Inclusion and Exclusion in a Securitised European Border Regime

The Trajectory and Placemaking Processes Into the European Union Through the Eyes of Academic Migrants and Refugees

Iris Klinkenberg

Radboud University

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Abstract

This bachelor thesis is focused on the migration trajectories of academic migrants and refugees into the European Union. The European border regime makes a distinction between different migrants based on their specific set of skills and knowledge and their country of origin. Through an analysis of the experiences during the travelling trajectory of the migrants that are categorised in the two groups mentioned above, I dive into the underlaying causes of differences between these experiences and explore how they influence the placemaking processes of individual migrants.

Author: Iris Klinkenberg

Bachelor thesis Geography, Planning and Environment
Nijmegen School of Management
Radboud University, Nijmegen

Student number: S4611837

Supervisors: Dr. Joris Schapendonk and Mirjam Wajsberg

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Project framework

Migration flows from the 20th century showed a switch from an emigration based continent before the World Wars to an immigration based continent in an era of decolonisation and globalisation (Wanner, 2002). Historic events such as the war in Yugoslavia and the economic oil crisis have had large impacts on Europe's migration policies (Wanner, 2002) and more current events such as 9/11 and the 2015 refugee crisis are also shaping the migration landscape of the European Union (EU) (van Houtum & van Naerssen, 2002). With the change to more immigration than emigration Europe, and later also the EU, has over the last few decades increasingly become a multicultural society (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005). However, this does not imply that everyone who immigrated to the EU comes from outside the EU. A large group (1.7 million in 2017) migrants are originally from other EU member states (Eurostat, 2019). Patterns can be found through time with a peak in intra-European migration after the Second World War, more non-EU migrants coming to the EU between 1960 and 2000 (Wanner, 2002), and nowadays both intra-European and migration from outside the EU are increasingly common. Regulations such as free mobility of labour under the Schengen agreement gave citizens of the EU more mobility freedom which created more internal open borders between the member states and thus free movement of people within the EU.

Migrants and mobility

Mobility to and within the EU is different according to where people are from. The experience of mobility in Europe is first of all different if you are a citizen from an EU country opposed to individuals from non-EU countries.

There is no general definition of a migrant, therefore the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) follows the definition of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2019). In IOM's (2019a) Migration Glossary an international migrant is: '*Any person who is outside a State of which he or she is a citizen or national, or, in the case of a stateless person, his or her State of birth or habitual residence. The term includes migrants who intend to move permanently or temporarily, and those who move in a regular or documented manner as well as migrants in irregular situations*'. One can identify many different groups of migrants.

In this thesis, two groups of migrants have been studied, namely academic migrants and refugees. The aim of the thesis was to contribute to the understanding on how the trajectory into the European Union has been experienced by academic migrants and refugees. It has taken a closer look into how these experiences influence their placemaking processes.

The groups chosen to study in this thesis are based on their different forms of migrating to the European Union, which is with legal border crossings as academic migrants, and often via irregular border crossings for the group of refugees. The migration experience is not the same for all migrants, a distinction can be made between wanted and unwanted migrants and their journeys differ hugely

(van Houtum, 2010). The EU and governments of its Member States have policies which select and prioritise the movement of certain people across their borders and which hinders or even prevents other groups from moving across these same borders (van Houtum, 2010). This distinction between wanted and unwanted migrants made by the EU is directly related to the distinction made in this thesis. The academic migrants are seen as the wanted migrants because the EU values them as individuals that can actively contribute to the European society and market.

The second group in this thesis, the refugees, on the other hand are classified as unwanted migrants due to the situation in their country of origin, their means of entering the EU and their migration motives. These processes of bordering and othering performed by the EU have influence on the migration trajectories of the different groups of migrants coming to the EU (van Houtum, 2010).

In the next section, the differences and similarities of these two groups will be further explored.

Refugees and asylum seekers

In the last decade, the migration debate in Europe has very much focused on refugees and undocumented migrants entering the European Union (Löfflmann & Vaughan-Williams, 2017). The questions 'who can and who cannot enter' and 'under which circumstances can people or can people not enter?' play an important role in this debate. European citizens and politicians are divided on this topic and there is no straightforward answer to these questions. Refugees have a prominent place in the public and political debate about migration and thus they form the first category of migrants analysed in this research. Refugees come to the EU via various routes, currently the most used ones being: crossing the Mediterranean Sea by boats and using land routes via Balkan countries in South-East Europe. These routes are not locked in time, but change due to changes in political circumstances, border regime measures and changing networks of migrants.   In the last years this particular group of migrants got more general attention, both positive and negative, which resulted in the politicisation and securitization of migration (Lazaridis & Wadia, 2015; Bourbeau, 2011). This issue is therefore constantly present in the public debate and media, which in turn influences people's views on migrants and migration (Huysmans & Squire, 2009). The security around the external borders of the EU has increased to manage the flow of irregular migrants (van Houtum & Lucassen, 2016). This can be seen in physical border control, in hubs such as airports, where the security measures are tightened but also in the agreements regarding migration such as the Schengen Agreements, the EU-Turkey deal and the Dublin Convention (Huysmans, 2000). These measures all contribute to the social construction of migration as a security issue, this change has direct influence on the possibilities for migrants. This research aims to approach migration through a human lens, by not only approaching migrants as a group, but diving into individual drivers, backgrounds and stories. This is done to demonstrate that migration in the first place is something personal of the individuals experiencing it. By having this approach I aim to combine border- and migration research with experiences of the individual migrants that I interviewed.

After World War II many people were displaced and in need of a refugee-status, therefore the United Nations created the legally binding document of the 1951 Refugee Convention. In this document, the category of refugees is clearly defined by UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) in order to legally accept or decline people who apply for this status as refugees. The Refugee Convention states who is a refugee and what legal obligations states have towards these people. The core principle in this document is the non-refoulement regulation, which makes sure that refugees will not be returned to their country as long as this is not safe for them. The Refugee Convention (1951) defines refugees as *'individuals who are unable or unwilling to return to their*

country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion'.

This definition is to this day broadly accepted as the universal definition of a refugee which is leading in legal processes surrounding refugees. Therefore, this definition will also be used to define if a person can be categorised in the group of refugees in the framework of this thesis. It is however, important to note that according to this definition a person can only be called a refugee once their claim for this status has been decided on by the country of destination. Therefore, it is important to underline that there is a difference between a refugee and an asylum seeker. According to the definition of UNHCR (2006) an asylum seeker is: '*An individual who is seeking international protection. In countries with individualized procedures, an asylum seeker is someone whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which he or she has submitted it. Not every asylum seeker will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but every recognized refugee is initially an asylum seeker'.* Both people that have officially been recognized as refugees and as individuals still in the process of getting this recognized status have been interviewed in the context of this thesis. All of these individuals have been categorised under the group of refugees since they were all asylum seekers during their travelling trajectory. The legal status of refugees is only added for some of them once they arrive in the country of destination. Given that this happens after their travelling trajectory, the fact whether someone is recognized as a refugee or not does not influence their travel experiences that lead to them arriving in the country of destination. This status recognition can have an impact on the placemaking process of an individual, and thus in that part of the thesis, it will clearly be defined whether someone is a refugee or an asylum seeker.

In this research, the personal experiences of the two distinguished groups of migrants are analysed by comparing their migration experiences when coming to the EU and analyse where the differences and similarities in these experiences come from. Lastly, the longer-term impacts of the migration experiences on the placemaking processes of migrants in each of the groups are analysed. The focus on personal experiences with the EU borders is important to see how the policies made by the EU have an impact on the daily lives and mobility of migrants. This personal experience and individual based perspective is gaining notice in the academic literature and public debate in the past years (Brigden & Mainwaring, 2016; Schapendonk, van Liempt, Schwarz & Steel, 2018; van der Linde, 2016; Schwarz, 2018), this in contrast to previous national and international focused perspectives on migration. In recent years, much work has been done on transnational engagements and networks (Wissink, Düvell & Mazzucato, 2017; Samers & Collyer, 2017; Wissink & Mazzucato, 2017) but the experiences of mobility and frictions in this mobility are still underrepresented (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014).

Academic migrants

Refugees are not the only types of migrants coming to Europe. As mentioned earlier, this research has studied two main groups of migrants: refugees and academic migrants. The group of academic migrants is less clearly defined than the legally defined category of the refugee. For the purpose of this thesis, I understand academic migrants as every individual who comes to the EU to work or study at an academic institution and that contributes to the knowledge-based economy. Within the academic migrants' group, two main distinctions can be made, namely migration based on a student visa (international students) and migration with a work permit (academic highly skilled migrant workers).

IOM defines an international (or internationally mobile) student as '*a person who has moved across an international border away from his or her habitual place of residence for the purpose of undertaking a programme of study*' (IOM, 2019b). The second group, highly skilled migrant workers,

are defined by IOM as '*migrant workers that have earned, by higher level education or occupational experience, the level of skill or qualifications typically needed to practice a highly skilled occupation*' (IOM, 2019a). On the international level the knowledge and skills required are usually obtained as the result of acquiring levels of education at short-cycle tertiary education (EQF level 5), bachelor's or equivalent level (EQF level 6), master's or equivalent level (EQF level 7) or doctoral or equivalent level (EQF level 8) of the International Standard Classification of Education (IOM, 2019a). Which specific set of skills and qualifications is needed, depends on the criteria in the country of destination. Highly skilled migrant workers are in the Netherlands defined by the Immigration Services (IND) as follows: '*an employee who works for a recognized sponsor in the Netherlands on the basis of a work contract and fulfills specific age, salary and experience requirements*' (International Welcome Center North, 2019). Within the group of highly skilled migrant workers this thesis only considered the individuals who come to work at an academic institution in the country of destination as academic staff of that institution. This can, for example, be a postdoc position or a PhD position. The people belonging to these sub-groups have different motivations for moving to the EU but their educational background and migration processes are comparable, therefore both international students and academic highly skilled migrant workers are included in the category of academic migrants.

Highly skilled migrant workers are overall less in the spotlight of current debates on migration to and within the EU. When their skills set and/or specialised knowledge is perceived to be useful to a country, they are more openly welcomed by governments of European Union member states (IZA, 2017). Europe's ageing population and technology-based changes in the labour market have stirred the debate about labour-based migration, but it also shows that migrants substantially contribute to the fiscal budget, provide well-needed skills and frequently take on jobs that native citizens of a country do not wish to take on anymore (IZA, 2017).

Within the admittance system however, there is a large discrimination between countries of origin (Van Houtum, 2010). Visa regulations can be very strict for migrants from non-EU countries wanting to come into the EU. These procedures take up much time and financial resources and regularly result in visa rejections for migrants. Therefore, it is important to also examine how academic migrants experience their migration trajectory, given that these experiences are often overlooked in contemporary debates on migration.

Refugees and academic migrants are positioned at two opposite ends of the migration spectrum based on their position as wanted and unwanted migrants. Their different backgrounds and context from where the migration trajectory starts create different opportunities and obstacles.

1.2.   Research objective

Before the start of the COVID-19 outbreak in March 2020, nationals living in countries in the Schengen zone could move freely through fellow countries in the Schengen area. This internal openness has proven itself to provide opportunities and higher levels of mobility freedom, but has also come with obstacles. Given the internal openness, border controls are no longer placed at the border of the individual states but rather than externalised to the external borders of the EU (van Houtum & Lucassen, 2016). It is this internal openness that can be argued to have caused the EU's external border regime to become more strict (Verstraete, 2001). As a consequence, the EU has worked hard to keep up their walls and make it more difficult for certain groups to enter their territory, the so-called fortification of Europe and the EU (van Houtum & Lucassen, 2016).

These stricter regulations and border controls can cause issues for non-EU migrants who want to enter the EU. This research aims to analyse how the migration trajectory into the European Union

is experienced by refugees and academic migrants, where differences in their experiences come from and how the experiences during their travels have influence on their placemaking processes.

The research has been conducted in order to contribute to a perspective that has previously been neglected. In the past years this has shifted, following the recent academic trend of a more human-oriented approach to migration (Schapendonk, van Liempt, Schwarz & Steel, 2018; Brigden & Mainwaring, 2016; Schwarz, 2018; van der Linde, 2016).

Therefore, this thesis has focused on the narratives from migration trajectories of the individuals that have been interviewed. By focussing on their personal experiences rather than considering their experience of part of a migrant group, this thesis has provided individual migrants with a voice.

To fully cover the complexity of individual migration processes, it is also important to dive into the causes and consequences of having different migration trajectories and - as a consequence - different experiences. As such, individuals that can be considered academic migrants and refugees, have been interviewed to better understand their experiences in the context of the European border regime. The existing European policy frameworks have been supplemented with the personal perspectives from migrants to create more human policies. Personal attitudes and framing by the media influence the opinions of the larger population. Within these frames, the term migration is nowadays often misrepresented. This narrative is amplified by maps such as the one created by Frontex and Europol that visualises migration with big arrows that represent waves of migrants coming from Africa and the Middle-East (van Houtum & Lucassen, 2016). In many countries, these framings are in turn also used by populist to strengthen their narratives. From this perspective, it must be argued that it is important to shed more light on these personal stories. By putting forward the personal experience, this thesis contributes to the critical review of the current frameworks used for migration in Europe and European media, such as the framing of European migration as a crisis. Through this critical review, the thesis has contributed to creating more understanding for each other's situation by adding migrants' personal perspectives into the debate.

1.3.   Research model

In order to reach these objectives, the individual narratives of migration trajectories of eight migrants with varying backgrounds have been analysed. These individuals all came to the European Union under different circumstances, and thus have had different experiences with the European border regime and different experiences in their migration trajectory. The eight respondents can be differentiated into the two groups of migrants central in this research that have been defined in Chapter 1.1.

Everyone that is interviewed has moved across the EU external border and the analysis in this research has shown how similar or different their experiences were. In that sense, the European border has influenced their journey, however this also works the other way around. Migrants that cross borders, will influence these borders, the border policies and the underlying border regime of that border. For example, the stricter regulations for obtaining visas to enter the Schengen zone makes it harder for migrants to enter the EU through the legal ways, which causes more migrants trying to enter via irregular border crossings.

As a result, due to the fact that more people then cross irregularly in one location, the border controls in that location are likely to change and become stricter. So the change in the way migrants cross a border influences the border politics used by the EU to 'protect' that border. The increased securitization of the external borders of the EU at certain locations on the border, such as known in

Italy and Greece, result in changing routes migrants take and new locations where these migrants will try to cross the border of the EU irregularly (van Houtum & Lucassen, 2016).

Migration processes are ongoing processes, given that each stage of the trajectory produces new experiences which in turn then again influence the further course of migration. This process is not linear and ending. It repeats itself with every encounter or new experience a migrant has during their migration trajectory. All these accumulated experiences and encounters together form the trajectory.

It is important to place the experiences of the interviewees in the right context of the European border regime. Therefore, the European border regime will be addressed and explored in the theory chapter of this thesis. It has been approached by the theoretical frameworks of academic scholars. Moreover, the theoretical frameworks known as *the trajectory approach* and *transnational migration* are explored to place the personal experiences within a broader framework.

Lastly, this thesis has critically reflected on the distinction between the groups itself. This has been done by analysing the similarities and differences between the experiences. This analysis has consequently been used to validate whether belonging to a specific migrant group created a significant difference in experience - or that there have been external factors that have played a role.

1.4. Research questions

The main question of this research is:

> *How is the trajectory into the European Union experienced by academic migrants and refugees and how do these experiences influence their placemaking processes?*

It is important to understand which aspects play a role in the migration trajectory. As such, four different aspects have been defined:

- **The prior experiences**
  These describe what happens before an individual decides to migrate. What was the situation in their home country? Which experiences have contributed to the decision to migrate?

- **The decision to migrate**
  In the decision, the migration motives come back. Which opportunities does someone have to migrate (to)? Which measures needed to be taken in preparation of that migration based on their motives and possibilities?

- **The travelling trajectory**
  This included all the travel experiences an individual has between departing from the country of origin and arriving in the country of destination. Which route did they use to travel? How did they travel to their country of destination? Which encounters did they have in that process?

- **Settling in the country of destination**
  This aspect considered the placemaking processes of the individuals in the country of destination. What happened when they arrived in the country of destination? How were they welcomed and where did they go?

By analysing the experiences during the various aspects of the trajectories from individual migrants the overall research question of this thesis can be answered. To guide this process three sub-questions have been created. Each question dives deeper into one of the aspects of the migration trajectory.

1. Which similarities and differences in the encounters can be seen between the experiences of refugees and academic migrants during their trajectory into the European Union?

2. To what extent does the motive for migration and legal status of the migrant influence the experiences during the travelling trajectory?

3. To what extent is the placemaking process of refugees and academic migrants influenced by their travel experiences or legal status?

By conducting interviews, the relation between the experiences the individual migrants had during their period of mobility and the group they are categorised in is analysed with the first sub-question.

In the second sub-question their different contexts and migration motives play a key role. Since it analyses how the travel experiences relate to the migration motives and how the legal status during the period of migration has influenced the experiences from each individual.

In the third sub-question the focus is on their placemaking processes. It analyses how the different experiences in earlier stages of their migration trajectory influence the way an individual can settle in the country of destination.

2. Chapter 2: Theory
2.1. Theoretical framework

With this research I aim to analyse the migration trajectories of academic migrants and refugees. Three main theoretical frameworks have been explored to provide deeper understanding of the personal experiences, namely: the European Union's border regime, the trajectory approach and transnational migration. In this chapter I provide a framework to explore migrants' trajectories starting from their own experiences. In the ordering of this chapter, the line of experiences a migrant encounters is also followed to build up the theoretical framework. First I will define what migrant trajectories are and how these processes are built up. After that, I will describe the four things that shape the migrant trajectories, namely: border regimes, previous experience, social networks and critical events.

2.1.1. The trajectory and transnational approach

In this thesis I will analyse the migration trajectory of migrants from their individual perspectives. This migration trajectory consists of more than just the travelling trajectory, the experiences of an individual before their migration and after their main period of mobility are also part of their migration trajectory. When using the trajectory approach to migration all the twists and turns of migration processes are followed (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). It follows migrants through places instead of just researching migrants' position in places (Schapendonk, van Liempt, Schwarz & Steel, 2018). In this approach, migration is not just a singular and linear journey; it consists of many periods of mobility and immobility which are closely connected to each other (Schapendonk et al., 2018). Mobility and immobility are connected and have interrelated effects on each other, during a time of mobility there can be intersecting periods of temporal blocks such as at border barriers, but they also are part of a bigger network of mobility (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). Spatial frictions are caused by border regimes which control, monitor and block their borders with procedures like visa regulations, asylum systems and deportation systems.

A second important aspect of migration trajectories is the starting and beginning points. Since the migratory process itself is an important phase of migration (Schwarz, 2018), it is not always clear what geographical location was the actual starting- and ending point of the migratory trajectory. Firstly, because the migration already starts with the preparations like visa applications and embassy visits, which often happen before migrants actually move. And secondly, because a migrant often encounters multiple periods of immobility in between their mobility periods. These periods of immobility can vary in form (e.g., detainment, temporary acceptance, deportment, in asylum process) and length (e.g., multiple weeks, months, years). This does not mean that migrants are always on the move, but their migration trajectory is not finished when they are staying in a place for a longer period (Schwarz, 2018). Wissink, Düvell & Mazzucato (2017, p. 282) state that "*trajectories of irregular migrants are non-linear moves and frequently change in routes and applied migration strategies*". Therefore, these migrants are constantly adjusting and re-routing their plans to fit to the new situations they are in (Schapendonk, van Liempt, Schwarz & Steel, 2018). This might mean that they will try multiple times to reach a certain place: which often includes some failed attempts to cross a border after which they either try again or take-on a different approach.

The migrant trajectories are characterized by spatial dynamics and spatial frictions which both influence the further course of their journey (Schapendonk, van Liempt, Schwarz & Steel, 2018). These dynamics of migration include multiple places of transit and transfer, transnational networks, flexible networks of migration facilitators and changeability of migrant aspirations and identities (Schapendonk et al., 2018). In a globalising world it is no longer fitting to look at migration as a process purely between nation states as isolated entities, but rather as a trajectory that takes place between places with interconnected dynamic borders. The geographical differences between places might be the starting ground for moving from one place to another but it is not just push and pull factors that influence journeys. Migrants are in a continuous process of making adjustments and changing their navigations during their journeys (Schapendonk, van Liempt, Schwarz & Steel, 2018). This is supported by the transnational approach to migration where the focus lies on cross-border interactions, relations and networks that arise, which, next to the push and pull factors, are important for the context in which migration takes place (Tsianos, Hess & Karakayali, 2009).

In her paper Nakhid (2009, p. 217) argues that "*to a transnational migrant, relationships, connections, and families occur across boundaries though not necessarily involving the mobility that we might expect of a migrant*". Their relationships, connections and networks thus extend beyond geographical, political and cultural borders. Migrant social networks connect people in different places, Samers & Collyer list that these social networks can for example consist of "*family members, asylum-seekers or students, they can involve state policies in the form of emigration and recruitment agencies, or smugglers and traffickers*" (2017, p. 15). The transnational approach to migration can be used to analyse how the experiences within the migration trajectory of an individual migrant are placed within the larger context of their networks and connections. Transnational ties are being kept by migrants, and in doing so they are thus not only present in their current location, both during and after their travelling trajectory, but through their social networks are connected to others.

Because the different stages in the migration trajectory all influence each other, in this thesis I do not just look at the travelling trajectory but to the larger migration trajectory. A transnational trajectory approach to migration is useful in addressing the research question '*which similarities in the encounters can be seen between the experiences of refugees and academic migrants during their trajectory into the EU?*', because this theory considers the dynamic character of a migration trajectory.

Approaching migration as a transnational trajectory places the experiences of an individual within the broader framework of encounters that link to experiences in different stages of their non-linear trajectory. In this theoretical framework, the transnational and trajectory approach are combined, to get a broader understanding of migrant trajectories. The starting point for these approaches is the individual migration trajectory of a person. Every trajectory is unique with different experiences, timelines and mobilities. The migration trajectories are influenced by prior experiences, as was explained above, but also by border regimes, social networks and critical events. How these other three aspects influence the trajectories of migrants will be explored below.

2.1.2. Border regimes

Border regimes influence the opportunities and restrains that individual migrants encounter during their migration trajectory. In the scope of this thesis the focus lies on the border regime of the European Union. Therefore this specific border regime with its policies and the impact the border regime has on migration into the EU will be explained in this chapter.

The EU's border regime

The border regime of the European Union (EU) consists of two interrelated aspects: the internal and external borders. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, the Schengen agreement created a situation of internal open borders for goods and people between most of the member states of the EU (European Commission, n.d.). Due to this internal openness of the borders between EU Member States that are part of the Schengen agreement, border controls do not lie at the borders of individual member states but get externalised to the external borders of the EU (van Houtum & Lucassen, 2016). This internal openness contributes to the "bordering processes" of the EU: the EU claims and produces a unity out of different subcultures and populations, and in doing so they create an exclusive territory to secure and govern their own welfare and identity (van Houtum & van Naerssen, 2002, p. 126). To maintain the open borders within the EU, however, the security at the external borders got systematically stricter (van Houtum & Lucassen, 2016, p. 69).

The external border policies of the EU have a highly security-based approach and within this approach migration has over time become more and more securitised and criminalised (van der Woude, Barker & van der Leun, 2017). This means that migrants, as outsiders, are successfully presented by politicians as a security threat to the national identity (Skleparis, 2018). The securitisation of migration justifies stricter and less humane border policies (Löfflmann & Vaughan-Williams, 2017), that result in the fortification and militarisation of the external borders of the EU. Because these external borders are protected by the EU as a unity, it makes it harder to enter the EU as a whole (van Houtum & Lucassen 2016).

This is a process that not only takes place at the borders but already happens before that. With the externalisation of asylum control migrants are prevented from ever reaching the borders or shores of the wealthier countries before they can claim asylum (Samers & Collyer, 2017, p. 189). The first encounter with the European border regime is thus not always at the physical borders but the border is pushed out towards the Mediterranean, and consequently into African countries, so migrants experience the country they wish to migrate to directly on their 'doorstep' (Mckay, 2019).

This can also be found back in the Dublin Convention which contains legislation about distinguishing economic migrants and 'true political refugees' by imposing visa restrictions on countries that are more likely to become the first entrance point in the EU for refugees and asylum seekers (Samers & Collyer, 2017, p. 196). The European border regime creates a situation where people who are reaching the EU borders clandestinely and have to claim asylum are not welcome.

Even though, due to the strict border policies of the EU this is often the only possibility for them as they are not deemed eligible for other visa regimes due to their background and nationality. Heightened border controls, strict visa regulations and other bordering processes of the EU's border regime cause migration trajectories to become more fragmented with periods of mobility and immobility (Brigden & Mainwaring, 2016). The highly security base of the border regime causes the EU to be less accessible for certain groups. Because legal crossings are not always an option anymore, more irregular border crossings are happening as for example can be seen in Greece and Italy (van Houtum & Bueno Lacy, 2020). As a reaction to more irregular border crossings, states intensify their strict border controls (Samers & Collyer, 2017), which creates a two-way influence of border restrictions and the border crossings of migrants.

The external border policies of the European Union create a highly competitive space and are to a large extent selectively based on nationality and the capitalisation of the resources that individuals have to offer (van Houtum & Naerssen, 2002). The strict external border policies target to keep certain groups of migrants out of the EU. A migrant from a non-EU country who wants to enter the EU will in most cases encounter strict border controls and visa regulations. For people from certain countries applying for a visa often results in rejections (van Houtum, 2010), this can be led back to the fact that EU border policies are to a large extent based on calculating a security risk for the EU. The risk analysis that the EU applies determines whether an individual can be accepted to enter the EU or not. If the EU or the country of arrival sees an added value in a migrant set of skills, the risk is seen as low and thus this person can be admitted. A set of skills, however, is not sufficient, as the country of origin remains relevant for determining admittance (Van Houtum, 2010). Consequently, people with similar skills but from different countries have different chances of being admitted to the EU. The strict border regime does not give everyone the possibility to enter via legal ways and, therefore, some types of migrants and migrants from certain countries are more likely to fall back on irregular ways of entry into the EU. These processes get amplified by the fact that the EU is working with a positive and negative Schengen-list which determines if people coming from a certain country need to apply for a visa to get into the EU-territory or not (van Houtum, 2010). For citizens from 135 out of a total of 195 states it is not possible to enter the EU without a visa, these countries are on the so-called blacklist. This side of the list has a majority of Muslim and developing countries on it, and thus citizens from these countries are denied access to the EU with a visa based on where they were born. Van Houtum (2010, p.970) states that "*migrants from a black-list country are listed as a hit by the digital border machine and are refused entry as undesirable thus resulting in the dangerous attempts of the people of black-list countries to remain unseen*". This is in principle a form of discrimination used by the EU to keep out certain groups and the poorest of the world (van Houtum, 2010). With this principle a distinction is made between wanted and unwanted migrants in the EU.

This means that a part of the people are indeed able to enter the EU through legal channels: as long as they fulfil the criteria made by the EU in order to come out of this "*digital border machine"* as someone with added value. In their paper van Houtum and van Naerssen state that "*governments of EU countries acknowledge that there is a growing need for more skilled migrant workers to maintain or improve the level of welfare in the near future*" (2002, p. 128). One of the groups of migrants that are able to enter the EU through legal channels are academic migrants. Because their set of skills and knowledge is deemed as needed for the EU to maintain the EU's economic position. For this group the EU has created the *European Blue Card*, which offers them a privileged status with a fast-track procedure and common criteria to get a special residence and work permit (Samers & Collyer, 2017, p. 194). If a migrant has the required professional qualifications and the salary they will get is above the threshold that was set out by the Member State, they are considered for this European Blue Card.

Having this card strengthens their position as a valuable contribution to the EU and thus gives them faster access to a legal status.

In order to analyse the travel experiences of the individuals I interviewed, it is first needed to establish the context in which these experiences took place. The theoretical concept of the border regime of the European Union is the underpinning framework for their migration trajectories. Why the influence of the migration motives and legal status, as analysed in the second sub-question, is different for the two groups can be explained by looking at the policies within the border regime of the EU.

2.1.3. Social networks

As part of the transnational approach, social networks play an important role during the travelling trajectory as well as during the placemaking process. They form the structure that at some points in the trajectory enables individuals in their mobility and in other situations constrain the migrants (Samers & Collyer, 2017). The different 'agents' within the social networks of migrants have the potential to exercise power to influence these structures, institutions, other agents and the social networks (Samers & Collyer, 2017, p. 35). Social networks in migration are defined as "*webs of interpersonal interactions, commonly composed of relatives, friends, or other associations forged through social and economic activities that act as conduits through which information, influence and resources flow*" (Goss & Lindquist, 1995, p.329). They are broader than just linkages between people in the country of origin and the country of destination, partly because the networks that are established during the course of migration also influence the migrant's trajectory (Wissink, Düvell & Mazzucato, 2017). Because of new experiences and encounters the migrants' network can change over time (Wissink & Mazzucato, 2017). These networks can give migrants a form of agency, because they offer new possibilities and information which the migrants can use for the continuation of their journey. In this way social networks connect migrants with pioneer migrants before them, which in turn lowers the costs and risks of migration for the new migrants who can rely on these existing structures and social networks (Samers & Collyer, 2017). Reports of previous migrants can inspire others to follow certain routes during their journey, this new information can change popular routes or desired destinations. In this way established networks of migration also help to sustain migration: the earlier groups of migrants will facilitate the migration of newcomers (Wissink, Düvell & Mazzucato, 2017). They facilitate new migration by means of goods, money, information and personal support (Massey, 1987).

2.1.4. Critical events

During the migration trajectory, migrants will experience critical events, which are potential turning points for their journey (Wissink, Düvell & Mazzucato, 2017). These critical events can be within their social networks (e.g. meeting new people), in the institutional structure (e.g. visa rejection) or in migrants' personal lives (e.g. getting a child); but they will have a large impact on the way this individual perceives their migration trajectory. With the help and support given by their social networks, migrants are navigating their way through the different border regimes they encounter and deal with the changes that critical events will bring. The contact with people and other actors in these networks, which is both established during their travelling trajectory and already existing in their country of origin, is more accessible because of the current ICT possibilities. These technologies help to maintain relationships over large distances but also make it easier to meet new people (Wissink, Düvell & Mazzucato, 2017).

Wissink, Düvell and Mazzucato (2017) conclude that there are four types of results that encounters with social networks after a critical event can have. Firstly, they can enable a desired continuation of the trajectory, in this case the migrant can use the opportunities brought by the critical event to continue their journey. Secondly, the interaction can disable the migrant to continue their journey, this can be because priorities change because of the event or the interaction leads to new trajectories which were initially not desired. Thirdly, the continuation of a trajectory can be because of a lack of interaction and exchanges with the social network. The fact that they managed to deal with the critical event without support, gives them a feeling of autonomy which motivates them to continue their trajectory. And fourthly, the lack of interaction can also disable the possibilities for desired trajectory, because for many actions during mobility a migrant needs others. If this is lacking, it can mean that mobility is (temporarily) restrained.

The trajectories of different groups of migrants will be different, first of all because their social networks are constructed differently and have a different function within the migration trajectory of refugees and academic migrants. Furthermore, migrants in these two groups encounter different critical events which influence their routes and experiences during their trajectories. By comparing the influence of social networks between the two groups, similarities and differences in their encounters can be found, which contributes to answering the first sub-question.

2.2. Conceptual model

The ordering used in the theoretical framework led to the following conceptual model:
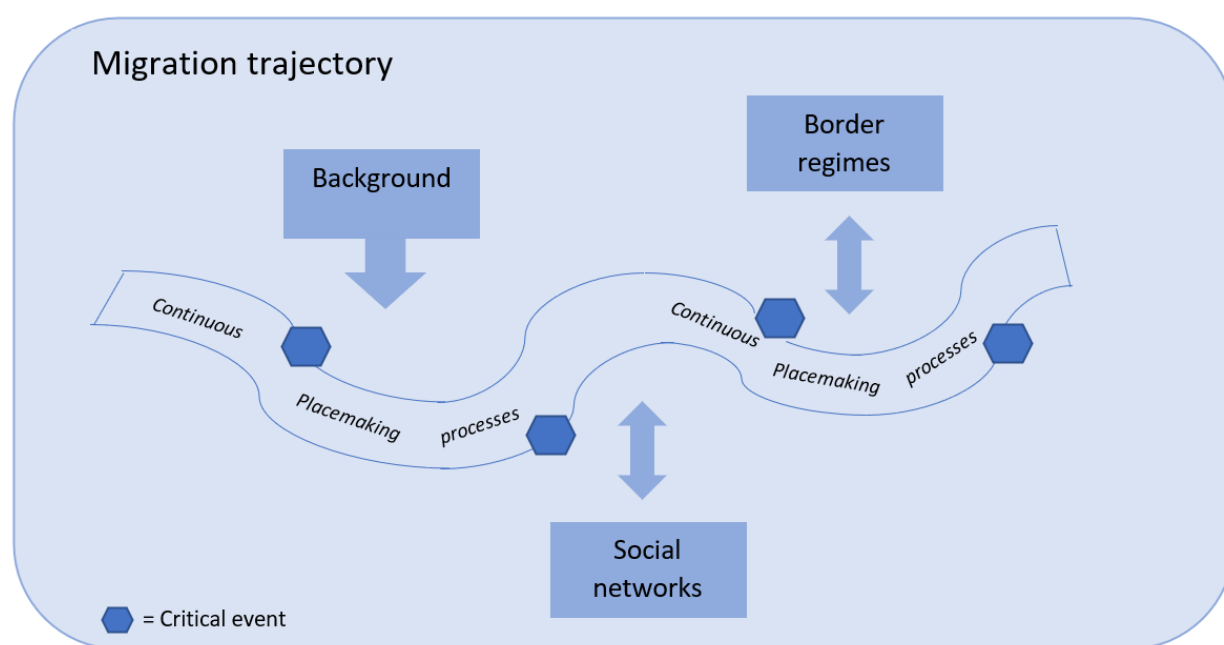
Figure 1: Conceptual model

With this model the migration trajectory is visualised as a dynamic process with a geographical starting point in the country of origin and an (to date) ending point in the current country of destination. The migration trajectory that lies in between is not linear but contains various twists and turns that represent the accumulated periods of mobility and immobility which all influence the further continuation of the trajectory.

The migration trajectory is shaped by the four aspects that are outlined in the theoretical framework. First the prior experiences and socio-economic background that form the context in which the migration takes place. Since these experiences occur before the migration trajectory starts, this only influences the trajectory in one direction. The second aspect that influences the trajectory are the social networks that migrants build and encounter both before, during and after their travelling trajectory. Transnational social networks of migrants shape their migration trajectory and the trajectory determines which encounters with social networks the migrant has. This same reciprocal connection is established for the border regime. In the scope of this thesis, the border regime that I will focus on is the EU's external border regime. The last aspect found in the theoretical framework that shapes the trajectory are critical events that are scattered across the migration trajectory and which have a significant influence on the further development of the trajectory.

The continuous line throughout the migration trajectory in this model are the placemaking processes. Placemaking is in this thesis understood as the way migrants shape their environment according to their values and needs. The course of the migration trajectory determines to which extent placemaking takes place in each stage of their trajectory. In the scope of this research the placemaking processes after the travelling trajectory, thus in the country of destination, play a central role.

3. Chapter 3: Methodology
3.1. Research strategy

This study has been conducted within the framework of qualitative research. Within qualitative research, we intend to approach the world 'out there' and understand social phenomena 'from the inside' by analysing experiences of individuals or groups, interactions and communications and documents (Kvale, 2007).

This study has made use of semi-structured interviews to analyse the experiences that the individual migrants had. This has provided us with in-depth insights about a small group of research subjects. Through the interviews the stories and experiences of the individual respondents which are expressed as lived and told stories of these individuals are shared. The research strategy best fitting to analyse the interviews is the narrative research method, given that the method is used to collect stories to use as research data.

The stories that people tell about their experiences are analysed as part of a bigger story, their life course. This is done by zooming in on various parts of the migration trajectory to see how they influence the life of the individual in a bigger perspective (Creswell, 2007). The stages that have been considered are the prior experiences, decision to migrate, the travelling trajectory and lastly the settling in the country of destination (as defined in Chapter 1).

Narrative research does not aim to collect data results for them to be generalised to a larger population. The aim of this research is to give a representation of the different experiences from individuals and give this group of people a voice. The study was focused on exploring the different external factors that influence an individual's migration trajectory. Everyone's trajectory and their corresponding experiences are different and therefore it is unlikely that the experiences with borders and the opportunities and restraints this brings have the same impact on everyone (Wissink, Düvell & Mazzucato, 2017).

When talking about human interactions and experiences, you cannot separate a person's experiences from the context they took place in. Qualitative research brings forward data that is not one-on-one comparable because many external factors also play a role in these human experiences. In my research the data that is collected are the stories from the interviews, which are all word for

word transcribed into texts. Not all external factors can be taken into account in advance because many of these factors originate out of earlier experiences and are situation and person specific. In narrative research the stories often contain a turning point (Denzin, 1989). When migrating, plenty of external factors play a role and they can influence the decisions people make during their journey, these factors can cause barriers, or on the contrary chances to continue a certain route. Some of these encounters can be seen as turning points, earlier called critical events, when they impact the course of a further journey to a large extent.

3.2.   Research material and analysis

The narrative research strategy thus collects stories as data material. In this chapter, it will describe what roles the respondents, interviews and the analysis have within the narrative research strategy and how this is executed within the borders of this research.

3.2.1.   Respondents

As mentioned earlier, the scope of the thesis has led to the focus on two groups of migrants, namely academic migrants and refugees. It is important that respondents fit into one of these groups to begin with in order to be able to answer the questions set out for this research. However, not all respondents, and not all types of migrants, are easy to approach or even clearly distinguishable.

Contacting respondents

In the past few years, I have been actively involved in internationalisation, so I used my (international) network to find people interested in contributing towards my research. Through this approach I have found Abdul, Samir and Farah.

After this first step I approached various organisations who work with migrants in the Netherlands. I chose to contact them because they come in contact with a lot of people with different background stories. I contacted organisations and initiatives in Nijmegen who are helping migrants, such as *'vluchtelingenwerk'*, *'stichting GAST'* and *'buurt aan tafel'*. With this strategy one issue was repeatedly occurring, namely the balance between the organisations wanting to help with the research and their limitations regarding the privacy of people within their organisation or helped by their organisation. I was invited to a dinner with refugees from *'buurt aan tafel'* and there I was introduced to several people who were, after getting to know each other for a bit, willing to talk to me about their experiences coming to the Netherlands in an interview setting.

At the same time, I sent out a mailing with a request for respondents to the secretariats of faculties at the university, asking them to share it within their department. This was accompanied by a short request in the monthly newsletter of the *Global Staff Services* of the university. I placed a request in this newsletter twice and I received many answers from international staff members who were interested in my research and would like to help with an interview, that is how I got in contact with Pooneh, Valérie and Luis.

Selection process

For my research it was important to have a group of migrants with diverse backgrounds. This includes having a balance of migrants from each of the two groups, but also to have people from different gender, countries of origin and various ages. This diversification is needed to have a group of respondents that represents the larger migrant population in the best possible way.

In each group I interviewed three to four people. This was done to be able to compare the different stories of migrants and analyse what differences and similarities can be found between their experiences.

Respondents' country of destination

In the end eight migrants were interviewed. Most of them are currently living in the Netherlands. However, one has not migrated to the Netherlands but to the United Kingdom. Since this research is not targeted specifically to the Netherlands, but rather about how (former) European Union member states are handling migration this is not an issue for the significance of the results. The researched migration trajectory has in common that each individual had to travel into the EU and thus had to cross the external borders of the EU. Furthermore, the cultural differences between the United Kingdom and the Netherlands are small, which makes it still possible to compare the social climates and settling procedures in both countries. A crucial side note is that the interview took place before Brexit was a reality and thus at the moment of migration the United Kingdom was still a part of the European Union.

Respondents' timing of migration

Most of the people I have interviewed have migrated after 2015. Only one respondent has migrated in the 90's. Therefore, his experiences are not as recent as the rest and additionally the European border regime has changed in the meantime and thus his experiences can not be compared one on one with the others.

I chose to still include his interview for three specific reasons. Firstly, to be able to compare over time how the European border regime became stricter. Secondly, because this person has in his time in the Netherlands worked in non-governmental organisations (NGO) helping refugees and thus was able to compare his own experiences with the experiences of the people he helped. Thirdly, the fact that he migrated over twenty years ago also offers opportunities when looking at the placemaking processes. He has been living in the Netherlands for a long time and is more integrated and settled, he thus has more experiences in this part of his trajectory than the rest.

Respondents' pseudonyms

Throughout this thesis all respondents will solely be mentioned by their pseudonyms, which consists of a made up first name. Any other references in their interviews to reveal their identity have been anonymised to guarantee their privacy as respondents. Each of the respondents has been asked what name they would prefer to be used in the interviews. Some of them have come up with their own pseudonyms, for the others I have decided on their pseudonyms. This concludes in the following list:

	Name	Migrant group	Gender	Country of origin	Date of interview
1	Abdul	Refugee	M	Afghanistan	19/05/2019
2	Luis	Academic	M	Mexico	27/05/2019
3	Pooneh	Academic/ refugee	F	Iran	21/10/2019
4	Samir	Refugee	M	Sudan	23/10/2019
5	Valérie	Academic	F	Mauritius	04/11/2019
6	Farah	Academic	F	Bangladesh	08/11/2019
7	Emir	Refugee	M	Syria	29/12/2019
8	Amina	Refugee	F	Syria	30/12/2019

Table 1: List of conducted interviews

Lastly, an important aspect of working with migrants as respondents is research ethics. Migrants are in many cases vulnerable groups in society and this needs to be taken into account during the research. Migrants' experiences are very personal topics and research into these matters contain highly sensitive information (Schapendonk, van Liempt, Schwarz & Steel, 2018).

The research data is sensitive in several ways. Firstly, researching migrant trajectories and their border crossings can impact the respondents' or other migrants (future) trajectories. Therefore, this information should be handled with utmost care, to avoid any harm to the individuals or other future migrants. Secondly, this thesis focuses on the EU's external border regime, because contemporary migration policies are strict in the EU, these experiences might not be positive for everyone and for some people even traumatic. During the research respondents can come across topics they are not comfortable talking about, this needs to be handled with caution by the researcher. It is important as a researcher to be prepared on how you handle this kind of situation and react to them with respect and care. As an interviewer, I have proactively prepared for these situations.

3.2.2. Interviews

The research is based on empirical data obtained through interviewing people from different migrant groups. This data gives insights in how the respondent has experienced the different stages of their migration trajectory and what experiences they had while travelling to the EU. Everything is based on individual stories and thus very personal to the respondents.

Semi-open interviews

For this research semi-open interviews with the use of an interview guide were chosen. This method was best suited because it gives structure into what topics are discussed in each interview and makes sure that the same questions are asked so the answers can be compared. However, it also leaves enough space for the respondents to tell their story and for me to derogate from the course for the interview that was set out beforehand. In this way I can respond to and ask follow up questions for answers from respondents that I think are interesting.

Interview guides

I created two separate interview guides, one for academic migrants and a one for interviewing refugees. When developing the interview guides I considered which processes and encounters were of importance, what was ethical and appropriate to ask each individual and how each question could tell me something about the experience of the migration trajectory of that person. During the interviews the interview guide is used to open the dialogue and as a guide through the answers the respondents give in order to obtain the intended data. However, the interview guide is not a strict guide, it is important to give the respondents space to tell their personal story and ask follow up questions based on the stories they tell. Every person has their own experiences, therefore, if a question from the interview guide ends up being insufficient or inappropriate based on the rest of their story, a question can be skipped or adjusted depending on how the conversation unfolds.

Interview setting

The eight respondents were all interviewed individually in an informal setting. Before the interview every respondent had only received a small introductory text. However, they were not informed about the exact questions in the interview. In that way the respondents will not have too much background information about the research when started and can respond to the questions with the ideas that first come to their minds. Every interview took between 20 and 60 minutes and has been recorded for the purpose of transcribing the data. The transcribed interviews can be found in appendix 7.2. Before each interview I explained what the purpose of the interview was and asked for their consent to record the session. At the end of the interview I again asked verbal consent to use the material from the interview. In the case that a respondent did not give full consent to use everything from the interview, we went through the things that should be excluded together. After transcribing the interview taking the exclusions into account, the respondent was asked if they consented to the transcript in that way before using the data.

Interview language

The interviews are conducted in two different languages, namely: Dutch and English. This was done to ensure that the respondent was able to speak the language they were most comfortable with. However, not every respondent is proficient in English or Dutch language to the same extent. This both influences the means a person has to express their feelings and explain their experiences, but also to what extent things that are said need to be interpreted by the researcher. The individuals I categorised as academic migrants generally had a higher level of proficiency in English than the people categorised as refugees which indirectly has an impact on how their answers could be directly interpreted. This note needs to be kept in mind when reading the results of this study. Furthermore, all used quotes in the results chapter of this thesis that were originally in Dutch are translated into English by me for the comprehensibility and consistency of the analysis.

Expert interview and desk research

After collecting the data, I transcribed the interviews and analysed them afterwards. I have also conducted an expert interview, however, the content of this interview is not directly featured in my thesis. The information gathered from this interview helped me to gain a better understanding of the EU's border regime. Nonetheless, after narrowing down the actual research topic I decided to not include the perspective of this interview as a separate theory in my theoretical framework. To further familiarise myself with the context in which the migration trajectories of my respondents took place,

I did desk research in the field of European border studies and migration studies. This is important because narrative stories happen within specific places or situations, thus the context is important to be able to tell a story within a place (Creswell, 2007, p. 72).

3.2.3. Analysis

I have analysed the data to understand how the stories and the corresponding narratives of the respondents are constructed. This consists of two layers, considering that the first step of analysing the stories is done by the respondents themselves when they tell the story in a certain way. The second layer is interpreting the narrative through the stories composed in the interviews. For this second layer a categorical content analysis is used. As Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998, p. 12) explain, the content analysis is when "*the original story is dissected, and sections or single words belonging to a defined category are collected from the entire story or from several texts belonging to a number of narrators.*" How this process is executed in the context of this research will be explained in this chapter.

First, every interview has been read thoroughly to determine which main themes were occurring throughout all the interviews. In doing so, four main themes were established, namely social networks, bureaucracy, background and mental health. These four themes came back in each of the interviews as important aspects to the migration trajectory.

Background information

Background information from individuals is necessary to put their migration in the correct context. Therefore this was chosen as a theme. Within this theme information about the cultural and family situation, the political situation, field of work and their educational background were coded. These are all factors that can influence the migration trajectory, either beforehand or during the journey (or both). These variables are important to be able to analyse the migration trajectory in its completion, since this does not take place in a closed environment but migration and the decision to migrate depend on earlier life choices.

Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy was an evident factor in the stories of every migrant I interviewed. The bureaucratic processes an individual has to go through to enter the European Union vary greatly due to the context of the migration and the country of origin. The processes of ordering, bordering and othering as mentioned by van Houtum (2010) create a distinction between Europeans and the others, the processes belonging to these different groups effectively influence their migration trajectories across the European border. Because people are put into different groups within the European border regime, they come into contact with different sides of this regime. Their encounters are often structured within the bureaucratic processes to enter and stay in the EU.

Social networks

The theme, 'social networks' was chosen based on Wissink, Düvell & Mazzucato's (2017) theory about the importance of social networks for migrants. In their article the importance of social networks was mostly focussed on the importance for irregular migration, however I wanted to research which role social networks played the experiences from academic migrants. By choosing this as a theme, I wanted

to explore how encounters with other people influence the trajectory of an individual. through the sub-themes I categorised which people migrants got in contact with in various stages of their trajectory.

Mental health

Mental health is less extensively discussed in the interviews as the other themes, but as an interviewer I found it peculiar that this topic popped up in almost every interview without it being included in the questions. This gave the impression that this topic was something important to the interviewees. This aligned with what Bhugra and Gupta (2011, p.2) state in their paper: "*Migration can influence mental health as a result of a number of social, economic, psychological, physical and cultural causes, especially among vulnerable individuals; and in return all these factors can also affect the process and reasons for migration*". In order to see how mental health exactly influenced the travelling trajectory and placemaking processes of my respondents, I included this as a theme in the analysis.

These four themes are set before the coding starts to guide the analysis. Alongside the four themes four aspects of a migrant's trajectory are defined, namely: prior experiences, migration motives, travel experiences and settling after arrival in the EU. These trajectory aspects have been given codes as well, to be able to analyse and compare the experiences taking place in the different stages of the migration trajectory. An overview of all the codes and subcodes can be found in the figure below:

	Sub-theme 1	Sub-theme 2	Sub-theme 3	Sub-theme 4	Sub-theme 5	Sub-theme 6	Sub-theme 7	Sub-theme 8	Sub theme 9
Social Networks	Friends	Family	Relationship	Authorities	Migration networks	Organisations	Academics	Society	Others
Bureaucracy	Legal papers	University	Visa	Residence permit	Asylum	Legal procedures	Moving	Border control	Health care
Background	Identity	Culture	Education	Work	Political situation				
Mental health									
Trajectory stages:									
Prior experiences									
Migration motives	War	Political conflict	Study	Work	Relationships/ family (reunification)	Personal development	Personal safety		
Travel experience	Border crossing								
Settling	Accommodation	Work	Friends	Arrival	Integration	language			

Table 2: Overview of the codes, sub-codes and their colour schemes in the interview texts

The coding of the interviews has been done in the interview texts by hand[1]. In the text the main themes are underlined in the colour belonging to that theme and the trajectory stages are highlighted in the colour belonging to that stage[2]. Each sub-code is written down next to the text and linked to the coded section.

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[1] The scans of the coded interviews can be found back in appendix 8, the page numbers used in the analysis link back to the page numbers as displayed in the scans of the coded interviews.

[2] The color coding used in the coding of the interviews on paper, corresponds with the colors used in the table above.

This method was chosen to be able to compare things that have been said in various interviews by manually pairing them together. After all interviews were coded manually an Excel sheet was created with all the codes and quotes from the interviews[3]. During the process I found out that due to the large amount of coded information it was hard to compare everything in an organised matter in the interviews themselves, so this extra step was taken to work more organised. In this document every quote is paired with a number code to be able to categorise the information per theme. From the base sheet in the Excel document various tabs were created that brought together codes to answer each of the three sub-questions.

With the coded interviews on paper and the categorisations in the Excel sheet I started with the analysis. For each sub-question the four main themes were analysed in the framework of that question. For sub-question one, the travel experiences of the various groups of migrants were compared to find similarities and differences in their experiences. These differences and similarities between the experiences are broken down into the four main themes.

The second sub-question analyses where the identified differences in experiences between the migrant groups originate from. Therefore, I analysed the data about the travel experiences from each respondent in regards to their migration motives. For this part of the analysis the respondents were divided into three groups, namely: refugees, academic migrants and overlapping motives. This third category was created because not all respondents could solely fit into one of the groups based on their migration motives, and thus a reflection on the labels used for migrants was also important in this chapter. Within the groups the travel experiences, composed of the four main themes, are analysed to see to which extent the migration motives and legal status of the individual had an impact on these experiences. I started by writing out a profile of each respondent in regards to the sub-question. After that I fitted these profiles into the division I made of the four themes within the travelling experiences.

With the third sub-question I analysed to what extent the placemaking process of a migrant is influenced by their travel experiences or their legal status. This part of the analysis is divided into refugees and academic migrants, within the section for each group the different aspects of the placemaking process are discussed. For each aspect the questions 'what did I see in this aspect of the placemaking process?' and 'how can I explain what happened based on the legal status or travel experiences of that person?' formed the base of the analysis.

4. Results

In this chapter, the experiences of the people that I have interviewed will be analyzed using theories laid out in chapter 2. These theories introduce different approaches on migration. They shed light on the European border regime from a European perspective and also aim to emphasize the personal perspective of the migrant, which is a larger trend in academia. Yet, it is important to keep in mind that research into migration studies is done by predominantly white, privileged people in academia. Even when the goal is to give the migrants a voice, it is hard to fully accomplish this, because as an academic you are still writing about their experiences and interpreting them from your own context and (privileged) position.

From the interviews four main themes have been distinguished: background, social networks, bureaucracy and mental health. In this chapter, I first analyse and compare the experiences during the

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[3] The Excel sheet is added to the thesis as a separate document called appendix 9.

travelling trajectory of the migrants that I have categorised in the two groups to shed light on their unique stories as individuals. This is an angle that should not be neglected in the research about migration. It functions as counterpart to the securitization of migration, to xenophobic statements rising from European extreme right-winged and populist politics, and to the 'wave of migrants' framing in the media (van Houtum & Lucassen, 2016). Next, I dive deeper into the relation between migration motives and the travel experiences. For each of the groups I distinguished I zoom in on the four themes that were mentioned above. In the third part of the chapter the relation between the experiences and legal status of an individual and their placemaking processes is analysed.

4.1. Similarities and differences

This chapter will present and analyse the data from the interviews to answer the first sub-question: "*Which similarities and differences in the encounters can be seen between the experiences of refugees and academic migrants during their trajectory into the European Union?*".

4.1.1. Background

This theme covers all the information that respondents have given about their prior experiences and important social-economic context for their migration. Background includes the codes identity, culture, education, work and political situation.[4] During the interviews background information was generally talked about in the beginning of the interview when I asked every interviewee to shortly introduce themselves. By keeping this question quite open, I tried to give everyone the opportunity to talk about their background in a way that they felt most comfortable.

The first notable difference is to what extent people talk about their background stories. The interviewees that I have categorised as academic migrants give an elaborate background story, talk about prior experiences and provide the context before talking about their migration experiences. As can be seen in Luis' answer here:

> *I was 18, and back then I didn't know what to do. My sister said you should study marketing, because that is what I would have liked to study and that was the only reason why I went to study that for three years actually out of the four years and I just dropped out. And when I dropped out it was not immediately, many things got together which caused a very hard moment for me. My girlfriend at that time dumped me, I lost my job, I still lived with my parents and they were having problems and were about to get divorced. And then I said this is it, what am I doing here, I need to change perspective.* (Interview 1: Luis, page 6, 27-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.1)

In her interview, Pooneh gave a detailed description of the social and cultural context she grew up in, then she told me: "*I want to make it [this part of the interview] shorter, but it is important, because it is why I am here, so I need to mention it all.*" (Interview 3: Pooneh, page 2, 21-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.3).

Comparing this to the way the people that I categorised as refugees answered questions about their background shows that these individuals give more concise and to the point answers. They put the emphasis much more on the travel experiences itself in their interviews. This conclusion has two sides. On the one hand it is important to keep in mind that the framework of interviewing people who are in the Netherlands and are asked about their migration process, which was often interpreted as

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[4] This is shown in the Excel sheet in appendix 9.

their travel experiences, impacts the answers you get. On the other hand it might also indicate that these people are less keen to talk about their background. The context from where they migrate and their background story is often only talked about briefly. In some cases the background story is even completely left out, as for example can be seen in the way Amina answers questions about it in this conversation:[5]

> A = Do you want me to tell you how I came from Damascus?
> I = I would like to start with asking you to shortly introduce yourself. In this introduction you can choose what you would like to tell me, this can for example be where you are from, what work you did before you came to the Netherlands. You can choose what you feel comfortable with to include in this introduction.
> A = Do you first want to ask your questions?
> I = I think it works best if you first introduce yourself, then I can work from there with the questions. Is that okay for you?
> A = Yes, that's alright.
> I = Based on that I can then see which order of the questions work best for your situation.
> A = Okay. So, I travelled from Damascus to Lebanon with my dad's car. And from Lebanon to Turkey by plane, and until here everything was still legal. Once I arrived in Turkey I couldn't go to Greece because for that I needed a visa which I couldn't get. So, I travelled with a group of people that told me about a big VIP ship, for which I paid a lot of money for a safe trip. However, this was not true, when I travelled from Istanbul to, I keep forgetting the name of that place, but it took 12 hours. (Interview 8: Amina, page 1, 30-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.8.)

As an interviewer, I chose to not ask further for more background information. This was done both to not interrupt Amina while she was telling her travel story but also because I had the feeling she did not want to tell more about her background. To not make her feel uncomfortable, I continued with the interview.

4.1.2. Bureaucracy

In this thesis the term bureaucracy is an umbrella term for all official and legal processes on various levels of government and the contact with different administrations a person encounters to cross a border as a migrant or as preparation for their migration trajectory. The bureaucratic processes migrants encounter before, during and after their travelling trajectory can be linked directly to the border regime in which it takes place. Because bureaucratic details, as part of the legal body of border policies, are an embedded aspect of the EU's border regime (Kasparek, 2016).

Some of the processes under this term are clear and explicit policies yet the working of the process itself can still be very complicated, for example the visa procedures. Other processes are more vague, in most cases because the exact procedure was not entirely clear for the person experiencing it. For bureaucracy I distinguished nine bureaucratic processes, namely: legal papers, which are all papers that are needed to cross a border, both official and fake papers are included in this; university bureaucracy, the admission and registration procedures for students and employees at an university; visa procedures; residence permit procedures; asylum procedures; legal procedures, everything connected to other legally binding legislations and international treaties; moving, all bureaucratic processes related to leaving the country of origin and registration in the new country; border control, (security) checks from the border regime at the border; and lastly health care in the country of

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[5] Interview 2, 4 and 8 are originally in Dutch and are translated by the interviewer.

destination. This chapter analyses the similarities and differences between the experiences of bureaucracy from the individuals I have interviewed before and during their travelling trajectory, the bureaucratic processes after arrival are analysed in chapter 4.3.

All migrants I interviewed have come into contact with bureaucracy related to migration in some way before and/or during their travelling trajectory. The interviewees have talked about this topic thoroughly and they often went through multiple bureaucratic processes. The bureaucratic processes that are explained above are not all important for every migrant. The people that I group as academic migrants give detailed descriptions of the processes they encounter. Questions about applying for a visa, border policies and the university bureaucracy were already in the interview guide for academic migrants. I asked them more directly about these bureaucratic processes and asked follow up questions based on their answers. From the interviews the two processes that stand out for people I categorised as academic migrants are the visa procedures and the bureaucracy within the universities. In the next quote Luis sums up what he needed to do for his admission:

> *You need to go through your own university's and the government's bureaucracy. Because you need to translate your grades, degree, title and diploma"*. (Interview 1: Luis, page 1 + 2, 27-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.1.)

This is all preparatory work in order to get accepted into the institution. A recurring theme is that once a person is linked to an academic institution, because they got accepted in a programme there or have a work contact with the institution, they feel a strong support by the university. Luis, Valérie, Pooneh and Farah have all described this supportive bubble of their universities. Valérie has experienced this support very directly:

> *In terms of administration-wise it was quite lightweight, in the sense that all I was required to do was to get in touch with the Human Resources department at this university. And then they would ask for my CV and then for a copy of pages of my passport so that they could enter me in the Visa system. They created an [online] account for me and I uploaded my documents and then after that they took care of everything.* (Interview 5: Valérie, page 2, 04-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.5.)

Whether the support of the university is direct or indirect depends on the university policies for international students and international staff members and the immigration laws of that specific European country. The competition between academic institutions to attract international students is large, since this directly influences the ranking of the institution in international rankings (Brankovic, Ringel & Werron, 2018). I would argue that creating a supporting environment for students and international staff is a tool to attract more people to the institution. The interviewed academics who applied to Dutch universities have all experienced direct support, where the university takes care of all the bureaucratic processes such as visa applications but also arranges accommodation and guides you through their internal application process. This approach is partly explained by the official procedure from the IND (Dutch immigration services) for international students and international employees at academic institutions[6], which can be found on their website (*for students* and *for highly skilled migrants*). Following the Dutch immigration laws for this group, the institution should take care of visa applications and the migrants are not allowed to arrange this by themselves. This is not the case in every European country, so contrary to the direct approach a university can also help indirectly.

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[6] IND lists academic institutions as 'Recognised Sponsor institutions', or 'erkend referent' in Dutch

This more indirect support can be clearly seen in Farah's situation when she went to the visa issuing office in Bangladesh after she got admitted to a British university:

> *For students there is always a fifty-fifty chance of getting a visa, because you are coming from a third world country, and they are very sceptical about giving students a visa. But for me it was rather easy, because I told him that I got a 100% scholarship, and the UK usually doesn't give out scholarships of such big amounts. So even the guy who was interviewing me was a bit surprised that I got a full scholarship. For me it wasn't that much of a problem, because I applied to a very good university and I even had my scholarship to validate my stand. So, I think it was rather easy for me compared to others.* (Interview 6: Farah, page 4, 08-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.6.)

An overall pattern of support from universities for both their employees and students can be distinguished when it comes to the topic of bureaucracy. Next to the supporting position of the universities themselves the individuals that I categorised as academics stress that every bureaucratic process they went through and the travelling itself went easier because they are connected with a university in the country they are travelling to. For example, Luis said:

> *The Dutch government did actually put a visa in my passport and that happened around May. It was a temporary thing, just to specify to the border control or migration agent that I was not a tourist, but that I came to the country because I was accepted in a study program.* (Interview 1: Luis, page 2, 27-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.1.)

In the interviews with Abdul, Samir, Emir and Amina, who came as asylum seekers to the Netherlands, two other bureaucratic processes are highlighted. In their answers they far more often talk about asylum procedures and legal papers. For the asylum procedures this conclusion is not surprising, since this process is embedded in the legal procedures linked to their legal status as asylum seekers. Most respondents first came into contact with asylum procedures when they arrived in the Netherlands and are currently in the process of their asylum request or have just gotten their status as refugees. Because they took place more recently, it might explain why the descriptions of these processes are more detailed than the other bureaucratic processes they encountered. However, as most asylum procedures are not part of the travelling trajectory these procedures will be analysed in chapter 4.3. Yet, not everyone I have interviewed has come into contact with asylum procedures only in the Netherlands, as Emir explains in his interview:

> *E = Unfortunately the situation in Greece and their economy is bad … So, that is why I decided when I finished all the procedures in Greece I had to sign up that I am not staying there.*
> *I = In Greece?*
> *E = How is it called, to ask for asylum. They forced me actually, I didn't want to stay there. Because I knew the rules in Europe, and I knew that in the first country you arrived in, you have to stay there. So, I wanted to go to a country where you can find good education, where you can study and find good work … there I did not get it, because I didn't want it. They forced me, but I didn't want to. They asked me to go to an interview but I didn't go, I missed it. Because I knew that if I went there I would have to stay there because of the law.*
> (Interview 7: Emir, page 4-5, 29-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.7.)

The bureaucratic procedures the people I categorised as refugees encounter during their travelling trajectory are not clearly explained by most of them. These various processes have to do with getting papers to cross borders as a refugee, and are overall described under the term of 'legal papers'. The descriptions of Emir, Amina and Abdul of how these processes are equipped and who was involved in these various processes are more vague. They remember what actions they had to

take and where this took place, but are not entirely sure what exactly is done with their information and how these papers exactly arrange for them to travel further. They just know that they have to get these papers to travel further, because everyone gets these papers. Entanglement of legislations on various levels of government (e.g. local, national, European, international treaties) that all regulate who is and who is not allowed to cross the borders of the EU create an untransparent border regime. The criteria that determine what procedures a person should follow and thus with what status they can enter the EU are not openly communicated to the migrants in question (van Houtum, 2010). Abdul draws a picture of his experiences with getting papers to continue his travels after he arrived on Lesvos in Greece:

> *I = And you said that you got papers there [in Greece]? Do you remember who gave you these papers, which people or organisations helped you with getting these papers?*
> *A = No, there was just a big office in the mountains, not in the city. And many people received their papers there.*
> *I = So, you got papers there together with a larger group of people in this office?*
> *A = Yes, they were for everyone.*
> *I = What kind of papers were this?*
> *A = It was just your name and family name written down. After that you received papers and with those papers you could buy a ticket for the boat [to Athens].*
> *I = So, because of these papers you were allowed to travel further?*
> *A = Yes.*
> *I = And everyone in the group received these same papers? Did they do this for all groups or were there also people that did not receive these papers?*
> *A = No, people couldn't travel without these papers, and therefore everyone had to get these papers. They would put a few people together on one form and everyone would then write down their name, address, date of birth etc. And afterwards these papers would be given to the people working in this office and they would make a document out of it, this is what they will give back and with that you can travel further.* (Interview 2: Abdul, page 4-5, 19-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.2.)

Similar situations are described for various borders and throughout different interviews: at a border or a point where refugees need papers to travel further, papers are provided by unknown parties. These papers are enough to cross the border control but it is not always evident to the refugee why. When asked about what documents exactly she needed to cross each border, Amina answers: "*I don't know. But in Macedonia, Croatia and Germany we had to write down our names, but not in the other countries.*" (Interview 8: Amina, page 5, 30-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.8.).

To conclude, bureaucracy is a factor represented in the travel experiences from every migrant that I interviewed. However, the exact processes and the clearness of the content of the processes differs hugely between the groups that I distinguished.

4.1.3. Social networks

Migration is not an isolated event, but happens in a context with links to other people (Nakhid, 2009), for this reason a person's social network has an impact on their migration experiences. In this chapter all social encounters are analysed, however, not all encounters have the same context nor happen with the same people. Therefore, I created different groups of people a migrant can have encounters with which I coded as: friends, family, relationships, authorities, migration networks, organisations, academics, society and a last category of others.

I start with comparing which encounters were most important for every individual I interviewed. In Luis' story the focus of his social encounters and network is on the people he already knew before his migration (like family and friends) that helped him during his migration trajectory. The social encounter that was most significant for his travel experiences was the relationship he had, which formed the underlying motive for wanting to migrate to Europe. In the context of their migration experiences Emir, Amina, Samir and Abdul talked much more about encounters with authorities, other migrants and people in the migration networks (e.g. smugglers). In this example Abdul describes how his encounters with people working in the infrastructure for migration influenced his trajectory:

> *There were many people in the bus, and then the chauffeur got a call from someone that told him that the police asked us to come back to the bus station. So then we couldn't go on, because of the police.* (Interview 2: Abdul, page 2, 19-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.2.)

Social networks not only play a role during the travelling trajectory but also before departing home. This can be seen back in the example from Amina whose dad drove her across the border when she needed to flee her country of origin. This experience is in line with what Herman says in her paper, "*personal ties open doors, whereas non-network migrants have to improvise.*" (2006, p. 207). Also migrants' broader social networks play a role, as can be seen in example from Emir who explains how he found a smuggler:

> *It's difficult to get in contact with them, because they are also afraid of the government. But there are some groups on the internet, for example on Facebook. Secret groups, the groups show that they are selling clothing or something, but they are actually working with something else. So, I texted someone from there and they asked for money.* (Interview 7: Emir, page 1, 29-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.7.)

For the people categorised as academic migrants these encounters before their departure are mostly with other academics and with the university. Pooneh, Valérie, Luis and Farah highlight this. The contact with other academics is mentioned in regards to their decision to migrate, next to this universities offered help which is connected to the bureaucracy of the universities they are linked to. As Luis explains in his interview: "*You come in this bubble and are now protected by the institution which is the university*". (Interview 1: Luis, page 4, 27-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.1.).

Many of the interviewees that I categorised as academic migrants have travelled alone to their country of destination or with maximum one other person. Farah and Pooneh both mention having an (international) network of friends before their travelling trajectory, however, social networks play a significantly bigger role for the people that I categorised as refugees than for the people that I categorised as academic migrants. The theme I want to zoom in on regarding this difference is the 'migration networks'. In their interviews Abdul, Amina and Emir mentioned that they mostly travelled in (bigger) groups. They have crossed borders as part of this bigger group. In their experiences the whole group gets treated the same, so, temporary legal papers are issued by local authorities for everyone to cross a border together. The infrastructures to accommodate these groups are generally already in place on certain parts of their route as Amina explains:

> *I was allowed to cross the border everywhere. I don't know who arranged that, but for example in Serbia the busses were already waiting for the people going to Croatia, and people arranged this for large groups.* (Interview 8: Amina, page 7, 30-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.8.)

4.1.4. Mental health

The last point that stood out was the topic of mental health. This thesis follows the definition of mental health by the World Health Organisation as "*a state of well-being in which an individual realizes their own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to his or her community*" (WHO, 2021). It is necessary to mention that the analysis of this topic is done in a general way. This means that I will not explore the deeper psychological processes behind the mental health issues that come forward. In the context of this research, I only assemble in which ways the migrants' experiences during their migration trajectory can have an impact on the state of their mental health.

The respondents have commonly pointed out that migration has an impact on the state of their mental health. This impact does not manifest itself in the same manner for every individual, partly because the different conditions of migration bring different issues during the travel, but also because every individual deals with these experiences in their own way.

Throughout the interviews with the people that I categorised as refugees there is a common theme that issues with their mental health are inflicted due to the circumstances during their travelling trajectory. In their paper van Houtum and Bueno Lacy (2020) list numerous examples of experiences during the travelling trajectory of refugees that impact their mental health, sometimes even so intensely that it led to suicides. During the travelling trajectory most refugees seem to be in 'survival mode', and thus do not get time to process their experiences. For most refugees the processing of their experiences happens during their placemaking process, therefore this topic is further analysed in chapter 4.3. However, in some cases anxiety and traumatic experiences already manifests itself during the journey. Pooneh describes here how she felt while crossing the border of Iran and how her experiences combined, both in her own country and during her trip, have an impact on her now:

> You know when you have high stress levels what you feel afterwards? You feel nothing, it is a feelingless moment, you're not even at peace ... First you calm down, because people like me and I'm sure that when you interview refugees, we have a bad trauma, PTSD. You get stress for nothing, and you get illusions in your mind when for example someone calls you or sends you a friend request on Facebook or Twitter. You always wonder "who is he/she?", "Is he a person from the government?" You have this illusion you can't trust people. (Interview 3: Pooneh, page 7 and 9, 21-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.3.)

The topic of mental health was something that in the interviews with the people I categorised as academic migrants only came up as part of their placemaking process, therefore this will be discussed in chapter 4.3. To sum up, mental health is something that for most of my respondents played a bigger role after their travelling trajectory than during.

4.2. Migration motives

In this part of the chapter I analyse the influence of migration motives and the status of the migrant on the experiences during their travelling trajectory. The motive for migration and legal status influence what kind of encounters someone will have during their travelling trajectory and how they are viewed and reviewed by the border regimes that they encounter (van Houtum & Naerssen, 2002). In this way migration motives and the legal status of an individual influence the experiences they will have as an individual. Yet, the migration motives of people do not always align with their legal status, as I will explain in the last part of this subchapter. Furthermore, the motive is not the only influencing factor in the travelling trajectory of a migrant. As outlined in the theoretical framework, the migrant's

trajectory is also shaped by prior experiences, border regimes, social networks and critical events. To explore how the migration motive fits in this list, I have formulated the sub-question for this chapter as follows: *To what extent does the motive for migration and legal status of the migrant influence the experiences during the travelling trajectory?*

Migration motives are often not as straightforward as thought beforehand. Different motives and situations combined often result in the final decision to migrate. Every twist and turn in the migration process as referred to by Schapendonk and Steel (2014), has an influence on how the migration trajectory is experienced. To order these motives, I highlight three groups and their motives in this chapter:

1. Refugees

1. Academic migrants

2. Overlapping motives

Within these groups I analyse the same themes in the travel experiences as I used in the previous chapter. The theme 'background' is chronologically not part of the travel experience, yet a persons' background does paint the broader picture which is the base, context and explanation of why this person has this specific migration motive. For this reason, 'background' will still be analysed as a separate theme.

4.2.1. Refugees

The people that I have categorised as refugees, have mentioned five different migration motives in their interviews, namely: war, political conflict, relationships and family (reunification), personal development and personal safety. The above-named motives are not the only migration motives that a refugee can have, however, these are the ones that came forward in my interviews. Not all these migration motives have been named explicitly, but some of them had to be deduced from the context of the migration of that individual.

Background

The background is not part of the travel experience itself, however the replies that the individuals that I categorised as refugees gave on questions about their background can be explained by looking at their migration motive and legal status. The cultural, political and economic situation in the country or origin and a person's (family) background gives them a starting point from where they make the decision to migrate. Furthermore, the EU's border regime also makes a distinction of who has access to legal ways of entering the Schengen area based on the country of origin of these individuals (van Houtum, 2010). The different circumstances in which the migration decision was made lead to different starting points and thus different opportunities to prepare for the migration.

The respondents categorised in this group have overall replied much more vaguely on questions about their background, whereas the individuals that are categorised as academic migrants gave very elaborate answers to this question. A first explanation for this can be that for refugees the things they tell others about their background contributes to how this person perceives them as an individual and subsequently also how they are then treated in the larger society.

Another possible interpretation for this difference can be that for refugees their background is more linked to their current situation and their processes with the immigration services in the country of destination. Therefore, talking about their background to a third party can directly influence their status in the Netherlands. Everything they mention about their background story can be (mis)interpreted by the IND as not fitting in the story they told the immigration officials, these

irregularities can in turn have big consequences for their asylum procedures. Hertogs (2019, p.4) also describes the distrusting attitude of the IND: "*applicants are received into an intricate and shape-shifting suspicion that is very much grounded in the belief that most asylum applicants lie*" (2019, p.4). The long asylum processes, distrustful attitude from European immigration offices and the high levels of insecurity about the future makes refugees more likely to also be more distrusting of the system that handles their status in return.

The respondents who were more open about their background, were Samir and Emir who already received their residence permit, which made telling their story less delicate. Samir, who has been in the Netherlands since 1993, also explained that in his case it was not really necessary for the immigration services to doubt his story in the first place:

> *Of course it depends whether the IND believes your story. In case the IND doesn't believe your story, that is when they start digging deeper into your story and do their own investigation on it. In my case Amnesty International already wrote a report about my situation, so my case was already known … Amnesty coincidentally found out that I was here and I did some work for them in Sudan, so they wrote a letter to the IND that my case was known by them and what my story was. Then it is not just my word that they have to believe, but also a Dutch organisation that confirms to know you. I think that this, but I don't know that for sure, was the reason for the IND to not further investigate my case.* (Interview 4: Samir, page 2 + 3, 23-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.4.)

His position is quite exceptional, in most cases immigration services elaborate investigations are carried out before a decision about asylum is made. Since Samir's asylum procedure, the migration regime has become more restrictive, more prone towards distrusting people's stories and moving towards people having to prove their deservingness to stay in the Netherlands. In her work Hertoghs (2019) underlines this finding, she states that the contemporary suspicion-induced focus on 'credibility' of the stories of asylum seekers affects the way IND officers are listening to these stories, how they are interpreted and then how the officer responds to this story.

The reasoning behind the more restrained attitude can also be personal. Talking about the life they had before their migration can bring up painful and/or emotional memories. People will most likely be more open about these things once you get to know them better and build up a trust relationship. However, since I interviewed each individual only once and have met them only once or twice, this trust relationship is not yet established. The reason why Emir and Samir were more open about their background can be because they have had more time to process their experiences and are over time able to talk about these experiences. Looking at Samir, he has become a Dutch citizen, his family was brought to the Netherlands under family reunification rules, and he found his place in the Dutch society. The experiences from his migration are thus no longer his daily reality.

Bureaucracy

The way migrants encounter bureaucracy during their travelling trajectory is almost fully dependent on their legal status. It determines whether a person can enter the European Union and Schengen area with a visa or not and which means of migration are open for them. As is also explained by van Houtum (2010) when he talks about the positive-negative list. In this way, most of the experiences with bureaucracy depend on legal status but part of the process is also influenced by the migration motive. However, these are not the only important factors, since experiences during the travelling trajectory in turn have consequences for the experiences that follow as explained by Schwarz (2018).

In her interview Amina explains that before fleeing the country she tried to get a visa for both the Netherlands and Greece.

I have had a visa for the Netherlands before and I thought that I might be able to get it again, but that turned out to be very hard. Because the Netherlands and Europe in general know that Syrian people would want to stay and not go back to Syria after their visa expires. This is why they will not accept a visa application. My mother, grandmother and brother had a visiting visa for three months for the Netherlands, but they stayed. Because of this, the Dutch government knew that I would want to stay as well when I come, so they didn't issue me a visa. (Interview 8: Amina, page 5, 30-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.8.)

Her visa applications got rejected, due to the situation in her country of origin. These findings confirm the theory about the hard paper wall of Fortress Europe, that is designed to keep out people from certain areas of the world (van Houtum & Lucassen, 2016). This paper wall creates the situation for Amina, and many other asylum seekers, that the situation in her country of origin forces her to flee, but that there are no options left to cross the borders of the EU through legal procedures. She therefore felt like she had to resort to irregular crossing, while keeping all the corresponding dangers in mind. The forced character of the migration influences which bureaucratic processes this person encounters during their travel experiences, as Erdal and Oeppen explain "*migration management, as practiced by many European countries, requires labelling migrants as forced or voluntary to sort them into bureaucratic categories*" (2018, p. 928). Therefore, both the policies of the EU and the context of migration influence the trajectory. As Cresswell (2010, p. 20) states "*whether we have chosen to be mobile or have been forced into it affects our experience of it*". The necessity to leave their country of origin and find a safe place to live is so pressing that refugees do jeopardise their own safety to cross the border to the EU. In her paper Wilson (2012) identifies the same concern, be it that she focused on the risks of human trafficking in particular.

Next to the dangers, it also creates a situation where people are not prepared for the bureaucracy they meet during their travel trajectory. Their first aim is to leave their own country and get to safety by whichever means necessary. When they then encounter bureaucracy to cross borders they are often not familiar with the procedures and in turn also are not always aware of their rights and obligations. Wouters (2009) argues that because refugees are often not aware of this, it is even more important to clearly state the various legal obligations states have towards these individuals to give them the protection they need. This unfamiliarity with the regulations results in a trial and error approach to bureaucracy: refugees often follow the group and try the different opportunities presented to them until they find a way to continue their trajectory. In this process they do not receive much official support, but are depending on the information they have assembled themselves to go through the bureaucratic processes they encounter. However, the migration infrastructures and the information from earlier groups of migrants directly facilitate the migration of newcomers by passing on information about border crossings as is also explained by Wissink, Düvell & Mazzucato (2017).

The situation of a refugee in their country of origin creates their migration motive to flee the country, but in turn also dictates whether it is an option for them to come to the EU through legal ways. Irregular border crossings do give a different context for their border crossings. With this different context the people that I categorised as refugees came across different bureaucratic processes than the people categorised in the other group. The bureaucracy for refugees also takes place in a different stage of their migration trajectory, namely during their travelling trajectory opposite to the experiences of bureaucracy by academic migrants, who come in contact with bureaucracy mostly before their period of mobility.

Social networks

The migration motives from refugees often come with a lot of uncertainty both before and during their travelling trajectory. The creation of a network of other migrants and external parties that can

help refugees is done to establish a certain level of security. Being part of a larger group provides this security. As an individual you can follow the paths other migrants and people involved in migration networks have mapped out before you and draw on their knowledge to cross borders and map further migration routes. This is also outlined by Samers and Collyer (2017) in the way they describe the relation between pioneer migrants and new migrants who can rely on the existing structures and social networks.

The way states mark asylum seekers as "illegal migrants" during their travelling trajectory creates a vacuum of other options, therefore people in this situation are more likely to follow the examples of other migrants before them who were successful at crossing the border in that way. This gets further underlined by Boutang (2007), who frames migration as a movement that possesses knowledge and creates its own praxis from collective rules and information within the social networks. Adbul describes how he experienced migrant networks during his travelling trajectory:

> *"You never know where you are going, it is like a herd of sheep, you throw them into a car and they follow but have no idea where they are going"*
> (Interview 2: Abdul, page 7, 19-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.2.)

The migration networks to cater the needs of these migrants are largely already in place in parts of Europe that are known routes for irregular migrants such as the Mediterranean Sea area and routes across the Balkan. In his interview Emir describes how these structures make it easier to find smugglers that helped him to cross borders:

> *You can go to a street in Athens, I think everyone knows it, I think even the Dutch government knows that in that specific street there are smugglers, and they are selling ID's. So, I'm like every refugee, I want to have a new life and I want to do something.*
> (Interview 7: Emir, page 6, 29-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.7.)

Being part of a larger group also creates a sense of security in another way, namely that the border crossing itself is often attempted in groups. This practice is described by both Abdul and Amina in their interviews. For a large part of their travelling trajectory they have been travelling as part of a group with people they met on the go. They crossed borders as a member of a group, yet this group does not have to be made up of the same people all the time. They describe that their border crossings and corresponding bureaucracy was influenced by the fact that they were part of a group: everyone gets the same treatment, either the whole group crosses or no one crosses the border.

However, I cannot draw the direct cause and effect line between migration motive and the experience of social networks by refugees, because the migration motive is not the only important factor that influences their travelling trajectory. Experiences during the course of migration change the course of migration as well. For instance for Emir, who met German and Dutch volunteers in Greece who helped him, these encounters later influenced his decisions to migrate further to the Netherlands from Greece. Both barriers and opportunities may occur during the journey, which do not link back directly to the migration motive but still have an impact on the trajectory of a refugee. The migration trajectory is thus not linear but constantly changing by external factors. When looking into migration processes these twists and turns in the trajectory of a migrant are an important part of the experiences of their migration (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). For Emir, reaching a EU country was a critical event that created a new opportunity. He could take a 'direct' train to the Netherlands from Italy due to the open internal borders within the Schengen area. This opportunity was presented to him after he reached Italy with fake papers he got from a smuggler. This approach was only possible for him because he could adapt his external appearance and habits to that of a tourist who has a higher acceptance for moving freely, as described by Schwarz (2018, p. 6) as a mechanism to cross the

Italian border. What this example shows is that also when an opportunity is not directly linked to the legal status or migration motive it can still influence the experience.

Mental health

The stress people experience during their journey is highly dependent on their status. Refugees have a driving motive to migrate from their country of origin, which is rooted in a well-founded fear for their personal safety. This motive is so strong that it influences the whole mental experience of the travelling trajectory.

Secondly, the kind of things refugees encounter during their trajectory and the choices they have to make due to their status are very different from someone who is protected by their legal migration process. The emotional charge of the experiences and the impact they have on the state of a persons' mental health does often become apparent after their travelling trajectory. This is because during their travel refugees are in a constant 'survival mode' with not much time to process their experiences. However, it also has a direct impact on the choices people make during their trajectory. In his interview, Emir talked about how he was heavily discriminated in Turkey and that his motivation to go to a place where he could have a stable future and could develop himself was so high that he would choose it over everything else:

> *I preferred to go in this way [in a rubber boat on the Mediterranean Sea] and maybe put myself in danger than to stay in a place where you cannot find your rights, and you feel like you are a non-person. So, I was thinking I will go on the boat and I will die there and not hear stupid words from stupid people anymore who are being racist to you. Just because you are coming from war.*
> (Interview 7: Emir, page 4, 29-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.7.)

In line with the experience that Emir describes, discrimination is an aspect that also comes forward in Bhugra and Gupta's (2011) paper on the impacts of migration on mental health. Later in his interview, Emir also mentions that coming to the EU as a refugee also had an influence on how he treated his mental health during this travelling trajectory. He tolerated having a medical dossier that says he has severe mental issues, just to be able to cross another border. When he was stuck on Lesvos, he exaggerated the mental issues he was experiencing to move up the procedure of moving from Lesvos to Athens. This displays clearly how heavily the experiences of people who have no other option than to flee their country weigh on the state of their mental health.

Conclusion

Due to their migration motive and status refugees experience many obstacles during their migration trajectory. As Wissink, Düvell & Mazzucato (2017) already explained: '*They have to be very resourceful and change their routes and their applied migration strategies constantly*'. Refugees have to tackle multiple barriers they encounter, which create new routes and in turn new opportunities for the continuation of their travelling trajectory. This can be seen back in the way the people I categorised in the group of refugees experience their social networks, the bureaucracy they encountered and their mental health during their travelling trajectory. However, the migration trajectory of refugees is influenced by many more external factors, not just by their status and migration motive. Yet, their status does often limit the options to flee from their country of origin and cross the borders of the EU in legal ways, which makes them resolve to irregular ways with all its consequences.

4.2.2. Academic migrants

For the people I categorised as academic migrants finding work or a study programme at an academic institution is their motive to migrate, as mentioned in the interviews of Valérie and Farah. They specifically told me that they migrated because they got (offered) a spot as an academic employee or student at a university. Since they applied or accepted offers from a specific university, they know from the start what the end-point of their travelling trajectory will be, namely arriving at the campus of the institution. In this chapter I analyse the influence of migration motives and the status of these individuals by looking into the themes background, bureaucracy, social networks and mental health.

Background

A person's background influences how they can come to their migration motive. The opportunities the people that I have categorised as academic migrants had before their migration trajectory, gave them the opportunity to migrate with this motive. Kreutzer (2006) underlines these findings, as he states that the option someone has to become an academic migrant lies within their socio-economic background. Due to the fact that the people in this group attended higher education and obtained a diploma, they were able to apply for positions in universities abroad either as students or as employees. Only with an academic background it is possible to become an academic migrant, because only with the right diplomas and certificates will you get accepted by a university.

Luis, Pooneh, Farah and Valérie were very open about their background. I would argue that this is because academics will have to prove to universities during the admission process that their prior experiences and education is to the standard of that university to get accepted. This recognition of degrees and background is important in the workfield of academics, so, once they 'proved' the value of their prior experiences, it is mostly something they are proud of. Their background explains how they came to the point where they are now as academics. For instance, in her interview Farah described that finishing her undergrad was an important milestone in order to actually be able to start her Master's abroad:

> *I was then also doing my undergrad, I finished it in August and then I came to the UK in September. So there was not really time to think much. So my main focus was to get finished with my undergrad so that I can apply for my visa and start with my Masters right after.*
> (Interview 6: Farah, page 2, 08-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.6.)

Furthermore, the people that I interviewed in this group are almost all able to travel back to their country of origin for example to visit friends and family. The most important part of their background story is their education which can be proved with their degree certificates. The people that I categorised as refugees have to be careful with what they tell others since it is connected to their asylum status and processes with the immigration office.

Bureaucracy

For the people that I categorised as academic migrants their legal status is embedded in their migration motive from the point that they get accepted by a university. This means that due to their migration motive they are able to get the right legal papers. For academic migrants this is possible because of the validation the EU gives to the resources those individuals have to offer, as described by van Houtum and Naerssen (2002). Having these right legal papers makes the process of crossing the border of the EU smooth as can be seen in Valérie´s description of the security at Schiphol airport:

I entered the country with my Australian passport with a work contract, and they didn't even check my work contract at the border. They asked why I was coming here, I said 'for work' and they said 'do you have a work contract?'. I said 'yes, do you want to see it?' And they said 'no, we trust you', they just put a stamp on my passport.
(Interview 5: Valérie, page 2, 04-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.5.)

This is possible because the legal paperwork was arranged by the university before she even left Australia. These early preparations are part of the procedures for admission of students and employees that universities have established[7]. Universities have to have strict procedures which fully align with national and international (immigration) laws to preserve their position as recognised institutions. Because of this, there are far less surprises during the travel trajectory as most things are arranged beforehand, this fits the image that the three interviewees that I categorised as academic migrants draw when they described their travel experiences as 'smooth' and 'easy'. Once a person completes this preparatory bureaucratic process it gives them access to the protective bubble of the institution which arranges the legal migration status as an academic migrant. This access can only be gained prior to the travelling trajectory as part of the highly selective admission procedures of universities as described by Bound, Hershbein and Long (2009). Once admitted or hired by the institution, academic migrants are sheltered in the infrastructure of the university, which means that the university takes care of them from that moment forward. This is important, as Andrade (2006, p.133) argues that "*The social support given by universities which includes appropriate information, services, and programs is critical to helping international students have positive experiences, fulfill their educational goals, and return home as satisfied customers*".

Academic migrants thus have the legitimacy and protection of both the institution and the government of the country they migrate to once they are linked to that institution. The support for these individuals from a European university accentuates the fact that they are wanted in the EU, with this seal of approval of an recognised institution in the EU, the border regime has a referent for the set of skills and knowledge of that person. The interviewees I categorised in this group all travelled by plane and thus their border crossing took place at an airport where they had to go through the airport security checks. Luis explained how the arrangements made by the university and the Dutch embassy in Mexico made his border crossing much easier:

It [the reference in his passport] was a temporary thing, just to specify to the border control or migration agent that I was not a tourist, but that I came to the country because I was accepted in a study program. So, the visa said something like that, it had a number or some other distinction that made me not a tourist ... And this temporary visa expired two months after I came, it was just to get into the Netherlands. And I guess it wouldn't matter if I entered through France or another country, but my flight landed in Amsterdam. That is to say that this person is not a tourist and he comes with this purpose, we already accepted him.
(Interview 1: Luis, page 2 + 3, 27-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.1.)

Next to the fact that going through the bureaucracy of the institution provides the legal papers to travel, Luis and Valérie explain that their university already provided support during the admission phase of their application as student or employee. Every section of the process is explained by the institution, which makes it very clear what is expected of you as an applicant. This, in contrast with most bureaucratic processes individuals I categorised as refugees went through, makes the processes

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[7] Please note that the descriptions of the inner workings of the application and admission processes of universities are partly based on my own experience as employee of the Student Admissions Office at Radboud University.

much more transparent. Additionally, the institution also provides feedback and suggestions whenever something in the process is done incorrectly.

However, being inside this protected bubble of the university does not mean there are no obstacles. As Smith and Favell state in their book "*being an academic migrant brings with it different mechanisms for entry and distinctive challenges and opportunities for incorporation. It is not a frictionless mobility but rather a differently tracked mobility with its own costs and constraints*" (2006, p. 15). This can be seen back in Luis' example from his admission process:

> *I actually had some trouble, because in my bank in Mexico something happened with the currency exchange, I couldn't prove I had 10.000 euros but I could prove that I had a certain amount in Pesos. So for the people here it was a bit difficult, because you can check the currency online, but that is not an official exchange rate. But that was not an obstacle, as soon as they got the proof certified from my bank that I had that money in Pesos it was alright. And then I think I requested a letter from the bank that said that this amount of money translates to euros, and they actually did something like that. But it was not a big issue. Again the big issue is to collect all that money and then have it in your account.*
> (Interview 1: Luis, page 3, 27-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.1.)

Therefore, the trajectory of academic migrants is also not lineair. The periods of mobility and immobility that Schapendonk, van Liempt, Schwarz and Steel (2018) describe in their article are for academic migrants maybe not very visible physically, however, hold ups in the admission process that slow down finishing bureaucratic processes can also be a form of immobility. For instance for Farah, who had to wait with applying for a visa until she graduated from her undergraduate degree:

> *I got my CAS [Confirmation of Acceptance for Studies] issued very last minute, the time frame was I got my CAS on the third of September and applied for the visa on the 6th. And I received my visa on the 12th and then flew to the UK on the 18th.*
> (Interview 6: Farah, page 3, 08-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.6.)

The mentioned obstacles have all been resolved before their departure and none of their obstacles were so large that it turned their whole travelling trajectory upside down. Both Farah and Luis who experienced obstacles before departing still managed to follow the planned schedule for their travelling trajectory. If an academic does not get admitted to an institution there is a chance they will not migrate at all. This in contrast to the people that I categorised as refugees whose obstacles resulted in re-writing their trajectory and finding different ways to continue.

Lastly, being categorised as academic migrants by a government does not just provide the legal status. For example for Farah, as a citizen from Bangladesh, it also led to a change of position on the positive and negative Schengen list that van Houtum (2010) describes in his paper. The moment she gets accepted by a European university she goes from being on the unwanted side of the visa list, based on her nationality, to being on the wanted side based on her set of skills and knowledge. As a student who is accepted in a 100% scholarship programme by a university in the EU, she is now a wanted migrant in the European Union's visa regulations. This does not mean that she does not have to apply for a visa, however, the chances of her getting the visa have significantly grown because she is already admitted to a university. This status as international student who is deemed to contribute to the European society, makes crossing the border relatively simple, as Luis also explains in his comparison to the situation of asylum seekers:

I was accepted by a university and that made it 'we can accept this person, because he is not running from a war, he is not escaping, he is not being a refugee'. He is not going to suck on our welfare state, he's going to pay taxes even. And he is probably going to stay here and produce knowledge, which is really important for the capitalist system. If you are in a center for the production of knowledge, like in a university that is in a ranking like this one. This is the hegemonic production of knowledge. So if you stay then they give you a job, of course they give you a good life. But you're returning that, but if you come running away from a conflict you're not in that position.
(Interview 1: Luis, page 4, 27-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.1.)

Social Networks

As concluded in the previous chapter, social networks play a significantly smaller role in the travel trajectory of the people that I categorised as academic migrants. The influence from the migration motive on this lack of necessity for strong social networks has presented two causes.

Firstly, the necessity for a social network is less pressing because academic migrants travel with their legal papers already arranged by the university in the country of destination before the travelling trajectory starts. This gives them the chance to travel without much depending on others during their travel trajectory. Their travelling trajectory is thus more individualistic once they have the support of their university. With this university support most obstacles can already be eliminated before their departure home. In their interviews Luis, Farah and Valérie have described how they have been in regular contact with the university before their travelling trajectory, so the contact with the university is actually the only social network that they built up before and during their travelling trajectory.

Secondly, the trajectory of the people that I categorised as academic migrants is more straightforward than that of the refugees. Before moving Farah, Luis and Valéria knew precisely what their destination would be, when they would arrive and how they would get there. This does not mean that their trajectory is lineair, as explained above. Yet, during their travelling migration, all three of them took an airplane to the Netherlands, which means that the time they are actually travelling is significantly shorter than the time the people I categorised as refugees need for their travelling trajectory. Due to this shorter timeframe there is not much time nor necessity to form a social network during the journey itself. These individuals did have their personal social network of friends and family from their country of origin, but according to the interviews this was not a major aspect of their travelling migration for everyone. The necessity for having a social network is for academic migrants taking place much more during their placemaking process.

Luis and Valérie have travelled alone, Farah has travelled with her father, who flew back home after some time, but did also bring a friend who would start studying at the same university as her. Even though they planned their move together, they did not fly together as Farah explains:

She came a day earlier because my dad was travelling with me and he got the visa at the very last minute. So, I was a day late. I flew a day late and she came with her brother a day before and roamed around London and did some sightseeing.
(Interview 6: Farah, page 3, 08-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.6.)

The travel trajectory of the individuals that I categorised as academics is therefore much more individualistic, everyone plans their own journey and social networks do not play a big role during their travelling trajectory.

The motive of migration of the people that I categorised as academic migrants gives space for a much more relaxed travel trajectory. During the period of mobility they have less heavy and violent encounters than the individuals that I categorised as refugees. Valérie, Luis and Farah all state that their travelling trajectory, including the border crossing into the EU, went very smoothly and without any big troubles. This is possible because all the legal paperwork for the border crossing is already arranged by the university before they depart home. Their position as invited scholars provides a legal safety net, which in turn allows for a relatively stress free travel experience. Farah adds that the most important thing on her mind during her travelling trajectory was actually leaving behind her home:

> You think a lot of times that you're leaving, but it's very different when you come here. So I wasn't really thinking much before coming here, I was just preparing to leave my parents. That was the main thing that was on my mind that I was leaving behind a lot of things, a big part of my life behind, to start a new life.
> (Interview 6: Farah, page 2, 08-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.6.)

To conclude, for the interviewees that I categorised as academic migrants mental health issues did not play a significant role during their travelling trajectory. This does not take away that it can still cause levels of stress to migrate to a new country.

Conclusion

For the individuals that I categorised as academic migrants their migration motive and legal status did significantly influence their travel experiences. Their trajectory is much more straightforward and decided on in advance. Migrating with the purpose of working or studying at an academic institution provides a protective environment that supports you during the travelling trajectory. As an academic migrant who is linked to an recognised academic institution, you hold a position that provides you with legitimacy. Even before their travelling trajectory starts, these migrants are able to arrange the right legal papers to cross borders legally from the government of the country of destination.

This does not mean that the travelling trajectory comes without any obstacles. Their barriers often lay in bureaucratic processes connected to their university admission and visa processes. The strict bureaucratic processes determine who gets accepted and thus who will become an academic migrant. Only the 'selected few' that make it through all bureaucracy processes will have the experiences of an academic migrant in the travel trajectory. The influence of the migration motive mostly manifests itself in what experiences the people categorised in this group do not have, in comparison with the group of people categorised as refugees, who lack this protection from a recognized institution.

4.2.3. Overlapping motives

In this part of the chapter, I would like to critically reflect on the strict categorisation of certain migration motives to each of the two groups that I made earlier on. The motives of the individuals in each of the groups are not as distinct as they seem beforehand. As van Houtum and van Naerssen also write in their paper, "*it is difficult to trace and categorise the many and different motivations and apparent needs for people to migrate*" (2002, p. 129). Overlap of different motives are influencing the way an individual fits within the description of these distinct groups. Initially, because not only the migration motive but also how well they can execute the process to migrate as someone with that

motive is important. For example an individual whose visa applications got rejected still has the same motive as academic migrants but not the same trajectory.

Therefore, I would argue that the connection between migration motive and status is not as black and white as the categorisation suggests. Whether someone had a choice in their migration motive or not is not always straightforward and the degree of necessity in their migration does impact their experiences (Cresswell, 2010). It is thus not possible to categorise every individual strictly within borders that are set beforehand, because every story is unique. In this chapter I highlight four different situations from the stories of the individuals that I interviewed.

The first situation is when someone has multiple motives from the start of the migration trajectory, all with a similar weight for that person. Amina fled her country of origin with the clear goal to come to the Netherlands because her family was already here, for her getting to the Netherlands was an embedded part of her migration trajectory. The fact that she has a second motive puts her in an exceptional position within the group of refugees and her experiences differ from others within the group of refugees. The experiences themselves are not so different, but the way she experiences them is different. This can most clearly be seen in the timeline of her travelling trajectory: because of this concrete goal her travelling trajectory is much faster as she explains in her interview.

> *A = My journey took two weeks*
> *...*
> *I = I have heard other talk before about how their journey took two years...*
> *A = Yes maybe they travelled for two years, maybe they met with family during their journey or stayed longer in a place.*
> *I = But you wanted to move on immediately?*
> *A = Yes. And also when the war began in Syria, I stayed in Damascus until the last day. I didn't go to other places but came from there straight to Europe.*
> (Interview 8: Amina, page 4, 30-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.8.)

Her concrete goal to go to her family in the Netherlands influences the routes she takes and the choices she makes along her travelling trajectory. This does not mean that the things she experiences hugely differ from the others in the group, she just goes through them faster. She has for example travelled as part of a bigger group, however, in her case she more or less jumps between groups and does not travel with the same group the whole time. For border crossings she followed the group but for other parts her experiences differ, as she describes here:

> *I was not staying there, I was just there to get some clothes and then left with my son. We stayed in a cheap hotel because we didn't want to stay in the tents [in a refugee camp]. That hotel was okay for one night, and then we arranged everything to go to Macedonia.*
> (Interview 8: Amina, page 6, 30-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.8.)

The second thing I want to highlight is that migration motives can change or develop during the travelling trajectory. The motive that leads to a person leaving their country of origin does not have to be the same motive as why that person arrives in their country of destination. In his interview Emir talks about how he fled his country due to the war and because his personal safety was compromised. However, during his travel trajectory another motive to move to new countries gets added to that. This same evolution of migration motives within the complexity of trajectories dependent from the available alternatives gets described by Erdal and Oeppen (2018). The things Emir experienced during his travel trajectory caused him to form new motives and develop his already

existing motives. As I mentioned in 4.2.1., Emir wanted to leave Turkey because he felt the impacts of racism there heavily weighing on him as a person. However, he also explains in his interview why he did not stay in Greece:

> *Because I'm anyway outside of my country, so why would I stay in a country that has the same economy as my country. I'm a refugee anyway, so I could go somewhere where people are more open minded, educated, accepting and thinking more of human rights.* (Interview 7: Emir, page 5, 29-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.7.)

For him as well, the travel experiences were not hugely different from other refugees. However, he did make the conscious decision to travel further into the EU to the Netherlands based on the encounters with people he met during his travelling trajectory in Greece. This is a good example of what Wissink, Düvell & Mazzucato (2017) wrote about how networks established during the course of migration also influence the migrant's trajectory. In this quote Emir explains this change in motive:

> *I = Why did you decide to come to the Netherlands?*
> *E = On Lesvos and in Athens I met volunteers who were from the Netherlands.*
> *I = So, that's why you decided to come to the Netherlands?*
> *E = Yes, and not just because of this, also I saw how open minded and educated they were and how they really understand what is happening in the world. So, I thought it is a really interesting place to be in and learn from these people and their culture and their life.*
> (Interview 7: Emir, page 7, 29-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.7.)

The last point I want to emphasize is that the legal status that you as an individual get, is not always directly linked to your migration motive. I would like to demonstrate this with two examples. In the first example the respondent did have another motive, but this did not directly influence the travel experience. Luis' motive did not overlap with the status he got, because the main migration motive does not always have to be the migration motive you specify for getting a legal status, as he outlines here:

> *After staying there with her and building up a relationship, in 2017 when she had to come back to Europe I asked myself, and we talked about this, 'how are we going to keep up this nice relationship we have?'. So the obvious, or maybe not obvious but easiest solution was for me to come here. Because I had finished my Bachelor's and she was still doing her Bachelor's for one more year.* (Interview 1: Luis, page 1, 27-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.1.)

Coming to Europe to study was in his case more a tool instead of a migration motive, he migrated as a student because it was the easiest way to migrate for him. From the way he phrases his motive in his interview, I suspect that if it was not possible for him to come to Europe as an international student, he would most likely have tried to come via another way to still be together with his girlfriend. However, because he got accepted into a programme in a university, his travelling trajectory does not differ from the other people that I have categorised as academic migrants. But different from the other people categorised as academic migrants, his initial motive to migrate was to live closer to his girlfriend.

The second example I want to give is one where the discrepancy in the legal status and the migration motive did influence the travel experience. Pooneh has the initial motive of a refugee but was able to get the legal status of an academic migrant because she got the help of an NGO helping scholars at risk. She received the status of refugee after it was determined that she was in need of international protection and unable to stay in her country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of

being prosecuted based on her political opinion. As a refugee she applied to an NGO that protects scholars suffering grave threats to their lives, they arranged a research and teaching position at an institution in their network. This NGO, in collaboration with a Dutch NGO, initiated the contact with the specific Dutch university but also supported her financially to make it all happen, as she describes in this next quote:

> *I was applying for an organisation, it was Scholar at Risk, it is quite famous. They supported me, and I announced that I could leave the country now. And they introduced me to a Dutch university and I had contact with a professor here and I came to the Netherlands in 2018 … The contact with the university was through UAF, this is an organisation for refugees and they also have a section for scholars at risk. So I would have contact with different organisations that I could find, and I found a position in this university. And after I came here I applied for a PhD and they accepted me. And I started my PhD now.* (Interview 3: Pooneh, page 5 + 6, 21-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.3)

By letting the NGO and university focus on her position as academic in the process of obtaining legal papers, she was able to receive help, migrate to the Netherlands and get the status of academic migrant here. This process is possible because she got support from these two NGOs, which have a selective admission of who they can support. Through the procedures started by these NGO, it was possible for her to be considered by the EU as a *wanted migrant* based on her set of skills, knowledge, rather than an *unwanted migrant* based on her country of origin. In most situations, argues van Houtum (2010), the set of skills alone is not sufficient. However, due to her specific situation as a scholar at risk her travel experiences are thus very different both from other people categorised as academic migrants, but also from others that I categorised as refugees. Her main motive to migrate was leaving Iran, because it was not safe for her to stay, migrating as an academic migrant was the tool to achieve leaving the country safely as she explains here:

> *I think my case was different because I had a special situation, I'm a scholar at risk. I am not a refugee, I am between refugee and expat, my situation is a mixture from both sides and I was supported by a special organisation for people like me. So honestly, I didn't participate in the hard competition among people who are from the international level. Because I was supported, and in the first stage they just want to save my life. And in the second stage they want to provide a job for me, so they then introduce you to a university.* (Interview 3: Pooneh, page 8, 21-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.3)

The legal status she received in the Netherlands is linked to the fact that she migrated as an academic migrant. In her specific situation her legal status as a refugee allowed her to apply for the NGO that could in turn arrange for her actual migration to take place via the route that academic migrants normally take. This is the only person that I interviewed where the diversity of her two different motives is clearly taken into consideration in her legal status. Due to this overlapping motive, her experiences before the travelling trajectory are much more alike with people I categorised as refugees, whereas her experiences during the travelling trajectory match those I categorised as academic migrants. Therefore, I argue that in the case of this respondent, the discrepancy between her migration motives and her legal status did largely influence her travel experience. The pressure to leave her country of origin and fear of her own government impacted her travel experience, because she did not know what would happen to her if she would not succeed to leave the country in this way.

4.3. Placemaking processes

This part of the analysis is done based on the third sub-question: *'To what extent is the placemaking process of refugees and academic migrants influenced by their travel experiences or legal status?'*. In this chapter I will answer this research question for the different aspects of the placemaking processes that the individuals I interviewed mentioned.

From the interviews six aspects of placemaking came forward, namely: accommodation, arrival, friends, integration, language and work. Next to this, the interviewees mention some other aspects of their placemaking process that did not fit in one of the above mentioned groups. The aspects outlined above are those that the respondents focussed on in their stories, which does not mean that these aspects are the only parts of the placemaking process.

For this part of the analysis the distinction is now solely made between the two groups: refugees and academic migrants. This is done because the individuals with overlapping experiences, as outlined in the previous section, get categorised in one of the two groups by the government once they arrive in their country of destination. This categorisation of the government in turn determines what kind of processes they will and will not encounter during their placemaking. For Pooneh, who did get two different legal statuses, the status that was leading for her placemaking process was that as an academic migrant because she was already within the protection of the academic institute.

4.3.1. Refugees

It is important to note that both asylum seekers and people with the official refugee status are included in this part of the analysis. In the group I categorised as refugees, two respondents have talked much more about their placemaking than the other two. The people that did talk about their placemaking elaborately are Emir and Samir, who both already got the official status as refugees and thus are further along in their placemaking process.

Accommodation

In this section both the first accommodation a person gets and their experiences with arranging further accommodation for the resuming time in the Netherlands is included. The first thing that stands out is that Amina, Emir and Abdul have to move between different AZC's (Asylum seekers' centres) during their asylum procedures in the Netherlands. This seems to be directly linked to their legal status as asylum seekers. In this quote Abdul describes which different places he all went to in the Netherlands before we was allowed to stay in one AZC for a longer time:

> *After arriving in Ter Apel I went to my first AZC where I stayed for a few days. Then I had to move to a second one where I stayed a few months, then a third where I also stayed a few months. From there I had to go to my fourth AZC where I could also stay for a few months. After a few months, I had to go back to my first AZC and after that I was moved to the AZC location where I live now.* (Interview 2: Abdul, page 4, 19-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.2.)

Both Samir and Emir talked about how they received government support once they got their residence permit and had the official status as refugees. Emir explains that he first lived in AZCs, then got in contact with an organisation that helped him to get his status up to the moment that the government would take care of him:

from one of the cities there is this organisation and it is here set up by volunteers and they help you when you get your status, your residence permit, to stay with a Dutch family and learn from their language, for maximum three months. Until the government helps you with finding a room or apartment for yourself. (Interview 7: Emir, page 8, 29-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.7.)

The experience with getting accommodation in the Netherlands is thus that this gets arranged both for refugees and asylum seekers. However the sort of accommodation varies for asylum seekers and refugees. Asylum seekers have to live in the allocated AZCs with other asylum seekers and once you get a residence permit the municipality will arrange housing for you. Thus I would argue that their status influences how they experience their placemaking with regards to accommodation.

Arrival

With arrival I mean the first few days after entering the Netherlands and their first experiences in the country. Everyone that I categorised in the group of refugees and arrived recently talked in their interviews about having to go to Ter Apel in[8]. Samir, who arrived in 1993, called the location he was first sent to an OC (reception center), yet the process he describes is similar to the descriptions of the others. People that enter the Netherlands as asylum seekers are required to report their arrival by going to the registration center of the IND, which is in one location. There their first registration in the Netherlands is handled, and after their registration asylum seekers have to spend three to ten days in one of the central reception centers in Ter Apel or Budel (COA, 2020). Because of this procedure, the arrival experiences of the people in this group are influenced by their status as asylum seekers.

Integration

My respondents state that the way the asylum procedures are designed, they hinder a positive integration in the period before getting a residence permit, this also comes forward in Kosyakova & Brenzel's (2020) paper where they researched this in the German context. Yet according to the respondents, once you obtain a residence permit, the Dutch government is more actively helping you with integrating in society. While waiting for the asylum procedure to start and during this procedure there are however very strict legislations that determine what you are and are not allowed to do. For example asylum seekers in the Netherlands are not allowed to live outside an AZC during their procedure and only allowed to work or volunteer for a restricted amount of hours and only with a written declaration from the UWV (Dutch Employee Insurance Agency) as mentioned on *this webpage* of the Dutch government (Rijksoverheid, n.d.). These obstructing regulations that cause asylum seekers to merely be accommodated in AZCs create a physical distance between asylum seekers and the Dutch society. The legislation that limits asylum seekers to work in the Netherlands during their asylum procedure has much more impact on the relative and emotional distance between these individuals and the Dutch society. Looking at the way the Dutch asylum procedure is designed, it indeed seems to be delaying the integration process of asylum seekers. This point also comes across in Reneman's (2020) analysis of the consequences of the long Dutch asylum procedures.

Furthermore, Samir points out that the securitisation of migration combined with these long asylum procedures in the Netherlands contribute to feelings of anxiety among refugees. This same conclusion is drawn by Laban (2010) who researched the Dutch procedures for Iraqi asylum seekers in specific. They'll have to wait sometimes several years to know if they can stay in the country or if

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[8] Interview 2: Abdul, page 4, 19-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.2.; Interview 7: Emir, page 7, 29-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.7.; Interview 8: Amina, page 7, 30-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.8.

they will be sent back. During this period they will have to stay in the AZCs, they are not able to build up a secure future and have less opportunities to positively integrate into Dutch society at that time. The experiences of my respondents mirror the findings of Li, Liddell and Nickerson who show that "*the asylum-seeking experience is often fraught with uncertainty and requires the individual to navigate complex legal procedures*" (2016, 82 p. 5). Since his own migration in 1993 the rules have become much more strict and he sees the toughening of the asylum policies which he describes here:

> *You see the society getting harder regarding refugees, this tougher attitude can then also be seen back in the asylum policies. At that point it gets tedious for the IND (immigration services) officers, because they don't know what to do with these people. You'll then get enormous long procedures where people are waiting for years without any perspective for a future. At the moment that they then do get an official status it is not over. Refugees are strong people, the people that came here were the toughest people in their country. And these kinds of procedures just break people, they make them weak, and in that way you get individuals who just can't positively contribute to the Dutch society anymore.* (Interview 4: Samir, page 4, 23-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.4.)

Following an integration course and doing an integration exam are an integrated part of the procedures refugees go through in the Netherlands after they get a residence permit (Rijksoverheid, n.d.) Next to this mandatory traject there are also initiatives by organisations that help asylum seekers and refugees, for example the initiative that Emir describes in his interview:

> *I stayed with a Dutch family and they are really helpful and nice people, I learned from them and we learned from each other and we cooked together. We were like family, and I'm still in contact with them of course.* (Interview 8: Emir, page 7, 29-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.7.)

These assistance programmes are offered to these people because they are categorised as refugees and asylum seekers, therefore this experience gets influenced by their status. Opposed to individuals that are categorised as academic migrants, who are exempted by the Dutch government from the requirement to follow an integration course and do not have to take an integration exam. I gather from the interviews that people had different experiences with integration based on whether or not that person already got a residence permit and thus if that person was an asylum seeker or refugee. I would therefore argue that legal status influences the placemaking process in the area of integration to a large extent.

Language

For the group of people that I categorised as refugees I see two things in their placemaking processes closely related to language. The first thing that I noticed was that one of the respondents talked about how both people who were recognized by the government as refugees and asylum seekers receive help while learning to speak Dutch. It is important to note that the support that asylum seekers receive to learn the language was only talked about by Samir who migrated in 1993, he explains:

> *We were able to, if we wanted, directly start learning the language in the OC with volunteers from the OC to help you. And in the AZC it was actually arranged for everyone to learn the language. When you get your residence permit everything is arranged for you: the language courses, an education, everything to make sure you're ready for the labour market in due time.* (Interview 4: Samir, page 4, 23-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.4.)

The individuals that have not yet received their residence permit, did not talk about whether they received support to learn Dutch or not. With the data from my interviews I can not say for sure that

the option to learn Dutch is still already offered during the asylum procedure nowadays. However, Reneman (2020) describes a similar process to what Samir talked about for contemporary asylum seekers. In his interview Emir also talked about the initiatives that helped him to learn the language, so both respondents with the refugee status do talk about this support.

The second thing that stood out was that for refugees it is harder to find a job if they do not speak Dutch according to Emir's experiences:

> *I'm still learning the language, I still need to learn more. And if I don't speak it, it is difficult to get work. Of course I can work with the English language, but it would not be the work that I really want.* (Interview 8: Emir, page 9, 29-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.7.)

I think this is related to their status, but not explicitly caused by regulations for refugees. For refugees the necessity to learn the language is more present in order to find work. This compared to academic migrants who arrive in the Netherlands and at that moment are already accepted by the university either to study or to work there. Refugees on the other hand do not have their place in the labour market sorted out and do normally not have the situation that a recognised institution vouched for them before arriving in the Netherlands. Therefore, they have to learn the language in order to find a job.

To conclude, speaking the language is important for the people that I categorised as refugees in the Netherlands. I would argue that due to their status they receive support for learning this new language. However, this could also be approached the other way around: the government acknowledges that speaking Dutch is essential for refugees to find a job and thus provides services for this.

Work

Related to what is said in the paragraph above, I would like to point out that the individuals who I categorised as refugees and asylum seekers often have the intention and desire to study or work in the Netherlands. However, they are limited by the legislation connected to their status and their capacities to speak Dutch. Emir, who already has his residence permit, spoke about wanting to study and work again in the Netherlands:

> *I can work with the English language, but it would not be the work that I really want. So, then I cannot improve myself, I'll have to study first. I want to study and have a certificate from something, I'm not sure what I can do, I'll have to do the final high school exams. Because I could not bring my certificate with me, I cannot prove that I passed high school.* (Interview 8: Emir, page 9, 29-12-2019. See appendix 7.2.7.)

Furthermore, even if refugees are able to work here it is often not in the sector or on the level of their education back home. This phenomenon that a migrant with an academic background risks that their skills are not recognized in the country of destination as described by Garcia Pires (2015) is better known as brain waste. This can occur either because their certificates and skills are not recognised by the Dutch government or because they could not bring their official certificates during their migration, as Emir described in the quote above. In his interview Samir gives a good example of how a refugee's skills and knowledge are often not used to its full potential:

Zeeland has a problem finding general practitioners. Do you know how many refugees studied to become a doctor but are now stuck in an AZC? … It touches me that even though their skills are needed these people are still hindered to do these jobs … In the Netherlands we are just not handling this situation in a clever way. (Interview 4: Samir, page 6, 23-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.4.)

The motive to migrate, legal status and means of mobility play important roles in how European border policies treat this person. If a migrant with a higher education flees their country their set of skills is less likely to be considered when trying to enter the EU, their status as refugee or asylum seeker is more likely to be taken into account in this case (Samers & Collyer, 2017, p. 14). This unjust situation is underlined by Luis, who is in this research categorised as academic migrant, when we talked about the term highly skilled migrant:

I just can't deal with this term, it offended me deeply. Because I know people from for instance Syria, highly educated and just because they didn't graduate here. They are more prepared than me, they are better than me, they deserve better than me and they are not called highly educated and they have to go through a very hard time just to find a shitty job. I'm sorry for this language but it is true. So, I despise this term, it really made me feel awful. (Interview 1: Luis, page 4, 27-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.1.)

Therefore, I argue that the asylum procedures hinder these migrants to find a job or study, and afterwards the status as a refugee prevents them doing the work they want and were educated for in their country of origin.

Other placemaking processes

Another important subject I got from the interviews was the way how people categorised as refugees feel that society views them. Some of the respondents expressed that they did not always feel welcome in the Dutch society. As Arrocha (2019) shows in his paper this is closely related to the securitisation of migration by European countries and increasing xenophobia across the continent. The way refugees and the so-called 'refugees crisis' are framed in public debate and the Dutch media does have an impact on the mental health of individuals within that group. As Samir expresses in his interview:

Worldwide we agreed to respect each other. However, as a refugee you get confronted constantly with the fact that you are actually not really welcome here, that doesn't feel nice and causes friction with my own ideals … When I was in the integration process in the 90's and started with learning the language I tried to come into contact with the Dutch media, the TV and radio, and that made learning fun. But now I often actively avoid the Dutch media because they are talking about refugees, migrants and muslims so much in a negative tone. And you just get tired of that. (Interview 4: Samir, page 6, 23-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.4.)

This is not directly caused by the status nor the travel experiences; the pressure on the state of the mental health of these individuals during their placemaking process is in this example caused by the way society views people with a legal status as refugees. Skleparis (2018) states that migrants, as outsiders, are successfully presented by politicians as a security threat to the national identity, which influences views on migration from the larger population.

Moreover, the experiences that the individuals that I categorised as refugees had during their travel experiences also have an important influence on the state of their mental health during the placemaking. Crossing borders via dangerous routes and putting their life on the line in the search for a better future has long lasting impacts on the state of a person's mental health. Both Emir and Abdul

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talked about how their experiences during their travelling trajectory cause them high levels of anxiety after they arrived in the Netherlands and they talk about how they feel traumatised by the things they have experienced and seen during their journey, as described by Abdul in this next quote for his interview:

> *This is all behind me, and I don't like to talk about it because this [travel] was a really bad experience with a poor and unsafe life. I don't want to remember how it went, so I try to forget about everything, but that is hard ... I think very badly [about the journey]. I feel terrible and I get a headache, then I go back to this bad feeling for a few days. And I really don't want to talk about it, but it helps to talk about it.* (Interview 2: Abdul, page 9, 19-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.2.)

The placemaking process of individuals is to some extent influenced by the state of their mental health. The people categorised as refugees named two main reasons for mental health issues during their placemaking process, namely: the impacts from their travel experiences and the way they were treated in and viewed by Dutch society.

4.3.2. Academic migrants

Firstly I would like to note that travel experience and status are less distinct for academics than for the previous group. Because the travelling trajectory itself is very short for an academic migrant and most of the aspects that have an impact on the placemaking happen in the preparation of their travelling trajectory. The fact that these travel experiences are less influential is because they have already acquired their legal status before departure. Secondly, within the group of academic migrants all respondents have talked about their placemaking processes, in contrast with the previous group where only two respondents talked about their placemaking processes.

Accommodation

Most of my respondents arranged their accommodation before arrival as part of the bureaucratic process of admission at their institutions. In case getting assigned accommodation is not 'automatically' part of the process, then the search for accommodation takes place before departure as well, but this is not always successful as Farah explains:

> *By the time we started looking most of the university accommodation was completely booked and other accommodations were almost all booked. There wasn't much to do, so we decided that while sitting in Bangladesh we couldn't manage anything so we booked a hotel for the first few days and looked out for houses near by university and fix something.* (Interview 6: Farah, page 2, 08-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.6.)

The second thing that I notice is that the people I categorised as academic migrants are free to choose where they want to live in contrast to refugees whose asylum processes determine where they should live. This freedom is given by the government because they already have their legal status when arriving in the country. Due to the freedom they receive, academic migrants also have other responsibilities such as arranging accommodation and paying for it. There often is an option for the institution to arrange housing for them, but they will only do so if the migrant asks them to arrange it for them. The accommodation they have when they arrive is not always for the full length of their stay, Valérie explains how she chose to switch to another accommodation after a while:

> *I had that accommodation for a year but then after that I found another place that was cheaper so I cancelled my contract earlier. But then I already got a place actually when I arrived.* (Interview 5: Valérie, page 3, 04-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.5.)

Closely connected with the points above, is the fact that academic migrants get offered accommodation in the first place. From the people I interviewed as academic migrants, most of them accepted the offer from the university, so the institution took care of everything in advance as Valérie describes:

> *In terms of accommodation the department took care of booking a place for me … when I arrived I was told to go to the housing services head office to pick up my key and sign my rental contract and that was it.* (Interview 5: Valérie, page 3, 04-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.5.)

The other respondents categorised in this group confirm this procedure. Even in the case of Farah, who did not manage to arrange accommodation before arrival in the UK, her university managed to arrange something for her last minute:

> *After coming here I stayed in a hotel for four or five days, and meanwhile I talked to the university and told them that I couldn't find anything outside of the university. So, I asked them 'if anyone is dropping out, can you give me that?' So, my admission was very last-minute, but thankfully two rooms came available in two different buildings.* (Interview 6: Farah, page 2, 08-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.6.)

This is all possible because accommodation is embedded in the bureaucratic processes of the universities before departure. These individuals were all already inside the protected bubble of the institution, and from the point of admission the institution thus takes care of them.

Arrival

The process of arrival is for academic migrants linked to what is described in the previous point, because getting to your arranged accommodation is one of the first steps for academic migrants once they arrive at the campus of their institution. Due to their admission in an academic institution they know where to go, namely to the campus of their institution. Being part of the academic bubble sees to it that upon arrival everything is arranged for them which influences their placemaking process as Luis explains here:

> *My reality was that we were being pampered, they came to pick us up at the station, people with university T-Shirts and they put you in a bus and took you to your accommodation. They dropped us off where the basketball courts are and they set up some tables and everyone makes a queue to check documents, to check if you have accommodation and to check if you paid for this or that and then direct you towards wherever you are going to live. And then some busses parked there, they took us to our student accommodation, we could've walked but this is the difference, you come in this bubble and are now protected by the institution which is the university.* (Interview 1: Luis, page 3 + 4, 27-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.1.)

Friends and networks

After the first arrival, building up a network plays a big role for the people that I categorised as academics. The first noticeable thing about this is, that this is a topic that the people that I categorised as refugees have not talked about at all. For the individuals in the group of academic migrants building up a network in their new country is part of their placemaking process, as can be seen from this quote from Pooneh when reflecting on what has changed in the past years: '*if I would compare my life now even after two years, I see I have a stronger network now*' (Interview 3: Pooneh, page 8 and 9, 21-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.3.).

When the people I categorised as academic migrants arrive in their country of destination, they are already in the protective bubble of the institution. However, this institution at the same time offers a social bubble of colleagues and (fellow) students. This is linked to what wakefield and Dismore (2015, p. 1285) highlight when analysing academic networks, "*academics believe they 'fit' within the university and categorise themselves or are categorised by others based on this*". Thus, being part of the academic network is embedded in what can be described as their academic 'identity'. In a previous chapter I established that the people in the group of academic migrants mostly migrate on their own, and only after arriving at the institution will start to build up their new life by expanding both their personal and professional transnational networks. Their group of friends and colleagues play a bigger role in their placemaking, because these people are their main social contacts while being away from their friends and family at home, as Pooneh says: '*I'm far from family, but I have a lot of friends and I always name my friends [when calling my parents]. It's funny but you just do it to give them calm and space*' (Interview 3: Pooneh, page 9, 21-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.3.). Within the institution many others are likely to want to build up their networks just like the people I interviewed. Networking is an important aspect for academics for example to collaborate on publications or find new career promotion opportunities as Wakefield and Dismore (2015) explain. Next to this, most academic migrants will start in the same situation, namely being completely new to everything in the country and experiencing all these new things as part of a network, might make it less stressful and easier to settle.

An important note to make here is that since this network is built up and expanded after arrival, academic migrants often do not have a network in the country yet upon arrival. During their short travelling trajectory they mostly had contact with the institution but not with many others. After arriving by themselves in a new country, some of my respondents express feelings of loneliness, especially in the beginning of their stay, this is also underlined by Zhai (2002) in her paper on the adjustment issues of international students. On this topic, Farah said:

> *The first few days were very tough, apart from I had people taking care of me and looking after me and asking me how I was. I was going out and doing stuff. But still there are times when you're all alone in your room and it hits you 'I'm here and I'm all alone'. And it's a new life and a new way of living and a new way of doing things.* (Interview 6: Farah, page 4 + 5, 08-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.6.)

Feeling lonely in your new country often goes hand-in-hand with also missing the life you had at home and the friends and family you still have there. The feeling of alienation from their own culture can make people feel isolated in their country of destination which can affect their identity (Bhugra & Gupta, 2011). This feeling of alienation is also described by Farah here:

> *Before this I used to depend a lot on my parents, I used to live with my parents, and things were much easier. Now everything is on me, I have to cook, clean, do dishes, do everything. Things I didn't have to do before, so overwhelming is the word I would use here. But it gets better slowly.* (Interview 6: Farah, page 5, 08-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.6.)

The situation of people categorised as academic migrants is in this regard different from the people categorised as refugees. Both can miss friends and family, however, for academic migrants their home is a place that did not change too much because of their departure. The same daily life goes on for their friends and family in their country of origin. However, for refugees their country of origin is likely not the same due to the threats that made them flee the country. They can still have good memories of their home country, however if they ever return, their country has most likely changed a lot.

From my interviews I concluded that building up a social network in the country of destination is an important part of their placemaking process for academic migrants. This topic comes up strongest in this part of their trajectory because their smooth and prompt experiences during their travelling trajectory ensure that this network is not needed before arrival. However, after arrival the creation of a (personal and professional) network is needed for their integration.

Integration

The main things that people in this group highlight are experiences that would fall under a *culture shock*. This can be expressed in the way things are done or what is viewed as normal, which is different from the experiences a person had in their own country. For example, as Luis describes here:

> *The hardest thing was that I was using my card to pay for things whenever I wanted, and I buy my clothes in the second hand shop but still these are good clothes. You need something and you can pay everywhere. And this feels empty and also very unfair because you know how people are living their lives over there [in Mexico]* (Interview 1: Luis, page 5, 27-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.1.)

However, part of this culture shock is also getting to know the values and manners in your new country. Academic migrants finding their place within these 'rules' of the new society is part of their placemaking process and is influenced by their background, namely by the country and culture they grew up in, rather than by their status or the experiences during their travelling trajectory. Smith and Favell (2006) highlight that differences in cultural know-how can create difficulties in the integration of academic migrants even if their mobility in itself has become a form of privileged capital. In her interview Pooneh described which smaller things she had to get accustomed to after she arrived in the Netherlands:

> *I didn't know the system. How can you know what the norms are? I travelled and read a lot, so I wouldn't say there was a culture shock for me with the European, Western values. No, it wasn't that much, but still it's still that you don't know some small things, like how things work in relationships or in contact with other people. For example how do you introduce yourself, what is important to mention and what is not.* (Interview 3: Pooneh, page 8, 21-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.3.)

My respondents talked about how they got more and more accustomed to their new environment over time and integration into this new society takes place. The main thing I noticed here is that social integration is in most cases mainly within the bubble of the institution and not so much integration into the larger society. As stated before, academic migrants are in the Netherlands also one of the few groups that are exempted from the requirement of following an integration course. This integration in the comings and going within the academic institution is not always easy as Luis describes:

> *One thing is I love poetry and I write and read poetry and I love to talk in metaphors. And that is another thing that didn't work, when you write an essay they want you to write one sentence straight to the point, and in Latin-America we write, going around something.* (Interview 1: Luis, page 5 + 6, 27-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.1.)

The fact that they only have to integrate within the institution is because of their status. The institution vouched for these individuals and thus the institution makes sure they can function within the structure of this institution. However, my respondents categorised as academic migrants did not talk about having much contact with locals. Both from the interviews I did and from my personal

experiences working for the international office at Radboud University, I would argue that both international students and international employees at a university mostly stay within their international bubble in the university. They do not integrate into Dutch culture and society as much as other groups need to do and this is also not required from them by the government as part of their placemaking process.

Language

Part of why academic migrants have less necessity to fully integrate into society is because most of their day to day life takes place within the institution. Within these institutions not speaking the language of the country does not create a barrier as Valérie says: "*communication wise there is no barrier for me.*" (Interview 5: Valérie, page 3, 04-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.5.). This is because English is a second medium of instruction for most universities. Therefore, for the people I categorised as academic migrants having a good level of English is sufficient for their functions within the institution, this mirrors the findings of Smith and Favell (2006), who show that when the employer (in this case the institution) does not require the migrants to speak the language of the country they do not experience not speaking the language of the country as a roadblock. Since the level of English of the respondents I talked to in this category is high, no issues occur here. Luis told me during his interview that he has now started to learn Dutch:

> *Now holding a position and starting a life, I'm now already here for two years, and I don't speak Dutch but I'm starting to understand more and more. And I definitely want to learn, and people's reactions are that this is not very common.* (Interview 1: Luis, page 4, 27-05-2019. See appendix 7.2.1.)

In contrast to refugees who have to speak the Dutch language in order to integrate and function in their daily lives, academic migrants in the Netherlands often do not learn the language of the country. This is possible because their day to day life mostly happens within the institution, where because of its international character and links to the *international academic community* speaking English is sufficient. The times that the individuals I interviewed are outside this bubble, in the Netherlands they manage to do most things while speaking English.

Work

The individuals I interviewed as academic migrants are all either studying or working in their country of destination, and this work and or study was arranged before they departed home. Based on being admitted to a programme or getting a job within the university, these people received the legal status to travel. Working and/or following an education programme is therefore embedded in their migration motive and in their status. Upon arrival they thus have the security of an occupation (a job for employees of the university, and a study programme for international students). Having an occupation upon arrival gives them stability during their placemaking as Pooneh describes: "*I am really happy here and I have my own job and salary here. I have my own life here and also I have security here*" (Interview 3: Pooneh, page 9, 21-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.3.). Because they are in this network of the institution it is also possible for them to switch their occupation as Valérie explains: "*I applied around and I got an offer from this other university and that is why I moved. And then I moved back here because they had another position opening here.*" (Interview 5: Valérie, page 3, 04-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.5.). With the status as academic migrants there is space during their placemaking process to change occupation within the academic community after arriving. This does not mean changing jobs goes without obstacles, Pooneh described that she felt that she had a disadvantage as Iranian scholar, but in the end she did find a new position:

And finally I was also searching for new job positions that were possible for me, but that was one of the challenging things, you are not accepted here because of your nationality. I don't say it is discrimination, but maybe they can't trust you because you were raised in another system … But I'm happy because I have my position here as a guest scholar and also as a PhD student. (Interview 3: Pooneh, page 8, 21-10-2019. See appendix 7.2.3.)

All this combined gives the people I categorised as academic migrants a headstart in comparison to the people that I interviewed in the group of refugees. As Valérie states: "*I never really feel disadvantaged in any way*" (Interview 5: Valérie, page 3, 04-11-2019. See appendix 7.2.5.). This is all embedded in their legal status. The people I interviewed in this group are labeled as 'wanted migrants', and thus accepted by the EU based on their added value for the EU (van Houtum, 2010). After admission the institution takes care of these individuals and their legal position as migrants, this legal base can be seen back throughout the opportunities in the placemaking processes of academic migrants.

5.   Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations
5.1.   Conclusions

As a basis for my further analysis, I first showed how the experiences of the travelling migration of the individuals that I interviewed vary and overlap regarding their background, experiences with bureaucracy, social network encounters and mental health issues. In regards to their background, the difference in how open they were about it is my main finding. The people that I categorised as academic migrants provided a much broader socio-economic context to their migration than the people categorised as refugees. A more important aspect that all respondents have in common is that they experienced bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is an important part of the migration trajectory, however, the perception and specifics vary broadly between the two groups. This is largely related to how clearly processes are framed for the people undergoing them. The opacity of the EU's border regime is significantly lower in the experiences of the individuals I categorised as refugees. This stands in contrast with the experiences of the individuals categorised as academic migrants, who due to their connection to an academic institution before the start of their travelling trajectory receive support from this institution when dealing with bureaucracy. Because of that, they experience less difficulties when they get in contact with the EU's border regime. Moreover, the role of social networks before, during and after the travelling trajectory vary largely. For the people in the group of refugees their encounters with other migrants and people in the migrant networks (such as smugglers) are important as a factor of support and agency, whereas for academic migrants whose travelling trajectory is much more individualistic, social networks mainly come into play during their placemaking. Lastly, the migration trajectory as a whole has an impact on the status of your mental health, but this expresses itself mostly after the travelling trajectory.

To explain where these similarities and differences come from, I analysed the relation between the migration motives and legal status and the experiences during the travelling migration. The different circumstances in which the migration decision was made for each of the groups led to different starting points for the migration and inherently different trajectories both in the preparation phase as well as during the travelling migration itself. The processes the individuals encounter within the EU's border regime are highly dependent on their status, either as a *wanted* or *unwanted migrant*. Entering the EU with a visa is often not an option for refugees; they have to resort to irregular border crossings in which their social networks play a shaping role. The migration trajectory of refugees is

however influenced by many more external factors, not just by their status and migration motive. For the people categorised as academic migrants their status shapes their trajectory, because this status is arranged before departure by the institution. Because they are accepted by an academic institution, they have a legal and supportive safetynet and can prove their position as *wanted migrants.* In their trajectory the obstacles they encounter are mostly solved before departure and are thus less directly influencing the twists and turns of their migration trajectory. The influence of the migration motive for this group mostly manifests itself in what experiences the people categorised in this group do not have.

In the last part I explored how placemaking processes were influenced by their travel experiences and legal status. The placemaking of the individuals categorised as refugees is shaped by their legal status and the procedures linked to this status. For asylum seekers I found that the procedures to get a legal status often limit their integration options. Once an individual gets the status of refugee there is more support from the government. When looking at their mental health, both the securitisation of migration in Europe and the experiences from their journey play a role. The placemaking processes of the people categorised as academic migrants have a different focus. After admission the institution takes care of these individuals for practical matters and supports them with arranging their legal status before departure. My general findings from this group are that their daily lives mostly take place within the framework of the institution. Therefore, their placemaking is much more international oriented which can be seen back in the forming of their social and professional networks and the necessity to speak the language of the country.

The answers provided above helped me to answer the main question of this thesis. This question was formulated as: "*How is the trajectory into the European Union experienced by academic migrants and refugees and how do these experiences influence their placemaking processes?*". The experiences during the trajectory into the European Union have been explained in the light of the experiences with background, bureaucracy, social networks and mental health that came forward in the conducted interviews. When looking at the overall picture of the migration trajectories, I would argue that during their trajectories refugees encounter more barriers which are overcome through the rearrangement of the trajectory. The trajectory of the academic migrants are predominantly shaped by the supportive structure of the institution that accepted them as an employee or student before the start of their travelling trajectory. During the placemaking processes, the previous experiences from the migrants are less influential than the legal status the migrant gains. However, the experiences a migrant has during their travel are often closely related to the migrant's motive and should not be overlooked. The focus on status in the European border regime results in a distant and sometimes inhumane treatment of the migrant, especially in the case of people that I have categorised as refugees.

5.2. Reflection and recommendations

When writing a thesis a clear demarcation is important, in doing so the scope and focus of the research are defined. Within migration studies there are plenty of very interesting and valuable questions to research, however, you can never include everything. The scope of a Bachelor's thesis is limited, Therefore, I chose for the specific focus on the migration trajectories of refugees and academic migrants. However, if I could do further research I would like to shed more light on the migration trajectories of for example labour migrants.

This brings me to the next point of my reflection. There are a multitude of stories and perspectives from migrants that I could not include in this thesis due to my limitation in resources and my own geographical location. During my thesis research I am located in the Netherlands and because

of that I have interviewed mostly people who are also located in the Netherlands. The migrants who are living in the Netherlands are thus those who succeeded in their attempt to migrate here. There are many other migrants that did not manage to migrate in the end or whose travel trajectory led them to a different destination. They are not included in the perspective of this thesis, because I did not have the fitting resources to contact these people.

Furthermore, I want to reflect on the interview guides that I created for the semi-structured interviews. The questions in the interview guides were not specifically catered to the research questions about placemaking processes. Because I did not ask about placemaking processes in the interview guide, there was subsequently less data about the placemaking processes of my respondents. The analysis of the third sub-question was thus done with a less diverse sample of data than the rest of the analysis.

Lastly, with more time and resources I would have liked to interview more people to better represent the diversity within the migrant population. With more respondents, patterns and structural issues can be distinguished better. However, the uniqueness of the experiences of each migrant should still be the centre point.

Either way, in this thesis I have been able to answer the research question *"How is the trajectory into the European Union experienced by academic migrants and refugees and how do these experiences influence their placemaking processes?"* using interviews about migration trajectories with individuals that I categorised as academic migrants and refugees. My analysis of their unique perspectives and experiences opens up new questions and angles of research that are relevant for the future. In the framework of this thesis individuals were categorised into two groups and this framed how they were approached in the analysis. However, I have been critically aware of this categorization throughout my research and I have focussed on the individual perspectives of migrants too. It is important to realise and highlight that the categorisations given to migrants by governments, media and academic literature influence the experiences that an individual has. Labelling migrants into groups often disserves the complexity and entanglement of their individual migration trajectory. Therefore, I recommend to critically reflect on the categorisation we make when researching migrants as I explain in 4.2.3., as to ensure that a person's unique story is at the center of an analysis. This focus is currently often not reflected in the policies regarding migration. In order to keep the EU a human entity which highly regards human rights, I suggest that this perspective should be better reflected in the policies of the EU's border regime both on local, national and European level.

6. Chapter 6: Literature

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7.   Chapter 7: Appendixes

7.1.   Interview guide

Introduction

Each year people come to Europe, everyone with their own reasons and stories. For people from European member states there is open mobility between the member states of the EU, but when people from non-EU countries want to enter the European Union they will have to pass security controls at the external EU border. With this research I would like to find out how different migrants experienced their migration trajectory. In this research I distinguish two groups of migrants, namely: academic migrants and refugees. The goal is first to state what differences and similarities in the experiences people who are considered to fit into one of these groups have. Furthermore, I will analyse how their status and migration motive has an impact on these experiences and how their different experiences have influenced their placemaking processes. That's why I start conversations with different people to talk about their experiences.

Questions for expert interviews

1. In what ways did you come into contact with the European Union's external border regime during your research?

2. How would you describe the current border regime of the EU?

3. In what way has the EU's external border regime changed since the 90's?

    a. Which events in history contributed greatly to this change?

4. What relation do you currently see between the way imported goods are treated and the way people who want to immigrate to the EU are treated?

5. Are there differences in how strict the border regime is enacted in different regions along the external border, and if so which differences are there in the mobility and border regimes of the EU at different regions along the external border?

6. How do the internal and external border regimes for people's mobility influence each other?

    a.

7. In what way can the securitization of migration be seen back in EU policies about borders and migration?

    a. What makes these discourses so strong that they can influence EU policies?

    b. How do these policies influence each of the three of the migrant groups chosen in this research?

8. Highly skilled migrants can apply for an European Blue Card. How is this practically integrated in the European border regime?

    a. Did this Blue Card create new opportunities and openings for migrants or are new barriers being created with this system. Why?

Questions for academic migrants

1. Can you tell me a bit more about yourself?

2. Why did you decide to come to the Netherlands?

3. When did you move to the Netherlands?

4. Were you invited by someone in the Netherlands to come work here or did you start looking for job opportunities abroad?

5. Were there other locations that you also considered to move to?

6. How much time in advance did you start preparations for your move to the Netherlands? (think of: plan the journey, taxes, shipping of belongings, selling and buying a house)

7. Did you migrate alone or did you bring any relatives or partner with you?

    a. If you migrated alone, did your family migrate to the Netherlands at a later time or are they still in your country of origin?

    b. If your family came along, how did you experience the procedure of arranging for them to come with you? (was this easy or complicated)

8. Have you ever considered changing jobs since you came to the Netherlands, if so why?

9. What was your first encounter with the EU and its border policies?

    a. When did this first encounter take place?

    b. How did this shape your image of the European Union as a whole?

    c. Did you feel welcomed while migrating to a European country?

10. Did you require a visa to move to the Netherlands?

    If yes:

    a. Did you have the possibility to apply for a visa online or did you have to go to an embassy?

b. How do you remember the process of applying for a visa? Were there any obstacles in requiring a visa for your stay?

c. How did the visa procedure influence your move to the EU?

d. How long was your visa for? Did you extend it since your first visa application?

e. Did you have the possibility to apply for the European Blue card, if so how did this procedure go for you?

11. How did you move to the Netherlands (which way of transport did you use, how did you bring your belongings)?

a. What did you have to do after you arrived at the border or at an international (air/sea) port within the EU?

b. How did this procedure go and how long did this procedure take?

12. How do you feel about your journey during your move to the Netherlands now if you look back on it?

Questions for refugees

1. Can you shortly introduce yourself?

2. When did you come to the Netherlands?

a. Was this the country you wanted to come to?

b. Why did you want to come to this country?

c. Did you have any connections to the Netherlands (people that you already knew here)? And how important was this for your journey?

3. Did you move directly to the Netherlands or did you first live in other European countries?

a. In which country did you first enter the EU?

b. Did you travel alone across the border?

c. What happened after you entered this country?

4. Did you try to apply for a visa to enter the EU before you arrived in Europe (student visa/ work visa/ family reunification)?

a. If yes, on which grounds did you apply for a visa?

b. What was your experience with the visa issuing office?

c. If your request was denied, on which grounds was your application denied?

d. If not, what made you decide not to apply for a visa?

5. Which means of transport did you use to travel to the EU?

a. Did you encounter border guards during your travel?

b. If yes, what was your experience with border guards/border systems?

    c.   Did you change your plans after you moved across the EU border?

6. Did you decide to move across the EU border by yourself or were other factors of more importance?

    a.   If other factors were important, how do you think they influenced your border crossing?

    b.   Did other people help you during your crossing?

7. Did you get in contact with border authorities after you arrived in the Netherlands?

7.2.   Interview transcripts

See separate appendix document with all interview transcripts.

8.   Chapter 8: Coded interview transcripts

See separate appendix document with all coded interview transcripts.

9.   Chapter 9: Excel Coding

See separate appendix document with the Excel coding.