008; Hoefle

2006; Jessop et al. 2008; Sayre 2009). Framing scales as material outcomes of social interaction hence implies that, instead of scale per se, processes and practices by which scales are socially produced need to be understood (Brenner 1997; Sayre 2009; Herod 2011).

With that said, the intersection of scale as a material social product and scale as a social construction serving an analytical purpose becomes apparent. While scale is a component of socio-spatial processes whose production is analyzed (Brenner 1997; Swyngedouw 1997), it can also be employed as an analytical tool in order to examine and structure socio-spatial processes and practices, and to determine the scope of these practices, for instance (Brenner 1997; McFarlane 2009; Sayre 2009; see Chapter 4.2). These processes consist of a horizontal and a vertical dimension, i.e. scale as *size* and scale as *level* (Herod 2011). As a third dimension of scale as an analytical tool, *relation* has been suggested (Howitt 2003; Sayre 2009). Consequently the idea of scale enables the description of social spaces both in terms of their differing extents (size), and in terms of the production of a series of spaces according to these extents (levels), and also helps to depict how different spaces interact with each other (scale as relation). The latter facet of scale results from an understanding of the constitution and reconfiguration of geographical scales as based on each scale's relation to other scales (in its meaning as levels) (Sayre 2009, 103).

Both scale as an object of analysis in the sense of a material social product and scale as an analytical tool reflect a constructivist perspective on scale. Expanding this view to a relativist perspective, scale has also been rendered a mere social construction, not materializing in reality (see Manson 2008 for an overview of notions of geographical scale). This directly relates to the debate on the ontological or epistemological status of scale.

3.5 Illusion or reality?

As an analytical tool, scale defines the extent to which processes are observed and allows the contextualization of what is being observed and analyzed at one site and in one specific instance (Hoefle 2006; Sayre 2009, 104). A single phenomenon can be disassembled into – even in-directly – interrelated elements depending on the analytical depth determined by the scale of analysis. Scale, used analytically, may be considered to exist in an

epistemological rather than in an ontological sense – which has inspired researchers, including human geographers, to deconstruct the imaginary of space as a nested hierarchy (Amin 2002; Law 2004).

In recent debates, scale's added value as a structuring element of social space has been put under scrutiny, with criticism, for instance, directed at the supposed structural inflexibility and hierarchical ordering of spaces implicated by scale (Marston et al. 2005; Woodward et al. 2010). So, in addition to using scale as an analytical tool or regarding it as real, arguments have been made for neither using nor accounting for scale at all, advocating a "flat ontology" of socio-spatial structures instead (Marston et al. 2005)[1].

Nonetheless, with respect to the variety of notions of scale, there seems to be great potential for its application in concepts of translocality. Given the conceptual ambiguity of scale though, in what sense can the notion of scale enrich translocality?

4 Conceptualizations of scale in translocality

Translocality implicates a specific perspective on socio-spatial relations; while scale, in a general geographical sense, is used to structure space. Linkages between these two conceptions are thus obvious, and yet not always made explicit. The different ways of applying scale in translocal approaches are now explored in more detail, in terms of functions and implications for conceptualizing translocality. Table 1 provides an overview on the different types of using scale in translocal concepts.

4.1 Usage without precise delineation

One way of using scale in translocality literature is its application without explicit conceptualization. Scales are then recognized as existing structures insofar as they are simply equated with administrative levels. Without specifying the implications of applying scale to their studies, scale in this type of usage is taken for granted as an ontological reality (Lange and Büttner 2010; Grillo and Riccio 2004; Benz 2014; Zoomers and Westen 2011; Da Silva 2012;

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[1] An in-depth review of the literature reflecting the scale debate among human geographers exceeds this paper's scope. But for more comprehensive analyses, see e.g. Sheppard 2002; Marston et al. 2005; Hoefle 2006; Leitner and Miller 2007; Moore 2008; McFarlane 2009; Woodward et al. 2010; Herod 2011

Dubois et al. 2012). Grillo and Riccio (2004) for instance, conceptualize translocal development as an approach for refining the understanding of migration and development. While their conceptualization focuses on transmigrants and their modes of living across borders, and assumes a shift of development activities from the national to the local level, no further attention is drawn to concepts of scale. It rather is implicitly considered to be an ordering principle of social space that is reassessed by translocal development.

Often authors simply mention the plurality of spaces and scales created by translocal connections (Scheele 2010), or, vice versa, with mobility as occurring on various scale levels (regional, national, international, and virtual space) (Da Silva 2012). Combining place, space, and scale as the triadic basis of translocality (Brickell and Datta 2011) makes them appear as an inextricably related set of categories. Despite being treated as essential components of translocal space, scales' specific function in translocal space in particular is not comprehensively addressed (ibid.).

4.2 Analytical aid for structuring socio-spatial configurations

Scale is also used in translocality literature as an analytical tool that dimensionalizes social interaction spatially and temporally. Despite being treated as fluid, scale provides structure by enabling the description of existing socio-spatial contexts, including a differentiation between levels of spatial abstraction, from the corporeal body and everyday life as the most concrete, to transnational space as the most abstract level (e.g. Hedberg and do Carmo 2012; McFarlane 2009; Banerjee 2011; Goodman 2006; Page 2011; Hatfield 2011; Brickell and Datta 2011; Freitag and Oppen 2010; Peleikis 2010; Smart and Lin 2007; Herzig and Thieme 2007). This usage of scale to distinguish levels of authority, governance, social interaction etc. plays an important role in delineations of translocality both as an empirical phenomenon (McKay 2005; Steinbrink 2009; Greiner 2012) and as a conceptual approach (Gielis 2009; Brickell and Datta 2011; Banerjee 2011; Page 2011; Smith 2011).

First, translocality as an empirical phenomenon relates to spatial entities on different levels of scale. Research on migration-induced translocality mirrors this interplay in a certain way. Migrants' connectedness to their places of origin, particularly

Tab. 1: Types of using scale in translocal concepts

Type of using scale	Understanding of scale	Purpose of using scale	Author(s) (selection) by field of research
No explicit conceptualization	Scale as empirical phenomenon	- Implementing an order to processes and practices of mobility: implicit equation of scales with socio-spatial levels	Economic Geography: Lange and Büttner 2010; Dubois et al. 2012 Area studies: Benz 2014; Da Silva 2012 Development studies: Zoomers and Westen 2011; Grillo and Riccio 2004
Analytical aid (and "narrative aid")	Scale as socially constructed system of spatial levels and boundaries	- Structuring socio-spatial configurations, such as body, home, neighborhood, local, national, global; rural, urban - Distinguishing levels of authority, governance, and social interaction, such as local, regional, national - Conceptualizing the transgression of boundaries - (Implicitly) challenging a rigid (hierarchical) order of spatial levels	Migration studies: Gielis 2009; Hatfield 2011; Page 2011; Brickell 2011; Datta 2011 Human Geography: McKay 2005; Steinbrink 2009; Hedberg and do Carmo 2012 Area studies: Smart and Lin 2007; Goodman 2006 Economics: Banerjee 2011 History: Freitag and Oppen 2010; Peleikis 2010 Anthropology: Greiner 2012
		- Specifically addressing power relations: relating both embeddedness and mobility to a supposedly hierarchical order of levels - Operationalizing simultaneity of connectivity and emplacement of translocality	Human Geography: McFarlane 2009; Smith 2011; Brickell and Datta 2011; Chacko 2011; Page 2011; Liu et al. 2014 Economics: Banerjee 2011 Sociology: Kuah-Pearce 2016 Human Geography: McFarlane 2009; Verne 2012 Anthropology: Naumann and Greiner 2016
Object of analysis	Scale as social product; but not as a materiality *per se*	- Referring to underlying (social and spatial) structures - Addressing power relations: challenging a *scale-induced* hierarchical order of levels by addressing processes of scale-making	Human Geography: Oakes and Schein 2006 Anthropology: Schein 2006

their relations with non-migrating family members at their places of origin, engenders their embeddedness in multiple places at the same time (Hedberg and do Carmo 2012; Greiner 2012; Brickell and Datta 2011; Steinbrink 2009). In this context,

Brickell, for example, argues that migrants' sense of belonging is not only related to nation-states, but also includes familial affiliation and local politics (2011, 27). Placing more emphasis on the interconnectedness of migrants and non-migrants, McKay

(2003; 2005) shows how remittance practices re-shape the land use in migrants' places of origin. Here, scale helps to dissect the spatial and temporal dimension of this modification process that is initially driven by individual actors and mediated through translocal connectedness, and lastly materializes at the level of spatial range and impact of an entire landscape. The translocal nature of this phenomenon unfolds in the boundary-transgressing influence of remittance-related activities on multiple places simultaneously. Remittance generation and sending are situated in one specific locality, and their investment in another one.

Second, translocality as a conceptual approach is also related to scales as an analytical aid. By highlighting the transgression of boundaries, translocal research challenges the rigidity often implied in scale, and thereby implicitly charts the concept's utility as an analytical aid for integrating mobility, connectivity, and emplacement. In conceptualizing "translocal geographies" as a performative term, Brickell and Datta (2011) for instance refer to translocal geography as place-making. This socio-spatial practice of place-making is structured by and at the same time blurs scales. Specifically scale-inherent dichotomies (global-local, local-national, rural-urban) lose ground. Similarly, Smith asserts that "the politics of place-making" are multi-scalar and are therefore "necessarily crossing many boundaries" (2011, 196). To analyze "translocal geographies" both *smaller* (specific sites, neighborhoods, or home) and *wider* (sub-national regions, transnational mobility, global policies and governance, and nation-states) scales are referred to (ibid; accentuation in original). Such multi-scalar place-making links for instance cities and urban politics across national boundaries, or hometown associations in places of destination with rural communities of origin including the surrounding region. While not focusing on human migration, McFarlane (2009) uses scale to examine translocal social movements, specifically their simultaneity of being both place-based and constituted by exchange across sites (including knowledge, ideas, and conceptualizations of power). According to his view of scale as a narrative aid, scale helps to describe existing structures and relations, and the production of hierarchies privileging the local over the global (ibid.). In order to bypass the local-global distinction, McFarlane applies a translocal approach, that of translocal assemblages, seeking to circumvent power and space hierarchies (e.g. scale), and highlighting performance and events in addition to spatial categories.

As these examples highlight, with respect to translocality as an empirical phenomenon the use of scale allows the description of the boundaries that translocal practices transcend and reshape. At the same time, drawing on scale as a spatiality composed of levels and boundaries, translocality as a research concept enables a reframing of the hierarchical order of supposedly clearly distinguishable spatial levels.

4.3 Object of analysis

In another mode of using scale in the context of translocal concepts, scale, or the process of scale-making, are themselves objects of translocal research (Oakes and Schein 2006). Here, scale is used in the sense of underlying structures that manifest in translocal arenas of negotiation, such as regions or localities. Translocal actors' practices and experiences are hence viewed as producing places and scales in such arenas (Schein 2006, 216). While scale is thus analyzed as a spatial configuration that is manifest in its implications, it is not considered a material reality *per se*. Such production of places and scales through translocal practices and experiences is conceptualized in two ways.

First, scales are viewed as being constituted by a broader set of processes which encompasses movements of people, goods and capital, the establishment of social institutions, and negotiations of power over territories and resources. Such sets of processes constitute and (re-)shape scales – such as political scales or scales of socio-economic development, for instance (Oakes and Schein 2006, 10). Mobility is one driver for the formation of socio-spatial relations, contributing to the reconfiguration of scales that order society. Schein illustrates this with the example of Chinese minority migrant women engaging in ethnic handicraft tourist businesses in "global cities of China" – that is, outside of their "remote villages" (2006, 223). Expanding their living and working environment in this way contributes to the interweaving of spatial scales (rural and urban in this case). The binary relations of scale ordering society, for instance between communities at the supposedly diminutive local level vs. the 'urban class' in a global city, are thereby devitalized.

Secondly, apart from these "broader sets of processes", micro-dimensions of social life, such as the body, also contribute to the generating and reshaping of scales. It is the body itself that is regarded as mobile and assumes different styles according to the social setting in which it is situated (Schein 2006, 216).

Implications of a mode of living that encompasses multiple places are considered to be experienced and processed by bodily individuals, and social practices, which partly reflect processed experience, are viewed as embodied. Since embodied practices are then carried on to other localities, they themselves influence localities, as well as the reordering of localities. Taking up the above example of minority migrant women in China, "embodied place-making" is described as taking certain features of, for instance, urban style (e.g. fashion, hairstyle, or behavioral patterns) back to the countryside as forms of cultural capital (Schein 2006, 223). Such *mobile* embodied place-making by migrants illustrates translocal ways of experiencing and embracing different scales.

As these differently dimensioned processes of social life come together in places (ibid.), this translocal stance with regard to scale incorporates a notion of how place and scale interact: the production of scales is embedded in translocalities.

4.4 Using scale to address power relations and hierarchies in translocal space

Besides capturing levels and boundaries both on a conceptual level and in an empirical sense, scale also helps to explicitly address power relations in translocal social space. This usage of scale is particularly important given previous controversies on conceptions of power in network-based or relational approaches to space which translocality research builds on (Smith 2011; Verne 2012; Naumann and Greiner 2016). Comprehensive reflections on power seem so far rather exceptional in translocal concepts (see McFarlane 2009; Brickell and Datta 2011; Smith 2011 for exceptions). The power dimension of scale in translocality comprises three aspects: The first and second deal with two core features of translocality, namely mobility and embeddedness, and their relation to scale as levels in a hierarchical structure. The third one relates to the questioning of the scale-induced hierarchical order of socio-spatial levels. The way in which scale is used in translocal concepts hence places emphasis on agency of social actors, without losing sight of the significance of power relations beyond the sphere of direct influence of individual actors.

First, power relations are addressed in the tension between scale as a graduated system of spatial levels and translocal mobility. Scale serves as one means to apprehend power in socio-spatial relations and corresponding configurations as it allows distinguishing between levels in terms of their scope. Considering scale as a graduated system of spatial levels helps to capture power disparities incorporated in these levels. That is to say, translocal concepts draw on scale to address disparate magnitudes of power and unequal relationships between actors, neighborhoods, and nation-states, for instance, unfolding in translocal movements across scales (in a spatial, social, and temporal sense) (Oakes and Schein 2006; Schein 2006; Chacko 2011; Page 2011; Banerjee 2011; Kuah-Pearce 2016; Liu et al. 2014). Translocal movements tend to be both constrained and facilitated by structures of power, of knowledge, and of domination (Smith 2011).

Second, embeddedness as another core element of translocality, incorporates scale-induced power relations as it entails being part of and influenced by a wider context (which can be referred to as a "larger scale"). As, for instance, Appadurai notes, particular spaces and places (e.g. neighborhoods) are embedded in "different scales of organization and control" and thus affected by the powers of "larger-scale social formations (nation-states, kingdoms, […])" (1996, 186). Also, Christou, drawing on her study of translocal spaces of Greek migrants in New York, Berlin, and Athens, describes cities as contexts where "globalizing and glocalizing forces, power, and hegemonies" manifest and shape relations; therefore, migrants' everyday lives are influenced by "politico-economic hierarchies" in which city spaces are embedded (2011, 148). Her research thus indicates in which sense scalar hierarchies (reflecting and reproducing institutionalized power) can affect social practice and everyday interaction and experiences.

Third, acknowledging the social production of scale itself, translocality challenges the rigidity of scale-induced hierarchies. As discussed above, the differentiation of levels and spheres of influence in terms of administrative authority, and political or economic power implicates a hierarchical order. However, this order is neither to be considered a rigid scaffold nor a necessarily vertical gradation, i.e. privileging the global *over* the local (Oakes and Schein 2006; Freitag and Oppen 2010; McFarlane 2009; Smart and Lin 2007; Gielis 2009; Goodman 2006). Translocality draws attention to social practices spanning a field of interconnected localities across scales (Brickell and Datta 2011; Greiner and Sakdapolrak 2013). Expanding this stance, translocality scholars also draw on rhizomatic approaches to conceptualize the production of scale, with the metaphor of the rhizome placing addition-

al emphasis on the relational and highly dynamic character of this process (Oakes and Schein 2006; Schein 2006; Verne 2012). Scales are thus regarded as referencing order of both social and spatial relations and as discursively produced. Power relations and struggles over power are essential elements of social relations; that is, social practices and interaction reflect and re-/shape power relations. As social actors engage in interactions and thereby shape the space of their interaction, the power relations among them re-/construct scale (Guarnizo 2012). This is taken into account in translocal research by accentuating actors' agency in linking and thereby reworking places and transgressing and reshaping boundaries of scales. For instance, the extent to which neighborhoods are affected by the powers of *larger*-scale socio-spatial formations (nation-states, global cities) is re-negotiated when connections between particular places (beyond and across the local-national-global order) gain importance (Appadurai 1996; Mandaville 1999; Fauser and Nijenhuis 2015). This is also exemplified in Banerjee's (2011) aforementioned study on translocal resistance. He gives an account on how social interaction in more than one place, i.e. how (translocal) connections and flows of people and of material and immaterial resources re-shape scales, referred to as levels at which power is exercised, and the respective scope that the exercising of power has at a given level (ibid.).

As delineated in the preceding sections, translocality and scale are conceptually interlaced. Now, recapitulating the core elements of translocality – i.e. multi-scalarity of translocal interaction, situatedness (without boundedness), the blurring or bypassing of the scalar local-global distinction (McFarlane 2009) – do they as a whole call for the conceptualization of a distinct translocal scale? In the following, we will discuss this question. In this context, we will also address considerations to dismiss scale, which has been a point of contention in recent debates among social and political geographers.

5   Translocal scale, or none at all?

Translocality scholars highlight the production of interfaces between different spatial levels and social layers by (everyday) practices (Oakes and Schein 2006; Schein 2006; Stenbacka 2012). The multi-dimensional tiered system that is composed of these socio-spatial levels is captured by notions of scale. These interfaces between (local, national, global) scales and (translocal) spaces beyond these

scales, or the "network of spaces, places and scales", as Brickell and Datta put it (2011, 5), indicate the production of another element complementing existing conceptions of social space. This prompts the question as to whether "the translocal" can be considered a scale in its own right – a "translocal scale". On the one hand, this conceptual assumption could help to overcome the local-global dichotomy. On the other hand, it corroborates scalar thinking. This, in turn, seems to be in opposition to the strong emphasis – in translocal concepts – on cross-scale interaction and transgressing scales (as materiality), which deemphasizes the power of scale as a system of distinct and disparate levels and boundaries. Its consequence would rather be an overall rejection of scale, at least of that specific understanding of scale. Two questions thus arise: Does "the translocal" become a scale itself? Or does translocality imply the replacement of scale, promoting the idea of no scale at all – which corresponds to discussions on "flat ontology"?

Regarding the first question, translocality scholars have analyzed the production and functions of "translocalities" and delineated the difficulties involved in accommodating translocal processes and practices, as well as translocal concepts, within existing spatial scales. However, in order not to reproduce scalar hierarchies and reassert scale boundaries, the use of translocality as an intermediate concept deemphasizing scalar dichotomies (Chacko 2011; Brickell and Datta 2011; McFarlane 2009) has not resulted in the claiming of a "translocal scale". Meanwhile, references to a "transnational scale" are common, also among translocality scholars (Smart and Smart 2003, 278; Oakes and Schein 2006, 27; Smith 2011, 194; Amelina 2012), accepting a partial conflation of translocality and transnationalism despite claims in translocality research to go beyond notions of transnationalism. Similar to transnationalism, the notion of translocality portends the deconstruction of clear-cut spatial boundaries in the form of a system of fixed power relations based on and manifest in geographical scales and administrative levels. However, translocality goes beyond transnational conceptualizations of socio-spatial relations by shifting attention even more explicitly to concrete places and sites in which actors, their practices and connections are anchored. The hierarchical order of socially constructed scales is thus even more deemphasized in translocal approaches. As illustrated by the various examples of translocal research included in this article, both references to home and national and cultural belonging beyond

nation-state boundaries as well as the immediate local neighborhood are components of everyday lives and social practices constituting translocal space. Local, global, transnational, and so forth can thus be conceived of as interlaced structures which both mirror and generate social practices and relations that traverse multiple places and geographical scales. For instance, both nationality-induced sense of belonging and social and cultural ties between specific localities across (and despite) national boundaries become manifest in translocal space (Smith 2001). Therefore, instead of rendering "the translocal" yet another scale, accounting for the multiplicity of scales by drawing on scale as a separate concept has proven to be the more useful conceptual approach to translocal modes of living (Fauser and Nijenhuis 2015; Hatfield 2011; Smith 2011). Although national boundaries are not at the center of attention in conceptualizing translocal socio-spatial relations, (a sense of) national belonging has still an influence on translocal multi-embeddedness and connections (that also transgress national boundaries) (Page 2011; Hatfield 2011). The "trans*national* scale" thus fulfills a function in translocal concepts without both approaches being confounded.

The second question raised above, whether scale is needed at all, prompts us to reflect on the relation of translocality and "flat ontology" (Marston et al. 2005; Collinge 2006; Woodward et al. 2010) – an approach that entirely dismisses scale. As mentioned earlier, human geography scholars arguing for a "flat ontology" particularly challenged the understanding of scales as a hierarchy of spatial levels determining a world order that is dominated by a superior global level (Woodward et al. 2010; Marston et al. 2005, drawing on Schatzki's "site ontology" (2002) and De Landa's (2002) juxtaposition of hierarchical and flat ontologies). Flat ontology questions the scaffolding of places and spaces, and instead of using scale, considers event-relations and event-spaces or sites, produced by such relations, as providing structure. Sites are self-organizing, and emerge where the social unfolds (Marston et al. 2005; Woodward et al. 2010, 272). This self-organization refers to the constant recreation of sites by "material bodies" inhabiting these sites. The agency of human beings is one component of sites, besides materialities. As human beings do thus not stand outside of sites, sites are not steered by processes operating at scales above them. It is in view of this self-organization and the ensuing uniqueness of each site that proponents of flat ontology assert the impracticality

of hypothesizing scale-as-size and scale-as-level (Woodward et al. 2010, 273; Marston et al. 2005). Conflating scale with both spatial size and institutional or boundary levels (national, regional etc.), constructs difference. As difference is, however, already an integral element of site, there is no need for the production of difference by means of "scale" (ibid.). Since translocality, by drawing on actors' connectedness across spatial boundaries, also calls the rigidity of such boundaries, and thus a fixed vertical order of spatial levels, into question, there seem to be intersections of translocality with a "flat ontology". Hence, it is not surprising that Marston et al.'s (2005) criticism of scale has been recognized by translocality scholars (e.g. McFarlane 2009; Schein 2006; Smart and Lin 2007; Brickell 2011; Christou 2011; Hatfield 2011).

While flat ontology and translocality might intersect in terms of the emphasis both concepts place on sites, or concrete places, respectively, as localities of social interaction, translocality, as shown above, does benefit from the inclusion of scale as an analytical tool – because differences among translocal actors, places, and practices in terms of their scopes and effects still play out in translocal space. Imbalances do not disappear just because people are more mobile. Whereas flat ontology renders differences site-inherent, scale serves as one means by which to delineate and analyze differences within translocal approaches.

As the reshaping of places and boundaries is regarded as practice-based, translocality emphasizes actors' agency as one driving force in the process of reshaping and interconnecting places. This contrasts with self-organizing sites and event-relations as connecting elements between sites, as suggested by flat-ontology scholars. As the process of interlinking places produces translocal space, translocal interaction qualifies as one component of this process that also structures translocal space. However, social interaction is not to be considered an entity. As actors differ in their social roles for instance, so do their practices of embedding in places and of reaching out to other places. As our analysis has shown, scale can be used as an analytical tool in order to dissect such differences that materialize in translocal social interaction (on a spatial level). To shed more light onto the social dimensions of translocal connections and (multi-local and multi-scalar) embeddedness, we might need to also draw on approaches addressing positionality in translocal space more specifically (Verne 2012; Anthias 2012; Didero 2014).

6 Concluding remarks: structuring translocal space – a matter of scale?

In this paper, we reflected upon the interplay of translocality and scale. Based on a categorization of the uses of scale in translocality research, we analyzed how scale is applied in translocal research, and discussed the implications of scale in translocal approaches. Translocality as a conceptual approach has been elaborated against the backdrop of increasingly complex patterns of people's movements, including multi-sited modes of living, and as explicitly acknowledging multi-faceted types of relations between people's social interactions and their influences on place-making. To grasp the diverse layers of social and spatial organization articulated in and reshaped by translocality, notions of scale are applied. While the understanding of scale in terms of spatial levels predominates, scales are also regarded as layers of social interaction, which are more varied than the former. That is, scale serves as both a spatial and a social category in translocal approaches. Scale is, moreover, considered a social construct which accounts for various dimensions and boundaries of translocal practices, but which at the same time is subject to negotiation processes among social actors, and is therefore an unfixed configuration. Translocal (everyday) practices articulate and rework layers of social and spatial organization which can be captured by notions of scale. Scale serves as a category of spatial structure allowing for the differentiation of levels and including a conceptualization of power relations articulated in the gradation of scales by extent and in the construction of scalar hierarchies. From a translocal viewpoint, power relations are both reflected and renegotiated in the production of links across scales and the reshaping of boundaries in translocal fields. Altogether, complementing translocality, as an actor-focused approach on mobility, situatedness in, and interlinkage of places across boundaries with scale as another dimension of socio-spatial structuration capturing different levels and boundaries, spurs a much more accurate comprehension of translocal space.

As implicated in the heterogeneity of scientific disciplines into which translocality has expanded, the contexts in which translocal concepts are applied also vary in terms of their respective understanding of scale. Against this backdrop, the conceptual combination of translocality and multi-scalarity calls for an *explicit* reference to the particular type of scale in order to take advantage of its use. Consequently, and as shown in our analysis, scale allows for a more comprehensive disentanglement of the spatial, social, and temporal relations spanning translocal space. Hence, an *explicit* usage of scale in translocal concepts proves helpful to point out the special relevance of translocal research in exploring different kinds of links between localities across spaces and boundaries, e.g. historical links, or societal fragmentation and reformation in connection with individual mobility and globalization, or migration across international borders. Furthermore, due to translocality's particular interest in intersections within and links between various kinds of spaces, disentangling convoluted interpretations of *scale* both as an analytical tool and as a socially constructed "reality" refines translocal research. Accordingly, reflections on the use of scale in translocality both benefit from and contribute to ongoing debates on scale in human geography revolving around scalar binaries and hierarchies versus relational thinking or flat ontology. As explained in this paper, rather than rejecting scale, translocal concepts draw on scale to depict the mediation of, for instance, the local-global dualism. Another approach that relates to the issue of (not) using scale is assemblage theory (Ong and Collier 2005; DeLanda 2006; McFarlane 2009; McFarlane and Anderson 2011; Dewsbury 2011). While acknowledging the function of scale as an "organizing narrative", emphasis is placed on emergence, performance and events, instead of resultant structures, stemming from a perspective on power as plural and constantly transforming (McFarlane 2009, 564). However, a comprehensive analysis of how translocality, scale and assemblage interact exceeds the scope of this article.

Nonetheless, as indicated in reflections on entirely rejecting scale, there is legitimate criticism of scale, including the question as to whether scale is an oversimplifying abstraction that obstructs the researcher's view. And yet, in terms of employing translocal concepts for empirical research on mobility and social transformation, this paper shows that scale used as social and spatial levels and boundaries facilitates the operationalization of translocality. Against the backdrop of those rather critical stances on scale, it is worth scrutinizing complementing approaches to analyze translocal social space in order to further elaborate the conceptualization of translocality. For instance, translocality's focus on (mobile) actors traversing, intersecting and reworking different spaces, scales and boundaries necessitates a more explicit engagement with conceptual approaches that enhance our understanding of the multi-dimensional social positionality of translocal actors

(Didero 2014). In this regard, integrating translocality, scale and intersectionality research (Anthias 2012, Carstensen-Egwuom 2014) could prove fruitful in exploring both the various facets of situatedness and practices of situating in translocal places and its interaction with producing links across scales.

Acknowledgements

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9.) Advancing adaptation or producing precarity? The role of rural–urban migration and translocal embeddedness in navigating household resilience in Thailand

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Preface

The second article and first empirical contribution on rural–urban migration and its implications for social resilience in rural Thailand starts with the observation that research on migration and its impact is divided into two seemingly paradoxical narratives: on the one hand, migration potentiality, e.g. for development, unfolding in the so-called "triple win effect", and for or as adaptation to climate change, has been shown; on the other hand, research has provided evidence for the link between migration and precarity. The article argues that by applying a translocal social-resilience approach and by using scale as an analytical tool, this paradox can be solved and understood as the expression of a connected and interdependent phenomenon. Drawing on the results of intensive multi-sited empirical research between rural North and Northeast Thailand and the Bangkok Metropolitan Region, emphasis is placed on everyday life situations of migrating household members at the place of destination and their multi-embeddedness. The article shows that migrants have multiple reference systems – place of origin, place of destination, and the translocal space – and elucidates how this corresponds to the social practice of being embedded in two (or multiple) social fields at the same time. It particularly addresses the effects of differential degrees and qualities of translocal embeddedness, namely the spectrum between migrant households being able to tap the full potential of migration or experiencing vulnerability and precarity (i.e. multifaceted insecurity). Attention is also drawn to constellations in which those two facets of migration unfold at the same time and shape household resilience accordingly. The article thus provides a nuanced and ambiguous picture, in which the potentiality of migration and the possible loss of potential appear as two contrasting ends of a spectrum of effects implicated in the migration–resilience nexus. By systematically deciphering the specific mechanisms, everyday practices, and negotiations in spaces of rural–urban migration that form translocal embeddedness, this article explicates the influence of translocal embeddedness on capacities and practices of dealing with environmental risks and stress.

Summary

Currently two strands of research on migration are producing seemingly conflicting narratives on migration and its impact: one emphasizes potentiality while the other one highlights its link with precarity. Publications addressing the developmental impact of migration and its role for climate-change adaptation often portray migrants as agents of change and highlight the positive potential of migration for resilience. In contrast, research on migration and labour relations indicates the increasingly precarious travel-, working-, and living conditions of migrants – both domestic and international – and the adverse effects on migrants' well-being. Our objective is to understand the interrelatedness of the seemingly disparate empirical evidence, which results from differences in both foci and socio-spatial scales in the analysis of migration and its impacts. To decipher the interlinkages between the two sides of migration and resilience, we propose a translocal approach, which systematically addresses socio-spatial dimensions and the simultaneity of mobility and situatedness of migrants and non-migrants across space. Our results show the interdependence of translocal connections (e.g. remittances), which reproduce migration motives, and the embeddedness of migrants at the place of destination – a process that is socially stratified and thereby articulates the disparate socio-economic wealth levels of migrants' households of origin. We conclude that, both the type of embeddedness and the exposure to precariousness determine the extent to which their sojourn proves to be a risk or an opportunity for the migrants and their household of origin.

9.1. Introduction

Recent debates on migration have reiterated its great potential to facilitate development at migrants' places of origin[9]. In view of the urgency due to climate change, the potentials of migration have also gained traction in the field of adaptation to climate change (Beardsley & Hugo 2010; Black et al. 2011; Warner & Afifi 2014). Within these two debates, migrants are depicted as agents of change whose skills and financial remittances serve as resources to diversify livelihoods and spread risk at their place of origin (see e.g. Faist 2008; Laczko & Aghazarm 2009; Foresight report 2011). At the same time, research on migration and labor relations (Lewis et al. 2014; Schierup & Jørgensen 2016; Paret & Gleeson 2016; Strauss & McGrath 2017) have placed emphasis on the increasing precariousness of living and work-

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[9] The migration–development nexus has been discussed for several decades, starting in the early 1970s with the majority of studies focusing on rural-rural and rural–urban migration, e.g. Harris&Todaro 1970; Fields 1975; Lipton 1980; Oberai et al. 1980; Massey 1988. As the ensuing rich body of literature on the migration-development nexus has been comprehensively reviewed (see e.g. Skeldon 1997; de Haan 1999; Nyberg-Sørensen et al. 2002; Page&Plaza 2006; Clemens et al. 2014), we draw on their findings to integrate our study in this debate.

ing conditions of migrants, both international and internal, under the influence of the (neo-)liberalization of economies and the informalization of formal work. Our aim is to elucidate the interrelationship of the seemingly divergent evidence on migration and its impact on social resilience, i.e. the ability of individuals and households to withstand stress, to cope with and adapt to risks, and to benefit from opportunities in order to maintain and increase their well-being. We argue that the seemingly disparate evidence – the potentiality of migration to enhance social resilience on the one hand, and its link to precarity, (over)straining social resilience on the other hand – results from differences in the socio-spatial scales involved in analyzing migration and its impact. To tackle the divergence of ensuing research findings from the two research strands, we propose a translocal approach that takes into account multiple scales and places in examining social resilience.

Translocality refers to the connectedness of mobile and immobile actors across space, linking and reshaping places, transgressing their boundaries, and spanning a social field that encompasses multiple socio-spatial levels (Freitag & Von Oppen 2010; Brickell & Datta 2011; Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2013; Sterly 2015). From a translocal perspective, migrants are embedded at both the place of destination and the place of origin at the same time. Therefore the risk and vulnerability context at the place of origin of a migrant has an impact on their everyday life at the place of destination. Likewise, difficulties migrants encounter or opportunities they take advantage of might influence the household of origin. Translocality thus helps to capture the circumstances under which migration can present an opportunity or pose new risks for households. To sort out the convoluted relationship between migration, its potentiality, its links to precarity, and its implications for social resilience, this paper seeks to answer the following questions: What is the link between multiple embeddeness of migrants and their translocal connectedness to their places of origin? How is translocal connectedness influenced by socio-economic conditions in places of origin and destination? What are the implications of different translocal constellations for the resilience of migrants and rural households? The paper is based on multi-sited empirical research, carried out over a period of eleven months in total, between February 2015 and September 2016, in rural areas in North and Northeast Thailand as well as in Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR). We thus place emphasis on rural–urban migration in our analysis of the relationship between migration and social resilience.

In the following, we will first provide an overview on the current state of migration research connected to both development/adaptation and labor relations. In the sections 3 and 4, the conceptual framework and methodology will be explained, before unraveling the translocal

dimension of the relationship between migration, social resilience, and precarity in section 5. Our analysis will show that multi-embeddedness of migrants can either imply additional stability or additional pressure and insecurity, or both at the same time, depending to a considerable degree on the form and intensity of the connection between household and migrant. Altogether, the study illustrates that a translocal perspective, which takes multiple scales into account, helps to assess the potentiality of migration – both potential risks and opportunities – in connection with the social resilience of households.

9.2. Potentiality and precarity: two faces of migration?

Aside from the recently growing skepticism that predominates in current public and policy debates on migration[10], over the past two decades, both academia and politics have rediscovered the potentials of migration for development and, more recently, for climate-change adaptation. Scholars fostering this "new enthusiasm" (Faist 2008) particularly spotlight the role of migration in spreading the livelihood risks of households and strengthening the social, cultural, and economic capital of individuals and households (Massey et al. 1998; Saxenian 2005; Kusznetsov & Sabel 2006; Niebuhr 2010; McLeman & Smit 2006; Banerjee et al. 2012)[11]. Policy makers highlight the potential "triple win" (GCIM 2005; World Bank 2007) effect of migration. The promotion of circular migration (Agunias & Newland 2007) and reduction of the transfer costs of financial remittances from host to home countries have therefore gained traction. The latter has also been stipulated as part of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals adopted in 2015 (UN 2015). Since remittances far exceed official development assistance (UNDESA 2017; World Bank 2016; ADB 2012), they play a crucial role in the debate and are usually presented as the core positive aspect of migration given their expected immense potential to enhance a household's living standard (Taylor 1999; de Haan 1999; Orozco et al. 2005; Mazzucato et al. 2008), enable investments (Ratha 2003), trigger long-term development processes (Shain 1999; Kapur 2001; Rahman 2009), and ultimately feed into a household's ability to cope with and adapt to climate change (Adger et al. 2003; Scheffran et al. 2012; Deshingkar 2012; Warner & Afifi 2014). Scholars have thus emphasized the favorable effects of migration on the resilience of households, as this is shaped by households' capacities to deal with risks and make use of opportunities (Scheffran et al. 2012; Adger et al. 2003). Yet, the "new enthusiasm" about the potential of migration notwithstanding, critical scholars highlight the problematic implications

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[10] For scientific analyses of this development, see e.g. Altenburg et al. 2017; Bobić & Janković 2017; Chouliaraki et al. 2017; Allen et al. 2018; Crawley&Skrepalis 2018.
[11] For a comprehensive review of the different stances on migration in the evolution of the debates on migration-development and migration–adaptation, see Bettini and Gioli 2015.

of migration and remitting, such as the disparate degrees of vulnerability among individual household members, whether at the place of origin or as a migrating household member (Lindley 2009; De Haas & Van Rooij 2010; Kunz 2011; Sikder & Higgins 2016).

With the rise and spread of neoliberalism since the 1980s, critical migration research has increasingly engaged in research on precarious working and living conditions of labour migrants – both domestic and international – in the manufacturing and consumer-service sectors (Wills et al. 2009; Strauss & Fudge 2013; Schierup & Jørgensen 2016; Platt et al. 2016). Precarious work refers to the multi-dimensional insecurity of work in a neoliberal economy in terms of employment, social protection, and income, as well as skill reproduction and representation[12]. Given this multidimensional insecurity, precarity stretches beyond the workplace, equally relating to housing, social contacts, and family planning, and also affects an individual's emotional and mental stability (Wong 2006; Datta et al. 2007; Herod & Lambert 2016; Lewis et al. 2014). As a result, especially labor migrants' individual vulnerability is often exacerbated at their places of destination given their exposure to precarious work and their lack of a social support network at the same time, while also facing support obligations to their respective households of origin (Standing 2011; Rigg et al. 2016). Scholars of labor migration thus concurrently state that labor migrants need resilience in order to endure their precarious working and living conditions and to assert their dignity under these circumstances (Waite et al. 2015; Bork-Hüffer et al. 2016). Moreover, regarding the link between work relations and the exposure to precarity, scholars of social geography and migration studies have taken categories of social difference into account, such as age, gender, and ethnicity, as well as their intersections (Piper 2008; McDowell 2008; Calás et al. 2013; Alberti et al. 2013).

This brief sketch of the literature shows that the understanding of migration, its potentiality, its link to precarity, and its implication for social resilience necessarily involve multiple sites and socio-spatial levels. First, in research on migration–development and migration-as-adaptation, attention is usually drawn to the household at the place of origin (often rural areas), which potentially benefits from migration regarding its adaptive capacities, e.g. through a migrant's contribution to the household income (Piguet 2010; Black et al. 2011; Warner & Afifi 2014). However, focusing on the household as analytical unit conceals the

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[12] Standing 2011; Neilson&Rossiter 2005; Peck&Theodore 2010; Kalleberg&Hewison 2013; Arnold&Bongiovi 2013; Siegmann&Schiphorst 2016; Besides the debate on precarity among economists and geographers, concepts of precarity and precarious work have also been elaborated by scholars of sociology (Dörre 2006; Kraemer & Speidel 2005) and gender studies (Federici 2006; Vosko 2006; Westerheide 2015). For a comprehensive review of the literature see Waite 2009.

resources required at the individual level in order to exploit the potential of migration (Thieme & Siegmann 2010; Platt et al. 2016). Additionally, overstressing the household level detracts attention from both national- and global-level structures, especially political and economic ones. One example of this is the contentious shift of responsibility regarding adaptation to climate change from state to household level in debates on migration-development and migration-as-adaptation (Kapur 2005; Hernandez & Coutin 2006; Piper 2009; Bettini et al. 2016). The positive emphasis placed upon the responsibility of households and individuals to build and use self-help capacities in times of stress is, however, based on a market-centered approach to adaptation and resilience – which Rigg & Oven (2015) refer to as "liberal resilience". These authors thereby underscore the important role of economic structures beyond the household and community level in transforming rural livelihoods. As they argue, this includes, for instance, new risks and vulnerabilities for households induced by market integration and neoliberalization – such as market dependency and indebtedness, and the impact of structural inequalities and precariousness. The latter affects households additionally through migration to urban areas, where individual household members might be confronted with precarious off-farm work.

Secondly, as indicated by these critical stances toward migration-induced opportunities, the individual-migrant level, the place of destination, and developments on a global scale need to be taken into account as constituents in the interconnection of migration and the social resilience of households. In contrast to research on the migration-development and migration–adaptation nexuses, these very levels usually define the scope of research on labor migration and labor geography. Here, emphasis is, moreover, placed on the divergence of the two actor levels: the global economy, rather considered to induce precarity, and the (migrant) worker, potentially being exposed to precarity. In less-developed or newly industrialized countries, precarity stresses the position of the individual as participant in the neoliberalized working world (Waite 2009; Munck 2013). In this research strand, though, the link to resilience is mostly indirect, namely through references to vulnerability and the restricted agency of workers. Yet, in more explicit uses of resilience, it is referred to as acceptance of or tolerating precarity (Wilson & Ebert 2013; Waite et al. 2015), as a necessity to withstand precarious conditions (Baey & Yeoh 2015), and as the ability to absorb the social costs of labor mobility in a globalized economy (Mills 2003). This notion of resilience also calls to attention the temporal dimension of the migration-precarity nexus, unfolding, for instance, in the link between the willingness to accept precarious conditions and the assumption of their temporal delimitation (Bastia & McGrath 2011).

9.3. Linking migration, potentiality, and precarity – A translocal approach

Enhancing our understanding of the relationship of migration and social resilience requires a comprehensive analysis of the impact of migration, its potentiality, and its link to precarity. As the corresponding conceptual framework to pursue this objective, we use translocality. Informed by the practice-oriented notion of translocality (Brickell & Datta 2011; Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2013), we focus on everyday practices of migrant households in dealing with risks and building social resilience, at both the place of origin and destination. These practices of migrants and non-migrants connect multiple places, produce translocal spaces, and create a constellation of simultaneous situatedness at multiple places, and across spaces and scales (Brickell & Datta 2011; Etzold 2016). Within our translocal approach, we use scale as an analytical aid to structure space, which conceptualizes (socially constructed) inequalities between different socio-spatial entities, e.g. 'rural' and 'urban', 'local' and 'national', based on (imagined) disparate sizes and scopes of spaces and actor levels and the corresponding gradation of these spaces. Hence, social resilience of migrants and migrant households has to be understood as interrelated with multiple spatial and social positionalities of migrants and non-migrants (Anthias 2002; Manderscheid 2009; Erel & Ryan 2018).

To address the multi-spatiality from an individual migrant's perspective, three layers of positionalities are taken into account: First, the embeddedness at home which is expressed by the sustenance of one's connection to the place of origin and one's role within the household while migrating (Ransan-Cooper 2016; Parsons 2016). The role within the household of origin is reflected in the motivation of a household member to migrate in order to send money home, as well as in the purposes of remittances and their meanings beyond their utility. Secondly, migrants position themselves at the place of destination which often differs from the place of origin socio-economically (e.g. agricultural dominated rural- versus industrialized urban areas) and socio-culturally, as reflected in lifestyles, consumption patterns, and the values attributed to different types of work, for instance. This positioning at the place of destination takes place in relation to both other migrants and the local population (Mills 2012). Thirdly, translocal space as a reference system that is produced by transgressing social and spatial boundaries engenders intersections of multiple social and spatial positioning. This includes 'rural' migrants' integration in urban social environments and urban labor markets (e.g. in a global city) and in neo-liberalized economic relations.

Besides being embedded multi-spatially, the social practices of migrants and non-migrants in translocal fields are also structured by axes of social inequality, such as gender, class, age, or regional origin (Page & Mercer 2012; Anthias 2012a). These markers of difference be-

come part of individuals' experience and perception and moreover influence their positioning in a social field, which includes categorical intersections (e.g. gender and class, gender and age) (Lutz 2010; Anthias 2012a). Ensuing social positionalities intersect with the multispatial embeddedness of migrants and migrant households, and, moreover, spotlight the social heterogeneity among them, which influences translocal connectedness and embeddedness. For instance, access to and choice of work can depend on education, social contacts, and responsibilities within the household of origin which reflect the influence of class, age, and gender, amongst others, on migrants' jobs at the place of destination. Class-, age-, and gender relations also influence connections between the migrant and the household at home, e.g. remitting money can be meant to fulfill filial obligations or support responsibilities, reflecting social norms and implicated gender and generational relations, amongst others.

Moreover, in the context of translocal embeddedness, social resilience needs to be understood as a process, which requires us to address temporality in the analysis of the relationship between translocality and resilience. As will be shown in the paper, both opportunities and the experience of precariousness can be related to one and the same migration process – over time. For instance, while the working and living conditions of a migrant are precarious at the place of destination and for a certain period of time, these very circumstances can still create opportunities – for the migrant and/or the overall household – possibly taking effect at a different point in time, though. The second dimension of temporality in the relationship between resilience and translocal embeddedness relates to the potential gradual changes in social positionalities of migrants over time (Anthias 2012b; Erel & Ryan 2018).

Altogether, this framework enables us to disentangle migration-related circumstances that shape social resilience, i.e. facing risks or insecurities and seizing opportunities according to the resources and capacities on different actor levels, at multiple places simultaneously, and across both spatial- and temporal scalar boundaries.

9.4. Methods

Based on our research framework, and building on multi-sited ethnography, we applied a "follow-the-people" approach (Marcus 1995) to collect empirical data for this study. The first author conducted 98 semi-structured in-depth interviews (together with a translator) with current migrants at their places of destination and with migrants' families at their places of origin. In Thailand – serving as our empirical example – about half of the population lives in rural areas (World Bank 2014b). Due to the integration of smallholders into national

and global agricultural production chains, as well as the continuous infrastructural development, and the high prevalence of rural–urban labor migration, rural and urban areas in Thailand are closely interconnected. In the time period 2005–2010, for instance, almost 10% of Thailand's population had migrated – mainly internally (80%; NSO 2010). And, according to an earlier migration survey, 30% of all internal migrants moved temporarily (Guest et al. 1994; Anglewicz et al. 2005). Levels of mobility are particularly high in predominantly rural areas in Northeast Thailand, where livelihoods are traditionally based on small-scale agriculture, and where remittances tend to considerably contribute to household subsistence (NSO 2012; Rigg 2014). However, the liberalization-fueled *in*formalization of the formal economy entails, amongst others, precarious working conditions in the secondary and tertiary sector (Charoenloet 2002; Campbell 2013) – which also affects employment and income opportunities, and overall living conditions of rural–urban labor migrants in BMR.

For this study, three sub-districts in rural areas in North (Phitsanulok Province) and Northeast Thailand (Provinces of Udon Thani and Buriram) were chosen as migrants' places of origin and therefore as the starting points for data collection. These sub-districts were selected within the framework of the larger TRANS|RE research project, according to a combination of the following criteria: small-scale agriculture as main livelihood activity of households; impact from changes in weather patterns; and integration into international and domestic migration networks. Most households' livelihoods were based on rainfed cultivation of rice as a food crop and of maize, cassava, or sugarcane as cash crops. Following the most common choice of destination of internal migrants from the selected rural study sites, we chose Bangkok and peri-urban areas in the vicinity of Bangkok as the complementary study site. This included the provinces of Chachoengsao, Chonburi, Nonthaburi, Patumthani, Samutprakarn, Samutsakhon, and Rayong, besides Bangkok City. For one part of the participants in BMR (42), we could examine the translocal connection from two sides, i.e. interviews were conducted both with non-migrating household members at the rural study site and with the migrating household member(s) in BMR. Additionally, migrants from comparable rural areas in N and NE Thailand were interviewed in BMR (27) to represent a more realistic cross-section of the heterogeneous group of rural–urban migrants in BMR. Out of all interview partners, roughly 60% were female and 40% were male. Among the 69 interviewees in BMR, almost half were between 31-40 years old, and about one quarter each were in the ages of 20-30 or 41-60, respectively. Interviewees were selected according to the principle of purposive sampling, based on the criteria place of origin, occupation, education, and mari-

tal status. The subsequent analytical processing included the software-based structuration of data and thematic coding. Moreover, participatory observation over a period of eleven months which the first author spent in all study sites in total, as well as data collected in focus group discussions during an exploratory pre-study and a household survey conducted in the three rural research sites in the context of the TRANS|RE project provide background information which allows the contextualization of the empirical material presented here.

9.5. Precarity and translocal connections of rural–urban migrants

In the following, we will explore translocal embeddedness as a social practice, including its impact on both the exposure to precarity at places of destination and on shaping household resilience at the place of origin.

While embeddedness in the household of origin articulates in motivations to migrate and to remit, embeddedness at the place of destination is interconnected with work at the place of destination and the social positioning of a migrant toward both urbanites and other (rural–urban) migrants (Korinek et al. 2005).

9.5.1 Embeddedness at home reflected in the motivation to migrate and to remit

To begin with, the following typology will help to grasp the great variety of translocal relations shown in our data – albeit respective classifications of migrants presented here may change over time. These categories derive from our analysis of migrants' and non-migrants' everyday practices in terms of which different motivations, aspirations, and obligations they articulate. The typology thus also captures differences in how migrants are embedded within their household of origin and in how migrants position themselves in relation to both their household of origin and the place of destination. In the first type of translocal constellations, which applies to more than half of our interviewees, moving to the city to find work is driven by the *necessity* to earn money regularly, in addition to the usually unstable income from small-scale agricultural production. In this vein, a 45-year old market vendor form Buriram explains her move to BKK as follows:

> "I live here because I can earn more money than in the village. I'm happy in the village but if it doesn't rain, we cannot grow rice. [...] By living here, I can earn money and support my daughter and family. So I must choose living here." (24/07/2015)

The first sub-type of this group of migrants encompasses members of households with little land and/or a comparatively high level of debt who consider paid work outside the village absolutely essential, both on a regular basis and also as a response to a major harmful event,

such as loss of produce, or illness. This constellation usually results in one or two household members – usually household head and spouse – migrating to financially support the extended family. Since, at home, these migrants would be strongly involved in the household's agricultural activities, they are expected to significantly contribute to the household income while away. In some cases, the household fully relies on their financial remittances as the only regular income source. For the second sub-type, satisfying specific, short-term needs, such as paying children's school fees, or improving the household's living conditions in general, was the main reason to move – temporarily. The following account of a 43-year old woman from Phitsanulok who moved to BKK together with her husband to do wage work on construction sites illustrates this aspect:

> "If I could choose, I wouldn't want to go out at all. […] If my son wasn't studying, I wouldn't have to be here. […] If they don't let me work here now, I don't know how I will be able to support my children. […] If the payment's good, I'm ok with the work. I only need money." (30/08/2015)

Given the comparatively low wages such migrants earn and the rather insecure working conditions they are confronted with, the respective migrants had no intention to permanently stay in the city but, instead, expressed the necessity to sustain small-scale agriculture as a livelihood activity. In the face of tough working and living conditions in jobs with low or medium educational requirements, agriculture was partially considered the more self-determined activity, and in this sense less insecure, and, in the long run, more fruitful. Moreover, the respective migrants conceived of farming as part of their identity – worth preserving by means of migration.

For a second type of migrants (ca. ¼ of our participants), specifically young rural–urban migrants, working in BMR is a *transition phase*, mostly starting right after completing their school education, which enables them "not to be a burden for the family" (29-year old female office employee from Buriram Province, 20/07/2016) and to "save enough money to start a new life in the village later" (30-year old female factory worker from Udon Thani Province, 05/07/2015) (see also Jampaklay et al. 2007). This, however, is not only a matter of choice but is also driven by limited opportunities to set up one's own livelihood, e.g. due to the scarcity of land and of job opportunities in the village. Despite the educational focus and low level of involvement of this young generation in agricultural activities, they still have a sense of belonging to their places of origin. The transient sojourn outside the village may last for one or two decades, in some cases. Hence, this phase includes starting a family,

often with children being raised by their grandparents in the village and remittances being used to support them as well as the household's agricultural activities, house construction, and, in some cases, to buy additional land to practice agriculture after returning home, or to pass it on to one's children. Besides the non-affordability of childcare in BMR for most labor migrants and the financial necessity of both parents engaging in income generation, leaving children in their grandparents' care in the village was also referred to as an expression of belonging to – at least one parent's – place of origin. As the majority of the migrants inter-viewed consider the village their home, they like the idea of letting their own children grow up with the same social norms and cultural values and in the same natural environment.

For the third type (roughly one out of ten among our interviewees), the predominant reason to migrate is not necessarily financial hardship. Instead, moving to BMR is driven by curiosi-ty, by the motivation to "explore Bangkok" (55-year old former wage worker and taxi driver in BKK, meanwhile "retired" and returned home, Udon Thani Province, 25/03/2015), "gain more experience" (24-year old female employee and University graduate, from Phitsanulok Province, 31/05/2016) or attain a higher educational qualification. This freedom to explore usually applies to young, unmarried, and more often male, household members. During the process of migration, two main directions emerge: Firstly, similarly to the *transition* type, respective migrants were still motivated to pay respect to their parents by financially sup-porting them, to retain family ties, and to share ideas to advance livelihood activities in the village, if they intended to lead a village-based life in the future. By contrast, not remaining a household member was another option, which mostly implied no motivation to send remit-tances, and either planning one's future at the place of destination – e.g. Bangkok, where working and living feels "more like a school than the actual school" (37-year old male facto-ry employee from Roi Et Province, 29/05/2016) – or moving elsewhere, or becoming a member of one's in-law family.

The fourth type shows the starkest contrast to the first type of rural–urban migrants. This type (approx. one out of eight interviewees in our sample) describes members of compara-tively wealthy households who both feel obliged to capitalize on their higher education and seek "not to end up working in the field" and "struggle forever" (33-year old female teacher from Buriram, 15/07/2016) but to find a white-collar job instead. According to their filial obligations and own aspirations, enhancing the status of the family and of themselves within the community of origin drives their remittance transfers. This includes, for instance, com-pensating for their absence as parents by providing their own children with material goods, or supporting the household's agricultural activities. Instead of reflecting their own agricul-

tural ambitions or intentions to return, these remittances often target the perpetuation of the family's field labor tradition, which respective migrants regarded as part of their cultural identity, despite their rather loose connection to it in their everyday lives.

9.5.2 Navigating the urban labor market: work life in BMR

To further disentangle the circumstances of migration and their implications for household resilience, the following sub-section will spotlight the major component of migrants' everyday lives at the place of destination, namely work. The linkage between work and situating in multiple spaces simultaneously – origin, destination, and translocal space – will be explicated by means of the four most common types of jobs among the rural–urban migrants interviewed for this study. These occupational categories differ in terms of access, working hours, type of location, flexibility of working time, potential earnings, work atmosphere, and reputation – and thus in their effects on the private life both at the place of destination and in relation to the household of origin, including social activities, family life, and future planning, amongst others.

Factory life – "exhausted and under pressure"

A considerable share of rural–urban labor migrants are working in factories in BMR (Clausen 2002), of which there are thousands – more than 4,000 in the garment sector alone (Jaisat et al. 2014:7). In general, access to factory jobs is easy; employment relations, however, vary according to education and age. Usually workers with a lower educational level than high school have limited access to employment positions (with long-term work agreements) but will be hired as temporary workers or subcontract labor. The latter status entails, for instance, less job security, due to shorter, less enforceable contracts; less social security, e.g. severance pay (Hewison & Tularak 2013); and limited access to labor unions (Ayudhya 2010; Charoenloet 2015). Flexibilizing employment in such ways also creates hierarchy and competition among workers, which partially explains why most factory-worker interviewees described their relations with co-workers as anonymous and distant, or even competitive. Mostly working around 12 hours per day, including overtime, and 6 days per week, both employees and subcontract laborers described their lives as structured by their work, i.e. subject to strict time schedules and rules in the factory. Many felt "under control of [their] supervisors" (24-year old female return migrant in Phitsanulok, and former factory worker, 28/05/2015) and under pressure to meet their demands. Last but not least, certain production processes pose severe risks for the workers' health (e.g. due to exposure to carcinogenic substances).

Service sector – "slaves of time"

Similarly to factory workers, interviewees occupied in the lower segments of the service sector described their everyday lives as almost exclusively structured by work, at the expense of any sort of social life, as they usually compensate for their low wages with long working hours and night shifts, and/or a second job. In contrast to factory work, however, work in the service sector was perceived as less regulated regarding working hours and social protection. This concurs with survey data on informal employment in Thailand, indicating a higher informality rate in the service sector than in the manufacturing industry (NSO 2010). Nonetheless, internal migrants in Thailand still mostly work in the service economy (NSO 2008), due to lower work requirements (e.g. regarding education and physical condition), especially in the customer-oriented service economy, as compared to the manufacturing and construction sectors.

The majority of interview partners who were employed or hired in higher segments of the service sector likewise expressed that they felt pressure and stress with regard to their work schedule, and often also with regard to their respective superiors. This was mirrored in descriptions of everyday lives in BMR as structured by "the pace of Bangkok" (46-year old male employee from Sisaket Province, 08/06/2016), its hectic atmosphere, and the constant urge to earn more money, e.g. by doing overtime or side jobs. A former temporary worker and freelance writer in Bangkok, for instance, remembers that she "did not seem to have [her] own breath" when working in Bangkok but was under constant work-induced pressure (37years old, meanwhile returned to her village of origin in Udon Thani Province, 26/03/2015).

Self-employment – "not anybody's subordinate"

In contrast to the enormous pressure, dependence on employers' decisions, and commodification of their labor, which most factory and service workers deplored, self-employed persons among our sample of interviewees, especially small-business owners, described their autonomy as one core aspect of their working life in BMR. Among them, the perception that "it's easy to find money [in Bangkok]" (38-year old female market vendor from Chaiyaphum Province, 15/05/2016) was more prevalent. Many of them emphasized the potentiality they saw in their own small-scale business, such as street food restaurants, market stalls, or grocery stores, amongst others, in terms of income and future perspectives. For instance, the owner of a food stall in a university canteen articulated the strong anchoring role her own business served, saving herself from being "anybody's subordinate" (40years old, from

Nongkhai Province, 24/05/2016). Her commitment to this kind of "career", as she framed it, also reflects the importance of both independence and daily cash income while leading a life in Bangkok. Furthermore, it indicates her and her husband's willingness to take risks, a willingness that was required to remain independent and still be able to sustain their lives in Bangkok.

Construction sector – "difficult and risky"[13] but "more independent than factory work"[14]

Besides factory work, the construction sector is a common choice of domestic migrants as a source of short-term cash income. Wage differs by specification, training, and experience, and by gender (Le Mare et al. 2015). Work on construction sites used to be a very common seasonal migration strategy of small-holder households from North and Northeast Thailand. As differences in minimum wages by province (highest in BMR) have been removed (2013) and the educational level in today's younger generation has risen (Le Mare et al. 2015), low-skilled temporary work on construction sites is less widespread among young internal migrants. Members of older age groups (35-50years), however, still tend to work on construction sites, if they engage in labor migration, as "[their] education is low and [they] have to come back during the rice season" (villagers in a focus group discussion in Phitsanulok, 11/05/2015). And as compared to factory work and service jobs, interview partners' descriptions reveal a higher degree of social support and a less anonymous work environment. As recruitment is often facilitated by personal contacts, groups of relatives or village neighbors working on the same construction site are not uncommon. Additionally, workers are often integrated into a network of former coworkers exchanging information on construction sites with good working conditions, such as a satisfying level of overtime, and reliable foreman.

9.5.3 Socio-spatial embeddedness of rural–urban migrants in BMR

While above sub-sections explore translocal embeddedness as reflected in firstly, relationships to the household of origin and secondly, work situations in BMR, the following reflections will shed light onto the effects of these two dimensions on positioning in BMR. Migrants' work situations are one essential factor that influences both their spatial location in the urban area and their social positioning while living in BMR – variables which interfere with each other and might reinforce each other. In this context, (temporary) rural–urban *labor* migrants in BMR have to be differentiated from those considering themselves to be

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[13] 54-year old villager in Phitsanulok Province, former construction worker in BMR for several years (27/05/2015)
[14] 33-year old male construction worker from Buriram Province (17/07/2016)

closer to the urban society given their higher education level, higher level of economic wealth, formal employment, and financial stability. This is, for instance, reflected in their choice of residential location.

Spatial positioning of rural–urban migrants in BMR

Residential proximity to the city of Bangkok, as well as choosing a guarded housing estate, gives an indication of a migrant's social status and household background. Among our interviewees in BMR, these options are affordable for those who originate from socio-economically comparatively wealthy households and thus have access to jobs offering higher pay and more predictable working hours – which often require higher education. In contrast, low-pay and overtime-related time-consuming jobs limit one's choice of living place in BMR. While living at a greater distance from the urban society, our interviewees' living places were mostly located in spatial proximity to other rural–urban migrants and immigrants, i.e. in mixed residential-industrial neighborhoods in peri-urban outskirts. Most interviewed factory workers, for instance, lived in dormitory buildings near the factory or in the same compound. Such proximity between workplace and living place was also observable among non-factory low-level workers, i.e. construction-, service-, and self-employed workers. This spatial separation between peri-urban areas around Bangkok, mainly inhabited by blue-collar, supposedly lower-qualified workers who live under conditions of comparatively greater financial instability, and those middle-income groups of the society living in the city of Bangkok, benefiting from higher education and stable employment, mirrors the social stratification according to education, income, and origin (Jampaklay et al. 2007; Vorng 2011; Askew 2002).

Social positioning in relation to "Bangkokians"

Migrant workers' high representation in the low-wage job sector (Amare et al. 2012) – also reflected in our data – indicates the persistence of rural–urban disparities in terms of socio-economic development and living standards (Pholphirul 2012; Gulette 2014). Accordingly, a family father from Udon Thani, running a small street food restaurant in a factory neighborhood in BMR summarizes his overall situation as a non-Bangkokian as follows: "[A]s I'm not really educated, coming and living here is fighting." (21/05/2016).

In a similar vein, a 32-year old male factory employee and labor union co-founder from Buriram Province explains the disproportion between privileged "Khon Krungthep" [Bang-

kokians] and less privileged dwellers in BMR, who originate from rural parts of the country, as follows:

> "[T]hose who come from other provinces [i.e. from the countryside] are poor and have no work to make a living and to support their family at home. While those who are educated would work in offices, those who are uneducated have to work in factories. And, obviously, the salaries are different." (03/06/2016)

Regarding social positioning, jobs in the lower segments of the manufacturing and service industry, especially the factory lives in BMR as our interview partners describe them, involve a positioning of these workers as comparatively cheap easily replaceable labor, doing precarious work within the time schedule of global markets and according to a neoliberal economic regime. This also holds true for low-paid jobs in the service economy, such as shop assistants, waiters, or other customer-oriented services. Low payment, associated with low perceived value of work, create a feeling of inferiority that some rural–urban migrants sense in their everyday lives. This is, moreover, intensified by the stigma of backwardness that seems to stick to the image of "countrysiders" coming to BMR for work, especially from Isan (Northeast) (Mills 2012; Rigg & Ritchie 2002). Besides place or area of origin, socio-economic status and lifestyle play a role in being categorized as *ban nok* – a pejorative term referring to people coming from the countryside.

One reaction to the lack of respect workers from rural Thailand feel confronted with is, for instance, to deliberately keep their distance from "Bangkokians" or from people in Bangkok in general, as this young male factory worker from Udon Thani explains:

> "From my experience, I haven't found any reliable colleague since I moved out from the village. Some people might pretend to make friends with us in order to take advantage of us. It is hard to find sincere people in a society where people struggle to earn their livings. I have friends whom I enjoy talking to but they don't gain my trust. They might not care about others much." (24/07/2016)

The statement additionally stresses the worker's perceived distance from Bangkok, which most of the interviewees concurred with. For instance, a 43-year-old employee from Khon Kaen who has lived in Bangkok for 22 years, remarked: "I feel at home here; but still, I'm not a Bangkokian" (family father living with his wife, also from Northeast Thailand, and their daughter in BKK, 08/06/2016). This lack of place attachment was reflected in the common framing of BMR as only a work place, i.e. a place to make money before returning home

again. Hence, besides the length of stay, the sense of identification with "urban lifestyles" and affiliation with BMR influence one's social positioning in BMR (see also Gulette 2014:1260).

One feature of an "urban lifestyle", which several interview partners mentioned, is individualization. Besides loneliness due to the physical distance from one's family, feelings of social and emotional distance or strangeness were mostly associated with the individualized lifestyle in BMR. The following statement by a former factory worker in Bangkok, originating from Phitsanulok Province, shows the extent to which her sojourn in Bangkok was strained by the individualized lifestyle with which she did not feel comfortable:

> "I learnt that by living there [in Bangkok], I could get into depression. Here [in the village] it is more lively and joyous. The quality of life here is better compared to outside because all my neighbors are trustworthy and always helping each other, even though we are not related by blood. In the city, every man is for himself. I couldn't trust anyone. […] it is more about you yourself and there is no sense of community like here. […] it is not livable for me." (60-year old woman, used to engage in seasonal labor migration to support her two sons by herself, after her divorce, 12/05/2015)

Another important dimension of migrants' embedding at the place of destination is articulated in their positioning in relation to other rural–urban migrants, which we will turn to now.

Social positioning in relation to other rural–urban migrants

Trust and social contacts in BMR are based on commonalities in origin, in socio-economic background, and in everyday life experience as a rural–urban migrant in BMR (Didero 2011). This is partially a consequence of the social marginalization based on internalized class identities and reflected in the term *ban nok*, for instance (see also Mills 1999). Furthermore, similar experience, such as emotional distress, loneliness, and financial burdens, create a sense of belonging and mutual understanding. Remittances are one dimension of the experience most rural–urban migrants share. Another common experience is that of separation from one's own children while working in BMR, due to both financial constraints and socio-cultural considerations, i.e. one's sense of belonging to the place of origin that evokes the intention to expose one's own children to the same socio-cultural background.

In many cases, relatives and partners are the most important social contacts and support network in BMR. One reason for this is the construction of belongingness that is rooted in a

sense of region-based cultural specialness regarding mentality and social behavior (see also Jampaklay et al. 2007:488), as the following statement by a 29-year-old (male) factory worker from Udon Thani indicates:

> "Isan people cling to the belief that family members, relatives and people from the same village are more important and reliable than people from other areas. So, they might not be open to or trust others." (24/07/2016)

At the same time, financial constraints and long working hours confine investments in social life. Here, we have to distinguish between rural–urban migrants who, predominantly, move out of necessity and for a limited period of time to labor in low- or medium-skilled jobs, and those with access to more prestigious white-collar jobs, envisioning long(er)-term stays in BMR. Parsons (2016; 2017), for instance, examining rural–urban migration in Cambodia, finds that migrants from wealthier households, depending less on remittances, enjoy greater freedoms in terms of expenses at the place of destination, including their participation in social activities. He therefore sees the rural structural inequality as being reproduced in urban areas (Parsons 2016:13). This also applies to rural–urban migration in Thailand, as our data indicate. For instance, factory or low-level service workers whose remittances were an important asset in the household's budget repeatedly mentioned restrictions they placed on their everyday consumption or on social activities in order to minimize expenses and secure regular and sufficient remittances. The case of a 47-year-old security guard from Buriram Province, stating "everything's on my shoulders; I'm the only one sending money" (30/06/2016), precisely illustrates this situation. The amount of his monthly remittances depends on the support needs of his mother and sister residing in the village. He tries to balance higher demands by cutting his own everyday expenses or taking groceries on credit. The combination of factors resulting in the precarious conditions that shape his everyday life in BMR include his unspecific job expertise and comparatively older age, which restrict his access to jobs; his filial support obligation as unmarried son in his parental household; and his household's socio-economically weak condition and thus vulnerability to climate-related risks, such as the latest dry spell (late 2015) in that area. Despite his continual remittance transfers, the household's dependence on his remittances seems to persist, which, for him, aggravates the complications already induced by his precarious work conditions. Several interviewees, in contrast, holding higher educational degrees and accordingly working in higher segments of the service sector or in education or health, and originating from households that do not depend on remittances, assigned lower priority to remittance transfers than to expenses related to their own everyday lives in BMR and to their own savings.

Besides establishing closer relationships at the place of residence, these somewhat more privileged rural–urban migrants also approximate an "urban lifestyle". The ensuing stronger anchor at the place of residence corresponds with the widespread intention among them to stay in BMR for longer periods. In contrast, refraining from social life at the place of residence – mostly applying to the type of migrant described before – is often accompanied by a more pronounced sense of belonging to both the place and the household of origin.

9.6. Reconciling migrant everyday life experience and household responsibilities: Precarity and translocal embeddedness

As shown in the previous sections, migrants' differential resources and abilities to position themselves within the urban society are influenced by translocal embeddedness. In this respect, the links between the capital endowment of households and ensuing motivations to migrate and send remittances – out of necessity, as a transition phase, or based on choice – and the type of work migrants have access to suggest a path dependency of translocal embeddedness. At the same time, scale helps to refine the understanding of this very outcome of translocal embeddedness. That is to say, insofar as migrants' and non-migrants' practices transgress spatial boundaries, migration impact also spans multiple actor levels, spaces, and timescales. As an illustration, remittance needs by households of origin often intersect with precarious work of migrating household members because the socio-economic situation of the household of origin is partially reflected in the living and working conditions of the migrating household member in the city. However, conditions that tend to be precarious at the place of destination and result in limited abilities to accumulate capital, can still fulfill a valuable function within a given translocal constellation. Therefore, the migration experience and the social resilience of the migrant household are not necessarily equivalent insofar as seeking to stabilize the income situation of the family at home, might entail severe constraints to the individual migrant's everyday life at the place of destination (see also Schade et al. 2016; Parsons 2017).

The translocal constellation that connects a 42-year-old female garment wage worker in Bangkok with her household of origin is a case in point. Besides solely carrying the financial responsibility for her two teenage children and one niece living with her, she also took out a high-interest informal loan, borrowed from a co-worker, on behalf of her household in the village in order for them to reduce their enormous debts at the bank and maintain the household's agricultural activities. Lacking sufficient land or other income sources, her household of origin (numbering twelve members in total) depends on her income generation in Bangkok. She therefore does not seem to have any other option than continuing her

work in the sewing house trying to make ends meet for both her family in Bangkok and in the village.

In contrast, the circumstances under which a 40-year-old factory employee is translocally embedded in Bangkok and at home (Northeast Thailand) provide the counter example. Originating from a comparatively small household (four members) disposing of sufficient income to more than cover expenses and debt, no remittance expectations were placed on him when he moved to Bangkok after high school. While working to sustain his own life, he obtained a Bachelor degree, which later helped him to improve his status in the factory from a subcontract worker to an employee. The ensuing annual bonus payment enabled him to contribute to his household of origin even without any urgent need. Before starting his own family in Bangkok, he invested that money in building fish ponds in his parents' fields and raising chicken, in addition to growing rice. He also visited the village frequently to help other villagers writing funding proposals and business plans and to coordinate with the district administration office to establish village groups. He considers this kind of supportive intervention that enhanced villagers' capacity to support themselves as the reason for their independence from remittances.

As this example shows, the chances of attaining employee status in factories or service jobs, or work in the high-skilled service sector, are higher for migrants from socio-economically wealthier households, which tend to provide their children with access to higher education, and which do not necessarily rely on remittances for their livelihoods. Moreover, migrants from such households tend to be able to choose a lifestyle that resembles that of their Bangkokian counterparts regarding living place, consumption patterns, and social activities (see also Parsons 2017). Nonetheless, depending on their connection to their places and households of origin, e.g. through filial obligation, children at home, or agricultural ambitions for those places of origin, these rural–urban migrants also engage in remitting. Their remittances' use and impact might reach a different level (see above example), though, as compared to remittances sent to less-wealthy and more remittance-focused households in which remittances are often needed for everyday consumption or debt repayment.

Deviations from this pattern, in which migrants from disadvantaged households are confronted with precarity, while migrants from comparatively wealthy households have access to higher-valued jobs and can afford a social life in the city, are hardly observable in our data. A few cases, however, suggest a potential interruption of the path dependency through the gradual improvement of a migrant's working and living conditions over time. Conse-

quently, migrants from underprivileged households, in the context of the place of origin, would also gain access to jobs that are less precarious in terms of employment relationship, place of work, working hours, and payment. The 29-year-old daughter of landless farmers in Buriram, for instance, used to work as a shop assistant and domestic worker for about 10 years until she became employed as a sales officer in a small company, facilitated by the social network she had established in the meantime. This change of jobs also involved an upgraded job status for her. Moreover, in some cases, parents, doing wage work as rural–urban migrants, facilitate their children's higher education and thus their access to higher-level jobs, which might imply a gradual change of the household's socio-economic status. This is exemplified by a farm household in Phitsanulok Province whose elder daughter has been engaged in seasonal wage work in BMR since graduating from primary school. In contrast to other villagers in the sub-district, who can usually afford to avoid labor migration after a couple of years, she and her husband still work in Bangkok – as massagers on their own account – using their wage to support their first son's law studies. Obtaining a university degree would be a crucial change of the education level to date in this household (primary school).

In all of the aforementioned examples, gender relations, specifically the division of sex roles, have significant effects. For instance, the older sister of the factory employee was expected to start working on the family's fields instead of obtaining her high-school degree. An opportunity her brother, in contrast, had, which also facilitated his subsequent move to BKK. Similarly, gendered responsibilities are observable in the example of the sales officer from Buriram. While she felt compelled to fulfill her filial obligations by earning money to disburden her parents, her younger brother obtained his high-school degree. This was even supported by her monthly remittances which contributed to greater financial flexibility in their parental household. Meanwhile working in a factory in BMR, the brother barely sends remittances home. Enjoying greater freedom and facing lower expectations as a son depicts a more general pattern in gender relations in Thailand: Although, as compared to other Southeast Asian countries, relations between men and women prove to be more egalitarian in Thailand, with roles of men and women being complementary rather than competitive (Le Mare et al. 2015; Lindberg-Falk 2010), research has also shown the overall inferior position of women toward men induced by inequalities in terms of responsibilities, moral obligation, filial and conjugal obligations, social functions and identity (Osaki 2003; De Jong 2000; Mills 2003; Vanwey 2004; Curran et al. 2005). The ensuing disparate room of maneuver also articulates in the exposure to precarity, as the example of the single mother and garment wage worker illus-

trates. After her former husband had left the family, she is the only one supporting their teenage children, besides her sole responsibility to repay the informal loan she took on behalf of her extended family at home. Apart from that, she had substituted her – more secure – job as an employee in a factory further away from their house to become a wage worker in a nearer factory on her then-husband's request, so she could organize her double role as caretaker and breadwinner. Although her former husband also used to work in that same factory closer to their house, he would not fulfill this double role.

Regardless of the overall rather consistent pattern described above – i.e. embedding at the place of destination reflects household conditions at home –, translocal embeddedness also modifies the value that is allocated to job opportunities and work conditions and to investments in social life in BMR. Identifying such kind of reworking through translocal practice, which affects the impact of migration, also originates in the consideration of multiple spatial scales and actor levels. That is to say, through embedding at multiple places at the same time, these places and levels of spaces are interconnected and are thus being reshaped in terms of their 'logic' (see also Etzold 2016). Hence, work and lifestyles at the place of destination, for instance, are not only evaluated in the context of the social field there but also with reference to the "rules of the game" at the place of origin. This implies first, that, at the place of destination, a worker, for instance, is evaluated by her/his work, its educational requirements and income prospects. Within a translocal space, however, a migrant's work is also evaluated by its outcome for the household of origin. For instance, the money a former migrant from Udon Thani used to earn as a domestic worker and in low-skilled jobs in factories in BMR enabled her parents to gradually improve the household's living conditions through the extension of their fields, the acquisition of agricultural machines, and the construction of a more stable house. In another case, wages earned in factories were used to buy land in the village of origin and cultivate it with the help of a relative until that migrant's return. Moreover, in many cases, parents worked on construction sites or in low-wage service jobs to support their children's university studies. The value of such work – regarding its reputation and remuneration – might not be high within the social sphere at the place of destination. However, within the translocal context and at the household level, the very same work contributes to the accumulation of cultural capital, which, in turn, can be converted into economic capital in the education-focused (urban) labor market.

Yet another implication of translocal embeddedness relates to its influence on the ability to deal with precariousness. In as far as translocal embeddedness involves reciprocity, "enduring hardship", as the aforementioned garment worker and single mother from Buriram put

it (02/09/2016), is interrelated with the household at home. While the pressure to generate income to reduce risks for the household – extraordinary indebtedness in her case – rather contributes to the migrant's vulnerability, the respective migrant also has access to translocal household-based resources. This partially compensates for insecurities at the place of destination. Such stabilizing resources include a *distance-proof* social support network through the extended family, e.g. for childcare or as a fallback option, and material support, e.g. agricultural produce, and moral and emotional support, i.e. disposing of a place of living and belonging independently from the urban society. Hence, translocal embeddedness involves both stabilizing and destabilizing effects at the same time, for both the migrant and the overall household. The ensuing tension between opportunities and risks accentuates, once again, the importance of taking scale into account when assessing resilience in relation to migration. At the same time, such assessments might vary over time, given the processual nature of both migration and social resilience, which portends the importance of temporality in the migration–resilience link. For instance, imagining "hardship" – experienced as a migrant worker in BKK – as temporary helps "enduring" it (Bastia & McGrath 2011). That is to say, anticipating one's return home, which will – no matter how soon or far in the future – put an end to these hardships, might contribute to the willingness and ability to face them for the time being. On the household level, temporality also highlights once again the convoluted relationship between migration-related potentiality and precarity, insofar as precarious work and restrictions to private life during a migrant's stay in BKK might pay off in terms of their children's higher education and enhanced future prospects.

9.7. Conclusion

As shown in this paper, to examine the migration–resilience link, and to shed light onto the seemingly conflicting evidence of the potentiality of migration on the one hand and precarity associated with it on the other, it is essential to understand the impact of the simultaneous embeddedness of migrants at multiple places. Everyday lives at multiple places are interlinked due to migrant–household connectedness across space. As a consequence, social settings are intertwined, as well as spatial levels, and different temporal dimensions of practices and processes. This implies convoluted relationships on both the empirical and the conceptual level. Translocality offers a useful framework to fruitfully integrate multiple analytical dimensions (scale, social practice, temporality), which helped us to capture both the multitude of micro-level practices and influential factors and relations on a more abstract level which are at the same time constantly re-constructed by the ordinary everyday individual activities. As scale as well as intersecting social categories focus on differences, inequalities,

and spatial and social boundaries, translocality benefits from incorporating these analytical dimensions, while placing emphasis on links, networks, and interconnectedness, at the same time. Thereby, translocality contributes to an understanding of the practices and implications of transcending spatial and social-categorical boundaries. This paper's main focus was, however, scale as an additional analytical dimension within the translocality framework, whereas both temporality and intersecting axes of difference, such as gender and class, as additional perspectives in interaction with translocal embeddedness will need further elaboration. Addressing these dimensions in the analysis of translocal relations will further advance our understanding of the migration–resilience nexus.

Altogether, we could show how the multifaceted linkages between multiple places and social settings and different socio-spatial levels, which manifest in translocal constellations of migrant households across space, produce either opportunities (e.g. additional income, gaining experience and knowledge, extending social networks) or impairment (e.g. exploitative and insecure low-pay jobs on the urban labor market not facilitating applicable skill-or knowledge gains) or both at the same time. Hence, by applying translocality to attend to the potentiality of migration through the lens of precarity and vice versa, adequate attention can be drawn to the so-called agents of change and their everyday lives from their own and from their family's perspective, revealing both adaptation-conducive and destabilizing impacts of migration. This integrated, multi-dimensional perspective contributes to a more realistic understanding of how, when, and why migration can or cannot enhance capacities to deal with risks and use opportunities in the context of climate change.

Based on this discussion of the circumstances of rural–urban migration in Thailand from the perspective of translocal embeddedness, the remainder of this study focuses on the gender- and intersectional dimensions, respectively, of migrant–household connections, especially remittances, and its implications for the understanding of resilience in migrant households and of migration-as-adaptation.

10.) Gendered translocal connectedness: rural–urban migration, remittances, and social resilience in Thailand

Preface

The third article focuses on the social practices of remitting – as one of the core modes of translocal connectedness. Linking intersectional frameworks, translocality, and social resilience, this article draws attention firstly to the functions of remittances and the meanings that are associated with them, with regard to the connections between migrants and the household at the place of origin; and secondly to the influence of intersecting axes of social difference, e.g. gender and generational relations, on the effects of remittance transfers and usage on the social resilience of households; i.e. how mechanisms of remittance transfers and usage in translocal migrant–household constellations shape agriculture-based livelihoods (in Thailand) in the context of a climate-related risks. The article elaborates on the intersectional dimension of the translocal social-resilience approach. This integrated translocal-intersectional perspective draws specific attention to the negotiations around remittance transfers mediated by migrant–household everyday interactions and deriving from the multi-sociospatial embedding of these everyday practices. Accordingly, the article eludicates the social and spatial dimensions of the contextual factors with which translocal practices interact, namely intersecting categories of social difference, such as gender, age, class, religion, and ethnicity. It provides evidence for the embedding of remittance sending and usage in interconnections of everyday lives at places of origin and destination. Instead of simply depending on individual decisions, remitting is thus embedded in socio-cultural contexts and societal dynamics, which also implies that remittance practices reshape norms and conditions at the same time. While gender relations have proven to be a central topic in relation to remittances, the common notion of "the dutiful daughter" needs to be expanded and attention to be drawn to both the heterogeneity and the (gradual) changes of gender identities (e.g. Elmhirst 2002; Petrozziello 2011; Gioli et al. 2014; Kunz 2018), as obligations and responsibilities are constantly renegotiated. This article therefore spotlights the influence of the multiple social and spatial positioning of migrants and non-migrants in translocal fields on effects of remittance sending and usage. In total, the article contributes to the overall thesis, and to our understanding of remittance–resilience links in the context of rural life by

adopting a practice-based approach to the analysis of remittances that is complemented by a conception of intersectionality in translocal space.

Summary

Remittances play a central role in debates on migration and development as well as migration as adaptation to climate change. We seek to contribute to the growing body of literature that addresses the role of gender relations for remittance sending and usage. Based on multi-sited qualitative research on rural–urban migration in Thailand, we apply the concept of translocal social resilience to expound the multi-local and intersectional dimension of remittances and their impact on social resilience. Building on typical constellations of remittance transfer and usage, the paper accentuates how gender, generational relations, and the household's socio-economic status shape remittance practices and their effects on social resilience across space. We can thus conclude that addressing intersecting socio-spatial levels and axes of difference enhances the understanding of remittance potentials for resilience, which also enriches research that frames migration as a means of adaptation.

10.1. Introduction

Remittances, as a social practice of sending and receiving financial resources, connect places and people across distance, and create translocal and transnatioal spaces of exchange (Glick-Schiller et al. 1992; Vertovec 1999; Guarnizo 2003; Cohen 2011). For decades, the global scope and socio-economic significance of remittances for many countries in the Global South has attracted great attention in both academic and policy-focused debates on the potentiality of migration to foster development and facilitate adaptation to environmental change (e.g. Kaimowitz 1990; Faist 2008; Sakdapolrak et al. 2016). The global significance of remittances is reflected in their consideration in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Target 10.c; 2015) and in the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (Objective 20; 2018), as well as in the context of climate-change adaptation (IOM 2008; IPCC 2012). On the local level, empirical studies evidence, for instance, the contribution of remittances to the ability to diversify one's livelihood strategies so as to distribute potential risks among multiple domains (e.g. Adger et al. 2003; Cole et al. 2015; Sikder & Higgins 2016), build household resilience against climate-related stress (e.g. Foresight 2011; Warner & Afifi 2014; Banerjee et al. 2018; Rockenbauch et al. 2019), improve a household's living standard, education, and health, and facilitate community development, including political participation and investment in social infrastructure (e.g. Haan 1999; Faist 2008; Deshingkar 2009). Such predominantly positive stances on remittances have, however, also provoked criticism – for

suggesting to shift the responsibility for development and climate adaptation from the state to the individual household and migrant and thereby fostering neoliberal policy making (e.g. Kunz 2008; Felli & Castree 2012; Bettini & Gioli 2015; Evans & Reid 2013) and for overlooking the differences within and among households in benefiting from remittances and migration due to the socially-embedded, relational nature of capital accumulation (e.g. Lindley 2009; de Haas 2010 & van Rooij 2010; Thieme & Siegmann 2010).

While academic and policy debates on remittances and their impact have for a long time rather neglected the gender dimension, e.g. by presupposing remittance senders to be male migrants and receivers to be women (Gioli et al. 2014; Kunz 2018), the interdependence of gender relations and remittance sending and usage has more recently gained traction in migration–development and migration–adaptation debates (Nyberg-Sørensen 2005; Petrozziello 2011; King et al. 2013; Bettini & Gioli 2015; Evertsen & van der Geest 2019). Relevant research strands that have explored gender–remittance links include research on rural livelihoods (e.g. Thieme & Siegmann 2010; Tiwari & Joshi 2016) and rural–urban interaction (Tacoli & Mabala 2010; Le Mare et al. 2015), transnationalism (e.g. Abrego 2009; Hammond 2011; King et al. 2013), gender studies (e.g. Resurreccion 2005), and development studies (e.g. van Naerssen 2015). Overall, these works indicate that gender and class, age, and ethnicity, amongst others, influence the shaping of remittance sending and usage (van Naerssen 2015). Emphasis has, moreover, been placed on the enormous sacrifices made, especially by women migrants, to improve their family's lives – despite their structural disadvantages in contrast to men, e.g. on the job market (Abrego 2009); and on the predicament women migrants face when fulfilling obligations through remitting while at the same time abandoning responsibilities within the household by moving away for work (Resurreccion 2005).

Based on a multi-sited empirical study on rural–urban migration and social resilience in Thailand, we seek to contribute to the growing body of research that addresses the gender–remittance–resilience nexus by adopting a translocal approach, focusing on social practice (Brickell & Datta 2011; Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2013). Building on existing research evidencing the influence of multiple spatial and social factors on remittance patterns, e.g. gender differences in remittance sending and usage, we will combine the translocal approach with insights from conceptualizations of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991; Lutz 2015; Yuval-Davis 2015; Bastia 2014; Mahler et al. 2015). By integrating translocality and intersectional frameworks, we address both the social and spatial dimension of circumstances that are essential for a comprehensive understanding of remittances and their impacts. We argue that the gender dimension of remittance transfers and usage intersects with the socio-

economic standing of remittance senders and receivers in shaping these remittance practices and their impact. Hence, to unravel the link between remittances and the social resilience of households through a translocal and intersectional lens, we ask the following questions: Which gendered patterns of remittance transfer und usage can be identified? What influence do intersectional and translocal relations have on these gendered patterns? How do gender relations and intersecting factors influence the impact of remittances on the social resilience of households? This paper will, moreover, advance the debate on the interrelationship of gender, remittances, and resilience by spotlighting internal migration as the basis for remittance transactions, which has been rather neglected (Cohen 2011) despite its importance vis-à-vis international migration in terms of numbers of people involved (Housen et al. 2013; UN 2009).

The study is placed in the broader context of rural transition and the "delocalization of life and living" (Rigg et al. 2012, 1470) which can be observed in Thailand and Southeast Asia at large. Especially Thailand has seen rapid and profound socio-economic changes over the past decades (e.g. Rigg & Salamanca 2011; Rigg et al. 2012; Charoenloet 2015): Induced by the growth of the export-oriented manufacturing sector in all neighboring provinces of Bangkok and along the Eastern Seaboard since the late 1980s and the concomitant huge demand for low- and semi-skilled labor, domestic labor migration to urban agglomerations has gained huge importance as a means of households in rural areas to generate additional income from off-farm employment and thereby diversify predominantly smallholder-based livelihoods. This study builds on a rich body of previous research on changes in rural life particularly focusing on rural–urban migration, remittances, and gender relations (e.g. Rigg 1998; Osaki 1999; Garip & Curran 2010; Rindfuss et al. 2012; Rambo 2017).

In what follows, we will first expound the current state of research that applies gender-sensitive approaches to the analysis of remittances, especially in connection with both development and smallholder-based livelihoods in rural areas of origin. We will thereafter delineate our conceptual approach and methods to examine the links between remittance practices and the social resilience of migrant households (sections 3 and 4). This will set the frame for exploring the translocal and intersectional dimension of the transfer and usage of remittances and their direct and indirect effects on the social resilience of migrant households (section 5). In our analysis, we will elucidate the multiple social and spatial embeddedness of remittance transfers and usage and their impact on social resilience. This socio-spatial setting determines the room to maneuver regarding remittance transfers and usage. Altogether, this study illustrates that adopting a translocal-practice approach to analyze

remittances helps to identify their potential for increasing the social resilience of house-holds, and also their gradual and indirect effects. It also accentuates the overlap between gender relations and the socio-economic standing of a household of origin in shaping how remittances impact social resilience.

10.2. Gender, remittances, and their impact

Research on remittances in connection with gender relations has addressed multiple dimensions of the relationship, including gendered patterns of remittance sending and usage, and the impact of remittances on households and communities of origin. To obtain a more comprehensive understanding of remittances, transnational migration studies have highlighted the significance of the circumstances and experiences of migrants and non-migrants at places of both origin and destination. Connecting family and household members across borders, the meanings of remittances exceed those of mere resource flows (Parreñas 2005; Wong 2006; Platt et al. 2016). This framing of remittances as one dimension of interpersonal transnational relations has also gained traction in research on the migration–development nexus (Piper 2005; Nyberg-Sørensen 2005; Petrozziello 2011). Related research in this context, addressing gender–remittance links and explicitly using a transnational approach (Kunz 2008; King et al. 2013; van Naerssen 2015), has emphasized the multiple social and spatial influences on remittance transfers and usage. Delineating the multidimensionality of remittance–gender links in Honduran–US transnational migration, Petrozziello (2011), for instance, highlights the role of gender disparity regarding intra-familial power negotiations, responsibilities, and access to jobs at places of destination in shaping remittance transfers, while also drawing attention to instances of empowerment of women as remittance senders.

In analyses of gendered remittance-sending patterns, much emphasis has been placed on reliability, scope, and motives. A considerable proportion of studies underline that women are more reliable savers, devote a higher percentage of their income to remittances, and send money more frequently than their male counterparts (see e.g. Osaki 1999; Rahman & Fee 2009; Tacoli & Mabala 2010). Explanations for these gender differences revolve around intra-household relations, and gendered patterns of migration and access to jobs. Women's greater reliability in remittance sending, for instance, has often been linked to family obligations and responsibilities which especially women are expected to focus on, as compared to value orientation from a male perspective (Posel 2001; Resurreccíon 2005; Wong 2006; Abrego 2009). As women migrants, moreover, tend to stay at the place of destination for a shorter period of time, they are less likely to settle there, and instead are more committed to

their family at home (Chant 1998; Rahman & Fee 2009). Furthermore, on a global level, the share of international female migrants in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs is higher in comparison to their male counterparts, and labor migrants in these sectors have been found to remit more than highly-skilled migrants (Ramamurthy 2003; Piper 2005), whereas this also depends on age and life-cycle status, as Piper points out (2005).

However, this image of women as more reliable in remittance sending has also been questioned – given its ambiguity and context-specificity, and the reiteration of gender stereotypes it entails (Kunz 2008, 2018). Studies have shown that gender relations affect remittance decisions and amounts in conjunction with a migrant's age, generation, and life-cycle status (Piper 2005; Tacoli & Mabala 2010), the household composition (De la Brière et al. 2002; Rindfuss et al. 2012), and a migrant's marital status and role in relation to their household of origin (Semyonov & Gorodzeisky 2005; Platt et al. 2016; Harper & Zubida 2018). In studying Philippine migrants, Semyonov and Gorodzeisky, for instance, find men in their role as family fathers remitting to their wives and children to send higher amounts than women, in both relative and absolute terms (2005). However, if migrants are single and do not have their own children, daughters prove to be more reliable remitters than sons. Moreover, the level of qualification, the type of occupation, and the length of employment and length of stay at the place of destination have been identified as influential factors (Ramamurthy 2003; van Naerssen 2015).

Besides gendered remittance sending, the *usage of remittances* also reflects gender relations. Related research partially regards the utilization of remittances, especially the investment in different forms of capital, as differing along gender lines. Female remittance receivers have, for instance, often been depicted as more likely to invest in human capital, i.e. education, nutrition, and community- and family-related events and obligations, while male recipients rather allocate investment to physical capital, including material assets, business, vehicles, tools, and machines (Nyberg-Sørensen 2005; Lopez-Ekra et al. 2011; Sikder & Higgins 2016). Additionally, these accounts insinuate the close link between remittance usage and impacts at migrants' places of origin. Reflecting this linkage and adopting gender-sensitive approaches, remittance usage has also been examined in connection with land-use change[15] and agriculture[16]. Changes in land use encompass the intensity of activities and labor employment on the land (Radel et al. 2010), the acquisition (McKay 2005) and abandonment of land (Jokisch 2002), as well as qualitative or quantitative changes in using land (Davis &

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[15] e.g. Jokisch 2002; McKay 2005; Radel et al. 2010; Davis & Lopez-Carr 2014
[16] e.g. Taylor et al. 2006; Mendola 2008; Lukasiewicz 2011; Vanwey et al. 2012

Lopez-Carr 2014). Sikder & Higgins (2016) particularly address the impact of remittances on *social resilience* at the household level. Drawing on empirical research in Bangladesh, they conceive of remittances as essential elements in livelihood strategies that contribute to social resilience e.g. by facilitating access to credit and insurance, diversifying income, and developing a "wider range of strategies for coping with, mitigating and absorbing shocks and stresses" (ibid.17). The authors thus reiterate the differences in remittance usage between female- and male-headed households, with the former rather investing in "human capital".

However, such distinctions have been criticized for concealing the diverse meanings of remittances and their uses according to the respective context (King et al. 2006; van Naerssen 2015; Sobieszczyk 2015; Teye et al. 2017). Sobieszczyk's findings on remittance patterns in Thailand additionally suggest that remittance usage also depends on the length of stay and place of destination. Households would, for instance, only invest in agricultural machinery or new business after remittances had been sent for a certain period of time, and they would rather use remittances from international migration to do so (2015). Teye et al. (2017), moreover, suggest that the process of negotiating remittance usage between sender and receiver is embedded in gender relations and power hierarchies which also articulate in the differential agency of household members.

Altogether, the reviewed literature demonstrates the multiple nature of the gender–remittance relationship in research on migration–development. While the gender dimension of conveying and managing remittances predominates, other axes of social difference and the importance of context have increasingly been addressed in gender-sensitive analyses of remittance processes, too.

Nevertheless, first, although the intersectional dimension of remittance senders' and receivers' positions has partially been taken into account, little attention has been paid to the role of the interconnection of gender relations and migrant households' socio-economic standing in remittance transfers, usage, and impacts. And secondly, the effects of this interconnection on the social resilience of migrant households have hardly been explicitly addressed.

10.3. Translocal social resilience perspective

To explore the potential of remittances for the social resilience of migrant households, we adopt a translocal social resilience approach (Sakdapolrak et al. 2016), combining the concept of translocality (Brickell & Datta 2011) with insights from intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991; Lutz 2015; Mahler et al. 2015) and positionality frameworks (Anthias 2002; Mander-

scheid 2009; Erel & Ryan 2018; Rother 2017). Specific emphasis is placed on remittance transfer and usage through which migrants and their respective households at home maintain connections across spatial distance (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004).

From a translocal perspective, practices of remittance sending and usage (re-)produce a translocal field of interconnected everyday lives between a migrant at the place of destination and their household at the place of origin (Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2013; Etzold 2016). The central analytical elements are specific translocal practices, the simultaneous embeddedness of actors across scales, and the multi-spatial dimension of negotiating the transfer and usage of remittances and their impact. The translocal dimension of remittance practices thereby intersects with axes of social differentiation, including gender, generation, and class stratification (Tacoli & Mabala 2010; Paerregaard 2015; Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki 2017; Petrou 2018). Disparities along these axes and ensuing disparate positions of actors in social fields affect remittance sending and usage, and their impact on the household. While intersectionality places emphasis on the overlapping of different dimensions of power – e.g. gender and class, class and ethnicity, ethnicity and gender – which produces a variety of social locations and positions that individuals can hold (Mahler et al. 2015; Yuval-Davis 2015), the notion of positionality gives prominence to the situational character of locations, and understands positioning, i.e. defining one's place in e.g. translocal relations, as context- and meaning-based (Anthias 2012a; Martinez-Dy et al. 2014; Rother 2017). This can imply freedoms and/or constraints depending on the respective overlapping of gender, age, wealth level, and (regional) origin. The interrelations between these parameters of difference that affect, for instance, a migrant's level of education, job and income opportunities, and social embedding at the place of destination, are also mirrored in the everyday activities, routines, and interactions between a migrant and the household of origin, which constitute patterns of remittance sending and usage.

Starting from the assumption that the effects remittances can have are influenced by intra-household negotiations around remittance sending and usage and by migrants' multiple socio-spatial positioning, our analysis will revolve around two central dimensions of remittance relations in translocal household constellations: 1) intra-household gender relations and intersecting factors depending on household composition; and 2) the socio-economic standing of migrants and households of origin. Along these two axes, we will explore the gender-positional dimensions of both remittance sending and usage with regard to their impact on the social resilience of households, also addressing the intersections of gender relations and socio-economic circumstances in shaping remittance impact. We use the term

social resilience to refer to those capacities and resources a household disposes of and uses in order to, for instance, cope with loss of produce or economic damage, adapt to changing climatic circumstances or implement change in order to avoid risks or adverse effects from slow- or short-onset hazardous events. Relevant capacities which facilitate the management of risks include financial flexibility and willingness to take chances, e.g. in terms of new crops, new techniques, new business; adaptable knowledge- and/or skill basis; ability to learn new things and to make use of information and contacts in a rural-livelihood context; and income or livelihood diversity which enhances flexibility and adaptability.

10.4. Methodology

To gain a better understanding of the link between remittances and the social resilience of migrant households, we followed a multi-sited research strategy (Marcus 1995), conducting in-depth interviews (98 altogether) and participatory observation in migrants' places of both origin and destination. The data collection covered a period of eleven months in total, between March 2015 and September 2016, which the first author spent in both sending and receiving areas of migrants, capturing everyday life practices of translocal connections and disparate experiences in the process of positioning in multiple spaces. To contextualize the ensuing empirical material, we also drew on data collected in focus-group discussions with village representatives during an exploratory pre-study and a household survey conducted in rural areas in North and Northeast Thailand as part of the TRANS|RE research project. Their selection as research sites was based on the following criteria: predominance of small-scale, rain-fed agriculture; exposure of livelihoods to environment-related risks; and integration in internal and international migration networks. Starting our field research in three of the aforementioned project's research sites, located in the provinces Phitsanulok, Udon Thani, and Buriruam, the first author conducted in-depth interviews with migrants' families, mostly parents, and returned migrants. They were chosen based on information provided by the aforementioned focus-group discussions and the household survey, conducted in the same villages, indicating domestic migration occurring in one quarter of all households in the research area in Phitsanulok, and one third of those in both Udon Thani and Buriram. Given the consent of both the non-migrating interview partners in the villages and their migrating household members, we interviewed the latter at their respective places of destination, i.e. mostly factory-residential peri-urban areas in surrounding provinces of Bangkok and in the city of Bangkok, too. This enabled us to examine the migrant–household translocal connection from two sides (in 32 cases in total). Additionally, migrants from similar rural areas in North and Northeast Thailand were interviewed in Greater Bangkok (Bangkok Met-

ropolitan Region, BMR) to represent a more realistic cross-section of the heterogeneous group of rural–urban migrants in Thailand. Out of all interview partners, roughly 60% were female and 40% were male. Almost half of our interview partners in BMR were between 31 and 40 years old, and about one quarter each were between the ages of 20-30 or 41-60, respectively. Types of employment and migration trajectories which are represented in our data include factory employment (as employee, wage worker or sub-contractor), work on construction sites, in domestic service and hospitality, in low-skill service-sector positions (security, retail), as well as self-employment in customer service jobs, and occupations that require a college or university degree (health, education, medium- and high-level public service). Most common risks in the households (of origin) participating in our study included both economic and climate-related stress, such as indebtedness, lack of jobs that guarantee monthly income (cash money), water or land scarcity, soil degradation, erratic rain, increasing unpredictability of weather patterns, and insect infestation. All interviews were conducted together with an interpreter, and transcribed and translated from Thai to English language. Data analysis included software-supported data structuring and thematic coding, followed by a qualitative content analysis. Developing codes and themes from the empirical material already began during the process of data collection at the research sites. Each interview added relevant nuances to already identified (potential) pathways of themes or gave an indication towards new thematic threads. Codes and categories were thus continuously revised and refined, and new ones were added in the process of reading and re-reading all interview transcripts. Hence, with each interview, the composition of topics and sub-topics became denser, more profound and more extensive at the same time. Relevant themes were, moreover, continuously juxtaposed and triangulated vis-à-vis other interviews, information from focus group discussions, and survey data. We could thereby cross-check, consolidate or re-consider and (re-)contextualize our codes and categories.

10.5. Remittance transfers and sender–receiver relations

Our empirical data show that remittance-related practices involve close ties between family members as a crucial starting point. Among these family-based remittance relations, certain translocal constellations can be identified. These differ according to the relationship between the remittance sender and receiver and the sender's position in their household of origin, which results from the sender's lifecycle status and the overall household composition. The following typology of remittance-related translocal constellations will provide the basis for a systematic consideration of the concomitant circumstances of remittance transfers in our analysis of their effects on resilience, including the systematic examination of the

role of gender and intersectionality for sending and using remittances. Light will therefore be shed on the four features of remittance transfer relations that have proven to be particularly impactful on the link between remittance sending and the social resilience of the household of origin: scope of remittance transfers, reliability, intentions and meanings associated with remittance transfers, as well as their occurrence at all.

1) Remittance relations between adult children and their parents

The first very common type of remittance relations links parents and their unmarried adult children. Migrating daughters and sons who have not established their own household – and are thus considered to still belong to their parental household – send money to their parents, mostly on a regular basis. This regularity usually refers to monthly transfers, linked to the payment of wages. While sending remittances is not each migrant's first priority, a considerable number of young unmarried rural–urban migrants working in BMR regarded remittances to their parents as fixed, regular item of expenditure (every month). Depending on life scripts, sense of belonging, personal priorities and/or the sense of responsibility to fulfill the intergenerational contract, supporting the parental household through remittances can continue for decades. For instance, in the case of long-term (migrant) workers in BMR with translocal connections to their places of origin in a rural area and often no family other than their respective parental households, remittance relations span more or less the entire period of working in BMR (at times, twenty or thirty years, or even more).

Remittance amounts and frequency differ depending on, amongst other variables, the senders' income, the living costs and -circumstances in BMR, e.g. accommodation and family planning, and the demand and needs of the parental household, e.g. education of younger siblings, health issues, debt. Monthly remittances – mostly sent via bank transfers – usually range between 2,000THB and 4,000THB, or correspond to approx. one third of the sender's monthly income – in some cases, even 50%.

Viewed through a translocal lens, meanings of financial remittances unfold in both a material and an immaterial dimension: remittances are a financial resource for the household of origin, and they involve social and symbolic values for both senders and receivers[17]. Hence, from a sender's perspective, remittances are meant to provide support, for parents predominantly, to disburden them – as the following comment indicates: *"I saw my mom was distressed, so I went to Bangkok to find more money." (Wanphen, returned migrant in Udon Thani*

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[17] Cf. conceptualizations of social remittances in the migration literature (Levitt 1998; Faist 2008; Levitt & Lamba-Nieves 2011)

*and former garment worker in Bangkok, 01/04/2015)[18]. This also relates to another afore-mentioned immaterial value involved in remittance sending, namely (satisfaction from) ful-filling familial obligations, e.g. paying respect and showing gratitude toward one's parents. Hence, by sending money home remittance senders gain respect within their community of origin as morally upright persons and, moreover, as those accessing a (supposedly) more convenient lifestyle, and enhancing their knowledge and experience. Especially educational achievements and contact with supposedly "modern, urban" lifestyles are conducive to the respect that is paid to the contemporary generation of young rural–urban migrants. As a consequence, the immaterial values implicated in (monetary) remittance transfers also have an impact on the reputation of the household of origin. Here, a case in point is Kampun, a 26-year-old teacher in BMR whose idea of personal, especially work-related success is intimate-ly connected with augmenting her family's social status in their home village (in Buriram), which had been seriously affected by her father's gambling and ensuing indebtedness. Be-sides gaining respect as a supportive daughter, she associated both sending money home and "leading a successful life" in terms of educational and job-related attainments – such as her position as a teacher and her status as a civil servant – with transmitting prestige and success to augment the family's standing in the community. Additionally, remittances serve the purpose of retaining connections to both the place and household of origin. *"My life is in the village, my family life, my homeland"* – that is how a 60-year-old garment worker from Northeast Thailand, who has done factory work in BMR for more than 40 years, explains her continual monthly remittances (1,500–2,000THB) to her parents and sister in the village as well as additional amounts (6,000–7,000THB) for the rice harvest every year. Retaining connections was regarded as important for many of our interviewees given the often am-biguous positioning toward BMR as place of destination: on the one hand, the availability of jobs there provides certain opportunities to support one's household at home and sustain one's own life. On the other hand, living in BMR often involves the experience of disrespect-ful treatment and inferiority vis-à-vis "Bangkokians" due to one's rural origin and partially vis-à-vis neighbors or colleagues who also originate from rural areas but don't share the obligation of sending money home. Ensuing issues of belonging and often restricted invest-ment in social life in favor of remittance transfers impede the establishment of a social secu-rity net in BMR. This in turn reinforces the need to retain the connections to one's home, which includes remittance relations (Porst & Sakdapolrak 2018). Sirichanyaporn, for in-stance, a 25-year-old accountant in Bangkok, links her contributions to her parents' agricul-

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[18] All direct quotes of statements made by interview partners included in this paper derive from in-depth interviews (not from the focus group discussions or the household survey).

tural activities in Ban Chai – i.e. monthly remittances of 5,000THB and an additional amount of 3,000THB for the bank loan repayment – with both her lack of a social support network in Bangkok and her plans to utilize her mother's support in child-rearing in the future.

From the receiver's perspective, remittances involve an increase in financial stability through an additional income source, including implications for the household's socio-economic status in relation to other households, as well as the emotional value of feeling supported and also the incorporated symbolic value of one's own children fulfilling their filial obligation and honoring their parents through remitting. These perceptions are reflected, for instance, in a couple's explanation – Narong and Piyarak, farmers in Udon Thani – of their daughter's remittances:

> "We have to pay for the car loan, so she has to send us money [laughing] [...]. After she finished school, she had to work to support her parents because we already supported her while attending college. She supported us in paying back the loan for the car." (06/04/2015)

As implicated in these material and immaterial meanings attached to remittance transfers, the remittance potential for the social resilience of households unfolds, amongst other ways, in a reciprocal social safety net. That is to say, interlaced stability-increasing efforts of migrating and non-migrating household members, i.e. tapping urban income sources on the one hand, and relying on village-based livelihood activities and property as fallback on the other provide both financial and moral-emotional support.

2) Remitting in skipped-generation households

The second common constellation features remittance transfer in "skipped-generation households", emerging from changes in the family status of daughters and sons, having started their own family. While they continue working in BMR, their children remain in the village – in their grandparents' care. Given the position as mother/father within the household of origin, monthly remittances – to children and grandparents at home – in regular amounts, are more common than with the first type, as the following accounts of Thidarat (29years old), a young mother from Buriram, illustrate, who has been working in temporary jobs in BMR since she was sixteen years old:

> "Before I had the baby, I would send them money from time to time; but with my son living there, I send [money] every month. Before I got together with my husband, I was also sending money to my parents every month. But when I was with my husband, we had

the [car] installments, so I didn't send money to them that often because I just got a new job and things hadn't fallen into place.[…] The house [in the village] was renewed before I got together with my husband. I helped them to pay for it." (Thidarat, 20/07/2016)

Beyond the economic meaning of these financial remittance flows, social and emotional meanings are implicated, too; and the reciprocity of the support relation is even more pronounced than in the first translocal constellation. Here, besides serving as fallback, e.g. in case of unemployment at the place of destination, the household, usually the grandparents, are also entrusted with childrearing. Lacking this household-based childcare option would either considerably limit the parents' urban-based income generation, e.g. regarding working hours and double income, or incur additional costs. Among our interviewees, half of those who had their own children (22 out of 44), left them with their grandparents at the place of origin while they were working in BMR to financially support their children and cover general household expenses. The following two accounts – first of Rattana, a 35-year-old factory worker and mother of two boys of primary-school age residing in their grandparents' household in the village in Udon Thani; and, second of Tongkhum, a 58-year-old grandmother and farmer in Phitsanulok, taking care of her two kindergarten-age grandchildren while their parents work in Bangkok – offer insights into the two sides of this translocal exchange relation:

"We don't have time to take care of them [our children] here. We also have night shifts […], so no one can take care of the children here." (Rattana, 15/07/2015)

"They send money for their children. We take care of our grandchildren. Everyone does one's bit." (Tongkhum, 05/05/2015)

3) Village-based household with one member working in Bangkok

A third constellation involves a nuclear family with children with one absent parent. The ensuing remittance relation and translocal connection is based on the one parent's engagement in labor migration to BMR – mostly the husband's – due to lacking income sources to be tapped in/near the village of origin.

"He [husband] had to go because, here, he has no work to do. […]… he has to send some money home because there are expenses for our children; lots of expenses. I myself earn 200-300 Baht a day and we have to spend it on costs like water and other things."

Remittances are either sent home monthly or brought back home during home visits (often quarterly). While this constellation used to be more widespread among villagers in the age group of 50 and above – as e.g. Nikorn, a 55-year-old former taxi driver in BMR states: *"They were living here to work on the field, I was working in Bangkok and earned money to support my family. Like, I made money; they did the rice field. (Udon Thani, 25/03/2015)*; it is now more common for both wife and husband to seek jobs in off-farm work sectors, e.g. in BMR. In most of these cases, the wife would return, for instance, to give birth, as well as for issues that necessitate caretaking for household members at the place of origin. Depending on her age and the household's dependency on a double income in BMR, and on the severity of the need for care in the household (e.g. frail health, ageing parents), the wife would stay at home temporarily, perhaps for a couple of years, or even for good.

4) BMR-based nuclear family supporting grandparents in the home village

The fourth constellation, albeit less represented in our data, comprises parents migrating together with their children as a nuclear family, and sending remittances irregularly or providing their own parents with money or goods directly on special occasions, during home visits. In such cases, depending on the composition of the parental household, other non-migrant siblings would take care of ageing parents, requesting financial support (remittances) only in case of need. For instance, Decharat, a returned migrant in Udon Thani, who used to work and live, together with his wife and children, in South Thailand, would only support his parents *"when they got sick and didn't have enough money to spend" (02/04/2015)*. His younger sister stayed in the village – close to their parents – most of the time, only engaging in seasonal labor migration.

Nonetheless, regular remittance sending is not excluded, even if the nuclear family has migrated together, though it very much depends on their expenses and available funds for remitting. For instance, Jensuda, a 20-year-old factory worker from Buriram, explains her and her older sister's remittance transfers to their mother; in contrast to herself, her older sister has her own family in Bangkok, including children of school age:

> *"[My sister] also sends money back home but she doesn't send a regular amount of money. It depends on how much she earns that month and how much our mother asks for. My mother has expenses and debts that she needs to repay at the end of each*

month. So, my sister has to support her as well. [...] but she wouldn't send as much money as I do. Anyway, my sister usually provides the amount of money that our mother asks for. For me, I send a regular amount of money, no matter how much my mother asks for." (30/07/2016)

As the following example illustrates, such regular remittance transfers are usually based on intergenerational norms, encompassing filial obligations. Damrong, a factory employee in his mid-forties who lives with his wife and two children in the peri-urban surroundings of Bangkok and has been sending money home to his parents, states: "*every month, I set aside a part of [my income] since I started working, thinking I'm a child of my parents, I have to be grateful."* (07/06/2016)

5) No remittance transfers

In contrast to above types, the fifth remittance-related translocal constellation our data revealed is non-remitting. As much as remittances are essential components of translocal connections and interpersonal (family) ties, the lack of financial means to support the family at home can imply a disruption of contact with the household there. Consequently, while reasons for disconnection between migrants and their household of origin are not exclusively remittance-related, an interruption of contact between migrating and non-migrating family members can be induced by a lack of means to send remittances home. Representative of several such cases among our interviewees, an elderly family father (of three adult children) in Udon Thani explains: *"the one [son] who is living in Bangkok… – we're barely in contact because he doesn't have money"* (25/03/2015).

Altogether, above typology substantiates that family ties and household relations clearly appear to be the root of remittance transfers, determining the resilience-relevant features of these transfers, i.e. occurrence, scope, reliability, meanings, and intentions of remittance sending. In particular, these resilience-relevant aspects show a distinct gender (-intersectional) dimension, which we will chart in the following.

10.5.1 Remittance transfer, gender, and intersectionality

A number of scholars have highlighted the importance of gender norms and corresponding role division in Thailand in shaping remittance transactions (e.g. Curran 1995; Kirsch 1996; Osaki 2003; Vanwey 2004). Accordingly, given less strict expectations toward sons/men in terms of providing support and care (Mills 1997; Sobieszczyk 2015), they tend to be more independent regarding remittance timing, the type of support, and the way of fulfilling their

filial obligations. For instance, being a man, still being young, enjoying life, gambling – these were among the explanations (among our interviewees) for why sons did not send remittances or did so occasionally, rather than regularly. A mother of two sons in their late twenties working in factories in BMR and in Korea, respectively, remarked:

> *"They wanted to go out to gain experience. They try to find jobs that pay well enough to sustain their lives." (13/05/2015)*

And in the same vein, Panuwat and Tawee, two (male) returned migrants in Phitsanulok and in Udon Thani, respectively, remembered their sojourns as young labor migrants in BMR (and Southern Thailand):

> *"No, I didn't send anything home because I was only around 20 years old; I was still young, I wanted to enjoy life" (Panuwat, 08/05/2015)*

> *"At that time I was just living a life, I wanted to travel and eat. […] I didn't have enough money. I was a wage laborer. […] When I had money and my friends drunk, I also joined them and gambled." (Tawee, 06/04/2015)*

In contrast, daughters have shown an internalized sense of responsibility in terms of care and support provision. This observation also corresponds with findings from earlier research on (internal) migration, remittances, and gender relations in Thailand (Osaki 1999; Ryoko 2004; Angeles & Sunanta 2009). Sharing parents responsibilities and burdens, predominantly associated with costs involved in contract farming and children's education, amongst others, were common explanations – given by daughters – for *"deciding to help parents on the field"* instead of attending high school *(Kamolwan (30), Nam Kum, 28/05/2015)* or for *"going to Bangkok to find more money" (Penpak (35), Ban Chai, former seasonal labor migrant, 01/04/2015)*. Corresponding intentions to fulfill their own and their parents' expectations limit daughters' independence and room to maneuver regarding remittance transactions, e.g. how and when to support, to what extent, for how long, and how regularly.

> *"I have to use as little money as possible […] and I have to work. If I don't work, I don't have money. If I want to have a good future, and share my mom's responsibility, I have to be strong. All I have been thinking about now is to finish my degree as early as possible, so my mother can come here to my graduation day. It would be such a happy day for us. Even without having a father, I can still achieve this. My mother will be so proud*

of me on that day." (Rungsan, 22-year old shop assistant and part-time student in Bangkok, from Udon Thani, 28/07/2015)

Especially young, unmarried daughters living and working outside their parents' household face comparatively binding expectations and stricter rules regarding their money management, free-time activities, and intimate relationships (see also Kusakabe & Pearson 2015); because, in general, a daughter's expenses at the place of destination are more likely to affect the remittance reception of her household at home. For instance, because aforementioned Rungsang satisfies, to a great extent, the financial needs of her widowed mother and younger sister living in a village in Udon Thani, her everyday life activities in Bangkok have an enormous impact on the household's financial conditions. As a consequence, her family keeps a wary eye on her life away from home, upon which she comments as follows:

"My aunt [a factory worker in a neighboring province] sometimes pays me a visit to check up on my living. So she can let my mom know about it. Or if I have a boyfriend living with me, she can tell my mom directly." (28/07/2015)

As discussed in ethnographic literature on gender relations in the Thai society, daughters are usually educated to develop a high sense of responsibility to take care of the family, especially through domestic work, but meanwhile also by means of monetary support (e.g. DeJong et al. 1996; Suksomboon 2008; Angeles & Sunanta 2009). In case of migration, daughters/women thus tend to be expected and to feel morally obliged to comply with the (unwritten) "rules of reciprocity" and with the intergenerational contract, including being "a good daughter" by paying lifelong respect and showing gratitude towards one's parents. While *"ordain[ing] to honor [the] parents"*, as a factory worker in BMR explained his time as a monk *(18/08/2016),* is an option for sons to fulfill the filial obligation, migrating daughters – lacking this option – use remittances to do so (Mills 1997; Osaki 1999; Vutthisomboon 1998; Vanwey 2004).

Nonetheless, sons/men – once married – do engage in remittance transactions – to their in-law family, e.g. if the couple's children reside in the wife's parents' household. Due to the matrilocal household organization in Thailand, obligations and responsibilities for (married) men, especially in terms of monetary support, are more binding and strict towards his wife and children and his in-law family. And as women's obligations toward their own parents are partially also binding after marriage, the respective husband often contributes to the remittances sent to his in-law household.

As demonstrated so far, the four central features of remittance transfers from which their influence on household resilience emerges – i.e. the scope and reliability of remittance transfers, intentions and meanings associated with them, and their occurrence at all – incorporate gender relations as a crucial analytical dimension, as well as generational relations, household composition, life phase, and multiple positions of remittance senders in their household of origin.

Yet another intersecting factor needs consideration, to which both the positioning of a migrating household member and remittance transfers, particularly their scope and necessity, are interdependently related: namely the socio-economic standing of the household of origin. Hence, in what follows, we will examine the overlapping of predominantly gendered patterns of remittance sending (as delineated in above sub-sections) with socio-economic circumstances in migrant households as another axis of difference in shaping resilience.

10.5.2 Remittance transfers in connection with the household's socio-economic standing

In households with little financial flexibility, and little or no land of their own, which rely on remittances as additional source of income, obligations of income-generating household members to support dependent household members are more binding, and choices regarding frequency, amount, and type of remittances rather limited, correspondingly. The household's socio-economic conditions thus overlap with the gender dimension of remittance–resilience links. This is illustrated by the example of Suradech, the youngest son of a household in Ban Chai. As opposed to otherwise less binding responsibilities of unmarried men in their parental households – as explained before – he states that his parents expected him to find work in BMR or abroad, so *"[he] could send money back to the village" (25/04/2015)* – which he did. As the household owns a comparatively small piece of land (7 Rai) to grow rice, and both his parents and Suradech have to do wage work on sugarcane plantations in the area to earn a living, he additionally works in factories in BMR, usually on a temporary basis, to sustain the household and disburden his aging parents – while both his older brother and sister have their own families to take care of.

In contrast, if the socio-economic status of a household allows, both migrating sons *and daughters* face less strict expectations in terms of remittance-based support to the family. For instance, the relatively solid socio-economic situation of Gonglai's parental household, i.e. sufficient land of their own, and her oldest brother's successful agricultural activities and his position as village chief, enabled her to save the money she earned as a factory worker in

BMR over a period of ten years instead of sending monthly remittances to her parents. Using her savings to start a village-based life upon return to her parental household, Gonglai and her husband started pig breeding as an additional income strategy besides the parents' rice and maize cultivation. In this case, the household's relatively stable situation, and Gonlgai's economic and social capital endowment and willingness to take risks, granted her the greater choice in terms of remittance sending.

Beyond remittance *transfers* and their links to the social resilience of households which are mainly shaped by both gender relations and the household's socio-economic standing, another component is essential for the comprehension of remittance-resilience links from a translocal and intersectional perspective: remittance usage – which refers to generating value from remittance transfers for the household's livelihood activities, and their capacities and resources for dealing with risks. Hence, in the remainder of this paper, we will juxtapose remittance-sending patterns with patterns of remittance usage, also considering the aforementioned two main axes of difference (gender and socio-economic circumstances).

10.6. Remittance usage and the social resilience of migrant households

In most cases (among our sample of migrants and migrant households), financial remittances are used, first, to cover household expenses (utilities, transportation, school-related costs, medical treatment), purchase consumer products, renew the house, secure land proprietary rights, and repay or reduce debts; and secondly, for the household's agricultural activities, i.e. for the annual investment to farm the land, to rent machines (tractors, harvesters), to irrigate the land by means of water pumps, to hire labor for the harvest, or to preserve the land – both for its sentimental, identity-related value and as a reserve fund.

These patterns of remittance usage are interdependently related to the socio-economic circumstances of a household of origin, encompassing financial stability, indebtedness, and land endowment, as well as household members' education, access to jobs, and corresponding off-farm income opportunities. Beyond the socio-economic circumstances as a determining factor, negotiating remittance usage shows a distinct gender dimension – unfolding in the disparate resort to gendered role division and responsibility allocation. Such influences and their interlacing are, for instance, observable in the relation between Urawan and her household of origin. After 20 years of work in low- and medium-skilled jobs in Bangkok, during which she had sent home monthly remittances, she wanted to leave Bangkok to start a village-based life, engaging in diversified small-scale agriculture. However,

"My father told me to keep working [in Bangkok] because if I don't do my job here, they won't get money. [...] I send 5,000 Baht back home every month; they spend it on food, water, electricity, medicine; general expenses. And during the rice- and the cassava season, I send them an additional amount.

[...] My parents are old. I wanted them to stop [working on the field]. I wanted to take over. [...] For instance, my parents don't know the market prices. That's also why I need to go back home and take over. We can just do it by ourselves without middle men [...] and without being taken advantage of." (30/05/2016)

The father's *"conservative, old-school"* attitude – as Urawan describes it – toward both farming and intra-household responsibility allocation requires her – as the unmarried daughter – to generate an off-farm monthly income in addition to the household's ongoing rice and cassava cash-crop cultivation; instead of returning home and starting to implement some of the changes Urawan and her brother suggested, e.g. planting and selling fruits or pumping groundwater. As their parents, however, prefer to continue using Urawan's money transfers to cover their running costs and manage the farming, Urawan follows the conventional pattern – complying with gender- and inter-generational norms – of providing monthly support and additional amounts to sustain the existing livelihood system.

In contrast, if a migrant is not required to regularly send remittances to partially cover basic needs or agricultural expenses, money can be saved and/or used for investments that might enhance household capacities and resources in the long run. This includes, as far as cases from our own sample reveal, discussing crop choices and business ideas; introducing additional irrigation techniques, such as groundwater pumping; forming a mindset in favor of more sustainable agriculture, including the use of organic fertilizer, for instance; and making use of personal networks to implement business ideas. As already indicated in the above example, negotiating the usage of remittances to implement such changes is not only determined by the household's socio-economic standing but also closely linked to gender relations within the household. Juxtaposing the example of Urawan and her parental household with the following example will illustrate this link. In contrast to Urawan, Manit has not been sending regular (monthly) remittances home, but applied a different remittance-related strategy to support his household of origin, and he exerted stronger influence on the usage of remittance, than Urawan did. When Manit moved to BMR for work, not facing explicit and pressing remittance obligations from his parents, he earned a living only for himself, and took time to study – i.e. to enhance his job opportunities on the urban labor market.

Later, in his position as a factory employee, Manit, instead of sending monthly remittances home, used his annual bonus payment to start improving livelihood activities in both his parental household and the whole village.

> *"I have newer ideas. I helped them dig ponds, set up a ground water pumping system and a small water well etc. […] That's why I don't need to send money home that much because they can support themselves now…"* (06/06/2016)

Yet, without his parents' openness to implementing the changes Manit proposed, he couldn't have proven their utility. The enabling environment in his parental household granted him flexibility in remittance sending – especially regarding the scope, type, and timing of his remittances – and stronger influence on the usage of his remittances. Hence, the responses by their respective parental households to Manit's suggestions and stays in the village to instigate changes on the one hand, and to Urawan's ideas and her return attempt on the other hand, show considerable differences. While the disparate land endowment of Manit's and Urawan's respective parental households (120 vs. 25 Rai) is certainly reflected in their different remittance usage, and especially in their diverging openness to changes in terms of farming, both Manit's and Urawan's suggestions took the respective land size, financial resources, and previous activities into account. Urawan, in particular, even sought to stabilize the household's livelihood system by means of the suggested modifications instead of simply experimenting with new techniques. Yet she lacked the enabling environment that was granted to Manit.

The following two examples corroborate such gender-related differences in remittance usage in addition to socio-economic circumstances. On the one hand, Anchana's parents, whose socio-economic standing resembles that of Manit's parental household (regarding land size, agricultural activities, and children's educational level), use Anchana's monthly remittances for their agricultural activities and general expenses in the village in Udon Thani, since Anchana's younger brother no longer needs her remittances to cover his tuition fees at the vocational school.

> *"I sent money home twice a month. […] Most of the money I sent home was for supporting my brother's education. If they didn't use it, they would save it […] [they] also bought cows from it to raise them and sell them again."* (Anchana, 30/03/2015)

While Anchana, a factory employee in BMR in her late twenties, also tries to save some of her income for her own purposes – as *"[she]'d like to return home and start a business"* – her

parents draw on her regular remittances to develop and diversify the household's farming – partially implementing their younger son's suggestions to vary their crop choice. Hence, in terms of both sender–receiver negotiations of remittance usage and daughters' and sons' disparate remittance-related positions, Anchana's example resembles the conventional approach to remittance usage that was observable in Urawan's parental household, although the socio-economic standing in Anchana's household of origin allows greater financial flexibility. The example thus underscores again the determining effect of both a household's socio-economic positioning and gender relations on negotiating remittance usage.

On the other hand, greater freedom in deciding not only upon the remittance usage but on the whole support mechanism can be observed, again, in a male migrant's accounts: Sarawut, an employee in Bangkok, originating from an agricultural household (cultivating rice, sugarcane, and cassava on 62 Rai of land) and holding a university degree – in contrast to his three sisters who only finished primary school – explains the kind of support he provides to his father and one sister at home as follows:

> *"I bought a part of the land my family owns, and let my older sister take care of it. The profit from the plantation, she can have it to take care of our father. That's why I don't send any extra money regularly." (Sarawut, 43y, 08/06/2016)*

Furthermore, besides the gender dimension in mechanisms of remittance usage intersecting with socio-economic circumstances, (negotiating) remittance usage also articulates generational relations, both within the household and regarding agricultural experience. The latter tended to be lacking among household members below the age of thirty in our sample of interviewees due to the meanwhile wide-spread focus on off-farm work. In this respect, Meebon, a 27-year-old factory wage worker from Buriram, describes reactions to the views he shared with villagers at home, advocating crop variety among smallholders to counter price decline, amongst others.

> *"I can't change other people's thoughts. All I can do is to suggest it. Some people, they listen but don't care enough. Some people don't care at all. [...] Age is one reason. And maybe because I'm inexperienced, I see things from another perspective, not theirs. Words can't convince them, they have to experience it themselves." (13/07/2016)*

Overall, above analysis corroborates that the impact of remittance usage on the most relevant social resilience characteristics of households – diversification, financial flexibility, and a certain level of resource endowment or access to (additional) resources or income through

migrating household members – partially depends on how conducive (or not) a household's capacity and resource context already is. A more conducive situation, for instance, includes investment capacity to a certain extent, ongoing more-or-less profitable agricultural activity, as well as social capital (network, reputation, and trust) and individual commitment, amongst other factors (see also Cole et al. 2015; Le Mare et al. 2015). Meanwhile, in households whose socio-economic standing limits their ability and willingness to take risks regarding their livelihood system, using remittances tends to sustain the existing level of agricultural activity and practices or, if possible, intensify the production to take as much advantage of the well-known techniques as possible while avoiding experiments and substantial changes (see also Davis & Lopez-Carr 2014). At the same time, our analysis reveals the intersections of such socio-economic circumstances with gender and generational relations in negotiating remittance *usage* and shaping the household's social resilience.

On a related note, our results also indicate that differences in households' socio-economic circumstances partially inflect gender and generational norms (e.g. fulfilling moral obligations) that shape remittance *sending*. That is to say, the influence of gender and generational norms on remittance practices is more pronounced in socio-economically less stable households, as there is limited room for maneuver to deviate from common practices that potentially stabilize a household's rather vulnerable livelihood.

Yet, while the typologies of sender–receiver constellations and remittance practices developed in this paper – specifically along the axes of intra-household gender relations and socio-economic circumstances – proved useful, it is also important to understand their non-rigidity, as positionings in translocal space are multi-faceted and also change over time.

10.7. Conclusion

In this paper, we suggested a reading of the remittance–resilience link that spotlights practices of translocal connectedness as the context in which effects of remittance sending and usage on capacities of migrant households to deal with risks are produced. Building on transnational approaches in migration–development research conceiving of remittances as part of family and household relations across borders, we adopted a translocal-intersectional approach to connect gender–remittance links with remittance impact on migrant households against the backdrop of rural–urban migration in Thailand, which served as this study's empirical example. That is to say, remittance sending, reception, and usage incorporate a host of concomitant circumstances which are analytically relevant for the understanding of the links between remittances and the social resilience of a migrant's house-

hold of origin. Integrating the translocal, practice-focused approach with intersectionality and positionality frameworks helped to capture the multiplicity of remittance arrangements and their differential impact on the social resilience of migrant households. Based on different sender–receiver/migrant–household constellations, we expounded links between migrants' and households' positioning in translocal space and effects from remittance transfers and usage on capacities and resources of households of origin.

In sum, the impact of remittance usage and sending on the social resilience of a given household is related to both the household's wealth level and underlying axes of social difference, including class relations and life scripts, and generational and gender relations as decisive factors in connecting and positioning in translocal space. These underlying social axes become manifest in gendered role division, matrilocality, filial and conjugal obligations, expectations, and responsibilities, and disparate ways of handling them, depending on the phase in the lifecycle and family's whereabouts; and they are reflected in remittance sending and translocal connections. Embedded in the broader context of rural transition in Southeast Asia, the paper substantiates the role of multi-socio-spatial positioning and translocal connectedness in shaping arrangements of remittance sending, meanings, and usage – which influence which capacities and resources migrant households have and utilize to re-organize their livelihoods in a changing environment. And insofar as the aforementioned diverse variables and their interdependencies affect migrants' positioning and remittance sending and usage, this also elucidates the compromise- and practice-based character of remittance potentials and effects. This has implications for the notion of migration-as-adaptation, highlighting the potential of remittances for increasing the adaptive capacities of households and communities, amongst other uses. Notions of remittances in the global policy documents, such as the SDGs or the Compact on Migration (see section 1) tend to both reduce migrants to remittance senders and agents of development, stabilizing livelihoods and also instigating adaptation, and to neglect the context of remittance transfers, while overemphasizing the resource-dimension of remittances. Such readings suggest that remittances, and likewise migrants, could be instrumentalized for a certain development trajectory (Kunz 2008). This paper, in contrast, expounds a conceptualization of remittances as gendered and positioning-influenced social relations, embedded in translocal connections. As social resilience, e.g. capacities to face risks and use opportunities to improve livelihoods, is shaped, amongst others, by remittance practices, i.e. sending remittances and negotiating their usage, research framing migration as a means of adaptation needs to address the influence of social positioning of migrants and households on remittance relations more specifically. To com-

prehend the potential of remittances for the social resilience of households more light needs to be shed on remittance practices as a process that connects everyday lives at multiple places, in multiple social fields, and that involves translocal positioning, gender and intersectional dimensions. A generic understanding of remittances as material resources ignores the multiplicity of remittance relations and the processual and practice dimensions of remittances.

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