

Peter Adey • Janet C. Bowstead
Katherine Brickell • Vandana Desai
Mike Dolton • Alasdair Pinkerton
Ayesha Siddiqi
Editors

The Handbook of Displacement

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Peter Adey
Department of Geography
Royal Holloway, University of London
Egham, UK

Janet C. Bowstead
Department of Geography
Royal Holloway, University of London
Egham, UK

Katherine Brickell
Department of Geography
Royal Holloway, University of London
Egham, UK

Vandana Desai
Department of Geography
Royal Holloway, University of London
Egham, UK

Mike Dolton
Department of Geography
Royal Holloway, University of London
Egham, UK

Alasdair Pinkerton
Department of Geography
Royal Holloway, University of London
Egham, UK

Ayesha Siddiqi
Department of Geography
University of Cambridge
Cambridge, UK

ISBN 978-3-030-47177-4 ISBN 978-3-030-47178-1 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-47178-1>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2020

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: Mary Turner / Contributor/getty images

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG. The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Part VI Section Six: More-Than-Human Displacements	539
37 Intervention: Flower Power—Khmer Women’s Protests Against Displacement in Cambodia and the United States	541
<i>Katherine Brickell</i>	
38 Animals, People, and Places in Displacement	549
<i>Benjamin Thomas White</i>	
39 Energy on the Move: Displaced Objects in Knowledge and Practice	569
<i>Jamie Cross, Craig Martin, and G. Arno Verhoeven</i>	
40 Smartphones: Digital Infrastructures of the Displaced	583
<i>Koen Leurs and Jeffrey Patterson</i>	
41 Family Photographs in Displacement	599
<i>Penelope Pitt</i>	
42 Displaced Home-Objects in Homing Experiences	613
<i>Mastoureh Fathi</i>	
43 The Role of Design in Displacement: Moving Beyond Quick-Fix Solutions in Rebuilding Housing After Disaster	629
<i>Esther Charlesworth and John Fien</i>	
Part VII Section Seven: Representing Displacement	651
44 Intervention: Activism, Research and Film-Making—Fighting for the Right to Housing in Bucharest, Romania	653
<i>Michele Lancione</i>	
45 How Not to Eat Human Stories: Ruts, Complicities, and Methods in Visual Representations of Refugees	659
<i>Dominika Blachnicka-Ciacek</i>	
46 Displacements of Experience: The Case of Immersion and Virtual Reality	673
<i>Emma Bond</i>	



40

Smartphones: Digital Infrastructures of the Displaced

Koen Leurs and Jeffrey Patterson

Introduction

Smartphones are material, portable, embodied, and affective artefacts. In this chapter, the various meanings, roles, and usages smartphones play in the lives of displaced migrants will be assessed by unpacking smartphones as infrastructures. We provide an overview of research on transnationally displaced, digitally connected migrants. Our focus is particularly on studies on and with refugees fleeing from armed conflict or in fear of prosecution based on race, gender, sexual orientation, or religion—but we are also cognisant of the unjust and detrimental ‘categorical fetishism’ of labelling mobile populations (Crawley and Skleparis 2018, p. 49). During the so-called European refugee crisis in 2015, when newspapers featured photos of refugees taking selfies upon safe arrival on European shores, discussions erupted among politicians and social media circuits about whether smartphone-owning migrants were bogus asylum seekers. However, over time many came to realise that for

K. Leurs (✉) • J. Patterson

Graduate Gender Programme, Department of Media and Culture Studies, Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands

e-mail: K.H.A.Leurs@uu.nl

displaced migrants smartphones are not luxury items, but bare essentials for survival and transnational communication. In their *Connecting Refugees* report, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that 68 per cent of refugees living in urban areas have an Internet-enabled phone (versus 22 per cent in rural areas) (UNHCR 2016). Through notions including ‘connected migrants’ (Diminescu 2020), the ‘smart refugee’ (Dekker et al. 2018) and the ‘connected refugee’ (Smets 2018), scholars are exploring the roles of smartphones in the lives of the displaced (e.g. Mancini et al. 2019). Displacement results in changing media routines and ‘media-related needs’ (Bellardi et al. 2018, p. 25). In this chapter, we map the conceptual contours of these emerging discussions in the fields of media, communication, migration studies, cultural anthropology, geography, and human rights. Scholarship on the role of smartphones is but one example of the emergent interdisciplinary research focus on ‘digital migration studies’ (Leurs and Smets 2018) that studies migration in and through smartphones, datafication, and digitally networked technologies.

By addressing smartphones as a component of the wider migration infrastructure, our aim is to move beyond fetishising the device and chart scholarship across the nexus of migrant-centric and non-migrant-centric scholarship and media-centric and non-media-centric approaches (see also Alencar 2020). By taking infrastructures as an analytic lens, scholars have begun to open up the ‘black box of migration’ (Lindquist et al. 2012) over the course of the last decade. This approach addresses migration as a constellation of non-migrants and migrants and human and non-human actors. The increased attention for infrastructures can be understood as part of a broader ‘moment when a variety of scholars across a range of disciplines have brought the topic of infrastructures out of the expert seclusion of policy, engineering and technology development into the more open daylight of anthropology, sociology, political science, and urban studies’ (Appadurai 2015, p.xii). Migration infrastructure, as argued by Biao Xiang and Johan Lindquist, refers to ‘the systematically interlinked technologies, institutions, and actors that facilitate and condition mobility’ (2014, p. 122). In particular, we build on Marie Gillespie et al. (2018) who took up an ‘infrastructural lens’ to research the ‘digital passage’ of Syrian refugees to Europe. Through this lens, they ‘capture the dialectical dynamics of opportunity and vulnerability, and the forms of resilience and solidarity, that arise as forced migration and digital connectivity coincide’ (Gillespie et al. 2018, p. 1).

This chapter focuses on three distinct ways in which smartphones are studied in the context of displaced migration, as part of infrastructures of (1) survival and surveillance, (2) transnational communication and emotion management, and (3) digital self-representation. Although we seek to provide

an overview of scholarship on smartphones and displacement from across the world, our own fieldwork research has mostly concentrated on young ‘connected migrants’ residing in Europe. It includes work with young Syrian refugees, understanding their smartphones as personal pocket archives (Leurs 2017), as well as transnational and local digital connections maintained by gay displaced migrants and expatriates living in Amsterdam, the Netherlands (Patterson and Leurs 2019). Throughout the three sections below, we aim to be attentive to the dialectic of structure and agency, subordination and empowerment.

Survival and Surveillance

In this section we discuss the usage of smartphones to assist in mapping journeys, maintaining transnational connectivity, as well as to access information during pre-migration, in-transit, and post-migration journeys. Developing the notion of ‘smartphone travelling,’ Judith Zijlstra and van Ilse Liempt (2017) focus on the role of smartphones in the journeys of irregular migrants from Turkey towards various destinations in Europe. They find ‘mobile technology shapes and facilitate parts of the journey—like, for example, decisions on routes and modes of travel, final destinations and the financing of irregular migration’ (Zijlstra and van Liempt 2017, p. 174). Zijlstra and van Liempt (2017) also demonstrate that smartphones, besides a relevant research topic, offer new means to conduct research; in their case they incorporated smartphones as a tool in their trajectory ethnography as an additional means of following their participants across online and offline spaces. During their journeys, smartphones enable migrants to facilitate their routes through GPS navigation, to maintain contact with smugglers, to send and access remittances and to place distress phone calls in case of emergencies. In his fieldwork with Congolese migrants and trans-Saharan migration, Max Schaub notes that although phones may facilitate migration as they allow migrants ‘to tie together novel, geographically expansive networks,’ an expanded ‘communication infrastructure’ (i.e. mobile phone coverage) is only one of the factors that turn a region into a ‘transitable’ one (2012, p. 126).

In Europe and the United States, refugee-led and oriented Facebook and WhatsApp groups have been popularised as a ‘TripAdvisor for refugees’ (Latonero and Kift 2018), but everyday realities are more complex. Displaced migrants have been found to struggle in navigating their ‘information needs’ (Maitland 2018, p. 6) in a complex information landscape, a continuum which researchers have described as ranging from situations of harsh

‘information precarity’ (Wall et al. 2017) to the abundance of the ‘mobile commons’ shaped by ‘migrant digitalities’ (Trimikliniotis et al. 2015). While information precarity concerns ‘the condition of instability that refugees experience in accessing news and personal information, potentially leaving them vulnerable to misinformation, stereotyping, and rumors that can affect their economic and social capital’ (Wall et al. 2017, p. 240), Nicos Trimikliniotis et al. (2015) define the mobile commons as follows:

The invisible *knowledge of mobility* circulates between the people on the move (knowledge about border crossings, routes, shelters, hubs, escape routes, resting places; knowledge about policing and surveillance, ways to defy control, strategies against bio- surveillance, etc.), but also between trans-migrants attempting to settle in a place (knowledge about existing communities, social support, educational resources, access to health, ethnic economies, micro-banks, etc.). (p. 53)

As such, displaced populations face the challenge to locate, assess, and verify information about routes, procedures, and rights. For example, Rianne Dekker et al. argue, ‘Syrian asylum migrants prefer social media information that originates from existing social ties and information that is based on personal experiences’ (2018, p. 1). The emphasis on ‘smart’ journeys and ‘smart’ refugees centres the technology. Exploring ‘the digital force in forced migration,’ Saskia Witteborn’s (2018) in-depth case study with two female asylum seekers in Germany suggests moving beyond a ‘technocentric’ focus by considering how ‘imagined affordances’ (p. 21) interact with institutional expectations and norms such as gender relations.

While humanitarian discourse and scholarly research on refugee experiences celebrate smartphones as empowering tools, greater attention is needed for the ways in which becoming a digital refugee through the use of digital devices and smartphones also means being imbricated in infrastructures of surveillance. In the words of Maria Jumbert et al., ‘smartphones have gone from being seen as a vital resource for refugees, to becoming a tool of surveillance regarding their background and entitlement to international protection’ (2018, p. 2). Marka Latonero and Paula Kift similarly summarise that refugees through their ‘digital passage’ to Europe, which is mediated by smartphones, social media, and networked technologies, co-shape an ‘infrastructure for movement’ which simultaneously also operates as an infrastructure of ‘control’ (2018, p. 1). The European Commission, for example, describes how Europe’s border patrol agency (Frontex) and the European Police Office (Europol) increasingly tap into social media for migration monitoring, predictive analytics, and investigation:

Frontex primarily focuses on social media monitoring for preventive risk analysis purposes (e.g. performing analyses on irregular migration routes, to inform Member States who can then tailor responses to new phenomena). Europol on the other hand is involved in both the prevention and investigation aspects. (European Commission, European Migration Network 2016)

On the basis of locational data shared through social media platforms, in-transit displaced migrant populations in specific geographic regions can also be micro-targeted. For example, Facebook has been noted to collaborate with the Danish government to support their deterrence campaign. Although still relatively small in scale, smartphone and social media data are increasingly used to verify travel routes and asylum claims. In Germany, after extracting data from asylum seekers' phones was legalised in 2017, over 8000 phones were searched in a period of six months (Brenner and Frouws 2019). In response to these practices and rumours, asylum seekers have been noted to adapt and restrict their digital practices (Leurs 2017). In sum, the smartphone provides a materially grounded entry point to address the workings of the proliferating 'ban-opticon' which separates the 'kinetic elite' who have the right to travel and cross borders with 'the majority' from those who do not (Morley 2017, p. 80)

Transnational Communication and Emotion Management

Migrants manage daily life in a new cultural context as they navigate their way through new language demands, cultural ideas, customs, and societal expectations that may not necessarily mirror those from where they migrated. Migration scholars have researched at length how human mobility is an intense transformative experience for both the migrant and their loved ones back 'home' (Stephan-Emmrich and Schröder 2018). The smartphone and social media are almost universal communication tools (Taipale 2019) that act as a 'lifeline' (Alencar et al. 2019; Maitland 2018) to help maintain pre-existing family bonds across physical geographical borders. The study of the smartphone and social media as tools for digital (emotional) resilience among migrants is not a newly researched phenomenon. There is a depth of literature that investigates the role of the smartphone and social media as emotional resources among transnational families, the 'networked family' (Kennedy et al. 2008), the 'digital family' (Taipale 2019), or the 'networked household' (Kennedy and Wellman 2007); it helps geographically displaced family

members maintain the bi-directional exchange of emotional support (Baldassar et al. 2016). While it is crucial to acknowledge how transnational families are able to exchange reciprocal feelings of connectedness and togetherness (Patterson and Leurs 2019) through co-presence (Diminescu 2020; Baldassar et al. 2016), a multi-belonging and virtual feeling of being 'here and there,' also deserving of consideration is the examination of how the smartphone and social media can cause emotional disruption within transnational families. This section touches upon how the smartphone and social media contribute to the sense of social coherence and the positive emotional well-being of displaced migrants and their families back 'home,' while also considering the emotional labour of 'permanent connectivity' (Serrano-Puche 2015) and colliding family expectations (Wise and Velayutham 2017) and the extent to which these have obverse effects.

Smartphones and social media can be seen as valued tools that offer satisfying emotional gratification for transnational families. A breadth of literature highlights how the smartphone and social media positively impact displaced migrants' emotional well-being. The multiple modalities (text, voice, photo, and video messages) of many social media apps, such as WhatsApp and Skype, may increase feelings of belonging and emotional well-being among displaced migrants and their families (Stephan-Emmrich and Schröder 2018; Taipale 2019). The digital interaction through video is a useful tool to help transnational families cope and manage with everyday stressors and anxiety as a result of their disrupted lives (Díaz Andrade and Doolin 2019; Serrano-Puche 2015). For many digital families, FaceTime and Skype are 'total communication tools' because of their low/no cost and the (almost) face-to-face interaction it affords; it can feel as if they are in each other's physical space (Nedelcu and Wyss 2016). Mirjam Twigt describes how Iraqi refugee households in Amman, Jordan, draw on these 'affective affordances' in negotiating waiting as a form of 'mediation of hope' (2018, p. 1). In working with young Somalis stranded in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, awaiting family identification, Koen Leurs charted means of transnational communication with parents who arrived in Europe and elsewhere through the notion of 'transnational affective capital' (2014, p. 87). Virtual visual connectedness, the ability to see the facial expressions and body movements of those geographically distanced, can often make the expressions and interpretations of emotions easier. Although the many modalities of smartphones can positively contribute to the emotional well-being of the members within transnational families, transnational co-presence can have obverse effects (Wise and Velayutham 2017).

The everyday lived experiences of displaced migrants and the expectations and beliefs of their families back 'home' can collide, which may eventually

create tension leading to the deterioration of communication (Belloni 2019). Sakari Taipale (2019) highlights how the smartphone and social media can make the displaced migrant feel transnationally connected yet emotionally drained. The intensities of guilt, shame, worry, and frustration relating to the safety, health, and emotional well-being of themselves and their families can implicate transnational connectedness (Nedelcu and Wyss 2016), especially among those who fled from armed conflict including civil war (Patterson and Leurs 2019). Constant connectivity requires a set of negotiations—what is vocalised and what is left unsaid (to avoid upsetting the other), the regularity of communication, and sometimes the (unrealistic) expectations of the refugee from their family back ‘home’ (Wise and Velayutham 2017). Milena Belloni (2019) addressed the issue of avoidance in her study, suggesting it is the contrasting expectations between the refugee and their family that sever transnational family connections. Transnational co-presence can often leave refugees feeling ‘pressure to communicate daily’ and to send money, everyday material objects, and gifts (Serrano-Puche 2015; Wise and Velayutham 2017) back to their homeland; this can be experienced as an emotional burden (Witteborn 2015), an emotional labour (Hochschild 2008), and mentally taxing for both the refugee and their family. Consequently, the migrant chooses to limit or avoid their use of smartphones and social media to maintain transnational co-presence, which paradoxically is important for, and may arguably positively affect, the displaced migrants’ emotional well-being.

Digital Self-Representation

Through selfies, videos, text messages, and audio recordings, smartphones are portable archives charged with memories of past, present, and future lives—living archives of atrocities and injustices. This section explores how these self-representations contribute to a new archive of cultural heritage of diverse life upon arrival and whether it may sustain for an expansion of the commonly narrow representational stereotyping of displaced migrants. Leurs developed the notion of the smartphone as a pocket archive as a way to ‘take serious young refugees’ own digital archives as important sites of alternative knowledge production’ (2017, p. 686). In co-creating knowledge with young Syrians by discussing photos, videos, texts, and social media posts stored on their smartphones, rich insights were established. Patterns range from identities performed for local and transnational audiences, human right violations, discrimination, and ‘frustrations of not being able to control one’s life course, having to make do with harsh external circumstances, lengthy procedures and

seemingly arbitrary decisions’ (Leurs 2017, p. 686). In her work on ‘undocumented storytellers,’ Sarah Bishop (2019) describes how undocumented immigrants growing up in New York City engage in narrative activism online and offline. She argues that the desire to express their voice digitally weighs heavier than risks which include hateful and xenophobic responses: ‘Digital reclaimant narratives serve more than a single purpose, and the narrators demonstrate how the act of story sharing online may serve as a path to self-actualization, help to mitigate one’s fear and uncertainty, offer a means for communal coping, or satisfy a sense of responsibility’ (2019, p. 108). Analysing Meskhetian Turks who have dispersed over nine countries, Nurhayat Bilge describes how this refugee community mobilise social media for ‘cultural identity preservation’ (2018, p. 1). Maria Rae et al. studied digital practices of refugees kept in Australian-managed offshore detention centres on Manus and Nauru and show how smartphones and social media ‘enable detained asylum seekers to conduct an unmediated form of self-represented witnessing that exposes human rights abuses and documents justice claims’ (2018, p. 479). Behrouz Boochani’s non-fiction book *No Friend But the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison* (2018) also demonstrates how displaced populations may mobilise smartphones and digital networks to make human rights claims. Boochani, an Iranian Kurd, wrote his book on smartphones that were smuggled into the offshore processing centre. He sent poems and full chapters through text and voice messages to his translator Omid Tofighian through WhatsApp:

A war waged with numbers /
 A numbers war /
 The frisking hands of the Papus /
 The imposing stares of the Australian officers /
 The prisoners trapped in a tunnel of tension /
 A huge feature of everyday life for the prisoners /
 Day to day.../
 A monstrous part of life /
 This is what life has become, after all.../
 This is one model constructed for human life /
 Killing time by leveraging the queue as a technology /
 Killing time through manipulating and exploiting the body /
 The body left vulnerable /
 The body an object to be searched /
 Examined by the hands of others /
 The body susceptible to the gaze of others /
 A program for pissing all over life. (Boochani 2018, p. 228)

Attending to refugee acts of contestation and activism is imperative, according to Ludek Stavinoha to 'avoid reifying the figure of the mute refugee so deeply embedded in the humanitarian imaginary' (2019, p. 1212). Building on fieldwork on the Greek island of Chios, he 'explores how refugees assert themselves as political subjects through communicative acts of citizenship—everyday forms of resistance against the border regime enacted in and through diverse media networks' (Stavinoha 2019, p. 1212).

The recent #SaveRahaf social media campaign is another example that demonstrates how refugees may strategically deploy smartphones and social media to make human rights claims. Rahaf Mohammed Alqunun, an 18-year-old Saudi woman, fled Saudi Arabia to seek asylum in Austria. She was stopped and detained by Thai authorities while in transit. Her passport was taken by officials, and she was put in an airport hotel room awaiting deportation. She was able to keep her smartphone, allowing Alqunun to communicate her pleas through tweets and videos. She tweeted, 'based on the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol, I'm rahafmohmed, formally seeking a refugee status to any country that would protect me from getting harmed or killed due to leaving my religion and torture from my family' 8.04 PM—6 Jan 2019, Rahaf Mohammed رهف محمد, (Mohammed 2019). Her plea went viral which was amplified by human rights organisations and activists. This led to UNHCR putting in an official request to Canada, which resulted in her being airlifted and granted asylum within a week from starting her campaign (Brenner and Frouws 2019). The question arises: how mainstream news media and host societies respond to these voices being inserted in the mediated arena?

At the height of the so-called European refugee crisis, the smartphone and selfie-taking refugees became a point of concern in mainstream news media coverage: smartphone-carrying displaced migrants did not fit with the image of the destitute refugee. There is a longer history of projection of fears over migrants' media and technology use as symbol of segregation and threat: the satellite dish, the Internet café, and now most notably the smartphone. Focusing on Western news media coverage of refugee smartphone practices, Lilie Chouliaraki scrutinises how the remediation of migrant-related selfies (photos of refugees taking selfies) operates as a site of 'symbolic bordering,' as their 'digital testimonies' are commonly marginalised (2017, p. 78) (see also Pitt, this volume). In contrast with photos of refugees taking photos, Roopika Risam in her quantitative analysis of US and UK news media found that the selfies refugees take themselves function as a form of 'self-representation

that produces agency, creates communities, and resists the inscription of refugees as objects of knowledge' (2018, p. 58). Similarly, Kaarina Nikunen focuses on the 'selfie-activism' in the 'once I was a refugee' social media campaign in Finland and found that it 'expanded the "space of appearance" and introduced new voice and visibility to the public debate,' but also emphasised the difficulties of decoupling from expected performances of 'deservingness' (2019, p. 154). Scholars have also begun to address to what extent these new digital voices elicit responses. Natalia Sánchez-Querubín and Richard Roger's digital methods study of tourist responses on TripAdvisor to the mediated presence of refugees and 'media journeys' reveals fearful responses that mark an 'interrupted tourist route' (2018, p. 1). On a larger scale, Jeanine Guidry et al. (2018) compare #refugee hashtag posts on Instagram and Pinterest to locate expressions of hostility and solidarity; they find an overemphasis on security concerns. Finally, focusing on media witnessing, Zakaria Sajir and Miriyam Aouragh (2019) reflect on the impact of the heavy mediatisation of images of Alan Kurdi, a three-year-old whose dead body washed ashore in Bodrum, Turkey, in 2015, and Omran Daqneesh, a five-year-old whose photo was taken when he was sitting covered in blood and shell-shocked in the back of an ambulance, right after a bomb attack in Syria. Their study shows 'that although shocking images can awaken compassion toward the oppressed, they do not necessarily translate into movements of solidarity, but can rather degenerate into ineffective forms of pity' (Sajir and Aouragh 2019, p. 550). In sum, digital self-representations on the micro-political and intersubjective level offer forms of agency, but their impact on the overall structure of exclusionary and stereotypical mediation remains partial and paradoxical.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we addressed the smartphone from the perspective of infrastructure. Infrastructure scholars raise awareness that besides being commonly rendered invisible, infrastructures are furthermore not singular, fixed, or stable entities that can be simply isolated or demarcated; rather they are commonly interpreted as 'not just as a "thing," a "system" or an "output," but as a complex social and technological process that enables—or disables—particular kinds of action' (Graham and McFarlane 2015, p. 1). Exploring the contours of emerging discussions on the smartphone from fields including media, communication, migration, and information studies as well as anthropology

and geography, we discussed three dominant themes: (1) survival and surveillance, (2) transnational communication and emotion management, and (3) digital self-representation. While the chapter focused on smartphones as an object of research, smartphones can also be seen as important tools for research. Championing mobile methods for media and migration research, Katja Kaufmann argues the smartphone offers two broad ways to ‘engage with migrants in inventive, more meaningful ways, to co-produce knowledge’: (1) as a means of ‘accompanying migrants in their mobile digital spaces,’ it allows researchers to be digitally co-present in the digital practices and journeying of migrants and (2) to study automatically and user recorded data through ‘reconstructing meanings and practices in co-productive data elicitation’ (2020, p. 169). The chapter demonstrates that current scholarship has mostly been oriented towards questions around transnational communication, surveillance, and self-representation, while attention to the role of the smartphone and digital technologies in local processes of settlement, acculturation, and integration remains understudied (for a notable exception, see Alencar et al. (2019)). In keeping with Dana Diminescu’s understanding of the possibilities for ‘co-presence’ of ‘connected migrants’ (2020, p. 74) in being able to maintain ties with their home country, as well as being able to forge new ties with their host society, greater awareness is needed for their interplay, as local and transnational connections are two sides of the same coin.

References

- Alencar, A., Kondova, K., & Ribbens, W. (2019). The smartphone as a lifeline: An exploration of refugees’ use of mobile communication technologies during their flight. *Media, Culture & Society*, 41(6), 828–844. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443718813486>.
- Alencar, A. (2020). Mobile communication and refugees: An analytical review of academic literature. *Sociology Compass* Online first. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12802>.
- Appadurai, A. (2015). Foreword. In S. Graham & C. McFarlane (Eds.), *Infrastructural lives. Urban infrastructure in context* (pp. xii–xiii). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Baldassar, L., Nedelcu, M., Merla, L., & Wilding, R. (2016). ICT-based co-presence in transnational families and communities. *Global Networks*, 16(2), 133–144.
- Bellardi, N., Busch, B., Hassemer, J., Peissl, H., & Scifo, S. (2018). *Spaces of inclusion* (Council of Europe report DGI(2018)01). Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/dgi-2018-01-spaces-of-inclusion/168078c4b4>

- Belloni, M. (2019). When the phone stops ringing: On the meanings and causes of disruptions in communication between Eritrean refugees and their families back home. *Global Networks*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12230>.
- Bilge, N. (2018). Cultural identity preservation through social media: Refugees and community. In N. Bilge & M. I. Marino (Eds.), *Reconceptualizing new media and intercultural communication in a networked society* (pp. 1–17). Hershey, PA: IGI Global.
- Bishop, S. (2019). *Undocumented storytellers: Narrating the immigrant rights movement*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Boochani, B. (2018). *No friend but the mountains: Writings from Manus prison*. Sydney, NSW: Pan Macmillan Australia.
- Brenner, Y., & Frouws, B. (2019). *Hype or hope? Evidence on use of smartphones & social media in mixed migration*. Mixed Migration Centre. Retrieved from <http://www.mixedmigration.org/articles/hype-or-hope-new-evidence-on-the-use-of-smartphones-and-social-media-in-mixed-migration/>
- Chouliaraki, L. (2017). Symbolic bordering: The self-representation of migrants and refugees in digital news. *Popular Communication*, 15(2), 78–94.
- Crawley, H., & Skleparis, D. (2018). Refugees, migrants, neither, both. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44, 48–64.
- Dekker, R., Engbersen, G., Klaver, J., & Vonk, H. (2018). Smart refugees: How Syrian asylum migrants use social media information in migration decision-making. *Social Media + Society*, 4(1), 1–11.
- Díaz Andrade, A., & Doolin, B. (2019). Temporal enactment of resettled refugees' ICT-mediated information practices. *Information Systems Journal*, 29, 145–174.
- Diminescu, D. (2020). Researching the connected migrant. In K. Smets, K. Leurs, M. Georgiou, S. Witteborn, & R. Gajjala (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of media and migration* (pp. 74–78). London: Sage.
- European Commission, European Migration Network. (2016). *The use of social media in the fight against migrant smuggling*. Retrieved from http://www.emn.lv/wp-content/uploads/emn-informs-00_emn_inform_on_social_media_in_migrant_smuggling.pdf
- Gillespie, M., Osseiran, S., & Cheesman, M. (2018). Syrian refugees and the digital passage to Europe: Smartphone infrastructures and affordances. *Social Media + Society*, 4(1), 1–12.
- Graham, S., & McFarlane, C. (2015). Introduction. In S. Graham & C. McFarlane (Eds.), *Infrastructural lives. Urban infrastructure in context* (pp. 1–14). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Guidry, J. P., Austin, L. L., & Carlyle, K. E. (2018). Welcome or not: Comparing #refugee posts on Instagram and Pinterest. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 62(4), 512–531.
- Hochschild, A. (2008). Feeling around the world. *Contexts*, 7(8), 80.

- Jumbert, M. G., Bellanova, R., & Gellert, R. (2018). *Smart phones for refugees: Tools for survival, or surveillance?* (Peace Research Institute Oslo Policy Brief). Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/smart-phones-refugees-tools-survival-or-surveillance>
- Kaufmann, K. (2020). Mobile methods: Doing migration research with the help of smartphones. In K. Smets, K. Leurs, M. Georgiou, S. Witteborn, & R. Gajjala (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of media and migration* (pp. 167–179). London: Sage.
- Kennedy, T., & Wellman, B. (2007). The networked household. *Information, Communication & Society*, 10(5), 645–670.
- Kennedy, T. L. M., Smith, A., Wells, A. T., & Wellman, B. (2008). *Networked families*. Washington, DC: Pew Internet & American Life Project.
- Latonero, M., & Kift, P. (2018). On digital passages and borders: Refugees and the new infrastructure for movement and control. *Social Media + Society*, 4(1), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118764432>.
- Leurs, K. (2014). The politics of transnational affective capital: Digital connectivity among young Somalis stranded in Ethiopia. *Crossings: Journal of Migration & Culture*, 5(1), 87–104.
- Leurs, K. (2017). Communication rights from the margins: Politicising young refugees' smartphone pocket archives. *The International Communication Gazette*, 79, 674–698.
- Leurs, K., & Smets, K. (2018). Five questions for digital migration studies: Learning from digital connectivity and forced migration in Europe. *Social Media + Society*, 4(1), 1–16.
- Lindquist, J., Xiang, B., & Yeoh, B. (2012). Opening the black box of migration: Brokers, the organization of transnational mobility and the changing political economy in Asia. *Pacific Affairs*, 85(1), 7–19.
- Maitland, C. (2018). Introduction. In C. Maitland (Ed.), *Digital lifeline: ICTS for refugees and displaced persons* (pp. 1–14). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Mancini, T., Sibilla, F., Argiropoulos, D., Rossi, M., & Everri, M. (2019). The opportunities and risks of mobile phones for refugees' experience: A scoping review. *PLoS ONE*, 14(12). <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0225684>.
- Mohammed, R. (2019). [Post on Twitter]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/rahaf84427714/status/1082005121016320001>
- Morley, D. (2017). *Communications and mobility: The migrant, the mobile phone, and the container box*. Hoboken, NY: Wiley Blackwell.
- Nedelcu, M., & Wyss, M. (2016). 'Doing family' through ICT-mediated *ordinary co-presence*: Transnational communication practices of Romanian migrants in Switzerland. *Global Networks*, 16(2), 202–218.
- Nikunen, K. (2019). Once a refugee: Selfie activism, visualized citizenship and the space of appearance. *Popular Communication*, 17(2), 154–170.

- Patterson, J., & Leurs, K. (2019). We live here, and we are queer! Young gay connected migrants' transnational ties and integration in the Netherlands. *Media & Communication*, 7(1), 90–101.
- Rae, M., Holman, R., & Nethery, A. (2018). Self-represented witnessing: The use of social media by asylum seekers in Australia's offshore immigration detention centres. *Media, Culture & Society*, 40(4), 479–495.
- Risam, R. (2018). Now you see them: Self-representation and the refugee selfie. *Popular Communication*, 16(1), 58–71.
- Sajir, Z., & Aouragh, M. (2019). Solidarity, social media, and the 'refugee crisis': Engagement beyond affect. *International Journal of Communication*, 13, 550–577.
- Sánchez-Querubín, N., & Rogers, R. (2018). Connected routes: Migration studies with digital devices and platforms. *Social Media + Society*, 4(1), 1–13.
- Schaub, M. X. (2012). Lines across the desert: Mobile phone use and mobility in the context of trans-Saharan migration. *Information Technology for Development*, 18(2), 126–144.
- Serrano-Puche, J. (2015). *Emotions and digital technologies: Mapping the field of research in media studies*. London, England: London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Smets, K. (2018). The way Syrian refugees in Turkey use media: Understanding 'connected refugees' through a non-media-centric and local approach. *Communications*, 43(1), 113–123.
- Stavinoha, L. (2019). Communicative acts of citizenship: Contesting Europe's border in and through the media. *International Journal of Communication*, 13, 1212–1230.
- Stephan-Emmrich, M., & Schröder, P. (2018). *Mobilities, boundaries, and travelling ideas: Rethinking translocality beyond Central Asia and the Caucasus*. Cambridge, England: Open Book Publishers.
- Taipale, S. (2019). *Intergenerational connections in digital families*. Basel, Switzerland: Springer Nature.
- Trimikliniotis, N., Parsanoglou, D., & Tsianos, V. (2015). *Mobile commons, migrant digitalities and the right to the city*. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Twigt, M. (2018). The mediation of hope: Digital technologies and affective affordances within Iraqi refugee households in Jordan. *Social Media + Society*, 4(1), 1–14.
- UNHCR (UN Refugee Agency). (2016). *Connecting refugees*. Geneva, Switzerland: UN Refugee Agency. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/5770d43c4.pdf>.
- Wall, M., Campbell, M. O., & Janbek, D. (2017). Syrian refugees and information precarity. *New Media & Society*, 19, 240–254.
- Wise, A., & Velayutham, S. (2017). Transnational affect and emotion in migration research. *International Journal of Sociology*, 47(2), 116–130.
- Witteborn, S. (2015). Becoming (im)perceptible. Forced migrants and virtual practice. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 28(3), 350–367.

- Witteborn, S. (2018). The digital force in forced migration: Imagined affordances and gendered practices. *Popular Communication, 16*(1), 21–31.
- Xiang, B., & Lindquist, J. (2014). Migration infrastructure. *International Migration Review, 48*(1), 122–148.
- Zijlstra, J., & Van Liempt, I. (2017). Smart(phone) travelling: Understanding the use and impact of mobile technology on irregular migration journeys. *International Journal of Migration and Border Studies, 3*(2–3), 174–191.