

INTRODUCTION. Migration as a multi-sited phenomenon: Selectivity, transnationalism, and multiple comparisons in a growing field

INTRODUCCIÓN. La migración como fenómeno multisituado: Selectividad, transnacionalismo, y comparaciones múltiples en un campo en crecimiento

CAROLINA V. ZUCCOTTI*

Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED), España

czuccotti@poli.uned.es

ORCID id: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8374-2963>

JACOBO MUÑOZ-COMET (Corresponding author)

Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED), España

jmcomet@poli.uned.es

ORCID id: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8516-6517>

* The author is also affiliated to CEDH, Universidad de San Andrés.

Cómo citar este artículo / Citation: Zuccotti, Carolina V. and Jacobo Muñoz-Comet. 2025. "INTRODUCTION. Migration as a multi-sited phenomenon: Selectivity, transnationalism, and multiple comparisons in a growing field", *Revista Internacional de Sociología* 83(4): e283. <https://doi.org/10.3989/ris.2025.83.4.1497>

Recibido: 05/12/2024. **Aceptado:** 19/05/2025. **Publicado:** 02/02/2026

ABSTRACT

As migration and ethnic diversity become fundamental aspects of our societies, there is a need to expand the perspectives and methodologies used to study the drivers, the outcomes, and the experiences of migration. Migration is a multi-sited phenomenon in which both origin and destination(s) play a fundamental role. This perspective, though intuitively central to the understanding of migration, has not often been the focus of empirical sociological research. The proposal brings together seven original articles and seventeen migration scholars who uniquely adopt a broadly defined multi-sited approach in their work. The articles address diverse geographic contexts and apply both quantitative and qualitative methods to examine topics such as migrant selection, comparisons between migrants and non-migrants, and transnational networks. Together, they demonstrate the value of adopting multi-sited perspectives to capture the diversity and complexity of migration dynamics.

KEYWORDS: multi-sited studies; selection; transnationalism; immigrants; integration; methodology.

RESUMEN

A medida que la migración y la diversidad étnica se convierten en aspectos fundamentales de nuestras sociedades, surge la necesidad de ampliar las perspectivas y metodologías utilizadas para estudiar los factores que impulsan la migración, sus consecuencias y las experiencias asociadas a ella. La migración es un fenómeno multisituado, en el que tanto el lugar de origen como el(los) de destino(s) desempeñan un papel fundamental. Esta perspectiva, aunque intuitivamente central para la comprensión de la migración, ha sido considerada con menor frecuencia en la investigación sociológica empírica. La propuesta reúne siete manuscritos originales y a diecisiete especialistas

en migración que, de manera singular y en sentido amplio, adoptan un enfoque multisituado en sus trabajos. Los artículos abordan diversos contextos geográficos y aplican métodos tanto cuantitativos como cualitativos para examinar temas como la selección migratoria, las comparaciones entre migrantes y no migrantes, y las redes transnacionales. En conjunto, resaltan la relevancia de adoptar perspectivas multisituadas para abordar la diversidad y la complejidad de las dinámicas migratorias.

PALABRAS CLAVE: estudios multisituados; selección; transnacionalismo; inmigrantes; integración; metodología.

MIGRATION AS A MULTI-SITED PHENOMENON

As migration and ethnic diversity become a fundamental part of our societies, there is a need to expand the perspectives and methodologies used to study migration. Migration is a multi-sited phenomenon shaped by individual, family, and contextual dynamics operating across both origin and destination. These dynamics play a fundamental role in understanding not only the drivers and outcomes of migration, but also the ongoing interactions between migrants and non-migrants. While this perspective, which seems apparent for the understanding of migration, has inspired large-scale multi-sited projects—such as the well-known Mexican Migration Project, in Mexico and the US, or the Migrations between Africa and Europe (MAFE) and 2000 Families projects, in Europe—¹its use in empirical sociological research is relatively limited. This is due, among other factors, to the over-emphasis on the adaptation (i.e., integration) problems in the destination country, on the one hand, and on the methodological, practical and financial challenges that multi-sited research often encompasses, on the other. This proposal brings together seven original articles that uniquely use a multi-sited approach to respond to compelling questions related to the experience of migration, as well as its causes and consequences. By doing so, the collection contributes to, and encourages, deeper reflection on the importance of considering the multiple locations involved in the process of migration.

Why adopt a multi-sited approach in migration research? A multi-sited perspective is important for disentangling not only the role of origin and destination(s) in migration processes, but also how these multiple locations can impact individuals' livelihoods and life chances. This leads to questions about migrant selection and its impact, how integration may vary across destinations, how transnational networks are developed, and how moving between places can involve return and circularity—all of which are topics exemplified in this special issue.

The multi-sited nature of migration can be explored both through quantitative and qualitative approaches, as this special issue also demonstrates. In fact, if studies on selection and on the outcomes of migration across destinations are more typical of quantitative approaches, within qualitative studies, the tradition of transnationalism and multi-sited ethnography—which focuses on processual connections across different sites and aims to reconstruct systems of relationships and translocal interdependencies—is fundamental. Both methodological traditions are complementary and address different questions about the migration phenomenon.

The following sections are organized as follows. First, we provide an overview of quantitative and qualitative approaches in multi-sited research, and how they relate to the themes of this special issue. Next, we summarize the main contributions. Finally, we share conclusions.

Quantitative approaches in multi-sited migration research

As one becomes acquainted with quantitative research on migration, especially research in the field of sociology, it becomes clear that a large number of studies (if not the majority) have been dedicated to analyzing integration outcomes. This began with the writings on assimilation theory in the US (Burgess 1925; Gordon 1964; Park and Burgess 1969; Alba and Nee 2003), and the more recent ethnic penalties debates in Europe (Heath and Ridge 1983)—two geographical areas that have received a large and diverse number of migrants in the last century. Subsequent research has extensively explored these topics (for a review, see e.g. Drouhot and Nee 2019; Heath et al. 2008). In practice, the aim of comparing migrants and natives is to identify how well migrants and their children integrate, what barriers they face, and in which areas (education, labor market, housing, among the most important ones) they perform better. Both the idea of assimilation—in its more recent versions (Alba and Nee 2003)—and the idea of ethnic penalties refer to a process by which migrant-origin individuals (who are often ethnic minorities in destination countries as well) acquire opportunities that are equal to that of the majority population. This idea of 'equal opportunities' is present in most studies of migrant

1. See: <https://mmp-lamp.research.brown.edu/>, <https://mafeproject.site.ined.fr/en/>, and <https://2000families.org/>.

integration. In quantitative research, this implies exploring how migrants and their children compare to natives across a series of outcomes once key predictors of those outcomes are considered. It is common, for example, to find studies on occupational attainment that control for education (e.g., Heath and Cheung 2007), or studies of educational outcomes that control for parental education (e.g., Kristen and Granato 2007). The aim, in all cases, is to find and explore potential gaps associated with being a migrant or an ethnic minority, which are often attributed to constraints (for example, discrimination in the labor or housing markets), but also to preferences (for example, cultural values, community factors, motivation, etc.).

While extremely relevant for understanding processes of integration (and exclusion), studying how migrants and their children compare to natives in destination provides only a partial view of the outcomes of migration. Migrants, especially economic migrants, move to make their lives and those of the people around them (family, children) better (Feliciano 2005; Sjaastad 1962). This means that, when possible, those who decide to make a move to another country often seek to achieve two aims. First, they seek to improve not only their own lives, but also the lives of their children relative to their own; and second, migrants seek to provide their children with a better life than would have been possible in their country of origin or somewhere else. While the perspective that considers parental origins and/or educational and social mobility processes has gained relevance in migration studies (Li and Heath 2016; Portes and Fernandez-Kelly 2008), the number of studies that adopt a perspective that combines information from *both* origin and destination (Beauchemin 2014; Zuccotti et al. 2017) is much more limited.

A first key theme in quantitative multi-sited research—which is addressed in this special issue through the work of Platt and Zuccotti and of Cebolla-Boado and Miyar-Busto—is that of **selection**: the interest in who migrates and where. Factors such as individuals' socioeconomic resources, education, social networks, and aspirations, among others, are known to be key determinants of migration (Feliciano 2020). Consequently, migrants often differ from non-migrants in these objective and subjective traits, making both the decision to migrate and the ability to do so selective (Feliciano 2005b). Furthermore, a particular migrant group in one location may also differ from their co-nationals in another location: the choice of destination is also selective. Addressing this issue is pivotal for anyone interested in studying the causes and effects of migration, especially when multiple origins and/or destinations are under research. For example, while research shows that individuals with fewer resources tend to be more often constrained to remain at home or to move intra-regionally (i.e., South-South) (Hujo and Piper 2007), and that individuals with more resources are more prone to move South-North, in their analysis of educational selectivity of South American migrants Platt and Zuccotti challenge this finding by providing a more complex scenario. Similarly, while migrants are often assumed to represent a positive selection from the origin population in factors such as motivation and resilience, in their study of Romanian migrants in Spain and the UK, Cebolla-Boado and Miyar-Busto challenge this assumption.

A related concern in multi-sited research is **how selection may affect the outcomes of migration**, especially in terms of integration patterns (Feliciano 2005a, 2020; Ichou 2014). This is because migrants may not only vary in their relative position at origin (for example, in terms of education or socioeconomic status) or be particularly resilient populations—traits that may directly impact on outcomes—but also because selection leads, by definition, to varied compositions of migrant networks across destinations. For example, networks may be more qualified if migration involves larger distances, and this “ethnic capital” (Borjas 1992) created through the process of selection may also impact integration outcomes (Kim and Kulkarni 2009; Shah, Dwyer and Modood 2010). The article by Ferrara and Brunori explores this issue in detail, showing—for the Italian case—whether and how the selectivity of migrant parents influences the aspirations and educational outcomes of their children.

Finally, a third key theme in multi-sited research using quantitative methods regards the **comparison of migrants with non-migrants at origin**—which the literature has started to identify as the dissimilation-from-origins- perspective (Guveli et al., 2017)—and/or the comparison with the same migrant group in other destinations. Through the comparison of migrants and their children with those who remained at origin or with those who moved elsewhere, we can start elucidating what might have happened had they not migrated or had they chosen a different location. These questions are relevant since they can offer counterfactuals to migration, and therefore help evaluate its impact. This perspective is explored in the contribution by Dewki, Sno, and Ganzeboom, who compare how structural and relative mobility compare between Surinamese in Surinam and Surinamese abroad.

Qualitative approaches in multi-sited migration research

Qualitative multi-sited research is often embodied in transnational approaches, which typically draw on multi-sited ethnography. Similar to quantitative multi-sited designs, **transnationalism** emerges as an alternative

analytical framework to what is known as “methodological nationalism” (Schiller et.al 1992). Methodological nationalism—found in both quantitative and qualitative research—tends to limit fieldwork to a particular context (i.e., the destination country) as if migrants confined their activities, statuses, and identities within the borders of a single nation-state (King 2018). Conversely, transnationalism and multi-sited ethnography presuppose the existence of processual connections across different sites and aim to reconstruct systems of relationships and translocal interdependencies. As defined by Schiller et. al. (1992), transnationalism is “... the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement.” (pp. 1).

The study of the transnational space often implies a **multi-sited ethnography**—that is, the need to conduct fieldwork in different spatially separated places (Marcus 1995). Multi-sited ethnography tracks people, connections, and relationships between places that are interrelated. The latter is important to note: in multi-sited ethnography, the relational aspect between different locations is fundamental. This feature distinguishes it from the classical ethnographic approach whereby societies and cultures are understood as autonomous and unconnected entities (Marcus 2018). Thus, as Boccagni (2020) explains, instead of conducting multiple independent ethnographies, it is about investigating translocal connections, the circulation of resources, ideas, and people between places.

Multi-sited ethnography is especially useful for conducting research on population movements between two or more locations. For example, we can study diasporas or communities originating from the same homeland or sharing ethnic and cultural origins, which are established in different territories around the world. This connection between places, created through the movement of individuals, is what accounts for the transnational dimension of migratory phenomena. Grasmuck and Pessar (1991) produced one of the first works carried out from this perspective, with their ethnography of the Dominican community settled in New York and in selected localities in the Dominican Republic. Fieldwork focusing on migrants at destination and their families at origin is also common within this approach. The works of Soriano Miras, Escobar-Blanco, and Sobczyk and of Vázquez-López and Oso are clear examples of this, with their analysis of interviews with transnational families in both origin and destination countries. In particular, their studies address how the migrant population is integrated into transnational social fields, built on the basis of family and community social networks. This approach allows the micro and meso scales to be combined in the analysis, accounting for how transnational families articulate migration projects and socio-economic strategies, which makes it possible to identify aspects related to gender and intergenerational dynamics (Oso and Suárez-Grimalt 2017).

One of the advantages of multi-sited ethnography is that it makes it possible to follow the immigrant population over time and space (Oso et al. 2023). Migrants develop changing **spatio-temporal trajectories**, which do not necessarily follow a linear origin-destination logic. For example, the specialized literature has documented pendular, seasonal, circular, return, and recurrent migration on countless occasions. This requires flexible methodological tools adapted to following people. This approach is very well exemplified in the work of Jiménez Zunino and Herrera Rubalcaba, who followed Argentinean migrants over a 20-year time span. Likewise, ‘mobile’ methods allow for the analysis of not only material objects—such as remittances and products and goods that travel between countries of origin and destination—but also of the mobility of ideas, symbols, discourses, narratives, or even conflicts, that cross borders. This would be the case, for example, in studies on the refugee crisis and the routes of this mobility (King 2018).

SCOPE OF THIS SPECIAL ISSUE

This special issue brings together seven original articles and seventeen migration scholars who analyze international migration from a multi-sited perspective. The articles focus on different geographical contexts and seek to answer fundamental questions about the phenomenon using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Four articles deal with different aspects of migrant selectivity. Using quantitative methods, these papers highlight the importance of the various origin and destination contexts and address key questions about who migrates and where, how migrants compare to non-migrants, and what the impact of migration is for migrants and their children. The other three articles adopt a transnational theoretical approach and a multi-sited qualitative methodology. Using biographical and semi-structured interviews, these papers focus on transnational care practices, the analysis of multi-local migratory experiences, and the exploration of female transnational ties.

Contribution of the articles

This special issue opens with an article on the selectivity of South Americans who migrate to places in the Global South and North, by Lucinda Platt and Carolina V. Zuccotti. The authors study selection patterns of

migrants to the Global North and Global South, focusing on South American migrants—a particularly interesting group characterized by a high share of intra-regional (especially toward Argentina) and extra-regional (especially toward Spain and the US) migration. Using harmonized census microdata from IPUMS International, they explore a key indicator in this type of research: educational selection. This measure, calculated as each migrant's rank in the educational distribution of their birth cohort and sex within their country of origin, allows them to study how selection varies across South American migrant groups according to both origin and destination, and how it has evolved over three decades, from the 1990s to the 2010s. Among other findings, they show that being more selected often facilitates migration in the first place and supports moves to more distant or challenging destinations such as the US. At the same time, intra-regional moves can also be selective, and at times resemble those directed toward Europe (where, nevertheless, selectivity remains lower than that toward the US).

The article by Héctor Cebolla-Boado and María Miyar-Busto delves into the selectivity of migrants in the European context. Similar to the articles by Platt and Zuccotti and by Ferrara and Brunori, the authors construct a measure of relative selection, which they complement with a measure of resilience—operationalized as job search intensity during unemployment—a normally unobserved trait. The study, which uses data from the European Labour Force Survey, focuses on Romanians living in Spain and the UK, two countries with contrasting labor markets and very different human capital returns. It shows, in the first place, that Romanians are highly selected in education from their population of origin, especially in the UK, where labor market returns to education are higher. However, this higher selection does not translate into higher resilience: when unemployed, Romanians in Spain and the UK do not demonstrate significantly greater job search intensity compared to native populations in the destination countries or Romanians who stayed in Romania. The article therefore challenges assumptions prevalent in debates over migrant selection, particularly regarding unobservable traits, and argues that academic literature may overestimate the consequences of migrant selection, at least in terms of resilience.

The selectivity of migrants and how it impacts outcomes at their destinations is explored in the article by Alessandro Ferrara and Claudia Brunori, who analyze the case of migrant-origin children in Italy and the widely documented paradox between educational aspirations and attainment. According to this paradox, young immigrants tend to have higher aspirations than natives in terms of educational attainment, even though they often lag behind in reality. The starting point for this research is that the selectivity of migrant parents may drive these aspirations, although lower socio-economic status may subsequently weigh on outcomes. Using data from the Integration of the Second Generation survey, the authors study the impact of parents' relative education (as a measure of selection) on various subjective (children's aspirations and attitudes) and objective (school grades) outcomes. They reveal that while parental educational selectivity is associated with higher educational aspirations, it is not linked to school grades or attitudes among the children of migrants. As a result, second-generation youth may be locked in an "aspiration squeeze," with relatively ambitious goals but limited means to attain them, suggesting that other factors, such as discrimination and material conditions, may more strongly determine their achievements.

The final article that uses quantitative methods is authored by Virin Dewki, Tamira E. Sno, and Harry BG Ganzeboom, who analyze the intergenerational social mobility of Surinamese in Suriname and their siblings who have migrated to other countries (the Netherlands, Caribbean islands, and the United States). The sibling design allows for direct comparison of social mobility and status attainment between and within families. Using data assembled from five general population sample surveys, collected between 1992 and 2023, and covering cohorts born between 1940 and 1995, who migrated between 1970 and 2020, the authors confirm that Surinamese abroad are positively selected from the Surinamese population, both in terms of their parents' and their own educational level. The authors also find that although there is major upward (structural) mobility among migrants compared to non-migrants, in particular for women, relative mobility is only slightly higher among migrants than among non-migrants. Insofar as international migration promotes relative mobility, this is entirely due to migrants' lower returns to education.

The set of qualitative studies in this special issue starts with the article by Rosa Soriano, Carolina Escobar-Blanco, and Rita Sobczyk. This research analyzes the transnational family ties of Colombian women in southern Spain, focusing on how their lives and those of their relatives in Colombia are interconnected within a transnational context that spans national borders. To this end, the researchers interviewed 18 women in Granada and some of their relatives residing across different regions in Colombia. The study examines how the 2008 economic and financial crisis in Spain profoundly affected Colombian migrant women and their transnational families, reshaping not only their economic conditions but also their emotional well-being, household dynamics, and migration plans. Using a reflexive, multi-sited ethnographic approach, it highlights how gender, class, and power relations shape migrants' experiences and discourses across Spain and Colombia. The findings reveal that

the crisis intensified economic vulnerability—especially among women working in precarious sectors—while also generating tensions within transnational families over remittances, roles, and responsibilities. The research further discusses the advantages and challenges of multi-sited qualitative research and the potential role that new communication technologies could play in easing the logistical challenges of this methodological approach.

The next article, authored by Alba Vázquez-López and Laura Oso, applies the multi-sited perspective to the study of transnational patrimonial care, a previously overlooked form of care in studies of transnational families. Patrimonial care involves the management of immovable family assets—such as homes, land, domestic animals, and burial sites—which are both economically and symbolically significant within transnational family networks. Through the analysis of interviews with Cuban-origin members of transnational families in Galicia (Spain) and Cuba, the researchers reveal how this form of care strengthens social and emotional ties, circulates together with remittances and goods, and contributes to the formation of transnational communities. By integrating patrimonial care into existing frameworks for care circulation and transnational (im)mobility strategies, the article demonstrates its central role in shaping family structures, intergenerational transmission, personal relationships, and strategies for social and spatial mobility. Overall, the study reveals that mobility and immobility strategies are deeply interconnected within transnational spaces, positioning patrimonial care as a central element in the broader dynamics of global care circulation.

The special issue closes with an article dedicated to the analysis of Argentine migrations to Spain, taking into account different types of migratory trajectories. The authors of the research, Cecilia Jiménez Zunino and Daniela Herrera Rubalcaba, draw on 60 semi-structured interviews conducted using a multi-sited methodology with people who have experienced different types of (im)mobility over a period of 20 years. Through the analysis of the discourses and experiences of Argentine migrants from a transnational approach, the researchers find that the (im)mobility of those interviewed stems not only from economic factors, but also from family events and the possession and control of economic, social, and cultural capital. The authors reveal how varied migration trajectories can be dependent on these capitals, with some migrants staying permanently in Spain, others returning to Argentina, and still others engaging in circular migration. The unequal opportunities observed across the compared trajectories reveal that within the transnational social space linking Argentina and Spain, migrants strategically navigate and reshape available structures of opportunity. While initial capital proved influential, migrants were also able to accumulate, transform, and redirect other forms of capital throughout their migratory journeys.

CONCLUSION

This special issue contributes to the growing debate on the significance of considering the multiple locations involved in migration. By bringing together quantitative and qualitative research that employ multi-sited approaches, it addresses critical questions about the migration experience, its causes, and its consequences, while emphasizing migration as a dynamic and complex process that unfolds across interconnected places. A central feature of this perspective—shared by all the articles in the issue—is the consideration of individuals and families across origin and destination contexts. This approach is crucial for understanding both the outcomes of migration and the ways migrants and their families perceive and experience its effects, inviting reflection on how mobility continuously shapes lives and social relations across borders.

The use of multiple comparisons is an essential tool in the social sciences, and within migration studies, multi-sited research exemplifies this strength. We hope that this special issue encourages new researchers to engage with and further develop this innovative line of inquiry, fostering interdisciplinary dialogue and inspiring methodological innovation in the study of migration.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This special issue is associated with Carolina V. Zuccotti's project GLAM—Global South Migration and Comparative Integration: A Study of South American Migrants (2021-2024), funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 101023322 (<https://sites.google.com/view/carolinazuccotti/GLAM-Migration>).

The work has also been supported by the Agencia Estatal de Investigación from Spain, through two research fundings: RYC2023-045128-I (financed by MCIU/AEI/10.13039/501100011033 and the FSE+) and PID2024-160251NB-C22.

Several of the papers included in this special issue were presented at the conference "*Migration as a Multi-Sited Phenomenon*," organized within the GLAM project at Universidad Carlos III de Madrid on April 25–26, 2023 (<https://sites.google.com/view/carolinazuccotti/GLAM-Migration/conference-migration-as-a-multi-sited-phenomenon>). Many of the authors contributing to this special issue were also co-organizers of the conference. We are deeply grateful to all of them—and to those who joined later—for their collaboration in making this publication possible.

We also gratefully acknowledge the support of Prof. Lucinda Platt (London School of Economics and Political Science), whose funding made both the conference and this special issue a reality.

Thank you, at last, to the anonymous reviewers and the editorial board of RIS, for an excellent collaboration.

REFERENCES

- Alba, Richard and Victor Nee. 2003. *Remaking the American Mainstream. Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Beauchemin, Cris. 2014. "A manifesto for quantitative multi-sited approaches to international migration." *International Migration Review* 48(4): 921–938. doi:10.1111/imre.12157
- Boccagni, Paulo. 2020. *Multi-sited ethnography*. Sage Publications Limited.
- Borjas, George. 1992. "Ethnic capital and intergenerational mobility." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 107(1): 123–150. doi:10.3386/w3788
- Burgess, Ernest W. (Ed.). 1925. *The urban community*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Drouhot, Lucas G. and Victor Nee. 2019. "Assimilation and the second generation in Europe and America: Blending and segregating social dynamics between immigrants and natives." *Annual Review of Sociology* 45(1): 177–199. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073117-041335>
- Feliciano, Cynthia. 2005. "Educational selectivity in U.S. immigration: how do immigrants compare to those left behind?" *Demography* 42(1): 131–152. doi: 10.1353/dem.2005.0001
- Feliciano, Cynthia. 2005a. "Does selective migration matter? Explaining ethnic disparities in educational attainment among immigrants' children." *International Migration Review* 39(4): 841–871. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2005.tb00291.x>
- Feliciano, Cynthia. 2020. "Immigrant selectivity effects on health, labor market, and educational outcomes." *Annual Review of Sociology* 46(1): 315–334. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-121919-054639>
- Gordon, Milton M. 1964. *Assimilation in American life: the role of race, religion, and national origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Grasmuck, Sherri and Patricia R. Pessar. 1991. *Between two islands: Dominican international migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Guveli, Ayse, Ganzeboom, Harry B. G., Baykara-Krumme, Helen, Platt, Lucinda, Eroğlu, Şebnem, Spierings, Niels, Bayrakdar, Sait, Nauck, Bernhard, and Sozeri, Efe K. (2017). "2,000 Families: identifying the research potential of an origins-of-migration study." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40(14): 2558–2576. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2016.1234628>
- Heath, Anthony and Sin Yi Cheung (Eds.). 2007. *Unequal chances. Ethnic minorities in Western labour markets*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Heath, Anthony and John Ridge. 1983. "Social mobility of ethnic minorities." *Journal of Biosocial Science* 15(Supplement 8): 169–184.
- Heath, Anthony, Catherine Rethon, and Elina Kilpi. 2008. "The second generation in Western Europe: education, unemployment, and occupational attainment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 34(1): 211–235. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.34.040507.134728>
- Hujo, Katja and Nicola Piper. 2007. "South–South migration: challenges for development and social policy." *Development* 50(4): 19–25. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.development.1100419>
- Ichou, Mathieu. 2014. "Who they were there: immigrants' educational selectivity and their children's educational attainment." *European Sociological Review* 30(6): 750–765.
- Kim, D. Y. and V. S. Kulkarni. 2009. "The role of father's occupation on intergenerational educational and occupational mobility: the case of second-generation Chinese Americans in New York." *Sociological Forum* 24(1): 104–134. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1573-7861.2008.01088.x>
- King, Russell. 2018. "Context-based qualitative research and multi-sited migration studies in Europe." Pp. 35–56 in *Qualitative Research in European migration studies* edited by R. Zapata-Barrero and E. Yalaz. Cham: Springer.
- Kristen, Cornelia and Nadia Granato. 2007. "The educational attainment of the second generation in Germany: Social origins and ethnic inequality." *Ethnicities* 7(3): 343–366. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796807080233>
- Li, Yaojun and Anthony Heath. 2016. "Class matters: a study of minority and majority social mobility in Britain, 1982–2011." *American Journal of Sociology* 122(1): 162–200. <https://doi.org/10.1086/686696>
- Marcus, George E. 1995. "Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24(1): 95–117. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.24.100195.000523>
- Marcus, George E. 2018. "Etnografía multisituada. Reacciones y potencialidades de un ethos del método antropológico durante las primeras décadas de 2000." *Etnografías Contemporáneas*, 4(7).

- Oso, Laura and Laura Suárez-Grimalt. 2017. "Migración y estrategias intergeneracionales de movilidad social: retos teóricos y metodológicos." *Migraciones. Publicación del Instituto Universitario de Estudios sobre Migraciones* 42: 19–41. <https://doi.org/10.14422/mig.i42.y2017.002>
- Oso, Laura, Ana López-Sala and Jacobo Muñoz Comet. 2023. *Sociología de las Migraciones*. Madrid: Síntesis.
- Park, Robert E. and Ernest W. Burgess. 1969. *Introduction to the science of sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Portes, Alejandro and Patricia Fernández-Kelly. 2008. "No margin for error: educational and occupational achievement among disadvantaged children of immigrants." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 620(1): 12–36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716208322577>
- Schiller, Nina Glick, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton. 1992. "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration." *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 645: 1–24.
- Shah, Bindi, Claire Dwyer and Tariq Modood. 2010. "Explaining educational achievement and career aspirations among young British Pakistanis: mobilizing 'ethnic capital'?" *Sociology* 44(6): 1109–1127. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038510381606>
- Sjaastad, Larry A. 1962. "The costs and returns of human migration." *Journal of Political Economy* 70(5): 80–93.
- Zuccotti, Carolina V., Harry B. G. Ganzeboom and Ayse Guveli. 2017. "Has migration been beneficial for migrants and their children? Comparing social mobility of Turks in Western Europe, Turks in Turkey, and Western European natives." *International Migration Review* 51(1): 97–126. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12219>