# Settling in a Global City:
# Transnational Practices and Cosmopolitan Openness in Sociality Patterns

A thesis submitted to Middlesex University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Elisavet Tapini

School of Law
Middlesex University
October 2017

*Settling in a Global City: Transnational Practices and Cosmopolitan Openness in Sociality Patterns*

*Elisavet Tapini, Middlesex University*

_____

## Abstract

This study focuses on highly-skilled migrants from other EU countries, who have settled in London. It aims to examine the intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes in their sociality patterns, and how multiple identities are negotiated in these patterns. Transnational scholars have mostly focused on single ethnicities and their respective social networks (Glick–Schiller, et al., 2011). London is frequently described as a cosmopolitan city. Still, to what extent people actually mix, across boundaries of ethnicity, remains an open question (Valentine, 2008). To address this, a combination of qualitative methods (semi-structured interviewing, visual interactive map, focus group) was utilised: 15 participants from different EU countries were interviewed individually, followed by a mapping exercise, prompting participants to provide identity referents for their significant others (e.g. nationality, gender, relationship status). Focus group discussion looked at attitudes towards London diversity. Using an empirical phenomenological approach, the study looks at both intended and unintended sociality patterns in participants' narrative and mapping responses. Themes derived from participants' narratives are discussed alongside the typology generated for the mapping exercise: findings are in support of a situated cosmopolitanism, with transnational practices embedded in mixed social networks. Cosmopolitan attitudes are further situated by a *cultural/ regional proximity* or *life-status commonalities*, (e.g. family status or sexuality) in their personal networks. *Long-lasting transnational bonds*, such as family and 'soul friendships' (Morasanu, 2013) also situate this openness to the Other. It follows that, some form of belonging is necessary before participants extend their network to culturally-dissimilar others. *Identity negotiations* bring London, nationality and profession to the fore, followed by life-status identities. The study illustrated how EU-skilled migrants seek to actively engage with people from different backgrounds in London, choosing to form close social ties beyond the boundaries of nationality and profession. At the same time, participants portray themselves as more open to diversity than what identity referents of significant others in their mapping exercise reveal. Combining narrative and visual methods, this study provides an in-depth investigation of internalised limits to a cosmopolitan sociality, as well as further insights as to what constitutes the transnational in close 1-1 relationships.

**Acknowledgements**

**Table of Contents**

_____

**1**

**Introduction**

_____

*Place is a special kind of object. It has a concretion of value, though not a valued thing that can be handled or carried about easily; it is an object to which one can dwell. Space, we have noted, is given by the ability to move.*

*(Tuan, 1977, p. 12)*


**1.1 Prologue**

Over the past two decades, the vernacular of globalisation has entered human consciousness. Advances in telecommunications, as well as in interregional transportation have had an irreversible impact on human experience. Not everyone moves physically in this interconnected world. Nevertheless, people around the world are exposed to intercultural difference, alternative ways of dress, customs and demeanour, either through everyday casual social encounters in highly diversified urban environments or by images asking for their attention through social media. Globalisation scholars have commented on the processes of cosmopolitanisation (Beck, 2002; 2004), as well as microglobalisation (Durrschmidt, 2001), whereby attitudes toward difference are internalised by both migrants and non-migrants in highly diverse social environments. Such attitudes are frequently materialised in social acts of cross-cultural consumption, such as the experimentation with new culinary or musical tastes, colours, landscapes.

Such global social phenomena have attracted scholarly attention for a number of years; an experience of interconnectedness in the face of global risks has brought humans closer in some ways and more apart in others. For instance, the common experience of the global financial crisis, as well as risks involved in global warming, reveal the limits of local or national politics. Such topics will lurk into discussions affecting everyday lives around the globe, albeit in a localised manner. The darker side of this interconnectedness is frequently manifested by a rise in xenophobia, religious fundamentalism and separatist politics.

Understanding localised manifestations of global socioeconomic forces affecting the lives of social actors across the globe is a matter of interest extending beyond the boundaries of academic discourse. Nevertheless, a systematised investigation of such processes in the broader realm of social science is not only desirable, but necessary. Migration flows have attracted scholarly interest for a number of years. Revisiting the ever persisting structure-agency debate in social science,

empirical studies on migration flows have looked at both actor- and structure-based methodologies. Migration has been approached in a number of ways in sociological research (Williams & Balaz, 2005; Christou & King, 2006), demographic and geography studies (Sassen, 1991; Pile & Thrift, 1995; Ni Laoire, 2007), economics (Tassinopoulos & Werner, 1999; Marques & Metcalf, 2005), as well as in political science (White et al., 2008). Nevertheless, a wide body of migration research focuses on a large-scale, macro-level of analysis, aiming to understand global migration flows from a structural perspective.

Over the last twenty years however, the concept of transnationalism which was previously mostly used to address macro-economic processes, such as international trade in the form of transnational corporations, was reinserted in migration studies in order to address how migrant social actors formed support networks spanning beyond the boundaries of the host or home country (Portes et al., 1999). The reinsertion of a term hitherto used to address macro-sociological phenomena, such as foreign direct investment and the agglomeration of specialised services in central nodes of the global financial system, e.g. world cities (Friedmann, 1986), may seem paradoxical. On the other hand, this could also be understood as an effort to restore the human factor in the study of migration flows. Transnationalism has ever since become a central concept in the study of migrant communities from an actor-based perspective (e.g. Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Glick-Schiller & Fouron, 1998). Such communities are mostly congregated in large metropolitan centres (Robins & Aksoy, 2001).

Initially, migration scholars utilised the term as a celebratory discourse, carrying the potential for a localised, actor-based resistance to transnational capital flows. Eager to eschew earlier discourses of methodological nationalism in migration studies (Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004; Wimmer & Glick-Schiller, 2004), migration scholars largely focused on migrant network formations, economic activity and entrepreneurship which spanned across nation-state boundaries. Nevertheless, such discussions assumed that migrant network formations were mostly based on ethnicity or nationality; a fact that was later on highly criticised as an ethnic bias in migration studies (Favell, Feldblum & Smith, 2006; Glick-Schiller, 2010; Amelina & Faist, 2012). Relevant to such a critique was also the acknowledgement that transnational social networks are differentiated by other social categories as well, such as class or gender (Mahler, 1998; Smith, 2005), and by further social differentials, like age, religion or socio-political currents during emigration (Smith, 2005). Therefore, an emphasis on what constitutes sameness and difference had started to be addressed in actor-based migration studies.

Encounters with sameness and difference have always been part of the human experience. Reflexive identity negotiations however are a more recent phenomenon: a distinctive feature of late modernity (Giddens, 1984; Beck, 1986). In this study I am focusing on migrant actors of *middling* social positions, looking at how sociality patterns after settling in London may have contributed to changes in their self-identity (Giddens, 1991). This is not just in terms of reflexive modernization processes (Beck, Giddens & Lash, 1994), but also as a by-product of the global city, acting as a socio-spatial structure that provides the means for social differentiation. In other words, glocalised manifestations of broader globalised structural conditions need further systematic investigation; a fact that is relevant for both 'cosmopolitans and locals' (Hannerz, 1996).

Quite a few years ago, I had to consider my own 'structural reflexivity' (Beck, 1984), in response to making London my home or not. I was already living here for four-five years, and London had not won me over just yet. There was a charm to its diverse landscape, from its peoples to its particular locales and social innovation. Yet, I still was craving for my life back in Greece. I missed my friends, my performance spaces, my grassroots' activities. There was no explicit pressure from my family to go back, and surely, I had left my country for a reason. What I was previously searching through nomadic travelling and alternative communities had solidified itself in a migration pattern that was just about to become permanent. I could finally reinvent myself, without the constraints of my country's cultural expectations. It was around that time that, I had started gaining professional recognition as a psychologist here; yet, something was still missing. There was a great sense of personal achievement but I still felt an outsider; an exotic Mediterranean with a fiery temperament not matching my host-country's cultural expectations. I still needed to find a way to negotiate old and new parts of myself. On the other hand, whenever I was hanging out with Greeks in London, I did not feel 'at home'. They were not the people I would be hanging out with back home; I had no interest in banal representations of my culture nor could I relate to their life trajectories. Somehow, I came across the *Famous SOAS Rebetiko Band*. A big bunch of musicians had come together, and were exploring the links between Western rhythms and the sounds of Asia Minor. Several cultural backgrounds, different life trajectories, yet with the common element of political subversion. They were loud, they were fierce. They were paying tribute to their roots while at the same time looking for new ways to synthesise all that different input into one big whole, quite different than the sum of its parts. It felt like a big gypsy band. I took the microphone and I joined in. I felt at home. And I made London my home.

Considering both cosmopolitanism and transnationalism as relevant to migration processes, I am aiming to address what situates such migrations in a global city context. Beyond my own personal interest in the topic, which developed through my experiences and informal observations as a skilled migrant living and interacting in London for a number of years, there has also been a growing scholarly interest in the everyday sociabilities of such migrations (Favell, 2003a; 2003b; 2008; Kennedy, 2005; 2010a). Understanding how migrant social actors - of middling positions - may transcend boundaries of ethnicity or nationality in their sociality patterns has attracted scholarly attention, since it carries the potential to look at everyday social processes as situated in main European cities.

## 1.2 Why this study and why now

This study will focus on skilled migrants from other EU countries, who have settled in London. Its purpose is to explore the possibility of cosmopolitan openness in skilled migrants' personal networks, as well as to explore how transnational practices may situate sociality patterns, both in London and abroad. It is well established that, in a globalised age, significant relationships can be maintained across time and space; nevertheless, settling in a location other than one's home country will inevitably call for social relations that are deeply connected with everyday local practices. This study aims to focus on the everyday lives of Intra-EU skilled migrants and to explore how their sociality patterns support them in forming successful migrations. Global cities are culturally diverse social landscapes, where everyday social encounters are structured by intercultural social interaction. London in particular has been identified as the most culturally diverse city in the world (Wood & Landry, 2008). On the other hand, everyday casual encounters with difference do not always translate into meaningful social encounters, in terms of forming close social bonds with culturally dissimilar others. Taking a relational, actor-based empirical approach, this study will also look at the identity referents of significant others, in order to explore multiple identity negotiations through a process of self-Other identification or differentiation. Although migration has received a lot of attention in the literature, the majority of studies on skilled migration focus on policy and professional lives only (Kofman, 2000; Ackers, 2005; Beaverstock, 2005), hence mostly on how macro-sociological currents may impact skilled migration flows. How structural factors, such as the current global socioeconomic conditions, affect the everyday lives of such migrations has not received similar attention. Therefore, a focus on the micro-sociological process of skilled migrant's everyday lives, beyond their professional realm or their respective ethno-national migrant communities, may assist in understanding how such migrations are embodied and materialised.

Revisiting the old structure-agency debate in social sciences (Morawska, 2011), this study will employ a mixed methods qualitative design, addressing patterns of sociality from a phenomenological perspective.

### 1.2.1 Why study skilled intra-EU migrants?

Skilled migration is considered the least controversial form of migration (Scott, 2006; Khoo, et al., 2007), as it brings passion and expertise, facilitates circulation of knowledge (Ackers, 2005), fills the need for expertise in the ageing labour force of the developed world (Khoo, et.al, 2007; GFMD, 2007), and last – but certainly not least – it brings in high taxation income to the host countries involved (Legrain, 2007). Even at times of social and political turmoil, where migrant populations can be easily become the scapegoat of populist discourse, highly-skilled migrations can still be negotiated both at the micro-level of individual professional trajectories and at the macro-level of national and regional policies.

Several different typologies have been used to further an understanding of human mobility under globalised conditions; migration can be chosen – referring to high and low-skilled migrants – or forced, referring to refugees and asylum seekers (Castles, 2002). Furthermore, migration patterns can be temporary or permanent (Castles, 2002; Khoo, et al. 2007). There are other types of migrations, such as seasonal migration (King, 2012), where migration occurs outside large cities. Overall however, it is very common for migration to be discussed in the context of large metropolitan centres, not only because the existing transnational communities are thriving in such places (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Smith, 2001; 2005), but also in relation to the economic conditions which attract migration to such places (Sassen, 1988; 1991; 1996).

Currently, few studies address highly-skilled migrants of different nationalities as diverse individuals who live and interact in global cities, like Brussels, Paris or London (Favell, 2003a; 2003b; 2008; Kennedy, 2005). Although it is quite difficult to separate social from economic reasons in migration studies (Kofman, 2000), there is a tendency in the literature to focus on populations which move either by force or for purely economic reasons (Spencer, 1994; Dustman & Weiss, 2007). By contrast, this study aims to focus on the everyday experiences of *highly-skilled* migrants from other European countries who *chose* to settle in London and to examine the complexity of the motives – and change of motives – involved in this process.

Compared to other aforementioned migratory types, the interest in highly-skilled migration is relatively recent (Kennedy, 2005; Scott, 2006; Favell, 2008). Given the focus on expertise and specialisations in today's globalised knowledge based–economy (Castles, 2002; Cappellin, 2004), it would be difficult to reach an all-inclusive working definition for skilled migration (GFMD, 2007). Although initially the term 'skilled migration' was used to refer to corporate migration - i.e. migration specifically supported and monitored by companies' relocation policies (Ackers, 2005; Beaverstock, 2005), it is obvious that skilled migrants well exceed this category. There is literature specialising in academic migration (Ackers, 2005; Morano-Foadi, 2005), migration of healthcare professionals (Marshal & Kegels; 2003; De Haas, 2005), IT professionals (Khadria, 2004), as well as literature focusing on corporate-related mobility (Capellin, 2004; Khoo et al, 2007). Demand for skilled migrants has increased in the past decade for a variety of historically-specific reasons, including technological advancements, a global outlook in employment policies as well as factors easing circulation and mobility, such as cheap travel, faster communication networks and regional free trade areas (Vetrovec; 2004; Khoo, et al, 2007). Specifically for Europe, the five post-war EU treaties and the related Schengen agreement allow Intra-EU nationals to relocate freely (Cappellin, 2004; Scott, 2006; Recchi, 2008). Although economic factors are always relevant to migration (Castles, 2002), highly-skilled migrants frequently relocate out of individual motivation and risk taking (Ackers, 2005; Madison, 2006), in search of meaning and identity. Therefore, a thorough examination of intra-EU skilled migrants' sociality patterns aims at furthering an understanding of this phenomenon could be situated in both transnational practices and expressions of cosmopolitan openness. The negotiation of multiple identities and multiple belongings will be explored both in terms of the way participants perceive their cosmopolitan openness, as well as of the manner in which they negotiate their identities through a process of self-Other identification and differentiation.

**1.3 Can Transnational Practices and Cosmopolitan Openness coexist?**

Both transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are terms relevant to migration, yet the relation between the two has not been an easy one (Roudometof, 2005). As of the mid-nineties, migration scholars have been widely engaged with the concept of transnationalism (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998; Vetrovec, 2001; Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004). Looking at migrant social practices in terms of shared social and occupational activities, requiring frequent contact across boundaries of national borders (Portes et al 1999), a transnational approach to migration moves beyond structural determinants of

migration flows, such as the supremacy of the state-imposed policies as the core of the migratory experience (Castles, 2002; Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004).

It is curious how such a concept, which emerged in order to promote a more emancipatory discourse, is still mainly focusing on the relationship between the host and the home country, and assumes that transnational migrants remain insular in their respective ethnic networks and they mainly negotiate identities between 'here' and 'there'. The majority of transnational research focuses on just two nation-states; viz. the country of origin and the country of current residence (Vetrovec, 2001; Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004). It is as if such groups of people do not extend their contacts and interactions beyond their fellow home country citizens: Salvadorians in New York (Mahler, 1998) or New Zealanders in London (Conradson & Latham, 2005) can serve as examples here. The focus in these studies is on close ethnonational networks, which shape the everyday experience of migrant social actors in the host country. In reality, transnational practices are also translocal, i.e. the practices informed by the places, cities and nearby provinces where transnational migrants live and interact (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998). In other words, structural factors, such as institutionalised diversity practices in large metropolitan centres provide the opportunity for intercultural contact, at least at the level of everyday social interaction, work-related socialites (Wood & Landry, 2008; Wise & Velayutham, 2014) or at the level of cultural consumption in the form of ethnic cuisine or artefacts (Beck, 2002; Saito, 2011). The ethnic bias in transnational studies has started to be acknowledged both from a theoretical (Glick-schiller, 2010; Glick-Schiller, et al., 2011) and an empirical perspective (Favell, 2008; Kennedy, 2005; 2010a; Nowicka, 2012; 2015). Examining the presence of cosmopolitan attitudes alongside transnational social practices in either market based social encounters (e.g. Mau et al., 2008) or in voluntary socialities (Favell, 2008; Kennedy; 2005; 2010a; Gruner-Domic, 2011) has also started receiving more attention in the literature. Looking at the spatiality of such empirical investigations, these are mostly situated in Europe; the manner in which the processes of transnationalisation (Sassen, 1988; Vetrovec, 2001) and cosmopolitanisation (Beck, 2002; 2004) are expressed by Intra-EU migrants, who have settled in another part of the continent calls for further investigation. It is possible that freedom of movement, as well as a relative geographical proximity between home & host country facilitate Intra-EU skilled migrations (Favell, 2008; Ryan, Klekowski von Koppenfels, & Mulholland, 2014). To what extent people mix beyond casual social encounters remains an open question however.

If transnationalism focuses on enclosed patterns of sociality, cosmopolitanism can be described as an orientation; a willingness to engage with the *Other*. It allows a search for contrasts rather than uniformity (Mau et al, 2008). The history of the term has caused suspicion in the past, as in its original form it expressed an abstract ideal, leaving aside the situatedness – e.g. culture, gender, nationality - of social actors (Beck, 2004; Appiah, 2006; Delanty, 2006). Current debates over a different kind of cosmopolitanism, situated, rooted or critically engaged with world openness and diversity rather than universality within particular contexts (Delanty, 2006; Mau et al, 2008; Kennedy, 2010a), have depicted the shift from earlier, elitist and universalist concepts of cosmopolitanism and have made way for a dialogue between the transnational and the cosmopolitan. Ribeiro (2001) refers to transnational cosmopolitanism as a theoretical concept, where transnational connections and cosmopolitan attitudes meet, allowing new patterns of sociality to emerge; so does Ratanen (2007). Nevertheless, as with transnational social practices (e.g. Smith, 2005), other forms of belonging may further situate cosmopolitan practices; cosmopolitanism may also be situated by gender, race (Pollock, et al., 2000; Appiah, 2006; Glick-Schiller, et al., 2011) as well as class by distinctions (Calhoun, 2003a). In other words, an open attitude towards difference (Vetrovec & Cohen, 2002) might intersect with other categories of belonging. In this study, it is assumed that transnational networks and cosmopolitan openness are both part of the experience of highly skilled EU migrants in London as they negotiate multiple identities in their everyday lives in the city. Exploring the identity referents of significant others as well as their positioning in skilled migrants' personal networks, allows for the intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes to be explored. That is why this study examines the negotiation of multiple identities of Intra EU-skilled migrants as other possible forms of a rooted cosmopolitanism, and as intersubjective manifestations of participants' sociality patterns.

As mentioned earlier, there are few studies addressing skilled migrants of different nationalities as a diverse group which lives and interacts in global cities, like Brussels, Paris or London (Favell, 2003; 2008; Kennedy, 2005; 2010a, Hatziprokopiou, 2009). Favell's work (2003; 2008) demonstrates the potential of mixed social networks, in which skilled migrants of various European backgrounds negotiate their multiple identities and search for meaningful social interactions. Kennedy (2005) refers to highly-skilled workers of various national backgrounds in the building-design-industry, who are on the move for a limited period of time, as transnational professionals. Interestingly, in another study by Kennedy (2010), EU-postgraduates (i.e. highly-skilled migrants) living in Manchester, are referred to as cosmopolitans; not transnationals. Furthermore, in most of Favell's work with Intra-European mobility (1998, 2003a, 2008) the term

transnationalism is used only sparingly. The emphasis here is not on the highly-skilled migrants' respective national network in the host country (e.g. Conradson & Latham, 2005) but on the ways highly-skilled migrants' everyday social interactions contribute to meaning making, multiple belongings and negotiation of identities (Favell, 2008). Both Favell (2003; 2008) and Kennedy (2005; 2010) demonstrate the potential of mixed social networks for skilled migrants. Acknowledging the plethora of literature addressing migration settlement from a transnational perspective (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004; Conradson & Latham, 2005), as well as the recent 'cosmopolitan turn' in migration studies (Datta, 2008; Glick-Schiller, at al., 2011; Nowicka, 2012), it makes sense to build on existing empirical research with skilled migrants of middling positions and to explore the intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes for highly-skilled migrants in  London a bit further. Global city literature (Sassen, 1996; 2001; Beaverstock, Smith & Taylor, 2000) has focused a lot on how global socioeconomic structural factors have triggered a very particular demographic in global cities, one of social polarization between the transnational capitalist class (Sklair, 2001) and the highly disadvantaged labour migrations from the South (Sassen, 1996; 2001). Although such literature has been extremely useful in understanding how macro-social factors are materialised in market relations (Hannerz, 1996) and glocalised organizational practices (Sassen, 2001),  it has largely ignored three factors: firstly, the 'human face of global mobility' (Favell at al., 2006), secondly, how social practices are embodied and materialised at an everyday level (e.g. Kennedy, 2010a; 2010b) and thirdly, how new forms of 'a cosmopolitan sociability in a transnational age' (Glick-Schiller, et al., 2011) may facilitate successful migrations of the highly-skilled, yet non-elite migrants. Freedom of movement within Europe presents skilled migrants with the opportunity to actually migrate on their own accord; not as part of a relocation package of a transnational company (Favell, 2003b; Morano-Foadi, 2005; Recchi, 2006).  It should follow that, in order for such migrations to be successful, new forms of sociability might emerge in this process. As per Intra-EU mobility records, not everyone has exercised the right to migrate (Favell, 2003b; Kennedy, 2010b; Recchi, 2015). Professional qualifications and a high level of social and symbolic capital, alongside the freedom of movement within the EU, may provide the grounds for an initial successful migration. Nevertheless, negotiating multiple forms of belonging, as well as their mechanisms for coping with non-localised homes (Rapport & Dawson, 1998) is an acquired skill; an acquired practical competence, necessary for settlers. Transnational connections may assist with initial migration difficulties: a shared cultural capital, based more on nationality and a shared set of culture and customs, provides a sense of familiarity. Frequently however, the highly-skilled chose to refrain from monoethnic social networks, as these could easily lead to a

downward mobility (Vetrovec, 2002; Samers, 2002). Engaging with local social practices and acquiring local knowledge is essential for successful long-term migrations (Ley, 2004; Favell, 2003b; Kennedy, 2010b; Ryan, 2010). This is usually easier said than done. Interaction with locals might naturally occur in work-related sociality (Wood & Landry, 2008) this however does not always translate into more personalised relations, as locals have mostly had their networks established (Kennedy, 2005; Kennedy, 2010b). Nevertheless, beyond socioeconomic push-pull factors and opportunities for further professional development, skilled migrations are frequently a project of reflexive individuation (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002); a project that involves a high level of individual motivation and risk (Ackers, 2005; Madison, 2005). In other words, the negotiation of multiple identities is mostly realised in the intersubjective realm; hence it makes sense to examine where transnational practices might intersect with cosmopolitan openness in the construction of personal networks. To what extent people actually mix, and what impact that has on negotiating multiple identities and belongings, remains an open question. Exploring the identity referents of significant others, as well as their positioning in skilled migrants' personal networks, allows for the intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes to be explored.

### 1.4 Research Aims

More specifically, this study aims to:

**(1)** *Explore the intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan openness for highly-skilled EU migrants:* how do skilled migrants negotiate both transnational social practices and cosmopolitan openness in the context of such a diverse global city, such as London?

**(2)** *Explore the patterns of sociality of highly-skilled migrants in London*: How do highly-skilled migrants negotiate different relationships, activities, work and family commitments both in London and abroad?

**(3)** *Identify how EU highly-skilled migrants from diverse national backgrounds negotiate multiple identities in their everyday life:* How do people negotiate *distinct categories of belonging* whilst interacting with their close personal network, both in London and abroad?

Maintaining a micro-sociological focus, the research design adopted in this study adds an extra dimension to the examination of sociality patterns; that of looking at patterns of sociality not only through a phenomenological analysis of participants' narratives through one-to-one and focus group interviewing, but also through the use of a visual phenomenological method, which

aims at assessing participants' internalised perceptions of their attitudes towards sameness and difference in light of their concrete social relations. Utilising signifiers of sameness and difference for their significant others, participants are asked to situate their sociality patterns via means of visual representation.

### 1.5 Outline of the thesis

As this study utilises a number of different theoretical concepts considered relevant to the research aims described above, the overall theoretical framework informing my chosen research design and epistemology, is presented in two chapters. *Chapter 2* provides an overview of the concepts of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism and their relevance for migrant social practices. Highlighting the difficulties engaging with such broad concepts in the context of migration studies, an attempt is made to discuss both concepts as relevant to actor-based empirical approaches to research. I discuss the development of each concept in relation to examining migrant social practices, theoretical and empirical turning points in the use of each concept, as well as unresolved tensions stemming from an overidentification of transnational scholars with the study of ethnic and nationally-bound migrant networks. I also discuss the tendency to focus on either the underprivileged labour migrations or the transnational elite. Equally, I discuss the difficulties with applying cosmopolitanism in the study of migrant social practices, without resorting to cosmopolitanism as a privilege reserved for upper-class migration groups. Looking at the empirical gaps in relation to my research aims and the questions related to both concepts, I argue for the need of cosmopolitanism and transnationalism to be conversing when conducting exploratory work with a sample that shares neither nationality nor ethnicity nor a highly accentuated class positioning.

*Chapter 3* looks at literature on global cities. This body of theory and research has demonstrated how global socioeconomic currents are affecting migration flows and phenomena of social polarization in global cities. I discuss the invaluable contribution of global city scholars in understanding how global macro structures are localized in work-related practices of transnational corporations (e.g. Sassen, 1991). I also provide a critique of the focus on either end of the class divide in relation to migrant populations by global city scholars. In line with the discussions of Conradson and Latham (2005), Kennedy (2005, 2010a), Smith (2005), as well as Favell (2003b, 2008), I argue for more empirical research with highly-skilled migrants of middling positions. Relevant to professional occupations of the migrants interviewed for this study, I argue that highly-skilled migrations do not exhaust themselves on producer services or corporate environments; hence their

earnings are not always commensurate with their level of skill.  At the same time, I also highlight what global cities' literature has not addressed, namely the lived experience of the global city, as embodied and materialised by its inhabitants (Eade, 2001).

The next two chapters discuss the chosen methodology for this project and its application as research practice. *Chapter 4* provides an overview of the epistemologies considered for addressing sociality patterns of Intra-EU skilled migrants from a micro-level of analysis and provides the rationale for an interpretivist phenomenological perspective.  It also discusses the research design in great detail and outlines how both visual and qualitative interviewing were used in conjunction  so as to examine the ways participants negotiate their identities in light of their chosen sociality patterns. *Chapter 5* shifts the attention to the practice of these methods, focusing on the ways participants responded to the interview process, as well as on how I exercised my self-reflexivity during data collection.

*Chapters 6, 7 and 8* provide a detailed analysis and discussion of findings. I first provide a phenomenological investigation of participants' narrative responses, as they emerged from one-to-one and focus group interviewing. *Chapter 6* discusses the themes relevant to their chosen sociality patterns, both in London and abroad. Specifically, it looks at how participants are actively seeking to engage with diversity, avoiding monoethnic configurations in their close social relations. Still, there is a need for an immediacy of understanding in their sociality patterns. This is achieved either through shared values and interests or broader regional and cultural affiliations facilitating an ease in communication beyond the boundaries of nationality. Selected transnational bonds also situate their engagement with city diversity, with participants maintaining long-lasting friendships and family contact with co-nationals in their home country. Relationships with work colleagues are present, yet highly-bound to work-related sociability.

*Chapter 7* shifts the attention to multiple identity negotiations in the context of living and interacting in a global city. London, nationality and profession are the three main identities highlighted by participants, followed by identities that relate to parenthood or spiritual affiliations. London as place identity has a central role in these discussions; participants are aware that the city provides the grounds for further identity negotiations, such as how professional aspirations are materialised or how nationality gets reconfigured in a London context.

It is the city again that situates discussions around diversity. The theme that emerged from interview material concerns the depth of cosmopolitan attitudes as experienced in their everyday encounters with difference. Two main cosmopolitan attitudes have emerged from these discussions: a surface cosmopolitan attitude, whereby diversity is highly romanticised, and a more critical one, expressed by an eagerness to maintain openness to -or curiosity for- other religions and cultures, while also observing when such a discourse is actually masking city inequalities.

*Chapter 8* focuses on the analysis of 'concrete social relations' (Wellman, 1988), as depicted by participants themselves during the visual mapping exercise (egocentric sociogram). In this chapter, all three research aims are revisited: sociality patterns are visually represented and are examined in light of identity referents used to describe significant others positioned on their maps. Identity negotiations are here expressed through a process of self-other identification and differentiation. Utilising referents of nationality, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age and family status to describe their significant others, both in London and abroad, allowed for a further exploration of the intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan openness. Keeping in mind their interview responses, whereby an openness to difference was not only highlighted, but also materialised in their everyday social practices, higher-order clustering demonstrated cosmopolitan manifestations in their sociality patterns, which were nevertheless highly situated by either transnational connections, connections characterised by a cultural or regional proximity to their own country, or by a shared family status. In each of these situated forms of cosmopolitanism, significant others sharing a main identity referent, such as nationality, region (Eastern or Central Europe; the Mediterranean) or parenthood status are the ones participants feel the closest to. Once some of these connections are present, cosmopolitan openness is expressed by highly diversified personal networks, spanning across national or continental boundaries.

*Chapter 9* brings the findings of all three previous chapters together, highlighting how these three methods functioned together to provide a more in-depth analysis of how sociality patterns are situated and negotiated in the context of London. Theoretical and methodological implications are discussed in light of the current challenges that Europe, Britain as well, are facing in terms of successful migrations. Directions for future research, with an emphasis on Intra-EU migrations from middling positions in the years to come, conclude the discussion.

**2**

**Practicing cosmopolitanism in transnational social spaces: Possibilities and restrictions**

_____

In this chapter, I provide an overview of how transnationalism and cosmopolitanism have been utilised in existing migration studies, in order to provide the theoretical background for this project. I will be reviewing each term separately, in an attempt to address both conceptual and empirical issues that have been raised by scholars. I will argue that both concepts are relevant to the social practices of migrants. Living in in interconnected world, characterised by networks and sociabilities that expand beyond a single geographical location (Albrow, Eade, Durrschmidt &Washbourne, 2001) is central in this discussion. The purpose of this chapter is to establish the level of empirical analysis for this project, in light of existing literature.

Attempting to address such vast concepts, such as transnationalism and cosmopolitanism is by no means an easy task; both concepts can – and have been – applied to address the emerging social processes involved in a globalised world (Castles, 2002; Beck, 2002; 2004; Vetrovec, 2009). Migration flows, practices and means of social organization definitely play a significant part in the new 'interconnectedness' that globalization entails (Hannerz, 1996; Eade, 2001), this concerning both individual actors, as well as larger social structures, such as transnational corporations, global social movements or supra-national organizations (Vetrovec, 2001; Pries, 2007; Lazar, 2011). Understanding migration in the global arena has played a significant part in the development of these concepts (Beck, 2002; Castles, 2002), as both transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes are frequently at play (Roudometof, 2005; Mau, Mews & Zimmerman, 2008; Olofsson & Ohman, 2007; Kennedy, 2010b). The concept of transnationalism was developed in order to understand how migrants maintain multiple belongings than span across time and space (Portes, et. al. 1999; Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004), as well as to examine their social, economic and political activities beyond their places of current residence (Vetrovec, 2001). It was introduced as concept that aimed to reflect the emancipatory power of self-organization of migrant communities (Mahler, 1998; Castles, 2002; Vetrovec, 2004), with no support from either the receiving or the sending state.

Cosmopolitanism had been omitted from such a discussion until very recently (Ribeiro; 2001; Beck, 2002; Rantanen, 2007); although its main premise, maintaining an openness to the cultural Other, is very relevant to the globalization process (Hannerz, 1996; Beck, 2004; Beck & Schneider, 2006; Delanty, 2006; Kendall, Woodward & Skrbis, 2009), it was still carrying echoes of earlier, universalistic and abstract understandings of its philosophical origins (Nussbaum, 1996; in Calhoun,

2003b) and was generally ignored. Furthermore, initial discussions of a more situated cosmopolitanism had stayed largely theoretical (e.g. Hannerz, 1996; Beck, 2002; 2004); empirical investigations, looking at social actors' attitudes towards difference in actual social settings, was still sparse in the early millennia (e.g. Werbner, 1999; Lamont & Aksartova, 2002), only to spark further interest a decade after (Skrbis & Woodward, 2007; Skey, 2012; Wise & Velayutham, 2014). Although examples of its practical use have been present in interracial studies since the early 2000's (e.g. Lamont & Aksartova, 2002), these were not necessarily addressing the possibility of cosmopolitan openness for migrant groups already engaging in transnational social practices (with the notable exception of Werbner, 1999).

Recently, there has been a cosmopolitan turn in migration studies (Datta, 2009; Glick-Schiller, Darieva & Gruner-Domic, 2011; Nowicka, 2012; 2015), perhaps emerging from the realization that more recent conceptualizations of a rooted, situated cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002; Appiah, 2006; Delanty, 2006) provided the means for ethnic, gender, subaltern or class belongings to co-exist with social practices of diversity, this especially possible in large metropolitan centres, such as London (Favell, 2003b; Datta, 2009; Hatziprokopiou, 2009), Manchester (Kennedy, 2010a) or Berlin (Gruner-Domic, 2011). In this study, I am interested in identifying how Intra-EU skilled migrants, from various national backgrounds, negotiate their identities alongside signifiers of sameness and difference, whilst acting and interacting in a global city like London. I am also aiming to examine the possible intersection between transnational social practices and cosmopolitan attitudes for highly-skilled migrants.

Narrowing down the level of analysis of such vast concepts is essential in this process; in light of existing literature, I am aiming to address the intersection between cosmopolitan and transnational practices mainly from a micro-level of analysis, looking at how skilled migrants from diverse national backgrounds negotiate their identities through their sociality patterns, across time and space. Looking at micro-processes of migrant networks, migrant actors and their translocal associations has also been the preferred empirical approach in transnational studies for a number of years (e.g. Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Favell, 2003; Kennedy, 2005; Mau at al., 2008; Morasanu, 2013). On the contrary, the empirical investigation of cosmopolitan openness as a social practice for migrant actors has only started to receive similar attention (Hatziprokopiou, 2009; Kennedy, 2010a; 2010b; Glick-Schiller, et al., 2011). Looking at the everyday practices of migrant social actors in multicultural environments, such as large metropolitan centres (Kennedy, 2007; 2010; Gruner-Domic, 2011), allows for this intersection to be explored. In this study, I am looking at the patterns of sociality for skilled migrants who have settled in London, examining their close ties with both culturally similar and culturally

dissimilar others. In the context of an 'intercultural city' (Wood & Landry, 2008), encounters with difference form the everyday landscape of the city, hence providing the opportunity for cosmopolitan attitudes to be developed. Nevertheless, such encounters do not always translate into close emotional bonds with culturally dissimilar others; rather they stay at a 'surface level' of co-existence rather than co-presence (Valentine, 2008); the latter reinforcing transnational bonds over meaningful intercultural encounters.

### Transnationalism: a new social process?

Although transnationalism as a concept does not represent a completely new theoretical approach, it certainly builds on existing theoretical models of migration processes and communities (Kastoryano, 2000; Castles, 2002; Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004; Lazar, 2011). Vetrovec (2001) mentions the Chicago School of Sociology and the Manchester School of Anthropology as two major schools that have informed subsequent conceptual and empirical questions on transnationalism. Hints of the current use of the term can be traced back in the 1970s, where scholars started addressing phenomena of early-stage 'global interactions', where cross-border contact, coalitions and social interaction outside nation-state jurisdiction had begun to emerge as new forms of social action: in another paper, Vetrovec, (2003) cites the edited volume *Transnational Relations and World Politics* by Koheme & Nye (1971) , as well as Rosenau's essays on the *Transnationalization of World Affairs* (1980) as examples of an developing awareness of an emerging phenomenon, yet to be further diversified, operationalized, contested and glorified a decade later (Faist, 1997; Vetrovec, 1999; Smith & Guarnizo, 1998) when global affairs intensified in all levels of social and economic organization (Hannerz, 1996; Eade, 2001; Castles, 2002). In the broader field of social science, encompassing economics, sociology, geography and international relations, transnational theory and practice had grown across such disciplines, in an effort to understand cultural hybridity, the social construction of migrant communities in a globalised world, as well as the actors involved – on an individual, social, national and supranational level - in this process (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Mahler, 1998; Glick-Schiller & Fouron, 1998; Castles, 2002). In other words, transnationalism was utilised to address a number of social spaces, this spanning from micro processes of sustained cross-border social interactions (Faist, 1997; Glick Schiller & Fouron, 1998; Pries, 2007) to the macro level of transnational corporations, inter-state agreements, global NGOs and networks of transnational crime (Faist, 1997; Vetrovec, 1999; 2001; Pries, 2007). With such developments, the concept became too broad and, at times, overused without clarity: Portes (2001) for example, raised caution as to how easy it had become to use similar concepts, such as international, multinational and transnational interchangeably, hence losing sight of what the term had to offer both at a conceptual,

as well as at an empirical level.  Therefore, a conceptual distinction between the inter- and the trans-national can be understood as a difference in the level of social practices: macro-level social practices, such as sustained interactions between national governments, regional diplomatic and/or trade agreements can be best understood as international. In contrast, when examining the sustained relationships and practices of non-state actors, communities or individuals who share interests, values or beliefs across nation-state borders, such as micro and meso-level social practices are best understood as transnational (Vetrovec, 2009). Transnational social practices may take different forms, such as sustained cross-border family relations (Merla & Baldessar, 2015), migrant entrepreneurship (Vetrovec, 2009), political involvement (Glick-Schiller & Fouron, 1998?; Anderson, 2001a), identity negotiations (Robins & Aksoy, 2001), to name a few. As Boccagni (2012, p. 4) also comments:

> *Now and then, all across migration studies,* [the] *transnational tends to be used as a mere synonym of (if more trendy than) international. The increasing use of half-synonyms such as cross-border, at/from a distance, from afar, etc. is possibly a way of coping with this ambivalence. A possible way ahead, which reflects the work already done by many authors in the field, lies in positing the following pre-condition for a bi- (or multi-) sited phenomenon to qualify as transnational: the development of socially significant and empirically detectable interactions between its different national settings.*

Nevertheless, the process of empirically analysing the internal structures and processes of transnational social formations remains a challenge (Pries, 2003).  One of the main dichotomies transnational literature struggles with is between the complete postmodern, celebratory arguments about cultural hybridity and freedom and the realist arguments of transnationalism being regulated by social, economic, national and supranational structures involved (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Smith, 2005) in this process. New forms of interaction and intercultural contact are emerging from transnational processes, where migrant integration to the host society and the maintenance of transnational ties can coexist (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004). "This very process opens up the interstitial social spaces which create multiple possibilities for novel forms of human agency" (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998, p. 9). Such spaces, unbound from the boundaries of locality, provide the possibility for the study of emergent social processes; hence, it is argued that, the appropriate level of empirical analysis of such processes is the individual and their support network (Faist, 1997; Eade, 2001; Castles, 2002; Scott, 2006). It is from the changes that occur on the level of everyday practices beyond the boundary of the nation-state that one can infer arguments on broader social conditions (Portes, et al., 1999). Although international migration is definitely a 'transhistorical phenomenon' with people maintaining personal, economic and social ties across borders throughout history

(Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004; Roudometof, 2005; Hannerz, 1996), it has been argued that the current conditions of frequent and immediate contact of people in disparate geographical locations, as well as the establishment of consistent social networks across time and space through the use new technologies and the ease of travel (Castles, 2002; Vetrovec, 2001), has facilitated new social processes and new forms of social organization to emerge in migrant communities:

> *Contemporary transnationalism corresponds to a different period in the evolution of the world economy and to a different set of responses and strategies by people in a condition of disadvantage to its dominant logic (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999, p. 227).*

Therefore, the current form of transnationalism can be distinguished from earlier migration phenomena, because of the technological advancements that promote simultaneity or "living lives that incorporate daily activities, routines and institutions located both in the destination country and transnationally" (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, p. 1003), as well as other factors, such as the celebratory discourses of multiculturalism over earlier assimilation practices in many of the host societies, which further allow the maintenance and visibility of difference (Castles, 2002; Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004). Furthermore, historical developments in the last century, promoted a saliency of national identity across the globe: contrary to the earlier salience of ethnic over national identity of diasporic populations – immigrants now arrive to a host country with a strong sense of their nationality (Basch, Glick-Schiller & Szanton-Blanc, 1994; Glick-Schiller & Fouron, 1998). Some migrants may identify more with one country over the other; nevertheless, a great number of people who have settled elsewhere have managed to maintain multiple identities and belongings and to relate to more than one nation-based belonging simultaneously (Basch, Glick-Schiller & Szanton-Blanc, 1992; Vetrovec, 1999). Having settled in a different social context inevitably activates a process of place identification relevant to the current place of residence (Hormuth, 1990; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), which needs to be further negotiated alongside prior place identifications, such as the country of origin. When turning into research with specific migrant populations who engage in transnational practices however, caution should be drawn with regards to the following: a) the positions individual actors hold in in relation to national identity and b) the interstate relations of that particular period, which will inevitably affect the specifics of the simultaneity factor (Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004). Research conducted with transnational actors of different generations of states that gained independence in the latter part of the last century, reveals such subtleties: In their research with transnational migrants of Caribbean descent in the US, Basch, Glick Schiller & Szanton Blanc (1994), as well as Glick Schiller & Fouron (1998) conducted in-depth studies with a focus on identity negotiations, group belongings and network construction. Researchers interviewed migrants, attended meetings and informal discussions, observed immigrant organisations and

conducted archival research with newspapers and relevant media of the respective communities. The salience of national identity varied across generations, as older individual actors had emigrated before the formation of their respective independent nation-states. During the period of decolonisation and political independence of Grenada & St Vincent (*ca* 1965) for example, migrants were using their emergent national identity to counter prominent racism in America. While joining the African-Americans in the struggle against racism with joint activities and organisations, *at the same time* they were also building separate organisations and networks, which emphasised Caribbean distinctiveness and the building of new nation-states (Black, Glick-Schiller & Szanton-Blanc, 1994). Boundaries of in- and out-group(s) were negotiated and renegotiated during various periods of historical and political transformations, both at a national and at an international level (Lamont, & Molnar, 2002), which in turn affected and reformulated identities of individual actors in this process. Furthermore, the boundaries between ethnicity, cultural and national and transnational identity referents were mutually informing one another, generating new forms of belonging. Transnationalism and identity are therefore closely interrelated concepts and "they inherently call for juxtaposition" (Vetrovec, 2001, p. 573). Studies in transnationalism and everyday practices unavoidably capture this juxtaposition, as group loyalties and identity formation are stirred by transnational activities, social structures within the transnational network (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Sanders, 2002) as well as perceptions and aspirations of individual actors. Pre-existing social identities, such as nationality, ethnicity, gender or class, as well as emergent social identities, such as the ones attributed to new loyalties related to place (Muller, 2011; Maile & Griffiths, 2012) or professional affiliations (Vetrovec, 2002; Scott, 2005) need to be renegotiated in light of current sociality patterns. Drawing on this juxtaposition, I am aiming to explore how skilled migrants of various national backgrounds negotiate multiple categories of belonging in their everyday social practices.

Culture can serve as a nested category of belonging, transcending national distinctions, as similar cultures can be found across borders (Anderson, 1991; Robins, 1996 [2010]). Reversely, a nation might unite different cultures (Anderson, 1991; Robins 1996[2010]; Jansen, 1998; Timotigevic & Breakwell, 2000) and frequently transnational migrants in plural societies create new, common spaces of belonging, which transcend nationalistic discourse and hegemonies (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998). In the context of contemporary transnational migration, culturally similar groups might unite against the Other, which here reads for the dominant culture in the host country. Examples can be found across the globe: Greeks and Turks, as well as Kurds and Turks in European host countries is or the emerging supra-national categories of Hispanic/Latino or Chicano in the United States (Lamont & Molnar, 2002; Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004). In a European context, Robins & Aksoy (2001)

conducted a study on identity negotiations for Turkish-Cypriots transnational migrants residing in London. Turkish Cypriots have a well-established working-class community in London, and they considered themselves well-integrated. Nevertheless, researchers argued that Turkish–Cypriot culture is "distinctively and often uncomfortably between national and transnational conditions of existence" (p. 685) given the British colonial history of the island, as well as its short history as an independent nation-state before the Cyprus divide in 1974.  Researchers focused on how transnational actors negotiate mental spaces of Turkishness, Cypriotness and Britishness in their everyday practices. Working with three focus groups of Turkish–Cypriot women, researchers asked the following questions:  "What do you think of Turkish Satellite TV?" and "What is Turkish about you?" Some groups showed a greater ability to elaborate a 'cultural synthesis' (Robins and Aksoy, 2001); or 'syncretism' (Faist, 2006), whereby elements of both Turkish and British culture intersect but are still bound to transnational practices, such as social and family gatherings around the Satellite receiver. It could be argued that the object of the Satellite receiver (Saito, 2011) served as a bridge between the host and the home country for both first and second generation Turkish-Cypriots; assisting the maintenance of a distinct ethnic identity (Boccagni, 2010). It is also important to note that, transnational consciousness in this case is mostly created by co-ethnic engagement in the host country. Nevertheless, and especially for the younger members of the community, this cultural synthesis demonstrates an ability to move flexibly across different identity referents, this including negotiations with British culture. In Vetrovec's words (2001): "The experience gathered in these multiple habitats accumulate to comprise people's cultural repertoires, which in turn influence the construction of identity – or indeed multiple – identities" (p.  578).

Although the study of transnational practices and consciousness has been further advocated as means to escape the 'methodological nationalism' and the assimilationist bias of earlier migration studies (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller, 2002), it would be wrong to assume that the negotiations of multiple identities and belongings exhaust themselves in negotiations between the 'home' and the 'host' country. This becomes even more important under globalised conditions: the challenge for transnational scholars is to not address social phenomena as fixed social facts, but rather to redirect the focus of research towards "the processes of organization and structuration of translocal/transnational connections and new social formations" (Lazar, 2011, p. 75).

### Inside the network: social organization and the transnational social field

People always organised their social activity in communities: when individuals or groups sharing territorial, religious and linguistic interests and references settle in a national society other than the one they were raised in, their activities and use of networks can be named transnational (Faist,

1998; in Kastoryano, 2000). The research examples above manifest a dialogue between the mirco and meso level of analysis; between individual actors and network formations. Networks are always present in scholars' discussions (Guarnizo & Smith, 1998; Mahler, 1998; Kastoryano, 2000; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Smith, 2005; Dahinden, 2013), as social networks play a major role in migrant's lives: they help them find work, accommodation, they provide emotional support and they circulate goods & services (Vetrovec, 2002; 2003). Since "transmigrants are immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relation to more than one nation state" (Glick –Schiller et al, 1992; in Levitt & Glick Schiller et al, 2004, p.48), it follows that transmigrant actors participate in various forms of social organisation in order to sustain support networks. In other words, transnational practices can inform activities in various social domains, such as the economic, political and sociocultural domain and are expressed both at an identitatrian-attitudinal level, as well as at a relational-behavioural level (Boccagni, 2010; 2012). Looking at the agentic component of transnational social actors, research has looked at a variety of social practices, such as financial and social remittances (Vetrovec, 2003; 2009), transnational caregiving (Baldassar & Wilding, 2015), as well as migrants' affective ties and their function in identity negotiations (Boccagni, 2010; 2012).

With regards to the latter, Wise and Velayutham (2006) bring the notion of *transnational affect* into the discussion of cross-border activities. Looking beyond the material flows that maintain and reproduce transnational networks, they argue that it is "[t]he circulation of bodily emotive affect between transnational subjects and between subjects and symbolic fields which give qualitative intensity to vectors and routes thus reproducing belonging to and boundaries of transnational fields" (p. 3). In other words, apart from conscious cross-border activities, such as transnational social care, entrepreneurship or political activism related to the host country, migrants negotiate their transnational social ties and their level of commitment to culturally–bound practices through their own emotional responses to cross-border structural demands. The way the body is activated, via senses of shame, pride, guilt, love and nostalgia precedes conscious decisions, intentions and ideologies (Leys, 2011). Such instantaneous, pre-reflective responses may be triggered by migrants' mono-ethnic networks in the host country, in the form of cultural expectations. Wise & Velthuytham (2006) cite the example of the Tamil community in Singapore, whose members have been involved in circular migrations for more than one generation. It is the co-ethnic sociability in the host country that modifies, censors and regulates what is acceptable and what is not. Although individual actors might not be involved in transnational activities directly, information about community members who do not abide to what is expected is transferred to the homeland by other community members via the means of gossip. In turn, individual actors "fast acting, subliminal perceptions, thought-

imbued affects, visceral intensities and corporeal habits and sensibilities" (Leys, 2011, p. 26) take over in their sociality patterns. Reminiscent of Giddens' structuration theory (1990), social action is always embodied and –at times– stays pre-reflective. It follows that, "it is the scale and intensity of affect across the transnational social field that reproduces sociality across space" (Wise & Velthyutham, 2006, p. 5).

 Nevertheless, transnational migrant networks vary considerably and depend on numerous factors, such as local histories of migration and socio-cultural traits of the respective communities (Vetrovec, 2002). Furthermore, transmigrant actors may engage with different transnational activities at different life stages; intensity and engagement with such networks may also vary according to the needs, life priorities and meaning-making of these actors (Levitt &Glick Schiller, 2004) while living and interacting in a host country. It is also important to acknowledge the role of class and social positioning in the matrix of power in such networks (Mahler, 1998; Vetrovec, 2002); as Smith (2005) also noted, current transnational migration forms are highly differentiated by class, gender, generation and economic conditions of individuals who share the same migrating nationality. For example, highly-skilled migrants might also participate in collegial work-related organisational networks for their professional development, as –frequently– their respective transnational networks might hinder their development because of a well-intended segregatory practice leading to a "downward occupational trajectory as the migrant through a specific network, gains a post migration job incommensurate with his/her level of training" (Poros, 2001; in Vetrovec, 2002, p. 5). This is also relevant to the group that I am studying, as skilled migrants, from various national and professional backgrounds may attempt to diversify their social relations in and out of the transnational network.

The number of permutations of such interconnections within transnational networks generate the higher-order category of the transnational social field (Roudometof, 2005; Rippl, et al, 2010), which, I believe, highlights human agency over social structure, without undermining the importance of situating and historicising transmigrant subjects and their actions. In turn, transnational actions are also translocal; the latter refers to where "transnational practices are vested with particular [social] meanings" (Smith & Guarnizo 1998, p.13). As transmigrants organise their social activities in the form of networks and collectives, the meaning generated by these activities may vary, as migrants might at the same time participate in networks other than their respective transnational ones in the host country. In turn, these actors are positioned in the matrix of power, gender and class (Mahler, 1998, Vetrovec, 2002; Smith, 2005), which either allows or hinders the actors' ability to participate in different kinds of networks (Vetrovec, 2002) within the broader transnational social field (Levitt &

Glick Schiller, 2004). It follows that transnationalism in this sense would inform the personal and collective identities of the actors involved in these fields.

It could be argued that, during the early stages of transnational studies, researchers needed to stay focused on single ethnic groups, such as Salvadorians in New York (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998) or Turkish Cypriots in London (Robins & Aksoy, 2001),  in order to delineate an emerging research area. Although other identity referents such as class and gender were already discussed in the early stream of transnational research, this was more on the form of a critique, rather than empirical investigation. Hence, a research emphasis on identity negotiations could not be explored in great detail, as the 'ethnic bias' in transnational studies (Favell, Feldblum & Smith, 2006) prevailed over other identity referents. One could argue that a bias towards disenfranchised groups was also prevalent in the early literature: the term 'transnationalism from below', introduced by Smith and Guarnizo in 1998, prevailed the first wave of transnational research and focused on the social organization of particular ethnic groups, mainly in the form of informal economies, migrant entrepreneurship and grassroots activism; contrasting the 'above' structures, such as international global organizations, global media, inter-state trade agreements and migration policies to the actual social practices of migrant groups in both their home and host country. The optimism of this period, celebrated transnational practices as forms of everyday resistance; although the research focus stayed largely at the micro level of analysis (Glick-Schiller & Fouron, 1998; Robins & Aksoy, 2001), some have claimed that the meso level of analysis, looking at the social organization of migrants in terms of ethnic and religious organizations (Faist, 1997; Pries, 2007) was preferable.  The actual lives of migrants and their difficulties in managing a 'punctuated sociality' (Vetrovec, 2003b), managed by long-distance phonecalls and fragmented families across geographical boundaries (Ley, 2004) was mostly overlooked in this early stream of transnational studies. As Mahler also (1998) highlighted: "'transnationalism from below' requires, at a minimum, a sensitivity to the social constellation of its actors" (p. 71), suggesting future research directions "evaluating the content, intensity and importance of transnational ties" (p. 74), this including the examination of a number of identity referents involved in these ties.

Entering the millennia however, transnational research became more nuanced: examples of either transnational actors sharing the same class but a different nationality (Anderson, 2001a; Anderson, 2001b; Favell, 2003a; 2003b; Kennedy, 2010) or research with transnational actors sharing the same nationality and the same class (Conradson & Latham, 2005; Scott, 2005; Favell, 2006) allowed the discussion to take a different trajectory, perhaps highlighting the intersection between existing social categories, such as class or nationality, and the perplexity of a transnational social field, as

positioned in the matrix of power (Mahler, 1998; Smith, 2005). It could be argued that this shift had also to do with transnational research gaining grounds in Europe; where awareness of issues of class and intersectionality was more prevalent. Anderson (2001a; 2001b) has worked extensively on research with domestic workers of various national backgrounds who live in London and who have created a particularly strong cross-national support network. The most numerous members and founders of an association, which changed its name in order to promote and demonstrate its inclusivity, are Filipinos. The rest of members come from more than thirty countries, from Peru to Tanzania, with the second majority group being from India & Sri Lanka (Anderson, 2001a). Anderson (2001a; 2001b) used semi-structured interviews as well as observation to gather data on the political activity, members' solidarity, examples of emotional support on issues affecting member's lives – this including work-related issues in the host country (i.e. an example of political transnational practices; Vetrovec, 2009), as well as issues with family members back home and strategies of coping (an example of emotive, linear transnational practice; Vetrovec, 2009). Common experiences, such as their relation to their employer or the British state is what brings these people together (Anderson 2001a). This is a case of clear political transnationalism as the group has been taking action promoting worker and immigration rights amongst its members. The contact among group members is essential in this process, and it is where the everyday experience of the workers, their loneliness, as well as tensions deriving from prior constructions of race and nationality among members are negotiated:

> *In February 2001 I listened a conversation between Stella from Zimbabwe, Joy from India and Libby from Nigeria. Stella has been complaining she had not been greeted by a group of Indians when she entered the office and that she felt that this was because she was black. Joy argued that people often want simply to be among friends and to speak their own language, so we must be sensitive to how such choices might be perceived. 'So give me your telephone number and I will phone you and you won't be lonely any more'* (Anderson, 2001b, p. 678)

It is not by chance that some of its founding members stay politicised even after having had their own needs met (Anderson, 2001b); it could be argued that a politicised identity became an expression of the agentic power of –previously disempowered transnational social actors – as well as an identity that transcends nationality. Boundaries of belonging get reconfigured through micro level interactions; national identity gives way to the common need of social organization, so the workers can feel supported against the repressive practices of their employers. Anderson's (2001a; 2001b) semantic twist of transnationalism infers a variation in its implementation: these work-related social practices are taking place in the host country and had surpassed the cross-border activities essential in defining a particular social practice as transnational. Transnational social practices in the

traditional sense (i.e. remittances, family connection with family abroad) still exist for each one of Anderson's participants on an individual level; nevertheless, the actual social relations in the work environment of the host country are mostly based on the *affect* of that shared experience. Wise & Velayutham (2006) have also attempted a 'typology of transnational affect' – i.e. the embodied emotional states that get activated through sustained cross-border activities and become a social representation of commitment to the social practices of the homeland, as well as means for affirming one's national, ethnic or cultural identity whilst living abroad.

 Not all transnational actors participate to the same networks with the same intensity, nor is it always beneficial for particular actors to participate in networks which restrict them to their respective ethnic communities (Vetrovec, 2002; 2003). As the scope and the complexity of transnational connections appear to be much more extensive in the current stream of international migration than in prior historical periods, so is the perplexity of different transnational networks within global cities, such as London or New York (Anderson, 2001a; Smith, 2005).

For other groups, nationality still prevails; however, the position of such migrants in the matrix of power is very different. Avoiding the bias of focusing on either underprivileged groups (Anderson, 2001a; 2001b; Robins & Aksoy, 2001) or on transnational elites (Sklair, 2001; Ley, 2004), other researchers focused on groups that still shared the same nationality but were also sharing a non-elite, yet middle-class positioning (Consradson & Latham, 2005; Scott, 2005; Favell, 2006). Here, the focus on everyday practices is much more prevalent, as the formation of transnational networks in these cases is not as focused on resources and the strength of weak ties in job seeking (Granovetter, 1973; 1983) but more on mutual support on everyday matters and sociability; the latter addressing group solidarity matters in terms of shared systems of relevance (Nathanson, 1982) and a shared cultural capital (Nowicka, 2012).

***Non-elite, yet not underprivileged migrants: Middling Transnationalism***

Conradson & Latham's work (2005) with skilled New Zealanders in London can serve as an example here: Using a small-sample methodology, researchers interviewed ten participants, in various skilled jobs who were supporting each other in their 'Overseas Experience' ("OE") by means of an extended friendship network with co-nationals of the same age range (twenties and thirties). Participants had emigrated alone and not out of financial need; they were all skilled professionals in skilled jobs, with no intention to stay in London for more than a few years: Doing their "OE" was part of the cultural expectations for young middle-class New-Zealanders, perhaps best understood as an expression of a class-based social process under conditions of globalisation.  The authors point out that the life of

these migrants, as well as of similar groups like South Africans, Canadian or Australians, does not exactly match earlier trends in transnational literature focusing more on either hypermobile global elites or on low-skilled workers and their families from the 'developing world' to West Europe or Northern America (Conradson & Latham, 2005). Instead, the focus is on what Smith (2005) called middling transnationalism:

> [I]f we understand middling in terms of socio-economic and class position in the country of origin, [then] world cities like London are home to large numbers of young, relatively well-educated migrants from other affluent countries- Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States, Japan and other European Union member-states, [...] who are drawn to the city as much by what it offers them in lifestyle and personal experience as by any narrow economic calculus

> (Conradson & Latham, 2005, p. 290)

What appears as individual migrations however, triggered by lifestyle preferences and personal experience, are in fact migrations facilitated by the prospect of well-established friendship networks of other co-nationals of the same age range, educational and cultural capital. In other words, young skilled New Zealanders in London might have emigrated alone but they still relied on other co-ethnics, both in London and New Zealand, in order to facilitate their successful migration to London. This echoes the highly cited quote by Tilly (1990): "It is not people who migrate, but networks" (in Faist, 1997; Vetrovec, 2002). Contrary to transnational networks of either elite (Sklair, 2001; Salt, 2008) or working-class migrants (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Robins & Aksoy, 2001), the networks of these 'young, well-educated migrants' (Conradson & Latham, 2005) are not based on either kin or neighbourhood relations; they are based on friendship networks. The Overseas experience can be understood as an expression of middle-class privilege, as young New Zealanders emigrate with the confidence of having their skills recognized. Nevertheless, knowing that a well-established transnational network is in place to support them with their sociability needs is what allows such migrations to be successful. It could be argued that these friendship-based transnational practices contest the accepted notion of sustained cross-border relationships as the only transnational manifestation: while friends still living in New Zealand are consistent with the definition of the transnational, as sustained relationships maintained at a distance (Vetrovec, 2009), the broader transnational social field of the migrants interviewed by Conradson and Latham (2005) includes their "co-ethnic sociability" (Boccagni, 2012, p. 10) in the host country. With a constant flow of temporary migration, friendship networks might be stretched across time and space but they are well preserved as they are part of a mobility culture; therefore, these friendship networks become transnational friendship networks facilitating more mobility flows (Conradson & Latham, 2005). In

other words, migrants' affective ties with their host country are further performed by mono-ethnic relations in London. Individual actors are still involved in bi-directional social practices with friends and family abroad, which are further reinforced by their co-ethnic relations in London during their OE experience.

Nevertheless, transnational practices of middle-class actors do not exhaust themselves to young, single professionals who seek the thrill of a global city. Research with middle-class British migrants, who live in Paris, demonstrates further nuances in relation to this. Using a lifestyle typology, Scott (2005) explores differences in the level of transnational activity in relation to migration motive, commitment to the host country and familial status. He looks at the differences between 'Professional British Families', 'Young British Professionals', 'Graduate Lifestyle Migrants', 'Bohemians' and 'Mixed Relationship Migrants', as well as on the geography of middle-class settlement (e.g. "professional British families" prefer the suburbs and mix less with the French, whereas "Bohemians" prefer the city centre and are mixing more with other nationalities). What Scott (2005) observes is that although some practices can indeed be named transnational, and that different transnational practices are adopted by different middle-class types, there are still others, especially by the life-time settlers that preserve the resilience of the nation-state society in a *seemingly*[1] post-national world (Favell, 2003b; in Scott, 2005). In other words, not all subgroups can be named transnational; for older settlers with families in the suburbs, the expatriate model is more appropriate, as simultaneity and the maintenance of frequent contact and/ or economic activity in both the host and the home country are not part of their everyday practices.

Favell (2003a; 2003b) continues the debate about differentiated forms of transnationalism by arguing that middle-class intra-EU migration is distinct from the transnational practices of more disadvantaged non-European ethnic groups, which occupy the lower end of the labour market. He conducted research in three European cities, namely London, Amsterdam and Brussels, and interviewed middle-class professionals of various nationalities (e.g. British, French, Dutch, Scandinavian, German, Norwegian, Italian, Spanish) and professions (e.g. Architect, Social Worker, Research Scientist, Medical Researcher, IT specialist – or work in specific European institutions, the latter especially relevant to Brussels). In contrast to global high-flyers (Calhoun, 2003a) or the transnational global elites (Sklair, 2001), whose frequent movement is usually protected by multinational corporations, the dictum of free of movement, goods and human capital in a European context (Castles, 2002; Recchi, 2006), provides the opportunity for individual actors to decide if they are going to move or not. Similar to the comments made by Conradson & Latham (2005), as well as

---

[1] Emphasis added

Madison (2006), migration here becomes a lifestyle choice, facilitated by geographical proximity, freedom of movement and the right to work. Favell (2003a) also refers to that as an 'idiosyncratic choice' whereby –in most cases– the migrants considered have emigrated alone. The emphasis on the class element is easily understood through the lens of cultural and educational capital (Bourdieu, 1986; 1990), which allows such actors to move and possibly settle in another Eurocity, such as London, Amsterdam or Brussels. Favell (2006) also reports on a segment of this larger project, looking at the responses of French women in London in more depth: In line with the overall trend of his findings discussed above (2003a; 2003b), French women from middle–class backgrounds emigrated alone and came to London to not only work, but to experiment with the anonymity of another European city and culturally diverse sociability patterns. Intra –EU mobility allows for maintenance of familial ties while experimenting with the anonymity of London (Favell, 2006). This is probably reflected in a different attitude towards mixing with locals; although participants' networks were mostly homogenous in terms of nationality, they were much more open to intercultural contact, expressing openness to different attitudes, hence experimenting with their own set of dispositions in a much more embedded manner; the latter expressed as being open to the prospect of settling in London in the long run. Their transnational activity is much more individualised: geographical proximity allows for more frequent visits to France, and activities there range from maintaining contact with friends and family to a preference for French doctors and healthcare.

Favell (2003a; 2003b) calls for a micro-sociological focus in studying intra-EU skilled migration, as the emphasis of both globalisation scholars, as well as economic geographers do not capture the everyday needs and practices of such a population. Lacking insider-local knowledge can still be an issue in relation to housing or non-transferable pensions, and permeating local networks is still an issue. Some nationalities, like the Irish, have more established transnational networks than others; nevertheless, most EU migrants, in all three Eurocities, socialise with either other co-nationals or with other foreigners. In other words, the 'transnational social power' (Favell, 2003b) is also expressed by mono-ethnic cultural hubs in the host country, such as the Irish pub, whereby individual social actors perform their self-identification with the homeland in the new locality. Meeting with co-ethnics in the host country becomes a transnational expression at an identitarian-attitudinal level (Boccagni, 2012): it could be argued that, the intention of the activity is to surpass the geographical boundaries of boundaries of 'here-and-there'.

The sociality patterns of skilled migrants in these Eurocities could also be explained by the lack of local knowledge (Favell, 2003b; Ryan, 2011). As Kennedy (2005) also notes, nationals already have established networks and there is no room for further sociability with newcomers. They might be

sharing the same educational and symbolic capital with skilled migrants, but their actual social circle is full and there is no time for further interaction. In other words, even for relatively privileged social actors, such as intra-EU skilled migrants, "it is difficult to deny the substantive pressures of 'mainstream' national-cultural integration as transnational theorists do" (Favell, 2003b, p. 7). Nevertheless, and what is quite interesting in Favell's findings is that, although their actual network might not involve members of the host community, they are still quite embedded in local social patterns, adopting the cultural repertoire of the city that hosts them: drinks after work in London can serve as an example here. The cultural syncretism (Faist, 2006) mentioned earlier is still at play here, but the transnational activity goes beyond the boundaries of 'here' and 'there'; sociability and network building does not exhaust itself to co-nationals, but to other Europeans as well; the latter implying the intersection between transnational connections and the development of a cosmopolitan sociability. To what extent people actually mix, and what impact that has in negotiating multiple identities and belongings, remains an open question. This study attempts to address this question in more detail: exploring the identity referents of significant others, as well as their positioning in skilled migrants' personal networks, allows for the intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes to be explored.

**Habitus in action: transnational connections and the possibility of cosmopolitan practices**

From the research examples above, it should become apparent that not all forms of transnational social practices are identical: social practices are informed by a number of factors, including various forms of capital, historical, political and contextual currents, as well as actors' individual needs and preferences. A focus on everyday practices, as well as on the structure of migrant networks, has been central in these discussions. Some of the concepts used by transnational scholars, such as those of the transnational *social field* and different *forms of capital* borrow heavily from the sociological theory of Pierre Bourdieu (1984; 1990), where the emphasis on social practices allows for a further dialogue between agency and structure to transpire: structural constraints, such as boundaries of class, social institutions and economic power are still formative of individuals, manifesting themselves in the form of social identities, positions and dispositions (Conde, 2011). Nevertheless, as the actor engages in different fields of social activities, new possibilities may emerge: at any moment in time, actors utilise all four forms of capital (social economic, cultural and symbolic) in order to engage with other actors and maximise their resources. Engaging in a social field is like a game (Bourdieu, 1984): structural factors are setting the rules of the game; nevertheless, within that set of rules, particularities of context and nature of other actors are also informing one's actions. This in turn are mediated by the actor own disposition, before a 'logic of

practice' (Bourdieu, 1990) can emerge as a distinctive act in a particular social field. Through socialisation, a set of values, perceptions and prejudices and preferences are forming the actor's habitus, which is then realised in social action. In the context of migration, the way habitus is realised and negotiated in a transnational social field can be very context specific, as "[v]alues, perceptions and aspirations that may be grounded in a pre-migration setting get situated in relation to structural opportunities and constraints (including laws, bureaucracies, labour markets, patterns of racism and sexism) in post-migration settings" (Vetrovec, 2004, p. 22). The everyday experience is inevitably different to the people left behind; this becomes a matter that can only be explored by systematic research at the micro-level, in the context of particular social settings, with their adjacent opportunities and constraints. As transnational practices are mediated by a double consciousness (Vetrovec, 1999), acted out in the maintenance of social relations, economic activity and cultural practices in both host and home country (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004), it follows that the migrant's habitus is negotiated by actual interactions with both co-nationals and culturally dissimilar others in their new place of residence (Vetrovec, 2004). The need of familiarity through national or ethnic identification might still prevail (Morasanu, 2013); nevertheless, intercultural contact, however ordinary, is part of people's everyday interactions in global cities like London (Durrschmidt, 2001; Wood & Landry, 2008). According to Bourdieu (1990), in studying social practices, one needs to relate the conditions where habitus has been generated to the setting where it is currently actualised:

> *There are acts that a habitus will never produce if it does not encounter a situation in which it can actualize its potentialities. We know, for example, that the extreme situations of times of crisis give some people the opportunity to reveal potentialities unknown to themselves and to others (p. 295).*

Negotiating cultural difference in a new social field may result in different social practices to accommodate this. Everyday sociability in large cities brings the potential for social differentiation and communication across social and symbolic boundaries (Lamont & Molnar, 2002; Sanders, 2002; Wood & Landry, 2008). Furthermore, in the age of 'reflexive modernization' (Beck, Giddens & Lash, 1994), such negotiations, may emerge not only as a result of managing a crisis, but also from an internalised social demand to 'maximise one's potential' or to choose among conflicting positions in one's social field (Mouzellis, 2007). This is where discussions of cosmopolitan practices become relevant in transnational studies, as existing dispositions need to be renegotiated in intercultural social environments.

Nevertheless, the problem of 'bifocality' in transnational social spaces still prevails, limiting the space of social action between home and host countries only, whereas in reality such spaces do not

exist in a vacuum; rather, they are part of both broader globalisation processes and local social formations (Lazar, 2011). The attempt to grasp identity formations in transnational social fields has been extremely successful because of its emphasis on pre-existing ethnic and national formations (Glick-Schiller, 2008; 2010). Migrants' affective ties (Boccagni, 2010; Morasanu, 2013), as well as their established transnational practices, such as social and economic remittances (Vetrovec, 2009) maintain and reproduce such formations. As Wise and Velayutham (2006) also state: "it is the scale and intensity of affect across the transnational social field that reproduces sociality across time and space" (p.5). Nevertheless, not enough emphasis has been drawn on the identity negotiations that emerge through exposure to intercultural difference (Gruner-Domic, 2011; Skrbis & Woodward, 2013; Cicchelli, 2014). In other words, what other social relations are present in the transnational social field and how do these affect the pre-existing dispositions of migrants when engaging with culturally dissimilar others in their everyday lives (Nowicka, 2015)? If we are to consider habitus in an interconnected world (Wise & Velayutham, 2014), problems have emerged for transnational scholars on that front: Glick-Schiller, et al (2011) acknowledged this by drawing emphasis on the possibility of a cosmopolitan sociability for transnational migrants engaging in social fields: maintaining ethnic and/ or national ties as anchors of identity, does not necessarily mean transnational social practices stay insular to "moments of interactions across difference" (Onyx, et al., 2011, p.50). According to Bourdieu (1992), habitus is generated within collective identity representations, such as class, ethnicity or profession, which are historically contingent: "they are the products of history, subject to be transformed, with more or less difficulty, by history" (p. 233). A key question of our times is to explore how – and if – intercultural exposure at any level, from consumption practices to experimentation with new beliefs, can lead to a fundamental change in attitudes (Vetrovec & Cohen, 2002), as well as to changes in social perceptions and well-established actor dispositions. As such, the notion of habitus becomes a tool in addressing such social and personal transformations,  by addressing the dispositions and value systems that migrants bring along in the new social setting, as well as how these might evolve in response to this new setting (Nowicka, 2015).  In this study, Intra-EU skilled migrants - with a number of years behind them in the social field of London - are asked to reflect upon their multiple identity negotiations, as well as upon their values, attitudes and preferences in their current sociality patterns. The possibility to maintain loyalties in terms of identities and belongings, while engaging with culturally dissimilar in highly intercultural others social fields, such as London, opens the dialogue between cosmopolitanism and transnationalism in migration studies: If cosmopolitanism is an expression of an open attitude towards the Other (Vetrovec & Cohen, 2002) this needs to be negotiated against pre-existing forms

of belonging - such as ethnic, class or national identifications - within and beyond the transnational social field.

### *The cosmopolitan turn in migration studies: From abstract theorising to empirical findings.*

As with transnationalism, the concept of cosmopolitanism carries a lot of substance and has been used to describe both theoretical and methodological issues that emerge in the second wave of modernity (Beck, 2004; Roudometof, 2005; Skey, 2012). With the advent of increased mobility and interconnectedness in the era of globalisation (Hannerz, 1996; Urry, 2002), cosmopolitanism gained ground in social theory, as it allowed a framework to emerge for the study of the growing interdependence of social actors beyond national boundaries (Beck, 2002; Vetrovec & Cohen, 2002; Kofman, 2005). With a much longer conceptual history than transnationalism, spanning all the way back to the Stoics and the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, cosmopolitanism always presupposed an open attitude towards difference, as well as a recognition of a shared humanity, extending beyond cultural and social boundaries (Ribeiro, 2008). Nevertheless, its original emphasis on universalism and the world polity (Delanty, 2006; Skey, 2012; Skrbis & Woodward, 2013), as well as its prior associations with Western imperialism (Beck, 2002; Ribeiro, 2008), earlier understandings of cosmopolitanism proved problematic for contemporary social science. The concept needed to be reconfigured, in order to embrace its current expressions at institutional, political and cultural level (Beck, 2002; 2004), this including multiple forms of cosmopolitanism, such as subaltern expressions (Pollock, Babbha & Beckenridge, 2000; Vetrovec & Cohen, 2002; Delanty, 2006). The shift onto a more rooted, situated cosmopolitanism means that, social interactions between culturally dissimilar social actors can be understood as everyday social practices and identity negotiations, without these carrying the obligation for an absolute consensus –in terms of a universalistic set of values or politics. On the contrary, they can emerge through a willingness to connect and understand the Other, moving beyond what appears as an inseparable line and realising that broader cultural and historical constructs might be at play (Appiah, 2006); a process that calls for empirical investigation. As Therborn (1995; 2000) points out, when defining to purpose and function of a global sociology, one needs to separate the semantics of global from those of the universal: a global sociology attempts to address different manifestations of modernity, alongside with a respect to cultural difference and trajectories, without the hegemonic features of a Western-biased universalism of earlier historical times (in Beck, 2002). Moving beyond the parochialism of either ethnocentric nationalism or insular multiculturalism (Vetrovec & Cohen, 2002), a sociological perspective on cosmopolitanism draws on the shared experience of global social actors under conditions of globalisation, such as the risks associated with global terrorism, ecological destruction and financial

crises (Beck, 2002; 2004). Such conditions have been associated with new forms of consciousness, which, nevertheless, need to be studied and discussed as possibilities of action (Beck, 2002; Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Skrbis & Woodward, 2007). Looking at the processes involved in social interaction and imagination spanning beyond local or national contexts (Skey, 2012), Beck argued for 'real-world cosmopolitanism' that occurs in the current historical conditions:

> *In the age of national modernity, cosmopolitan realism could hold sway only in people's heads; it could only be conceptualised, not experienced. Nationalism, on the other hand, resounded in people's hearts. This dualism of head and heart has been reversed in the second modernity, where everyday life is banally cosmopolitan, while in the head (even in the theories and research routines of the advanced social sciences) the conceptually suggestive power of the national dimensions continues to work hits hidden tracks without interruption (Beck, 2004, p. 133)*

Echoing arguments made by transnational scholars against 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller, 2002; Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004; Glick-Schiller, 2010), Beck drew on the need to understand social action and everyday social practices as they occur in a globalised world. He instead argued for a 'methodological cosmopolitanism' (Beck, 2002; 2004; Beck & Sznaider, 2006), and called for a research agenda in order to examine the emerging social structures of the global era. Similar to the distinctions made by transnational scholars (Portes, 2001; Vetrovec, 2009), he proposed various units and levels of empirical analysis in this process: for instance, looking at patterns and practices of transnational social actors in local contexts, such as London, to organizational practices of NGOs and governmental policies across the globe (Beck & Sznaider, 2006). The span of their proposed research agenda for 'methodological cosmopolitanism' therefore, is quite ambitious, as it covers micro, meso and macro levels of analyses. Once again, we have a term that can be applied in all sorts of settings and at various levels of analysis (Skey, 2012). As Glick-Schiller et al. (2011) rightly argue: "However, Beck's hypothesis, that increased mobility of people and ideas may be creating new forms of conviviality and openness, has not been addressed empirically" (p. 409). Therefore, it needs to be narrowed down before in can be put into empirical use for migration studies: If we are to draw from the existing experience of transnational scholars, narrowing down the level of analysis to the everyday social practices of social actors, empirical investigations at the micro level can be proven useful. Beck (2002; 2004) frequently referred to the everyday life of social actors as having very specific, historically contingent characteristics. For instance, he commented on the new sociability patterns that extend beyond locality, to distanciated albeit close relationships with significant others, which are facilitated by the use of the Internet and mobile phones. He also documented the process of *cosmopolitanisation*: the process by which globalization processes have entered people's consciousness in the form of cultural consumption of

the Other, via means of ethnic cuisine, world music or clothing. To my understanding, cosmopolitanisation is reminiscent of Bourdieu's concept of habitus albeit at the level of an emergent global consciousness. Preferences, dispositions and attitudes have been internalised, and are performed as banal cosmopolitan acts, lacking reflection from the part of the actor. Yet, in the era of reflexive modernization (Beck, Giddens & Lash, 1994; Beck, 2002), where social identities are contested against rapid social change (Conde, 2011), the pre-reflexive function of cosmopolitanisation may also be reflected upon, as part of the identity negotiations that emerge from an engagement with difference.  In other words, the potential to move from the pre-reflective, habitus-like banal involvement with Otherness at the level of cultural consumption, might also become a conscious engagement with difference, where the actor engages in reflexive identity negotiations, through wilful and meaningful engagement with culturally dissimilar others (e.g. Roudometof, 2005). Being affiliated with a particular national or ethnic heritage does not exclude the possibility of a cosmopolitan sociality at least for some social actors (Glick-Schiller, et al, 2011): although familiarity enables connection (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001), humans are able to both unlearn established cultural patterns and relearn new ones (Hannerz, interviewed by Rantanen, 2007); something that becomes even more relevant under conditions of globalization. This is where, I believe, a systematic investigation of sociality patterns for EU skilled migrants, of various nationalities, who have decided to settle in London, may assist the recent cosmopolitan turn in migration studies. My empirical analysis stays at the micro-level of social interaction, attempting to understand how social actors relate to difference, either at a surface, banal level of consumption or as a more reflexive, internalised process of negotiating the boundaries between Self and Other.

With an emphasis on a micro-level of analysis of social interaction, as well as with a mutual opposition to methodological nationalism for both transnational and cosmopolitan scholars (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller, 2002; Beck, 2002; 2004), it seems that, at least some of the objectives of both transnationalism and cosmopolitanism can be shared: research needs to be situated in relation to particular social actors in particular locales (Beck, 2004; Skey 2012) and in particular historical conditions; furthermore, although the focus is mostly on micro-sociological processes, caution should be drawn not to address these in isolation from global and macro currents in an interrelated global social world (Glick-Schiller, 2010). Putting aside the abstract theorising of cosmopolitan ethics, the current 'cosmopolitan turn' in social theory is an attempt to move beyond normative and political forms of cosmopolitanism, and to engage with the actuality of interconnectedness, negotiation of loyalties, cultural ascriptions and attachments that occur from the dialectics of the local with the global (Delanty, 2006).

Studies by Skrbis & Woodward (2007), as well as by Skey (2012), looked at the extent to which native populations of particular countries (Australia and Britain respectively) were open to culturally dissimilar others. On a similar mode, the ethnographic study Wise & Velayutham (2014) looked at intercultural relations in Sydney and Singapore, examining how the spatial and social organization of these cities facilitate everyday casual interactions and cosmopolitan openness among different ethnic groups. Nevertheless, they did not look at migrant groups in particular; rather they conducted and ethnography of shared public spaces, where citizens, not migrants, negotiate difference in their everyday casual encounters. Not everyone has the privilege to engage in cosmopolitan sensibility however: "Insights into the functioning of these cosmopolitan dispositions and practices require an understanding of the economic, social and political resources that enable individuals and groups to transcend particularistic boundaries and the wider context within which cosmopolitan links are forged" (Kofman, 2005, p. 93). Cosmopolitanism has been frequently associated with the privilege of global elites, frequent business-class travellers (Calhoun, 2003a) and has also been criticised as an attribute possessed by the upper and middle classes (Featherstone, 2002; Kendall, et al., 2009). One could argue that such forms of privilege have indeed been part of both theoretical (Hannerz, 1990; 1996; Calhoun, 2003b) and practical applications of the concept in relation to social action (Betts, 2002, in Ley, 2004; Kennedy, 2005; 2010; Nowicka, 2012; Skey, 2012). Research with non-elite social actors has challenged such an assumption; the study by Lamont & Aksartova (2002) examining attitudes of working-class men in two different contexts (France and the US) has been frequently cited as an example: both groups displayed positive attitudes towards difference, drawing on notions of common human nature, physiology and morality. Particular religious affiliations were depicted in the rhetoric of participants, but these were again put forward as a tool for cosmopolitan openness, rather than a depiction of difference. The authors point out how such a working-class cosmopolitanism does not refer to multicultural values or discourses of identity, as frequently discussed in academic and activist circles; this appears to be broader, nearly universalistic approach to difference, in participants' responses (Lamont & Akstarova, 2002). Even so, one could still argue for a situated cosmopolitanism, in the form of internalised cultural values: for example, American workers referred more to the monetary power of individuals as a way of promoting equality among races, whereas the French referred more to principles of solidarity. Different cultural repertoires, deeply embedded in the actors' habitus, allowed for differentiation in what first appeared as decontextualized, universalistic set of values.

Lamont & Aksartova's (2002) study has made an important contribution to the study of cosmopolitan attitudes across class boundaries. This is clearly a case of ordinary cosmopolitanism: interview responses highlighted how cosmopolitan attitudes can be formed on the basis of everyday

experience in multicultural environments (Onyx, et al. 2011; Wise & Vetyutham, 2014). Nevertheless, it does not refer to actual cosmopolitan *practices,* in the form of actual social relationships. Nor does it refer to migrant actors, examining how cosmopolitan openness, in the form of actual engagement with culturally dissimilar Others, involves transnational consciousness (Favell, 2003b; Kennedy, 2005). In the context of migration, Werbner (1999) has worked on exploring how transnational social actors from subaltern environments, have developed a working-class cosmopolitanism, which is much more rooted in ethnic and/ or religious identities than the one discussed by Lamont & Aksartova (2002). Werbner cites the example of a pious Sufi, who has developed a transnational consciousness based on his religion more than his ethnicity: this is a Pakistani worker, of little education, who has managed to develop outstanding intercultural competencies, whilst working in the Gulf: managing cultural differences with his Japanese co-workers, learning English together with them, through the use of a dictionary, can serve as the first example here. He was relocated to Dubai through his transnational Sufi connections in order to send remittances to his family back home. He extended his linguistic abilities to learning Arabic and negotiated work-related demands with the anchor 'the global spread of transnational Sufi cults' (p. 20). His plan to manage further cultural differences through possible relocation to Holland is also grounded to this global Sufi network. In a sense, his ethnic belonging was not as important when contemplating relocation to the West, as he referred to the broader network of Pakistani, Arab and Tukish Sufis in Amsterdam. This can be understood as a variant of reflexive modernization (Beck, et al.,  1994), frequently associated to middle-class Western privilege: in this case however, the actor is subaltern and Muslim and has developed competencies transcending ethnic or national boundaries, frequently associated with the first wave of transnational literature of non-privileged actors (e.g. Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Glick Schiller & Fouron, 1998). The actor demonstrated differentiated patterns of sociality, which could only be developed in the context of globalisation. Nevertheless, this is an isolated case and cannot be claimed to be a typical example of Pakistani transnational networks: Werbner (1999) also discusses more enclosed patterns of sociality of Pakistani families with connections around the globe, where cosmopolitan practices might be restricted: she discusses cases of Pakistani males, who experiment with inter-caste friendships and relationships with white–British women as a form of cosmopolitan openness. This however, is usually suppressed by cultural demands and arranged marriages, which further manifest the prevalence of ethnically bound transnational practices. Even while exposure to difference in 'conditions of globalisation' (Castles, 2002) allowed for some habitus negotiations, these were usually supressed by the social pressure embedded in these networks, however de-territorialised these may be. Furthermore, these

examples are highly gendered, reflecting an extra constraint in the intersectionality of class, ethnicity and religion in these cases.

### *'Middling Cosmopolitanism'*

In contrast, Latin American women in Berlin, present with a different case: As part of a larger ethnographic project, Gruner-Domic (2011) cites the accounts of three migrant women, who have emigrated alone and have made a conscious effort to negotiate different parts of their identities in their lifestyle choices. These are not elite actors; some have emigrated to escape poverty, whilst others have had an average middle-class upbringing, with the associated educational opportunities. Nevertheless, because of their gender positioning in Latin American cultures, they were not expected to actualise high-professional aspirations. All three women maintain some of their transnational affiliations but they also engage in cosmopolitan practices in a highly-reflective manner: although constructions of the Latin American by the Germans as exotic and marginalised forms part of the broader social field they engage in, they have managed to negotiate symbolic and social boundaries (Lamont & Molnar, 2002) by engaging in activities and practices that allow them to be perceived differently. They have avoided enclosed transnational networks in Berlin and they have chosen professional lives which allow them to negotiate their transnational connections in a more individualised manner. For example, following her professional role as a business administrator, Verena had decided to pursue further education in art curation, a choice which was not supported by her family back home. As the only daughter in a family of boys, her parents did not expect her to migrate, nor to excel in her professional life. Contesting both racial discrimination in Germany, as well as the lack of recognition by her family, she pursued her studies and worked her way up by specialising in Latin American art. At the same time, she made a conscious effort to socialise with German speakers, and avoided the Latin transnational networks operating in Berlin. Through the art network, she has managed to travel around Europe for work and has expanded her cultural repertoire by associating herself with Chinese and Bulgarian artists (Gruner-Domic, 2011). In a sense, she has managed to maintain her ethnic belonging through her professional choices, without this extending to enclosed sociality patterns. In other words, "how cultural capital is circulated across national borders and between fields" (Nowicka, 2015, p. 18) was the main question for this actor and was actualised through negotiating existing belongings with cosmopolitan social practices.

Nevertheless, these are again quite isolated examples and do not necessarily reflect broader structural constraints: Kennedy (2005; 2010a) examined patterns of sociality of non-elite, yet educated middle-class professionals, who have decided to move either because of the lack of opportunities in their countries of origin, such as the case of EU postgraduates in Manchester

(2010a) or because of the impact of recurrent financial crises in the global economy (2005). In both cases, being young and single allowed an extra flexibility to move and to adopt a differentiated life trajectory, in relation to their transnational connections back home. In the case of transnational professionals, who decided to undertake short-term, but well paid contracts in the building industry, participants had utilised their existing social networks to find work in London and Manchester-based companies. Although their initial decision was mostly due to a response to global forces, most of them considered their emerging lifestyle as an opportunity for personal growth and transformation. Engaging with other transnational professionals of different cultural backgrounds allowed them to expand their professional knowledge base and facilitated their interactions with local actors when working abroad. Kennedy (2005) also draws on the importance of these networks for sociality outside work, especially as local co-workers had had established social networks and other commitments, which did not allow for further socialising. Cosmopolitan practices were usually limited to their co-workers; nevertheless, even for participants who were not involved in such practices before their current career choice, establishing friendships which transcended national boundaries and identifications allowed for a "reflexive construction of one's life biography" (Kennedy, 2005; p. 180), in line with arguments of a cosmopolitan realism (Beck, 2002; 2004), situated in conditions of globalised risk and unpredictability.

From the examples above, it seems that prior affiliations and dispositions are easier negotiated when people emigrate alone. This is not just a matter of class per se, as other factors, such as religious or ethnic affiliations, as well as broader social and political conditions might prove more resistant for some groups, as opposed to others. Furthermore, pre-existing attitudes and dispositions will be negotiated differently according to the current context in which they are actualised (Bourdieu, 1990). Nowicka (2015) is currently conducting research with Poles in four European cities (London, Birmingham, Munich and Berlin), looking at how housing conditions, class differentiations, as well as 'local discourses of living with difference' (p. 17) provide different opportunities for Poles to negotiate their prior perceptions and stereotypes. Transnational connections are still maintained through frequent contact with friends and family in Poland; hence, it could be argued that pre-existing attitudes and dispositions are frequently reactivated. Given the homogeneity of Polish culture in terms of race and ethnicity prior to migration, it is argued that prior stereotypical and – at times racist – attitudes need to be challenged by the openness advocated at an institutional level in these cities. Changes in such attitudes are mediated by life partners of a different cultural background, as well as by engaging in practices of 'everyday cosmopolitanism' (Onyx, et al., 2011), such as the consumption of Indian food. Class structures are still at play here:

Poles with higher cultural capital engage in this practice in a more reflective manner, aiming to understand the Other through this practice, and in order to enrich their intercultural understanding (Nowicka, 2015). Realising what is reproduced and what is reconfigured in the transnational social field, and how particular city contexts may affect these processes, is still under investigation; nevertheless, some of the aforementioned social practices involve a more open attitude to difference, which was only made possible post-migration.

## Conclusion

As contemporary transnational research started with a focus on non-privileged actors (Basch, Glick-Schiller & Szanton Blanc; Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Mahler, 1998) and then expanded to more middling social positions (Consradson & Latham, 2005; Favell, 2006; Kennedy, 2010a), questions regarding actual intercultural contact and cosmopolitan practices were initially not addressed. Both concepts have been situated and discussed in the current globalised conditions; furthermore, both share concerns of how to manage distanciated social relationships (Eade, 2001; Ley, 2004), multiple identities and belongings (Pollock, et al. 2000; Appiah, 2006), as well as on the empowerment of social actors in the midst of globalised risk (Beck, 2002; 2004), extending beyond nation-state boundaries. After the cosmopolitan turn in migration studies (Glick-Schiller, at al., 2011), this dialogue is now open. However, given the perplexity of social relations and practices in a highly interconnected world, this is an ongoing dialogue that needs to be explored further. From the research examples given in this chapter, one could easily decipher that the majority of the studies cited have been conducted in large metropolitan centres (Smith, 2005; Kennedy, 2005; 2010a; Gruner-Domic, 2011; Wise & Velaytham, 2014; Nowicka, 2015), which provide enough opportunity for intercultural contact (Durrschmidt, 2000; Eade, 2001; Wood & Landry, 2008; Kennedy, 2010b). The question that still prevails is how much of this openness is bound to class, ethnic and gender differentials and how much we tend to celebrate agency over structure in the study of social practices. If one considers earlier historical periods, intercultural contact, transnational and cosmopolitan practices, as well as isolated examples of social mobility, are not necessarily new social processes (Roudometof, 2005); nor have they resulted to social equality. Nevertheless, possibilities for social differentiations and reflexive social practices in the 'second wave of modernity' (Beck, 2004) are an exciting project. Caution should be drawn on the fact that, research on micro-level of analysis can be only exploratory and cannot be generalised. Given the need to situate our research practices and understand the interconnectedness of social actors in particular locales however, can be one of the major tools to understand social and cultural transformations. Beck (2002) talked about the "phenomenology of transnationalization" (p. 30), hence giving emphasis to the subjective

experience of transnational actors in the structure-agency continuum. His cosmopolitan society is grounded in particular historical conditions: the current ones of globalisation and de-globalisation. With this is mind, this study aims to explore how skilled migrants from different EU countries negotiate their identities and belongings in a global city like London. Furthermore, and by taking into consideration the emerging dialogue between transnationalism and cosmopolitanism in migration studies, it also aims to look how both transnational and cosmopolitan practices are negotiated in their sociality patterns.

**Situating Transnational Practices in the Global City: Intra-EU Skilled Migrants in London**

_____

> *Urbanism highlights the challenges of negotiating class, gender and ethnic or racial differences, placed in close proximity. It also profiles the newness that arises from spatial juxtaposition and global flow and connectivity, forever forcing responses of varying type and intensity in the face of negotiating strangers, strangeness and continuous change. Possibilities thus remain in for continuing to ask about the nature of the 'good city'*

> Amin, (2006, p. 1023)

## 3.1 Introduction

Following the discussion on the possibilities and restrictions of practicing cosmopolitanism in transnational social spaces for both 'cosmopolitans and locals' (Hannerz, 1996), another question arises: If such possibilities are mostly present in highly diversified urban settings, why choose a global city like London instead of any other large metropolitan centre for the purposes of this study? Most of the existing research by both transnational and globalisation scholars with migrant populations is in *large metropolitan centres*: New York (Mahler, 1998), London (Favell, 2003a; 2003b; 2006; Conradson & Latham, 2005; Ryan, 2011; Nowicka, 2015), Paris (Scott, 2006), Berlin (Gruner-Domic, 2011; Maile & Griffiths, 2012; Nowicka, 2015), Manchester (Kennedy, 2010a) and Birmingham (Nowicka, 2015). The number of people living in cities under globalised conditions has skyrocketed in the past twenty-five years: from a 10% of the population living in cities in the 1990s, urban concentration has escalated to more than 50% of the world's population in the early millennia, with a prospect of 67% of global population living in cities by 2050 (Luke, 2003). From the amount of migration research conducted in large metropolitan centres, it becomes apparent that such cities are a desired destination: they are usually important command centres for regional and interregional economies; they have long cultural histories and established educational systems and are – increasingly –becoming more culturally diverse (Wood & Landry, 2008; Müller, 2011; Nowicka, 2015). As the current study is conducted not only in a metropolis but more specifically in a global city (Sassen, 1991[2001]), it is important to identify what is particular to such a city as a migration destination for highly-skilled migrants.

Apart from my own positionality as a skilled migrant who lives and interacts in a global city context, making London an attractive location for empirical investigation, there is also a great amount of literature, looking at what makes world – or global – cities distinct: their structural components in

relation to both the global economy, as well as the human capital they attract in terms of migration. (Friedman, 1986; Sassen, 1991; 1996; Beaverstock, Smith & Taylor, 2000). Global cities do not just serve as headquarters of the global economy but are even more likely to attract migration both at the high-end and at the low-end of income, skill and expertise (Friedmann, 1986; Sassen, 1991; 1996; Smith, 2005). The development of a knowledge-based economy, attracting highly-skilled migrants in global cities (Sassen, 1991; 1996) is a significant factor in this process; especially while looking not only at what attracts skilled migrants in global cities but also what triggers a desire for settlement and embeddedness in such a context (Favell, 2003a; 2003b; Ryan & Mulholland, 2013). Looking at the everyday social practices of skilled, yet non-elite migrants, who have decided to settle in London, this study attempts to place an extra emphasis on the *human face of global mobility* (Favell, Feldblum & Smith, 2006). In this context emphasis should be drawn on the "intersection between migration studies and urban research" (Brenner & Kiel, 2006, p. 384), but also at its obscured element: the phenomenology of everyday social practices of migrants in the global city (Durrschmidt, 2001; Eade, 2001).

Since my research focuses on Intra-EU skilled migrants, living and interacting in the context of a global city like London, I will use this space as an opportunity to situate my research in such a context and to address what this literature has mostly overlooked; namely, an in-depth, micro-sociological analysis of skilled migrants' everyday social practices and the impact this has on their identities. I am particularly interested to identify the means of transnational and cosmopolitan expressions of such practices, looking at the ways by which Intra-EU skilled migrants construct their sociality patterns, both in London and abroad. The concept of middling transnationalism, i.e. migrants who are neither disadvantaged nor elite (Conradson & Latham, 2005; Smith, 2005), was touched upon in the previous chapter but here I am going to expand on this in relation to the existing literature on world – or global – cities.

**3.2 From the 'World City Hypothesis' to the Empirical evidence for the 'Global City'**

There seems to be a parallel between transnationalism and world cities literature: both terms seemed to attract scholarly interest under particular historical conditions. As with the conceptual debates around transnationalism, calling for differentiation between its earlier and current forms (Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004; Lazar, 2011), the concept of world cities needed to be redefined alongside recent historical developments. It is with the decline of post-Fordism in the seventies and the growing recognition of the interconnectedness of international trade, world politics and population movement (Brenner & Kiel, 2006) that both 'transnationalism' and 'world city' regain their significance in scholarly discourse. From a macro-sociological point of view, pre-globalisation

processes were already at play in this period. What Peter Hall (1966) called 'the metropolitan explosion' was the development of a network of metropoles in command of not only international commerce, but also of centres of political decisions affecting world economy.These cities served as channels of international trade through a high concentration of major banks, as well as headquarters of governmental bodies, trade unions and international authorities (Hall, 1966). Nevertheless, Hall still discusses this in line with national sovereignty; world cities might still operate as central nodes for the flow of international capital and politics but the nation state is still considered prevalent in his analysis (Brenner & Kiel, 2006).

It is through the influence of world system theorists, such as Immanuel Wallerstein (1979; 1984), that the so-called 'world-city hypothesis' (Friedmann, 1986) shifted from prior forms of economic internationalisation to the globalisation of capitalist economy. Instead of operating as independent nodes of a common international system (Hall, 1966), world cities now "lie at the junction between the world economy and the territorial nation-state" (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982, p. 60). Of particular relevance to migration studies is the systemic role of migration flows in global capital production (Castles, 2002). International and interregional migration becomes increasingly important, not only in the study of the spatial direction of capital flows (Friedmann, 1986) but also in understanding how such flows get co-ordinated, managed and organised in 'world' (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982) or 'global' cities (Sassen, 1991; 1996). Relevant to the juncture between migration and urban studies (Brenner & Kiel, 2000), world cities attract large numbers of immigrants, both from inside and outside the country in question. Through sophisticated transportation systems, world cities facilitate the movement of goods, money and workers, both inter-regionally and internationally. With the agglomeration of such services and flows of transnational capital and people, the growth generated in such cities entails serious social costs, such as social polarization, inequality, housing and educational needs; a by-product of high influx of both poor immigrant workers (interregional as well as international) as well as representatives of what both Friedmann (1986) and Sklair (2001) later called the 'transnational capitalist class' (2001), which in turn calls for their own needs for social reproduction (Friedmann, 1986).

Friedmann's discussion stays largely theoretical and proposes a research agenda for this to be studied further. It is Saskia Sassen's work on global cities (1991[2001]; 2005), which provides a thorough empirical investigation of the global city structure. Sassen takes interest in a more place–bound approach, allowing a dialogue between the global macro structures and the actual social practices of workers and organisations within specific national and regional settings. Ideas explored by earlier world city theorists, such as the agglomeration of powerful transnational corporations

(Cohen, 1981) or the social polarization between transnational elites and low-skilled, low-paid labourers, triggered by such agglomeration (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982; Friedmann, 1986; 1995) are taken much further by Sassen. Drawing on her previous work (1988) on the interdependency of transnational corporations with transnational human capital and the change in migration patterns resulting from this process, Sassen's analysis in her highly cited work, *the Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (1991 [2001]) becomes much more embedded and bidirectional in terms of the functionalist role of global cities. The term 'global city' - as opposed to 'world city' - comes closer to globalisation theories, which frequently discuss local manifestations of the global (Appadurai, 1990; Giddens, 1990; Robertson, 1994; 1995) as experienced and materialised by social actors at various levels of social organization.

Sassen (1991 [2001]) meticulously analyses the changing landscape of specialised services which have grown in global cities: highly specialized producer services, subcontracting companies, legislating and information technology companies, which in turn attract a different set of knowledge workers, such as data analysts, engineering or brokerage specialists. This new form of global financial growth has particular effects on the social and spatial organization of global cities. In light of empirical evidence on employment and earnings in all three cities, she asks if common characteristics can be found in all three global cities under investigation. She places extra emphasis on the intersection between the common characteristics of global cities, such as New York, London and Tokyo and the particularities of each context in terms of the different national policies and social practices that are implemented in each of these cities. By identifying the shifts in the particular business sectors operating in global cities, Sassen (1991[2001]) does not just observe social polarization; she examines it in light of empirical findings present in all three cities:

> *New York, London and Tokyo show parallel employment and earning trends. All three experience losses of manufacturing jobs and above average growth in producer services, through the timing and magnitude varied. Finance paid the highest average salaries in all three cities, but the gap between men and women is enormous. Among the fastest-growing jobs are professional and service occupations, the former paying some of the highest salaries and the latter paying increasingly lower salaries* (Sassen, 2001, p. 250).

Although there are differences among these cities in relation to their local histories and economies, a rise in the same specialised services is prominent across New York, London and Tokyo: "new financial institutions set up to make a profit out of managing the *global*[2] circulation and accumulation of money" (Robinson, 2009, p. 13). Such specialised services attract a high number of highly-skilled workers in cities central to the global city network (Sassen, 2001). Alongside highly-

---

[2] Emphasis added

skilled migration however, global cities also attract low-skilled immigrant workers, necessary to cover the needs of the transnational elite.

In light of such evidence, the social polarization factor is understood in relation to the human factor in Sassen's work. So does her examination of the *transnationalisation*[3] of labour in global cities; the latter including a detailed analysis of inequality along race, gender and ethnicity dimensions. While Friedmann (1986) provided an outline of common characteristics of the world city hierarchy, Sassen (1991 [2001]) focused more on the process of global city formation, taking into consideration the role of producer services and transnational corporations in this process (Taylor, 2013). In turn, her emphasis on the social *practices* necessary for the implementation, organization and delivery of specialised corporate services, operating within the constraints of national, as well as international legislature, provides a different reading on global cities and their role in the world economy, as it becomes more embedded and localised:

> *A focus on corporate practices draws the categories of place and work process into the analysis of economic globalization. These are two categories easily overlooked in accounts centred in the hypermobility of capital and the power of the transnational. Developing categories such as "place" and "production processes" does not negate the importance of hypermobility and power. Rather, it brings to the fore the fact that many of the resources necessary for global economic activities are not hypermobile and are indeed deeply embedded in place… Further, global processes are structured by local constraints, including the composition of the workforce, work cultures, and prevailing political cultures and processes (Sassen, 1996, p. 84)*

Sassen's main contribution is therefore, that she actually shifts the attention from largely macrostructures of globalisation to the actual practices of work patterns and organizations as expressed in local contexts, the latter including particularities in social polarization according to each global city context. In her essay *Whose City is it: Globalization and the formation of new claims* (1988) she recognizes the significance of local cultural formations in global cities, as well the possibility of cosmopolitan attitudes emerging from the local manifestations of diversity and transnational identities. However, such observations do not go beyond the level of a commentary, as her research findings are based on large-scale comparative data and cannot reflect micro-sociological processes, such as identity negotiations or the development of a cosmopolitan stance in everyday social interaction. As Robinson (2009) also notes "her units of analysis are firms, markets, and industries, along with sectors, institutions and functions" (p. 19). In other words, Sassen does not reach the point of examining how the dialectics between global and the local are actually expressed on a social interaction level in each of her global cities. The everyday social practices and

---

[3] Emphasis added

social relations of migrants, including the highly-skilled, can only be examined by in-depth, qualitative studies (Favell, et al., 2006), where social actors can elaborate on such place-bound practices, as experienced and embodied.

It could be argued that Sassen's analysis stays on the meso level of analysis of work-related transnational social practices. In contrast, the study of everyday social practices in a global city brings in a micro-sociological focus, which may facilitate the understanding of emergent social processes in a global city context, as experienced by its inhabitants (Eade, 2001). The dialogue between local practices and global socioeconomic structures does not exhaust itself on the organizational level of work-related practices; it is rather embodied and experienced in the way one negotiates their social relations in a global city context. While maintaining a place-bound approach, I am looking at the everyday social practices of skilled migrant actors who have decided to settle in London. Looking beyond work-related transnational practices or mono-ethnic transnational networks, I am interested in exploring the intersection of transnational practices and cosmopolitan openness in their sociality patterns.

Another relevant issue that tends to be ignored in Sassen's empirical investigation is that of middling transnationalism (Smith, 2001; 2005; Conradson & Latham, 2005). By focusing her analysis of class polarization only on income and level of earnings (2001), she fails to address the positioning of those highly-skilled, yet non-elite migrants acting and interacting in global cities.

> [B]ehind the image of the global elites lie other socially differentiated realities. In fact, the skilled and educated among the globally mobile also include: students, nurses, mid-level technical and clerical employees, ambitious or adventurous upwardly mobile middle-classes, migrants from a range of intermediate developing states, and many more it would by hardly described as "elites"… A whole range of types of international migrants, in fact, are not captured by the two stylized images of counter-posed at either end of the social spectrum: high-flying corporate elites and desperate, poverty stricken labour migrants (Favell, Feldblum & Smith, 2006, p. 2)

According to GFMD (2007) highly-skilled migrants are those with tertiary-level qualifications, whose work is commensurate with their educational level. Highly-skilled migration is not exhausted by those high-earners operating within the district of the City of London, both during and after working hours. It is not surprising that such theorization has generated volumes of research on corporate migration and intercompany transfers (Beaverstock, 2005; Bozkurt, 2008), temporary highly-skilled migration across the globe (Khoo, McDonald, Voigt-Graf & Hugo, 2007), as well as research with

officials of NGOs or the European Union officials (Favell, 2006; Nowicka, 2012). But in all the aforementioned cases, the emphasis is still on those who combine high earnings with high positioning in exactly the services that Sassen (1988; 1996; 2001) identifies as the new structure of the global financial arena. It is only when one separates the level of income from the level of skill that one can start addressing transnational migration 'from the middle': medical and health-allied professionals (Marshall & Kegels, 2003; De Haas, 2005), teachers (Conradson & Latham, 2005), academics (Ackers, 2005; Morado-Foadi, 2005), architects and engineers on short-term contracts (Favell, 2003b; Kennedy, 2005), journalists (Hannerz, 1996) or people working in the creative industry and the arts (Florida, 2002). It is true that the whole category of middling has been criticized as too broad and over-inclusive: Ryan, Klekowski von Koppenfels and Mulholland (2014) report on this, bringing income discontinuations in this middling continuum. As in most over-inclusive categories, the problem lies in defining the category of middling and how one utilizes it for the purposes of empirical investigation. I would argue that it is exactly such differences in income that facilitate a clearer definition of what constitutes these middling positions. By excluding the transnational, hypermobile elite (Sklair, 2001) and professions that are – in line with Sassen's (1991[2001]) definition – only associated with the operating functions of the global capitalist system, such as producer services, banking and information technology, it becomes possible to address these middling positions in more detail and to understand their function in both the transnationalisation of migration (Sassen, 1988; Smith, 2001; Vetrovec, 2001) and the potential cosmopolitan exchange as a means for social and cultural transformation. In the current study, I am attempting to understand the everyday experience of Intra-EU skilled migrants who have decided to settle in London, and how they negotiate their identities across time and space. As will be demonstrated in more detail in the next two chapters, participants who responded to my research request *are*[4] situated in the middle: they are employed in line with their level of skill and tertiary qualifications but are not high-flyers, earning extremely high salaries, corporate relocation packages or other benefits associated with the elite. The majority of this sample, living and residing in London, are social workers, teachers, academics, mental-health professionals, sound engineers, nutrition specialists, to name but a few of their occupations. Only one of them works as an IT specialist in what can be classified as a producer service company; but again, his positioning is not of such a high rank to be classified as elite. To use an everyday phrasing, 'they are comfortable; not rich'.

According to Hannerz (1996) social actors in a global city act and interact through two, very different forms of relating: through market value and relations – this including work relations – where

---

[4] Emphasis added

meanings are commodified, as well as through what he calls 'form-of-life relations', where intercultural exchange occurs by mingling with one another in a common urban space in a "free and reciprocal flow" (p. 132). From a structuration point of view, such flow still occurs within the constraints of the glocalised market and class relations; nevertheless, such interactions still present actors with the opportunity to challenge their own cultural and class assumptions in a process of reflexive individuation (Giddens, 1990) and cosmopolitanisation (Beck, 2002). In other words, the global city potentially allows individuals from different structural environments – like actors across the social polarization pattern highlighted by both Friedmann (1986) and Sassen (1991[2001]) – to engage with one another. "Habit, imagination and judgement both reproduces and transforms structures in interactive response to problems posed by different situations" (Morawska, 2011, p. 5) in the present time and space.

### 3.3 The Phenomenology of Everyday Life in a Global City

How highly-skilled, yet non-elite migrants actually experience and manage everyday life in a global city (e.g. Ryan & Mulholland, 2013) is a question that can only be answered qualitatively. The highly skilled might arrive with relative ease, given their qualification credentials that surpass local contexts; this especially applies to Intra-EU migration (Favell, et al., 2006; Recchi, 2006; Kennedy, 2010a).  This does not however translate into an ability to actually have an impact on their local settings, socially and politically. Access to voting rights for example, requires citizenship; access to localized social processes requires insider local knowledge (Favell, 2003b; Kennedy, 2005) and a willingness to actually engage with local culture and practices.  Favell's work *Eurostars in Eurocities* in particular (2003a; 2006; 2008), has drawn attention to both the eagerness of EU highly-skilled migrants to settle in large European cities such as London, Amsterdam and Brussels, and to their desire to engage with culturally diversified  networks in their new habitats. Not all of these cities classify as global cities; in line with even more current global city classifications (e.g. Beaverstock, Smith & Taylor, 2000; Brenner & Kiel, 2006; Taylor, 2013) only London does. For the purposes of his analysis Favell does not even refer to London as a global city; he names all three as Eurocities, making a further distinction between them: He names Amsterdam the 'Cultural Eurocity', Brussels the 'Political Eurocity' and London the 'Economic Eurocity' (Favell, 2003b). Even in this classification however, the word 'economic' for London draws echoes of early world city theorists, such as Cohen (1981) and Hall (1966); if we are to update that to existing research on global cities, London is at the top of this classification, alongside New York (Beavertock, Smith & Taylor, 2000). What differentiates a global city from any other large metropolitan node in the global economy, are the glocalised organizational practices that exercise a mostly top-down global control (Sassen, 2001). Yet, if we are

to consider global cities from a structuration perspective (Friedmann, 2001), this including everyday social practices exercised by social actors in such a setting, a more qualitative approach is required for such an endeavour. Looking at place-bound, localised practices in relation to everyday life, a phenomenological approach moves beyond industry-related transnational practices and looks at global city processes from an in-depth, actor-focused perspective. Highly-skilled migrants negotiate pre-existing stocks of knowledge in relation to their everyday life in the city but they also need to establish local social relations and knowledge in order to fully participate in the global city landscape.

Favell's comparative work has highlighted the difficulties which might emerge from the lack of local knowledge, even for the highly-skilled: "this might seem a negligible drawback for the globally mobile until we remember that over time, 'everyday' issues of housing, taxation, health, child-care, schooling and retirement, all require some negotiation with local social structures that invariably favour insiders" (Favell, et al., 2008, p. 18). In a global city that might prove even more difficult, as the actual local cultural and tacit forms of knowledge do not only stay implicit for longer but are also subject to rapid change:

> As long as people in their actions are confined to the limits of a specific, hardly changing locale, there is no awareness of people's active effort to come to terms with their surroundings – the gaining of practical competence in distinctive zones of everyday life….. The uprooting of people's field of action from a specific locale as an ultimate reference point is a precondition for the extension of the individual's personal milieu, beyond the immediate physical geographical and social surroundings (Durrschmidt, 2001, p. 61).

Beyond the social practices at a work level, the way skilled migrants negotiate sociality patterns across time and space becomes central in this quest. As Gruner-Domic (2011) also notes in her research with skilled migrants "lifestyle [also] involves a social practice" (p. 478). The ability to maintain significant social relationships across time and space becomes a crucial practical competence. Significant social relationships may include transnational connections with significant others at a distance, as well as newly established friendships with culturally dissimilar others in the current place of residence. This is what Durrschmidt (2001) calls 'microglobalisation': the ability to integrate global differences and variety into the distinctiveness of the global city as a social environment. An example of this distinctiveness therefore is not only the "practice of global control" (Sassen, 2001, p. 6) but also the number of different cultural and ethnic practices that are negotiated in everyday encounters. In a series of semi-structured interviews with people living in the London borough of Lambeth, Durrschmidt (2001) examines the meaning residents attribute to their local Streatham community, as well as the level of their engagement with cultural Others in their

everyday social practices. For the purposes of his research, he interviews both long-term Streatham residents and new arrivals. He cites the examples of a 'Londoner by birth' of Swedish descent in her eighties, another Londoner by-birth of Caribbean descent in her twenties, an American expatriate in her sixties, living seasonally in London, a Greek-Cypriot in his thirties, who had come to London as a child and a British woman in her thirties who grew up in Surrey and moved to London for work-purposes. The level of diversity in this sample is characteristic of most London boroughs (Albrow, 2001; Wood & Landry, 2008). Durrschmidt (2001) identified a number of transnational, distanciated relationships and frequent travel for most of his participants, hence justifying what he calls the 'delinking of locale and milieu'. For most, it is the personal biography that dictates their relationship not only with Streatham but with London as a whole or places of descent, where significant others live; in these cases Sweden, Cyprus or the US. For the younger London-born participants, it is London that maintains its significance in terms of place identification (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) but not necessarily the particular locale per se, as the spatial organization of the city demands travel in order to keep in contact with friends.

Albrow's (2001) research in another London neighbourhood, Tooting, reflects similar patterns. With the exception of one, who has lived in the area for fifty years, most of his participants were not born in London; they had come to reside in Tooting between ten and seventeen years ago. This is an area demonstrating high patterns of immigration as well as co-existence of ethnically diverse groups, such as Asians, Jamaican, East-Africans and White-English. Similar to the findings of Durrschmidt (2001), participants maintain a number of distanciated transnational bonds both by frequent travel and by distance calls. When participants are asked about their sense of local affiliations however, most agreed that the sense of community is either expressed in ethnic, enclosed configurations, or stays at the level of everyday, random encounters with the cultural Other. For most participants the local community feel is long gone, as in most of London. Reminiscent of Pahl & Spencer's (2010) terminology, local communities seem to have been substituted by 'personal communities' whereby significant social bonds are frequently deterritorialised. In Albrow's findings (2001), participants maintain close social bonds mostly at a distance. This might refer to manageable distance, such as significant others living on the other side of town or to transnational ties maintained at a substantial geographical distance, either inter-regionally (e.g. Birmingham, Brentford) or internationally (India, Africa, Jamaica). What constitutes place-bound practices in relation to sociality under globalised conditions is very different. Spatiality is reconfigured in London, as "individuals with very different lifestyle and social networks can live in close proximity without untoward interference with each other… It leaves open whether older categories, like family, community, friendship or newer ones like partnership, enclave and lifestyle group, apply to these formations, recognizing that along with

delocalization there is also a growing indeterminacy in applying such classifications" (Albrow, 2001; pp. 51-52).

The studies by Albrow (2001) and Durrschmidt (2001) therefore express the need for an in-depth analysis of the social and spatial configurations of the global city as experienced by its inhabitants. It becomes apparent that the everyday field of social action is both dis-embedded and embedded, locally and globally. Ethnic and cultural diversity has become part of the global city structure (Sassen, 1996; Wood & Landry, 2008) and  is expressed in relation to personal biographies, migration histories and sociality patterns maintained both in the proximity of the city landscape and at a distance.

 Nevertheless, these studies are focusing mostly on the spatiality of London neighbourhoods, as experienced by its current residents. They do not examine the everyday social practices of the highly-skilled, yet non-elite migrants in London as a distinct social category, calling for empirical investigation: "In fact, highly-skilled migration brings with it both 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" (Favell, et al., 2006 [2008], p. 15).

Ryan & Mulholland (2014) looked at the process of emplacement and the formation of new social bonds for highly-skilled French migrants, who have settled in London. These are migrants that fit Sassen's (2001) image of the highly-skilled: they work in the banking and the finance sector, hence playing a central role in the work practices associated with a global city.  Nevertheless, as Beck (1999) also notes: "capital is global, work is local" (p. 11), and so are the everyday practices situated in that space. Ryan & Mulholland (2013) contest the concept of the footloose, hypermobile skilled migrant; instead, they explore the ways the highly-skilled formed new relationships in London as well as their reluctance to engage in yet another relocation challenge, especially after having children. Reminiscing difficulties associated both with the lack of local knowledge and the absence of a strong, London-based social network upon arrival, participants demonstrated a need for a continuity and consistency in their everyday lives. Given the geographical proximity between London and France, it was easier for this particular group to pay actual visits to friends and family in France; something that made London even more attractive. Managing significant social relationships in deterritorialised social spaces has become an ever-increasing factor of everyday life for a number of different ethnic groups, such as Poles (Ryan, 2010) and Romanians (Morasanu, 2013); amongst them, this also applies to the highly-skilled (Ryan & Mulholland, 2013; Ryan, et al., 2014). Nevertheless, the ethnic lens bias (Favell, et. al. 2006; Glick-Schiller, Darieva & Gruner-Domic, 2011) still prevails in the literature; looking at sociality patterns of the highly-skilled, yet non-elite EU

migrants of various national and ethnic backgrounds calls for further empirical investigation. The context of the global city provides opportunities for intercultural exchange and social differentiation. However, examining the actual level of cosmopolitan openness and transnational connections through concrete social relations has not been explored sufficiently to date.

Bringing back the category of middling transnationalism (Conradson & Latham, 2005; Smith, 2001; 2005) into the discussion of global cities, allows for a more in-depth investigation of how the social and spatial organization of London is embodied and experienced by social actors. Without underestimating the importance of Sassen's (1996; 2001) social polarization thesis, there have been criticisms as to how this thesis is mostly based on income rather than taking other factors into account, such as professionalization processes –this including lower earning yet professional occupations– as well as differences in migration and welfare policies among different global cities (Hamnett, 1994; Fainstein, 2001; Samers, 2002), which in turn call for local knowledge and connections (Favell, 2003b; Ryan, 2011). Furthermore, the social and spatial organization of everyday life is not exhausted in work-related practices; it is realised in everyday social interactions within and beyond the work environment. For transnational social actors this can take the form of managing both local and distanciated social relationships. The amount of geographical distance between London and the place of origin is also of importance here: it is much easier to manage differences in time zones or air travel expenses within the same broader region, such as within Europe (Ryan et al., 2014). It might, therefore, be helpful to situate such processes and to identify how these are materialised and experienced by a very specific population: *middling* skilled migrants from various EU countries who live, work and interact in London. Re-contextualising the study of everyday practices for highly-skilled professionals, who might not occupy high-earning positions but who still occupy a more privileged position than the low-skilled, low-paid migrants of non-EU background, provides the grounds for a more in-depth analysis of such practices. In the context of the global city discourse, everyday life has not been addressed sufficiently. As Smith (2001) has highlighted, "[u]nintentionally, their epistemology thus becomes the ontology of global cities" (p. 380). Sassen (1996; 2001) has succeeded in bringing the emphasis back on the level of place-bound, glocalised social practices; nevertheless, this has stayed largely at the examination of work-related practices at the organizational level. Therefore, the actual lived experience in global cities needs to be further investigated. Everyday life cuts across conventional boundaries of the micro-level and the macro-level of analysis; across the boundaries of the general and the particular, of agency and structure, of resistance and power (Highmore, 2002). In light of both existing transnational studies focusing on a micro-level investigation of social practices (e.g. Kennedy, 2005; Morasanu, 2013) and studies by globalisation scholars (Eade, 2001; Albrow, 2001), special emphasis has been drawn on

the geography of significant relationships that are stretched across time and space. Looking at an under-researched, yet highly prevalent migrant group, such as highly-skilled migrants of various nationalities living and interacting in London, allows for an investigation of what participants have internalised as 'common sense' in their sociality patterns, while at the same time exploring where they become more actively reflective in their everyday experiences in the global city. Looking at the ways that highly skilled migrants – of middling positions – construct and maintain close emotional bonds both in London and abroad, this study aims to identify the ways these migrants manage their everyday lives at the relational-behavioural level (Boccagni, 2012). Exploring the possible intersection between transnational social practices and cosmopolitan attitudes in their sociality patterns, the study aims to identify how highly-skilled EU migrants negotiate multiple identities in everyday life, therefore also addressing the manifestation of transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes at the identitarian-attitudinal level (Boccagni, 2012).

In the next two chapters, I will be outlining my chosen epistemology, as well as the ways I have put this epistemology into practice. As I have utilised a combination of qualitative research methods for my data collection, I will first elaborate on what constitutes a phenomenological investigation of migrant social practices. I will then proceed with an outline of the practice of these methods, with a commentary on both epistemological and personal reflexivity involved in this process.

**4**


**A Phenomenological Investigation of Everyday Social Practices: The stories left untold**

_____



## 4.1 Introduction



Over the past two centuries social science entertained a number of different theoretical paradigms, epistemologies and methods to study human behaviour in a social context (Patton, 1990; Pilgrim, 1997; Fawsett & Hearn, 2004; Creswell, 2007). The initial desire to adopt a 'scientific' approach, hence permitting social sciences to be compared with natural sciences, was reflected by a positivist approach to research, i.e. focusing on observable quantifiable facts, which could then be used to draw clear causal relationships (Patton, 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Willig, 2001; Creswell, 2007). This tendency has shifted over the past four decades, especially following the 'postmodern turn' (Lyotard, 1979 [1991]; Kvale, 1992; Lather, 1992; Pile & Thrift, 1995; Denzin, 2009), both in theory and in research. Since the paradigm shift from positivism to interpretivism and critical methodologies, social research has moved away from considering social phenomena as social facts that need to be clearly defined, controlled, measured and explained (Lather, 1986; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Creswell, 2007). Instead, it is now generally accepted that our understanding of the world is always selective, context-dependent and value driven (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lather, 1986; Willig, 2001). Relevant to the current work, the context of the global city as the landscape of social interaction is going to be examined in light of pre-existing and ever-developing value systems and worldviews of participants. Adding to the multiple manifestations of social action in culturally diverse environments, such as a global city, is the highly varied ethnonational background of participants in this study. The meaning they attribute to their sociality patterns, as well as to their identity negotiations, sets the tone for an exploration of individual accounts in an attempt to understand both the variability and the underlying commonalities in their sociality patterns.

Trying to capture the uniqueness of individual accounts (Creswell, 2007), the data collected in qualitative methodologies is rich, varied, and open to interpretation (Van Manen, 1990). Hence, the focus across varied qualitative research methodologies shifted from an attempt to reach an absolute, pre-existing 'truth' that could be generalised across different contexts onto a desire to

meet the participants' subjective understanding of the human experience in question (Ponterotto, 2005).

To quote Pilgrim:

> *Whereas work in* [physical science] *aspires to objectivity….in* [social science] *it is recognised that human life is suffused by* meanings[5] *which are imposed or negotiated intersubjectively by language-using organisms. This semiotic version of scientific activity involves the production and justification of interpretations.* (Pilgrim, 1997, page 2)

Given that humans generally make sense of themselves and their surroundings by the use of language, qualitative researchers emphasise the importance of the symbolic universe in which sense-making takes place. Focusing therefore on the description and understanding of personal and social experiences of participants becomes the common ground for qualitative researchers (Smith & Osborn, 2007; Silverman, 2006). Qualitative methodologies may vary according to the importance they place on language and according to the extent they emphasise reflexivity[6] on behalf of the researcher (Willig, 2001) but they do share these elements as the point of departure.

This is not to say that large scale quantitative studies retaining a positivist stance are not still used in social science. If the task is to have a broad understanding of social phenomena in a large scale across contexts, then a post-positivist approach (Holloway, 1997; Creswell & Clark, 2010) is still of great use. If, on the other hand, the focus of a particular research project is to gain a more thorough, in-depth understanding of a social phenomenon as it occurs in a particular context, such as my interest in examining patterns of sociality for skilled migrants in London, then a small-sample methodology of a qualitative nature is much more appropriate.  In qualitative research, the research question in never an innocent, neutralised instrument but rather an intervention already loaded with meaning, which will in turn affect the knowledge produced by the analysis (Hollway, 2005).

In this study I am addressing a phenomenon I initially observed as an insider (a skilled migrant myself in the context of a city like London), which I believed could only be addressed using a small sample methodology: exploring participants accounts using in-depth interviews together with a visual interactive method[7], prompted participants to explore their actual social network in great detail. Existing literature on both skilled migration and transnational studies has usually focused on either a

---

[5] Emphasis in the original

[6] As researchers are also social actors, they approach a research question with previous knowledge and possibly personal experience of the phenomenon. Reflexivity refers to the researcher's continuous efforts to be aware of the impact his or her previous knowledge of the phenomenon in question (Holloway, 1997), as well as of the impact the actual project has in his/her reformulation of the phenomenon in question.

[7] Please see pages 72-83  for a more thorough discussion of the methods used in this project

particular occupational group, - e.g. intercompany transferees (Beaverstock, 2005), academics (Ackers, 2005); health-care professionals (Marshal & Kegels, 2003) or migrants from the same ethnonational background (Conradson & Latham, 2005; Scott, 2006; Ryan& Mulholland, 2013). Although most of these studies are also addressing experience from a qualitative perspective and hence cannot claim generalisation, having a main common characteristic (i.e. nationality or professional group) as part of their research question required larger samples to address differences within that common characteristic. On the contrary, in this study, the commonality among participants exhausts itself on two elements only: level of skill and EU status. Given that other characteristics amongst participants varied significantly – for instance, in terms of nationality, profession, marital status, years of settlement, South, North, Central or Eastern European origins – a small sample methodology , using purposive sampling to 'anchor' the research in these two commonalities (Smith & Osborn, 2007), was more appropriate.  Using a combination of qualitative methods (one-to-one interviewing, focus group interviewing as well as a visual interactive method), I was aiming more for at an in-depth understanding of the experience of fifteen participants from various European countries who have settled in London for a number of years, as well as at how this is reflected in their patterns of sociality and identity negotiations after settlement. Furthermore, I was interested in the suggested semantic intersection between transnationalism and cosmopolitanism for participants who do not share the same ethnonational background or the same professional field, addressing my initial observations as an insider in a systematic manner.

Providing a comprehensive analysis of all available qualitative research methods is beyond the scope of this work; however, I will be providing a summary of the methodologies considered for this study before providing a justified account of my chosen epistemological stance, which I considered appropriate for my research aims and objectives.

### *4.1.1 Research Aims:*

Focusing on this particular sample of highly skilled EU migrants – of middling positions –living and interacting in London, this study aims to:

**(1)** *Explore the intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan openness for highly-skilled EU migrants:* As per my literature review, transnational practices for migrant groups have been well-established (e.g. Faist, 1997; Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Conradson & Latham, 2005). On the contrary, openness to the culturally dissimilar Other for skilled migrants, beyond the level of casual social interaction, has only recently started to attract scholarly interest (e.g. Kennedy, 2005, 2010a; Gruner-Domic, 2011; Nowicka, 2015): how do skilled

migrants negotiate both transnational affiliations and cosmopolitan openness in the context of such a diverse global city, such as London?

**(2)** *Explore the patterns of sociality of highly-skilled migrants in London*: How do highly-skilled migrants act and interact with close friends, significant others and their extended social networks across different localities in their everyday life? In other words, how do they negotiate different relationships, activities, work and family commitments both in London and abroad?

**(3)** *Identify how EU highly-skilled migrants from diverse national backgrounds negotiate multiple identities in their everyday life:* How are people moving between different identity formations, such as nationality, ethnicity, profession, relationship status and the like? More specifically, how do people negotiate *distinct categories of belonging* whilst interacting with their close personal network, both in London and abroad?

### 4.2 Overview of different qualitative methods considered for this project

In any research project it is important to decide on a particular epistemology - or the systematised study of knowledge, from a particular theoretical orientation - which is then addressed empirically (Creswell, 1994; Holloway, 1997; Fawcett & Hearn, 2004). Whilst formulating my research aims and questions for this project, I considered several different approaches which I believed were appropriate to my research aims, including thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), grounded theory (Glasser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), as well as various phenomenological methods (e.g. Finlay's (2009) relational phenomenology; Van Manen's (1990) hermeneutic phenomenology; Aspers' (2004) empirical phenomenology) amongst others. Before proceeding with an analysis of my chosen phenomenological approach, I will provide a brief summary of the aforementioned approaches and a rationale as to why I concluded to a phenomenological methodology.

Developed by Braun & Clarke (2006), thematic analysis is considered the simplest form of analysing and clustering large amounts of textual data into codes and themes (Boyatzis, 1998). Its simplicity stems from the fact that it lacks a particular theoretical underpinning, hence it can be applied to analysis of qualitative data without necessarily adhering to particular epistemology. This offers the method a particular 'flexibility' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 78), which allows the data to be interpreted using either an essentialist or an interpretivist epistemological perspective. Although this flexibility can be proven very useful, I considered adopting a method with a clearer theoretical and epistemological standpoint: if one aims to understand emergent social processes, such as the

transnationalisation (Sassen, 1988; Vetrovec, 2001; Beck, 2002) and cosmopolitanisation of human experience under globalised conditions (Beck, 2002), an interpretivist epistemological standpoint is more appropriate. The focus of the current work is on understanding the lived experience of skilled migrants who have decided to settle in London and on exploring how they negotiate their identities in everyday life. I am particularly interested in exploring the meaning they attribute to their sociality patterns as well as the meaning the attribute to the multiple identities they negotiate in a global city context. My research aims to reflect a phenomenological standpoint, as I am focusing on how participants make sense of their lived experience (Van Manen, 1990; Holloway, 1997; Starks & Trinidad, 2007), while negotiating transnational practices and cosmopolitan openness in their sociality patterns.

Looking for a method with a stronger epistemological standpoint than thematic analysis, I also considered Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 2006). In both phenomenological and grounded theory approaches the focus of the study is the participants' story, as it emerges from the data (Strauss & Trinidad, 2007). Considering my research aims (i.e. examining patterns of sociality in the context of London; identifying how participants negotiate multiple identities in their everyday lives after settling in London), this approach was also relevant. In line with an interpretivist focus, grounded theory research places special emphasis on context; on how participants' narratives are constructed as well as on the roles people adopt in this context (Holloway, 1997). Nevertheless, the goal of grounded theory is to discover the basic social processes underlying a phenomenon in a particular setting (Willig, 2001; Starks & Trinidad, 2007); hence the final goal is weighing more towards understanding the underlying structure rather than individual experiences in light of emerging social phenomena, such as transnational practices and the development of cosmopolitan attitudes. Revisiting the old structure-agency debate, I preferred the use of a method that focused more on the agency of social actors in constructing their realities (Fearfull, 2005), whilst also noting the social structures involved in such reality constructions (Aspers, 2004).

Irrespective of variations in grounded theory approaches, the shared aim in grounded theory is to discover a data-driven theory (Willing, 2001; Starks & Trinidad, 2007; Charmaz, 2009), by a thorough examination of the concepts utilised by participants to describe their experience (Holloway, 1997). Although grounded theory does not begin with a hypothesis in the traditional positivist sense, the end goal is still the generation of a theory to be applied in a particular context; working hypotheses and propositions are an essential part of the process during data analysis (Holloway, 1997). Furthermore, with the adoption of a specific coding schedule in some grounded theory approaches

(e.g. Strauss & Corbin, 1990), there is a risk for the researcher to be already inclined towards identifying patterns in the data on the basis of this schedule; this in turn adds a deductive twist to the analysis of social phenomena (Willig, 2001). Although more recent grounded theory approaches, such as the constructivist approach developed by Charmaz (2006; 2009), aimed at addressing this by focusing on the co-construction of meaning between participant and researcher, the emphasis on theory discovery alongside an over-involvement with the intersubjective element during the interview process frequently resorts to a highly relativist stance (Glaser, 2002): Charmaz advocates an active construction of the participant's meaning as it emerges from the interview and foregoes the underlying, persistent social process that may have been internalised by the participants. An interpretivist stance, which allows for the multiple realities of participants to emerge from the research process (Charmaz, 2006) is not only desirable but very useful too. Nevertheless, the discovery of a common pattern of behaviours and social action is underestimated in the constructivist approach. In the context of this study, adopting such an approach may have proven problematic, as it would not allow for a systematic understanding of emerging social processes, such as those of trasnationalization and cosmopolitanisation. As shown further on, phenomenological approaches allow for more of both subjective experiences and interpretations to be discussed in light of what social actors have internalised as 'common sense' (Schutz, 1967; 1970), alongside with the capacity of – at least some – social actors to be more reflectively aware of emergent social processes.

Hence I would argue that, although the phenomenological and grounded theory approaches both begin with an emphasis on a data-driven, inductive approach, interpretative phenomenological approaches stay more inductive during data analysis, without resorting to a highly relativist stance. The final goal of phenomenological methodologies is still to identify common structures of subjective experiences; however, they place extra emphasis on identifying meaning units in subjective accounts (Van Manen, 1990, Aspers, 2004; Finlay, 2009), before engaging with existing theoretical explanations in their interpretation (Aspers, 2004). Although I reached saturation after fifteen participants, I did not believe that I could actually argue for a theory that emerged from the data; I was rather more interested in understanding the subjective experience of participants, always in relation to my research aims and questions. Given that I was quite familiar with some strands of phenomenological research, I strongly believed that an interpretivist phenomenological approach was highly appropriate, as it had been widely used with small sample methodologies (Willig, 2001; Smith & Osborn, 2007; Starks & Trinidad, 2007). There is an emphasis on language, meaning and context, without losing the focus on subjective accounts (Aspers 2004; Langbridge, 2007; Finlay, 2009), something that may happen with other qualitative methodologies, such as discourse analysis

(Willig, 2001). Furthermore, and in contrast to grounded theory, which also shares characteristics with phenomenology (Patton, 1990; Willig, 2001; Starks & Trinidad, 2007), there is no attempt to generate a theory which I find problematic when using a small-sample methodology.

### 4.3 Phenomenological Research

The foundations of phenomenology were set well back in the philosophy of Husserl (1859-1938), who was amongst the first to advocate that objects in the world exist only in relation to the viewer's consciousness (Seamon, 2000; Groenewald, 2004; Langbridge, 2007). Contrary to previous realist understandings of natural science, which consider objects in the world as separate from human experience, Husserl introduces the concept of the lifeworld; or the world as subjectively experienced by its actors (Warnock, 1970; Dahlberg, Dahlberg & Nystrom, 2008; Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009). The lifeworld is always at the background and taken for granted by individuals interacting in that space (Macey, 2000; Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009). As no human activity exists in isolation, the term could also refer to "everyday sociability" (Macey, 2000, p. 230), as humans orient their activities and their interactions in the lifeworld. Drawing on Brentano's notion of intentionality[8], Husserl advocated that phenomena – or the viewer's experiences as they appear in the lifeworld – can refer to either actual, physical objects as well as to mental acts, memories or perceptions. The viewer ascribes meanings to these phenomena by acting upon them with an intention to understand and relate to the environment around them (Van Manen, 1990). If experience does not exhaust itself on actual objects, it follows that intentional acts can take various forms, including events, situations, *as well as*[9] physical objects that the viewer can see, feel, think about, smell, etc.; any of these acts can be the focus of a phenomenological investigation (Seamon, 2000). It is the task of phenomenology to systematically draw the distinction between the "plurality of perceptual experience and the unity of meaning" (Warnock, 1970, p. 30) that transcends subjective experience and attends to the common features of a phenomenon, for all actors involved (Spinelli, 1998). In other words, phenomenology aims to describe these phenomena as accurately as possible through a process of phenomenological reduction, or 'bracketing', to reveal the true nature or essence of these phenomena. This process of phenomenological reduction is achieved by omitting ordinary beliefs and assumptions of the viewer in order to reach the pure essence of these phenomena (Giorgi, 1989; Moustakas, 1994; Groenewald, 2004).

Phenomenology has taken many other forms, attitudes and directions since Husserl (Heidegger, 1962; Gadamer, 1975; Van Manen, 1990; Moustakas, 1994; Langbridge, 2007; Finlay 2009), as there

---

[8] Intentionality refers to "the relationship between a person and the object or event if his/ her experience or, more simply, one's directed awareness of an object or event" (Dahlberg, Dahlberg & Nystrom, 2008, p. 47)
[9] Emphasis added

is obviously a tension in Husserl between the attempt to look at phenomena as subjective intentional acts and the attempt to reach objectivity by attending to the pure structures – or essences- of these phenomena. Furthermore, several theorists have argued that separating description from interpretation is an artificial distinction (Heiddeger, 1962; Gadamer, 1975; Seamon, 2000; Aspers, 2004; Finlay, 2009), as "the meaning of description lies in interpretation" (Heidegger, 1962 [2004], p. 61).  If the transcendental phenomenology of Husserl lies on the focus of the 'what' the true essence of a phenomenon is, the hermeneutic phenomenology of Heidegger lies on the focus of the 'how' a phenomenon appears in a particular place and time (Heiddeger, 1962; Warnock, 1970). The emphasis is more on context and historicity rather than on achieving universality of a phenomenon; and this is where the interpretative turn in the history of phenomenology manifests itself (Van Manen, 1990, Dahlberg, et. al., 2008, Finlay, 2009). In other words, with the interpretivist turn in phenomenology, Heidegger focused on the experience of phenomena in context; i.e. phenomena as they are experienced by individuals in a particular place and time (Smith & Osborn, 2007; Starks & Trinidad, 2007; Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009).

Situating transnational practices and the possibility of cosmopolitan openness for skilled EU migrants in the context of London, this study attempts to explore such phenomena as lived and experienced in the current place and time.  Phenomenology aims to describe "how one orients to lived experience"; with the addition of hermeneutics, it also describes "how one interprets the 'texts' of life" (Van Manen, 1990, p. 4). The use of hermeneutics spans well back in history, starting as a term used for the interpretation of biblical texts; yet, in the course of more recent research epistemologies, the term has been associated with the act of interpretation in human sciences (Rorty, 1991). The term 'text' has recently been expanded further, to include both verbal and written communication, visual arts and music (Laverty, 2003), hence justifying the additional use of visual methods in phenomenological methodologies. Human experience does not exhaust itself on language, but it includes perceptions, emotions and memories, handling tools etc.; hermeneutics, therefore, refer to the whole of human experience from a relational, interpretative stance (Heidegger, in Macey, 2000).

 If one aims for a relational, involved approach to research (Aspers, 2004; Starks & Trinidad, 2007; Karnielli-Miller, Strier & Pessach, 2009), it follows that a researcher cannot and should not claim a detached-like objectivity. Both researcher and researched are influenced by prior cultural and historical conditions (Polkinghorne, 1983), hence it is questionable whether pure description is ever possible. Interpretation is not only unavoidable when engaging in the description of phenomena as they appear in the world, but also desired, as this is where a critical reflection on prejudices, prior

beliefs and assumptions takes place (Gadamer, 1975; Dahlberg, et. al., 2008). It is exactly in these interpretations that one can check their own prejudices and assumptions and hence be much more open to exploring alternative interpretations before actually concluding onto the chosen ones. In other words, the researcher's reflexivity - or her rigorous attempt to stay aware of prior theoretical or personal knowledge of the phenomenon in question (Holloway, 1997) - maintains a central role throughout the research endeavour: from formulating research aims and questions, to delivering interviews, to analysing research material.

Given my own positionality as a skilled migrant, who also embodies this 'lived experience' of both distanciated and proximate social relationships, I had to remain vigilant to my own bias and interpretations, which would inevitably form part of this process. For instance, my own anecdotal experiences and observations of London life prior to the initiation of empirical work, were at times facilitative to the research process; yet at other times, they posed a challenge and triggered critical reflection on the research material, in light of existing literature. This can in turn add to the understanding of the lifeworld, as validity in hermeneutic phenomenology may only be achieved by a thorough exploration of several theoretical explanations which are actually contested against the initial themes derived (Dahlberg, et. al, 2008). In what Gadamer (1975) calls 'a fusion of horizons', it is the interaction between researcher and text that allows a new perspective to emerge; it is the questioning of existing understandings beyond mere description that fuels further understanding in human sciences. I can stay true to the participants' experience as it emerges in the particular context of the current investigation, whilst also attempting to attend to what else might this phenomenon mean beyond its mere appearance.

This interpretivist turn however, has not been straightforward. When sociological theory started paying attention to phenomenology (Berger & Luckmann, 1966 [1991]; Schutz, 1967; Psathas, 1973), the tension between historicity and context and a more pragmatic approach of generalizable higher-order constructs resurfaced (Eberle, 2012). In both the phenomenology of Alfred Schutz as well as in Berger & Luckmann's classic text *The Social Construction of Reality: a Treatise to the Sociology of Knowledge* (1966), the tension between subjective interpretation and the advocacy of higher-order, objective reality that transcends individual experience and reflects the structure of the social world beyond the conscious intention of its actors re-emerges. In other words, the initial focus of phenomenology before hermeneutics (Eberle, 2012; Kim & Berard, 2009) once more gains grounds in these arguments. Nevertheless, the emphasis on 'society as subjective reality' (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) allows for a different interplay between subjectivity and objectivity, which I believe is highly relevant to my research aims and questions. This will be further explained below.

As with other phenomenologists, like Husserl - and I would add Heidegger - Schutz understood sociality as intersubjectivity (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009) or as how individuals interact and communicate with one another in the lifeworld (Kim & Berard, 2009). Although the term originates with Husserl, it is Schutz (1967) who actually elaborates on the term, referring to the actual experience of actors in a social world and using specific examples from social encounters; in Schutz, sociality as intersubjectivity can be understood as the relationship between individual agents that form a social structure. The structure of the social world "reveals and manifests itself in various intentional experiences" (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009, p. 100) of its actors. Schutz expands upon the Husserlian understanding of phenomenology onto a more relational realm, which in turn allows the subjective (psychological) to become intersubjective (social interactionist), hence a social phenomenon. This is of special interest in relation to the current study, as I am aiming to understand the patterns of sociality for skilled migrants who have settled in London.

Schutz identified the link between phenomenology and sociology in unpacking the meaning of social action. Husserl's intentional act is no longer exhausted on an aggregate of subjects who are potentially related to each other (Habermas, 1992) but becomes collective, social. Hence, phenomenological foundations are still at play but with a focus on social existence and social relations, which in turn are the main emphasis in social science (Kim & Berard, 2009). Drawing on Weber's notion of *Verstehen*, where an emphasis on meaningful action was introduced in sociology, albeit in the more abstract level of the *ideal type* (Edles & Applerouth, 2009; Kim & Berard, 2009; Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009), Schutz attempts to bridge the gap between Weber's macro-sociology and Husserl's transcendental phenomenology (Kim & Berard, 2009; Eberle, 2012), by focusing on the process of constituting meaning for individual actors (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009). Our everyday encounters in the world are internalised and as social actors we are not aware of applying 'common sense' – or internalised maxims, recipes and typifications to all of our encounters with objects and people (Schutz, 1967). Lifeworld remains the core of Schutz's phenomenological investigations, based on the actual experience of social actors but with special interest on what stays completely out of the participants' awareness and has been internalised as 'common sense' (Schutz, 1967; 1970; Kim & Berard, 2009; Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009). In the context of this study, attempting to understand the way migrant social actors relate to the lifeworld from a micro-sociological perspective, a 'maxim' of London diversity could be directing social action at the everyday level of social interaction. Typifications, such a 'national identity', 'profession', 'friend', 'work colleague', 'culture', 'home and host country', could also be understood as internalised attributions which, in turn, navigate 'lived experience' through a  process of Self-Other identification or differentiation.

Macro-sociological processes, such as global structural forces or institutionalised class privilege, are still part of this experience.

Attempting to identify the basic structures of the lifeworld (Heap & Roth, 1973; Wagner, 1983), Schutz addresses social actors or agents as *actively* constructing typifications, which help to provide structure in everyday life. We make sense of our everyday experiences in the lifeworld through this process of typifying actions and interactions: "We employ a repertoire of maxims and recipes – a type of practical know-how – for understanding and dealing with the world and other people […] No matter what we encounter, it is something whose more or less general 'type' we are familiar with" (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009, p. 102). Natanson (1982) also adds that Schutz's use of typification is highly relevant to intersubjectivity, as it is a process that depicts all areas of human activity; from social actors understanding themselves and others in a 'common sense' fashion to the systematised empirical research on human interaction (Kim & Berard, 2009). Schutz comments on typifications as facilitating "common-sense praxis in everyday life" (Schutz, 1967, p. 326), hence Schutz is addressing typification as a central social phenomenon which can take many forms, such as typical motives, typical situations, typical social roles (including self- and other- typification) and typical social interactions (Kim & Berard, 2009). The task of phenomenological investigation here is to make the meanings of these typifications explicit by bracketing prior theoretical knowledge and by focusing on the significance of social structure and social relationships for social actors. What becomes interesting in the research process is to identify which of these processes stay at a pre-reflective, 'common sense' level, and which ones come to awareness during the research process. In a one-to-one interview for example, 'common sense' processes are more likely to appear, as the participants are guided to express their views on their sociality patterns or the value they attribute to intercultural exchange. In a focus group discussion, however, value systems are negotiated, agreed upon or contested in the presence of others, hence providing an extra opportunity for the researcher to observe and interpret which maxims, recipes and typifications are more likely to stay intact when contested and which ones provide an opportunity for participants to examine their views in a more reflective manner. Similarly, internalised Self-Other typifications may – or may not – be reflected upon when presented visually to participants.

This is why, for Schutz, social science is so distinct from natural science; objects in natural science (e.g. an amino acid or an electron) have obviously no self-understanding and no self-interpretation; in contrast the 'object' in social science is the human subject which, as an active agent, employs 'first order' constructs' to understand and adapt to reality (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009). Therefore, the social agent is the expert on immediate experience and the social scientist comes in with 'second-

order constructs' – or scientific theories based on systematised observations of the social phenomena studied.  In other words, the social scientist studies the world not in a remote, objectified fashion but as it appears in the lifeworld of social actors in a particular place and time.

> *… the general thesis of reality and its natural attitude of its anthropomorphic character,  as well as the structure if this relatively natural conception of the world, accepted as given and unquestioned can be analysed by the phenomenological method. The content of this relative natural attitude changes from group to group, and within the same group in the context of historical evolution. To describe these features is the task of empirical social science (Schutz, 1967, pp. 141-142)*

It might be that the aim in Schutz is still to unpack higher-order social structures that can further be applied to different contexts. In this sense, Schutz replicates the difficulty in Husserl, manifested by this tension between intersubjective, context-dependent phenomena and higher-order structures, aiming at objective, generalised conclusions (Eberle, 2012). Nevertheless, consistent with his focus on the actual social actors, Schutz still draws attention to the specificity and historicity of social phenomena as they occur in particular settings. In the current globalised conditions, contemporary theoretical constructs such as transnationalism (Portes at al., 1999; Vetrovec, 2001), rooted cosmopolitanism (e.g. Beck, 2002; Appiah, 2006) or reflexive modernization (Beck, Giddens & Lash, 1994) would inevitably inform the analysis of participants' first-order constructs. Therefore I would argue that, when Schutz refers to second-order constructs (i.e. social theory) as the task of social science (Schutz, 1967), this is where interpretation comes in, as the researcher is still using an inductive, first-order construct-ridden approach to test existing and emerging social theories and pre-existing research on a contemporary social phenomena.

Following Alfred Schutz's understanding of phenomenology, it is the *systematised investigation of the everyday life* (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009), as applied in this particular context that can shed light on the pre-existing experiences of skilled migrants in London. Hence, although I have used theories of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism to inform my thinking and my research questions, when returning to the 'field' to do empirical research via semi-structured interviews and visual interactive maps (egocentric sociograms)[10], the use of the phenomenological notion of 'bracketing' is what allows me to return to  the descriptive aspect of phenomenology. By bracketing, I refer not only to bracketing my own bias and assumptions as an insider, but also to bracketing theoretical ideas of ethnically enclosed (Faist, 1997; Robins & Aksoy, 2001) versus multi-ethnic transnational networks (Anderson, 2001a; 2001b) or the possibility of a 'cosmopolitan sociability' for migrant social actors

---

[10] Please see further for a full explanation of egocentric sociograms

(Glick-Schiller et al., 2011; Nowicka, 2012) before returning to such ideas when engaging with the process of interpretation. Furthermore, as my emphasis is on the everyday life of skilled migrants, "the phenomenological analysis of everyday life, or rather of the subjective experience of everyday life, *refrains from* any causal or genetic hypothesis as well as from the assertions about the ontological status of the phenomena analysed" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966 [1991], p. 36), which in turn allows me to explore this emerging social phenomena using an inductive approach and allowing the verification of such phenomena to emerge from the data. Theoretical assertions, such as those of transnationalisation (Sassen, 1988; Vetrovec, 2001; Beck, 2002), cosmopolitanisation (Beck, 2002) or the notion of a rooted cosmopolitanism that is informed by transnational social practices (Ribeiro, 2001; Beck, 2002; 2004) are utilised more as a conceptual framing of emerging social phenomena to be tested through a data-driven, inductive approach in the context of the global city. Using a phenomenological perspective, these are not utilised as theoretical frameworks informing the research process in a deductive fashion (i.e. using them as top-down, ideal types in the Weberian sense).

In the following section I will outline the set of methods I used for my research design before returning to the way I implemented this set of methods from an interpretative/ hermeneutic phenomenological perspective.

## 4.4. Method

### 4.4.1 Research design

I used semi-structured interviewing (both one-to-one and group interviewing), as well as a visual interactive method for data collection. Fifteen participants from various European countries were interviewed on a one-to one basis in 2013, exploring their journey of identity and meaning after settlement in London. Five participants from the same sample were interviewed again in a focus group. Focus groups are a powerful tool for research but are frequently used in conjunction with other methods to ensure triangulation (Willig, 2001). Group interviewing is often regarded as a quick and convenient way to collect data from several people simultaneously (Kitzinger, 1995). Although this is true it is also an oversimplification, frequently undermining the value of the focus group as an analytic tool which can provide the social science researcher with in-depth material of great value (Carey, 1994; Rabiee, 2004), especially when used in conjunction with other methods, such as one-to one interviewing.

I also allowed a two-month gap between individual and focus group interviewing in order for both researcher and participants to digest information and to relate to the interview questions from a

different angle. Individual interview questions were more personal in nature and aimed at exploring each individual's lifeworld in more detail. Focus group questions addressed the diversity and the everydayness of the city as well as cosmopolitan attitudes in a group discussion format.

The questions sought to explore the process of settlement in London for participants, their patterns of sociality in different environments (at work, with close friends, with acquaintances, at leisure activities), the extent to which participants socialise with people from different backgrounds and the impact this has on their identities[11]. During one-to-one interviewing, I also used a visual/interactive method to add depth to the participants' responses. The use of an egocentric social network map (Chua & Wellman, 2011) – or an egocentric sociogram[12] - was introduced (adapted from Hersgerber, 2003), which was also to be analysed from an interpretivist perspective. As Hersberger (2003) notes, the majority of social networks' research examines patterns of relationships, closeness and connection using complex mathematical models. However, social networks can also be analysed qualitatively but it is a possibility that has not yet been extensively explored in the study of social relations. In this study, egocentric sociograms were utilised as a complimentary interview method in order to explore the actual characteristics,  cultural background, level of support, place of residence, similarity and divergence of significant others in the everyday lives of highly-skilled migrants who had decided to settle in London. The sociogram consisted of concentric circles with the name of the participant in the inner circle (Hersberger, 2003).

---

[11] For the full interview schedules, please see Appendix B and C

[12] As this  study explored skilled migrants' cosmopolitan attitudes and transnational connections as patters of *sociality*,  I preferred the term 'egocentric *socio*grams' for this complimentary interview method, in order to make sure this is understood as separate form quantitative social network analysis

Friends                  Work

S 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

& other important connections

Activites             Family

In egocentric networks, the boundary of this network is defined by the participants, as they are the ones who decide where their support network ends and what indicates their relationships with significant others (Hersgerber, 2003; Chua & Wellman, 2011). Social actors might be interacting face-to-face with a number of people in their everyday lives; however, not everyone from the people they interact with becomes part of one's personal network. According to Schutz (1967), the way people act and interact with others is structured in 'strata' around themselves, with the individual in the core of these strata. These strata extend both temporally and spatially around the individual and can extend endlessly if one is to include every encounter. Indirect social relationships (Schutz, 1967; 1970) can be anonymous and remote but nevertheless part of everyday life; in the context of personal networks, these are contemporaries who do not belong to one's network, as the social actor does not choose to have a direct relationship with them. Contemporaries, or people one interacts with in their everyday life, can be layered in various levels of spatial proximity and distance as well as in terms of familiarity and strangeness (Overgaard and Zahavi, 2009). Consociates on the other hand , are one's 'intimate fellows'  at any given point in time, as "they possess a mutual in-depth understanding, not only because they are intimately familiar with each other's biographies but also because they are keenly aware of the immediate situations others are currently encountering" (Zhao, 2004, p. 93).

In a personal network map (Hersberger, 2003; Spencer & Pahl, 2006; Chua & Wellman, 2011), the limit of the network is the limit of personal relationships – or relationships with consociates. Relationships with contemporaries might be frequent but this is not sufficient for someone to be included in the support network, as emotional proximity is achieved by shared aims, values and interests (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Schutz, 1967; Kim & Berard, 2009; Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009), as well as similarity, 'rewardingness' [sic], regular planned meetings and the ability to self-disclose (Argyle, 1992). I would argue that the use of egocentric sociograms allowed these to emerge much more clearly and helped both participants themselves and myself as a researcher to understand and interpret their patterns of sociality as they appear in the lifeworld. Hence, and in line with the tasks of phenomenological research, the experience of everyday life after London settlement could be further understood using media that extend beyond the use of textual material (Seamon, 2000), addressing the phenomenon in question with the assistance of a visual interactive map.

In other words, the use of egocentric sociograms assisted me in identifying how people construct their support networks across different localities (Bunell et al, 2012; Morasanu, 2013; Ryan & Mulholland, 2014). I consider these egocentric networks also part of participants' first-order constructs, as it is they who, in Schutzian terms are: (1) identifying who is significant to their own network and applying a series of typifications when describing significant others and (2) selecting where their personal network stops, whilst taking into consideration the notions of time and space[13]. The actual depiction of their personal networks in the form of the egocentric sociogram becomes a *phenomenon in itself*, as participants reflect on their patterns of sociality as they *appear* in their lifeworld. Hence, my depiction of the visual map described above allowed participants to locate their significant others in one of the rings provided. In the context of this visual representation, spatial proximity represents emotional proximity as well; rings 0-3 reflect greater familiarity and emotional proximity, whereas rings 4-7 reflect some familiarity albeit greater emotional distance across the four quarters (friends' quarter, work quarter, activities' quarter and family abroad quarter).

Using a variety of methods to address participants' experiences, I aimed at engaging them with my research aims in different ways. For example, both one-to-one and focus group interviewing aimed at understanding the way participants ascribe meaning to their sociality patterns and to identify the intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes in these patterns. Questions regarding identity negotiations also formed part of the interview schedule; nevertheless, in both individual and group interviewing, the responses gathered were relevant to the way

---

[13] As I will demonstrate in the analysis chapters, 'space' extends beyond one specific location for participants

participants perceived their everyday realities. With the additional use of a visual method, which aimed at identifying concrete social relations in the form of significant others both in London and abroad, allowed for the narrative responses to be verified – or possibly – contested. To return to Schutz's (1967; 1970) terminology, is the 'maxim' of diversity just mentioned as an ideal to abide by in the global city – or is this something that becomes explicit in their actual social relations? How is the level of engagement with transnational practices or with openness to the culturally dissimilar Other discussed in an interview response and how does that relate with actual depictions of significant others on the map of personal relations, both in London and abroad? In other words, individual and focus group interview responses formed semantic depictions of meaning units as first-order constructs (Aspers, 2004), whereas engaging with the sociogram formed visual depictions of social acts; the latter providing further means of phenomenological investigation (Seamon, 2000). By actually putting down names of significant others and being prompted to give identity referents – or typifications – of significant others in terms of nationality, ethnicity, gender, sexuality or relationship statues, allowed the intersection of transnational and cosmopolitan practices to be explored through a process of identity negotiations as they appeared through the process of self-Other identification.

### 4.4.2 Selection criteria & participants' characteristics

Participants were selected on the basis of the following: (1) they should have emigrated voluntarily, as adults and (2) should have settled abroad for at least six years. Six years is usually enough time for someone to qualify in one's field and to make an informed decision to settle abroad; hence six years was considered sufficient as a selection criterion, which would exclude sojourners or other forms of temporary migration. And finally (3) participants should have qualified to at least graduate level and should have been able to apply their skills and expertise in skilled jobs.

As this study aimed at exploring highly-skilled migrants working in different sectors (i.e. not inter-company transferees – ICT's) and given the need for a 'purposive sampling' (Smith & Osborn, 2007), which would only focus on individuals sharing two main common characteristics (EU-status and level of skill), the main recruitment strategy was by snowballing (Patton, 1990). Fifteen highly-skilled migrants were recruited from the researcher's own various spaces of activity (academia, psychotherapy work, dance groups and music bands) as well as two key informants from Middlesex University, who helped to extend the sample. Keeping in mind the drawbacks of snowballing and those of being an 'insider' (a skilled migrant myself), I made sure my sources were diversified in order to achieve a high level of both ethnonational diversity as well as diversity in terms of

occupation and years of London residency. The study consisted of Croatian, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian, Maltese, Polish, Romanian, Spanish and Swedish participants. Duration of settlement ranged from seven to twenty-five years and participants' ages from 30 to 55 years, allowing for differences in life-stages to be explored. Most participants were either single or divorced; only four of them had children or stepchildren, a fact that also affected patterns of sociality (see also findings and discussion section). Occupations included academics of different disciplines, psychotherapists and psychologists, a teacher, a consultant specialising in environmental conservation, a graphics and printing specialist, a sound engineer, a nutrition specialist, a social worker and a physicist who had shifted to IT consultancy. Contrary to studies focusing on particular occupations, like healthcare professionals (Marshal & Kegels, 2003), academics (Ackers, 2005; Morano-Foadi, 2005), corporate migration or ICT's (Beaverstock, 2005; Khoo, et al., 2007), following the examples of Favell (2003) and Kennedy (2010a), this study attempted to focus more on the everyday experience of skilled migrants working in different sectors, hence avoiding the potential bias of work–related focused networks only.

### 4.4.3 Phenomenological approach of this project

As outlined in the introduction of this chapter, qualitative research focuses on the description and understanding of personal and social experiences of participants (Smith & Osborn, 2007 Silverman, 2006). Data collected is rich, varied and open to interpretation. Phenomenology addresses phenomena as they appear; in this case participants' responses to the interview questions and their graphic positioning of significant others in the sociogram. This approach to the analysis aims at unfolding the individual meanings ascribed to settlement, multiple identity formations after settlement as well as the meanings participants ascribe to patterns of sociality in the present time and place. Addressing participants' accounts from a hermeneutic phenomenological perspective allowed me to include my own interpretation of participants' experiences as well as interrelations amongst themes emerging from the analysis of participants' narratives and patterns emerging from the sociogram analysis.

As social science does not aim at purely describing the way people feel, act and interact, it is important to adopt a phenomenological approach which involves the interpretation of these feelings and interactions in light of existing literature (Aspers, 2004). As seen earlier in this chapter, the tendency in some phenomenological methodologies to view the researcher as the expert, approaching participants' experience through the role of the scientist (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2007), is inherently problematic. The purpose of critical methodologies is to consider participants as experts and to reduce power differentials between researchers and participants to the best extent possible

(Karnielli-Miller, Strier & Pessach, 2009). Madison (2005) also comments on this, adding that it is impossible to separate the scientist from his/her human capacity, which affects participants at the moment of the first encounter; "before a word is spoken or a professional persona is manifested" (p. 36). In light of such difficulties, social science researchers have developed a range of different phenomenological approaches, ranging from methodologies aiming at  pure description of phenomena (Collaizi, 1978; Giorgi, 1989; Moustakas, 1994; Giorgi & Giorgi, 2007), to methodologies tending  more towards description but allowing the element of interpretation (Van Manen, 1990; Dahlberg, et al., 2008; Finlay, 2009), to researchers with a strong interpretative focus (Smith, 1996; Cohen & Kahn & Steves, 2000; Fearfull, 2005; Aspers, 2004; Smith & Osborn, 2007; Langbridge, 2009). It follows that when applying hermeneutic phenomenology, there are no prescriptions as to how a researcher applies hermeneutic phenomenological research (Kafle, 2011). There is no need for one unified method, abiding by a clear distinction between epistemology and ontology to define this variation; it is only a creative approach to understand the phenomena in question as well as the subject matter under consideration (Laverty, 2003). For the current project the phenomena in question are the patterns of sociality and the negotiation of multiple identities for skilled migrants in London and the subject matter is the possible intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes as an emerging social phenomenon.

Drawing on existing models of hermeneutic phenomenology, I will be working on a variation of Aspers' Empirical phenomenology (2004); a methodology which maintains Schutz's emphasis on historicity and context but applies an even stronger interpretivist element. I will also be drawing on Laverty's (2003) concept of the hermeneutic circle, whereby description and interpretation are understood as an iterative process, with an emphasis on self-reflexivity throughout data analysis. Aspers' empirical phenomenology also makes use of the hermeneutic circle, albeit in a more systematised manner.  In his model Aspers (2004) identifies seven steps in analysis: (1) defining the research question, (2) conducting a pre-study, (3) choosing a theory as a background, (4) study first-order constructs while bracketing the theories, (5) insert second-order constructs as a means of interpretation of the subjective meaning units that emerged in the previous step, (6) check for unintended consequences and , (7) relate empirical findings back to existing theory and research on the subject-matter in question.

I found that model most helpful, as it allows for a movement between identifying and isolating participants' 'meaning units' as first-order constructs and the interpretation of these constructs in light of the existing social theory (i.e. second-order constructs).  As Aspers (2004) also comments, the steps are not prescriptive and are more likely to be used in an iterative fashion. Hence, I found

myself to have followed most of these steps albeit not always in the same order. For example, I too accommodated the idea of a pre-study in the form of observation, informal discussions with skilled migrants who have settled in London as well as with my own participation in a performance/ interactive lecture on the history of London settlements (Kyllika, 2014) and in multi-ethnic music bands in London over the past few years. As an insider in this research I had collected several notes on the patterns and interactions of skilled migrants in London and had identified a tension between transnational connections and cosmopolitan attitudes before actually formulating my research questions. Through my interaction with people in the city over the past ten years, I had noticed that it is mostly the highly-skilled who were engaging in mixed networks. This was not always the case, but there was definitely a pattern that I had identified in my observations, albeit not in a systematic manner. Work environments were scouting for 'global talent' (Beechler & Woodward, 2009), hence the skilled had more opportunities to socialise with people of different backgrounds. What I was not sure about was whether these work connections were actually extending beyond work-related socialising. On the contrary, local shops and ethnic restaurants across London were usually monoethnic, with some workers even lacking basic English. This contrast really intrigued me and after keeping a journal of my initial observations, I started reading on transnationalism and cosmopolitanism in order to identify existing research and current trends in theoretical conceptualisations. From my initial readings (step 3 in Aspers' schedule) it emerged that, although several studies were addressing skilled migrants and their transnational connections, research samples were again mostly mono-ethnic (e.g. Conradson & Latham, 2005; Ryan, 2010; Morasanu, 2013; Ryan & Mulholland, 2014), with only a few exceptions of multi-ethnic samples (Favell, 2003; Kennedy, 2010a). This tension between my real life-observations and the main tendency of mono-ethnic research sampling in transnational literature truly intrigued me; it was this tension that provided the grounds for my research design. I then reformulated my initial observations to specific research questions and aims, narrowing down the sample to only Intra-EU skilled migrants.

In contrast to some Grounded Theory approaches (Willig, 2001; Glaser, 2002), I did not immerse myself into interviewing without any theoretical background on the matter; I strongly believe that getting some theoretical background is essential before addressing any social phenomenon more systematically. On that ground I would agree with Aspers (2004) that some theoretical knowledge as a frame of reference is necessary to map out the project, as it is impossible to cover all social processes involved for participants; in this case, skilled migrants who have decided to settle in London. What I did not agree with however, is the need for a particular framework when conducting a data-driven, inductive approach. Theories of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism (Vetrovec, 2001; Vetrovec & Cohen, 2002; Appiah, 2006; Delanty, 2006) as well as existing research (Favell,

2008; Kennedy, 2010a) were useful in the formulation of my research questions but I needed to stay open to what emerges from the data before revisiting concepts such as transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, social identities and sociality.

Attempting to identify the 'first-order constructs', as presented by the participants' responses (i.e. interview responses, plus participants' reactions that emerged during the mapping exercise; e.g. "Gosh, as I'm talking I realise that these are all 'white!'" in Akis' and Maria's responses when realising the race element in their sociograms) it appears that these maintain descriptive aspects of a phenomenological methodology. At that stage of the research process I attempted to bracket my own assumptions and stay with what emerged for participants before engaging myself in interpretation. Bringing in second-order constructs, existing theories as well my own insights as a researcher in understanding the first-order constructs, is where the interpretation comes in. Furthermore, while staying open to the unintended consequences of participants' actions, I attempted to engage critically with participants' first-order constructs: participants might be ascribing meaning to their intentional acts but it is my task as a researcher to move beyond the consequences of actions as identified by participants and to decipher what other factors might be significant in these actions (Aspers, 2004). Going back to Gadamer (1975), it is the fusion of horizons between participants' own interpretations and my own:

> *Understanding is more than simply recreating someone else's meaning. Questioning opens up possibilities of meaning, and thus what is meaningful passes into one's own thinking of the subject… To reach an understanding in a dialogue is not merely a matter of putting oneself forward and asserting one's own point of view, but being transformed into a communion in which we do not remain what we were (p. 375).*

Therefore, in this project, instead of following Aspers's (2004) steps of analysis in a linear fashion, I applied the use of the hermeneutic cycle (Laverty, 2002; Kafle, 2011) engaging with participants' interview responses and extracting 'meaning units' (viz. first-order constructs) before clustering them together into themes and subthemes.  I maintained a process of active self-reflection throughout the research process, by keeping memos and noting where my own experience as an insider might have affected the extraction of themes. I then proceeded with interpretation by using second-order constructs (viz. existing theories and prior research in the areas of transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and skilled migration) and only then I revised themes, subthemes and sociogram typologies in light of my interpretations.

### 4.4.3.1 Sociogram Typology: Classifying First-Order Constructs of non-Narrative Responses

Since my research design consisted of multiple methods utilising the same epistemology, it was necessary to find a way to apply the process of phenomenological reduction for both interview and sociogram responses. Extracting meaning units from participants' narrative responses was how I identified first-order constructs from interviews. However, sociogram responses were not in a narrative form; participants were actively positioning significant others in one of the sociogram 'rings', providing one-word descriptions for the main characteristics of significant others (e.g. nationality, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, place of current residence). Hence, I needed to find a way to actually maintain this more descriptive element of sociogram material, before resorting to a higher-order of interpretative engagement with second-order constructs.

Participants' background converged on two factors only (level of skill and the right of free movement because of EU status); but they varied on a number of other factors, including nationality, gender, ethnicity, years of settlement, relationships status and age. It was therefore important for me to generate a typology which would allow for the analysis of egocentric sociograms across these differences. In a sense, I was also using Schutz's concept of typification, when clustering similar characteristics of these 'chosen contemporaries' [sic] across participants. Keeping that in mind, I generated *four different types of connections* (which in turn was an effort to cluster participants' self- and other-typifications together) so as to manage data that had emerged from the egocentric sociograms:

1. Mono-ethnic versus multi-ethnic typology
2. Cultural proximity versus cultural distance typology
3. Life-status similarity versus Life-status difference typology (e.g. relationship status, sexuality, class)
4. Life-stage similarity versus life-stage difference typology (e.g. age)

The rationale behind this typology was an effort to refrain from drawing further interpretative conclusions on sociogram material before actually engaging with participants' narrative responses in more detail. As I completed the clustering of themes from participants' narratives first[14], patterns that were already identified in the first level of interview phenomenological reduction informed the generation of this four-tier typology. For instance, the presence of mixed networks or the tendency for a cultural/ regional proximity in mixed networks was already identified in narrative responses. Since the study aimed at exploring the relationship between transnational connections and cosmopolitan attitudes in participants' social networks, the first -and most obvious- typology which

---

[14] To be discussed in more detail in chapters 6 and 7: Expressions of the Lifeworld I & II

needed exploration was the extent to which participants' networks were mono-ethnic or multi-ethnic. The second closely-related typology was to identify the level of multi-ethnic openness: drawing on the subtheme 'cultural/ regional proximity in mixed networks', this second typology aimed at exploring whether participants' mixed networks were culturally/ regionally bound or not.

The remaining two sociogram typologies were generated in an effort to identify what other commonalities play a role in participants' chosen networks, both in London and abroad. Hence, lifestyle status commonalities (e.g. relationship status, sexuality, class) versus lifestyle status differences and main life-stage commonalities (e.g. age) versus main life-stage differences were also used in the egocentric sociogram analysis. Similar to clustering of participants' 'meaning units' into higher order subthemes and themes, I used the abovementioned sociogram typologies to cluster different commonalities as they appeared in the sociograms (e.g. I clustered the 'typifications' of relationship status, class status and sexuality status under the higher-order typology of 'lifestyle status commonalities').

I would argue that Laverty's hermeneutic cycle (2003) comes more to the fore in this method: in the sociogram typology, the cycle between description and interpretation starts with the first level of phenomenological reduction. Given the multitude and diversity of first-order sociogram constructs, my first-order typology was an effort to stay loyal to participant's typifications (descriptive element of the hermeneutic cycle) while also highlighting the connection between interviews and sociograms in my methodology; for instance, utilising patterns already identified in the first-constructs of narrative responses, in the construction of this typology involved an element of interpretation.

Focusing on the first-order constructs of participants, and in line with my research aims, I am aiming to utilise Schutz's social phenomenology principles in investigating the following: how do participants operate on the basis of an internalised common sense, in relation to both self- and other- typifications? How do they operate in the lifeworld in their everyday in London after settlement? Whilst trying to understand the patterns of sociality (research aim 2), what maxims, recipes and typifications do participants utilise while negotiating multiple identities in everyday life? In what ways do they utilise self- and Other-typification in relation to different identity referents, such as nationality, ethnicity, profession, relationship status and the like (research aim 3)? Furthermore, which of these maxims, recipes and typifications are useful in understanding transnational and cosmopolitan practices for Intra-EU skilled migrants in London (research aim 1)?

Although, as discussed earlier, I do recognise the tension in Schutz's discussion of phenomenology, I still believe that some of his theory is highly relevant to my research questions as well as to the

particular combination I used for my data collection (individual interviews, focus groups and egocentric sociograms). Furthermore, as Eberle, (2012) notes, developments in phenomenological sociology do not rely on an ecological (i.e. nature-like) perspective but empirically investigate how people constitute phenomena in their everyday life. In other words, they extend beyond theoretical discussions and into the responsibility of researchers to draw their own methodological variation, as long as this is done in a systematic manner (Gadamer, 1975; Eberle, 2012); Dahlberg, et al., 2008; Finlay 2009; Kafle, 2011).

## 4.5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I attempted to provide a rationale for my chosen methodology and to demonstrate the need to address emerging social phenomena, such as transnationalisation and cosmopolitanisation, from a phenomenological perspective. As also argued in my literature review chapters, addressing such social phenomena calls for a micro-level of analysis, whereby participants' stories can further an understanding of how such processes are embodied and materialised in everyday life. As this is an explorative study, focusing on a small-sample methodology of intra-EU migrants of various nationalities and various professions, I have produced a mixed-method research design in order to achieve an in-depth understanding of their sociality patterns as they occur in the global city of London. One main premise in a hermeneutic methodology from a sociological perspective (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Schutz, 1970; Psathas, 1973; Aspers, 2004) is the notion of 'common sense', i.e. how participants have internalised particular forms of social action, as well as self-other typifications, which they then perform in their everyday lives. Keeping this in mind, the use of both textual and visual methods was an effort to depict possible differences between the way participants convey their values, maxims and typifications in their interview responses and the way such values and maxims appear when asked to position and describe significant others in their personal network maps (egocentric sociograms). Given the perplexity of the research design, I have used this space to elaborate on my chosen epistemology, demonstrating the use a hermeneutic phenomenological perspective in both interview and sociogram analyses. From such a perspective, the historicity and spatiality of the phenomena under investigation is central in this process (Laverty, 2003; Aspers, 2004), this, in turn, includes an emphasis on self-reflexivity, which permeates the whole 'hermeneutic circle' (Laverty, 2003) in the analysis of one-to-one interviewing, focus group interviewing and sociogram material. Therefore, whilst elaborating on the rationale behind my chosen methodology, I also drew attention on how reflexivity may manifest in this study. As with any research on lived experience, and especially as an insider, I was expecting to be affected by the

material; and this would have affected  the way I interpreted material (Gadamer, 1975), as well as the manner in which I engaged with the hermeneutic cycle (Laverty, 2003). In this chapter such awareness was discussed in light of my chosen epistemology and in light of the steps followed when engaging in phenomenological reduction of both interview and sociogram material. In the next chapter this process will become more evident, as I will be focusing on my actual encounters with participants; for instance, which 'first-order constructs' stood out for me naturally when analysing participants' responses and which ones needed more of my attention for them to stand out in the analysis?   In other words, what had I omitted and what did I include during my initial engagement with the hermeneutic circle? These are all reflexivity issues that need to be addressed with awareness and transparency, as they add to the verifiability of findings (Holloway, 1997; Seamon, 2000; Dahlberg, et. al. 2008).

In the next chapter, the move from methodology description to the practice of method(s) aims at bringing the process of my intersubjective engagement as well as my bracketing challenges to light. Let us see what emerges from this process.

**5**

**The Practice of Method(s)**

_____

## 5.1 Introduction

In the last chapter I went into detail on the underlying epistemology of this study and attempted to demonstrate how an interpretative phenomenological perspective would be appropriate for my research aims and questions. I first tried to depict the tension between description and interpretation in phenomenological methodologies (Dahlberg et al. 2008; Finlay, 2009; Eberle, 2012) before moving onto the discussions of Alfred Schutz (1967; 1970) on phenomenological sociology. With an emphasis on historicity and context, phenomenological sociology focuses on the intersubjective world of social actors as it appears in a given space and time (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009; Eberle, 2012). Drawing on Asper's (2004) empirical phenomenology research schedule as well as Laverty's (2003) use of the hermeneutic circle, I demonstrated how my chosen set of methods attempts to explore the sociality patterns and identity negotiations of Intra-EU migrants in London.

Although the set of any chosen methods in a research project is part of methodology, methodology refers more to the underlying principles and epistemology of the study in question (Holloway, 1997). Given the tensions embedded in phenomenology as methodology (Van Manen, 1990; Seamon, 2000; Finlay, 2009), I thought it was important to provide the reader with a clarification on my chosen phenomenological approach, before proceeding to a more practical discussion of the different strategies and techniques used in this project. As both Polkinghorne (1989) and Van Manen (1990) have also suggested, there is no fixed set of methods when conducting phenomenological research; the issue is more around clarifying where one stands epistemologically in the descriptive-interpretative continuum (Polkinghorne, 1989; Laverty, 2003; Finlay, 2009). Therefore, although I did briefly present all three methods included in the research design, the emphasis of my discussion so far has been more on how these three methods may be used in conjunction so as to explore the phenomena in question. In this chapter, and before proceeding with the analysis of findings in the next three chapters, I will outline the process and the nuance of each method separately, providing an account of the process of interviewing and of the way participants engaged with the visual interactive map (egocentric sociogram).

Addressing reflexivity (methodological, epistemological and personal reflexivity) is a continuous endeavour throughout the research process (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). In the previous chapter my main focus was on epistemological and methodological reflexivity, addressing my *chosen* set of methods in light of my epistemological standpoint and as relevant to my research aims and questions. Extending on this, I will now focus more on the *practice* of methods. In other words, I will demonstrate how my chosen set of methods were utilised in light of my personal reflexivity during interviewing. I believe it is important to reflect on my positionality (Ganga & Scott, 2006) not only in the analysis stage but also during data collection. In accordance with Laverty's (2003) comments, the hermeneutic circle in phenomenological methodologies entails the element of self-reflexivity throughout the research endeavour. As a skilled migrant who also lives and interacts in London, I was aware that participants' stories would affect the way I interpreted material (Gadamer, 1975) well before reaching the analysis stage. Although I was sharing the experience of settlement in London and an assumed open attitude towards diversity that this choice entails, there were cases when it was more difficult for me to connect and I had to stay aware of what was happening for me whilst interviewing; keeping post-interview memo notes facilitated me in being more vigilant during analysis of these particular transcripts. Overall, I felt a strong connection with most participants, as we were all sharing the experience of staying in London and creating social ties that facilitated this process. Nevertheless, the experience of settling and creating ties was at times quite different to mine: differences in life-stage, years of settlement, sexuality and family status affected my level of connection. I had to stay vigilant to these differences and allow participants to explore *their own* patterns of sociality as well as the level of *their* commitment to significant others, as they emerged from the interview process. I was aware for example that, throughout my migration experience in London, I had made a conscious effort to maintain a mixed network in terms of nationality, race and ethnicity; participants' experience of relating to others might have been very different. Furthermore, my lifestyle status as a single woman in her forties meant that my leisure activities were much more diverse than those of some of my participants who had families. We were all sharing the constraints of time due to the work commitments of challenging jobs and the difficulty of maintaining contact with friends outside work as well as with family abroad; nevertheless, our affiliations and the way these were constructed, both in London and abroad, differed for a variety of reasons.

## 5.2 Introducing the participants in more detail

As already mentioned in the previous chapters, sampling in studies of transnationalism is based on shared ethnicity and/or nationality (Conradson & Latham, 2005; Scott, 2006; Ryan, 2011; Morasanu, 2013). Recently, this overemphasising on national identity as a selection criterion in transnational

studies has been criticised as a source of bias (Favell, et. al., 2006 [2008]; Amelina & Faist, 2012), depriving them of other attributes, such as gender (Kofman, 2000), socioeconomic status (Kennedy 2005; Smith, 2005) or constructions of ethnicity (Amelina & Faist, 2012). In this study, I am exploring the patterns of sociality of skilled migrants who do not share the same ethnonational background, wishing to focus more on the *shared experience* of settlement in a global city like London as well as on the negotiation of multiple identities this entails. In line with Favell's (2003a) study on skilled European migrants from different countries settling in Brussels, I intentionally recruited participants from various professions and nationalities (see also table below), so as to focus on their everyday lives beyond the work environment. Research on highly-skilled migration is usually focusing on migrants' professional lives and practices (Sassen 1991; Beaverstock, 2005; Bozkurt, 2008), looking at specific sectors of highly-skilled work with an emphasis on corporate migration (Beaverstock, 2005) and highly specialised producer services in global cities (Sassen, 1991; 1996). However, as already argued earlier in this thesis, there is literature suggesting that the level of skill is not always commensurate with high-levels of income. Highly-skilled professionals who chose to engage in careers outside the banking or corporate sectors, such as the third sector (Watt, 2007, in Kennedy, 2010b; Kendall, et al., 2009) or the creative industries (Florida, 2002) may have a different experience of living and interacting in the global city than that of the transnational elite (Ley, 2004). Sharing the level of skill as well as EU status, were the two sole factors of convergence which allowed for a common experience as a point of departure in my analysis. In the previous chapter I made reference to my methods of data collection and my efforts to diversify the sample both in terms of nationality and in terms of different professions. In this chapter, and before discussing the actual steps in the interview process, I will be presenting the characteristics of participants in more detail, in an effort to address the nuances of my sample. This, I believe, allows for the reflexivity process to be more transparent, as it highlights differences in age, years of settlement, sexuality and relationship status between participants and myself.

All participants had emigrated voluntarily, as adults, and had been living in London for a number of years, ranging from seven to twenty-five. They were all in skilled jobs, following the qualifications they had acquired either in London or abroad. The table below provides the specific characteristics of participants in terms of: nationality; place of origin (capital city, provincial town or island), profession; duration of London settlement; gender, age and sexuality, as well as relationship status. Names have been changed to preserve anonymity:

| Participant | Nationality/ Place of Origin | Gender & Sexuality | Age | Relationship Status | Years of London Settlement | Profession |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ianthi (GR) | Greek From Athens | Female Heterosexual | 30 | Coupled | 8 | PhD candidate Cultural Studies/ Manager in Cultural Heritage Project |
| Giancarlo (IT) | Italian Provincial town/ Sicily | Male, Homosexual | 31 | Coupled | 8 | PhD Candidate Gender studies/ Tutor |
| Darek (P) | Pole, Krakow | Male, Heterosexual | 33 | Coupled | 7 | Nutrition Specialist/ Tutor/ IT consultant |
| Akis (GR) | Greek, Provincial Town | Male, Heterosexual | 35 | Married | 14 | Civil Engineer |
| Maria (S) | Spanish, Small town close to Valencia | Female, Heterosexual | 37 | Single | 17 | Environmental Consultant, London Borough |
| Magrit (Hu/ Ro) | Hungarian, from Transylvania | Female, Heterosexual | Mid-30ies | In an open relationship | 9 | Research Assistant, Social Science |
| Enrica (IT) | Italian, from Milan | Female, Heterosexual | 33 | Single | 7 | PhD Candidate/ Child Psychotherapist |
| Kosmas (GR) | Greek, from Ionian island | Male, Heterosexual | 43 | Separated, 1 child | Few years in the 90's, then back to GR, now 10 years in London | PhD Candidate/ Secondary Education Teacher |
| Peter (SW) | Swede, from small provincial town | Male, Heterosexual | 52 | Married, 2 children | 25 years; 10 in central London, 15 in suburbs | Printing and Graphics Design Specialist |
| Noel (FR) | French, from Marseilles | Male, Heterosexual | 32 | Coupled | 15 | Sound Engineer |
| Norad (BIH/ HRV) | Bosnian, with Croatian citizenship, From Sarajevo | Male, Heterosexual | 51 | Married, 1 child | First arrived 1994, then back& forth between US, Croatia, Bosnia, now | Lecturer, International Relations; some work with the BBC |

| | | | | | settled in London 7 years | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Marianne (NL) | Dutch, from small provincial town | Female, Heterosexual | 46 | Separated, 2 children | 25 | Lecturer, Sociology |
| Pietra (MLT) | Maltese, from second larger town in Malta | Female, Heterosexual | 33 | Single | 7 | Lecturer/ Counselling Psychologist |
| Caroline (D) | German, from Bavaria | Female, Homosexual | 33 | Coupled, due to get married | 7 | Social Worker |
| Bruno (D) | German, Provincial town in North-West | Male, Heterosexual | 50 | Married, no children | 25 | IT consultancy (X-physicist) |

Although this study does not focus on reasons to migrate but on reasons to settle in London and on their personal social networks and everyday ties, it is still interesting to look at what the initial trajectory was, before actually looking at their settlement patterns more thoroughly during analysis. Contrary to literature with inter-company transferees (Salt, 2008; Beaverstock, 2005), all participants in this study emigrated on their own accord. Although a high proportion first migrated as students (Ianthi, Giancarlo, Akis, Maria, Enrica, Pietra, Carolina) and then decided to settle here, not all of them did. Some came because of a partner (Peter, Kosmas). Others found themselves initially deskilled as they could not recognise their qualifications and had to retrain later (Margit); a fact unfortunately in line with literature (Chiswick & Miller, 2009; OECD, 2012). Noel came with a validated qualification but later decided to retrain; as did Darek. Marianne ended up in London after travelling in her early twenties and decided to obtain a qualification later on; Norad retrained as an International Relations scholar when he finally decided to settle in London, after having lived in various other countries. It is interesting to observe once again the complexity of migration patterns and trajectories (Castles, 2002; Scott, 2006), as not all migrants fit into predefined categories (Amelina & Faist, 2012). Bruno had an offer from his company, but as he clearly mentions, this was an external offer, not a mandatory intra-company transfer. Bruno decided to move, wishing to explore what he had observed in prior visits as a tourist in London; the job offer made it certainly easier but ultimately, the choice was his own.

From the discussion above it becomes clear that although all participants were fulfilling the criterion of highly-skilled (GFMD, 2007), by working in skilled jobs which allowed them to actually utilise their skills and expertise, their career trajectories were less clear-cut than what is assumed in skilled migration literature (e.g. Kennedy, 2005; Khoo, et. al. 2007). As spontaneous movers (Favell et al., 2006; Ryan & Mulholland, 2013), their initial motivation to move had more to do with the experience of London as a place to party, study, fall in love, engage with a different environment (e.g. Ianthi: "I think it was more related to the social element than anything else, the fact that I was really enjoying going out with friends from different places and I had fun with the flat share"; Noel: "I can't say it's the music that made me stay, or it's the people, just sort of, it just evolved, because everything is going together"). Professional aspirations were part of their motivation but not necessarily the only reason to move. Nevertheless, they all referred to their career trajectories as part of their emplacement process, as something that developed together with their everyday lives in London.

Participants' age ranged from 30 to 55, hence excluding the young-free floaters (Ryan & Mulholland, 2013), which allowed time not only for settlement but also for the decision to settle in London to be consolidated. Hence, and in contrast to Conradson and Latham's (2005) study of skilled younger temporary movers aiming more for the experience abroad rather than professional progression, in this study participants have worked hard to reach their current professional positions. Furthermore, they have well-established social networks in London, allowing emplacement (Ryan & Mulholland, 2013) and stability that translates beyond a steady job and a steady income. In this study I am focusing more on the importance of a strong personal network, which allows for such an emplacement to be successful. It is important to remember that skilled migrants are frequently discussed in literature only in terms of their profession (Marshal & Kegels, 2003; Khadria, 2004; Bozkurt, 2008); however, skilled migrants are individuals with personal histories, characters and families (Ackers, 2005; Kennedy, 2005), with everyday realities that transcend their work lives (Favell, 2003; Conradson & Latham, 2005; Ryan, 2010). Contrary to Ryan & Mulholland's (2013) study with highly-skilled French migrants, where the majority of participants had families and children, in this study the pattern is reversed: most participants had not created families of their own. Many were in committed relationships but had no offspring; two of the participants identified as childfree by choice and only four had children. Hence, for most participants in this study, the process of emplacement was different. It had more to do with a combination of other factors - work priorities, the charms of London as a city, including its anonymity, the development of an ethnically diverse social network - and less as a process affected by minimising further migration disruptions because of school-related emplacement. It could be argued that I could have expanded my research

sample to include more family-oriented individuals. However, as this was an exploratory study attempting to address both the ethnic (Favell, at al., 2006) and the corporate bias (Kennedy, 2010a; 2010b) in highly-skilled migration research, from a phenomenological perspective, the emphasis was on purposive sampling (Smith & Osborn, 2007) based on these two characteristics. Looking at the everyday practices and identity negotiations of Intra-EU highly skilled migrants from a micro-sociological perspective, I acknowledged the fact that those who expressed interest in this study had that particular demographic element.  This could In turn be interpreted as a phenomenon in itself and it will be explored in more detail in the analysis chapters that follow.

### 5.2.1 Ethical Considerations

In accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998), I have kept all information obtained confidential and secure in a password-protected folder. Personal details are not identifiable; i.e. names have been changed to preserve anonymity. Furthermore, specific characteristics such as names of significant others in interview excerpts and sociogram depictions have been reduced to initials, so that participants' privacy is not at stake. Participants were provided with a brief description of the study and were asked to give informed consent before proceeding with the interview. In the informed consent, I had included they can refuse answering a question and that they can withdraw at any time (Appendix A). At the end of the process, I checked with them if they had any thoughts or feelings they wanted to share before leaving. Participants responded that they had found the process quite interesting and insightful and a number of them asked to take a picture of their sociogram maps for their own use.

### 5.3 One-to-One interviewing and Visual Map Interviewing (Egocentric Sociograms).

One-to-one interviews consisted of eight open-ended questions, starting with the initial reasons for migrating as a warm-up optional question and then moving to the focus of this study, i.e. how they reached the decision to settle in London and how they constructed their personal networks, both in London and abroad.  I then proceeded to the specifics of everyday life in London, including their working lives and the patterns of sociality at work as well as their social lives outside work. My concluding questions opened up the conversation again in relation to the diversity of the city, also in relation to what they considered important in terms of identity referents (Appendix A). I intentionally led the discussion from more general topics, such as their initial decision to move, to more specific ones such as whom they consider close enough to ask for practical and emotional support. This allowed some time for participants to familiarise themselves with the research process and for rapport between us to be established before discussing more sensitive issues, such as

sources of support or identity negotiations. I was particularly interested in what constituted friendship versus acquaintance in terms of dependability and trust; and this is where the egocentric sociogram actually proved most helpful as an auxiliary method during one–to–one interviewing.

In most occasions I engaged with the interview process without great difficulty. My professional background as a practitioner psychologist as well as my previous exposure to qualitative interviewing facilitated the process. I have been working with people's personal stories, successes and difficulties for over ten years. Hence, I have developed a capacity to stay involved, to address participants' stories with an attitude of curiosity, as well as an ability to prompt for further information or clarification. Active listening and empathy are skills that have been essential in my professional life; implementing them again in the research endeavour promoted an atmosphere of trust and active engagement on both parts. It is also possible that participants went into great depth because they were talking to someone with insider knowledge (Ganga & Scott, 2006; Amelina & Faist, 2012). Probably participants opened up more as they could assume that I have had similar experiences myself. Nevertheless, I connected with some of the stories more than with others; for example, it was much easier for me to relate to participants who demonstrated an active engagement with the city's diversity (e.g. Enrica, Maria, Darek, Carolina), highlighting their own need to form close emotional bonds with culturally dissimilar others. I also felt a much more immediate connection with people who have had to change careers and countries more than once (e.g. Neven, Darek, Margit), as this also resonated with my own story. On the other hand, I found it harder to connect with participants who demonstrated more enclosed sociality patterns. Kosmas, for example, led a very Greek-focused life, with only sparse culturally-proximate connections, Turks and Armenians, through his music interests. He is working for a Greek school in London and his network is highly monoethnic. He also did not include many significant others in this network, even after several prompting attempts. Although I could understand this was more of a personality issue rather than a difficulty to engage with the interview process, I noted some annoyance on my part. I was aware this did not relate to the quality of material I collected from the interview; rather, it was more of a personal reaction of being exposed to a lifeworld very different to mine. Realising my own negotiation with symbolic boundaries of sameness and difference was essential in this process. We were both Greeks living in London, yet, at the same time, the way we engaged with the city was very different. As Ganga & Scott (2006) also note:

> There is a paradox to being an insider: whilst researchers are closer to those migrants they are studying, both themselves and their participants are much more aware of each other's social position as a result. Being an insider brings the investigator closer to the reality that

*migrant communities are rarely united, and almost always divided by social fissures such as class, generation, age, and gender* (p. 6, para 21).

Interviewing parents (e.g. Marianne, Peter) brought relationships status differences to the fore; I am a single woman in her forties, with no children. Nevertheless, acknowledging this difference was a totally different experience than the one between myself and Kosmas described above. In these cases, differences in lifestyle between participants and myself triggered curiosity rather than discomfort. Listening to the way Marianne and Peter managed their sociality patterns around other parents and family activities was quite intriguing for me.

The egocentric sociogram was introduced during one-to-one interviewing, aiming at depicting participants' actual patterns of sociality, as it appears in the various spheres of their everyday lives. The rationale behind this auxiliary method was that there is a discourse around London and diversity in everyday life (e.g. Albrow, 2001; Wood & Landry, 2008; Müller, 2010), which might have affected participants' responses when agreeing to participate in a study exploring transnational connections and cosmopolitan attitudes. Hence, with the assistance of the sociogram, I aimed to avoid possible demand characteristics while interviewing. For instance, it was possible that participants may have presented their personal network as a prototype of London diversity, rather than actually engaging with the nuances of friendship and network formations when settling in another country. The egocentric sociogram enabled participants to talk about their significant others in more detail in terms of actual characteristics and identity referents (e.g. nationality, ethnicity, race, sexuality, relationship status). Through this process I allowed both participants and myself to reflect upon such patterns of sociality in more detail. Such material allowed me to explore both transnational connections and the degree of cosmopolitan openness as emerging from participants' actual social relations. Semi-structured interviewing aimed at exploring the meaning they attribute to their sociality patterns, both in London and abroad, as well as their views on transnational and cosmopolitan social practices. Visual mapping interviewing aimed at identifying points of convergence, as well as any divergence between their narrative accounts and the actual identity referents of significant others.

At this point I should mention my own response to this process. During my prompts in egocentric sociograms, and especially at the first interviews, I found it quite challenging to prompt for particular characteristics of significant others that participants positioned on their maps. I have had no issues prompting them during semi-structured interviewing; this was a difficulty that emerged only when I introduced the visual mapping exercise. This surprised me, as it was a paradox; the sole reason for

adopting this auxiliary method was to depict these characteristics and to capture the nuances entailed in group belongings, identity negotiations and limits in cosmopolitan openness. Nevertheless, when I had to prompt further for characteristics such as race, ethnicity or sexuality, I found myself reluctant to do so. Perhaps the assumption of London diversity that we all shared as a discourse made me hesitant to prompt participants further in terms of who these significant others were, beyond nationality and gender. I noted this difficulty early enough for me to start asking particular characteristics (e.g. ethnicity, race, sexuality, age, etc.) in more detail. After overcoming this initial block, it became obvious to me that this is where the core of the data collection came from: on top of narrative responses, it was the actual depiction of their whole personal network map that allowed participants to realise how they responded to London diversity. Maria and Akis, for example, realised that their network was completely white. Others realised where their verbal responses contradicted the depiction of their actual social network (e.g. Carolina: "I don't know how the Brits sneaked in there"; Margit: "My God, so many Hungarians! This is embarrassing"). In phenomenological terms, what was previously internalised as 'common sense' (Schutz, 1967; 1970, Aspers, 2004) had come into the participants' awareness through the use of the visual mapping exercise: the pre-reflective had become reflective through a visual image they had constructed themselves, describing themselves. Through this process identity negotiations came to light, in front of us, visually. A co-operative inquiry element emerged whilst interacting with the maps; self-reflexivity was not solely the researcher's task. At least for an instant, whilst confronted with their own 'blind spots' regarding their sociality patterns, self-reflexivity also became a task for participants to realise.

Adapted from Hersberger (2003), the format of the egocentric sociogram consisted of concentric circles, where participants were asked to position their significant others, both in London and abroad, according to the level of emotional proximity: significant others that were closer to them were to be positioned in rings 0-3 and acquaintances in rings 4-7. In an effort to differentiate between spheres of everyday life, these concentric circles were further divided into four quarters: work relations, friends outside work, activities outside work and, 'other' (further specified as anything else that doesn't fit in the other three quarters: neighbours, family abroad. It is worth noting that such divisions are not always clear in everyday life (Highmore, 2002; Jacobsen, 2009). It was, however, important to have some descriptors on the diagram, to both facilitate participants' responses as well as provide descriptors for the forthcoming analysis of the data collected. In an effort to minimise the artificiality of such distinctions, I separated these four quarters using dotted lines. I explained that to participants and further suggested the possibility of also using the spaces between these dotted lines to position significant others that were present in more than one quarter

of their 'lifeworld' (Schutz, 1967); e.g., work colleagues with whom they maintained frequent contact, apart from work-related socialising.



I had informed participants at the beginning of the interview that I would be introducing a visual method later in the interview, referring to it as a 'game' to draw their attention. This proved a good warm-up phrase, as it intrigued participants of what there was to follow. Starting with their working lives, I asked them to position the colleagues they feel closer to as well as the ones that they still consider significant to be included within the boundaries of a personal network map (Chua & Wellman, 2011). Participants engaged well with the task of actually deciding whom to include and whom not to; this process became even more relaxed as they familiarised themselves with the task and moved on to positioning their friends outside work. I then asked them to do the same for the other spheres of their everyday lives (e.g. leisure activities, neighbourhood, maintaining contact with family abroad), which meant to place only significant others they interact with on a regular basis. The emphasis was on what Schutz (1967; 1970) names consociates, i.e. not just people that one interacts with in their everyday life in a random and anonymous fashion, but rather the dependable ones, with whom life is shared and made easier.

Overall, participants engaged well with the task and, while completing the sociogram, became more aware of their actual network formation. Frequently, they repositioned significant others as they were talking; it was the pictorial representations that allowed them to reflect on their actual relationships further (e.g. Enrica repositioning her friend 'H' from work cluster to activities cluster, as they became closer and they started to share the same group of friends outside work; Margit repositioning her friend 'A' from ring 4 to ring 3 when actually reflecting on the current level of friendship with 'A'). Working in conjunction with the interview questions, and especially when asking who are the people they feel closer to, participants had to reflect upon their relations in more depth. Further prompting on whom they would turn to if they were in need for actual practical or emotional support allowed for more reflection and further repositioning of significant others (e.g. Bruno repositioning his friends 'N' and 'A' from the outer to the inner rings, when I prompted him on people he can rely on for practical and emotional support).

The two quarters of work relations and friends outside work proved straightforward; participants provided names and identity referents of significant others without great difficulty. The other two clusters ('Activities outside work' and 'Family & Other Important Connections') required clarification at times. The word *activity* proved confusing as it meant different things for different people; some had particular hobbies, like biking (Akis, Noel), a dance group (Darek), crafts (Marianne) or a music band (Kosmas), which were easily identified as activities. In these cases the activity quarter proved helpful in identifying the various ways participants bonded with others; it especially helped both participants and myself to identify persons who were not necessarily close friends, belonging solely to the friends' cluster, yet people whom they shared an interest with and hence still important enough to be included. For others, however, this proved more confusing: participants needed further clarification when activities had more to do with informal areas of socialising, such as dining, going for drinks or visiting an exhibition (e.g. Ianthi: "Is going for drink considered an activity"?; Enrica: "All my friends are activity friends"), participants needed further clarification. In these cases, I had to prompt further and ask them to repeat names that had already appeared in the friends' quarter, to ensure that I had a clear picture of their different sociality patterns.

The 'Family & Other Important Connections' cluster proved useful once I clarified what I meant by it: family members abroad,  or neighbours whom they can rely upon for practical matters but are not considered friends per se. Neighbours provide a good example of Schutz's (1967) differentiation between anonymous contemporaries that one interacts with frequently but do not belong to one's personal network (e.g. postman or corner shop assistant) as opposed to consociates, for whom the strength of the emotional bond may vary but there is still a personal relationship, such as in the case

of neighbours (e.g. Norad: "Yes, they are a couple. She is pregnant now and [lives] a few houses down the road and, yeah, that's the kind of connection… right now, their dog is in our place"). Furthermore, this quarter also gave participants the opportunity to differentiate between family and social network, as it was easier to talk about family abroad if it appeared in a separate map quarter.

Overall, sociograms proved an invaluable source of information, not just for myself as the researcher but also for participants.  A number of them asked if they could take a picture of the map with their smartphones or if they could have a copy of the map in paper format. Hence the two methods, semi-structured interviewing and the visual interactive method of egocentric sociograms, worked well in a complementary fashion, allowing participants to position and reposition significant others from their various places of everyday relations (work, friendships, leisure activities). At this point it must be noted that consociates extended beyond the boundaries of London. In line with transnational literature (Conradson & Latham, 2005; Ryan, 2010; Morasanu, 2013), all participants included significant others living in different locations both in their country of origin and in other cities and countries around the globe. This will be further discussed in the analysis chapters but it is important to mention it here as well.

**5.4 From Individual Accounts to Group Interaction: Focus Group delivery and initial observations**

As per the outline of my research design in the previous chapter, I also ran a focus group for data collection, in an effort to address my research aims in a different manner. Whereas one-to-one and sociogram interviewing aimed at exploring participants' transnational connections and cosmopolitan attitudes as they emerged from their actual patterns of sociality in everyday life, focus group interviewing aimed more at revealing attitudes towards the diversity of the city and at revealing the depth of cosmopolitanism entailed in these attitudes. It also served as a platform for participants to discuss their everyday lives in the city in the company of others sharing this experience. Working in a group context, focus-group interviewing aims to explore the meanings individuals attribute to phenomena or behaviours that group members have in common. The task of focus group interviewing is to address the shared experience of its members as well as to depict beliefs, feelings and attitudes that surround this shared experience (Rabbie, 2004). They work especially well for topics where participants could be talking about to each other in their everyday lives, even if they don't end up doing so (Macnaghten & Myers, 2004).

In order to maintain the focus of the discussion on the shared experience of everyday life in London and given that their professional lives converged only on the level of skill but differed in terms of everyday working experiences, I asked participants not to disclose their occupations during group

interviewing. All of them had had the opportunity to talk about their working lives in detail during individual interviewing and they were aware that being skilled was a criterion for their participation. Here, the focus was different. I did not wish for the discussion to shift to comparing professions or experiences in different sectors, as the emphasis in group interviewing was more on the shared experience of London everyday life. Furthermore, I was aware that different occupations might have caused different expectations and stereotyping and no time should be lost in group dynamics that might have emerged from such a disclosure. Later in the discussion, participants did refer to job stereotyping as something annoying, which I believe they would not have done, had they been asked to disclose their profession at the beginning. (Ianthi: "And what I hated the most was… to encounter this question of: where are you from and what do you do?" - Darek: "Yeah, I get goose-pimples when I hear this question!" - Enrica: "I don't like it either"). Hence, focus group discussion can provide a useful addition to individual semi-structured interviewing. Here, the interaction among participants becomes an additional form of data generation. Attitudes towards diversity, towards everyday life in London as well as shared and contested values can be depicted in exchanges amongst focus group members. Such material would not have emerged in individual interviews, where opinions and values are mostly explored by the interviewer; not contested and negotiated in the form of a group discussion.

I had decided to have a two-month interval between individual interviewing and focus group discussion; my rationale was to ensure that enough time would have elapsed between individual and focus group discussion, for both participants and myself to relate to the material in a different manner. In spite of the risk of participants losing interest after two months, hence risking non-attendance (Rabiee, 2004), five out of the six participants that had agreed to the specified date and time did attend. It was a very cold, snowy winter day but nevertheless we went ahead. At this point, it is important to note that none of the parents in my sample actually responded to the focus group request; although I had informed all participants of the forthcoming focus group and all of them were open to the possibility of participating, it was the non-parents who actually responded to my request. I consider this a phenomenon in itself: family commitments and the need for family quality time during a weekend probably proved more important. For sure the adverse weather conditions made things harder; nevertheless, it seemed that participants with no family commitments found it easier to travel on a Saturday morning, in order to offer their contribution to the research.

Prior to the interview I had chosen a variety of pictures depicting London landscapes, buildings and scenes surrounding everyday life (e.g. markets, cafes, high-streets, bus-lanes, school-gates, parks, Victorian houses, council estates, train stations, churches, ethnic restaurants, construction sites,

commuters during rush hour, park landscapes, riverbanks).  Given the diversity of my sample both in terms of nationality and profession, as well as in terms of years of settlement or family status, I made a conscious effort to include very different material (28 images in total), to make sure that they would all find material they related to the most.

The discussion took place at the top floor of a London café, booked for the occasion. As I had conducted the individual interviews myself, all participants were familiar with me. I welcomed participants, offered refreshments and introduced them to each other as well as to the note-taker. I then asked participants to choose four photos each, trying not to think too much about their choice of photos and to keep them unseen until we would actually begin. I started the focus group by asking them to share their chosen photographs with others and prompted them to comment on them. This first question served as a warm-up task, with participants getting to know each-other through their choice of photos. Some first similarities and differences were already depicted at that stage, both in terms of the way participants connected to city and everyday life as well as in the way they actually chose their photos. For example, three out of five participants chose a photograph showing a number of bicycles in a park, two chose a photograph showing a window of a Victorian flat overlooking roofs of other houses, another two chose photographs relevant to London transport (a railway clock and a sign of the London Overground), while another two participants chose a photograph showing the Millennium bridge in Southbank). The latter was a landscape choice discussed in light of its association to different art forms, galleries, theatre, cinemas, concert halls. This facilitated further the process of group formation amongst strangers for the purposes of research; whilst all agreed on the importance of art in their lives, some participants started bringing to the fore their personal preferences. Ianthi and Maria for example, agreed with the rest of the group that this part of town is an important cultural hub; however, they are still more attracted towards small hidden galleries in other parts of the city, as well as warehouse collectives. Beyond the overlap and differentiations in terms of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), the first differences in terms of identity referents were also manifested at this stage: Darek, the only male participant in the group  straight away said that his choices were much more practical and less emotionally charged than the rest of the group, referring to his male identity as a reason; the sign of London Overground as well as a photograph depicting construction works in the Docklands were some of his choices. On the contrary, Ianthi had chosen pictures with more personal relevance to her; for example, the photograph of the bicycle market in the park was taken very close to where she lived for years. As I was facilitating, I realised that Darek's third choice (Bloomsbury Square) was not just 'practical' but had some emotional relevance too, as he used to hang out there as a student. Nevertheless, his need to differentiate himself amongst a group of women, using his male identity for this, was

striking. Further on, and this stirred the discussion, Maria tried to make him relax after his comment, by saying "No, it is just because you are from a different part of the world". This brought to the fore constructions regarding Northern versus Southern Europe and stirred the discussion further among participants. More identity referents came to the fore, as Magrit did not agree with the classification of Hungary as Southern Europe and a new group belonging emerged; a male from Poland and a female from Hungary both identified as Central Europeans and the previous gender distinction subsided. I also noted some subtle flirting between them at this stage, which persisted till the end of the session.

The remaining three questions focused on participants' relations to the city at present as well as on the extent to which people from different backgrounds actually mix in the city, regardless of its apparent diversity. Initially, there was an overall consensus on what London provides and how they still feel positive about it. Regardless of London's fast-paced tempo and high demands on its residents, participants still agreed that London is a place of opportunity, not only in terms of occupational achievement but also in terms of personal growth. However, as participants warmed up towards each other, they started discussing the nuances of these opportunities the city provides. The conversation shifted to class distinction, their privilege in terms of education and occupational status as well as their difficulties with British people and culture. After an initial agreement upon these factors, the discussion became quite heated when participants started discussing their own level of mixing with people of different religion, race or occupational status. Margit for example insisted that some group belongings may become looser amidst London diversity but education and class still keep people apart. Other members were more idealistic at first (e.g. Maria, Ianthi, Darek to some extent) and it was only after some personal examples group members brought into the discussion that other members started challenging their own assumptions. This is where the most interesting material emerged, as too much consensus in a focus group can be problematic (Cassey, 1994; Barbour, 2007). My role as a facilitator was to make sure that everyone was engaged in the discussion and that different views were not silenced. I had to remain vigilant as to who was not talking much and I made sure to summarise key points that had emerged from participants' interaction before moving to the next question. Summarising key points between interview questions also served as prompts for the more silent ones, as I could spot when they were attempting to interject but were overthrown by the louder ones, encouraging them to contribute before the moment was lost. Having a note taker present was extremely helpful, as I could focus on the actual discussion and the actual group dynamics. Nevertheless, I made sure I listened to the discussion recording as soon as possible, so as to depict patterns and tensions while the group configuration was still fresh in my mind.

As with individual interviews, overall I felt a strong connection with participants. Beyond my gratitude for their not cancelling the meeting despite adverse weather conditions, I could relate very much to the discussion as well as to the tensions that emerged. For example, although I could understand Maria's attempt to calm the group down during the conversation about what constitutes Northern, Southern and Central Europe, I felt irritated by her classification of Hungary as Southern Europe. I considered it ignorance and noted this reaction to myself. On the contrary, I was really thankful for the 'stirrers' of the group, who challenged assumptions and romantic views about diversity and were eager to bring these to the fore without offending other members. I could strongly relate to their views; as per my discussion in the previous chapter, it was during my initial observations of London life as in insider (prior to initiating this project), that I had noticed how easily the word *diversity* is romanticised in everyday conversation and random social encounters in the city. The nuances related to concepts such as cosmopolitanism and diversity could only be addressed by systematic, in-depth research. Hence, beyond personally identifying with the stirrers, I was equally pleased that some of these nuances were revealed in the heated part of the focus group discussion, providing rich data for analysis.

I felt that there was a need to keep an eye on Maria and Margit, as they were initially the quietest in the group, at least for the first twenty minutes of the discussion. I had equally observed that Darek was a bit hesitant at first, being the only male in the group, besides the note taker. My prior experience as a group facilitator in different settings (not as researcher but as an educator) allowed me to take note of these and make sure to facilitate the discussion without taking the lead in group dynamics.

## 5.5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I aimed to address the actual practice of method in more detail and to bring examples from my interaction with participants during one-to-one interviewing, visual map interviewing (egocentric sociograms) and focus group discussion. The distinction between methodology as chosen epistemology and the actual methods delivered to address research aims as relevant to that perspective is frequently overlooked (Holloway, 1997; Seamon, 2000). Therefore, I chose to structure my outline of methodology and its implementation in two separate chapters before proceeding with the analysis. I tried to depict the nuances in the actual delivery of these methods, this including samples of participants' responses, where appropriate. I also considered it important to address my personal and methodological reflexivity in light of the actual practice of the three methods selected for this project, before addressing it again in more detail in the discussion of findings that follows.

**6**


**Expressions of the Lifeworld I: Patterns of Sociality**

_____

**6.0 Introduction**

Focusing on the lived experience of participants, the following two chapters are an attempt to decipher themes and patterns that have emerged from the analysis of both individual interviews and the focus group discussion. In line with the methodology already discussed, I will be exploring participants' 'first order constructs' (Schutz, 1967 [1982]; 1970; Aspers, 2004), in order to unpack the way participants engage with significant others, both in London and abroad. In light of this study's aims and objectives, I will be exploring the way participants have internalised particular ways of interacting with others in London and abroad, as well as the way they use particular constructs to make sense of their lifeworld. A special effort has been made to stay with participants' own characterisations of themselves, their social world and their interaction with others. In line with Schutz's social phenomenology approach, the emphasis is first on description of the actors' typifications, i.e. participants' own categorisations of their everyday experience, before engaging in interpretations of these findings using 'second-order constructs', i.e. interpretations informed by existing social theory.  Structuring the lifeworld by means of internalised constructs, as a matter of 'common sense' (Schutz, 1967; 1970), is here understood as *expressions* of the lifeworld. In this chapter I will be focusing on the patterns of sociality as understood by participants in different environments: everyday casual interactions, chosen close friendships in London and abroad, as well as work relations. Hence, the focus of this chapter is on how sociality is experienced and understood as a lifeworld expression for participants; a world that would not have been lived and experienced without others. In the next chapter the focus will be on identity negotiations, categories of belonging in relation to social and personal identities, as well as cosmopolitan attitudes. These are again lived and experienced through others; hence, the title of the second chapter is similar to the previous one, albeit with an emphasis on the way participants understand themselves and their worldviews, through another, intersecting set of typifications.

Constructing typifications in a particular time and space[15] (here, the time of interviewing, and London as social space) provides the means of sense-making for social actors; the lifeworld would have appeared chaotic without some means for structuring it. As Pile and Thrift (1995) also mention: "each action is lived in time and space, as part of each action is a judgement of its appropriateness in

_____

[15] Which reads for pre-Brexit Intra-EU skilled migrations; data was collected in 2013 and analysed in 2014.

time and space" (p. 29). Findings are then discussed in light of social theory, in an effort to interpret them in a systematized manner. In line with Aspers' (2004) empirical phenomenology approach, a special effort was made to stay with what participants considered significant in their typifications, before interpreting the findings in light of social theory. Hence, theme and subtheme headings are based on participants' first order constructs.

*6.1 Theme One*

**Mixed networks on the basis of common interests and lifestyle choices**

With the exception of only one participant, mixed networks were a conscious choice for participants. London life was considered an opportunity to grow, to learn from the diversity of the city, and to explore their potential beyond their occupational specialisation, through various facets of everyday life in London. This is achieved by mixing with people from various backgrounds and by exploring common interests and activities outside work:

> *So they are good friends but they are not from here. They're the communication, other friends, like friends from a different place, not theirs. (Ianthi[16], p. 14)*

Ianthi here is stating quite clearly that her close friends are also migrants; it seems that the intention of this network formation was based on the commonality of the lived experience, that of being the Other (Sibley, 1995), the one that comes and settles from a foreign land. From the quote here, it seems like the communication necessary to form close friendships (Berg & Clark, 1986) was based on the shared experience of settling in London. As Thrift (2005) also notes, the role of friendship is central in keeping cities 'resilient and caring' (p. 146). Nevertheless, in big cities, the shared experience of migration does not suffice to form friendships or personalised social networks (Faist, 1997; Wellman, 1999; Smith, 2005). Therefore, if we are to consider participants as active agents in these mixed network choices, what are the criteria of these choices and what second-order constructs could facilitate this understanding?

### a. Mixed networks as a conscious choice

From the quotes below, it can be seen that the reasoning behind this choice may take different forms. From a phenomenological perspective, this is an experience quite embedded in participants' everyday life, as all of them have been living in London for over seven years , this ranging from seven to twenty-five years. One could argue that this lifeworld of mixed social networks was taken for

---

[16] Names have been changed for all participants mentioned in this work

granted, in a 'common sense' fashion (Schutz, 1967; 1970). It is through the interview process that participants had the chance to reflect upon this, making the implicit explicit through their narratives. How this conscious choice is constructed varies amongst participants; intentionality may take various forms, as it is only the actor that can convey the meaning behind a particular act (Schutz, 1967; Crossley, 1996).

*i.  Conscious choice by opposition*

Interestingly enough, this choice was very frequently discussed in terms of opposition. Participants refrain from having homogenous ethnonational networks; it seems that there is a need for participants to differentiate themselves from prior typifications of both self and others in terms of nationality. Some are discussing this quite unreflectively, others become more specific.

> *Well, in a very random way.  No, in the sense that, yeah, if I happen to meet some people that are from the same country, I'm very happy to do so.  And sometimes I'm excited if they are.  Or I tried to, but every time I try it just didn't work. (Ianthi, p.22)*

In contrast to the introductory quote for this chapter, here the same participant makes a further distinction; it is not only that her good friends are also migrants (Ianthi, p. 11), they are also migrants from a different ethnonational background to hers.  Her relationships with other Greeks stay unintentional, more in the sense of contemporaries (Schutz, 1967) that she might have come across randomly in London. An excitement also comes through, perhaps in terms of recognition of a shared cultural background. But when she has attempted to take that further, 'it didn't work. In Schutz's terms, the 'recipe' of a common heritage 'doesn't work', as possibly boundaries in social fields have shifted (Bourdieu, 1990;  Nowicka, 2015), in line with frequent intercultural contacts in the various fields of social interaction. Hence the 'recipe' for creating social bonds based on similarity (Argyle, 1992; Pahl, 2000) needs to be changed, as other fields might account for other similarity typifications. "Acting in the world, I seek to change and alter it, to modify the scene of my activities" (Nathanson, 1982, p. xxviii).  Here, London serves as this scene for the actor, as a social space which provides her with the opportunity to socialise across ethnicities. The actor fully engages with the possibilities that London diversity provides; on the contrary, the encounters with her respective ethnonational community stay random.

Another participant, Enrica from Italy, brings the same issue in a more abstract way. In the quote below, she is again using the nationality typification as part of the opposition already discussed above, by saying that she does not have many Italian friends:

> *I don't have that many Italian friends. I mean, I do. Well, Hannah, Dora. Yeah. I don't think they are closer to me, necessarily. No. No. (Enrica, p. 18)*

Enrica refers to her contacts based on nationality but makes a further distinction of the two Italians she includes in her network; they are not as close to her emotionally. The intention of a mixed network might have been a non-reflective choice, as part of embracing diversity in terms of 'common sense' (Schutz, 1967; 1970). Nevertheless, when prompted in the interview, Enrica picks the rest of her friends, the ones that are not Italians, as the ones who are her significant others (i.e. more emotionally close), without referring to further typifications. In line with Mafessoli (1987) and Amirou (1989), sociality is discussed here as a reciprocal emotional bond where an explicit typification is less necessary, due to the intimacy implied in a close friendship (Crossley, 1996). This will be further discussed in the sociogram chapter, where I will be examining the identity referents of the people she has considered emotionally close, as a further elaboration of this juxtaposition.

This subtheme of opposition to homogenous ethnonational networks is frequently encountered in the interviews, by other participants who are much more specific as to what informs their conscious social act:

> *I don't want to hang out with Italians because I don't want to, you know, if everyone. I don't want to speak Italian all the time, but I found it's a not language thing… I hate generalising and I hate culturist assumptions etc. But, however I've decided that there is this kind of macho misogynistic element of a number of Italian men that I've seen. (Giancarlo, pp. 14-15)*

Giancarlo is a gay man is his thirties and here he makes a very clear statement about what keeps him apart from his co-ethnics. This is a conscious choice, based on what the actor has perceived as all too typical amongst Italians: a macho misogynistic attitude, which he finds offensive. It terms of social practice, in the Bourdieusian sense, Giancarlo becomes active in this choice because of the conflict that emerges from participating in different fields (Bourdieu, 1990). Given his own sexual identity, this is an element that perhaps stands out more for Giancarlo than it would have for somebody else, yet something he would have to bear with if he were to stay in Italy. It is as if the anonymity of London (Ryan, 2010; Morasanu, 2013) gives him a choice with whom to socialise, which would have not been an option had he stayed back home.

Noel from France and Bruno from Germany are also very specific regarding this choice. As part of their own identity project, they want to be active agents in their self-typification. They do mention their own nationality but they want it distinct from particular cultural attributes. The city provided the structure for them to engage with their own nationality differently; they still identify themselves as French and German respectively, but they are quite reflexive as to how they reinvent themselves

by this opposition. In the next two quotes below they are making a conscious choice not to socialise with their co-ethnics, as part of rewriting the script of their self- and other- typifications:

> [In my early stages of migration] *I had -like- many different nationalities' friends as well, but I was always surrounded by French people. And then after that I couldn't do this anymore, I didn't want to have French people around me. … Also, I am in London because I was trying to escape France as well, so it was like -- as France is not too far from England, you just want to be far from everything, from France. If you left France there is a reason behind it and French people are a big part of it as well, the mentality of French people. I don't put everyone in the same – (Noel, p. 33)*

Noel reflects on his conscious choice by making a clear distinction between his patterns of sociality when he first came to London and how he actively decided to take distance from his co-ethnics later on. It is as if he is trying to escape from his own national stereotyping (Rapport, 1995) by distancing himself from homogenous networks that carry a more narrow-minded mentality. Mutual understanding is not guaranteed by the use of common symbols in social interaction (Crossley, 1996), such as shared language and customs. London becomes the medium for the actor to distance himself from what he typifies as French mentality. In his words, he 'escaped France' in search for a new, more nuanced identity, informed by a more diversified sociability; "A more desirable identity, a more fully realized *you*, could come about only through escape - permanent or temporary". (Hannerz, 2002, p. 221).

Bruno reflects on that in a very similar manner. Others expect that common nationality and custom suffices for a meaningful interaction. Similar to Noel's reflection above, he identifies his chosen relocation as a conscious social act (Crossley, 1996), which formed part of his identity project; mobility formed part of the structure for this change to occur (Elliott, 2001 [2014]) and the actor then engaged further in a reflexive differentiation from his former German disposition by engaging with more diverse networks, interests and activities.

> *"Oh, I've found someone, another German, yeah," and pushes us together and kind of says, "Now you talk to each other, yeah?" So she seems to think that I long for a German person to speak to, and I think, "This seems utterly bizarre to me…. [I]t's sort of like an arranged marriage. Everybody expects you to do great things together, yeah, but you have nothing really in common. So if you left Germany you probably left in the first place. So, no, I have not at all an interest in any German activities here. I don't mind them, but... yeah, so, no. (Bruno, p. 18)*

*6.1.aii Diversity as conscious choice*

As seen from the quotes above, talking about patterns of sociality in terms of opposition to close ethnonational networks was quite an extensive pattern in the data. However, this was only one of the ways participants talked about their choice of mixed social networks. Participants also referred to their actual encounters with diversity as a conscious choice that informs their everyday sociability. Marianne for example talks about the characteristics of her close friends and what binds them together:

> *I have my friends there's like shall I just do in a circle like that? There's 'H','L','Cl', there's 'C' I suppose that's very close. 'H' is English, 'L' is Norwegian, 'Cl' is French,' C' is also English. Now 'C' is very interesting because she is very English working class but she has been a housing officer for a long time. So she has that sensibility… isn't that strange?! Maybe not because she is a migrant herself but she has always worked all her life from early twenties maybe 25/30 years worked and also she is a real lefty she listens to radio four all day so she is very quiet but very …. I actually like 'C' quite a lot (Marianne, p. 22)*

Diversity is more actively depicted in this response; Marianne is actually utilising the referents of class and nationality – one could also say that she is involved in a process of typification according to either identity referents (nationality, class) or political affiliations ('a real lefty'), to depict the diversity of her network as a conscious social act (Schutz, 1967; Crossley, 1996). It is important for the participant to have significant others in her network who can understand the meaning of in-group/ out-group difficulties. Although not all of her network are migrants per se, she makes a clear statement here as to why 'migrant sensibility', in her words, is important. The choice of a mixed network, therefore, goes beyond diversity for its own sake; it is an informed, reflexive diversity, one based on people who have actually experienced what it means to have a different social status and one that focuses on understanding diversity in everyday life beyond casual encounters. "The relation between individual and society is fundamental in understanding one's self" (Elliott, [2014], p.7) and Marianne is making a very active comment here. She actively creates a heterogeneous network in London, bridging different categories of belonging, as long as this 'migrant sensibility' allows for the emergence of a level of trust, sufficient for a bridging network[17] (Putman & Gross, 2002; Geys & Murdoch, 2010) to emerge.

Others are referring to diversity more generally, as part of the London intrigue; at times this is quite romanticised and stays abstract, at other times it becomes more specific about what the city provides:

---

[17] The use of bridging here is different however: in Putnam's (2000; in Putman & Gross, 2002) bridging social networks is always attached to an organisation and trust is established via membership in that organisation. In contrast, this is an informal, personal network, where trust emerges from a shared sensitivity to difference.

> *So yes, so I do quite like diversity, and I do like for example going out and we're like 12 people from 9 different countries. Which is something that I don't like in Malta, that you go out and you're 9 people who are all from Malta (Pietra, p. 29)*

Here, the conscious act of socialising in mixed networks is informed by a more structural characteristic; that of diversity in the intercultural city as a given (Wood & Landry, 2008). Pietra is not specific as to who these people are but she refers to the number of different nationalities involved in a night out in London. Although the actor does not refer to other identity referents of her social contacts, these are not totally random encounters in the form of everyday cosmopolitanism (Onyx, Ho, Edwards, Burridge, & Yerbury, 2011) but perhaps a group of friends and associates, with some of these contacts bringing others along in a night out. Pietra refers to her intention of mixed networks as her preference; this is a very good example of how the structural diversity of the city is informing the actor's choice. In line with Giddens' structuration theory (1984), both agency and structure are mediated though social action, in this case choosing mixed over homogenous networks and spheres of interaction in London.

In the discussion of excerpts so far, it is evident that nationality is a persistent typification, whether in terms of typifying self or in terms of typifying others. Rarely are participants trying to elude such a categorisation by celebrating difference and diversity in a highly romantic manner that seems to evade social identity classifications altogether:

> *Oh, if they're different …oh, yes everyone is different. They're all absolutely different. And the difference for me is subjectivity, that's what it is. So you call a range of completely different …if I think exactly of all these people it's all very …I wouldn't find any common trait, do you know what I mean? Everyone is so specific. (Giancarlo, p. 13)*

It seems that Giancarlo speaks of his consociates eschewing any typical group identification, like nationality, gender, sexuality or class. In terms of social action, the intention of having a mixed network might be there in a non-reflective manner but, upon reflecting his intention, it becomes materialised in the form of a particular narrative; that of subjectivity versus sameness based on group belongings. Hence, his conscious action – or choice to be in line with the particular subtheme title – is based on individual characteristics alone. One could further argue that this a practice of everyday cosmopolitanism (Onyx, et. al, 2011) evolving into more consistent and meaningful encounters (Valentine, 2008) through the intention set by the actor to transcend social identity referents in his choice of significant others (Nowicka, 2012).

*iii. Arriving alone: no ties to follow*

In the quotes below, participants are noting the extra element of agency and choice when one is migrating on their own. Participants were not subsuming themselves to a pre-existing ethnonational structure, which could have resulted in a more enclaved-like socialising. As they arrived alone, there was more freedom in network formation; they chose mixed networks, which were probably much more appealing to skilled migrants on the move.

> *Elsewhere, I know Germany, Netherlands and I know lots on the continent, what you have is that… I know some communities. In many ways it's easier, I don't know, to help each other, whatever. And here you're on your own. This is what attracted me (Norad, pp. 3-4).*

Reminiscent of Beck & Beck-Gernsheim's (2002) comments on individualization, Norad made a decision to settle in London and not elsewhere, on the basis of the individualization challenge; he opted out from the prescribed security of a pre-existing social belonging, in this case, his respective transnational communities in Germany or the Netherlands. Nevertheless, one could say that, while he is trying to reflect on this, he reflects on particular aspects of this experience and not others: i.e. he reflects on his choice to create mixed networks as part of their own reinvention-of-self project but ignores others, such as the privilege of symbolic and cultural capital. The social action carried out and socialising outside ethnonational enclaves was also enhanced by his ability to enter more variable social fields, because of the capital that travelled along with him (Favell, 2003; Kofman, 2005; Kennedy, 2010; Nowicka, 2015).

In the focus group discussion a similar argument arises, albeit with a twist: Enrica does not only refer to prior group belongings (in this case, the example is an ethnicity rather than a nationality typification), but also to how families are usually absorbed into ethnic or cultural enclaves much easier, something that may happen across a level of skill in family-related migrations (Kofman, 2005, Scott, 2006). This also receives several nodes of agreement from another four members:

> *Enrica: [I]t also depends whether you're in a family and you're in a community, if you're a part of a Jewish family then, you know, you'll be spending your weekend with all the other Jewish family, then you're less… prompt to do this, get to know. If you are, I don't know, single or in a couple, a 30-year old, and you do that more than if you were, you know, if you moved here with your family. [Maria: Exactly]. We've all been exposed because, obviously, I suppose we all arrived pretty much on our own. [Darek: Yeah; 'Margit': Yes]; (FG Discussion, p. 43).*

The focus on self as active agent is quite important in this subtheme. Apart from Marianne, who referred to particular self- and other- typifications according to group belongings, most participants consider their mixed networks as a conscious choice, which was mostly informed by their own

individualization project (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) rather than from a need to belong to a particular group (Nowicka, 2012). This was mostly constructed through opposition to nationality-based networks or abstract and romanticised notions of diversity. Nevertheless, this choice became more justified and embedded when participants started reflecting on what ties them with their significant others after settling in London. In the second subtheme below, patterns of sociality are discussed in light of common values and interests.

### b. Shared values and interests.

Norad for example, refers to common worldviews in terms of politics as well as an interest in cultural activities:

> *I think that all of them have a kind of pretty liberal view of the world, and so that this, whether you talk about the Balkans or whatever, it's pretty much along those lines, so there might have been some outside interests that… Well, go to concerts or something like that, yes (Norad, p. 27)*

In this quote, the concept of relevance (Nathanson, 1982) becomes more apparent. Social networks are not just constructed as a manifestation of diversity but also in terms of a shared social action shaped by common interests. Even if particular actors might recognise that they share this relevance for slightly different reasons, common interests and worldviews serve as social glue; hence typical constructs (Schutz, 1967), such as a liberal view of the world when discussing Balkan politics or a shared cultural activity, are utilised by the actor upon reflection. A shared cultural and symbolic capital could be implied in this quote; however, as a first order construct, this is not explicitly stated by the actor himself. In contrast, Carolina becomes quite explicit in her other-typifications:

> *'J' and' C'... I think they would all be middle class, and quite sort of intellectual middle class. I think with all of them, actually, that exists… just make it up, if you see what I mean? They're all, like, they all play instruments and they're all into art, and they're all into – [**I: Cultivating themselves?**] Exactly (Carolina, p. 22).*

Carolina is actually identifying two of her social contacts as sharing a project; that of engaging in intellectual activity and expanding 'stocks of knowledge' (Schutz, 1967, p. 21). If we are to bring Bourdieu in this discussion, these stocks of knowledge are parallel to Bourdieu's notions of the habitus; in other words, it is the 'practical competencies' (Crossley, 1996, p. 92), which in a mobile world are transferable from location to location (Nowicka, 2015). It is the shared cultural and symbolic capital that allows Carolina to identify these characteristics as systems of relevance (Schutz, 1967; 1970) which facilitate and strengthen social bonds amongst significant others. Although it is

not explicitly stated in this quote to what extent she identifies with such characteristics, considering that personal networks are manifestations of intersubjectivity (Fuhse & Muetzel, 2011), it could be argued that she herself shares some of these characteristics. This is to be further explored in the sociogram analysis chapter, where levels of emotional connection to social contacts are further explored in light of their location on the map[18].

Others stay more implicit, in terms of class characteristics. Bruno refers to common interests as a system of relevance; he and his friends are sharing very particular interests, such as dressing up and exploring a particular historical event in character, instead of just sharing stocks of knowledge in an abstract way. One could argue that these are both expressions of individuality but also expressions of a shared cultural capital, albeit in a more unpredictable way:

> *There was [an evening that we were exploring the time of the Blitz] dressing up as a German spy and (unclear 00:37:24) dark window, food rationing, and things. So they enter into the spirit, so there's an element of sort of these – [I: discovery and] Strong imagination and that connects, I think, all of us (Bruno, p. 16)*

There is an interest in history, which can also be referred to as the stocks of knowledge (Schutz, 1967 [1982]; Crossley 1996), which here refers to a particular intellectual interest. Contrary to Carolina however, this is not explicitly stated as such. Bruno and his consociates have found a more individualised way of engaging with these stocks of knowledge. Their intellectual capital does not stay abstract and reified in 'cultivated discussions', to paraphrase Carolina's first-order construct above; rather, it is reflected upon as a journey into discovery, excitement and activities that bring this stock of knowledge to life. Bruno continues:

> *Yeah. Travelling, discovery, of sort of new territories and it's just going to be a territory of history, or it could be another country, and different things. So... yes... For instance, 'C1' and 'C2', they're open for ideas of madness, so whatever... you know, any sort of bizarre idea, similar to Alastair and myself. Nothing really would be too strange for them. I dare say, you know, for instance (Bruno, p. 16)*

Other participants are choosing different systems of relevance (Schutz, 1967), as carrying more importance. Marianne for example refers to her 'mum network' as the one central in her lifeworld. Nevertheless, this is not the sole typification at play here; Marianne ties that to a subgroup of

---

[18] For example, these two social contacts are in ring 4 of Carolina's sociogram. As already discussed in the Methodology Chapter (& as shown further in Ch 8: Expressions of the Lifeworld III: Mapping Sociality), I will be analysing these in terms of emotional proximity. Rings 0-3 are the ones emotionally closer, and the ones that perhaps do not need a further typification; the bond is strong enough to sustain itself without a need to typify an intimate other in the form of a rational abstract category (Schutz, 1967; 1970). Familiarity can breed typification, albeit in a personalised kind (Crossley, 1996, p. 88).

'mums' that are bound together through common interests and activities, as well as a shared sense of difference:

> *My mum network which is much bigger but I guess this is the core. They are all mums but it is quite funny that we all because we have a book club as well or camping together that's all the foreigners and the working class [laughing] are there. So in Reigate we have a lot of lawyers and bankers and their wives always dressed to the nines and they have big cars and they have coffee all day. What a stereotype that is. But, you know, that's not us we are the ones that work either we work, we are foreign or working class. Or a combination as you can see, so anyway (Marianne, p. 22).*

Marianne is a recently separated Sociology lecturer who, by means of her profession, has the ability to use typifications in a more informed manner; hence she is able to reflect on her own stereotyping the moment she finishes her sentence. Nevertheless, there seems to be an active need to identify her network not only in terms of motherhood or in terms of particular common interests that here serve as a system of relevance (book club, camping), but also in terms of yet another opposition: the one between the elite 'banker's wife/ mother' and the group of mums that Marianne relates to in terms of a 'We-Relation', which uses multiple typifications (Schutz, 1970; Wagner, 1983):'working mother', 'working class' and 'foreigner'. There is an element of reciprocity here that goes beyond common interests per se; it is also the shared values of 'living with difference' that bind this group together. To use a different idiom, these typifications are also particular identity referents, which are discussed in light of what differentiates categories of 'Self' and 'Other' (Lawler, 2008; Wood & Landry, 2008).

In contrast, Darek makes no particular reference as to Other typifications when discussing his main group of reference. Here, the spiritual affiliation serves as an all-encompassing typification, which provides, safety, structure and 'like-minded people':

> *So I have a really good Buddhist community which is one of the reasons I want to stay and didn't take the decision to leave. I live in a Buddhist community as well. I feel supported and this is going well. Yes, I think this is an environment where I can find like-minded people. There is something – what I like about London is... I think what I strive for in my life and I am very open-minded and uninhibited when I feel okay, so I really like this from London (Darek, p. 8)*

Although Darek does not make any specific remark as to the mix of people in the Buddhist community in this quote[19], it is the common values and interests that glued him with this group. As he clearly states later in his interview "nationality is not an aspect at all" (p. 24). Common lifestyle

---

[19] The actual mix of nationality, gender, ethnicity and other typifications is present but it will only become clearer in the third chapter of the analysis [Ch. 8]: Expressions of the Lifeworld III: Mapping Sociality (Sociogram analysis)

choices and aspirations outside his work environment were much more important as a form of support, and in his case, this becomes realised within a spiritual community. Here, Putnam's (2002) bridging networks come back to the fore, under a particular association that cements intercultural relationships in light of a common code of conduct; what Darek refers to as 'like-minded people'.

### c. Transiency of London Relationships

On the downside of the London excitement though, there is transiency in London relationships. One needs to stay active and keep meeting people, on top of the demands of a hectic professional life, as not everyone of those one meets, decides to settle. The agency of the actor here is not just down to choosing mixed networks as part of an individualisation process but is also bound to the fact that not everyone decides to stay.

> *I think that I always give chance if people come closer than others and, yeah, that's an interesting part. Because I think in London you become more aware of it, or you do it more often because people go (Ianthi, p. 13).*

Although Ianthi remains an active agent in constructing her network, this is also informed by the difficulty that emerges from a city defined by movement. Global cities attract migrants for education, work as well as the experience of living and interacting in it (Sassen, 1991; Scott, 2006; Müller, 2010). Not all migrants settle in global cities however; frequently migrations are temporary and that affects the construction of a steady network. Here, a structural element of London, migration flows, serves as a motive for a more open attitude towards diversity, as one might focus on the potential of a meaningful encounter; this means being more attentive " to the processes at work when everyday encounters do coalesce into something more permanent, for example [a new] friendship" (Onyx, et. al., 2011). In other words, contemporaries from diverse backgrounds in the global city carry the potential of becoming consociates, when the actor stays attentive to these processes out of a need to replace the loss of a prior meaningful encounter.

Carolina becomes more specific as to who has left and how this has affected her. In light of the discussion in the previous subtheme, i.e. the shared values and interests that structure participants' network, participants choose consociates in light of a shared cultural and educational capital, participating in overlapping social fields (Bourdieu, 1990). The pursuit of these interests, as well as the need of players in  these social fields to expand their own capital, is also part of this transiency.

> *Yeah. She's an artist and lives in Amsterdam, unfortunately. Moved there about seven or eight years ago. And she is bi-sexual and she is with a girl at the moment, I think (Carolina, p. 14). And 'K' s a play therapist and we met through being involved in the Play Therapy Association, and then they moved into this house and lived here for a year and a half, or two years, and it was a really, really nice arrangement. They bake beautiful cakes, so every time I*

*came home from work there's cakes. And they're great. And they also moved back to Mexico City, so they're another set of Skype friends, which is really sad. (pp, 15-16)*

Similarly, Giancarlo prepares himself to the prospect of a long-distance relationship for very similar reasons: his intimate partner also embarks on a journey of further personal and professional development:

*We've been together for two years and this is the first time that I really felt very connected to a boyfriend. I've never felt this way before. He's going to Amsterdam in September for two years because he's doing a Masters. So that's been quite a bit of a change in terms of my understanding of what it means or what might entail to be far away because I'm confronted with the reality of it. (Giancarlo, p. 6)*

It is interesting to note here, that both Carolina's friends and Giancarlo's partner are moving to yet another emerging global city (Müller , 2010), Amsterdam. Furthermore, both Giancarlo and Carolina refer to the particular choice of their consociates as a move towards further improvement. One could argue that this choice is also informed by the spatiality (Pickles, 1985; Soja, 1985) that maps global cities together as cities of potential; providing further resources to skilled migrants. I would suggest that we have another example of how structure and agency intersect in light of these choices; the expansion and refinement of prior cultural and symbolic capital is the catalyst here for participants to accept the transiency of London relationships as a given. Both Giancarlo and Carolina refer to these as sad but necessary adaptations. One could argue that this becomes common sense; in a mobile world, the spatiality of these relationships needs to be redefined and intimacy reinvented by an active engagement of participants' self-definition in this process. "Identity becomes not merely 'bent' toward novel forms of transportation and travel but fundamentally recast in terms of capacities for movement" (Elliott, 2014, p. 178).

During the Focus group discussion, Darek addresses the issue of transiency from a different angle; he is not referring to significant others leaving London altogether but to the transiency that the city mandates within its own borders:

*For me, the people I live with become my family ['I': Yeah], because they are the closest, you always come back home ['I': Yeah]. So I guess I live with four people now and they are kind of –you know-, I feel really connected to them. And then I'm moving place and I know these people become my new family, so to speak (Darek, FG, p. 20)*

Darek is a skilled professional and has already been living seven years in London ; nevertheless, as lots of Londoners, he still flatshares in order to manage the cost of living and -frequently- in order to save up for a mortgage. Here the transiency is mostly his own transiency; every time he moves house, his level of emotional connection with his previous flatmates drops, as the same emotional

reservoir is invested in his new flatmates. Same goes for Ianthi, who interjects twice, actually affirming that in the excerpt. In Schutz's terms, Darek loses the face-to-face interaction necessary for consociates (Schutz, 1967; Crossley, 1996) to keep the same position in his personal network. Darek expresses a need for a family substitute, hence actively seeking flatmates that are willing to connect and support each other.

This transiency in relationships may contribute further to the need for immediacy of understanding and emotional connection. The next theme manifests the need for something familiar, albeit not restricted to national boundaries.

### 6.2 Theme 2

**Immediacy of understanding & emotional support in London and abroad**

An open cosmopolitan attitude was shown in the previous theme, in the form of networks that were mixed. In line with Kennedy's work (2010) with EU postgraduates in Manchester, participants in this study also showed an openness to other cultures and a willingness to engage and construct their networks not on the basis of a shared nationality but on the basis of common interests, experiences and lifestyle choices. Although these lifestyle choices were often heavily affected by a shared cultural and symbolic capital, the element of class was only rarely discussed as a first-order construct; in most cases this remained subtle and stood mostly as part of the interpretation of findings as second-order constructs, rather than participants' own awareness of that factor. As Wood & Landry also mention in their analyses of the intercultural city (2008), traditional constructions of class distinctions are breaking down in light of new constructions between rich and poor, based more on lifestyle preferences (e.g. Darek's Buddhist community or Marianne's 'migrant sensibility' discussion as opposed to banker's wives in London suburbs), without this meaning that class inequality disappears.

Nevertheless, given the current arguments of a rooted cosmopolitanism, situated in particular realities and acknowledging cultural referents (Appiah, 2006; Delanty, 2006), what else is there when a researcher attempts to identify the rooted element of this cosmopolitanism? Is there an element that stays more resistant to what is frequently a market-imposed change in class distinctions (Wood & Landry, 2008)? Intercultural contact was established in the responses. However, as will be demonstrated in this theme, these mixed networks were not just open-ended systems; some form of similarity was established in participants' responses. I will be focusing on participant's narratives, exploring their need to achieve immediacy of understanding and emotional support in their networks, both in London and abroad. As will also be shown in the analysis of

sociograms in the following chapters, the mixed network discussed in Theme One does not exhaust itself on London-based relations. It will therefore be discussed here, in terms of how immediacy of understanding is frequently rooted in a cultural proximity between participants and their consociates in London, as well as in the immediacy of understanding that motivates participants to keep family ties (Vetrovec, 2009; Merla & Beldessar, 2015) and pre-migration friendships thriving (Morasanu, 2013), despite geographical distance.

### a. Cultural Proximity in Mixed Networks

Enrica, who comes from Italy, when asked about the ways her friends and network are different to her, she mentioned culture. However, as she continued talking, it became apparent that this difference, in the context of London and its ever-changing diversity, became more of a similarity rather than a difference: "Well, I think they are culturally similar… they come from the Mediterranean or the Southern Hemisphere" (Enrica, p. 17). Maria, who is Spanish, makes a very similar comment: "I connect with Mediterranean people generally" (Maria, p. 23).

Interestingly, what is initially identified as different, perhaps as a habit of typifying culture along nationality, is challenged in the context of London. In search of understanding and emotional connection, a prior typification is reflected upon, in light of the commonalities and particular characteristics that facilitate an immediacy of understanding:

> *Yeah, well, different in terms of nationality, yes. There is difference in terms of culture. But, I mean, with 'M' and 'C' and 'G' and all these people here, I think it's very limited the difference. And in the sense that we have different culture but it's quite elaborated and it's quite easy to understand, and we feel very comfortable. And we have commonalities, I think. (Ianthi, p. 21)*

The first distinction Ianthi makes here is nationality, something that is in line with the findings in the previous theme. Like Enrica, she continues by identifying culture as a difference before she reflects upon it further: is this more of a difference or more of a similarity in a context like London? It seems that Ianthi is deconstructing prior typifications binding culture and nationality and it is the affect shared in her social interactions that redefines cultural distinctions as commonalities. It is the immediacy of understanding based on the cultural similarity that facilitates these interactions: Ianthi is Greek and the people she is mentioning in this quote are her closest friends in London: an Italian man and a Portuguese woman.

Darek comments on the need for this immediacy in a very similar manner: Culture is initially discussed as a difference, and upon reflection, it becomes commonality in light of a shared affect. If emotion is understood as an internal process, affect is a trace of this shared sociocultural

manifestation of emotion in a social context, hence "fundamentally social" (Bunnell, et. al. 2012, p. 499). The playfulness and the openness of Darek's Hungarian friend seem to be activating a dormant known response. The body of the actor is affected, as a residue of a known response that gets reactivated by recurrence of a similar event (Macey, 2000). In turn, immediacy of understanding and ease of communication is then easily recognised and reflected in a more rational manner as a cognitive reorganisation of cultural proximity and as a similar rather than a divergent typification.

> *So he [Hungarian friend] tells you everything he thinks and there is this kind of playfulness around him as well.  And so...  Yes, and somehow I do feel safe with him as well.  It's like, the same kind of Slavic background. We have something in common.  I can't quite put my finger on it.  Maybe it's just experience maybe.  (Darek, p. 15); I guess, culturally, yes, we are different.  And I feel more comfortable around people from Poland. Or Slavic, yes. (p. 25)*

Others refer to this immediacy in more structural terms. Akis, who comes from Greece, reflects upon his close friendship with S., from Serbia, which has grown stronger and stronger in time, as they have started their friendship when they first moved to London:

> *There is a friend of mine who I met while I was doing some work as a waiter, as a student, so then we became friends and we became very good friends.  He's involved in everything. He's Serbian.  He's married to an English woman, but then he's a very close friend, yeah?  ...And he's a person that... we understand each other very well.  He's an exact age with my brother, and his mentality is so similar to ours. (Akis, pp. 13-14)*

Here, the emotional bond is described once again in terms of an immediacy of understanding but this does not get reflected in terms of affect: Akis refers to the structural elements that bind them together, referring to a common mentality between Serbians and Greeks as well as other factors, such as marital status and age. It is s a well–exercised bond, which has strengthened with time. In line with friendship literature (Allan, 1989; Argyle, 1992; Pahl, 2000), this is a bond that did not only develop because of a (cultural) similarity but also due to common developmental experiences as young adults, sharing years of studying, sharing menial jobs and supporting each other throughout their migration journey. They have shared several bonding experiences in their life trajectory, both in terms of professional development but also in terms of personal life; something that was facilitated by the structural element of a similar cultural background.

Later on in the interview, Akis brought up an example of a more casual encounter with another Greek, with whom he meets only occasionally. Although this is not a relationship that moves onto his personal network[20], he brings it up as an example of an immediacy of understanding that is not

---

[20] As per his sociogram: 'K' is not included in Akis' personal network; see also Appendix D

just in terms of nationality but in terms of  a shared local culture, that of the agricultural region of central Greece:

> *He comes from Volos, but then again his parents come from Karditsa, which is the plains of... you know, in Greece you have Thessaly where you have this agricultural area, so then for the villages of Larisa and the villages of Karditsa, they're very similar, and I found it so easy to connect with this guy.  It was like talking to someone I knew for years.  So, there is an element of connection there.  You cannot avoid it (Akis, p. 21)*

Even though Akis is actively choosing a mixed network in terms of his consociates in London, the shared imagery of the Greek countryside activates another level of connection. One could argue that affect is still at play here and facilitates immediacy whenever they meet. It is as if, the embodied response becomes an expression of transnational consciousness at the identitarian-attitudinal level (Boccagni, 2012). The actor performs a mentalized cross-border activity: a commitment to the homeland social practices through his emotional response (Wise & Veluytham, 2006). Nevertheless, this does not develop into a stronger bond, as perhaps the rest of their lifestyle is quite divergent. Looking at the particular expressions that Akis is using in this quote, this immediacy 'cannot be avoided'; it is pleasant in a casual encounter even if not enough for this to develop into a stronger emotional bond. The actual experience is acknowledged and reflected upon but the actor does not pursue that further; 'K' remains a contemporary, yet a casual encounter with who Akis shares stocks of cultural and regional knowledge (Schutz, 1970). Exploring the intention behind the act, this is a 'because motive' rather than an in-order–to motive for further interaction i.e. enjoying the interaction whenever it occurs, without choosing to strengthen this bond. In phenomenological terms, Akis' response to his casual encounters with 'K' is an apperception (Crossley, 1996) that gets reactivated but stays at a cognitive reflective level of a 'because motive': the actor has a need to reconnect with the homeland at a distance through the affective means Self-Other identification. Nevertheless, this apperception does not become an intention for more frequent contact ('in-order-to' motive).

Marianne, who comes from Holland, also refers to a shared imagery that provides the grounds for a shared meaning and affect.  Surprisingly, she draws on a cultural similarity that would not be as expected. She reflects on how the bond developed between herself and two of her other close friends in her 'mum network' (See Theme 1), with whom other typifications stay quite divergent, 'very English' and 'very Middle class'; by the tone of her sentence it is clear that she intends to emphasise on the difference. As she continues talking though, her voice softens and affect takes over:

*So we do art and they are also mums, they are very English and actually they are very middle class. What draws us [together is…]. Ruth and Tessa are sisters. They are from Norfolk, but they grew up very much in a way that's really interesting, they grew up very much in a way that Dutch people grow up. [I: In what sense?] In the sense that, well, it's the water. Norfolk is flat and it has the waterways in a similar way that you find in the Netherlands and even when the Huguenots came and settled, they built a lot of dykes and they built a lot of windmills, they actually looked a lot of kind of Dutch engineering even the few hundred years ago and how you deal with that so – and there's a real connection (Marianne, p. 25)*

A non-expected shared cultural heritage, beyond boundaries of nationality or geographical proximity, activates the actor's affectual bond; it seems that Marianne would not have connected with Ruth and Tessa otherwise. Marianne does not identify with being middle-class by birth; she has worked her way up via education and personal perseverance. Therefore, instead of a shared cultural capital, in the Bourdieusian sense, here it is cultural *objects*[21] (Saito, 2011), such as dykes and windmills, that become the prominent point of connection. Even while this shared stock of knowledge (Schutz, 1967; Nathanson, 1982) is not active per se in the present space and time, it is still embodied as a disposition and allows these actors - who are otherwise very different in terms of other identity referents - to belong to another, yet emergent, network. Class and national boundaries are renegotiated (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) and new sociability practices inform an emergent micro-structure based on new network formations (Castells, 1996 [2005]), beyond the spaces of national and/ or class territory. Contrary to Akis' case above, here the affect activated does not translate into a mentalised transnational expression; it is more of a cosmopolitan expression of finding common ground through spatiality beyond nationality. An unexpected cultural proximity transpires, which allows for meaning to be shared in a third space, that of London suburbs.

One could argue that aspects of Latour's (2005) Actor-Network Theory (ACT) are also of relevance here. In the language of ACT, it is the non-human elements (in this case, dykes and windmills) that reactivate shared memories of the actors' Lifeworld and facilitate Marianne in her cosmopolitan openness. The similarity of landscape between Norfolk and Holland promotes an immediacy of understanding that would have otherwise not come to the fore. ACT has been criticised as problematic, in that it attributes equal value to human and non-human elements in network formations (Law, 2009; Hornborg, 2016), and I would agree with that criticism. It is Marianne and the Norfolk sisters who are actually embodying the memory of these non-human elements, since it is their intentionality which activates the shared non-human element as the starting point for their close friendship. Furthermore, current shared experiences of motherhood and art classes are also facilitating the development of that bond, yet the actor still refers to the primacy of windmills and

---

[21] Emphasis added

dykes as the main trigger for that, to be explored further. In this  sense,  ACT theory has something to offer for understanding cosmopolitanism in relation to affect and social relations, in that it "illuminates how humans and nonhumans of multiple nationalities develop attachments with one another to create network structures that sustain cosmopolitanism" (Saito, 2011, p. 124).

Pietra also brings the element of cultural proximity to her discussion of her rooted cosmopolitanism. Although she does not talk about specific cultural objects in her quote, she discusses how this immediacy gets activated by a shared cultural heritage that would only differentiate later on in the story by means of nationality and religion distinctions:

> *With my Muslim friend I'm often the only non-Arab.  So they're all from different countries, but they all speak Arabic, and they're all Muslims. So, in that sense I'm often the only one who's Catholic, non-Arab speaking.  But interestingly both of them, kind of both groups tell me things like, 'Oh but you're one of us.'  'Oh you're black on the inside really.'  All Maltese people are practically Arabs anyway (Particia, pp. 28-29).*

What is interesting in this quote is that Pietra refers to what her friends are saying: 'You are one of us'. Apart from her own identification with an Arab identity, however historical this might be for someone who also identifies as Maltese and Catholic, it is also her friends who identify her as belonging to a broader Arab-informed culture, which shares attachments of cultural objects and demeanour that allow another, perhaps unexpected, cultural proximity to emerge here. Although Pietra stays much more matter-of-fact than Marianne in her delivery of this bridge of divergent typifications onto a broader, more inclusive one, it is likely that shared attachments (possibly in terms of food and culture) allow for this culturally informed network (Castells, 2005) to emerge.

It is the immediacy of understanding that makes people connect more with some rather than with others. Identity negotiations come to the fore, as patterns of sociality are reflected upon by participants. As Ryan (2010) also notes, it is the shared migration experience which  brings people from very different backgrounds together;  still , particular cultural referents call for a more rooted, culturally situated cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2006).

### b.   Transnational Bonds as Emotional Reciprocity

Calling for the transnational element of close connections that extend beyond national boundaries (Vetrovec, 2001; Smith, 2005), a subtheme that emerged here was the maintenance of emotional transnational bonds. Emotional support and immediacy of understanding extends beyond the borders of London; participants stayed in close contact with family and they travelled back on average at least once a year, which can be considered as another specific of Intra-European mobility:

*But I do go back a lot.  I go back about two, three times a year, just to see my parents, really.  And for me that's very important.  I mean, I could never have moved to Australia, or anywhere like that.  I need to be able to hop on the plane and go back and see my family…  Yeah, especially as they're getting older.  You want to be available, really – definitely.*
*(Peter, p. 4)*

The importance of family as a prevailing structure informing the priorities of the actor is evident in this quote. Peter is not only talking here about commitment and obligation in terms of the ethics of family care; he is also conveying his own need to be physically present, several times per year. The relatively short distance between London and Sweden, and cheap flights (Castles, 2002; Morasanu, 2013) facilitate this; however, Peter has excluded other migration locations outside Europe. Being in frequent contact with his parents, even after 25 years of migration, is highly important. Similar to other studies of Intra-European migration of the highly-skilled (Favell, 2003b; Scott, 2006), ease of travel due to a combination of geographical proximity and a reasonable income allow the skilled to travel frequently back to their home countries; this in turn allows for more frequent contact with parents.

The same is also evident in Marianne's response, where the geographical distance between London and Holland is even smaller. She does not refer only to her parents but also to her uncles ('Onnie' [sic]) and cousins, and how this retains its importance, even though she does not see all of them on every visit. Staying connected with their lives allows for family relations to stretch across different spaces:

*And then there's extended family, let's say we put them here in a way.  I have my 'Onnie Jan', he's my uncle and Paula there's cousins and I don't see them so much now, but they do visit here, I see that there's enough [connection/ interaction].  If I don't see them, my mom sees them, then we get all the news anyway, but yeah.  So they're quite important (Marianne, p. 30)*

Connections however, do not exhaust themselves on travel possibilities and care for ageing parents. The affective structures of transnational bonds (Wise & Veltuytham, 2006) extend beyond the geographical boundaries of home and host country, as some of the significant others have also relocated in other parts of the globe:

*- so we don't have much in common, so to speak.  But we know we always can count on each other. So, if there is anything happens – I run out of money or anything – I always just give her a ring and there is never, never a single doubt of nothing.  There is always, "How much? No problem."  So - And when something is going on with me – when I'm really feeling emotionally challenged or...  She [sister] would be the person I would call. (Darek, p. 27)*

Contrary to the chosen personal network of Darek in London, which is based on common interests and lifestyle preferences, here, the immediacy of understanding comes from the structural element of the familial bond with his sister. In structural-functional terms, Darek and his sister have shared common experiences while growing up, and these have secured a prevailing element of care and trust in their interactions. The common stock of knowledge in this case (Schutz, 1967; 1970) does not derive from a common set of choices in adult life; it is rather a practice that had been consolidated in early life, within a family system, which in turn remains a strong and trustworthy bond, regardless of the geographical distance or the infrequency of face-to-face interaction. Therefore, this stock of knowledge can be understood as the shared dispositions of their habitus (Bourdieu, 1990), where 'cognitive and affective factors' (Jenkins, 1996 [2002]) have been consolidated through frequent and consistent opportunities for displaying intimacy within the family structure (Finch, 2007). This response can certainly not be generalised, as families could also be a source of tension and conflict. Not everyone maintains close contact with their family of origin[22]; nevertheless, it is useful to be reminded that most people consider their families as their main support structure, a consistent form of support in stressful times and a source of comfort for their lives as a whole (Duck, 1986; Spencer & Pahl, 2006; Mason, 2011). What needs to be noted here however, is that in contrast to early theories of transnationalism (e.g. Portes, et. al, 1999), where family contact is mainly discussed in terms of transnational economic activity and family commitments are expressed in the form of financial remittances, here the transnational connection is expressed as emotional attachment and reciprocity.

Beyond the family, participants also hold some connections with a few long-term friends back home. No matter how strong their London connections were, the network still extended to long-term friendships back in their country of origin, the people who knew them best:

> *I think Evi I would call, but, yeah, I would call her if it's something really big, I think, that I would call her. I don't say, I don't know, it depends but, yeah. I don't know, these people, because they are far, I think, the kind of support, the sentimental support, emotional support I'm thinking (Ianthi, p. 22).*

Close to Darek's response about his sister, here Ianthi makes a very clear statement; she would only turn to 'Evi', with whom she has established a very close friendship well before she had migrated, only if the issue she was facing was 'big' and required a great level of emotional support. Evi has never migrated; hence it is likely that their everyday life is very different. As Morasanu (2013) also comments, home ties cannot be of much help in terms of everyday social reality in London, as it

---

[22] In line with this note, within this sample of fifteen participants, two people (Maria, Noel) were neither in frequent context with their families nor did they consider them as a form of emotional or practical support. This is going to be examined in more detail in Chapter 8 ('Mapping Sociality').

frequently is quite different from daily life back home. Hence, current stocks of knowledge around everyday practicalities have diversified and Ianthi would have turned to her London friends for practical, everyday support. Nevertheless, a well-established bond that has been consolidated in the past, during formative experiences, provides the basis for an emotional proximity and reciprocity that maintains its strength regardless of infrequent contact. It seems that Evi maintains her position as a trustworthy, significant other in Ianthi's life even though the friendship is not facilitated by regular meetings or similarity in current lifestyles. Early friendship theorists would consider these elements essential for the bond to be maintained (Berg & Clark, 1986; Argyle, 1992); one could argue that frequency of contact and some similarity in terms of cultural capital (Nowicka, 2015) can still be considered important for new friendships to develop in a post-migration context. Nevertheless, in the age of mobility pre-migration friendships can sustain the strain of change, as emotional reciprocity and affect prove stronger than the frequency of interaction; both actors can reactivate shared meanings (Bunnell, et al. 2012) while respecting each other's need for differentiation. Again, transnational bonds are personified here, escaping explicit ethnic categorisations (Morasanu, 2013), as they rely on each-other for emotional support and for a sense of personal identity (Pahl, 2000), which is acknowledged through shared personal histories rather than collective identities such as ethnicity or nationality. This is also echoed by other participants, who also reflect on this immediacy of understanding, which has been consolidated in the past and sustains itself in the present:

> *Yeah. It's funny, because I always had this kind of very strong feeling with my friend and this is only two only persons [back home] that, if we don't call each other for six months, seven months and then suddenly the phone rings, nothing would have changed, and we just go blah, blah, blah (Noel, p. 35).*

In Noel's words, this only happens with two persons in his homeland. Recalling his response in Theme One (see p. 106, this chapter), there were several ethnonational attributes that he wished/tried to escape from by deciding to leave France and settle in London; hence, his involvement with his co-ethnics stays highly selective both in London and in his home country. By placing these two responses together, Noel keeps two significant others in his personal network, where the immediacy of understanding has been consolidated through common pre-migration histories and pre-migration strong social bonds. To use Schutz's terminology yet again, the two persons in Noel's quote are life-long *consociates*, with whom time and space are shared. Sharing space and time in the age of mobility takes another meaning however: places of residency are different and, for this reason, everyday realities are different too. Hence this immediacy is

maintained by a mediated interaction through phone or Skype (Zhao, 2004), which nevertheless suffices for actors to affirm their commitment to each other:

> *And 'L' is someone I've known from my schooldays. 'T' is another good friend in Sweden, with whom we also go back many, many years. (Peter, p. 21)*

> *'V' and 'M', who I went to school with and met when I was like 12 and 13, or something, and they're just those long-term friends that I see every three years and speak to every three months, maybe, but - **I: But it's there. You know that it's there** Yeah (Carolina, p. 14)*

> *I've got friends in Greece whom I grew up with. Well, not from my early childhood, mainly from my university years, whom at a time when I was in Greece where really my close... people like this, people I know. But, obviously, distance takes its toll and we can't... but, again, depending on the nature of my need, or whatever, I know that some of them are there for me because they know my background, I know their background, we've done many things together (Kosmas, p. 19)*

In line with Morasanu's (2013) research with Romanians in London, these are friendships that are not based on ethnic identification. Rather, these are 'soul friendships' that have been strengthened through life-forming experiences, like school-years. Once again this serves as a reminder of the need for continuity in one's life project, with some friendships retaining significance across geographical boundaries and infrequent interaction. The intention of both actors in these dyads is to maintain the bond and its implied emotional reciprocity, which is then affirmed by the act of long calls, where both actors stretch the time boundary of a typical phone call *in-order-to*[23] support each other and become again part of each other's lives. Contrary to the financial remittances of early transnational literature (Portes, 1999), the affective ties of sustained friendship networks at a distance can be understood as social remittances (Vetrovec, 2009) or "distance-bridging practices" (Boccagni, 2010, p. 11). This transnational element remains mostly personal, as part of one's history, extended to and maintained through different places and different current life trajectories. It does not only concern pre-migration friendships with people who never migrated; it also involves other 'soul friends' who have settled somewhere else abroad:

> *'M' lives in Barcelona and everything else is the exact same like me. [We grew up in the] same place, Transylvania, Hungarian, white, straight, a bit younger than me, everything the same, she's one of my closest friends. We talk regularly (Margit, p. 27)*

> *He's from Bosnia, he lives in the Netherlands. We worked together back in Sarajevo and we are really close friends, close working colleagues, and so on. And stayed in touch ever since. Didn't see each other for a couple of years but we speak to each other, and so on, and this is the kind of lengthy, telephone conversations when you... (Norad, p.21).*

---

[23] As per Schutz's (1970) 'in-order-to' motive

Longstanding friendships stay close enough even when participants do not have the opportunity to meet often; it is the immediacy of understanding that transcends locality and temporality. In the age of global mobility, people maintain intimate social relationships in the form of friendship "both proximate and at a distance" (Bunnell et. al., 2012, p. 490). No matter lifestyle changes and more infrequent contact, they remain as part of connections outside of London. Therefore, these friendships could be identified as the transnational aspect of their cosmopolitanism (Ribeiro, 2001; Morasanu 2013).

People's networks and close friendships are extending beyond the original transnational boundary of host and home country; one cannot solely refer to cosmopolitan or transnational practices here, as the two clearly intersect. Participants may not be in close contact with everyone back home; however, as Peter (in London for 25 years) mentioned, the ties get weaker but he still keeps contact with family back home, as well as with a few long-term friends. This is what Morasanu (2013) calls 'soul friendships'. Even if migrants have a generally negative view of their country or particular cultural attributes they might consciously disassociate from in the midst of London anonymity, they are still well connected with people they might not be seeing that often but with whom they stay connected because of the legacy of significant past moments. Intra–EU mobility allows for maintenance of familial ties while experimenting with the anonymity of London and the diversification of one's social network (Favell, 2008; Ryan, 2010).

### 6.3 Theme 3
### *Keeping work relations separate from social networks*

Contrary to corporate migration, where migrants tend to socialise mostly with their co-workers because of the transiency of that experience (Kennedy, 2005; Bozkurt, 2008; Nowicka, 2012), in this project participants tend to keep their work relations separate from their close social network. This is a phenomenon expressed in two different subthemes, in terms of participants' first-order constructs: a. affiliated but not connected and b. the need to leave work behind.

#### a. Affiliated but not connected

For the most part, participants stay affiliated with their co-workers; however, this does not translate into solid emotional connections. Although there is always the potential for a work relationship to develop into a friendship (Krackhardt, 1992), work relationships are usually instrumentally and

socially satisfying but remain bound to work related sociability (Argyle, 1992). This is in line with social relationship literature (Berg & Clark, 1986; Fiske, 1992; Mills & Clark, 1994), where a useful distinction is made between exchange and communal relationships; exchange relationships are mostly based on reward and what one might would call a 'surface reciprocity', whereas communal relationships are based on need and trust:

> *Then through 'R' I met a lot of new people. 'R' is completely in the PhD mode, so he knows people doing work in these areas. So he's organising dinners for queer academics very-inbred. (Giancarlo, p. 13)*

Here, the in-order-to motive, in terms of intentional acts is the common work interest; a work-related socialising that does not extend to a shared emotional reciprocity, shown extensively in the previous theme. Giancarlo is referring to a very particular typification, one of 'queer academics', who meet outside working hours for networking. In Schutz's terms, a 'recipe' of a work-related dinner is applied by all actors involved in this network; this however, is not extended to a relationship based on trust or communal exchange (Berg & Clark, 1986; Mills & Clark, 1994). In terms of negotiating multiple realities, the work-related reality and role stay separate and, in Giancarlo's words, 'very inbred'. In Bourdieusian terms, they are sharing a particular symbolic capital or –to be more accurate - a symbolic capital in the making, participating in a very particular field that separates itself as a niche.

Others are commenting more on the actual work environment, where relationships stay distinct and relevant to concerns about work-related everyday tasks:

> *'S' is not a friend actually, but he's a friend when we're at work. I guess he's one of the people I would share my concerns about work, and stuff, but he's not somebody I socialise... he lives in another city so I wouldn't see him. And he's got a family (Enrica, p. 9).*

Although Enrica does not necessarily consider Simon a friend, as she is not socialising with him outside work, she still conveys an element of trust in this quote. Here, once again, the word friend is used as a typification, which however, is further differentiated so as to avoid confusion as she reflects upon it. As discussed in friendship literature (Allan 1989; Spencer & Pahl, 2006), the word friend is ambiguous in its construction and could reflect different levels of involvement in different contexts, ranging from simple 'friendly relations' and acquaintanceship in the workplace (Fine, 1986) to close bonds based on emotional reciprocity and self-disclosure (Argyle, 1992; Spencer & Pahl, 2006). Enrica engages in a conscious act of differentiation here, identifying Simon as a trustworthy colleague to whom she can seek work-related support in confidence; nevertheless, the common interests are restricted to work interests in symbolic-interactionist terms. This is role acting within the constraints of a specific setting; hence it remains situationally specific (Wagner, 1983), as the

actor chooses to be closer to some work colleagues than others but, from her response, it is obvious that there is a mutual 'tacit agreement' (Gilbert, 1991) that maintains work boundaries.

Marianne echoes this in her response although she differentiates more in terms of semantics: one might have friendly relationships with colleagues in a work environment but they stay colleagues, they don't become friends. She would trust some colleagues more than others with personal information if she has identified other similarities between them; this would facilitate understanding, as common experiences outside the work environment serve as shared stocks of knowledge.

> *There are colleagues they're not friends…I might just discuss personal things with like 'T' she also has children and actually with 'T' she is from East London and belongs to this, I think she is Indian or I am not sure if she is Pakistan probably Indian but she does have that inner London thing (Marianne, p. 20)*

In other words, Marianne and 'T' stay affiliated because of common experiences outside work; they are working in the same organisation, although in different professional roles. This in turn may also affect the quality and the extent of this connection as a structural element of work dynamics, which then mediates social interaction as well as the actor's own typifications; "intersubjectivity is a differentiated phenomenon" (Crossley, 1996, p. 82), here experienced as a work relation which is warm enough to discuss common experiences such as motherhood or 'Otherness' in terms of ethnicity but does not surpass the boundaries of work opportunities, rank or symbolic capital[24].

On other occasions, participants share symbolic capital, as well as work rank and an interest in cultural artefacts, such as documentaries. Nevertheless, the work environment prevails as a structure where relationships can be friendly and warm but do not exceed the boundary of the work environment:

> *'B' is still very into CNN and I think he was born here, but he's of a Ghanaian [origin]… And so, we see each other when we work together and so on, and he has some interests, he's doing some documentary, trying to get into this… But I have interesting conversations with him and… but basically, the phone calls when they are made, or the emails, are about the work –e.g. about the work shifts or something like that. And when we see each other, it's a nice chat, but… (Norad, p. 16).*

Work provides the structure for intercultural contact (Wood & Landry, 2008) and facilitates meaningful contact based on common institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; 1992) in the context of a global city like London. Norad comes from a very different ethnonational background

---

[24] For the latter, see also Sociogram Analysis (Chapter 8): differences in rank are not obvious from the excerpt above but were established later in the interview process when she positioned significant work relations in her sociogram.

but describes his conversations with 'B' as 'interesting' and engaging. Their relationship is mediated both from participating in a shared work-related activity and from a sense of belonging in the same working environment (Fine, 1986), as well as from shared interests in cultural forms, such as documentaries. The actor reflects on this relationship using the 'cultural object' (Saito, 2011) of documentary as the point of convergence; still, however, this remains at the level of banal cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002), that exhausts itself on work-related conversations; in other words, the work ethnic defines the boundary of connection yet again. Work roles take over and the actors engage in the meaningful interaction of a team, performing an act relevant to a particular situation (Goffman, 1971), rather than taking up the opportunity for further friendship outside work.

This is also relevant where shared cultural heritage, as well as shared symbolic capital and out-of-work interests were already present. Maria discussed how her relationship with another Spaniard has shifted from friendship to work-related sociality when her friend started working at her workplace:

> *She's Spanish and she did economics and, you know, we've got a lot in common, but at the moment I'm a bit sad because she's become more…because we meet at work every so often we would rarely go out anymore or talk. We do, but she's become more…I depend her more on work than on friendship. Like, I've got other friends taking priority over her (Maria, p. 22).*

Once again the work environment prevails as structure in this quote. It appears that the intention of the actor was quite different at first; Maria reflects upon her initial intention to maintain the same level of spontaneous interaction and sharing with her colleague, possibly drawing on a number of Self-Other identifications, such as nationality, gender and shared stocks of knowledge. Nevertheless, in an environment where work relations carry a lot of responsibility and skill, work-related interactions become the core of their activities: in Bourdieusian terms, it is a shared social field, which demands focused social actions and interactions. The social character of the relationship is maintained but it has changed *form*, as the common aim of the interaction is now work-related. Maria and her work-colleague are now affiliated but not connected; in line with other participants' responses, Maria reserved the friend typification for close relationships outside the work environment.

Akis had tried to break that barrier by making good friends from work for a short period of time. His work as a civil engineer is based on short–term contracts by the same company, which means that his work colleagues change every few months. This initially carried a semblance to the ease of bonding of professionals, who change location frequently either as inter-company transfers (Bozkurt, 2008; Salt, 2008) or as independent contractors (Kennedy, 2005). In such environments,

long-term work-related responsibilities, as well as work-related code and formalities discussed earlier, are easier negotiated because of the temporal dimension of short-term contracts and the need for human contact (Kennedy, 2005; Nowicka, 2012). Nevertheless, even this similarity was not enough for a friendship to be maintained when changes in work status and redundancies came to the fore:

> *Let's keep it to work related, yeah. You see, something strange has happened in my life. I used to have 'J' and 'A', we were all the time out together, and then they disappeared. As soon as the job finished, they just disappeared and I don't know what happened there, you know. One I think is back in Australia, which explains a lot. I just don't know. Probably because we went through a strange period that we were all about to get laid off and I was the only one who survived, actually, so maybe that had… - I:… **an effect on the way that you've** – Felt. Yeah, in our personal lives, unfortunately. Yeah, okay (Akis, p. 12).*

This response is quite important as it manifests the boundaries of work-related friendships. It is much easier to make friends of equal status in a work environment; a status change however, brings about a change in one's social networks (Fine, 1986; Fiske, 1992). Prior unreflexive encounters, facilitated by a shared economic and symbolic capital, are reflected upon here due to the conflict that emerged (Bourdieu, 1986; 1990) from a change in occupational circumstances.

It is possible that the actual competition amongst highly-skilled professionals (Morasanu, 2013) might be another factor here. As seen from the quotes discussed so far, most participants have kept a professional distance in their encounters with work colleagues. Relations are mostly warm but stay professional. Work-related socialising is present, and –as will be seen in the following second subtheme–this is considered part of the one's work commitments. Transnational social practices are not relevant in the work environments of participants, as they do not involve cross-border economic activities; on the contrary, cosmopolitan competences in the work environments of the intercultural city (Kennedy, 2005; Wood & Landry, 2008) are still relevant, even if they do not translate to close emotional bonds, sustained outside of work. Although symbolic capital and professional achievement are definitely bridging other differences and allow for intercultural contact and changes in one's habitus (Nowicka, 2015), the need for a clear distinction between work and leisure (Lefebvre, 1958) seems to be forming participants' reactions to work pressures and the conditionality of work relationships, which stay situationally bound (Fine, 1986).

### b. The need to leave work behind

Beyond the possibility of work-related competition (Morasanu, 2013), which might keep participants more reserved regarding close ties at work, this subtheme reflects the need for participants to leave

work behind. Interactions at work include a work-related sociality, such a dinners, post-work drinks or company-organised dinners. From the responses below, it can be demonstrated that at least in highly-demanding work environments, people felt the need to separate themselves not only from the work task but from work-related sociality as well:

> We have lunches quite often together, so we go for lunch and outside of work… My job is really busy so I hardly socialise whatsoever. But we do from time to time (Darek, p. 12).

> I would say that I have lunch with people at work. So I guess that is one form of socialising, but I don't tend to socialise as in you know weekends or kind of, you know kind of make specific plans. Let's meet Thursday night and have a drink. Where it's kind of quite apart from work (Pietra, p, 6).

Both Darek and Pietra reflect on their work relations in a very similar manner. It seems that sharing lunch with colleagues was 'common sense' in the world of working; it is a form of unreflexive social action which is embedded in the work reality. Only upon reflection did participants consider this a form of socialising. As most of adult life is spent in a world of working, work remains a social activity and communication among workers is essential (Natanson, 1982; Fine, 1986; Wellman, 1996). Nevertheless, the nature of the work affects the level of interaction during work hours; in non-skilled jobs, for example cooks and waiters, work is typically in close proximity. Therefore, the social character of work is manifested in this interdependency. On the contrary, skilled professionals typically retreat in their offices or booths and enjoy a greater degree of autonomy during the working day. There a sense of autonomy maintained in relation to the work product (Fine, 1986), hence the sense of collegiality is embedded in sharing working time in different ways. Here work lunch is consequently not even considered as socialising prior to reflection. In Schutz's terms (1967; 1970), this is a recipe embedded in skilled work relations. So, although neither Darek nor Pietra explicitly refer to their 'need to leave work behind', they make an implicit semantic distinction between work-related socialising and outside work socialising; one could infer that work is one reality and leisure another.

In contrast, Bruno is very conscious on this. He refers to work-related socialising as 'enforced'; as part of what the job demands of him:

> I do, but it was at the enforced level. You know, the leaving drinks, the team building, dinner, yeah. Because time is precious there. I spend much time at work. And I spend more time with my team mates than with my wife. I don't want to… I speak enough [with them], there is a lunch hour to fill every day, yeah? So, I think we've exhausted all the topics and I don't want to be spending more time with them [Laughter] (Bruno, p. 8).

It is clear in his response that leisure time needs to remain/be completely separate from work-related socialising, which is here considered by the actor as an involuntary activity and affects the way he evaluates this activity (Schutz, 1964, in Banner & Himelfarb, 1985), however necessary. Bruno uses typifications of work-related socialising ('leaving drinks'; 'team building'; 'team mates'), which in turn also serve as a distinction between work and leisure in his narrative. Goffman's distinction (1971) between team and group belonging is also relevant here: it is the particular interactions *within* the work setting which are necessary social actions, *situationally specific* to this setting. It serves as a performance necessary for the 'work situation' to be maintained. In his response, Bruno makes a conscious effort to keep the rest of his social world separate to this. The need to leave work behind becomes explicit here in the form of a conscious act (Crossley, 1996), whereby the actor draws a line between work as a necessity and leisure as freedom (Lefebvre, 1958; Wagner, 1983) as well as quality time, where time can be spent in the company of his wife in an unstructured manner.

Enrica uses yet another typification, to bring this work-leisure dichotomy to the fore: she typifies her colleagues as 'work persons'. When asked to reflect upon this, she makes further distinctions, which are in line with discussions earlier in this chapter, in theme one. Common interests and lifestyle choices as expressions of the lifeworld are again expressed here; particular leisure activities of a particular taste are expressed here in terms of opposition:

> **I: What does it mean, 'work person', for you, then?** *That maybe we don't share the same interests outside work. We wouldn't go to the same films. We wouldn't go to the same restaurants, or, yeah, we wouldn't do the same things. Maybe some, yeah. With 'M' maybe if she wasn't gay then she would socialise more, but she'd socialise more with the gay community, I guess. So, I can't exactly put it down to work. But I think the variable is that I think lots of people socialise less because of competition. You sort of want to leave it aside (Enrica, p. 10).*

Enrica makes use of her own systems of relevance (Schutz, 1967; 1970) in terms of taste and particular cultural artefacts as a justification for this distinction. She expresses a need to leave all work relations aside and to engage with her chosen personal network (Wellman, 1999; Fuhse & Muetzel, 2011) outside work. She expressed a sentiment similar to Bruno's above, but in her case, this is discussed not only in terms of the need to leave work behind for unstructured time with one's significant others, but also in terms of particular lifestyle preferences, which in turn are part of her own identity project (Elliott, 2014), sought outside work. As she reflects further however, she contemplates on a common system of relevance between her and Mel, which she immediately discards, as yet another typification is used by the actor to exclude the only possible candidate for outside work sociality. It is as if the actor realised the paradox in her narrative and reflects on that

further; it is the need to leave work behind, as competition is high in skilled professions. Hence, the same need for a cognitive shift between different spheres of everyday life comes to the fore.

Noel, a sound engineer, is self-employed; therefore, the features of office-related autonomy (Fine, 1986), discussed earlier, are not relevant here; work requires a high level of skill but is exercised in different environments. From his first quote below it appears that his work-related socialising is quite different from the ones discussed so far. The work task is much more interdependent, as technicians work close to one another during an event or a conference. It seems that there is a different tone to this work-related socialising; the end product of a joint project coincides with the end of the shift and work-related socialising seems to have more of a celebratory and relaxing tone in it. It still stays work-related, as all efforts to share more of their leisure time together do not come to fruition.

> *Oh yeah, when we work together, we are very like this when we work together, we laugh, but then as we all freelance, seeing them outside work is quite difficult... "Let's have a drink on Saturday, and then on Saturday, oh sorry mate, I am working tonight". So I think we all -- it's difficult, yeah. So when we see each other, we are working. But we are working as well as -- we are working, but yeah, we go to restaurant at night, at pub, having drinks. I have got my social life with friends within my work.  When I am not working --I: It's a different set of people, more or less? Yeah (Noel, p. 13).*

Initially Noel attributes this to conflicting work schedules. Nevertheless, upon further reflection later on in the interview, it seems that the same need to leave work behind comes to the fore. Attempts to bridge different spheres of sociality are mostly not successful, as this has happened only occasionally:

> *[W]hen we work together it's perfect, we really laugh altogether and stuff. But actually with them we went a couple of times for drinks, but it's very - I don't know, it's very - you are always wondering if it's because of our schedule that we don't see each other outside work, or if it's because they don't really want to get involved into friendship or something (Noel, p.28).*

What appeared as common sense earlier in the interview, i.e. the reality of conflicting schedules as the reason behind no further socialising with work-colleagues he gets along so well with, is reflected upon more thoroughly here. It seems that Noel has engaged in conscious efforts to make friends through his work environment. The actor had a clear intention to socialise with his colleagues outside work and he had put this into action; yet, as Crossley (1996) mentions, only the actor can have full knowledge of his chosen action. The meaning of the action he was offering was not felt by his co-workers. His intention was compromised and, through the dissonance this had created, he

reaches the conclusion that his colleagues might wish to keep their work relations separate. Here, 'the need to leave work behind' does not come from the actor himself initially but is gradually understood as a practice of his colleagues, which he then adopts for himself.

Participants' first-order constructs regarding this separation between work-related and non-work related sociability was also supported by social theory. It seems that participation in very different spheres of life requires a certain degree of compartmentalization (Wagner, 1983), in order to maintain some balance between the multiple realities of the lifeworld (Schutz, 1967). There is literature also suggesting differences between skilled and non-skilled workers, where the spatiality of the work environment, the proximity and the interdependency of work relations again have an effect on whether work relations extend outside work or not (Fine, 1986; Wellman, 1996). Work-related competition in highly-skilled professions might be at play here (Morasanu, 2013), something also recognised by one of the participants (Enrica, p. 36 in this chapter). However, as seen in both subthemes, this is a general trend in the data and does not claim generalisation. A number of variations emerged in actors' attempts to bridge different typifications of work relations ('work friend'; 'work person'; 'leaving drinks'; 'team building'), reflecting variations in work-related sociality. There were variations according to profession too, and they will be elaborated upon in the Sociogram analysis chapter, where actual sociality patterns for each participant will be discussed in more detail[25]. In light of the excerpts discussed in this chapter however, this pattern of keeping work relations separate from social relations, could also be interpreted as specific to London and the charms of the global city; London has so much to offer and this is usually what relates more to leisure than work, no matter how sparse this free time can be for migrants in highly-demanding jobs.

London also plays a role as a mediator in identity negotiations as well as in cosmopolitan attitudes expressed by participants. In the next chapter, the remaining two themes, 'Identity Negotiations' and 'Depth of Cosmopolitan Attitudes', will be discussed separately, as different expressions of the lifeworld than the ones discussed so far.

---

[25] For instance, it becomes apparent that the nature of each profession might play a role here; although participants might socialise with colleagues in the form of a social and not a personal relationship (Van Leer, Koerner & Allan, 2006), in some professions (e.g. academia, sound engineer) participants manifest a closer emotional proximity with work colleagues (Sociogram Rings 1-3), even if this is not extending in sociality outside work. This in turn can be explained as an emotional proximity facilitated by common interests (i.e. research interests, which reflect personal values or the emotional connection that emerges from very close contact during setting up sound systems).

*Expressions of the Lifeworld II: Cosmopolitanism and Identity*

_____

**7.0 Introduction**

In the previous chapter, the focus of the analysis was on participants' relationships with others as expressions of the lifeworld. Several typifications ('work person', 'very close friend', 'very middle class' 'very English', 'the French', 'the Germans', etc.) were used in relation to others, sometimes in relation to participants' spheres of social interaction, at other times in relation to particular qualities that their significant others held. Although some inferences could be drawn as to how this related to participants' self-typifications, the main expression of the lifeworld discussed so far was in relation to sociality. Sociality patterns had several expressions: an informed decision to engage in culturally diverse personal networks, transnational bonds with family and 'soul friends' in the host country, as well as a need to keep their work relations bound to their work environment. In this chapter the emphasis shifts towards themselves - i.e. how they express their own orientation towards their lived experience (Van Manen, 1990). Hence, the remaining two themes discussed here bring to the fore how participants have negotiated their social and personal identities, as well as their meaning constructs in relation to cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitan attitudes and identity negotiations are yet another set of lifeworld expressions, as participants formulate, reflect and modify their attitudes and identity referents in their everyday life in London. These can only come to existence by their actual engagement with the city and its inhabitants; in other words, categories of belonging, as well as particular attitudes towards diversity come to life through contact with other people or groups.

**7.4  Theme 4**

*Identity negotiations: London, Nationality and Profession*

   a.  **London as Place Identity**

Further to the everyday understanding of patterns of sociality, participants also referred to parts of their identity that were significant to them. London was highly discussed as part of their identity; place as an identity referent would also be of relevance here (Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Massey, 2004). Participants referred to London both as part of their lifestyle project, as well as a place of opportunity for self-development:

> *I'm feeling that being here, being in London and doing what I am doing is an exciting project. And, you know, there is a lot of suffering but at the same time it's fascinating how we grow or how I grow, and how that's a 'me' project basically (Darek, p. 7)*

Here, Darek refers to London as part of his own personal project, which in turn allows him to explore his potential in the context of the city. Identity is here understood as a project of self-realization facilitated by the challenges and excitement of a global city like London. Interestingly, what first appears as a social act, typified as an exciting project, then shifts onto a place identity referent. "Identity processes have a dynamic relationship with the residential environment" (Massey, 2004; p.218); furthermore, place can be understood as both constitutive of and constituted by social relations (Pred, 1984). Here the actor identifies with other Londoners as a distinct social group, sharing the same space within the boundaries of the city: 'fascinating how *we* grow' gets corrected by the actor onto a '[fascinating how] *I* grow'. The 'I' then becomes a 'me' project, almost in a Meadian sense, where changes in self-identity are verified by the responses the actor gets by others (Lemert, 2014) in this particular context. The way he talks about it stays positive and exciting, whereas other participants were more realistic in their descriptions:

> *And potential of doing things and developing. I've got this thing of self-improvement all the time, right, with myself? And I think London is a place where you find that. Now I see it in a different way because I've been here for a long time and I feel a bit exhausted by it. You know, because I think I've taken so much, but I've given also so much of myself to this location that now I feel may be, you know, I see it differently. (Giancarlo, p. 5)*

Giancarlo's response echoes Darek's in some ways: London is referred to as a place where the opportunity for self-growth and 'improving oneself' is embedded in city practices. If place is the real, bounded space where social relations and identity are realised in everyday practices (Duncan, 2000), it follows that the impact of a particular place into identity can occur both at the individual and at the cultural level (Tilley, 1994; in Massey, 2004). In his response, he identifies that these changes have occurred both in terms of his own embodied reception of such changes ('I've taken so much') but also in terms of how much he has contributed to this particular place ('I've given so much of myself'). It feels that the pace of London life and everyday sociality have left a mark on his identity; what he refers to as location as a first-order construct, could equally be understood as a series of *locales* in terms of social theory (Giddens, 1984; Agnew, 1987). London is a particular context, an overarching setting of various settings for social interaction, with some of its locales extending beyond the physical boundaries of its location. As a global city, London is both a product and a producer of a globalised economy, which in turn affects everyday settings, its patterns of mobility and sociality, as well as the pace of social interaction (Sassen, 1991), which are all implied here by the actor, through naming his own exhaustion in relation to it. Giancarlo reflects on his own

processes of relating to this environment and brings in the time factor that affects the quality of this experience after several years in this location. In line with Cuba & Hummon (1993), the meaning ascribed to place identification can vary with length of residence and the lifecycle process; this is also reflected in the way the actor differentiates between his early experience of pure motivation and enthusiasm and his current experience of exhaustion, albeit still acknowledging the impact of London in his self-identity.

Maria presents her London experience in an almost metaphysical manner, where changing locales within the same city have changed her own experience of it, as well as her own sense of self:

> [S]ometimes I do get the feeling that London is like this playground. You have to be welcomed here by something bigger than you, me and a job. Just, like, things happen. When I first came I had a series of really bad experiences, really bad, people getting shot, me getting hit, bad stuff, so London hasn't made it easy for me. I had to go through a lot of shit to get where I am, to where I am. Eventually, now I'm okay here. I belong here. But it wasn't always like that (Maria, p. 7).

What comes through in this quote is the changing environments the actor has experienced within the boundaries of the same city: Maria has worked her way up, arriving as a student and experiencing the city's ugliness at its worst: people getting shot in front of her eyes; herself getting hit. Place identity has developed gradually for Maria, and temporality is also at play here: 'eventually' she belongs here, which can be read as an opposition to her initial, very alienating experience. As Massey (2004) also mentions, "one important dimension of the phenomenological position is that the meaningful relation to place is intimately bound to the embodied nature of perception" (p.8), a perception which had gradually changed as Maria started engaging herself in different settings, different locales within the same city. In terms of social action, Maria kept going and this allowed her to change her everyday reality in the city and to achieve a sense of belonging, which in turn can be understood as an achieved place identity (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), albeit differentiated across time and personal experience. Maria continues, reflecting on how this place identity is relationally constructed. In a global city where several different spheres of social interaction occur at the same time, one can develop a very different relationship to it. Different micro-structures can coexist in different locales, which in turn may have an impact on the activities and the social encounters (Agnew, 2011). In turn, the actor's own reflexivity is at play: her self-identity changes, when she actively engages with different social fields within the same city.

> London is everything. It just reflects who you are as well, I suppose. My experience of London has been changing with myself…. I always call it it's one of the best schools of life in the world (Maria, p. 8)

Bruno also refers to a reflexive self-identity project, where he attributes changes and growth in his sense of self as an outcome of his London relocation:

> *I think it was a growth, you know.  As I said, when I moved from Germany to here I think there was a growth happening.  I think I would have been a less developed person had I stayed in Germany, so I think I grew more here (Bruno, p. 19).*

Interestingly, Bruno relates to this in a slightly different sense than other participants.  Although he still refers to London as the location necessary for that change, he is mostly referring to that using a past tense. It seems that, for this actor, temporality is experienced differently as the main changes in relation to his self-identity are discussed closer to the time of relocation rather than carrying them up to the present. Place relocation has been associated with a change in self-concept in the literature; choosing to move can further facilitate a meaning distinction, between the 'self-left behind' and the 'self-in-the making' associated with the place of new settlement (Hormuth, 1990). From the way Bruno talks about his experience, it could be argued that his early relocation years have had a greater impact on the way he understands this change in himself. Nevertheless, the fact that he reflects upon the relationship between place relocation and self-development during the interview process, can be understood as a continuous identity project, which had started earlier in time but still carries value for the actor. In the age of mobility, the self becomes mobile too (Elliott, 2001 [2014]), and is further renegotiated by the actor in terms of assessing the risk of relocation (Beck, 1986; 2002), both pre- and post-migration. Bruno undertook this risk fifteen years ago   by deciding to move out of his own will, although his life and career was steady in Germany. It is possible that emplacement (Massey, 2004) is what makes the actor reflect upon his identity changes in relation to place as something already accomplished.

Others are referring to place identification more explicitly, referring to themselves as 'Londoners':

> *Well, I consider myself as a Londoner, I don't know if I could live somewhere else in England than in London (Noel, p. 18)*

As with other types of collective identities, here, Noel's relation to the self-typification of 'Londoner' is defined by difference (Jenkins, 1996 [2008]; Lawler, 2008). Noel can identify with his place of residency, which he clearly differentiates from the rest of England. Although he does not refer to particular characteristics of this urban identity, it could be implied that London diversity and the social imaginary associated with a particular urban space (Maile & Griffiths, 2012) are characteristics that allow this identification to emerge. Place identification becomes a social category (Twigger-Ross

& Uzzell, 1996) with clear boundaries as to what this group membership means, even though Noel does not elaborate upon this[26].

Marianne reflects upon this in more detail. She is using the same self-typification with Noel but elaborates more on what this actually means. Both Marianne and Noel have been in London for over fifteen years; however, Marianne attributes stronger significance to the actual term, as she prioritises London as place identity over her initial place identification. i.e. her original national identity as a Dutch.

> *I think London but you know once you have London under your skin it stays there, this is like maybe the last interview question, but I am more a Londoner than Dutch (Marianne, p. 8); London is home; Reigate is just an extension of home with a bigger garden, that's all. (p. 19)*

The notion of home takes a different meaning as place identification and becomes more salient (Cuba & Hummon, 1993): London is where everyday life is experienced and, although she has moved to London outskirts in recent years, she still uses London as a main part of her identity. London has been embodied for so long that the suburbs do not feel as different; it seems from the quote that she still identifies with the inner city buzz while, at the same time, having the luxury to retreat to a quieter part of the city. This in turn could also be considered a luxury associated with her level of skill and payment; her own response however, has a more affective quality to it. Meaning is ascribed to London in a very embodied sense (Massey, 2004) by the use of the expression 'under your skin'. A clear emotional attachment to the place of residency (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) is expressed here, by strong use of metaphor: her current place of residency is experienced as an extension of her former inner London experience, as a continuum of life experiences in London that have redefined her relationship to other place identities, such as her place of origin. Beyond a pure theoretical understanding of identity as a concept, identity is equally a lived experience (Lemert, 2014); hence in Marianne's first-order construct, she conveys the importance of London in her own life project. It has clearly informed her own self –definition in an irreversible way, which is here depicted as what says under her skin; if skin is the boundary of self in a literal and a metaphorical sense, London has become a resident in Marianne's existence, to invert the metaphor of the actor.

Place identity develops as participants are developing longer and stronger ties with the city. Initial place affiliations are usually expressed as a sense of personal and professional development, emotional affiliations and an awareness of changes in one's self; this later on develops into a place

---

[26] I think it is also important to mention here that this theme needs to be considered in relation to the themes explored in the previous chapter, where London diversity was addressed explicitly both by Noel and by other participants *in Theme 1: mixed networks as a conscious choice.* Even if he is not more specific as to what it means to be a Londoner here, this has been discussed both in his individual interview and in *Theme 1* excerpts

identification more in terms of long residency and long experience with its particularities (Cuba & Hummon, 1993). This was also evident in Akis' response:

> *Well, life is more difficult now, isn't it? [Laughter]. Life is more difficult now. I still don't regret... although, that's what? Six, seven years later. And life, I must admit, it becomes harder and it's not an easy place, actually, to live, London. (Akis, p. 5)*

Bruno, who has been in London for the past fifteen years, makes a similar comment:

> *It's probably also a life phase thing, when you think, "Oh, about all my life I was at an office job… and I enjoy pruning the olive trees much more than doing this" but London itself has not lost anything of its attractions (Bruno, p. 4)*

No matter how difficult life can be in such a demanding, competitive global city (Sassen, 1991), London remains an important identity referent. However, other identity referents were equally important; the development of one's professional identity in the city was central to most participants and intersected with London as the place where such professional possibilities could be explored and developed.

### b. Professional identity

Pietra refers to London as the place where her professional identity developed. By the way she talks her professional identity, she makes an explicit link between the two:

> *I guess, first of all London gave me some of those [identities]. Before I came here I wasn't a psychologist, I wasn't a researcher, I wasn't a lecturer and I mean I have always been a teacher, I used to teach in Malta. So, that's kind of maybe a development (Pietra, p.36)*

Pietra uses London as a catalyst where these identities developed as she reflects upon them. Although her professional development and the status attached to it are clearly part of her efforts, she initially attributes her professional development to the city itself ('London *gave* me some of those'). Although she does not refer explicitly to London as a fertile ground for professional development, she still attributes the level of her professional development to the opportunities that the city provides. Nevertheless, the importance of her professional identity in her self-definition also comes across; she is not just using one work-related typification but three, psychologist, researcher and lecturer. She actively presents her professional achievements as 'distinctive marks' (Bourdieu, 1992), which form part of her symbolic capital. In a sense, these typifications are present as a new boundary of self (Latmont & Molnar, 2002), which are juxtaposed with her prior professional status as a teacher. In other words, although the actor appears to attribute her distinctive marks to London, her own distinction between her prior and her current professional identity reflects an identity negotiation and highlights a development in her identity project after settlement.

Norad, who is also a lecturer in a different academic field, reflects on his professional identity in a much more nuanced way. The relationship between the city itself and his working life becomes apparent in the quote below, where he uses city resources to inform his teaching:

> *Two months I went to Tate Modern and… you know, just to explore a new area… the things and they change what was on display over there [i.e. the Tate]. And there was something about the Russian revolution and so on, that the display of it [was so impressive], I was just taking photos! So I was thinking I might have a good lecture, and so on (Norad, p. 7)*

Although Norad does not refer to his professional identity using specific typifications, it seems that he carries his professional identity even outside work. What had started as a leisure activity became stimulation for work material. The world of work is the main sphere of everyday life, 'gearing to the outer world' in Schutz's terms (Natanson, 1982; Wagner, 1983); a social practice that facilitates personal development, both through interaction with other workers and through knowledge exchange (Lefebvre, 1958). Hence, although as shown in the previous theme, participants frequently have attempted to separate work from leisure, in this quote professional identity takes over during leisure; the actor is drawn to collect work material in the exhibition. In Bourdieusian terms, this is where both the actor's cultural capital and the symbolic capital are at play, as the actor shifts his intention from relaxing to working; hence the primacy of professional identity in social identity construction (Bourdieu, 1992) is also of relevance here.

Others refer to their actual working day as part of identifying the importance of work in their lives. Carolina, a social worker, has two part-time jobs; one with a London Borough and another with a charity. In the quote below, she manifests her engagement with her professional role by reflecting on her work satisfaction, as well as for having colleagues who are also highly motivated and eager to use their skills.

> *People are incredibly up for things. ..They think about work, thinking about new ways of doing work, taking experiments, using new strategies and using new models. There's constant change and it's always something new, and I think I've managed in both my workplaces to somehow always get new motivation, and new projects, and new things going, which keep me excited… I do education and then social services. (Carolina, pp. 4-5)*

One could argue that professional identity is here manifested in terms of collegiality, work involvement and excitement. The actor ascribes meaning to the activity, and does so by interacting with like-minded professionals, sharing professional stocks of knowledge (Schutz, 1967 [1982]). It is also interesting to note here that she refers to her role in terms of *doing* ('I do education and then social services'). Work is discussed here as a social meaningful *activity*, which promotes group membership and differentiates particular professional roles from others. Social reality in working life

is hence confirmed by others who also share similar activities in their working lives: "'I share ends and means, which are common with them… I am checking the others and in turn I am checked by some of them" (Schutz, 1945c, p. 227; in Wagner, 1983, p. 182).

Others refer to their professional identity in a more specific manner, as means for personal development. Nevertheless, as other types of social identity, professional identity still refers to group membership (Lawler, 2008); it is a group membership relevant to professional affiliation, as well as in terms of particular stocks of knowledge. Although Ianthi does not refer to her profession per se in the quote below, she clearly reflects upon the effect her professional life has on her self-concept:

> *I think that work is one part of your identity. You become something through it and it is part of you in a way. And it transformed me, maybe in different places, but I think it does transform to your life, in a way. (Ianthi, p. 28)*

It seems that the actor here has negotiated different ways of being-in-the world through her professional role. Identity is never static; it consists of multiple belongings and multiple configurations and can be understood as a constant process of becoming (Jenkins, 2008). Here, the actor refers to this explicitly ('you become something through it'), which in turn affects the way she relates to the world, even outside the work environment; her professional identity permeates other spheres of her lifeworld.

Ianthi seems to have reflected upon that prior to the interview; what comes across in her response, is an awareness of the effect her professional role has had on her self-concept. Darek on the other hand, seems to become aware of this while he is talking:

> *Like, the social status as a lecturer and working in the office and this is what.... Yes, that is a part. And... I never thought about this. It's like I'm starting to roll, you know, the edges – (Darek, p. 33)*

In phenomenological terms, the actor seems to be unaware that his professional identity has altered the way he relates to the lifeworld. What was taken as a given, in a 'common sense' fashion, is reflected upon here. The function of the symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1990; 1992) that he carries is here realised as a particular status, one that changes his position in the social world; as an acquired habitus. The actor uses a work-related typification ('a lecturer') to refer to a part of himself, which in turn is understood in terms of a group membership, that again serves a 'distinctive [professional] mark' (Bourdieu, 1992), and ultimately separates him from other, possibly 'low-skilled' professional fields.

Different parts of one's identity may come to the fore in different situations; each of these can in turn be reconfigured by external factors and negotiations with other individuals or groups (Lawler, 2008). Migrant identities are no exception to this; they are multiple and situational in nature (Glick-Schiller & Fouron, 1998). Ethnicity and nationality become redefined in the context of London (Ryan, 2010; Morasanu, 2013), as these identity referents are shaped and informed by the way others view this identity in everyday interactions.

### c. National Identity (reconfigured)

In the quote below, Ianthi discusses her national identity in a way that conveys how that gets reconfigured after settling in London, through social interaction. She is commenting about the awareness of difference in terms of nationality in the context of London, as she revisits her own heritage through the perceptions and assumptions of others:

> *I mean, it's just become part of you I think, in a way, it becomes part of your identity, the fact that you're just different. And a lot of discussion's going to come round this subject or, even though they mentioned this, I don't know, like, from the history and from the, whatever they know in terms of history… You play with it and to try to move things around and, yeah.  I'm not going to, like, in the Greek history...  So* [I will find] *another way I will present myself in relation to a country, I suppose (Ianthi, p. 8)*

Here, the relational element of identity construction and reconstruction (Lamont & Molnar, 2002) is activated by the way others typify her nationality in a new context. Ianthi recognises that others engage in small talk in an effort to engage her. She negotiates this space, by 'playing with it', actively choosing how much she is going to engage with others' understanding of her national heritage.  An ongoing reconstruction of national identity occurs in this new context, as difference comes to the fore by new labels, such as that of the foreigner, which needs to be actively negotiated by individuals who attempt to understand the meaning of such labels (Timotigevic & Breakwell, 2000). What is interesting in this quote is the level of the actor's reflexivity with regards to  the fact that Ianthi realises the tension between her self-typification and the typification of others in relation to her national identity, as generalisations about what constitute 'Greekness' come to the fore in everyday interactions. She further comments that she finds different ways to present herself in relation to her nationality; possibly one that can both accommodate these assumptions and assert herself when needed. National Identity is a "complex set of popular beliefs internalised through the course of socialisation" (Wodak, et. al., 1999, p. 55); hence national identity can be linked to the concept of habitus (Wodak, 2004), as a common set of dispositions relevant to national identity constructions. Nevertheless, these evolve in a new social setting, such as a global city, where narratives of cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism bring such negotiations to the fore (Nowicka, 2015).

Bruno places value on this national identity below, whilst still referring to his professional identity as a physicist.  In terms of order, he places his national identity first and relates that to particular cultural characteristics. He uses typifications relevant to national stereotyping (Rapport, 1995), while at the same time he admits that the migrant experience has made him more flexible with regards to national self-identification. Intercultural contact and communication in London have possibly both reinforced and contested these characteristics, as the tone is slightly sarcastic ('must be the most methodical from all of them'), when referring to his work colleagues.  As he continues though, the tone shifts to a more reflective one, while he contemplates his forthcoming 30th school reunion in Germany:

> *Well, I am German. I'm a physicist, but a German physicist* **must be** *the most logical, methodical person of all of them. But I think I learn from having contact with different cultures. It was a good experience for me and I can see... I have my 30th school reunion in a few weeks, in Germany, and you can immediately spot people who have lived outside of the country, and those who have not, irrespective of whatever country they're in.... You know, you don't really have to talk about the country, but just the way you chat about things going on…people have different perspectives, more sort of distant, and that doesn't mean you like your country less (Bruno, p. 6)*

National identity gets reconfigured through the experience of living and working abroad and Bruno verifies that, through observing other Germans who have relocated when visiting his home country. Different perspectives become more prominent; so is distance from typical German dispositions. It is the experience of being a German in London; as well as expectations from others in his work environment that result in a negotiation of multiple identities, such as nationality, profession and London as place identity. Again, it is the notion of habitus in relation to nationality (Wodak, (2000) that is manifested here; the actor still abides by his embodied sets of habits, demeanours and internalised ways of relating to the world, albeit in a more open manner than others who have never left the country.

For other participants, it is particular cultural habits that bring national identity to the fore in their everyday interactions; although Giancarlo is actively avoiding other Italians in his London network (See theme 1a), he still identifies with some core experiences of being Italian:

> *Yeah, activity outside work is, you know, this is very Italian of me; this is going for a coffee and talking to a friend, that simple thing.  (Giancarlo, p. 18)*

A 'performance of ethnicity' (Ryan, 2010) in relation to nationality becomes apparent here. Although Giancarlo has actively tried to differentiate himself from other Italians in London, his preferred way of socialising stays very Italian. The way he prefers to catch up with a friend through the 'recipe'

(Schutz, 1967 [1982]) of sharing a cup of coffee and a chat, is informed by his national identity and can be further juxtaposed with alternatives that the actor has become accustomed to in London for catching up with friends, like, for example, going to a pub. Although the consumption of coffee as an everyday practice has gradually permeated the London landscape, here the actor reflects upon this activity as something that is embedded in his own habitus. Habitus can be understood as a way of 'guiding action' (Pickel, 2005); in our case, it is the act of 'having a coffee' that brings the pre-reflective disposition into awareness for the actor. A national identity referent is implied here by him identifying this act as 'very Italian'; it is the embodied cultural capital which is reactivated as the preferred way of sociality, and is identified as such by the actor upon reflection.

Another Italian, Enrica, makes a more implicit comment regarding the salience of her national identity affiliation. She reflects upon her Italian contacts in London, not as the people to whom she is closest to but as the people who are providing her with a 'network of safety':

> If I needed something maybe these would be the first people I called, 'cause it is something a bit familiar. If I had a medical problem, or something like this, maybe these would be the people that I talk to. But they're not necessarily closer. They're sort of... yes, they create a network of safety, in a way. And are friends as well, obviously. But I wouldn't say they come first because of nationality. I don't think this is a variable that makes them closest. No. (Enrica, p. 19)

Although Enrica does not consider her Italian friends as her closest ones, she still prefers to talk to them in case of emergency. Similar to *Theme 2* in the previous chapter ('Immediacy of understanding')[27], where cultural/ regional proximity facilitated close friendships between people of different nationalities, here the actor needs something even *more familiar* than a broader cultural affiliation. In times of crisis, it is the common ancestry, the common language and habits that provide absolute comfort; 'a network of safety' in Enrica's words. What had stayed implicit so far, becomes explicit: the actor manifests a need to stay connected to the homeland in times of crisis, if only as an embodied transnational expression at the identitarian-attitudinal level (Boccagni, 2012). No matter how contested national identities can be, in terms of what has brought these sets of common ideas and habits together, making a particular community distinctive from others in terms of nationality (Citrin & Sides, 2004), on an affective level this is still reminiscent of the arguments of Anthony Smith (1991), as national identity being the "most fundamental and inclusive of all collective identities in the modern era" (p. 143).

---

[27] See also Chapter 6. Theme 2 subthemes included 'Cultural Proximity in London Networks' and 'Transnational Bonds as Emotional Reciprocity'

Norad also reflects on that, albeit in a more observant manner. His involvement to his national identity stays political, no matter the geographical distance. Even while –or perhaps because– Bosnia is a very young nation-state, for Norad, place identification with Bosnia, as well as its political struggles remain extremely important. In line with Anderson (1991), an emotional attachment with his imagined community prevails. Nevertheless, his commission to writing a book about the history of social democracy in Bosnia, will be materialised in his current place of residence, London.

> *But somehow I like to be involved, to know what is going to happen, to know about the deals, how politics works. So although being, I don't know, how many miles away, I am still, but I did like it. So then I would do… Yeah, I got to write a book about 100 years of social democracy in Bosnia, and this kind of stuff (Norad, p. 8).*

His professional identity also intersects here; as a scholar of International Relations, he can express his national sentiments in a professional manner, with the distance that not only geography dictates but also with the distance that a mediated relationship to his home country, after seven years in London, provides. In line with Timotijevic & Breakwell (2000), when one changes social context, identity is reconfigured according to matters of personal relevance, as well as according to one's level of involvement with these changes. In Norad's case, the personal not only becomes political, but professional and national as well. He negotiates his different identities with a strong anchoring of a transnational investment: the book will be published in his homeland, in his own language; yet he has utilised his professional expertise from his current professional identity in London.

Identity is a "set of socially constructed traits around which members of a group organise a sense of belonging" (Kobayashi, 2009, p. 282). Hence participants referred to other parts of their identity too, like sexual identity (Giancarlo), parental status (Peter; Marianne), childfree[28] (Bruno, Pietra) or spiritual affiliations (Darek). In the context of migration, singular categories of social identity, such as national, ethnic or cultural, sexual, spiritual or professional identities, create a plateau of a dialectic interplay, which in turn creates diverse possibilities of new, multiple categories of identity and belonging (Lamont & Molnar, 2002; Sanders, 2002).

***Theme 5***

***Depth of cosmopolitan attitudes***

Although cosmopolitan attitudes develop more and more with length of residence and exposure to a multitude of different cultural practices (Kennedy, 2010a; 2010b), there are still limits to whom

---

[28] As juxtaposed to childless: Both participants referred to this as a lifestyle choice and as an identity referent, which could be interpreted as part of the reflexive modernization process (Giddens, 1991)

people chose to mix with; they might be referring to the diversity of the city as a given, but the main denominator in close ties still had more particular characteristics, whether in terms of shared interests and lifestyle choices (Favell, 2003) or in terms of educational level and class (Kofman, 2005; Scott, 2006) in participants' cosmopolitan expressions. However, they do not always realize it; some are able to decipher it through the way they are engaging with others in the city, others are not. Instead of just categorising their experience as pure cultural omnivorousness (Saito, 2011; Skrbis & Woodward, 2013) or banal cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002), an attempt is made here to explore the depth of cosmopolitan attitudes, by the use of two subthemes: surface cosmopolitanism and maintaining openness/ curiosity.

### a. Surface cosmopolitanism

There are several terms used in the literature of cosmopolitanism exploring everyday practices: everyday cosmopolitanism (Vetrovec & Cohen, 2002; Onyx, et. al., 2011), ordinary cosmopolitanism (Lamont and Aksartova, 2002; Skrbis & Woodward, 2013), banal cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002; Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Saito, 2011), to name but a few. In this section of the analysis I preferred the use of a different term, which shares the level of cosmopolitan practice with the aforementioned terms but allows for participants' first-order constructs to be clustered together before relating them back to existing terms in 'cosmopolitan social science' (Beck, 2002). Furthermore, and as will be shown below, even while participants engage in such forms of everyday, ordinary or banal cosmopolitanism, their level of reflection with regards to this varies; hence, although the responses below are clustered together, as they all refer to such practices, the actual level of awareness with regards to *what* this surface level entails, differs.

Some participants reflected on their everyday experience with regards to a shared social space, where diversity is part of the London attractions. Kosmas uses the public transport journey as an example to discuss the practices of 'living together' (Wood & Landry, 2008), which do not go beyond a casual encounter but are nevertheless part of London everydayness:

> *I think I get a nice feeling when I, even visually, you know, when you're on the Tube [i.e. London Underground] and clearly you see faces that they're not the same, either the way they're dressed, or the way they behave, or the way they might be doing things. I like this variety, somehow. I like the fact that, although I don't necessarily have first-hand experience, but I know you exist, and I like the fact that I can go to a corner of London and experience a slice of Brazilian life, or... (Kosmas, p. 22)*

It this quote, the diversity of the city becomes a spectacle; a way of celebrating difference reminiscent of older narratives of multiculturalism rather than an informed cosmopolitan attitude (Glick-Schiller, Darieva & Gruner-Domic, 2011). Nevertheless, this stays on the surface of the random encounter; in Schutz's terms, Kosmas refers to her London *contemporaries* as nearly exotic ('a slice of Brazilian life'), reminiscent of Allport's contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) of early studies in intercultural relations; these random encounters are reminders of the city's diversity but have no other effect in the actor's life.

Pietra uses a similar narrative, although her response is slightly more positioned. She refers to particular locales (Agnew, 2011), where ethnic communities are running restaurant businesses. Although these interactions remain once again random and do not go beyond a restaurant visit, Pietra juxtaposes that to her home country and reflects on the authenticity of the food served and the atmosphere of these locales:

> *I love the diversity of the city which is the one, I think maybe the main reason I love London, you know, that you go to China Town and it's Chinese and you get real Chinese food and you go to Brick Lane and you kind of have all the Bangladeshi, Bengali, Indian, kind of Pakistani sort of place, and I like that diversity and I think like in Malta you eat Chinese food and it's very, very, very westernized (Pietra, p. 35).*

The actor's response reflects a 'surface' involvement with other cultures in the city landscape. Nevertheless, there is an intention in terms of social action; diversity here is not a pure spectacle during a public transport journey but becomes a surface engagement with the food, the servants and the atmosphere of 'Brick Lane' or 'China Town'. Although she does not engage with these communities beyond a restaurant visit, her knowledge of other cultures is clearly informed by this process. As Skrbis and Woodward (2007) have also commented upon, openness toward cultural artefacts or products is easier to achieve than openness to people of a different cultural background. It is the actor's intention to engage, albeit on a surface, at a consumptive level. This is what Beck calls 'banal cosmopolitanism'; a cosmopolitanism that is informed through consumption of food, music or dress (Beck, 2002; 2004; Saito, 2011). Beck's cosmopolitisation concept is also relevant here: Pietra has internalised an open attitude towards the cultural *Other*, through exposure to cultural manifestations of the Other, such as food and dress. As also seen in the previous chapter, her London-based personal network is quite diverse and informed by the historical connections of Malta to Arab culture. This might be informing her own reflection at the end of the quote, when she reflects on the equivalent ethnic restaurant in Malta, as 'very Westernized'; by opposition, she refers to the ethnic restaurants in London as a more authentic cultural manifestation.

Other participants however, were much more critical in their attitudes and have argued explicitly that the diversity one encounters in the city has limits not easily discernible before actually experiencing London everydayness for a number of years:

> *The problem is simply that I kind of came to the conclusion that all this kind of emphasis of multiculturalism, we live in this amazing multicultural place etc., etc., but then you look around and you see the segregation and the isolation of identity groups.  (Giancarlo, p. 22)*

Here, Giancarlo engages with the city landscape in a much more informed manner.  He has observed this surface engagement with multiculturalism and is able to reflect upon that in a more immersed, politicised manner (Kendall, et. al., 2009).  In his response, what has initially been taken as a given, as a matter of the city's diverse landscape, as common sense, is re-evaluated by the actor on the basis of a deeper knowledge of the actual segregation practices and the difficulties particular minorities face.  Personal history might also play a role in Giancarlo's response; belonging to a minority group himself has probably made him more reflective and more sensitive to difference, beyond what the city initially conveys. It is as if his inner city experience, as well as his own mobility provided him with the "potential for challenging established spatial imaginaries" (Nowicka, 2012, p. 2).

The discussion about such segregations became more vivid in the focus group, where participants exchanged views in a similarly critical manner:

> *I was thinking, I think sometimes people who come to London have a big delusion, and me too I think, at times, to be at the centre of the universe and –because [of this]- cosmopolitan. I think because, 'we know everything', every culture, everyone is here, that's the place to be]. And I think we really, the cosmopolitan gives us a bit of delusion. (Enrica, FG, p.33)*

Enrica reflects upon what she observes in city practices; it is the surface level she becomes critical about.  It seems to her that London gets frequently idealised, as a microcosm of the whole world because of the magnitude of the city's diversity.  London might now be "the most diverse city that ever existed" (Wood & Landry, 2008, p. 25) but nevertheless, the actual engagement with difference stays frequently on the surface.  The actor here becomes almost sarcastic whilst she talks; it might be that the city landscape provides a lot of opportunities for intercultural contact, yet this proximity does not always translate into 'meaningful social contact' (Valentine, 2008, p. 334). HereEnrica actively contests narratives of diversity and cosmopolitanism as a sort of bubble that adds to the charms of the city.

Earlier on in the discussion, it became apparent that class and education distinctions are also at play. Meaningful social contact may transcend nationality or ethnicity; it is, however, the shared cultural

and educational capital that promotes such meaningful interactions (Kennedy, 2010a; 2010b). Although this was difficult to admit, it became clear that the diversity spectacle is always situated in class and education distinctions. Reminiscent of Bourdieu's commentary on cultural and educational capital (1986; 1992), Maria admits that education and professional affiliations facilitate meaningful intercultural contact; and she receives agreement from other group members ('D' and 'I') while commenting upon this. Nevertheless, it appears that this stays on a non-reflective level for the actor, until Margit replies in a much more incisive manner:

> *Maria: More the type of person you are and the education, yeah. I think nationality in London becomes irrelevant ['Darek': Yeah], at some point ['Ianthi': Yeah]. Obviously, there are cultural similarities, like I was saying people in the South, people in the North, whatever. But eventually, you just mix with people that actually have professional affinity or personal affinity ['Ianthi': Yeah]. And whether you're from Poland or from Spain, it becomes irrelevant. ['Ianthi': Yeah] I think London does very well as a melting pot, you know, it doesn't… all of the other tags just fall off.*

> *Margit: They don't. Some tags, the nation[-al]… the ethnic tags fall off, not all tags. Social class tags don't fall off. (FG discussion, p 24)*

It becomes difficult for Maria to let go of a more romanticised level of such diversity. The actor conveys a willingness to engage with the city landscape and to stay excited by its diversity. She discusses the city potential as 'exciting', as a space of possibility. Contrary to Margit's critical response above, it seems that she does not wish to abandon that surface narrative. Yet, in her effort to keep a positive response, new dichotomies emerge, between British people and others:

> *I would feel much more, yeah, connected. And also, there is this sense I've noticed in big cities, there is this sort of international-ness. Like, British people in London can definitely be very classist and very focused in their professional group. But we, as you [Darek] were saying, we can transcend that a little bit, because we are here for that reason, but also because of the excitement of the city and the multiculturalism. It's a different layer that includes some British people that just belong to this more international type of group (Maria, FG, p. 25)*

The use of 'we' in Maria's response depicts an awareness of what constructs sameness and difference in a global city. She refers to the other group members as if they are in a 'we-relation' (Schutz, 1970; Wagner, 1983), facing the same tensions between themselves and the British. It is as if the actor invites others in the group to maintain a positive attitude and excitement around city diversity. Skilled migrants might be mixing with one another on the basis of the similar experience of living abroad (Ryan, 2010) but another separation becomes apparent here: British attitudes versus migrants' attitudes to openness and cosmopolitanism. New and emergent social realities are at play here, as one explores multiple identities and multiple configurations (Delanty, 2006), in the context of a global city like London. Maria typifies the British as 'classist' but then refers to the groups' own

cultural and symbolic capital by saying 'we are here for that reason', which translates to skilled employment and opportunity. In line with Favell's research (2003a) with EU skilled migrants residing in Brussels, it is as if the educational privilege and professional status of highly skilled migrants create a "new European bourgeoisie" (p.24). Even while the cosmopolitan attitude is part of participants' lifestyle project, in the everydayness this is situated within the boundaries of class. The same is also reflected by Darek in his one-to-one interview:

> *The better their education then the better their manners, the better... The more respectful to other people... The less kind of danger of emotional outbursts and the safer, I would feel, I guess. And the closer to 'who I am', I think, as well... Of course, me playing the piano it also kind of puts me into this kind of middle class milieu (Darek, p. 33)*

Here, the actor attributes particular behaviours to particular groups of people, which he typifies as uneducated. Quoting Bourdieu (1992), "to exist socially means also to be perceived, and perceived as distinct" (1992, p. 224). What Darek refers to as 'closer to who I am' can be understood as education being internalised as part of his habitus, which is here referred to as his own class identity. As he reflects further on that, the subtlety of his class distinction, masked initially as education, becomes explicit, as he refers to a particular practice that he cannot anymore guise as anything else: playing the piano. A distinction of taste is reflected upon what is embodied as cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986), which in turn informs the level of his cosmopolitan engagement. His cosmopolitanism becomes "an interpersonal dilemma" (Skrbis & Woodward, 2013, p. 8), which is then resolved by socialising with others that share a similar cultural and symbolic capital. This is also depicted in Pietra's response:

> *I have an interest in the world whether that's politics or economics or culture or you know, someone who can talk about things in the world and yeah, interesting discussions and you can watch a film and you can have a discussion about the film and the implications of the film, so that would kind of be my main criteria and then whatever that happens to be packaged in would generally be fine (Pietra, p. 40).*

As seen from the quotes above, participants' level of awareness of what constitutes surface cosmopolitanism, and of what could be understood as a more situated, critical cosmopolitanism variant, varies. Both personal biographies and prior structural elements of symbolic and cultural capital informed participants' responses. In line with Wood & Landry (2008), as well as Valentine (2008), there was a general agreement that diversity does not equal an active engagement with everyone; nevertheless, as will be shown below, structural elements of class and privilege were not always a symbolic boundary (Lamont & Molnar, 2002) that they did not cross. The actors' own agency and their willingness to engage with difference across social boundaries and identities were also prevalent.

### b. Maintaining Openness/ Curiosity

Carolina refers to her background explicitly as a form of social structure from which she wanted to differentiate herself. She actively refers to her escape from the 'golden cage' and reflects upon her London network consisting of people of various class and cultural backgrounds.

> *Yeah, I come from a really over privileged, upper, upper aristocratic family background with the years and years of wealth, and power, and privilege, in Germany, and I've left to escape that.... I don't want to live that part of... or live my life like they live, which is in a golden cage, basically, but I have still been brought up in that way, so it's still my class, somehow, even though I don't associate with anybody and nobody in my network, that I put down[29], would be in the same class –or even know about it (Carolina, p. 20).*

Here, it is the actor's agency that takes over; she does not refute the privilege she grew up with, she still identifies that as a structural element of her disposition. The actor is aware of that, and is not denying the element of her upbringing; on the contrary, she engages with her disposition in a highly reconstructive fashion. Her identity becomes a reflexive project (Elliott, [2001] 2014), which includes active participation across classes in London. In line with Kendall, et al. (2009), the construction of meaning for the actor gets differentiated by an 'immersive style' of social interaction, which aims at social and intercultural exchange. The capital is there, but it is used differently; it is her awareness of her positioning that allows her to make a different choice in her London everyday life and her chosen patterns of sociality in and out of her work environment as a social worker. The choice of her profession is also making a statement (Kennedy, 2010b), as it is reflecting not an elite cosmopolitanism but a socially engaged one, with a highly politicised stance. As Skrbis and Woodward also note "the case of business elites, whilst arguably undergoing a cosmopolitanisation process… is quite different from the cosmopolitanisation of the globalised helping professions… The former emphasises cosmopolitan values for instrumental reasons, the latter for humanist reasons" (Skrbis & Woodward, 2013, p. 20).

Bruno also refers to his willingness to engage, and attributes that to the diversity of the city. His interaction with the low-skilled workers in his office stays more at the level of everyday cosmopolitanism (Vetrovec and Cohen, 2002; Onyx, et. al., 2011); nevertheless he admits that he was not engaging in such an activity prior to his London experience:

> *All these people work at night to keep all these offices clean, coming from South America, and it's an interesting thing. I wouldn't have met someone like this in Germany. I probably wouldn't have. No. Here it's easy to, but I wouldn't have allowed myself as much as I've allowed myself here to engage with these people and just start a discussion, ask about their*

---

[29] Referring to significant others she placed on her sociogram

> *lives, so with this I feel very much it's expanded my horizon, from the bareness of the world*
> *(Bruno, p. 33)*

A more open cosmopolitan stance is conveyed in this quote. There is an element of curiosity that comes across; it is the actor's intention to engage with the office cleaners that reflects his openness towards difference (Vetrovec & Cohen, 2002). In turn, this informs his worldview, as mediated by encounters with 'Otherness' and by openness to a world of previously 'strangers' (Appiah, 2006). Confronted with the reality of social polarization in the global city (Sassen, 1991), the actor is exposed to the stories of others who are not privileged at all. His co-workers are the mediators on the level of social interaction and London as a city structure is the mediator at a macro level; as he reflects upon his act of social engagement, he realises that he has become more open to difference. It is as if the anonymity of the city allowed him to engage with his office cleaners, something that he would not have done in Germany. Maria also refers to her work environment as another example of 'lived cosmopolitanism' (Onyx, et.al., 2011). This time however, the social positioning at work is of a similar status; the engagement with difference comes from difference in terms of ethnicity and religion:

> *I sit next to a Muslim girl at work now and, you know, she's teaching me a lot of things about*
> *her religion and the whole burka thing, and their beliefs. And I think that's quite deep and*
> *it's, again, a sign. I believe in a Muslim community (Maria, FG, p. 41).*

Work serves as a social space for intercultural exchange, even if people do not always carry such sociability outside the work environment (Wood & Landry, 2008). Here, the actor conveys openness to someone from a very different background (Appiah, 2006). The encounter becomes more meaningful and does not stay in the surface, as Maria utilises this encounter to deepen her knowledge of another culture. This may be considered a 'growth interaction' (Commission for Racial Equality, 2007), an interaction through which "people change the way they see themselves and others, and find new things in common" (p.2). Interestingly, the actor refers to her colleague as her teacher; someone who can give her insight into another way of life, beyond a distant knowledge of religious or cultural marks. It seems that she is willing to deepen her knowledge of Muslim culture in a more immersed way (Kendall, et. al, 2009), which in turn might have informed her belief in a Muslim community.

Pietra becomes even more adamant about the need for equality and diversity in her relationships with others. In the quote below, she refers to a conversation with her mother, and challenges her mother's attitudes towards diversity in a very active manner:

*Religion, race doesn't really make a difference to me, you know, if we get on, we get on, which is something to my mother's great concern, why can't you find a good Maltese Catholic boy, white, she would add these days? "Where is he from, Nigeria, you mean he is black? Nigerians generally are, yes mother, most of them are? Well last time you said he should be Christian, he is like well, makeup your mind woman, he is Christian, what else do you want? " (Pietra, p. 32)*

Here, the actor is using several typifications that are commonly used in segregation and stereotyping (Rapport, 1995), as well as in constructions of the 'Other' (Sibley, 1995). She actively pushes symbolic and social boundaries (Lamont & Molnar, 2002) in order to engage with this diversity; a deeper, more informed cosmopolitan stance comes across in her conversations with her mother, where a conflict arises between her mother's wishes for a Maltese, Catholic, white partner for her daughter. By engaging in different social fields, the actor has reflected upon prior dispositions and has literally changed the 'rules of the game' (Bourdieu, 1986; 1990), as local London discourses around difference have allowed her to renegotiate prejudices associated with her upbringing (Nowicka, 2015). As Glick-Schiller, et al. (2011) also mention: "All these formulations draw attention to the role that ordinary individuals and social groups play in the making of a new cosmopolitan order, by transcending symbolic and social boundaries" (p. 407). In other words, cosmopolitan attitudes are mediated by the London experience and serve as yet another set of negotiations that intersect with identity negotiations discussed earlier in this chapter.

Cosmopolitan attitudes in these encounters manifested cosmopolitanism as a lifestyle project, shaped by the everydayness of London diversity (Glick-Schiller, et al., 2011). However, in line with the current discussions of a rooted, critical cosmopolitanism (Delanty, 2006), such encounters are still shaped by the global city and its function: factors such as class and education are still keeping some of the separations intact but they are also "reframing identities, loyalties and self-understandings in ways that have no clear direction" (Delanty, 2006, p. 30). Some of the social boundaries are transcended in this open attitude towards diversity whereas others remain contested and "making society a category that can only be analysed as a process" (p. 37).

### 7.6 Concluding Remarks

Examining Intra-European skilled migration as a social and cultural transformation is lacking in the literature. Although there is existing research focusing on the everyday living of skilled migrants in European cities (Favell, 2008; Kennedy, 2010a), this study examined the possible intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes in Intra-EU skilled migrants' sociality

patterns. Utilising an interpretative phenomenological framework, sociality is here understood as intersubjectivity (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009). Therefore identity negotiations were considered not only in the way participants define themselves, but also in the way they negotiate multiple identities while engaging with their 'consociates' (Schutz, 1967; 1970), both in London and abroad. In "treating analytically a contemporary 'migrancy of identity'" (Rapport & Dawson, 1998, p. 4), this study aimed to provide an original research focus by identifying the ways in which a possible intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes inform participants' multiple identity negotiations.  Identity consists of multiple parts, viz. gender, class and race (Mahler, 1998); furthermore identity is informed my multiple habitats (Vetrovec, 2001; Massey, 2004). With the dialogue open between transnational connections and cosmopolitan attitudes for skilled EU migrants in London, findings demonstrated that, although there are still particular subgroup affiliations and categories of belonging (e.g. nationality, profession, parenthood, sexuality), there was room for a more critical stance as to how one relates to these categories. To quote from Kennedy's work with EU postgraduates in Manchester (2010) "despite differences, skilled migrants share common experiences in addition to their educational and cultural capital" (p. 466), which brings the focus back to a situated, cosmopolitan attitude.  In line with Ryan's (2010) research with Polish migrants in London, pre-existing identity referents like ethnicity or nationality are negotiated differently in the everydayness of London (Theme 4) and different tensions between these categories emerge. Other distinctions, such as class distinctions are very clear; hence another dialog between social structure and human agency emerges from this research.

As also seen in the previous chapter, transnational expressions intersected with a consciously chosen cosmopolitan sociality (Theme 1: Mixed networks as a conscious choice) in participants' personal networks. Findings demonstrated that participants make a conscious effort to mix with people from different backgrounds in their everyday lives, beyond the casual opportunities of such interactions in a work environment (Theme 3). Nevertheless, there were still limits to participants' cross-cultural openness: there was a tendency to feel more comfortable with other migrants of either a neighbouring home country or maintaining contact with selected co-ethnics, both in London and abroad. Hence, an 'immediacy of understanding' (Theme 2) situates their cosmopolitan attitudes in cultural-regional tacit understandings and shared stocks of knowledge (Mediterranean, Slavic, and Central European), as well as in the transnational social field.

The transnational social field becomes more nuanced in this study: contrary to earlier transnational studies, where maintained cross-border contact was solely reflected by family, economic or political transnational practices (Portes, et al., 1999; Vetrovec, 2003), here transnational bonds stay highly

personalised and selective. In other words, transnational bonds take the form of an *emotional reciprocity* (Theme 2b). This is expressed by maintaining contact with a selected number of close friendships with co-nationals either back home (Pietra, Kosmas, Carolina, Noel, Ianthi) or elsewhere in the globe (Norad, Margit, Bruno). Transnational connections were present in the form of 'soul friends' back in their country of origin (Morasanu, 2013); they were based on long-standing friendships where shared personal biographies, locales and memories prevailed over national/ethnic identifications, typical of earlier transnational expressions (Glick-Schiller & Fouron, 1998; Portes et al., 1999). Family bonds maintain their significance for most participants: as Peter characteristically stated[30], he would have not considered moving outside Europe, in order to be close to his ageing parents in Sweden.  Marianne, who is a single mother, utilises her family connections back in the Netherlands, with family members (mother and aunt) travelling to London to assist her with childcare. It is the geographical proximity and the middling positions of these migrants allow a frequent transnational circuit of care (Merla & Balderssar, 2015). The level of involvement might be different at different life-stages; intensity and engagement with such networks may also vary according to the needs, life priorities and meaning-making of these actors (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004). Furthermore, transnational expressions get reconfigured in line of embodied expressions of cross-border activities, which, according to Wise & Velauytham (2006), as well as Boccagni (2010; 2012), could be understood as expressions of transnational affect. Such embodied expressions maintain and reproduce sociality patterns at the identitarian-attitudinal level of transnational practices. The latter may also include a 'prevailing social identification with co-nationals abroad' (Boccagni, 2012, p. 36).

Cosmopolitan attitudes vary in their manifestations: they either stay on a surface level of a celebratory discourse on diversity (Theme 5a) or their become part of participant's intended reflexivity in the way they interact with culturally dissimilar others (Theme 5b). In line with Favell's research, skilled migrants live, interact and negotiate meanings with a variety of other nationalities and may participate simultaneously in a variety of networks or activities (Favell, 2003a, 2008). Multiple identities which emerged within the context of the city allowed both for the potential and for the actual choice of mixed sociality patterns; London becomes such a strong identity referent that migrants refer to themselves as Londoners (Theme 4a) and are very much aware that London became a vehicle for their personal identity project.

The findings demonstrated the particularities of these negotiations in the context of a city like London. As transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes intersect in participants' sociality

---

[30] See also Ch. 6, p. 120

patterns, participants negotiate a number of identity referents. Apart from the thematic analysis of London, nationality and profession that emerged in Theme 4, more identity referents, such as class, gender, parenthood status, spiritual affiliations, as well as age are also negotiated in their interactions with their chosen consociates (Schutz, 1967; 1970).

Situating participant's responses further, the next chapter focuses on the analysis of their *actual*[31] social contacts, both in London and abroad.  Mapping their own sociality, participants exercise their present reflections further, as they get the opportunity to interact with a visual depiction of their personal network in the form of the sociogram. Who is the Other, in terms of particular characteristics and identity referents, and what does that reveal in terms of attitudes towards difference? What situates their cosmopolitan openness and how is the lifeworld expressed in relation to significant others? Turning into identity negotiations as they occur from the actual depictions of self and other-typifications, participants discuss and position their significant others in an exercise that allowed them to reflect on their own sociality patterns.

---

[31] Emphasis added

**Expressions of the Lifeworld III: Mapping Sociality**

_____

**8.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I will concentrate on the analysis of the visual interactive maps (egocentric sociograms), which I used as an additional data collection method. Although the medium is different (i.e. the method is not based on narrative responses), this is still an expression of participants' lifeworld(s): participants were asked to map their own sociality, by means of a visual representation. They were asked to place their significant others, both in London and abroad, in the map provided. Participants were also asked to use particular typifications, such as nationality, ethnicity, gender, and relationship status, for their consociates.

The purpose of utilising this complementary method was to accumulate more actual data on the sociality variable, rather than solely relying on the analysis of participants' narratives. From the findings discussed so far, it has become obvious that participants do socialise across national and ethnic boundaries and they maintain an openness and curiosity towards the cultural Other in their London-based networks of friends, acquaintances and work colleagues. This was understood as a cosmopolitan sociality, which could nevertheless take several different forms. Cosmopolitan openness ranged from an everyday cosmopolitanism (Onyx., et. al. 2011), performed as common sense in a social context like London, to a more situated cosmopolitanism, bound by either a cultural/ regional proximity or by shared values and interests; the latter highlighting the importance of a shared educational and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; 1990) in their sociality patterns. Participants also maintain some transnational bonds both in the home country (e.g. Noel, Kosmas, Carolina, Peter) and with other co-ethnics living elsewhere in the globe (e.g. Norad; Margit), which are however based on emotional reciprocity and support (Theme 2b: Transnational bonds as emotional reciprocity), rather than by other forms of transnational activity, such as business-related transnational bonds (e.g. Portes, Guarnizo& Landolt, 1999). Some of the more recent interpretations of transnational activity include the "co-ethnic sociability" in the host country (Boccagni, 2012, p.10) as expressions of a mentalized cross-border activity at the identitarian-attitudinal level.  What constitutes the transnational and how this can be also understood as an embodied social practice, also performed translocally (e.g Wise & Velthuytham, 2006; Boccagni, 2010; 2012), will be further explored in this chapter.  The intersection between various rooted forms of cosmopolitanism and

different transnational expressions of sociality will be further examined by the introduction of a visual phenomenological method (Seamon, 2000).

With the addition of the egocentric sociogram as a further expression of the lifeworld, the themes already derived from the phenomenological analysis of one-to-one interviewing and focus group responses, can now be compared and –possibly– contested. Since both openness towards cultural difference (Vetrovec & Cohen, 2002; Skrbs & Woodward, 2013), and transnational expressions of affective ties (Wise & Veltuytham, 2006; Boccagni, 2010; Morasanu, 2013) were already established in participants' narrative responses, the question now becomes: who is the Other on the map and how is s/he typified by the actor in terms of identity referents? How is the Other positioned in relation to the actor? What type of characteristics is important for someone to be considered a close enough Other, one who deserves to be included in a personal network? As identity construction is always relational and multifaceted (Crossley, 1996; Lawler, 2008; Elliott, 2014), it should follow that, expressions of Self-Other identification can be explored by the identity referents of significant others. How multiple identities are negotiated by both localised and distanciated relationships and in different spheres of social action - such as friendship, family, work and non-related social activities - becomes the focus of this chapter.

To remind the reader, the map consisted of concentric circles, with the participant in the centre. The map consisted of seven rings: the closer the relationship with a significant other, the closer this person appears to the centre; this can be explained either as emotional closeness and mutual trust, especially in the case of voluntary relationships such as close friends, or as mutual respect, trustworthiness and ease of communication in the case of involuntary relationships, such as work colleagues or family members (Van Leer, Koerner & Allan, 2006). Hence, significant others in rings 0-3 (darker-inked rings) were considered the ones closest to the individual, and significant others in rings 4-7 (faded-ink rings) not as close but still important to be included in one's personal network (Wellman, 1988; 1996; Hersberger, 2003). Placing extra emphasis on "concrete social relations" (Wellman, 1988, p. 22) which participants considered significant enough to be included in their personal network at the present time, I aimed to identify how people construct their support networks across different localities, as well as what typifications they use in order to negotiate multiple categories of belonging in a Self-Other process of identification.

It is important to mention here that, a personal –or egocentric– network map differs from a full social (i.e. sociocentric) network map (McCarty, Gambers, Lubbers & Molina, 2011), in that it only includes close enough social ties in various spheres of social action – e.g. work, family, friendship or neighbourhood (Wellman, 2007). In a globalised world, this can span beyond one's locality, as emotionally significant contacts can be maintained by either face-to-face interactions, or by phone, email and cheap travel (Castles, 2002; Vetrovec, 2004; Clark, 2007). It does not include all social contacts one might have and might utilise for particular purposes, such as job-seeking (Granovetter, 1983) or political involvement (Edwards, 2013). Rather, it only includes significant others, who are part of the participant's everyday life, either by frequent face-to-face interaction in the various spheres of everyday life or by the emotional significance, trustworthiness, dependability and trust of significant others, irrespective of locality or frequent face-to-face contact (Wellman, 1988; 1996; 2007; Spencer & Pahl, 2006). Hence, the boundary in personal network studies is set by the participant and it serves as a method to understand how social context – in this case, London – might affect an individual's attitudes towards others (McCarty, et. al., 2011).

In the previous two chapters, typifications were either used only occasionally, while discussing their mixed networks (Themes 1, 2, 3 and 5) or used more explicitly in relation to their self-identity (Theme 4). In this chapter, however, participants were explicitly asked to typify their significant others according to nationality, ethnicity, gender, relationship status, sexuality while placing them in the map provided.[32] One could argue that, the chosen typifications were participants' first order constructs (Schutz, 1967; Aspers, 2004) which I then clustered together using existing social theory, as second-order constructs in my higher-order clustering. This higher-order clustering then becomes a subject of interpretation. It also forms an attempt to look at possible triangulation with the narrative analysis discussed in the last two chapters.

**8.2 Structuring the lifeworld as second-order constructs: higher–order clustering**

According to contemporary definitions of sociological understanding of cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002; Appiah, 2008; Glick-Schiller et al, 2011), openness to the national/ ethnic *Other* still takes precedence over openness to difference of other social groupings (such as various forms of social status and other identity referents). This becomes even more relevant in migration studies where transnationalism has been a central concept emphasising ethnic ties across time and space (e.g.

---

[32] It could be argued that what emerges from this data is not solely as it appears to participants, since some prompts were made by me in relation to this. *Nevertheless*, I did not insist as to *which ones* were more prevalent for participants to use. I gave them some indicators, and they themselves decided where to stop with those characteristics they were attaching to their significant others.

Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Vetrovec, 2001; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004) and where the more recent 'cosmopolitan turn' in migration studies (Kennedy, 2010a; Glick-Schiller et al., 2011; Nowicka, 2012) supports identity negotiations that allow both "rootedness and openness" in relation to these ties (Glick-Schiller, et al., 2011, p. 400). Furthermore, and as seen earlier in this work[33], transnational practices can take various forms, this including more embodied expressions of cross-border relationships, such as transnational affect (Wise & Veltyutham, 2006; Boccagni, 2010; 2012). Attempting to address the ethnic bias in transnational studies (Kennedy, 2005; Favell at al., 2008), and the possibility of an intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan sociability for migrants in a globalised world (Glick-Schiller at al., 2011), this complimentary visual method looks at this intersection through the identity referents of significant others. Even while nationality and ethnicity are the most common categories under which cosmopolitan attitudes are examined in social science (Beck, 2002; Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Skrbis & Woodward, 2007), other categories of belonging, such as gender or race, further situate cosmopolitan manifestations (Glick-Schiller, et al., 2011). Taking this into consideration, I thought it would be useful to base my higher-order clustering on different kinds of this situated cosmopolitanism, hence, I based my first-order typology in terms of mono-ethnic versus multi-ethnic connections, followed by connections based on cultural/regional proximity that had already emerged in participants' narratives (Theme 2), as well as connections in terms of other identity referents, such as age, gender or relationship status.

Therefore, and in accordance with my methodology discussion[34], I first constructed a coloured typology, looking at what form this situated cosmopolitanism takes in participants' interactions with the Other (see next page for a graphic representation):
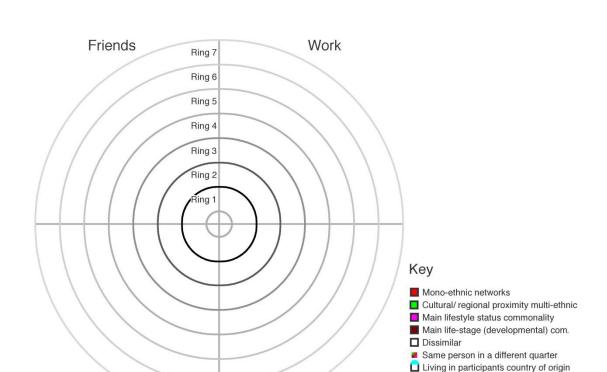
5. Mono-ethnic versus multi-ethnic typology **[red]**

6. Cultural/ regional proximity versus cultural/ regional distance typology **[green]**

7. Life-status similarity versus Life-status difference typology (e.g. gender, relationship status, sexuality, class): **[purple]**[35]

8. Life-stage similarity versus life-stage difference typology (e.g. age) **[brown]**

---

[33] See also Ch.2: pp. 27-28; Ch. 6, Themes 2a & 2b; Ch. 7: Theme 4a National identity reconfigured

[34] See also Ch. 4, pp. 81-83

[35] I should also mention here that, as per my methodology chapters (Ch. 4 & 5), I am clustering more than one life-status commonality together. Hence, even while on the graphs it would appear that life-status commonality takes over, this is *not* the first classification I am looking at. As per my comments above regarding the primacy of ethnic/ national distinctions in cosmopolitan literature (Beck, 2002; Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Skrbis & Woodward, 2007), I am first looking at levels of cosmopolitan openness with regards to these distinctions before moving on to exploring other ways that cosmopolitanism may be situated, such as through gender, sexuality, relationship status, parenthood commonalities. I will be discussing Status-related cosmopolitanism in the case where cosmopolitan openness in relation to ethnicity and/ or nationality is already established.

**First-Order Typology in a Graphic Representation; cubes 1-4 in colour:**

_____



To discuss similarities and differences between actors and their significant others, I will be utilising a term widely used in social network analysis: homophily (love of the same) – or the similarity of the actor in relation to significant others, as defined by particular characteristics (Wellman, 2007; McCarty, et al., 2011; Dahinden, 2013). In other words, homophily "comes to typify people like us" (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001, p. 416); something that - in this study - will be explored through multiple identity referents, such as nationality, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, relationship status and age. This will then be contrasted to heterophily or difference between the actor and their significant others (McCarty, et al., 2011), in an effort to understand this openness to the *Other* as it emerged from the maps. Homophily will first be discussed in relation to nationality and ethnicity, and then in light of other group belongings such as relationship status, gender or age.

Since some level of cosmopolitan openness had already emerged from the phenomenological analysis of participants' narratives in the previous two chapters[36], and was discussed in light of existing social theory advocating for a rooted, situated cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002; Appiah, 2006;

_____

[36] Themes 1, 2, 4 and 5.

Delanty, 2006), I used the word cosmopolitanism as an overarching category in need for further situatedness, emerging from participants first-order constructs. Further phenomenological reduction of the aforementioned first-order typology, revealed four higher-order situated cosmopolitanisms, whereby the themes discussed in the previous two chapters could be understood and – possibly – contested, in light of their own self-other typifications:

1. ***Cultural Cosmopolitanism as main distinction***: Although not sharing the same nationality/ ethnicity, participants share some broader regional cultural characteristics, e.g. Mediterranean, Eastern European, the 'Slavic soul' with their significant others. Hence, it is the cultural proximity that situates this form of cosmopolitanism for participants.

2. ***Transnational Cosmopolitanism as main distinction:*** Where the *majority* of people mentioned are of the same ethnonational background; participants are still open to the national, ethnic or cultural *Other*. This is a different type of rooted cosmopolitanism, with the primacy of transnational connections denoting the type of this rootedness. Furthermore, and as explained earlier, I will treat co-ethnic sociability (Boccagni, 2010) as an embodied transnational expression of cross-border affective ties (Wise & Veltuytham, 2006). More traditional expressions of transnational social practices, such as maintained contact with co-ethnics in the host country or other parts of the globe (Vetrovec, 2009), will also be addressed under that category.

3. ***Status-Related Cosmopolitanism as main distinction:*** Here, nationality/ ethnicity heterophily prevails beyond just cultural/ regional proximity but it is bound to a particular status characteristic, such as that of a mother, being close to other mothers.

4. ***In Depth-Cosmopolitanism as main distinction:*** Here, heterophily in terms of nationality/ ethnicity is even stronger, being not just informed/ shaped by a -particularly prominent- shared status homophily.

Friendship and activities will be discussed together, as most participants repeated the same individuals in both quadrants. A special emphasis will be drawn on these two quadrants, since this is where actors have a wider choice over their sociality patterns, as opposed to work-related sociality or family ties. Work-related sociality will be discussed separately, as – in line with Theme 3 – participants kept their work colleagues separate from their outside work sociality. The last quadrant (Family & Other important connections) will also be discussed separately. A further distinction to be drawn is how the construction of the Other differs in the inner rings (0-3) versus the outer rings (4-7) of the maps.
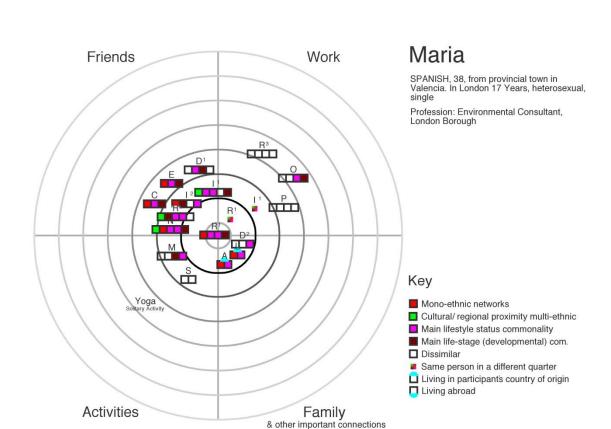
**8.3 Friendship and Activities Quadrants: Mapping sociality for rings 0-3**

For the people closest to participants (i.e. rings 0-3 'alters'[37]), Cultural and Transnational Cosmopolitanism are the strongest ones. They almost compete with one another: Cultural Cosmopolitanism prevails for 5 participants, where transnational cosmopolitanism prevails for 7 participants. In the cases of cultural cosmopolitanism, this was usually followed by a second order transnational cosmopolitanism, as nationality homophily prevailed for the remaining close friends. Transnational cosmopolitanism presents itself with more variations: it is followed either by cultural proximity homophily or by a more in-depth cosmopolitanism, typified as pure nationality/ ethnicity heterophily.

*8.3.1 Cultural Cosmopolitanism as the main Distinction*

For Ianthi, Giancarlo, Maria, Enrica and Noel, *cultural cosmopolitanism* prevails, followed by either transnational cosmopolitanism (Ianthi, Maria, Enrica, Noel) or status-related cosmopolitanism (Giancarlo, in relation to his sexuality status). In some cases (e.g. Maria, Noel, Enrica), cultural proximity homophily almost competes with pure nationality homophily but cultural proximity wins over because of the *positioning* of significant others: For Noel this comes through love, as his girlfriend is a culturally similar Other and is in Ring 1, whereas his friend 'M$_2$' in Ring 3 is a co-national who lived in London for seventeen years and has now moved back to France. For Maria, who includes a number of close ties, of both national/ ethnicity homophily, cultural proximity homophily, as well as a couple of culturally dissimilar others, it is again the positioning of significant others in ring 2 that gives prevalence to culturally similar others.

---

[37] As per the generally accepted terminology in Social Network Analysis (SNA) for describing others included in the network of an individual ('ego-alter' relations); Molina et al., 2011

_____

Friends | Work

**Maria**

SPANISH, 38, from provincial town in Valencia. In London 17 Years, heterosexual, single

Profession: Environmental Consultant, London Borough

Yoga
Solitary Activity

Activities | Family
& other important connections

**Key**

■ Mono-ethnic networks
■ Cultural/ regional proximity multi-ethnic
■ Main lifestyle status commonality
■ Main life-stage (developmental) com.
□ Dissimilar
■ Same person in a different quarter
□ Living in participant's country of origin
□ Living abroad

It should be noted that, it is the emotional proximity and dependability (Van Leer, Koerner & Allan, 2006) that allows one kind of cosmopolitanism to prevail over another. Maria, from Spain, reflects upon this dependability. After sixteen years in the city, she took a long break from work and London life in order to travel, but with a clear intention to return and a job to come back to. She makes a very specific comment as to how some of her friends proved their level of emotional support more than others:

> *Well, exactly, you know, I realised especially during my trip who are my real friends because for example 'R' [from Bolivia] and 'N' [Venezuela] they just kept in touch all the time, all throughout and that made a whole wide difference, you know. At the beginning of my trip I was not really having fun at all. For the first two months all I wanted to do was come back. That really meant a lot. 'I' [from Portugal] also kept in touch… Yeah, no, it's true staying close that's really important because you can make so many friends in the city, but then if you don't see them, if you don't keep in touch. It's not that they stop being your friends, but they're not your close friends. (p. 29)*

If one looks at Maria's map, it is obvious that trustworthiness and dependability are important to her; she only uses rings 0-3 in her friendship quadrant, making a visual statement as to what friendship means to her. Friendship is a term difficult to define, as it could mean different things to different people (Pahl, 2000; Spencer & Pahl, 2006, 2006); nevertheless, with the assistance of the sociogram, the actor is able to reflect upon her connections and to make a clearer distinction as to what a close friend is as opposed to more loose friendships based on shared activities or interests. It is possible that cultural proximity played an extra role as 'immediacy of understanding'[38] in this depiction and was further strengthened by the actual effort her friends made in terms of emotional support while she was travelling.

Similarly, Enrica positions culturally proximate consociates closer to her (ring 2). Co-ethnics, culturally similar and culturally dissimilar others follow in ring 3. As also seen in her narrative responses, she turns to some of her mono-ethnic friends (ring 3) when it comes to an urgent need[39]. This phenomenon could be explained as a pre-reflective, visceral response: according to the map positioning, these significant others are not her closest ones. Still, reminiscent of the theorising of Wise & Velthuytham (2006) an embodied transnational expression gets activated in such cases.

When it comes to consciously reflecting upon the characteristics of her closest friends in ring 2 however, it is a common culture beyond nationality that informs her choice of significant others.

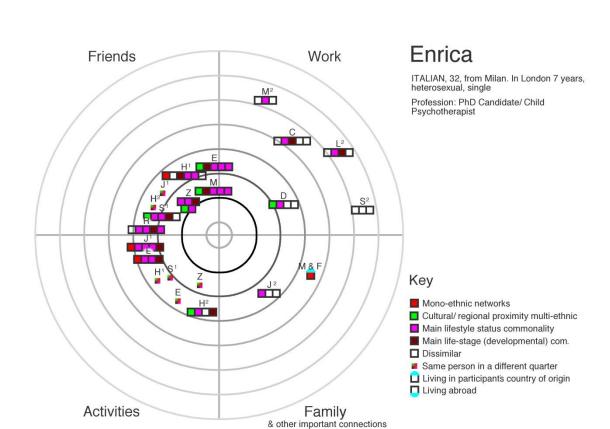As she also comments while completing her map:

> Well, I think they are culturally similar. I think they come from Mediterranean countries, or Southern Hemisphere… Like ways of seeing the world, I guess. Something that makes them closer is temperament as well (pp. 18-19).

Contrary to the activation of a visceral response to connect with co-nationals in times of emergency, when consciously engaging with the typification of her 'dearest and nearest', her Self-Other identification process broadens beyond nationality. In line with arguments of a rooted, situated cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2006) Enrica engages with difference but she still has a need to ground that openness through some form of similarity:

---

[38] As per Theme 2: "Immediacy of Understanding as Emotional Support" (see also Ch. 6, pp. 115-119)
[39] A per Theme 4c 'National Identity (reconfigured), p. 144

*Enrica's Sociogram: Cultural Cosmopolitanism, followed by Transnational Cosmopolitanism*
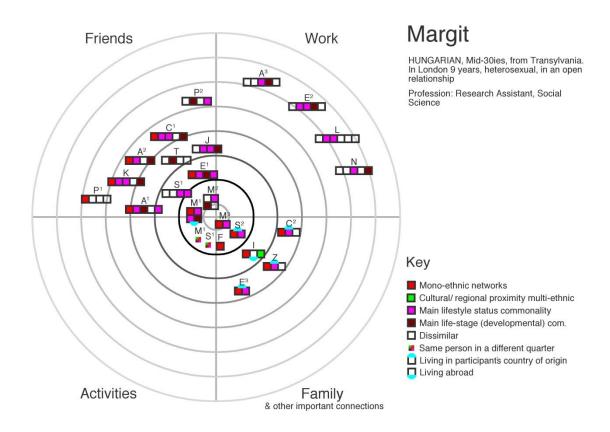
_____



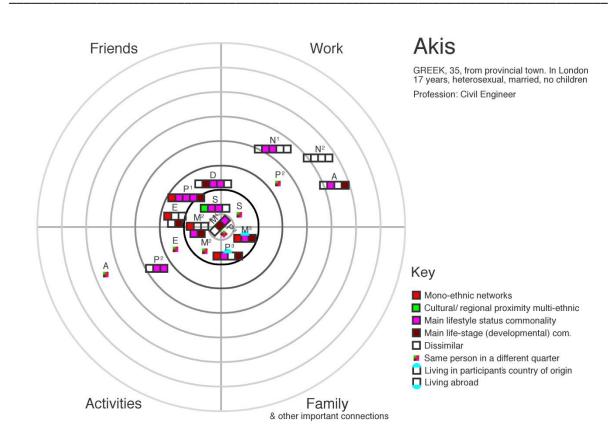### 8.3.2 Transnational Cosmopolitanism as the main Distinction

In the cases where *transnational cosmopolitanism* prevailed in terms of connections (Akis, Giancarlo, Darek, Margit, Norad, Kosmas and Pietra), for six out of the seven participants, this was not completely homogeneous. It was followed closely by either cultural proximity homophily (e.g. Akis, Norad) or by a more mixed, in depth cosmopolitanism (e.g. Margit, Darek, Giancarlo, Pietra). Hence, when Transnational Cosmopolitanism was the main higher-order cluster, there were variations in terms of its prevalence. Furthermore, transnational expressions take different forms in these intimate rings: On some occasions (Akis, Kosmas), the transnational situatedness of cosmopolitan sociality takes the form of a 'co-ethnic sociability' (Boccagni, 2010) in the current place of residence. For these participants, the transnational element is activated by what Wise and Velauytham (2006) call transnational affect: it is an embodied, pre-reflective attempt by the actor to stay connected to the homeland via the means of Self-Other identification. On other occasions, the transnational expression takes the form of maintained cross-border soul friendships (Morasanu, 2013) elsewhere

in the globe (Norad). For Margit and Pietra, transnational expressions are combined: they both include soul-friends living either back home or elsewhere in the globe, as well as some co-ethnics in London in their closest ones.

*Margit: Transnational Cosmopolitanism, both in London and abroad*

_____



Overall, there was a balance with other nationalities/ ethnicities or with transnational connections that extended beyond just the country of origin; Akis for example, includes three Greek friends based in London, as well as one Serbian and one friend from New Zealand. It is the prevalence of co-ethnics over culturally similar and dissimilar others that justifies Transnational Cosmopolitanism as the main distinction in Akis' map:

_____



Apart from his wife, whom he positions as close to his heart as possible (ring 0), the two who are closest to him (i.e. in ring 1), are one Greek and one Serbian. Nevertheless, upon reflection, Akis attributes a higher level of dependability and trust to his Serbian friend over his Greek friend:

> *He is very close. We may not meet all the time together, but he's my... you know, one of the nearest and dearest, and all that. Soulmate. He's a soulmate. Yeah, exactly that (p. 16) I'm quite closed emotionally but one person I would definitely [talk to]... yeah, I would talk to 'S', yeah, let's say if I had a problem with my wife. I'll probably... Not probably. 'S' is the one person that I would share the thing (p. 24).*

Looking at other identity referents to understand the actor's reflection here, it is possible that another Self-Other identification get activated here: cultural proximity might instigate the 'immediacy of understanding', necessary for someone to be positioned in ring 2. However, other identity referents are also at play here: Akis further identifies with his Serbian friend, not only in terms of similar cultural/ regional characteristics, but also in terms of marital status and gender. It is upon reflection on his own mapping that he realises he would only open up to 'S'.
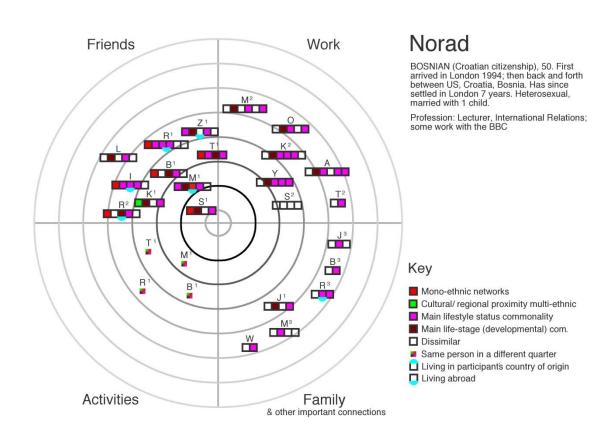
For Norad (Bosnian, with Croatian citizenship), transnational connections that go all the way back to soul friendships (Morasanu, 2013) are the ones that gain a 'seat' in the first ring of his map; here, transnational connections do not just span between London and Bosnia as two of his soul friends have also relocated to other parts of Europe. Norad had been moving back and forth between the US, Croatia, the UK and London for 25 years, before actually deciding to settle in London 7 years ago. These frequent relocations, as well as the political instability following the Yugoslavian conflict, have made him rootless in some ways and very rooted in others; one could argue that, because of his former position in the social and political elite of his home country (Calhoun, 2003a), his Bosnian identity still takes prevalence, through a deterritorialised Self-Other national identification. It seems that he manages this rootlessness by anchoring himself through his long-lasting transnational friendships spanning across the globe:

> *I was always, well, the thing is, who would know me well, who would I know well, who would I rely on or feel confident to rely on, and so on? But my idea was always, I don't have to spend too much time with close friends but we can still be close. But now it's… I don't really think that I have close friends in London, at least. And then, when you live in different countries then it's kind of false. So, to be honest, I'm not sure, I have a kind of relation with plenty of people and then, when there is something, we might for a period of time be closer. And that's it, yeah. (p. 15)*

Although Norad has chosen to return to London and has actually embedded himself in a very efficient manner, with connections involving some level of nationality/ ethnicity heterophily in his outer Friendship and Other quadrants[40], it is still the transiency of frequent travel (Calhoun, 2003b) and a number of former residencies (Elliott & Urry, 2010) that have contributed to his difficulty in committing to new close friendships. His own Bosnian identity stays more prevalent in this negotiation, as the actor ascribes more emotional importance to long-term friendships that are maintained because of the common repertoire of past experiences in rings 0-3. In other words, a 'transferable habitus' (Nowicka, 2015), enhanced by the common experience of relocation for his closest consociates, facilitates the maintenance of these bonds:

---

[40] E.g. 'L' American-Canadian female, ring 5 friendship quadrant; 'J' Irish female' 'R' male from Ecuador, who lives in France; 'M' Scottish - Peruvian male, plus others in ring 5, Other quadrant

_____



**Norad**

BOSNIAN (Croatian citizenship), 50. First arrived in London 1994; then back and forth between US, Croatia, Bosnia. Has since settled in London 7 years. Heterosexual, married with 1 child.

Profession: Lecturer, International Relations; some work with the BBC

**Key**

- 🟥 Mono-ethnic networks
- 🟩 Cultural/ regional proximity multi-ethnic
- 🟪 Main lifestyle status commonality
- 🟫 Main life-stage (developmental) com.
- ⬜ Dissimilar
- ▪️ Same person in a different quarter
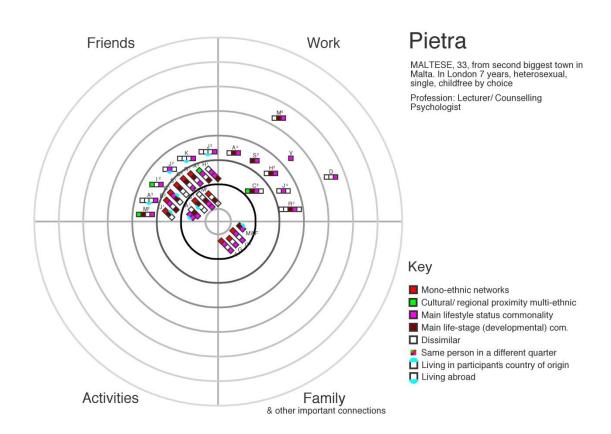- Living in participant's country of origin
- Living abroad

Nevertheless, and as per my definition of emotional closeness in rings 0-3, he also includes his friend 'K' from Bulgaria in his closest connection, as someone who also provided practical support in times of need:

> *And again, we don't see each other that often… sometimes she's been, it goes a few years that we don't see each other, but then, I came back in 2007, LSE flew me for their job interview that I thought I would [get]… I actually didn't get it, so no job and so on. And she's working for the BBC, and she got me into the BBC to work there. And she was a real friend when you needed her, that's it…  I mean, again did not see each other and then, out of nothing, after a year, "Come over for dinner," and so on (p. 20)*

Contrary to Granovetter's assertion (1973; 1983) that it is the weak ties which allow migrants to find work connections, here, 'K' deserves a place in Norad's close connections; what Krackhardt (1992) calls the 'strength of strong ties'. Frequency is not the main factor in the maintenance of the bond, but it is the assertion that a friend provides support when needed.

Pietra, who has had a very different trajectory in her migration, initially moving from Malta to London for a postgraduate degree, demonstrates a different pattern of sociality. Although there is a prevalence of nationality/ ethnicity homophily in her 0-3 friends (some living in Malta, some in London), the rest of her close friends are characterised by a clear nationality/ ethnicity heterophily, spanning from Gambia and the Pacific Islands onto what she calls her 'Pan-Arabic' group of friends.

*Pietra: Transnational Cosmopolitanism, followed by In-Depth Cosmopolitanism*

_____



It seems that London's intercultural city structure (Wood & Landry, 2008) has allowed for this to develop; most of her cultural 'Other' friends were cemented through forming experiences in student resident halls, and have been maintained even after some of her student friends moved back to their countries of origin. This is a very interesting example of how the geography of friendship (Bunnel, et. al., 2012) is played out in her sociogram; some of her soul friends (Morasanu, 2013) who never left Malta have been repositioned from ring 1 to ring 2 by the actor because of the infrequency of contacts but they still deserve a place close to her heart:

*So yes, I think there's lots of people really in this group [first circle] who were I think previously in this group [first ring] when I lived in Malta. But now you know, eight years away from home and it's kind of changed some of these things [so now, in ring 2]… But whenever I go to Malta we still all meet up... I would consider all of these to be quite close friends and I would tell any of these people personal things... It just doesn't happen very often, because I don't see them very often. We don't chat very often. While with these* ['A' from Gambia and 'T' from Pacific islands, who have returned] *I kind of email quite a lot, or text, so they're kind of more up-to-date with what's going on (Pietra, p. 22)*

Although frequency of face-to-face contact is affecting the positioning of her long-standing significant others, it is interesting that she keeps her former student house connections much more alive through emailing and texting. They even gain a place close to her heart (ring 1) and they are more aware of what is actually happening in Pietra's life. It is as if the more recent, life-changing common experience they all had in London has made them come closer. In terms of other typifications, the actor makes a further distinction. She explicitly states that most of her close friends, who are from a very different ethnonational background and have moved to other parts of the globe (US, Africa, Australia) are engaged in doctoral or medical studies; it is the shared educational capital that strengthens this bond, beyond cultural differences (Kennedy, 2010a; 2010b).
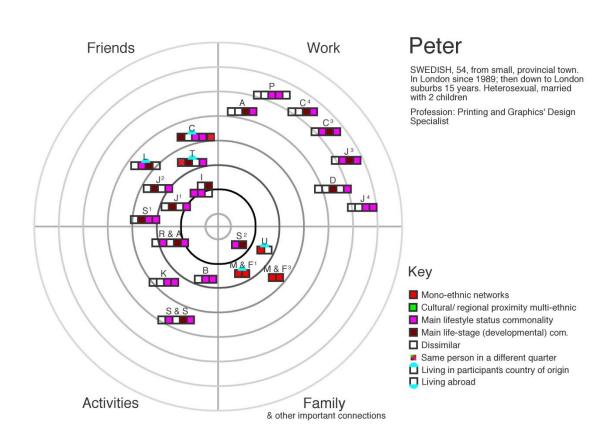
### 8.3.3 Further Cosmopolitan manifestations: Status-Related and In-Depth Cosmopolitanism

For the remaining four participants (Marianne, Peter, Bruno and Carolina), a pure nationality/ ethnicity *heterophily* was the main distinction characterising their closest friends. As per my suggested higher–order typology, this gets further differentiated in cases where this openness to the cultural 'Other' is bound to a particular status characteristic, such as that of marital status in general or mother status in particular. Such cases (Marianne, Peter) are clustered separately, under *status-related cosmopolitanism*; in other words, emotional closeness is achieved not only through an overall attitude towards openness, but also from a common life-stage trajectory, mostly to do with common priorities rather than just common interests and lifestyle. Here, the actors use either further typifications explicitly, such as the 'group of mums' (Marianne), where both childcare duties as well as leisure activities serve as the boundary for this sort of belonging, or implicitly (Peter) by mostly including friends of the same relationship status in his close connections, both in London and abroad.

For Peter, who is married with two children and lives in the suburbs, most of his close friends are also married with children. His nationality/ ethnicity heterophily is expressed as openness towards White English people, something that may have to do with the composition of the particular suburb.

Peter has been living in London since 1989 and moved in the outskirts of London fifteen years ago. Interestingly enough, he was the only participant who actually turned into the activities quadrant first when asked about his closest friends. He started putting down couples in ring 2 and mentioned a range of activities that they all do together as a family activity: cycling, barbeques, home visits, trekking' and what he typified as 'kids' stuff'. It is as if family life and common life trajectories have been internalised as common sense; hence Peter quite unreflectively turned into the activities' quadrant first. Contrary to the friendships discussed earlier, in this case both frequency and proximity (Argyle, 1992; Wellman, 1996) is vital and it includes a sociality that goes beyond the actor himself. As Spencer & Pahl (2006) also mention, friendship patterns are affected by particular life-stages; something that becomes clear here.

*Peter: Status-Related Cosmopolitanism (gender, age & family-related distinctions)*
_____



Nevertheless, friendships can take different forms; addressing different needs at the same level of emotional proximity (ring 2), Peter proceeded by including a few more males of the same life-stage, with a tendency only towards marital status homophily. At this point there are other status referents that take over: gender and age.  It looks as if he is typifying male comradeship separately as a 'very

good friend' and as he reflects upon it, he realises that two of his closest friends in the friends' quadrant are males of the same age range as himself but who are either single or married without children, breaking the overall pattern of his close connections:

> *'J' is a very good friend of mine. Lives just down the road. He's single. White, British. He's probably about 60+, actually. Ian is an old friend from my London days. Friend of mine. Lives just down the road. He's single. White, British. He's probably about 60+, actually. 'I' is an old friend from my London days. He's married. No children. White. How old is he? 48? 50, maybe? Very good friend. Meet up with him... we normally go up to London, go to a few pubs, and that sort of thing (p. 18).*
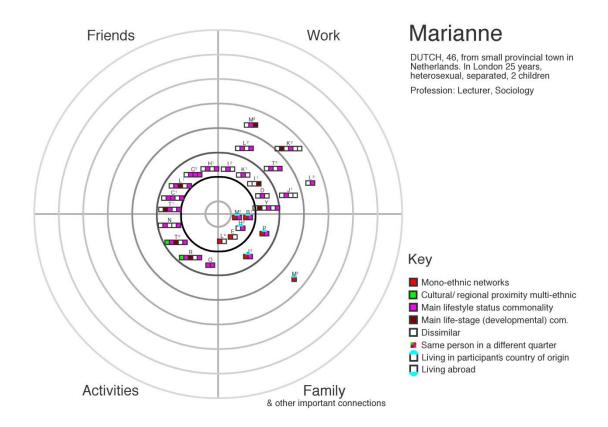
For Marianne, who is divorced and has two children, the two main homophilies that intersect with her overall nationality/ ethnicity heterophily are those of parenthood and gender: her close friends are all women with children. As per her quote under Theme 1, all of her close friends are either 'foreign, working or working class'[41]; something that she clearly differentiates from the typical non-working 'bankers' wives', who live on the other side of the same London suburb. This extensive focusing on class typifications was somewhat atypical for participants in their sociogram reflections.

It could be argued that there was no such need for most of participants, as a shared class background had been internalised as common sense. For Marianne however, who worked her way up arriving  in London twenty-five years ago as a backpacker, the issue of class is quite sensitive. She further exemplifies her sense of symbolic boundary (Lamont & Molnar, 2002) as she reflects on her map:

---

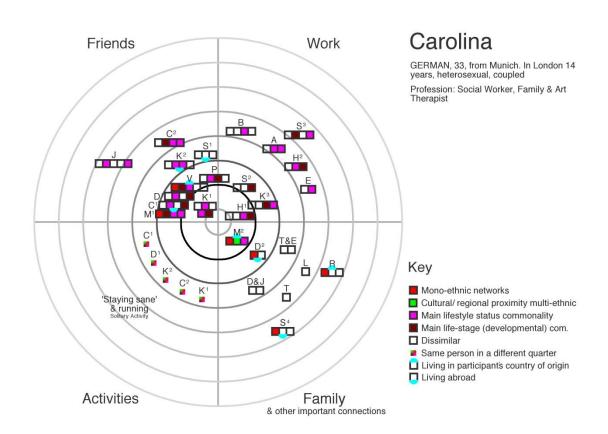[41] For the full quote, please see Ch . 6, p. 107

_____



Her own 'group of mums' is not just typified according to race, nationality and ethnicity, but also in terms of class background: 4 White-English mums, two of them middle-class, the other two working class; 1 White-Norwegian, with no class referent; 1 French of mixed heritage, of working class background; one Black from St Luca, typified as upper middle-class). Hence, it is important to acknowledge that not everyone in this study had a privilege which was carried along in their migration journey. Although this was not a biographical study, which would have allowed these initial trajectories to be identified (e.g. Armitage, 2012), here, social and symbolic boundaries and identifications are derived from either an explicit comment made by a participant (e.g. Carolina, Darek[42]) or by an interpretation that followed their narrative responses as a second-order construct (e.g. Enrica, Maria, Pietra, Margit[43]). In Marianne's case however, my interpretation is deciphered both by her chosen typifications while reflecting on her map, and from information that she had herself provided at the beginning of the interview:

---

[42] Theme 1b: ' Carolina: 'cultivating themselves', Theme 5a: 'Darek: 'middle-class milieu'
[43] Theme 3a; Theme 5b, Elena, typification of 'work friend' referring to work-related sociality ; Margit contesting class 'tags' in Focus group discussion

*I had no experience; I didn't finish my school, I had only been a waitress or a nanny... I had no confidence in any of [the office stuff] I thought, "oh that is not for me" and then I did leave the restaurant spent a few more months in Italy came back and then what did I do, spent a few months looking for jobs, it wasn't easy (p. 5)*

For the remaining two participants (Bruno and Carolina), it is *in-depth cosmopolitanism* which prevails, this time with a variety of nationalities in their maps, with no prevalence of a particular status characteristic taking over. Their significant others span in and out of London, many of them residing across continents (North and South America) or in other global cities (Berlin, Amsterdam). Carolina in particular, mentions the professions of significant others too; they are all, like herself, highly-skilled. Contrary to Marianne above, Carolina's Self-Other identifications can be interpreted as a more class-bound cosmopolitanism, where a shared cultural and educational capital has facilitated the maintenance of these close bonds across time and space (Nowicka, 2012). Interestingly, although no particular status is explicitly defining their sociality patterns, both Bruno and Carolina are people who could be described as having some sort of status marginality (Kennedy, 2010b): Carolina in terms of sexuality, Bruno in terms of a lifestyle choice, which can then be interpreted as marginality status: married, but childless by choice. Maintaining a more in-depth openness to the Other because of one's own experience with difference, could be of relevance here. Class and educational capital might also be adding to that; their willingness to engage with difference and to maintain close friendships across the globe could be further understood as an intersection of privilege and marginality, the former providing them with the confidence to interact beyond physical borders (Calhoun, 2003a) and the latter providing them with the empathy of relating with difference while frequently being perceived as different themselves (Kennedy, 2010b).

_____



Across all four types of cosmopolitanism, age is a constant when it comes to outside work socialising, bringing back the boundaries that define different life-stages (Spencer & Pahl, 2006; Davies, 2011).

### 8.4 Friendship and Activities Quadrants: Mapping sociality for rings 4-7

As per my analysis for rings 0-3 above, participants' personal networks might be mixed but they are still situated by particular identity referents (nationality/ ethnicity, cultural/ regional proximity, lifestyle status and life-stage). What constitutes Self-Other identification and differentiation is further depicted through the use of egocentric sociograms. I gave more emphasis to rings 0-3 in the analysis, as it concerns the people closest to participants. In line with personal network studies (Wellman, 1988; 1996; 2007, McCarty et al. 2011, Pahl & Spencer, 2007; Armitage, 2012), it is the people closest to the centre of the map that participants draw emotional and practical support from. This is of particular interest in migration studies (Kennedy, 2010a; Nowicka, 2012), and especially in cases where participants had arrived alone, with no ties to follow. This was also the case for all

participants in this study, hence an extra emphasis was drawn on the analysis of the friendship and activities quadrants, in an effort to reach a more in-depth understanding in relation to cosmopolitan openness, as situated by homophily and heterophily on a number of typifications, such as nationality/ ethnicity, as well as on age, gender and relationships status.
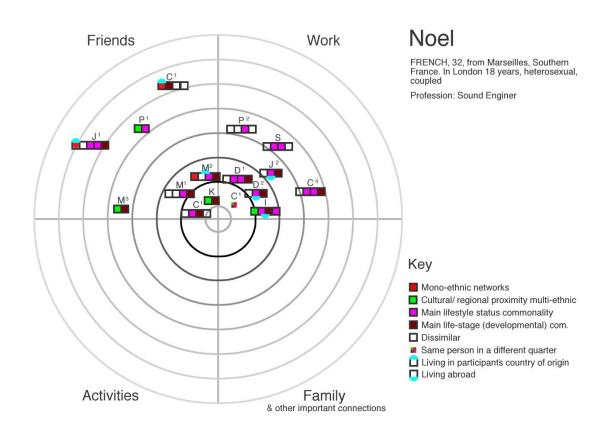
Nevertheless, it is the participant who draws the boundary of his or her own –personal– network map (Hersberger, 2003; Chua & Wellman, 2011). Since participants were presented with seven rings to fill in, the emphasis in this part of the analysis is on exploring similarities and variations as to what constitutes the Other in these outer rings, as compared to the more central players in participants' maps. From a visual phenomenological perspective (Seamon, 2000), it is interesting to note that, not everyone chose to include more significant others in the outer rings of the map provided: *five out of fifteen participants did not include anyone at all in these outer rings* (Giancarlo, Maria, Enrica, Pietra and Marianne). This is a phenomenon in itself that also calls for attention: it could be interpreted as a need to actually define friendship in a more exclusive manner than people one 'hangs out with' (Allan, 1989; Pahl, 2000) and could be further attributed to a number of factors, including life histories and personal dispositions, which however, is beyond the scope of the current work.

Another phenomenon that occurs in these outer rings is that, for participants who did chose to use them, *Cultural Cosmopolitanism does not provoke the same attraction* as it did with the inner rings. It is only Kosmas who utilises Cultural Cosmopolitanism as the main distinction in his rings 4-7. Before further interpretation on this matter, it should be highlighted that, three out of the six participants under cultural cosmopolitanism in rings 0-3 (Giancarlo, Enrica and Maria), have not included anyone in rings 4-7. Furthermore, two out of the six participants whose primary form of Cosmopolitanism was in relation to cultural proximity homophily in rings 0-3 (Ianthi, Noel), here move towards Transnational cosmopolitanism. It is also interesting to note that, in rings 4-7 the transnational expression mostly relates to actual cross-border activities (soul friendships back home) rather than selected co-ethnics in the host country (transnational affect) for both of these actors (Ianthi, Noel). These significant others have only moved to the outer rings because their London based sociality takes precedence. They are still quite close to them emotionally, geographical distance and infrequent contact has nevertheless affected their positioning on participants' maps:
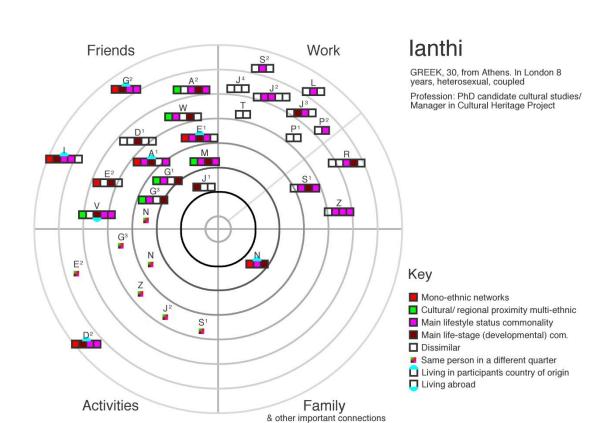
> I don't miss not having French friends at all [in London]. I am very happy when I see my French friends, and actually 'M' [ring 3], 'C', 'J' **[ring 6]** and 'M' **[ring 4],** they are like best friends. You have got your friends and the best friends. (Noel, pp. 33-4)

What is interesting in terms of spatiality of these relationships is that Noel uses the rings quite literally, in terms of geographical and not emotional distance. He places his closest long term-soul friends (Morasanu, 2013) in ring 6, but he is actually explicitly stating in the interview that they are actually his closest friends. This somewhat contradicts a literal interpretation of emotional closeness according to ring positioning; the actor here reflects upon what involves emotional closeness in a slightly different manner, depicting the paradox between emotional closeness and geographical distance in this variation.

***Noel: from Cultural Cosmopolitanism in rings 0-3 to geographically distant, yet emotionally close transnational connections in rings 4-7***

_____



Nevertheless, the prevalence of transnational connections in this outer rings' sociality, does not always translate to an overarching nationality/ ethnicity homophily, solely expressed in significant relationships in the participant's home country. Ianthi from Greece, still includes a number of culturally similar others in her outer rings (Spanish and Italians), which refer to her London based sociality. Similar to Noel however, the transnational expression in the outer rings (4-7) refers to co-ethnics back home (soul friendships) rather than the selective co-ethnic sociality in the host country (transnational affect), which was present in her rings 0-3.
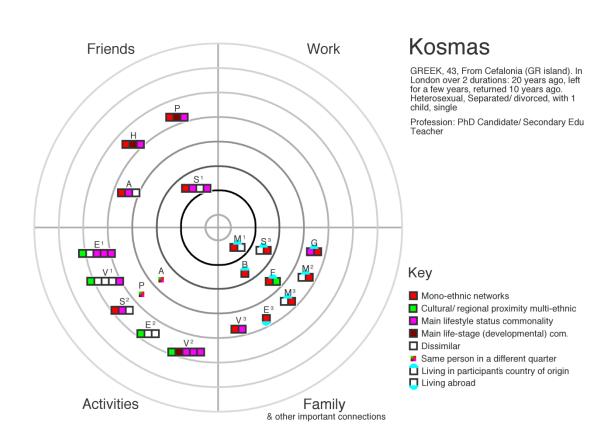
_____



Kosmas presents with the opposite case: For Kosmas, transnational cosmopolitanism is still the main distinction in rings 0-3. Furthermore, his transnational sociality expressions in London take the form of a co-ethnic-sociability; the need to stay connected to the home country through a mentalized cross-border activity. As per his interview responses, Kosmas enjoys London diversity in terms of banal (Beck & Sznaider, 2006) or everyday cosmopolitanism (Onyx, et. al., 2011)[44] . Nevertheless, his openness to difference in his personal network remains more enclosed. It is only though a culturally-situated cosmopolitanism that Kosmas gets more involved with Otherness:

> *I mean primarily I've come across mostly Turkish culture, if you like, because of the music. But then again it's not an accident. We know the similarities I can feel from the little things I know that potentially might be of interest to me in that I might find similarities as well with Italy, because I come from part of Greece [Ionian Island], which -the Italian culture has always been prevalent and then I do feel some affiliations.  But that's about it.  That's maybe with the music (p. 24)*

---

[44] See Chapter 6, Theme 5a: Surface Cosmopolitanism

As per his narrative excerpt above, in rings 4-7, his cosmopolitan openness only takes the form of a cultural cosmopolitanism. The actor positions his significant others who reflect that pattern in the activities cluster. Kosmas is highly involved in music activities, and he plays music with Turkish, Greek and Cypriot musicians. This is in line with Robins & Aksoy's (2001) discussions about a broader cultural identity, which transcends nationality. In this case, the pre-reflective, visceral response exceeds the boundaries of nationality in terms of Self-Other identification: here, the affect does not stay solely transnational but gets activated through culturally-similar musical expressions: a broader cultural/ regional heritage that activates an embodied stock of knowledge in this group activity.

***Kosmas: Transnational Cosmopolitanism in Rings 0-3; Cultural Cosmopolitanism in rings 4-7***

_____



Similar to the pattern discussed in rings 0-3 above, *transnational cosmopolitanism* is usually followed by yet another form of cosmopolitanism, either in terms of culturally similar others or as a more open cosmopolitanism (in-depth or status-related). For example, Margit includes four people of the same ethnonational background (Hungarians from Transylvania), followed by another two of very different cultural backgrounds: a white-British and a white New Zealander. There is a tendency towards gender, age and sexuality homophily in her outer rings; hence, even while some openness

to the culturally dissimilar Other is present, this is further situated by status-related and age commonalities, perhaps fulfilling the needs for some other form of belonging[45].

*Margit: Transnational Cosmopolitanism, followed by Status-Related Cosmopolitanism (age, gender, sexuality)*

_____



Norad also follows a similar pattern in his outer rings in terms of nationality/ ethnicity prevalence. As with his ring 0-3 sociality, transnational connections are still the most prevalent but his overall sociality is not completely homogenous; the actor includes two male Bosnians, both in highly-responsible positions, one residing in the US and one in Russia, but he also includes a female friend in London, who is Canadian American. Contrary to the type of transnational connections in his rings 0-3 however, his prevalent 4-7 connections are further differentiated by age heterophily; these are younger Bosnians, with whom he has stayed in contact for another, more politically specific transnationalism. The geography of these connections is also more varied; all of his distance connections in rings 0-3 were 'soul friends' (Morasanu, 2013) of the same age range and they were

---

[45] Please note, that for both Margit and Norad, I am copying their sociograms again in the following 2 pages, in order to assist the reader with the discussion of their transnational expressions in rings 0-3 and 4-7.
Their sociograms also appear in section 8.3 "Friendship and Activities' Quadrants for rings 0-3"

all residing in different parts of Europe. The two male Bosnians in his 4-7 rings live even farther away, in other continents:

> *They work in the same [area], they were both in politics, you know, this younger generation that I got to know …. They've gone as kids, the parents took them out, so they got educated abroad, in the States… And so 'R' is, I like him, he's fantastic, what age will he be? 35, 36, 37, something like that. And he set up some institute for the democracy in Bosnia and I'm on the board of directors of that institute. He was very much… he was the Alistair Campbell of the office over there (pp. 17-18).*

A shared educational and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1990) is also at play here but it is related to a more political kind of 'distinctive mark' (Bourdieu, 1992). It is the shared social action, performed at a distance and informed by common political involvement with regards to their country of origin:

*I mean, on Saturday I published one article in a Bosnian newspaper and immediately, email from him that he read it. So that's nice (p. 18)*

_____



### 8.4.1 Status and In-Depth Cosmopolitanism for rings 4-7

Interestingly however, for two of the participants whose sociality in rings 0-3 was characterised by a prevalence of nationality/ ethnicity homophily (Akis, Darek), their attitude to openness towards the culturally dissimilar *Other,* becomes the dominant characteristic in their outer rings. Hence, both Akis and Darek move from a transnationally informed cosmopolitanism to a status-related and in-depth cosmopolitanism respectively[46]. Akis includes a male friend from Ireland, who is of the same age range and divorced. Hence, a number of status-related commonalities (McPherson, at. al. 2001) allow for this bond to be included; a common interest in music strengthens this bond further, as they can share activities outside work. Darek also becomes more open to the culturally dissimilar Other in his outer rings. The sociality of his outer rings is characterised by further heterophilies, in terms of age, gender and relationship status, which can be understood as an Openness towards the

---

[46] For the sake of simplicity, I am not repeating the Akis' graph in this section: please see p. 169, this Chapter for Akis' sociogram

*Other*, beyond just nationality/ ethnicity heterophily (Armitage, 2012). Again, it is either common interests in terms of a spiritual quest (Buddhist community/ meditation) or common interests through education that allow this to occur. It could be argued that both Akis and Darek, with their emotional and practical needs already met by culturally similar others in rings 0-3, can be more open to the (culturally diverse) *Other*, when conjoint cultural and/ or educational capital provide the basis for shared spheres of social action.

***Darek's Sociogram: From Transnational Cosmopolitanism in rings 0-3 to In-Depth Cosmopolitanism in rings 4-7***

_____



Bruno and Carolina, whose main pattern of sociality for rings 0-3 was in-depth cosmopolitanism, maintain the same openness in their outer rings too. Carolina continues to use further other-typifications[47], in order to justify the inclusion of these people in her 'personal community' (Wellman, 1996; 2007; Spencer & Pahl, 2006), and makes it very specific that the one is an artist and
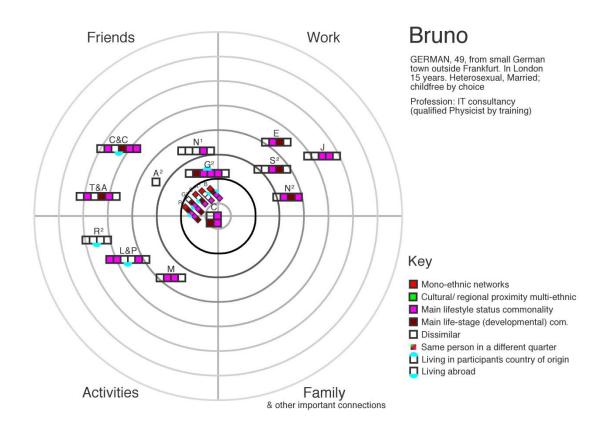
---

[47] Again, for the sake of simplicity, I am not repeating Carolina's graph in this section: please see p. 179, this Chapter for Carolina's sociogram

one is a music therapist; these could be considered as particular life trajectories that are close to her own (Carolina is a social worker, with a strong interest in art). Although this is sociality outside work, and these are not her work colleagues, it still manifests the significance of a shared professional identity, at least for some professions. Professional identity may inform self-other identifications (Lamont & Molnar, 2002; Watt, 2007; Kennedy, 2010b), because it serves as a common stock for knowledge (Schutz, 1967; Wagner, 1983). The possibility of such identification, permeating the boundary of the work-leisure distinction, may be manifested in other ways.   It is possible that the work-leisure distinction is still supported by 'the need to leave work behind' (Theme 3b) nevertheless, when it comes to outside work-sociality, a shared worldview, especially in terms of "the cosmopolitanisation of the globalised helping professions" (Skrbis & Woodward, 2013, p. 20) provides the grounds for yet another form of belonging. This is especially significant for an actor who has been consistent in her openness towards diversity in terms of her higher-clustering in both inner and outer rings of friendship & activities' quadrants in this analysis, as it facilitates a further understanding of a 'value homophily' (McPherson et. al., 2001), manifested as a common life-trajectory. Gender homophily also typifies Carolina's outer rings, as well as the use of one more typification, that of single motherhood for one of her connections.

As Bruno moves towards his outer rings, i.e. people whom he considers part of his personal network but not as close emotionally, common activities and interests become more central; table games, dressing-up as historical characters, followed by history discussions, sharing an allotment in London or ideas about land development in Spain, are also at play here. As per his ring 0-3 sociality, the well diversified heterophily already discussed is extended beyond the boundaries of 'here' and 'there' in the transnational sense; significant others are not confined to people living in London and people living in Germany but extend to people living in different places around the world (Spain, Bolivia, France.). His choice of activities, as well as his future plans on land development could be understood as expressions of privilege (Calhoun, 2003a), again situating his in-depth cosmopolitanism in terms of class distinctions (Bourdieu, 1990; Nowicka 2012).  Like Carolina, Bruno also typifies one of his outer ring consociates in relation to their profession; but unlike Carolina, this is not a case of Self-Other professional identification but perhaps an unreflective distinctive mark, whereby Bruno feels the need to typify a significant other in terms of his profession and to highlight the importance this had for him in pursuing his interest: he includes his x-Spanish teacher, who has recently moved back to Bolivia, in ring 5.

_____



As per participants' sociality in rings 0-3, age homophily is still prevalent across the three types of cosmopolitanism exhibited in rings 4-7: Transnational; Status-Related and In-Depth Cosmopolitanism.  Apparently this is the most consistent characteristic for what I call *voluntary sociality*, i.e. sociality outside work or sociality beyond family bonds. Work-related sociality, as well family-related sociality, are be explored further in the remaining two sections. For the purposes of simplicity, I will not be including more maps in the remaining sections.

### 8.5 Work-related Sociality

In contrast to the *voluntary sociality* described so far, work-related sociality can be understood as context-dependent. It is the work environment which provides a set of pre-selected individuals; homophily in terms of occupation is therefore already at play. London as a global city, attracting global talent in very different work environments (Sassen, 1991; Elliott & Urry, 2010), is the catalyst here. Compared to the friends' quadrant, where friendships are frequently situated by the primacy

of transnational or cultural forms of cosmopolitanism, in the work quadrant in-depth cosmopolitanism (whether status-related or not) becomes much more prominent. It is as if the *city as structure* takes over, providing the grounds for an openness towards culturally diverse *Others*. Most work environments in London are multicultural, reflecting the diversity of the city (Wood & Landry, 2008); however, as per the descriptions of participants themselves, some environments are more multicultural than others[48].

In line with the findings of Theme 3 ("Keeping work relations separate to social relations"), most participants *do not* mix work relations with social relations outside work. There are only a few exceptions, where participants have taken the option to include a significant *Other* from work, by choosing to place this person between the dotted lines of *work* and *friend*, which is also relevant to the variations of *work friend* or *close work colleague,* as described in Chapter Six, Theme 3 (e.g. Carolina, Enrica, Maria[49]). It is also interesting to note that, *not all* participants have chosen to include work colleagues in rings 0-3, which would suggest some degree of closeness (or 'centrality' in SNA terminology).  Eleven out of fifteen participants include work colleagues in rings 0-3. The remaining four participants (Ianthi, Kosmas, Margit, Paul) do not include any of their work colleagues in close emotional proximity. This could be interpreted as the need of some participants to attribute such a close bond only in a friendship capacity; collegiality might still be important enough, as a great amount of time is spent at work (Wellman, 1996).  Yet this does not translate into an ease of communication (Van Leer, et al., 2006) for all participants. Nevertheless, for those participants who did include work colleagues in rings 0-3, the pattern of this work-related sociality in these rings should be checked in relation to the higher–order clusters, as well as contrasted with more loose work ties in rings 4-7: it is only Kosmas who does not utilize his work cluster at all. In-depth cosmopolitanism prevails in work-related sociality for both inner and outer rings; however, it is only in the inner rings that  a number of participants still achieve some level of closeness through either transnational (Enrica, Maria) or cultural cosmopolitanism manifestations (Darek).

---

[48] In terms of this sample this will become clearer when I discuss rings 4-7 for the work quadrant: For example, three out of the six people who did not include anyone from work in in their 'close ties' rings work in environments which are quite homogenous in terms of nationality/ ethnicity (**Ianthi** working for an English Heritage Trust consisting mostly of British employees; **Peter** working in a printing company in the suburbs consisting mostly of British employees; **Kosmas** working in a Greek school consisting mostly of Greek employees).

[49] It is also important to mention that one participant (Kosmas) did not include anyone in the work quadrant, as he does not even involve himself in work-related socialising, such as sharing lunch breaks. Given the overall composition of Kosmas's sociogram, it is obvious that this is also a dispositional element involved for Kosmas, as even in his friends' quadrant, he only includes 3 people in total, one in ring 1-3 and one in rings 4-7. The rest of his socialising comes from only his music interests, where he shares the musical experience with other musicians when actually performing.

*8.5.1 Transnational and Cultural Cosmopolitanism at work: rings 0-3*

For Darek, homophily in relation to cultural proximity is still evident here, as two out of five of his work colleagues in rings 0-3 are from Eastern Europe.   One could claim that this is quite balanced with a more in-depth cosmopolitanism, as nationality / ethnicity heterophily extends beyond cultural/ regional proximity for the remaining three of his work colleagues (South Africa, Britain, and Italy); furthermore, two of his culturally dissimilar co-workers are positioned in ring 1. Nevertheless, one if his culturally similar others (positioned in ring 2), has only recently arrived in the office, and it seems that Darek is rediscovering how culture may play an important role in what I have coined 'immediacy of understanding'[50], even in a work environment:

> *So the office is not a huge one, so this would be pretty much it.  These are the people who are closest to me except the CEO.  There is... Although, no, she is kind of coming along more and more into the circle – Olga.  She is from Ukraine.  She is married as well.  She has British citizenship as well and we have a connection.  I mean, it is not...  I don't know.  I still – the same – it's just the Slavic soul, I think.  She understands me.  I can talk to her and it's like some kind of very rudimentary understanding. (p. 16)*

In line with Theme 2, "Immediacy of understanding and emotional support", this is also becoming relevant to work-related sociality. Interestingly however, Darek also uses a further typification to reflect his growing connection with Olga; he refers to British citizenship, as yet another form of acquired belonging, one that also informs this immediacy of understanding, possibly in the form of a shared level of commitment to the host country.

Maria only includes two work colleagues (one of same nationality, one of close cultural proximity) whom she considers emotionally close at work, hence I had to think closely as to under which criterion I would prioritise one higher-order cluster over another; the criterion here was whom she considers closer ('R', ring one, Spanish, whom she spreads across the two quadrants – friends and work cluster), forming a full semicircle around her name. Maria reflected upon the importance of this relationship by making a visual distinction in her map, which is what also highlighted the importance of a visual phenomenology (Seamon, 2000) in her sociality patterns. She also shares other similarities with 'R' and 'I'; they are both female and of the same age range. This is followed by openness to the culturally dissimilar *Other* in her 0-3 work-related sociality. Maria also includes an English man in his fifties in the colleagues she feels at ease with, this diversifying her level of cosmopolitan openness at work.

---

[50] Theme 2: 'Immediacy of Understanding & Emotional Support in London and abroad;  subtheme [2a]: 'Cultural Proximity in Mixed Networks'

### 8.5.2 Status-related and In-depth cosmopolitanism at work: rings 0-3

For the remaining eight participants, who did include work colleagues in rings 0-3, it is either status-related cosmopolitanism or in-depth cosmopolitanism that forms the main tendency in this sub-quadrant. This remains context-dependent socialising; whenever activities are mentioned, these are limited to drinks after work, or a work-related dinner.

For Akis and Giancarlo, nationality/ ethnicity heterophily prevails beyond plain cultural proximity, but it is bound to a particular status characteristic. Akis follows a similar pattern with his outer rings in the friendship and activities cluster. He only includes one person in his 0-3 work rings, typified by pure nationality/ethnicity heterophily, but it is again both gender, age and marital status homophily that probably allow an effortless communication as well a shared affect (Macey, 2000; Leys, 2011) in their ways of relating. For Giancarlo, *immediacy of understanding* is achieved by a shared sexuality status; there is total heterophily in terms of age and nationality.  Still, Giancarlo considers 'C' quite close to him, positioning her in ring 2. Although his socialising with 'C' (white-English, 50ies, Transgender) does not extend into the friendship quadrant, the actual point of connection is sexuality and mutual academic interest.

For Noel, Norad, Marianne, Pietra, Carolina and Bruno, this is further depicted by an in-depth cosmopolitanism, which is not bound to a particular status characteristic. As Carolina and Bruno have already been consistent with this pattern in their friendship and activities quadrants, I am not going to discuss them further in this section; they seem to be at ease with the culturally dissimilar *Other* across different contexts, and across inner and outer rings in their mappings; hence, as work is context-dependent socialising, it should not come as a surprise that their in-depth cosmopolitan attitudes extend to their work environments too. For Noel, Marianne, Pietra and Norad however, and especially for the inner rings of their work-related sociality - which I consider as carrying more agency by the actor - this becomes even more context dependent;  Marianne, Pietra and Norad, all work in academic environments. , There is therefore a tendency for academics to socialise more with other academics[51], even while this sociality also does not translate into outside-work sociality, at least not for this sample. Compared to participants working in other professions, most people working in academic environments also included more work colleagues in rings 0-3. The sound engineer (Noel) also exhibited a similar pattern. It seems like common interests as informed by one's professional identity (McPherson, et. el., 2001) succeed in bringing people closer emotionally; it is

---

[51] If one adds Giancarlo's status-related cosmopolitanism, who also works in Academia, this tendency becomes even stronger.

the 'immediacy of understanding as work-related sociality', that is of relevance in this study. Gender homophily also plays a role here; for those academics in the sample who work in social sciences, gender homophily prevails, and it is female. In others (International Relations) it does not. Similarly, for the sound engineer gender homophily prevails, and it is male.

### 8.5.3 Work-related sociality: Rings 4-7

Contrary to the above, more participants include work colleagues in rings 4-7, which does not exactly come as a surprise, since this can easily relate to Theme 3a: "affiliated but not [closely] connected". In some cases, because of the scarcity of work colleagues in rings 4-7, some are completely non-conclusive and they don't fit in any of the four clusters. Giancarlo for example, includes only two people in his outer work rings, where one is Italian and male (hence could be attributed as transnational affect, plus gender homophily) and the other Canadian and female (hence possibly attributed to in-depth cosmopolitanism, plus gender heterophily), with no further characteristics/ typifications mentioned. Hence, there are not enough data for me to use and I have to completely omit it. In contrast, for his other work colleague in ring 2 he offered a more distinct typification straight away (transgender) and then provided also the age of the person. Therefore this connection seems to be quite significant to Giancarlo and provided me with enough information to include her in the analysis. Same goes for Pietra, who only includes two work colleagues in her rings 4 and 5 but did not provide further typifications for one of them: she only referred to the person as 'just a nice colleague'. The other one is a British-Indian male, but is not enough for it to be interpreted further. Furthermore, similar to Marianne, she includes so many colleagues in close proximity in rings 0-3, that the two colleagues she includes in rings 4-7 become almost irrelevant for interpretation.

As with rings 0-3, there is a high prevalence of in-depth cosmopolitanism for rings 4-7; this has only occurred for the work quadrant. The main difference between inner and outer rings of the work quadrant is that cultural and transnational cosmopolitanism become irrelevant in rings 4-7. As seen earlier in this section, one could argue that there is still some agency involved in the inner rings, manifested as the 'centrality' of some colleagues over others; this being accompanied by cultural or transnational manifestations. Therefore, sociality patterns in the outer rings become even more context-dependent socialising than those in the inner rings; in other words, it is the city structure that wins over in this sub-quadrant. The main distinction within that is the following; for some, this is an engagement with the cultural *Other*, manifested mostly as a relationship to British colleagues

and at times has to do with work environments that are more homogenous. For example, Ianthi works for the British Heritage and all of her colleagues are either British or Irish; Peter works for a Printing Company in the London suburbs, where again most of his colleagues are White British; Enrica works for the NHS in East Sussex, where the population is much more homogenously British than a Central London NHS Trust. For others, in very specific environments, such as Academia, in-depth cosmopolitanism is even deeper, manifested as pure nationality/ ethnicity heterophily. Academic mobility is itself a phenomenon, as academics frequently relocate for career progression (Ackers, 2005); hence, the actual composition of such work environments is inherently more diverse. Common life trajectories, manifested as same life-stage and/ or marital status, are also another example of structure over agency in work-related socialising. Even if this does not translate into friendship, it is again a consistent structural element (McPherson, et al., 2001), which facilitates the ease in such interactions.

### 8.6 'Family and Other Important Connections' Quadrant:

### Family abroad, Neighbours, and non-classified significant Others

Most participants (Ianthi, Darek, Akis, Maria, Margit, Enrica, Kosmas, Peter, Marianne, Pietra, and Carolina) have used this quadrant to refer to family in their country of origin; only on a few occasions did participants use this quadrant in a different way, including either neighbours (Norad, Maria) or significant others who had not been placed in the friends' quarter (Norad, Margit, Kosmas). As already discussed in Theme 2b ("Transnational bonds as emotional reciprocity"), maintaining frequent contact with their family of origin, was extremely significant for participants. This was further manifested in their positioning of family members in rings 0-2.

Because of the primacy of family abroad in this quadrant, the four types of cosmopolitan manifestations which I have used so far are not relevant for this quadrant. On the contrary, this could be attributed to a pure form of family-related transnationalism, where cross-border connections are maintained as 'social remittances' through frequent cheap calls (Vetrovec, 2009) and frequent travel to the homeland for the purposes of transnational social care (Merla & Baldessar, 2014). For the cases where the 'Other' quadrant was utilised differently, this sometimes referred to neighbours in London, who were usually positioned in the outer rings. This is again context-dependent sociality, which follows a similar pattern to that of the outer rings of work-related sociality; it still deserves a position in the actor's map but is quite remote. For example, Norad uses ring 5 for his neighbours. He also utilises the Other quadrant in a differentiated manner, by including in it most of his culturally dissimilar others (e.g. Equador, Ghana), both in London and

abroad, as well as past work connections. They appear as remote as his neighbours; nevertheless, they are still important enough for Norad's life trajectory to be included. As a further differentiation from the primacy of family abroad in this quadrant, Kosmas and Margit include some of their soul-friends here. This is an interesting variation; perhaps the actors here are taking the spatiality element literally, separating them from their London-based sociality. Kosmas keeps the first two rings for his family and only positions his long term friends in ring 4; a positioning that could be explained by the infrequent – yet still- significant contact with these long-lasting friends. For Margit, these soul friends are still close to her heart, as she positions them in ring 2. Nevertheless, she does not include them in her friends and activities' quadrant, possibly because of differences in life trajectories that intersect with a spatial differentiation performed by the actor.

### 8.7 Concluding Remarks

Mapping sociality aimed at understanding *specific* social relations as they occur across time and space. This allowed for an extra scrutiny on the themes established from the narrative analysis of participants' responses.  Qualitative interviewing had gathered some information concerning their attitudes towards cosmopolitanism, the emotional significance of 'soul friendships' and family ties, as well as a search for an immediacy of understanding in their choice of mixed over ethnonationally homogenous networks.  The depiction of their actual significant others in a visual format, provided me with the opportunity to compare these attitudes with their actual social relations (Hollstein, 2011).  It is important to acknowledge that all participants had arrived alone, with no ties to follow[52], which meant that they had to create a support network from scratch. All participants have been settled in London for a number of years; therefore their current sociality patterns, as depicted in their sociograms demonstrate how a willingness to engage with the Other is situated according to existing social structures. Nevertheless, there was still a level of agency in how they related to the diversity of the city, where they actually chose to socialise and with whom they felt they could connect for practical and emotional support. As already established in their narrative responses, participants have a preference for mixed networks on the basis of common interests and lifestyle choices. Furthermore, they had already acknowledged that, no matter their overall attitude towards openness, they still found it easier to relate to people of a similar cultural background, this not being exhausted on people of the same nationality as theirs. This was understood as a form of rooted cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2006), which is still bound by categories of belonging informing their social practices (Beck, 2002; Beck & Sznaider, 2006). Structural factors, such as internalised rules and resources (Giddens, 1984), as well as shared stocks of knowledge (Schutz, 1967; 1970) manifested as

---

[52] Also explored under Theme 1a

shared values or interests are also at play; nevertheless, actors are also active agents in their personal network construction. Actors might be competent enough to discursively report their actions and intentions, as they did during individual and focus group interviewing, but they "cannot necessarily do so for their motives" (Giddens, 1984, p. 6). A number of identity referents, activated by a process of self-other identification brought these motives to the fore. Hence, further reflection was achieved during this mapping exercise. This is where actors at times realised that their actual social relations were somewhat different to what they thought: e.g. Carolina: "I don't know how Brits sneaked in there"; Magrit: "Oh, I didn't realise I had so many Hungarians; this is embarrassing".

From a visual phenomenological perspective (Seamon, 2000), it was the actual mapping of sociality patterns that made the implicit explicit, both for participants and for myself. It is the primacy of either culturally similar (region-based) or culturally identical (nation-based) significant others that allows for a further openness towards a culturally dissimilar *Other* to occur. Once the actor feels that enough safety and stability has been established in their London-based sociality through an 'immediacy of understanding' or a 'shared affect', then the actor' cosmopolitan openness can go further. This was highlighted by the prevalence of either transnational or culturally–bound cosmopolitanism in the rings closer to self for a high number of participants. It can be further understood as a Self-Other identification in the actor's identity construction: a search for some form of similarity beyond just 'distinctive marks' (Bourdieu, 1992) of cultural, symbolic and educational capital. This was especially present in what I have named *voluntary sociality;* i.e. a sociality that does not depend on either family ties or context-dependent socialising. Once the close friends – or 'soulmates' in Akis' words – were identified and reflected upon by both the actor and myself, a more thorough analysis of their remaining sociality patterns became possible. Some of the actors, whose primacy of transnational connections was evident both in London and abroad, also exhibited a more in-depth cosmopolitanism for their remaining important connections (Margit, Darek, Norad, Pietra). Interestingly however, for participants who exhibited a primacy of Cultural Cosmopolitanism for their closest ones (i.e. in rings 0-3) in London, this was closely followed by stronger transnational bonds at home. Frequently, these long-lasting ties had moved positioning from the inner to the outer rings of their personal network but nevertheless remained important. It is as if a broader sense of a cultural identity is established by this pattern. They can then relate more openly to the culturally dissimilar *Other* in London; yet, such openness is dependent on the anchoring that cultural proximity provides. This finding is in line with Theme 2 of the phenomenological analysis of participants' narratives' in chapters six and seven: an *immediacy of understanding* is essential for a sense of rooted belonging before the actor can engage with their own intention for a more in-depth 'cosmopolitan play' (Armitage, 2012).

London-based sociality is more important for most of the actors, and this is further manifested by a sociality that extends beyond the boundaries of voluntary sociality. Participants had a choice whether to include work colleagues, neighbours or family members. Work-related sociality might not be reaching the level of friendship but it remains nonetheless important to participants, as the majority includes work-colleagues in rings 0-3. Culture as a category of belonging is not as strong here, as one does not choose their colleagues; skilled professionals might have chosen their area of work (Kennedy, 2005; Watt, 2007) but they have not chosen their work colleagues. Nevertheless, professional identity demonstrates its importance, by the inclusion of several work colleagues in their personal network map; this can be understood as triangulation with Theme 4b ("Professional Identity") by means of Self-Other identification (Lamont & Molnar, 2002). Theme 3 ("Keeping work relations separate from social relations") is also triangulated here; in this sample, actors include their work colleagues as yet another group belonging but this not informing their sociality outside work, on most occasions. In this sample, patterns of sociality go beyond the pure accumulation of social capital; they also provide the grounds for understanding how identities are negotiated in various spheres of social action.

**Where the Transnational meets the Cosmopolitan: A Review**

_____

## 9.1 Introduction

This study focused on highly-skilled migrants who have settled in London. The main research aim was to explore the possible intersection between transnational practices and cosmopolitan openness for skilled EU-migrants residing in London (research aim 1). Keeping in mind the issues that have emerged from the ethnic bias in the study of transnationalism (Favell, et. al. 2008; Glick-Schiller, 2008; Amelina & Faist, 2012) and drawing on existing work with skilled migrants from various national backgrounds who live in major European cities (e.g. Favell, 2008; Kennedy, 2010a), I focused on the micro level of migrant's daily activities and social relations, both in London and abroad. It has already been argued in the literature that, the "cosmopolitan dimension and the maintenance of ethnic/ national ties, gendered identities or religious commitment can occur simultaneously in the daily activities of some people" (Glick Schiller et al., 2011, p. 399). In order to address this possible intersection between transnational social practices and cosmopolitan openness in more detail, I looked at participants' sociality patterns (research aim 2), with a special emphasis on their significant others, both in London and abroad. Narrowing this further down, I looked at how they negotiate multiple identities in their everyday life (research aim 3).

In the last three chapters I looked at the thematic analysis of participants' narratives as they emerged from both one-to-one interviewing and focus group discussion (chapters 6 & 7), before moving onto the discussion of the sociogram maps (chapter 8). In the first section of this chapter, I will attempt to bring the findings of the different sets of methods utilised in this study together. Revisiting the research aims of this study, I will be providing a summary of the main findings, followed by a discussion of theoretical and methodological implications. Limits of both theory and practice will also be part of this section, looking at what may be learned from such an approach. The discussion then shifts to suggestions for future research in light of the current economic and political climate in Europe in general and post-Brexit Britain in particular.

**Summary of Findings**

Looking at the themes emerging from participants' narrative responses, ethnically mixed networks are a conscious choice for participants. This was evident not only in the desire to mix with culturally dissimilar others in the city landscape but also as a conscious social act in their personal network construction. The majority of participants clearly stated that, they avoided socialising in ethnonationally homogenous groups. If one considers identity as a project that can only be materialised through intersubjectivity (Crossley, 1996; Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009), participants' sociality patterns manifested an intention to socially differentiate themselves from the boundaries of ethnicity and nationality. In this study, Intra-EU skilled migrants preferred to form networks on the basis of common values and interests, rather than ethnicity; Bourdieu's social and symbolic capital (1984; 1990) becomes relevant here. The transiency of London networks may facilitate this openness; migrants maintain an open attitude to potential new friendships, as frequently some of their close connections may relocate.

Participants were quite vocal about their attitudes and they expressed this in great detail: quotes regarding a cosmopolitan openness were abundant in both one-to-one and focus group responses. Looking at this first theme in isolation, one might be misguided to think that a full cosmopolitan openness is expressed in their views, perhaps only situated within the boundaries of a 'transferable habitus' of shared values and interests.  It is as if participants have internalised the discourse of London diversity and are eager to present themselves in light of London's 'common sense' sociability; i.e. an openness to new experiences, mostly in the form of cross-cultural consumption and celebratory assertions on the city's casual cross-cultural interactions (Beck, 2002; Onyx , et al. 2011). Consistent with sociological understandings of cosmopolitanism at the micro-level of social interaction and identity construction (Delanty, 2006), participants' cosmopolitan attitudes are formed in light of a place-based identification as Londoners, as they engage with culturally-dissimilar others in the city.

However, as the interview process proceeded, the need for some form of belonging became more evident. This was mostly depicted in the second theme: "Immediacy of Understanding, both in London and abroad". In London-based close connections, this was mostly expressed by feeling more at ease with migrants sharing broader cultural or regional characteristics; for instance, significant others originating from the Mediterranean or the Eastern European Region. An ease of communication was based more on a shared affect (Bunnell, et al., 2012), manifested in embodied responses such as shared modes of expressivity or restraint, shared modes of joking, shared experiences of weather and landscape.  This immediacy of understanding, manifested through

embodied responses was present both by closer relationships with culturally/ regionally similar others and through some 'co-ethnic sociability' (Boccagni, 2010) in London. The latter is similar to the observations of Favell (2003b) and Conradson & Latham (2005). Co-ethnic sociability demonstrated the possibility for more embodied transnational expressions, such as transnational affect (Wise & Velayutham, 2006), whereby pre-reflective Self-Other identifications connect transmigrant actors to their homeland.

Transnational connections abroad also maintain their significance but, contrary to early transnational literature (e.g. Portes et al., 1999), such bonds are neither extensive nor do they relate to transnational business or entrepreneur networks. On the contrary, these are close emotional bonds, expressed both in close family contact as well as in some 'soul friendships' (Morasanu, 2013), providing a kind of continuity in participants' personal biographies. Regardless of 'time-space distantiation', a characteristic of late modernity (Giddens, 1984), long-lasting social bonds maintain their significance, as spatialized relations may extend beyond the boundaries of physical proximity.

If one looks at these findings in conjunction with the actual depiction of participants' personal networks (egocentric sociograms), the intention of mixed networks is both confirmed and slightly contested. In relation to their London-based sociality, the thematic analysis of interview responses revealed a prominence of culturally proximate, yet not mono-ethnic significant others. When turning into sociogram analysis however, this sociality pattern appears slightly more nuanced. Mapping their own sociality, participants revealed more London-based mono-ethnic significant others than could be assumed through interview responses alone. Significant transnational bonds do not exhaust themselves in maintaining family bonds and 'soul friendships' (Morasanu, 2013) back home; rather, there is still a need for some transnational 'rooting' in their London-based sociality. Therefore, an embodied transnational practice at the identitarian-attitudinal level (Bocaggni, 2010) still informs and situates their cosmopolitan openness.

For the persons closer to participants (rings 0-3 in the sociogram maps), there is a prevalence of either monoethnic connections, both London and abroad (transnational cosmopolitanism)[53], or prevalence of culturally proximate connections (cultural cosmopolitanism). In cases where one form of cosmopolitan sociality precedes, the other one follows; where monoethnic connections prevail, these are followed by culturally proximate ones. Where culturally proximate ones prevail, these are followed by monoethnic ones. The need for an immediacy of understanding through some form of

---

[53] As per my definition of transnational cosmopolitanism in the previous chapter, this includes "co-ethnic sociability (Boccagni, 2010) as an embodied transnational expression of cross-border affective ties (Wise & Veltuytham, 2006). More traditional expressions of transnational social practices, such as maintained contact with co-ethnics in the host country or other parts of the globe (Vetrovec, 2009), will also be addressed under that category" (Ch. 8, p. 163).

nested cultural belonging is therefore highly present. These are still classified as rooted forms of cosmopolitanism (either transnational or cultural cosmopolitanism), as in most cases their close connections are not completely homogenous. Participants also include close emotional bonds (rings 0-3) with culturally dissimilar others.

For some participants, a more in-depth cosmopolitanism (i.e. cosmopolitan social practices that extend beyond culturally proximate ones) is still possible. In most of these cases, it is a status-based cosmopolitanism situating this openness; it may take the form of a shared gender or parenthood status. This was more apparent in participants with families, whereby openness to the culturally dissimilar Other becomes easier through a family-related socialising. In-depth cosmopolitanism only occurred with two participants; an assumed marginality status (either childfree by choice or sexuality status) appears to facilitate this process. It is therefore possible that some form of marginality entails an experience of Otherness; an experience that may facilitate an openness to difference in their own sociality patterns. Caution should be drawn to the fact that such observations cannot be generalised; nevertheless, it is an interesting finding which could be explored further in future research, focusing on marginality and its potential for intercultural openness.

When looking at their still significant, yet more remote connections (rings 4-7), openness to the culturally dissimilar other becomes more manifest. It is as if participants needed some form of familiarity before they could experiment with forming close emotional bonds with culturally dissimilar others. Hence, theoretical assertions of a rooted cosmopolitanism (e.g. Beck, 2002; Appiah, 2006) become relevant here. As Glick-Schiller et al., (2011) also state "cosmopolitanism can never be gender, ethnically or racially neutral" (p. 404).

Moving away from 'voluntary sociality', attention should also be drawn to 'work-related sociality'. The third theme, "keeping work relations separate from social networks", was highly triangulated: the way participants talked about their work colleagues in their interview responses matched their sociogram depictions. Overall, participants prefer to keep work relations separate to their friendship circles. When looking at their actual social relations at work through their maps, London's culturally diverse landscape is highly evident here, as most work environments reflect the cultural diversity of the city. Nevertheless, forms of 'rooted cosmopolitanism' are also evident here, and especially for participants who chose to include a work colleague in rings 0-3. Even though work-related sociability does not translate into potential friendship, in most cases a shared affect is again manifested here. Trends of cultural cosmopolitanism or status-related cosmopolitanism are evident in work-related sociality; "immediacy of understanding" is still obvious by the positioning of work colleagues sharing some of their own characteristics closer to the centre of the map. It is possible

that the shared educational and professional capital (Kennedy 2010a) promotes this cosmopolitan openness in their work-related sociality. Therefore, some shared form of belonging is still at play when choosing to position selected work colleagues in the inner rings.

Identity negotiations discussed during the interview process revealed three main categories of belonging: London, nationality and profession. London becomes a place identity, highly important in how participants define themselves. London becomes such a strong identity referent that participants refer to themselves as Londoners and are very much aware that London became a vehicle for their own self-development. To quote Maria: " *London has just helped me grow a lot in every sense and I don't think I would have grown so much or so far if I stayed in Spain, just because of the cultural diversity, because of the opportunities not just the work level, but also the personal development level"* (Interview transcript, p. 37). The other two main categories were discussed in light of where participants live, interact and embody these identities, with a high level of awareness as to how London facilitates professional development, as well as how nationality gets reconfigured in a highly diverse cultural landscape (Sanders, 2002; Ryan, 2010; Nowicka, 2015), such as that of a global city.

Other identities mentioned included parenthood, sexuality and spiritual affiliations; identities that surely informed participants' sociality patterns. This became more evident when looking at participants' egocentric socioagrams. A process of self-Other identification and differentiation came to the fore as a visual phenomenon. Nationality might get reconfigured in the context of a global city like London; nevertheless, a prevalence of monoethnic or culturally proximate connections became more apparent when participants were asked whom they would prioritise in their networks when in need for practical or emotional support. Beyond nationality, culture or ethnicity, what was also prevalent in these self-Other identifications was gender, age and family status. Looking therefore at social and symbolic boundaries (Lamont & Molnar, 2002), it seems that these forms of social belonging retain their significance in such identity negotiations. On the other hand, no other social groupings came to the fore when typifying significant others. Professional and class distinctions were not used as much, with only a few exceptions. This was in interesting phenomenon; It is possible these were taken for granted as shared habitus attributes (Bourdieu, 1990), internalised to such an extent that participants did not utilise them as signifiers of difference.

Overall, participants presented some level of awareness about the limits of cosmopolitanism in the social landscape of London. Some are more aware than others; this became apparent in the last theme "depth of cosmopolitan attitudes". Certain participants maintain a romanticised view of the city's diversity and refer more to examples of cross-cultural consumption (e.g. ethnic restaurants,

diversity as a spectacle through everyday casual encounters). Others are more aware of its limits and discuss the unsurpassed social and symbolic boundaries of class and racial distinctions (e.g. Sanders, 2002). Incorporating a focus group into the research design allowed for some heated discussion about class boundaries. In turn, this provided a space for participants to reflect on what might constitute their own limits of cosmopolitanism. This last theme is somewhat separate from the sociogram mapping exercise; the focus is more on everyday social practices in the context of London, rather than on how this might affect their actual social relations. The tension between an openness to the cultural Other through practices of everyday (Onyx, et al., 2011) or banal cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002; 2004) and their concrete social relations (Wellman, 1996) is therefore more inferred rather than triangulated.

**Theoretical and Methodological Implications**

Focusing on sociality patterns for non-elite yet highly-skilled migrants who have decided to settle in London, this study explored how cosmopolitan openness can coexist with transnational social practices. In line with globalisation as well as migration scholars, findings demonstrate both localised and distanciated social relations (Albrow, 2001; Vetrovec, 2004), with participants maintaining significant social bonds in London, in their home country, as well as other parts of the globe. Focusing on strong social ties, such as friendships that span across time and space, this study demonstrates the need to understand how mobile social actors apply spatial practices in their close sociality patterns (Bunnell et al., 2012). Looking beyond the instrumentality of weak ties which characterises broader social networks (e.g. Granovetter, 1983) there is a need to understand how personal networks facilitate successful migrations. Furthermore, by placing special emphasis on personal network construction in highly-diverse social environments, such that of a global city, allows for a more thorough analysis on the processes of transnationalisation (Sassen, 1988; Vetrovec; 2001; Beck, 2002) and cosmopolitanisation (Beck, 2002; 2004) from an actor-focused empirical perspective. In both of these processes, some of the actors' intentions remain conscious, whereas others have been internalised as 'common sense' (Schutz, 1967; 1970). This is where an empirical phenomenological approach becomes helpful. In the context of this study, participants are consciously intending to maintain an openness and curiosity towards culturally dissimilar others; nevertheless, the limits of this openness come to the fore through their interview responses and their sociogram maps.

In an age of global mobility, one needs to look at what sustains individual migrations beyond structural macro-economic and social factors (Ley, 2004; Favell, et al., 2006). Looking at everyday lives in the global city (e.g. Albrow, 2001; Eade, 2001; Durrschmidt, 2001) and the intersubjective

encounters responsible for both social reproduction and social differentiation, allows for a thorough exploration of how such processes are embodied and materialised by migrant social actors. Friendships may provide support not only on practical matters but also in terms of life continuity, as an anchor of multiple identity negotiations (Pahl, 2000). No matter how advances in telecommunications might have facilitated the maintenance of long-distance bonds, this is frequently a 'punctuated sociality' characterised by interruptions of time-zone or lifestyle restrictions (Vetrovec, 2004). The relatively close distances and time-zones between London and the rest of Europe perhaps makes frequent visits easier than in other parts of the world, especially for Intra-EU migrants in skilled jobs, who can afford to frequently visit their friends and family abroad. As Baldassar and Wilding (2014, p. 249) also note, for middle-class migrant actors "each visit…. is not only an event in itself, but also a promise that there will more to come". As seen in this work, materialised transnational social practices stay highly personalised for participants; they mostly take the form of social remittances (Vetrovec, 2009), maintaining contact with family and long-standing friends in the home country. Transnational bonds are therefore mostly understood as 'emotional reciprocity' (Theme 2b). On occasion this might also take the form of 'transnational caregiving' (Baldassar & Wilding, 2014): Peter goes back to Sweden two-three times a year to care for his ageing parents, whereas for Marianne, it is her mother that frequently visits her in London and takes care of the children.

Nevertheless, face-to-face interactions maintain their significance in a globalised age (Zhao, 2004; Davies, 2011; Boccagni, 2012). Practical matters can only be resolved by one's trusted others in the current place of residence; something that is addressed by participants' significant others in London. As discussed earlier, Intra-EU migrants in this study seek to actively engage with difference: their personal networks consist of both culturally similar and culturally dissimilar significant others. Furthermore, most include monoethnic trusted others in London. This is where the notion of transnational affect (Wise & Velauytham, 2006) becomes relevant. This can be understood as an embodied transnational expression; a need to reconnect with the homeland is expressed at the identitarian-attitudinal level of transnational practices (Boccagni, 2012). That part of their social action remains pre-reflective and almost contests their conscious intention for highly diversified personal networks. Apart from the materialised cross-border relationships with 'soul friends' and family abroad, there is also a need to situate their cosmopolitan openness through some 'co-ethnic sociability'.

Situated forms of cosmopolitanism have been well-established in the literature (Beck, 2002; Appiah, 2006; Delanty, 2006). In the context of migration, this is frequently situated in transnational social

practices (Glick-Schiller et al., 2011). Ribeiro (2001), as well as Hannerz (interview with Rantanen, 2007) mention the possibility of a transnational cosmopolitanism as yet another form of situated cosmopolitanism, highly relevant for understanding migrant attitudes towards cosmopolitan openness. In the context of this study, such practices are not only understood at the relational-behavioural level but also at the identitarian-attitudinal level (Boccagni, 2012). If we consider the definition of the transnational social field as "a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships though which ideas, practices and resources are unequally exchanged, organised and transformed" (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004, p. 1009), it should follow that embodied expressions of such ideas, practices and resources are also part of that field.

As per findings however, transnational belonging is not the only way by which cosmopolitanism may be rooted; other forms of belonging could take priority over transnational connections as the 'rooting force'. Broader cultural or regional affiliations also form a nested category of belonging (Anderson, 2001; Robins, 2010), which may situate cosmopolitan practices beyond the boundaries of nationality. Furthermore, a small number of participants demonstrated a cosmopolitan sociability extending beyond cultural or regional proximity. This was especially true for participants indicating some form of marginality status (e.g. sexuality or childfree by choice) or participants with families, whereby sociality patterns are diversified through activities that involve children. In other words, openness to difference may not necessarily refer to ethnicity or nationality (Armitage, 2012). Transnational identity maintains its significance as a structuated category of belonging under globalised conditions (Lazar, 2011); nevertheless, other forms of belonging also situate cosmopolitan openness for skilled migrants in London.

The need for some form of 'rooting' before one engages with Otherness may manifest itself through several identity referents. The highly differentiated social landscape of global cities provides the context for this need to be materialised. This is, however, not a free narrative of conviviality (Gilroy, 2004); rather, cosmopolitanism is always race, ethnicity and gender bound (Pollock et. al., 2000; Appiah, 2006). Other categories of belonging, such as class, gender and relationship status, will not only inform transnational practices (e.g. Conradson & Latham, 2005; Smith, 2005); they will also apply to what constitutes identity negotiations in the context of cosmopolitanisation.

Looking at such processes from a micro-level of analysis allows for applications of existing adjectivised cosmopolitanisms to be explored in more detail. Scholars have long advocated for a need to eschew methodological nationalism in migration studies (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller, 2004; Favell, et al., 2006; Amelina & Faist, 2012). Beck (2002) has also advocated for the need of a methodological cosmopolitanism in the study of everyday glocalised social practices. Drawing on

such assertions, and in light of the findings of this study, I would also add the need to eschew methodological transnationalism in the study of skilled migrant social practices. It has well been established that maintaining enclosed sociality patterns might actually hinder personal as well as professional development, as the practical competence for social differentiation is minimised by such practices, frequently leading to downward mobility (Sanders, 2002; Vetrovec, 2004). Transnational belonging may still prevail both in migrants' consciousness (e.g. transnational affect) as well as in how transnational practices are materialised (e.g. maintained cross-border ties). Hence, it should maintain its significance in migration studies, without however becoming the sole assumption for network formations. As the findings of this study have demonstrated, this is where the intersection of transnational and cosmopolitan social practices becomes significant: situated forms of cosmopolitanism still entail transnational expressions. However, other identity referents are also situating cosmopolitan attitudes. Nested categories of belonging, such as broader cultural/ regional Self-Other identifications can serve as an example here. Looking at how skilled migrants negotiate their identities in their personal network formations, allows for the limits of cosmopolitan sociality to be explored.

With an empirical focus on both localised and distanciated significant others, there is potential for a further exploration of persistent social categorizations, such as class, gender or sexuality. Such categorisations occur alongside emergent social phenomena, for instance trusted social relations transcending other categorical distinctions, such as ethnicity or nationality. In the context of London, with its high levels of ethnic and cultural diversity (Wood & Landry, 2008), casual encounters with difference are a given; nevertheless, this does not always translate into meaningful social bonds that transcend ethnic or cultural differences (Valentine, 2008). On the other hand, in an era of de-traditionalisation and reflexive individuation (Beck & Beck-Gernscheim, 2002), social actors are frequently resorting to adaptive strategies in order to construct 'personal communities' (Pahl & Spencer, 2006) or 'families of choice' (Davies, 2011), which present the opportunity for boundary-crossing of prior habitus affiliations. Looking at the reflexive processes of intra-EU skilled migrants in London, participants are actively advocating ethnically diverse social relations in their sociality patterns. In other words, the phenomenology of everyday life under conditions of globalisation (Durrschmidt, 2001; Beck, 2002) becomes evident though a micro-level of analysis. Migrant social actors discuss their attitudes towards sameness and difference as they appear in their everyday social practices. The main conclusion that can be drawn from the findings is that migrant social actors maintain an open attitude to culturally dissimilar others, which extends beyond causal social encounters. Voluntary sociality patterns demonstrate it at most, as this is where limits of

cosmopolitan openness and transnational practices could be explored with a focus on actors' agency within the limits of structural constraints, such as internalised class and cultural prescriptions.

Such phenomena are probably more relevant to middling migrant positions. It is possible that the embeddedness in cities promoting diversity at an institutional level becomes more appropriately materialised through these positions. Global cities may attract global talent (Beechler & Woodward, 2009); however, this does not always translate into a level of income commensurate with the level of skill. If one looks at the everyday social practices of skilled migrant actors who are highly skilled but do not occupy positions in transnational corporations (e.g. Beaverstock, 2005; Bozkurt, 2008) or the highly specialised producer services in London's financial district (e.g. Sassen, 2001), one is able to explore everyday social practices which are less bound to instrumental forms of sociality, such as work-related networking practices. Considering the professional positions occupied by participants in this study, there is a high prevalence of practitioners in the helping professions, in academia, as well as in the arts. Irrespective of where in Europe they came from, they highlighted a desire to engage with the city's diversity through like-minded others. As demonstrated by the findings of this study, there is a high level of place-bound identification, which reveals a willingness to engage with London's diversity beyond work-related practices. Furthermore, market prices of London properties are frequently forbidding for further social mobility (Favell, 2003b; 2008), especially in the case of highly-skilled who are not high earners. For instance, Watt (2007, in Kennedy, 2010) has coined the term *marginalised professionals* for those London residents who, irrespective of being in jobs commensurate with their level of skill, cannot afford to buy property and so live in either deprived working-class areas or in areas 'up-and-coming' yet still in rented shared accommodation. They are usually highly engaged with their local communities, which are not only ethnically but also class diverse. Kendall et al. (2009) have also commented on the cosmopolitanisation of the helping or third sector professions, which actively promote progressive attitudes of social inclusion. In other words, a focus on 'form-of-life relations', as opposed to 'market relations' (Hannerz, 1996), allows for an exploration of sociality as intersubjectivity (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009). Looking at expressions of these actors' lifeworld, this study provided a phenomenological investigation of their sociality patterns, as well as an investigation of their identity negotiations.

### *Methodological Contributions*

Utilising a combination of visual and narrative methods to explore such phenomena allowed for both conscious intentions and unintended motives in sociality patterns to emerge. Participants may wish to portray themselves open and engaging with the city's diversity both at the level of random everyday encounters ('contemporaries' in Schutz's terminology) and at the level of the chosen

significant others ('consociates' in Schutz's terminology). The phenomenology of such intentions was mostly depicted in their individual narrative responses (one-to-one semi-structured interviewing). Their 'concrete social relations' (Wellman, 1999), as well as their 'unintended consequences' (Aspers, 2004) of these relations in terms of social and symbolic boundaries in identity negotiations (Lamont & Molnar, 2002), came to the surface through the focus groups discussion and their personal network maps (egocentric sociograms). Adopting a set of methods, which provided the means for both participants and researcher to explore what has been internalised as 'common sense' (Schutz, 1967; 1970) as opposed to their real life attitudes to diversity, allowed for a more thorough analysis of what constitutes different forms of 'rooted cosmopolitanism' (Beck, 2002; Appiah, 2006) in the context of a global city like London.  Such tensions emerged through the use of a focus group discussion, as well as the use of a sociogram looking at the identity referents of participants' significant others. It was through disagreements in the focus group that limits of cosmopolitanism were explored in more detail. This additional information would have been lost could if I had solely relied on one-to-one interviewing.

Furthermore, the mapping exercise allowed participants to actively realise their own limits of sociality while typifying significant others within social boundaries of nationality, ethnicity, gender, age, sexuality or relationship status. A willingness to be open to difference is therefore contested with what *situates*[54] this openness within social and symbolic boundaries (Samers, 2002). Intra-EU skilled migrants demonstrated an active engagement with Otherness in their voluntary sociality patterns (rings 4-7). This however, only becomes possible when they have formed close emotional bonds (rings 0-3) with either co-ethnics or with culturally dissimilar others sharing other forms of belonging, such as life-stage commonalities (parents with other parents or age-congruent sociality). Hence the actual set of methods facilitates a process of self-reflection for both participants and researcher. This occurs through contestations of pre-established, internalised attitudes of cosmopolitan openness while participants reflect on their actual social relations.

And here is where my self-reflexivity (Laverty, 2003) was also contested; I was expecting more diversified sociograms in terms of culturally-dissimilar strong ties. It was not only down to my own bias (i.e. how I have actively sought to engage with diversity at a personal level) but also in line of participants' own internalised bias, in the form of their interview responses; they had for instance highlighted their extra ease with culturally similar yet ethnonationally dissimilar others. While engaging with the mapping exercise however, it became evident that this was not the sole factor situating their cosmopolitan openness. Looking at relational patterns through this auxiliary visual

---

[54] Emphasis added

method allowed for this fact to be identified and – at times – reflected upon by participants themselves during interviewing.

This is where a phenomenological approach becomes significant. While trying to understand how social actors make sense of their worldview, the researcher needs to stay aware of not only the way social phenomena appear in the world (first-order constructs), but also of one's own self-reflexivity (Laverty, 2003) before engaging further with the process of interpretation. With the addition of the visual method (sociograms), my own bias, stemming from my positionality as an insider, became even more apparent and allowed me to further my own 'fusion of horizons' (Gadamer, 1975) alongside participants' self-realisations. Some if these realisations were highly relevant to the research questions. Akis for instance realised that his sociogram was nationally diverse but completely white. Carolina realised she included Britons in her close connections; a fact that was completely out of her awareness up to that point. Other participant realisations were not as relevant to the research questions but nevertheless interesting from a visual phenomenological perspective; with some participants for example, it became clearer how they relate to family or spouses, by either omitting them altogether or positioning them in more distant sociogram rings (Ianthi, Mayra, Nico, Norad).

Incorporating a visual phenomenological method in the process of interviewing allowed for a thorough examination of the tension between internalised motives, beliefs, values and actual depictions of their sociality patterns by means of the sociogram. This inevitably affected the way I engaged with existing social theory (second-order constructs), as 'unintended consequences' (Aspers, 2004) in participants' internalised motives, behaviours and modes of social action became more transparent through the use of a mixed methods' relational approach. Utilising this methodology allowed for a more thorough exploration of such beliefs, values and motives; furthermore, engaging participants with visual means allowed them to also engage in a process of self-reflection.

This is not to say that this procedure will necessarily have a lasting effect on participants. But providing them with the opportunity to actually explore their own bias in this process might be relevant for future research. Action research models for example, aiming at actual interventions at a community level, may find such realisations useful. Engaging participants in a community-based intervention, an action-based research group could work with these momentary realisations of participants own 'blind spots' in cosmopolitan openness before they once again fall out of their awareness. How a cosmopolitan sociality operates within the boundaries of multiple identity formations, and how this might be more actively contested as a project of personal and social

transformation, is highly relevant in the present times of rising social polarisations. Understanding cosmopolitanism as an everyday social practice which extends beyond causal social interactions entails the potential of social cohesion, intercultural exchange beyond the limits of tolerance, as well as the possibility for social differentiation. This is especially important at a time where a rise in xenophobia and right-wing extremism becomes ever more present in Europe. The next section will explore this in more detail.

**Directions for future work**

This study demonstrated the usefulness of adopting a mixed methods' phenomenological approach, whereby visual depictions of sociality patterns allow for a more thorough analysis of how cosmopolitan attitudes are embodied and materialised. Intra-EU migrants, from middling positions and of various national backgrounds, have well-established lives in London and are eager to engage with culturally dissimilar others in their personal networks.

Phenomena such as the intersection of transnational practices and cosmopolitan openness in participants' sociality patterns were not only situated in a London context; they were also situated in a particular point in time: data in this study were collected and analysed before Brexit. Furthermore, participants had settled in London before the Great Recession of 2008 brought an impact on life choices or difficulties with employment. Taking into consideration the effect of this emerging socioeconomic global risk, future research on skilled migrants of middling positions may prove useful. If we are to be reminded of the fact that both spatiality (e.g. global cities) and migrant integration strategies (e.g. Intra-EU skilled migrants in London) are better understood from a structuration perspective (Morawska, 2011), a further exploration of middling migrant positions is highly relevant. Highly-skilled middling migrants have a special role to play in keeping cities humane and caring (Thrift, 2005). Highly skilled, yet non-elite migrants live and interact with Others beyond the boundaries of work-related socialities or casual social interactions. They are not the detested elite, who are frequently keeping themselves disengaged from others different to themselves, maintaining a distance from everyday localised social practices (Kennedy, 2010b). As per the findings of this study, Intra-EU skilled migrants from middling positions exhibit high levels of place identification; this is why their contribution in promoting social differentiation should not be underestimated. Interestingly, at a time where European identity in the UK was not yet obtained a contested category, participants' place identification was only manifested by their self-identification as Londoners; not as Europeans. European identity needs to be revisited from an empirical perspective, one that addresses our common, globalised experiences in the current socioeconomic conditions; the latter including the effects of the Brexit vote on the social fabric of the UK, as well as

migrant-sending EU countries. Understanding cosmopolitan limitations for Intra-EU skilled migrants in London and thinking about how the lack of political involvement at the electoral level (Favell, 2008; Recchi, 2015) may affect their future embeddedness in the London landscape is useful when considering directions for future work.

Considering that this was a small, exploratory study, findings cannot be generalised. In fact, as I was looking at only two converging factors – i.e. level of skill and EU status – I resorted into purposive sampling (Smith & Osborn, 2007) aiming to explore sociality patterns and identity negotiations in light of these two factors. The emphasis was drawn more onto common experiences and the manner they negotiated multiple belongings, multiple identities as well as distanciated social relationships. Looking at patterns that emerged in the findings though, it became evident that specific life trajectories, such as family life or marginality status, had a great impact as to how cosmopolitan openness was situated. Hence, it might be useful to extend this study in the future, in order to address differences in life-stage or lifestyle thoroughly. Keeping the set of methods intact but extending the sample so as to include more participants with families, as well as more participants identified with some form of marginality (e.g. sexuality, child-free by choice, single by choice) might promote an understanding of the processes involved in social differentiation for the highly-skilled, yet non-elite EU migrants who have decided to settle in London.

Looking at regional differences within Europe (Recchi, 2015), as well as at how more recent arrivals engage with signifiers of sameness and difference, could also become relevant in future research. Given the impact of the global financial crisis on Southern Europe, it might be useful to look at integration pathways for these new mobilities, which may still exercise the right of free movement but are nevertheless more imposed than freely chosen, a situation totally different to that of the participants interviewed in this study.

One of the main arguments in this thesis was that, it is the global city that provides the grounds for social differentiation. Looking at Intra-EU migrants in particular, it applied a micro-sociological focus in examining how the 'intercultural city' (Wood & Landry, 2008) may facilitate greater cosmopolitan openness. As demonstrated earlier in this work, it is the middling positioning of Intra-EU migrants that allows that to happen, as 'form-of life relations' (Hannerz, 1996) allow more flexibility of self-definition, self-reflexion and self-differentiation. Contrary to the transnational elite, whose frequent relocations do not promote any place-bound identifications (Ley, 2004), for skilled migrants of middling positions, it is the place identification ('Londoner') that promotes negotiations of symbolic and social boundaries (Lamont & Molnar, 2002). Moreover, it promotes a cosmopolitan openness absolutely essential in times of nationalistic regressions, observed across the globe nowadays. With

regards to London in particular, during the first months after the Brexit vote, EU nationals were extremely nervous, and not without reason. The external threat was coming both from the shift in macro-level regional and global politics (the rise of populist-nationalist discourses, separatist politics, fake news) and from the micro and meso-level of xenophobic and Europhobic attacks after the vote (Speed, 2016). From a non-systematised perspective, and as an insider living and working in this city for the past fourteen years, the first few months were a shock to a large number of people, i.e. both EU-nationals and the 48% of Britons, who had voted to remain. Anecdotally, I heard EU-nationals say they were grateful that this seismic event found them living and working in London and not elsewhere is the UK. The social and spatial characteristics of London as a global city did not change from one day to the next. As a global city, which boasts for its cultural diversity and openness for generations (Wood & Landry, 2008; Kyllica, 2014), it still provided some comfort to EU nationals living and working here after the vote. It could be argued that London as a place identity still provides some reassurance of future living and working arrangements for EU nationals: its everyday cosmopolitanism (Onyx et al., 2011), as well as market forces pushing for some flexibility for existing EU residents.

In the current political climate of negotiations following the UK referendum results, the rights of EU citizens to live and work in the UK are still under threat. This would more likely apply to more recent Intra-EU migrations, and particularly for the unskilled (Erel & Tapini, 2017). It is however possible future residency arrangements will affect EU migrants of middling positions:  should an income cap and conditional work-permits be applied to such future residencies, it would definitely have an effect on the London landscape. Intra-EU migrants of middling positions, such as the ones who participated in this study, whose level of income is incommensurate with their level of skill, are also likely to be affected. Sassen's arguments (2001) on social polarisation between the transnational elite and the low-skilled would have to be re-examined both from a theoretical and an empirical perspective. Beyond large-scale comparative data of a place-bound approach at the meso-level of analysis however, the phenomenology of everyday social practices of EU migrants in the city would also have to be re-examined in light of these future arrangements. It is possible for example that, were this study to be replicated post-2019, work-related sociality, professional identity and class differentials would probably become more prominent. How resilient the diversity narrative of the global city would be, after post-Brexit arrangements are established, remains to be seen. As Calhoun (2003a) also notes: "when the limits of belonging to specific webs of relationships are transcended, this is not into a freedom of relationships but onto a different organisation of relationships" (p. 537). If we are to understand new variations and permutations in social reproduction, the *human face of global mobility* (Favell, 2006) should be re-examined in light of current developments.

Looking at how both transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes for skilled EU-migrant actors in this study, it is important to note that both intended and unintended consequences (Aspers, 2006) emerged from the analysis. It is already established in the literature that cosmopolitan attitudes are always situated in identity referents, such as nationality, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality amongst others (Appiah, 2006; Delanty, 2006). How such referents are negotiated in one's personal networks, what stays conscious and what is internalised in these negotiations is a by-product of both structural and agentic components. The need to belong remains a fundamental human quality; yet multiple forms of belonging have to be negotiated in everyday social practices (Sanders, 2002; Elliott, 2014); this is a fact of the human condition, irrespective of migration status. In uncertain times, such as the current post-Brexit politics, identity negotiations ought to be re-examined in relation to both transnational (Ribeiro, 2001) and other forms of 'rooted cosmopolitanism' (Appiah, 2006). The value of an empirical phenomenological perspective is that it brings internalised motives and identity affiliations to the surface. It would therefore be useful to utilise this method in unpacking attitude changes in EU-migrants and British counterparts alike. The UK has advocated diversity and openness to the cultural *Other* for decades (Commission for Racial Equality, 2007; Wood & Landry, 2008; Samption & Somerville, 2009). Consequently, it is imperative that any further research with London residents address emerging social phenomena such as xenophobia and nationalistic discourses before they become more embedded in our cities, our communities and our workplaces.

If one considers the persistent global financial crisis and the impact it has on middling positions, the responsibility of academics grows even higher than when Smith (2005), Favell (2003b; 2008) and Kennedy (2005; 2010a) drew attention to the phenomenon. Given the present political climate in the UK towards EU migration (Recchi, 2015), larger methodological designs, which are usually more relevant to policy makers, should also be considered. How policy might be addressing that in the future, remains an open question. Qualitative research methods are an invaluable source in understanding everyday life and in highlighting emergent social phenomena, such as rooted forms of cosmopolitan sociality. As demonstrated in this study's findings, openness to the culturally dissimilar Other beyond casual social interactions may facilitate not only successful migrations but also community cohesion at a local level. Calhoun (2003b) mentions the possibility of a cosmopolitanism from below;  one that should not only be applied to marginalised social positions, such as labour migration, but also to the possibility of a cosmopolitanism emanating from the middle, facilitating community integration in highly diversified social environments, such as London. It is people who are promoting the cultural diversity of global cities (Hannerz, 1996; Durrschmidt, 2001); not transnational corporations.

If we are to think of future policy implications however, a phenomenological research design will not prove sufficient. It might be useful to first extend such a design to a regional, family status and life-stage differences in more detail, perhaps combining a critical-realist epistemology with a phenomenological approach. Keeping in mind scholars' assertions of the need to examine the phenomenology of transnationalisation and cosmopolitanisation (Beck, 2002; Vetrovec 2001; 2004) under conditions of globalised risk (Beck, 2004), a larger scale project should not refrain from examining everyday social practices. At the same time, different epistemologies might be utilised to address different expressions of social phenomena in a language appealing to policy makers. Maintaining the current phenomenological set of methods would still allow for a thorough examination of what constitutes internalised limits to cosmopolitan attitudes. Combining such data with a post-positivist, critical-realist perspective might provide the grounds for a more quantitative approach to be comprised in such a design. If we are to look at research strategies to be utilised for future policies affecting highly-skilled migrants, who are well integrated in the city landscape but are not high earners, we need to demonstrate how "the real life experiences of agents" (Favell, et al., 2006., p. 6) become relevant at an institutional level.

# References

Ackers, L. (2005). Moving People and Knowledge: Scientific Mobility in the European Union. *International Migration*. 43 (5), pp. 91-129

Agnew, J. (1987). *Place and Politics: the Geographical Mediation of State and Society*. Boston: Allen and Unwin.

Agnew, J. (2011). Space and Place. J. Agnew and D. Livingstone (eds.) *Handbook of Geographical Knowledge.* London: Sage., p. 316

Albrow, M. (2001). Travelling beyond Local Cultures: Socioscapes in a Global City. In Eade, J. (Ed). *Living in the Global City*. London: Routledge., pp. 37-55

Albrow, M. Eade, J., Durrchschmidt, J. & Washbourne, N. (2001). The Impact of Globalisation on Sociological Concepts: Community, Culture & Milieu. In Eade, J. (Ed). *Living in the Global City*. London: Routledge., pp. 20-36

Allan, G. (1989). *Friendships: Developing a Sociological Perspective*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley

Amelina. A. & Faist, T. (2012). De-Naturalizing the National in Research Methodologies: Key Concepts of Transnational Studies in Migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 35 (10). pp., 1707-1724

Amin, A. (2006). *The Good City. Urban Studies*. 43 (5/6). pp., 1009-1023

Amirou, R. (1989). Sociability/ Sociality. *Current Sociology*. 37 (1)., pp. 115-120

Anderson (1991). *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso

Anderson (2001a). Multiple Transnationalism: Space, the State and Human Relations. Princeton University. *Working Paper WPTC-01-15*.

Anderson (2001b). Different Roots, Common Ground: Transnationalism and Migrant Domestic Workers in London. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*. 27 (4), pp. 673-683

Appadurai A. (1990). Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. In Featherstone, M. (Ed). *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*. London: Sage., pp. 295-310

Appiah, K. A. (2006). Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers.  London: Penguin

Argyle, M. (1992).  The Social Psychology of Everyday Life. London : Routledge

Armitage, N. (2012). *The Cosmopolitan Play:  A Biographical Network Approach*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Manchester

Aspers, P. (2004). Empirical Phenomenology in Social Science: an Approach for Qualitative Research. *Papers in Social Research Methods*. London School of Economics, Qualitative Series, 9.

Baldassar, L. & Wilding, R. (2014). Middle-Class Transnational Caregiving: The Circulation of Care Between Family and Extended Kin networks in the Global North. In Baldassar, L. & Merla, L. (Eds). *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care.* Oxfordshire: Routledge., p.235

Bannel, D. K. & Himelfarb, A. (1985). The Work-Leisure Relationship: Towards a useful Typology. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*. 6 (4)., pp. 22-25

Barbour, R (2007). *Doing Focus Groups*. London: Sage

Basch, L., Glick-Schiller, N. & Szanton –Blanc, C. (1994). *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialised Nation-States*. London: Routledge.

Beaverstock, J. V. Smith, R.G. & Taylor. P. J. (2000 [2006]). World-City Network: A new Metageography? In Brenner, N. & Kiel, R.(eds). *The Global Cities Reader*. Abington: Routledge ., pp. 96-103

Beaverstock, J.V. (2005). Transnational Elites in the City: British Highly-Skilled Inter-Company Transferees (ICT's) in New York City's Financial District. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies.* 31 (2), pp. 245-268

Beck, U. (1986). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage

Beck, U. (1999). *World Risk Society*. Cambridge: Polity

Beck, U. (2002). The Cosmopolitan Society & Its Enemies. *Theory, Culture and Society*., 19 (1-2), pp. 17-44

Beck, U. (2004). Cosmopolitical Realism: on the Distinction between Cosmopolitanism in Philosophy and Social Sciences. Global Networks. 4 (2)., pp. 131-156

Beck, A. Giddens, A. & Lash, S. (1994). Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition & Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order. Cambridge: Polity Press

Beck, U. & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Institutionalized Individualism and its Social and Political Consequences*. London: Sage

Beck. U. & Sznaider., N. (2006). Unpacking Cosmopolitanism for the Social Sciences: A Research Agenda. *The British Journal of Sociology*. 57 (1), pp. 1-23

Beechler, S. & Woodward, I. C. (2009). The Global "War for Talent". *Journal of International Management*. 15, pp. 273-285

Berg, J. H. & Clark, M. S. (1986). Differences in Social Exchange between Intimate and Other Relationships: Gradually Evolving or Immediately Apparent? In Derlega, V. J. & Winstead, B. A. (Eds). *Friendships and Social Interaction*. New York, NY: Springer-Verlag, p.101

Berger, P. & Luckmann, T. (1966 [1991]). *The Social Construction of Reality*. London: Penguin

Boccagni, P. (2010). Exploring Migrants' Affective Ties at a Distance: Is "Multi-Sited" Ethnography enough? Centre on Migration, Citizenship and Development (COMCAD). *COMCAD Arbeitspapiere - Working Papers*. Working Paper 71

Boccagni, P. (2012). Revisiting the "Transnational" in Migration Studies: A Sociological Understanding. *Revue Européenne des migrations internationals. 28 (1)., pp. 1-19*

Bourdieu, P. (1984 [2010]). *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Judgement of Taste*. Oxon: Routledge

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In J. Richardson, (Ed). *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood., pp. 241-260

Bourdieu, P. (1990). The Logic of Practice. Cambridge: Polity Press

Bourdieu (1992). *Language and Symbolic Power*.  Cambridge: Polity Press

Bozkurt, O. (2008). Wired for Work: Highly-Skilled Employment and Global Mobility in Mobile Telecommunications Multinationals. In Smith, M. P.  & Favell, A. (2008). The Human Face of Global Mobility: International Highly Skilled Migration in Europe, North America and the Asia-Pacific. *Comparative Urban and Community Research, 8*., p. 211

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development.* London: Sage

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, pp. 77-101

Brenner & N. Kiel, R. (2006).*The Global Cities Reader*. Abington: Routledge

Bunnell, T., Yes, S., Peake, L., Skelton, T. & Smith, M. (2012). Geographies of Friendships. *Progress in Human Geograpghy.* 341 (4), pp. 490-507

Calhoun, C. (2003a). Belonging in the Cosmopolitan Imaginary. *Ethnicities*., 3 (4), pp. 531-568

Calhoun, C. (2003b). The Consciousness of Frequent Travellers: Towards a Critique of Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism.  In Vetrovec., S. & Cohen, R. (Eds). *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press., pp. 86-109

Cappellin, R. (2004). International knowledge and innovation networks for European Integration, Cohesion and Enlargement. *International Social Science Journal*. 56 (180), pp. 207 -225

Carey, M. A. (1994). The Group Effect in Focus Groups. Planning, Implementing and Interpreting Focus Group Research. In Morse, J.M. 1994 (Ed). Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods. London: Sage

Castells, M. (1996 [2005]). The Network Society. In Castells, M. &Cardoso, G. *The Network Society: From Knowledge to Practice*. Washington, DC: John Hopkins Center for Transatlantic Relations., p.3

Castles, S. (2002) Migration and Community Formation Under Conditions of Globalization. *International Migration Review*. 36 (4), pp. 1143-1168

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis.* London: Sage

Charmaz, K. (2009). Grounded theory. In Smith, J. A. (Ed). *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods*. London: Sage, p. 81

Chiswick, B.R. & Miller, P.W. (2009). The International Transferability of Immigrants' Human Capital.

Christou, A. & King, R. (2006). Migrants Encounter Migrants in the City: The Changing Context of 'Home' for Second Generation Greek-American Return Migrants. *International Journal of Urban and Migration Research*. 30 (4), pp. 816-835

Chua, V. & Wellman, B. (2011). Egocentric Networks. In Barnet, G. A. (Ed). *Encyclopaedia of Social Networks*. London: Sage

Ciccheli, V. (2014). Living In A Global Society, Handling Otherness: An Appraisal of Cosmopolitan Socialization. *Quaderni di Teoria Sociale* 14. p. 217-242.

Citrin, J. & Sides, J. (2004). More than Nationals: How Identity Choice Matters in the New Europe. In Herrmann, R. K., Risse, T. & Brewer, M. B. (Eds) (2004. *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, p.161

Clark, A. (2007). Understanding Community: A Review of Networks, Ties and Contacts. Working Paper. *ESRC National Centre for Research Methods*. NCRM paper., 09/07

Clark, M.S. & Mills, J. (1979). *Interpersonal Attraction in Exchange and Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 37, pp. 12-24

Cohen, R. (1981). The New International Division of Labor, Multinational Corporations and Urban Hierarchy. In Brenner, N. & Kiel, R.(eds). *The Global Cities Reader*. Abington: Routledge, pp. 49-56

Cohen, M. Z., Kahn D. L. & Steves, R. H. (2000. *Hermeneutic Phenomenological Research*: A Guide for Nurse Researchers. Methods in Nursing Research. London: Sage.

Collaizi, P. (1978). Psychological Research as the Phenomenologist Views it. In Valle, R. & Kings, M. (Eds.) *Existential Phenomenological Alternative for Psychology*. New York: Oxford University Press., p. 48

Commission for Racial Equality (2007). *Promoting Interaction between People from Different Ethnic Backgrounds*. SHM report

Conde, I. (2011). Crossed Concepts: Identity, Habitus and Reflexivity in a Revised Framework. CIES e-Working Paper 113/2011.

Conradson, D. & Latham, A. (2005). Friendship, Networks and Transnationality in a World City: Antipodean Transmigrants in London. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*, 31 (2), pp. 287-305

Creswell, J. W. (1994). *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*.

Creswell, J.W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches.* London: Sage.

Creswell J. W. & Plano Clark, V. L. (2010). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. London: Sage

Crossley, N. (1994). *Intersubjectivity: The Fabric of Social Becoming*. London: Sage

Cuba, L. & Hummon, D.M. (1993). Constructing a Sense of Home: Place Affiliation and migration across the Life Cycle. *Sociological Forum*. 8 (4). , pp. 547-572.

Dahinden, J. (2013). Cities, Migrant Incorporation, and Ethnicity: A Network Perspective on Boundary Work. *International Migration & Integration*. 14., pp. 39-60

Dahlberg, K., Dahlberg, H. & Nystrom, M. (2008). Methods in Nursing Research. *Reflective Lifeworld Research*. Lund: Studetlitteratur.

Data Protection Act (1998). *The National Archives*. Retrieved from: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents

Datta, A. (2009). Places of Everyday Cosmopolitanism: East European construction Workers in London. *Environment and Planning A*. 41 (2)., pp 353-370

Davies, K. (2011). Friendship and Personal Life. In May, V. (Ed). *Sociology of Personal Life*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 72-84

De Haas, H. (2005). International Migration, Remittances and Development: Myths and Facts. *Third World Quarterly*. 26 (8). pp. 1269-1284.

Delanty, G. (2006). The Cosmopolitan Imagination: Critical Cosmopolitanism and Social Theory. *The British Journal of Sociology.* 57 (1), pp. 25-47

Denzin, N. K. (2009). Interpretative Interactionism A Postmodern Approach to Everyday Life. In Jacobsen, M. H. (Ed). *Encountering the Everyday: An Introduction to the Sociologies of the Unnoticed, p. 397*

Duck, S. (1986). *Human Relationships*. London: Sage

Duncan, J, (2000). Place. In Johnston, R.J., Gregory, D., Pratt, G. and Watts, M. (2000). The Dictionary of Human Geography. Oxford: Blackwell., p. 582

Durrschmidt, J. (2000). *Everyday Lives in the Global City: The Delinking of Locale and Milieu*. London Routledge

Durrschmidt, J. (2001) The Delinking of Locale and Milieu: On the Situatedness of extended Milieu in a Global Environment. In Eade, J. (Ed). *Living in the Global City*. London : Routledge., pp. 56-72

Dustman, C. & Weiss, Y. (2007) Return Migration: Theory and Empirical Evidence from the UK. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*. 45 (2), pp. 236-256

Eade, J. (2001). *Living in the Global City*. London : Routledge

Eberle, T. (2012). Phenomenological Life-World Analysis and Ethnomethodology' s Program. *Human Studies*. 35, pp. 279-304

Edles, L.D. & Applerouth, S. A. (2009 . *Sociological theory in the Classical Era: Text & Readings*. London: Sage

Edwards, G. (2013). "Infectious Innovations? The Diffusion of Tactical Innovation in Social Movement Networks, the Case of Suffragette Militancy." *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest* n/a(2013)

Elliott, A. (2001 [2014]). *Concepts of the Self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Elliott, A. &  Urry. J. (2010) *Mobile Lives*. London: Routledge

Erel, U. & Tapini, E. (2017). From Insecurity to Insecurity: Black and Minority Europeans in the UK. Retrieved from: www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/umut-erel-elisavet-tapini/from-insecurity-to-insecurity-black-and-ethnic-minority

Fainstein. S. (2001). "Inequality in Global-City Regions". In Brenner, N. & Kiel, R.(eds). *The Global Cities Reader*. Abington: Routledge, pp. 111-117

Faist, T. (1997). The Crucial Meso-Level. Faist T (1997) In: Hammar T, Brochmann G, Tamas K, Faist T (Eds). *International Migration, Immobility and Development: Multidisciplinary Perspectives.* Oxford: Berg., pp. 187–217.

Faist, T. (2006). The Transnational Social Practices of Migration. Working Paper, 10. *Centre for Migration, Citizenship and Development.* Bielefeld: COMCAD

Favell, A. (2003a). 'Eurostars in Eurocities: Towards a Sociology of Free Moving Professionals in Western Europe'. San Diego, University of California: Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper, 71

Favell, A. (2003b). Games Without Frontiers? Questioning the Transnational Social Power of Migrants in Europe. Archives *Europeennes de Sociologie*. 3., pp. 106-136

Favell, A. (2006 [2008]). London as Eurocity. In Favell, A. & Smith, M. P. (2006) The Human Face of Global  Mobility: Internationally Highly-Skilled Migration in Europe, North America and the Asia-Pacific. *Comparative Urban & Community Research.* 8, pp. 247-274

Favell, A. (2008). *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe*. Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing

Favell, Feldblum & Smith, (2006 [2008]). The Human Face of Global Mobility: a Research Agenda. In Smith,   M.P. & Favell, A. (eds). The Human Face of Global Mobility: Internationally Highly-Skilled Migration in Europe, North America and the Asia-Pacific. *Comparative Urban & Community Research*. 8., pp. 1-28

Fawcett, B. & Hearn, J.  (2004). Researching Others: Epistemology, Experience, Standpoints and Participation. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*. 7 (3), 201-218

Fearfull, A. (2005). Using Interpretative Sociology to Explore Skill and Knowledge. *Int. J. Social Research Methodology*. 8 (2), pp. 137-150

Featherstone, M. (2002). Cosmopolis: An Introduction. *Theory, Culture and Society*. 19 (1-2), pp. 1-16

Finch, J. (2007). Displaying Families. *Sociology*. 45 (1)., pp. 65-81

Fine, G. A. (1986). Friendships in the Work Place. In In Derlega, V. J. & Winstead, B. A. (Eds). *Friendships and Social Interaction*. New York, NY: Springer-Verlag., p. 185

Finlay, L. (2009). Debating Phenomenological Methods. *Phenomenology &Practice*, 3 (1), pp. 6-25

Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class*. United States: Basic Books

Friedmann, J. & Wolff (1982). "World City Formation: An Agenda for Research and Action". In Brenner, N. & Kiel, R.(eds). *The Global Cities Reader*. Abington: Routledge, pp. 57-66

Friedmann, J. (1986). "The World City Hypothesis". In Brenner, N. & Kiel, R.(eds). *The Global Cities Reader*. Abington: Routledge ., pp. 67-71

Friedmann, J. (1995) Where we stand: A decade of World Cities Research. In Knox, P.L. & Taylor, P.J. (eds). *World Cities in a World System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 21-47

Friedmann, J. (2001). World Cities Revisited: A Comment. *Urban Studies*. 38 (13)., pp. 2535-2536

Fiske, A. P. (1992). The Four Elementary Forms of Sociality: Framework for a Unified Theory of Social Relations. *Psychological Review*. 99 (4)., pp. 689-723

Fuhse, S. & Muetzel, J., (2011). Tackling Connections, Structure and Meaning in Networks: Quantitative and Qualitative in Sociological Network Research. *Quality & Quantity: International Journal in Social Methodology*. 45 (5)., pp. 1067-1089

Gadamer, H-G. (1975). *Truth and Method*. London: Sheed and Ward

Ganga, D. & Scott, S. (2006). Cultural "Insiders" and the Issue of Positionality in Qualitative Migration Research: Moving "Across" and Moving "Along" Researcher-Participant Divides. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*., 7 (3).        Retrieved from: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/134/290 Accessed 28.12.14

Geys, B. & Murdoch, Z. (2010). Measuring the 'Bridging' versus Bonding Nature of Social Networks: a Proposal for Integrating Existing Measures. *Sociology.* 44 (3), pp. 533-540

Gilroy, P. (2004). After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture? London: Palgrave

GFMD – Global Forum on Migration and Development (2007). Highly Skilled Migration: Balancing Interests and Responsibilities. *GFMD Working Paper*. Brussels: GFMD

Giddens. A. (1984 [1990]). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity

Giddens. A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity

Gilbert, P. (1991). Human Relationships: A Philosophical Introduction. Oxford: Blackwell

Giorgi, A. (1989). One Type of Analysis of Descriptive Data: Procedures Following a Phenomenological Method. *Methods*, 1, pp. 39-61

Giorgi, A. & Giorgi, B. (2007). Phenomenology. In Smith, J. (Ed.) *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods*, p. 25

Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago: Aldine

Glaser, B. G. (2002). Constructivist grounded theory? *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 3., Art. 12

Glick-Schiller, N. & Fouron, G. (1998). Transnational and National Identities: The Identity Politics of Haitian Immigrants. In Smith, P. & Guarnizo, L. E. (eds.), (1998). Transnationalism from Below. *Comparative Urban & Community Research*, 6, p. 64

Glick-Schiller, N. (2008). Beyond Methodological Ethnicity: Local and Transnational Pathways of Immigrant Incorporation. Malmo: Malmo University, Willy Brandt Working Paper Series 2/ 08.

Glick-Schiller, N. (2010) A Global Perspective on Transnational Migration. Theorising Migration without Methodological Nationalism. In Bauböck, R. & Faist, T. (eds.) *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, pp. 109-129.

Glick-Schiller, N., Darieva, T. & Gruner-Domic, S. (2011). Defining Cosmopolitan Sociability in a Transnational Age. An Introduction. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*. 34 (3), pp. 399-418

Gofman, E. (1971). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. London: Penguin

Granovetter, M. (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties. *American Journal of Sociology*. 78 (6)., pp. 1360-1380.

Granovetter, M. (1983). The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory revisited. *Sociological Theory*, 1, pp. 201-233

Groenewald, T. (2004). Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated. *International Journal of Qualitative Research Methods*. 3 (1), pp. 42-55

Gruner-Domic, S. (2011). Transnational Lifestyles as a New Form of Cosmopolitan Identification? Latin American Women in German Urban Spaces. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*. 34 (3), pp. 471-489

Guba, E.& Lincoln, Y. G. (1994). Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research. In In Guba, E. & Lincoln, Y.S. eds (1994) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. p. 105

Habermas, J. (1992). *PostMetaphysical Thinking: Philosophical Essays*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Hall, P. (1966). *The World Cities*. New York: McGraw-Hill

Hamnett, C. (1994). Social Polarisation in Global Cities: Theory and Evidence. *Urban Studies*. 31 (3), pp. 401-424

Hannerz., U. (1990). Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture. *Theory, Culture and Society*. 7., pp. 237-251

Hannerz, U. (1996). *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*. London: Routledge

Hannerz, U. (2002). Where we are and who we want to Be. In Hedetoft, U. & Hjort, M. (Eds). *The Post-National Self: Belonging and Identity*. Minnesota: Minnesota University Press., p. 217

Hatziprokopiou, P. (2009). Strangers as Neighbours in the Cosmopolis: New Migrants in London, Diversity and Place. In Hemelryk, D, Kofman, E. & Kevin, C. (Eds): *Branding Cities: Cosmopolitanism, Parochialism and Social Change*. New York: Routledge. p. 14

Heap. J. L. & Roth, P. A. (1973). Phenomenological Sociology. *American Sociological Review*. 38 (3), 354-367

Heidegger, M. (1962 [2004]). Being and Time. Oxford. Blackwell

Hersberger, J. A. (2003). A Qualitative Approach to Examining Information Transfer via Social Networks among Homeless Populations. *The New Review of Information Behaviour Research: Studies of Information Seeking in Context*, 4, pp. 95-108.

Highmore, B. (2002). Introduction: Questioning Everyday Life. In Highmore, B. (Ed). *The Everyday Life Reader.* London: Routledge., pp. 1-34.

Holloway, I. (1997). *Basic Concepts for Qualitative Research*. Oxford: Blackwell

Hollstein, B. (2011). Qualitative Approaches. In Scott, J & Carrington, P. J. (Eds). *The Sage Handbook of Social Network Analysis*. London: Sage., p. 404

Hollway, W. (2005). Three Views on Hate: Psychoanalysis. In Spears, R. Hollway, W. & Edwards, D. 2005 (joint authorship). Three views on Hate. *The Psychologist*. 18 (9), pp. 544-547.

Hormuth, S.E. (1990). *The Ecology of the Self: Relocation and Self-Concept Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hornborg, A. (2016). Artifacts have Consequences, not Agency: Towards a Critical Theory of Global Environmental History. *European Journal of Social Theory*. Ahead of Print, DOI: 10.1177/1368431016640536 pp. 1-16 Accessed 20.04.16

Jacobsen, M. H. (2009) Introduction: The Everyday: An Introduction to an Introduction. in Jacobsen, M. H. (Ed). Encountering the Everyday: An Introduction to the Sociologies of the Unnoticed, p. 1

Jansen, S. (1998). Homeless at Home: Narrations of Post-Yugoslav Identities. In Rapport, N. & Dawson, A. (Eds). (1998). *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of Home in a World of Movement*. Oxford:  Berg, p. 85

Jenkins, R. (1996 [2008]). *Social Identity*. London: Routledge

Johnston, R.J. (2000) World City. In Johnston, R.J.; Gregory, D., Pratt, G. & Watts, M. (eds). *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Oxford: Blackwell., pp. 900-901

Kafle, N. S. (2011). Hermeneutic Phenomenological Research Simplified. *Bodhi: An Interdisciplinary Journal*. 5, pp. 181-200

Karnielli-Miller, O.  Strier. R. & Pessach, L. (2009). *Power Relations in Qualitative Research, Qualitative Health Research*, 19 (2). 279-289

Kastoryano, R. (2000). Settlement, Transnational Communities and Citizenship. *International Social Science Journal*. 165, pp. 307-312

Kendall, G., Woodward, I., Skrbis, Z. (2009). *The Sociology of Cosmopolitanism*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kennedy, P. (2005). Joining, Constructing and Benefiting from the Global Workplace: Transnational Professionals in the Building-Design Industry. *The Sociological Review*, 53 (1), pp. 172-197

Kennedy, P. (2010a). Mobility, Flexible Lifestyles and Cosmopolitanism: EU Postgraduates in Manchester. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*. 36 (3), pp. 465-482

Kennedy, P. (2010b). *Local Lives and Global Transformations: Towards a World Society*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Khadria, B. (2004). Migration of Highly Skilled Indians: Case Studies of IT and the Health Professionals. *OECD Science, Technology and Industry Working   Papers*, 2004/6, OECD publishing

Khoo, S.,  McDonald. P, Voigt-Graf, C. & Hugo, G. (2007). A Global Labour Market: Factors Motivating the Sponsorship and Temporary Migration of Skilled Workers to Australia. *International Migration Review*. 42 (2),pp. 480-510.

Kim. K-k. & Berard, T. (2009) Typification in Society and Social Science: The Continuing Relevance of Schutz's Social Phenomenology. *Human Studies*. 32. 263-289

King, R. (2012). Theories and Practices of Migration: An Overview and a Primer. Willy Brandt Series in International Migration and Ethnic Relations. Malmo: Malmo University, Working Paper Series 3/12

Kitzinger, J (1995). Introducing Focus Groups. *British Medical Journal*. 311, p. 299-302

Kobayashi, A. (2009). Identity Politics. In Thrift, N. & Kitchin, R. 2009 (Eds). *The Human Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Oxford: Elsevier., p. 282.

Kofman, E. (2000). The Invisibility of Skilled Female Migrants and Gender Relations in Studies of Skilled Migration in Europe. *International Journal of Population Geography*, 6, pp. 45-59

Kofman. E. (2005). Figures of the Cosmopolitan: Privileged Nationals and National Outsiders. *Innovation* 18 (1)., pp. 83-97

Krackhardt, D. (1992) The Strength of Strong Ties: The Importance of Philos in Organizations. In Nohria, N. & Eccless, R.G. (eds). *Networks and Organizations: Structure, Form and Action*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press, p. 216-239

Kvale, S. (1992). Psychology and Postmodernism. London : Sage

Kyllika, A. (2014). *Performance Cities: London Pre-Shard/ Post-Shard. Installation performance on the History of London settlements from the Roman Era to Today*. Programme: RichMix London, 8th February 2014

Lamont, M. & Aksartova, S. (2002). Ordinary Cosmopolitanisms: Strategies for Bridging Racial Boundaries among Working-Class Men. *Theory, Culture & Society*. 19 (4), pp., 1-25

Lamont, M. & Molnar, V. (2002). The Study of Boundaries in Social Sciences. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 28, pp. 167-195

Langbridge, D. (2007). *Phenomenological Psychology: Theory, Research and Method*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Lather, P. (1986). Research as Praxis. *Harvard Educational Review* 56(3). No pages given

Lather, P. (1992). Human Sciences and Postmodernism. In Kvale, S. (Ed), *Psychology and Postmodernism.* London: Sage, p.88

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Laverty, S. M. (2003). Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Phenomenology: A Comparison of Historical and Methodological Considerations. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods 2 (3)*. Retrieved form htts://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/2_3final/pdf/Laverty.pdf

Law, J. (2009). Actor Network Theory and Material Semiotics. In Turner, B. S.(Ed). *The Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*. Chichester, UK: pp. 141-158

Lawler, S. (2008). Social Identity. Cambridge: Polity Press

Lazar, A. (2011).  Transnational Migration Studies. Reframing Sociological Imagination and Research. *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology & Sociology*. 2 (2)., pp. 69-83

Lefebvre, H. (1958). Work & Leisure in Everyday Life. In Highmore, B. (Ed) 2002. *The Everyday Life Reader*. , p. 225

Legrain, P. (2007). *Immigrants: Your Country Needs Them.* London: Little Brown

Lemert, C. (2014). A History of Identity: The Riddle at the Heart of the Mystery of Life. In Elliott, A. (Ed). *The Routledge Handbook of Identity Studies*. London: Routledge., p. 3

Levitt, P. & Glick Schiller, N. (2004) Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society.  *International Migration Review*, 38 (145), pp. 595-629.

Ley, D. (2004). Transnational Spaces and Everyday Lives. *Transactions of British Geographers*. 29., pp. 151-164

Leys, R. (2011). The Turn to Affect: A Critique. *Critical Inquiry*. 37., pp. 434- 472

Luke, L. (2003 [2006]). "'Global Cities' vs. 'global cities': Rethinking Contemporary urbanism as Public Ecology. In Brenner, N. & Kiel, R. (Eds). *The Global Cities Reader*. Abington: Routledge, pp. 274-287

Lyotard, J-F. (1979 [1991]). *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Theory and History of Literature, Volume 10. Manchester: Manchester University Press

Macey, D. (2000). *The Penguin Dictionary in Critical Theory*. London: Penguin

Madison, G. A. 2006. Existential Migration. *Existential Analysis*, 17 (2). pp. 238-60.

Mahler, S. J. (1998) Theoretical and Empirical Contributions: Toward a Research  Agenda for Transnationalism. In Smith, P. & Guarnizo, L. E. (eds.), (1998). Transnationalism from Below. *Comparative Urban & Community Research*, 6, pp. 64- 100.

Maile. S. & Griffiths, D. (2012). Longings for Berlin: Exploring the Workings of the Psycho-Social Imaginary in British Migration. *Journal of Psychosocial Studies*. 6 (1)., pp. 30-53

Macnaghten, P & Myers, G. 2004, 'Focus groups'. In Giampietro Gobo, J.G., Seale, C. & D Silverman, D (Eds), *Qualitative Research Practice.* Sage, London, pp. 65-79.

Marques, H. & Metcalf, H. 2005. Ending Restrictions to Migration from the New EU Member Countries: Sectoral Trade and Real Wage Effects. *Contemporary  Economic Policy*. 24 (2), pages 287-299.

Marshal, B. & Kegels, G. (2003). Health Workforce Imbalances in Times of Globalization: Brain Drain or Professional Mobility? *International Journal of Health Planning and Management*. 18, pp. 89-101

Mason, J. (2011). What it means to be Related. In May, V. (Ed). *Sociology of Personal Life*. London: Palgrave: pp. 59-71

Massey, D. (2004). Geographies of Responsibility. *Geografisika Annaler*. 86B (1), pp. 5-18

Mau, S. Mewes, J. & Zimmermann, A. (2008). Cosmopolitan Attitudes through Transnational Social Practices? *Global Networks*. 8 (1), pp. 1-24

Mauthner, N.S & Doucet, A. (2003). Reflexive Accounts and Accounts of Reflexivity in Qualitative Data Analysis. *Sociology*. 37 (3), pp. 413-431

McCarty, C. Gambers, M., Lubbers, M. & Molina, J. (2011). Personal Networks: In Barnet, G. A. (Ed) *Encyclopedia of Social Networks*., pp. 702-704

McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L. & Cook, J.M. (2001). Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27., pp. 415-444

Mills, J., & Clark, M. (1994). Communal and Exchange relationships: Controversies and Research. In Erber, R. & Gilmour, R. (Eds). *Theoretical Frameworks for Personal Relationships* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associations: pp. 29-42

Morano-Foadi, S. (2005). Scientific Mobility, Career Progression and Excellence in the European Research Area. *International Migration*. 43 (5), pp. 133-162

Morasanu, L. (2013): Between Fragmented Ties and 'Soul Friendships': The Cross-Border Social Connections of Young Romanians in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 39 (3). pp. 353-372

Morawska, E. (2011). Studying international migration in the long(er) and short(er) durée: Contesting some and reconciling other disagreements between the structuration and morphogenesis approaches. University of Oxford: *International Migration Institute*. Working paper 44

Moustakas, G. (1994). *Phenomenological Research Methods*. London: Sage

Mouzellis, N. (2007). Habitus and Reflexivity: Reconstructing Bourdieu's Theory of Practice. *Sociological Research Online*. 12 (6) 9. Available URL: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/12/6/9.html. Accessed 27/02/15

Müller, F. (2011). Urban Alchemy: Performing Urban Cosmopolitanism in London and Amsterdam. *Urban Studies*. 48 (16)., pp. 3415-3431

Natanson, M. (1982). Introduction. In Schutz, A. (1962 [1982]). The Problem of Social Reality: Collected Papers 1. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. Pp. xxv-xlvii

Ni Laoire, C. 2007: The 'Green Grass of Home'? Return Migration to Rural Ireland. *Journal of Rural Studies*. 23. pp 332, 344.

Nowicka, M. (2012). Cosmopolitans, Spatial Mobility and the Alternative Geographies. *International Review of Social Research*. 2 (3), pp. 1-16

Nowicka, M. (2015). Bourdieu's Theory of Practice in the Study of Cultural Encounters and Transnational Transfers in Migration. *Working Paper 15-01*. Max Planck Institute for the Study of Ethnic and Religious Policy

OECD, (2012). Harnessing the skills of Migrants and Diasporas to Foster Developments: Policy Options. Retrieved from: http://www.oecd.org/migration/Policy_Brief_Migrants_En_BD%20DEFINITIF.pdf Accessed 06.01.15

Olofsson, A. & Ohman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and Locals: An Empirical Investigation of Transnationalism. *Current Sociology*. 55 (6)., pp. 877-895

Onyx, J. Ho, C. & Edwards, M. (2011),. Scaling up Connections; Everyday Cosmopolitanism, Complexity Theory and Social Capital. Cosmopolitan *Civil Societies Journal*. 3 (3)., pp. 47-67

Overgaard, S. & Zahavi, D. (2009). Phenomenological Sociology: The Subjectivity of Everyday Life. In Jacobsen, M. H. (Ed). Encountering the Everyday: An Introduction to the Sociologies of the Unnoticed, p. 93

Pahl, R. (2000). *On Friendship*. Cambridge: Polity

Pahl, R. & Spencer, L. (2010). Family, Friends and Personal Communities: Changing Models in the Mind. *ISER Working Papers*. 2010/01

Patton, M.C. (1990). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. Newbury Park: Sage

Pickel, A. (2005). The Habitus: *A Biopsychosocial Conception*. *Working Paper 05/1*. Centre for the Critical Study of Global Power and Politics.

Pickles, L. (1985). *Phenomenology, Science and Geography: Spatiality and the Human Sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pile, N. & Thrift, S. (Eds), 1996. *Mapping the Subject.* In Pile, N. & Thrift, S. (Eds), 1995. *Mapping the Subject.: Geographies of Cultural Transformation*. London: Routledge, p. 13

Pilgrim, D. (1997). *Psychotherapy and Society*. London: Sage

Polkinghorne, D (1983). *Methodology for the Human Sciences: Systems of Inquiry*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Pollock, S., Bhabha, H.K., Breckenridge, C.A. & Chakrabarty, D. (2000) 'Cosmopolitanisms'. *Public Culture* 12(3): 577–90.

Ponterotto, J.G. (2005). Qualitative Research in Counselling Psychology: A Primer on Research Paradigms and Philosophy of Science. *Journal of Counselling Psychology,* 52(2), 126-136.

Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., & Landolt, P. (1999). The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls & Promise of an Emergent Research Field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 22 (2)., pp. 217-237

Portes, A. (2001). Introduction: The Debates and Significance of Immigrant Transnationalism. *Global Networks.* 1: 181-194.

Pred, S. (1984) Place as a Historically-Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time Geography of Becoming Places. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 74, pp. 279-297

Pries, L. (2007). Transnationalism: Trendy Catch-all or Specific Research Programme? A Proposal towards Transnational Organization Studies as a Micro-Micro Link. Bielefeld: *Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development (COMCAD):* Working Paper No. 34

Psathas, G. (1973). *Phenomenological Sociology: Issues and Applications*. New York: Wiley.

Putman, R. & Gross, K.A. (2002). Introduction. In Putman, R. (Ed). *Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press., p. 1

Rabiee, F. (2004) Focus-Group Interview and Data Analysis. *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society*. 63, p. 655-660

Rantanen, T. (2007). A Transnational Cosmopolitan: An Interview with Ulf Hannerz. *Global Media & Communication*. 3 (1): pp. 11-27

Rapport, N. (1995). Migrant Selves and Stereotypes: Personal Context In A Postmodern World. In Pile, S. & Thrift, N. (Eds). *Mapping the Subject: Geographies of Cultural Transformation*. London: Routledge., p. 267.

Rapport, N. & Dawson, A. (1998). Home and Movement: A Polemic. In Rapport, N. & Dawson, A. (Eds). (1998). *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of Home in a World of Movement*. Oxford: Berg

Recchi, E. (2006 [2008]). From Migrants to Movers: Citizenship and Mobility in the European Union. In Favell, A. & Smith, M. P. (2006) The Human Face of Global Mobility: Internationally Highly-Skilled Migration in Europe, North America and the Asia- Pacific. *Comparative Urban & Community Research.* 8, pp. 53-80

Recchi, E. (2015). *Mobile Europe: The Theory and Practice of Free Movement in the EU.* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ribeiro, G. L. (2001). What is Cosmopolitanism? *International Encyclopaedia of Social and Behavioural Sciences* (4): 2842 – 45. London: Elsevier

Rippl, S., Bucker, N, Petrat, A. & Boehnke, K. (2010). Crossing the Frontier: Transnational Social Integration in The EU's Border Regions. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology.* 51: 5, pp. 5-31

Robertson, R. (1994). Globalization or Glocalization? *Journal of International Communication*. 1 (1)., pp 33-52

Robertson. R. (1995). Glocalization: Time-Space and homogeneity-heterogeneity. In Featherstone, M. & Lash, S. & Robertson, R. (eds). *Global Modernities*. London

Robins, K. (1996[2010]). Interrupting Identities: Turkey/Europe. In Hall, S. & Du Gay, P. 2000. (Eds). *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage., p.87

Robins, K. & Aksoy, A. (2001). From Spaces of Identity to Mental Spaces: Lessons from the Turkish – Cypriot Cultural experience in Britain. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*. 7 (4), pp. 685-711

Robinson, W. I. (2009). Saskia Sassen and the Sociology of Globalization: A Critical Appraisal. *Sociological Analysis*. 3 (1)., pp. 5-29

Rorty, Richard (1991). Inquiry as Recontexualization: An Anti-Dualist Account of Interpretation. In David Hiley, James Bohman, & Richard Shusterman (Eds.) *The Interpretive Turn: Philosophy, Science and Culture.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, p. 59

Roudometof, V. (2005). Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization. *Current Sociology*. 53 (1), pp. 113- 135

Ryan, L. (2010).  Becoming Polish in London: Negotiating Ethnicity through Migration. *Social Identities*. 16 (3), pp. 359-376

Ryan. L. (2011). Migrant Social Networks and Weak Ties: Assessing Resources and Constructing Relationships Post-Migration. The Sociological Review. 59 (4), pp. 707-724

Ryan, L. &  Mulholland, J. (2013). Trading Places: French Highly Skilled Migrants Negotiating Mobility and Emplacement in London.  *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 40 (1)., pp. 584-600

Ryan,L., Klekowski von Koppenfels, A. &  Mulholland, J. (2014) 'The Distance Between Us': A Comparative Examination of the Technical, Spatial and Temporal Dimensions of the Transnational  Social Relationships of Highly Skilled Migrants. *Global Networks*. 15 (2)., pp. 198-216

Saito, H. (2011). An Actor-Network Theory of Cosmopolitanism.  *Sociological Theory*. 29 (2)., pp. 124-149

Salt, J., 2008. Managing New Migrations in Europe: Concept and Reality in the ICT sector. In Bonifazi, C., Okolski, M., Schoorl, J., Simon, P. (Eds.) *International Migration in Europe*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam., pp 19-35

Samers, M. (2002). Immigration and the Global City Hypothesis: Towards an Alternative Research Agenda. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 26 (2). Pp. 389-402

Sumption, M. & Somerville, W. (2009). *The UK's New Europeans. Progress and Challenges Five Years after Accession*. London : Equality and Human Rights Commission. Available URL: http://oppenheimer.mcgill.ca/IMG/pdf/new_europeans.pdf

Sanders, J. M. (2002). Ethnic Boundaries and Identity in Plural Societies. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 28, pp. 327-357

Sassen, S. (1988). *The Mobility of Labor and Capital: A Study in International Labour and Flow*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sassen., S. (1991[2001]). *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sassen, S. (1996 [2006]). "Cities and Communities in the Global Economy". In Brenner, N. & Kiel, R.(eds). *The Global Cities Reader*. Abington: Routledge, pp. 82-88

Sassen, S. (2005). The Global City: Introducing a Concept. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*. XI (2)., pp. 27-43

Schutz, A. (1967 [1982] *The Phenomenology of the Social World*. Illinois: Northwestern University Press

Schutz, A. (1970). *On Phenomenology and Social Relations*. Chicago: Chicago University Press

Scott, S. (2006). The Social Morphology of Skilled Migration: The Case of British Middle-Class in Paris. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 32 (7), pp. 1105-1129

Seamon, D. (2000). A Way of Seeing People and Place: Phenomenology in Environment Behaviour Research. In Wapner, S. Demick, J. Yamamoto, T. & Minami, H. (eds.), *Theoretical Perspectives in Environment-Behavior Research*. New York: Plenum, p. 157.

Sibley, D. (1995). *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*. London: Routledge

Silverman, D. (2006). *Interpreting Qualitative Data*. London: Sage

Skey, M. (2012). We need to talk about Cosmopolitanism: The Challenge of Studying Openness towards Other People. *Cultural Sociology*, 6 (4)., pp. 471-487

Sklair, L. (2001). The Transnational Capitalist Class. Oxford: Blackwell

Skrbis, Z. & Woodward, I. (2007). The Ambivalence of Ordinary Cosmopolitanism: Investigating the Limits of Cosmopolitan Openness. *Sociological Review* 55:730–47

Skrbis, Z. & Woodward, I. (2013). *Cosmopolitanism: Uses of the Idea*. London: Sage

Smith, A. (1991). *National Identity*. London: Penguin

Smith, J. A. (1996). Beyond the Divide of Cognition and Discourse: Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis in Health Psychology. *Psychology and Health*. pp 261-271.

Smith J. A. & Osborn, M. (2007). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In Smith, J.A. (Ed). *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods*. London: Sage, page 51.

Smith, P. & Guarnizo, L. E. (1998). The Locations of Transnationalism. In Smith, P. & Guarnizo, L. E. (eds.), (1998). Transnationlism from Below. *Comparative Urban & Community Research*, 6, pp. 3-34.

Smith, M.P. (2001). Transnational Urbanism: Locating Globalization. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing

Smith, M.P. (2005). Transnational Urbanism Revisited. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 31 (2), pp. 235-244

Soja, E. W. (1985). The Spatiality of Social Life: Towards a Transformative Re-Theorization.

In Gregory, D. & Urry, J. (Eds). *Social Relations and Social Structures*. London: Macmillan Press., p. 90

Speed, B. (2016). The Rise in Hate Crime Reports is a Dark Sign of post-Brexit Britain. New Statesman, 17 June 2016. Retrieved from: www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/06/rise-hate-crime-reports-dark-sign-post-brexit-britain

Spencer, S. (1994). *Strangers and Citizens:  A Positive Approach to Migrants and Refugees*

Spencer, L. & Pahl, R.  (2006). *Rethinking Friendship: Hidden Solidarities Today*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Spinelli, E. 1998 [1989]. *The Interpreted World: An Introduction to Phenomenological Psychology*. London: Sage Publications

Starks, H. & Trinidad, S.B.  (2007). Choose your Method: A Comparison between Phenomenology, Discourse Analysis and Grounded Theory. *Qualitative Health Research*. 17 (10), pp. 1372-1380

Strauss A. L. & Corbin, J.  (1990). *The Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques.* Newbury: Sage

Tassinopoulos, A. & Werner, H. (1999). To Move or Not to Move: Migration of Labour in the European Union. *IAB Labour Market Research Topics.* 35, pp. 1-18 Available ULR: http://doku.iab.de/topics/1999/topics35.pdf. Viewed 12.04.08

Taylor, P. J. (2000). World-Systems Analysis. In Johnston, R.J.; Gregory, D., Pratt, G. & Watts, M. (eds). *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Oxford: Blackwell., pp. 901-903

Taylor, P. J. (2013). The Remarkable Legacy of Peter Hall's World Cities. *GaWC Research Bulletin 423.* Available URL: http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/rb/rb423.html Accessed, 2 February 2016

Thrift, N. (2005). But Malice Aforethought: Cities and the Natural History of Hatred. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. 30., pp. 133-150

Timotigevic, L. & Breakwell, G.M. (2000). Migration and Threat to Identity. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*. 10., p.p. 355-372.

Twigger-Ross, C. L. & Uzzell, D. L. (1996). Place and Identity Processes. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*. 16, pp. 205-220

Tuan, Y-F. (1977). *Place and Space: The Perspective of Experience.* Minneapolis: Minesota University Press.

Urry, J. (2002). *Global Complexity*. Cambridge: Polity

Valentine, 2008. *Living with Difference: Reflection on Geographies of Encounter*. Progress in Human Geography. 32 (3), pp. 323-337

Van Leer C.A., Koerner, A & Allen, D.M. (2006). Relationship Typologies. In Vangelisti,

A.L. & Pelman, D (Eds). *The Cambridge Handbook of Personal Relationships.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.91

Van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy.* London, Canada: State University of New York Press.

Vetrovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 2 (2)., pp. 447-462

Vetrovec, S. (2001). Transnationalism & Identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 27 (4), pp. 573-582

Vetrovec, S. (2002). Transnational Networks and Skilled Labour Migration. *Conference Paper: Ladenburger Diskurs 'Migration'Gottliev Daimer- und Karl Benz Stifftung*. Ladenburg, 14-15 February 2002.

Vetrovec, S. (2003). Migration and Other Forms of Transnationalism: Towards Conceptual Cross-Fertilization. *International Migration Review*.37 (3) 641-665Vetrovec, S. (2004). Trends & Impacts of Migrant Transnationalism. *University of Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS):* Working Paper No. 3

Vetrovec, S. (2009). *Transnationalism*. Oxon: Routledge

Vetrovec, S. & Cohen, R. (2002). Introduction: Conceiving Cosmopolitanism. In Vetrovec, S. & Cohen, R. (Eds) *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-24

Wagner, H. (1983). *Phenomenology of Consciousness and the Sociology of the Life-World*. Alberta, CA: Alberta University Press.

Waldinger, R. & Fitzgerald, D. (2004). Transnationalism in Question. American Journal of Sociology. 109 (5), pp. 1177-1195

Wallerstein, I. (1979). *The Capitalist World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wallerstein, I. (1984). *The Politics of the World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University

Warnock. M. (1970). *Existentialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Wellman, B. (1988). Structural Analysis: From Method and Metaphor to Theory and Substance. In Wellman, B. & Berkowitz, S.D. (Eds) *Social Structures: A Network Approach*. (Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences ; 2) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press., pp. 19-61

Wellman, B. (1996). Are Personal Communities Local? A Dumptarian Reconsideration. *Social Networks*, 18. pp. 347-354

Wellman, B. (1999). The Network Community: An Introduction. In Wellman, B (Ed) *Networks in the Global Village: Life in Contemporary Communities*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press., pp. 1-47

Wellman, B. (2007). The Network is Personal: Introduction to the Special Issue of Social Networks. *Social Networks*, 29., pp. 349-356

Werbner, P. (1999). Global Pathways. Working Class Cosmopolitan and the Creation of Transnational Ethnic Worlds. *Social Anthropology*. 7 (1), pp. 17-35

White, S., Blais, A., Gigenil, E. & Fournier, P. (2008). The Political Reorganisation of Immigrants: Resistance or Lifelong Learning? *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2), pp.268-281

Williams, A. M. & Balaz, V. (2005). What Human Capital, Which Migrants? Returned Skilled Migration to Slovakia from the UK. *International Migration Review*. 39 (2), pp. 439-468.

Willig, C. (2001). *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology: Adventures in Theory and Method.* Buckingham: Open University Press

Wimmer, A. & Glick-Schiller, N (2002). Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences. *Global Networks*., 2 (3), pp. 301-334

Wise, A. & Velayutham, S. (2006). Towards a Typology of Transnational Affect. Centre for Research on Social Inclusion. Working Paper No. 4. Macquarie University.

Wise, A. & Velayutham, S. (2014), Conviviality in Everyday Multiculturalism: Some Brief Comparisons between Singapore and Sydney. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*. 17 (4) pp. 406-430

Wodak, R. de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M. and Liehart, K. (1999). *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Wodak, R. (2000). National and Transnational Identities: European and Other Identities Constructed in Interviews with EU Officials. In Herrmann, R. K., Risse, T. and Brewer, M. B. (Eds) *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU. (Governance in Europe).* Alnham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield., p. 97

Wood, P. & Landry. C. (2008). *The Intercultural City*. London:  EarthScan

Zhao, S. (2004). Consociated Contemporaries as an Emergent Realm of the Lifeworld: Extending Schutz's Phenomenological Analysis in CyberSpace. *Human Relations*, 27, pp. 91 – 105

_____

**Middlesex University**

**School of Health & Social Science**

# Information for Participants

**Information about the project and about the researcher**

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research which I am undertaking as part of my PhD Thesis with the School of Health & Social Science, Middlesex University. **The confidentiality of all that we discuss will be respected**.

The research is titled: ***Intra EU-Highly Skilled Migration and the Negotiation of Multiple Identities in everyday life: Transnational Cosmopolitanism in London***

This research will focus on your experiences of everyday life outside work and on how you construct your life and your identity as a London resident. Deciding to stay in London after qualifying in one's professional field holds true for many highly-skilled migrants. A big part of how we define ourselves has to do with our professional identity. Another part is 'where we are from', something that is a common question when we meet others in London. Nevertheless, we also define ourselves in other ways: from the things we like, to the interests we have, to the activities we choose, to the people we socialise with. The purpose of the current study is to explore how highly-skilled migrants construct their social lives and their support networks. This study consists of an individual interview (stage 1) and focus group interviews (stage 2), during which you will have the opportunity to discuss and share your London life experiences with other highly-skilled migrants from the EU, who have settled here for 6 years or more.

Your personal details will remain strictly confidential: Names and locations would be altered so your anonymity is preserved. Whatever is discussed during the interview will also remain confidential and any copies of this interview will be destroyed after data analysis

The interview will last approximately 50 minutes. You will be asked 8 open-ended questions and the interview will be audiotaped electronically.

Participation is entirely voluntary for both individual and focus group interviewing: If you don't want to answer a question, that's fine. If at any point of the interview, you feel you do not wish to continue, you can withdraw at any time simply by saying you wish to do so.

If you have any further queries about this project you can contact myself Elisavet Tapini (researcher) or my research supervisors, Professor Elonore Kofman, Dr Louise Ryan or Dr Nollaig Frost using the e-mail addresses posed below:

e.tapini@yahoo.com; e.kofman@mdx.ac.uk; l.ryan@mdx.ac.uk; n.frost@mdx.ac.uk

If you choose not to answer any question, that will be perfectly acceptable. Similarly, if you feel at any stage that you no longer want to participate, then please do not hesitate to tell me.

**The Interviews**

The *individual interview* will last approximately 50 minutes.

The *focus group interview* (2 months after individual interviews) will last approximately 1 hour and 45 minutes. Refreshments and a light lunch will be provided after completion of group interviewing.

Interviews will be audio-taped and I therefore ask your agreement to do this. I will transcribe the recordings myself and recordings will then be destroyed. There will be no reference in the text of the dissertation to name, background, occupation or anything that might in any way identify you.

**Brief extracts from this interview may be included in the body of this Thesis to illustrate the various themes that we are discussing but in no way will you be recognisable. As stated above, all identifying features will be changed.**

**It may be – and only with your permission – that a more substantial part of this interview would be included as an appendix to the dissertation, again, with all identifying features changed. In this case, you would be invited to read the transcript and agree to its inclusion or withhold you permission.**

**Confidentiality and ethics**

The work will be carried out in accordance with the ethical code of Middlesex University and of the British Sociological Association

A copy of the final PhD Thesis will be kept in Middlesex University Library (Hendon Campus). It will contain no reference to names, places, occupation, etc., which might in any way identify who you are.

If any concern arises for you, you may contact me at: e.tapini@yahoo.com

Or my academic supervisors, e.kofman@mdx.ac.uk; l.ryan@mdx.ac.uk; n.frost@mdx.ac.uk

Thank you for your participation.

[signed]

**Elisavet Tapini, CPsychol, PhD (c)**

**Middlesex University, School of Health & Social Science**

# Middlesex University

# School of Health & Social Science

# Consent Form for Research Participants

## Thesis Title: *Intra EU-Highly Skilled Migration and the Negotiation of Multiple Identities in everyday life: Transnational cosmopolitanism in London*

I agree to take part in the above PhD Thesis research project.  I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the **Information for Participants**, which I may keep for my records.  I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- Be interviewed by the researcher
- Allow the interview to be audiotaped
- Be contacted by the researcher at a later stage of data analysis for accuracy of recording/ data interpretation.

**Data**

This information will be held and processed for the following purposes:

- *Data analysis*

- *Commenting on findings/interpretation*

- *Writing PhD Theses/ Publishing parts of the research in respectable academic journals.*

I understand that the following steps will be done to protect my identity from being made public:

In accordance with the Data protection Act, information obtained via the interview is, and will remain, confidential. Personal details will not be identifiable when the research – or parts of it- is published; i.e. names and specific characteristics such as city of residence in the former host country will be altered so that my privacy is not at stake.

Since data will be stored on the researcher's computer during interview transcription and analysis, it further steps will be taken to preserve your anonymity:

The researcher's computer will be protected by a password and no one but the researcher can access documents stored in it. As a further step of precaution, the researcher will make sure that she will have the research folder locked by means of a separate password.

Interview transcripts will be coded by use of digit numbers instead of initials. Any paper copies produced during the stage of data analysis will be destroyed at the end of analysis.

I agree to Elisavet Tapini recording and processing this information about me.  I understand that this information will be used only for the purpose(s) set out in this statement and my consent is conditional on Middlesex University complying with its duties and obligations under the Data Protection Act 1998.

**Withdrawal from study** *(this clause must be included in all consent forms)*

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

**Name** (please print)**:**

**Signature:**                                                                                          **Date:**

Middlesex University, School of Health & Social Science

**Appendix B:** Interview Schedule for 1-1 Interviewing

_____

*N.B. Sub-questions a, b, c, and d are possible prompts, only to be used if the relevant issues are not answered by the main Question.*

1.  **How did you reach the decision to stay in London?**

    a.  What was most important for you while taking this decision?

    b.  What do you like about it? How do you feel about it now?

2.  **How would you describe your professional life in London?**

    a.  What are you like at work?

    b.  Do you socialise with people from your work environment? If yes, with whom in particular?

    c.  What is activity outside work for you?

3.  **How would you describe your social life in London?**

    a.  Who are you're the people closest to you?  [JUST MAPPING AT THIS STAGE:  Can you locate them in the map for me?]

    b.  Do you have friends who are different than yourself? If yes, how are they different?

    c.  How would you describe your level of socialising with migrants from the same country as yourself/ your respective national migrant community here? If yes, with whom in particular?

    d.  What kind of social activities do you engage in, which are separate from that group? What other nationalities do you engage with in such an environment? How close are you with people in this group (If any?)?

4.  **We talked about several things so far: Your life in London, your connections, your interests, the people you socialise with. If you were to consider the closest people for you in London, who are they** (more specific characteristics than 3a)**? And where are they from & where do they live?**

    a.  In terms of practical support, whom would you turn to if there were need?

    b.  In terms of emotional support, whom would you turn to, if there were need?

5.  **If you are single, how do you envisage a future relationship and/or family in this city? With whom?** How do you think the context of London would affect this?

6.  **If you are in a relationship, where is your partner from ?** How do you think this affects your friendships and relationships in London? What difference has it made to your life?

7. **How do you feel you respond to the diversity of the city?**

8. **You are a Greek/ Italian/ German/etc., who lives in London**. From our conversation so far, it is obvious they both play a part in your identity**. What other parts of your identity are important to you?**

    a. How have you changed since you started living here? (How do these relate to your everyday life in London?)

    b. How do you think living in London has affected your identity/ sense of self?

Anything you would like to add?  ☺

**Appendix C:** Focus Group Schedule

_____

Focus Group questions

Hello everyone, and thank you for coming. This is a group for us to share our experiences as skilled migrants, who have settled in London

We all live and interact in this city, with this city, in various ways.  This is an open group discussion, there are no right-or-wrong answers.

 I am circulating some photos of the city we live in to start the discussion. One we finish, there is a food & drinks reception, for whoever would like to stay.

1. **How did you respond to these photos?**

2. **What is your relationship to this city at this present moment?**

3. **We all came from a different country and we all do different jobs.  Yet, we all interact in the same city (**_although not everyone mixes with everyone_**). How is that like for you?**

4. **London is frequently named a cosmopolitan city.  What does this mean to you?**

    a. From your everyday experience, how do you feel this relates to your choice of life, work & leisure in this city?