



Work Package Two

Non-national Europeans in European Cities: an Explorative Analysis

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Additional information can be found on the PIONEUR web site: <http://www.labdp.ua.es/pioneer>.

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1. Introduction¹

The aim of this analysis—Work Package Two—is to “provide a series of clear indicators about some of the key issues that need to be addressed in the quantitative survey of internal movers.”² The Pioneur team conducted forty in-depth qualitative interviews with intra-European migrants in order to evaluate the accuracy of the team’s understanding of intra-EU migration and to discover new lines of questioning that should be built in to the European Internal Movers’ Social Survey—EIMSS.

The advantages of a qualitative interview approach are that it allows us to be flexible, to follow leads and hunches, and to work inductively. This approach is also generally better at working on subjective and general research questions; and in the process of hypothesis generation rather than hypothesis testing. The framework for the qualitative interviews loosely followed the thematic framework that was proposed for the EIMSS. Each interviewer and each national team was given a great deal of freedom to follow their own theoretical interests and the respondent’s concerns. Each national team conducted eight interviews according to the common template, and the UK team reanalysed the resulting data with a broader scope.

Work Package Two thus begins with the broad, overarching analysis of the interviews by the UK team that identifies patterns and proposes hypotheses to be tested in the EIMSS. Then, each PIONEUR team identifies the key issues for the EIMSS that emerged from their analysis of the qualitative interviews. Summaries of the interviews are provided in Appendices A through E. Finally, Appendix F contains the outline that was used to conduct the interviews.

The next stage in EIMSS design should be to monitor whether the PIONEUR team has the necessary material (both in terms of survey questions and comparative material in other surveys) to enlighten the hypotheses presented in Work Package Two and any other potential hypotheses. Obviously, the hypotheses listed below are incomplete and do not in any way replace the project proposal. They are, simply, additional hypotheses that emerged from our analysis of the qualitative interview data.

2. Overview and Hypotheses³

2.1 Module I: demographics

The key concerns here relate to the basic socio-demographic profile of the migrants. Clearly, correlating the structural location of respondents in terms of the various migration outcomes such as identity and satisfaction will be a

¹ Authored by Damian Tambini and Joshua Hatton

² Technical Annex 1 to PIONEUR contract, authored by Ettore Recchi, October 8, 2003

³ Authored by Damian Tambini and Joshua Hatton

useful quantitative exercise. This is the more straightforward of the modules and the qualitative interviews do not indicate new issues.

2.2 Module II: conditions of and reasons for migration

The interviews indicate what we have been assuming: that the motivations to migrate are divided between love, money, 'sunshine' (quality of life) and security. Only the quantitative work will help us build up a more detailed picture, and hopefully offer some comparison with, for example, external migrants. Judging from the qualitative interviews, almost all respondents list multiple motivations; so using a question that obliges them to select from a list may distort. It may be advisable to rank motivations by importance.

Question 2.7 of the third draft of the EIMSS may need revision. We might ask whether the list of motivations is an exhaustive list, however. It does not list 'to retire', which was mentioned in at least one interview, and it does not mention the weather or quality of life. In general, more themes need to be added. Also, having four options available that relate to career will tend to bias moving for 'work reasons' over affective or quality of life issues.

The multiple motivations issue is vital, and we must insist on better-calibrating these questions. The issue of which 'trajectory' people are on is important. One issue overlooked that is common in interviews is whether this person is on a 'Euro', a 'Global' or another (personal?) trajectory. The 'global' is a category that is missing from the survey: it is relevant to know if they are indeed moving within a Euro space or whether it is part of wider global mobility.

The interviews suggest that professional reasons are extremely salient in many cases. We will find other types of people with the survey, but surely we can get more at the professional activities of these migrants, and cardinally whether they moved within their professional (i.e., multinational corporation move) or whether they moved independently, looking for work (the ideal type EU mover).

Given the theoretical concern with legal issues (particularly aspects of civil rights for European Citizens), it may be that we want to plant some questions here on Europeanness. If we want to ascertain to what extent Europeanness features in the decision to migrate to another European country, we might like to ask why people chose to go to a European country rather than a third country, and whether Europeanness played a part in the decision. If Highly Europeannized Citizens (HECs) are less likely to migrate within Europe, then this will create problems for our theoretical claims that European sympathies result from migration. The evidence from the qualitative interviews suggests that at least some respondents spontaneously reported that they came to Spain (for example) because it is an EU country. If Europeanness features in motivations to choose one country over another, we need to measure that.

Potential hypotheses:

Intra-European migration is based more on affective and quality of life reasons than on career/ security reasons. This would be interesting, given the migration literature's assumptions about economic migration, particularly if there was a contrast with external movers, or with new member states.

Economic and social rights in destination countries are an important factor in the complex of emigration motivations for Pioneurs.

A large number of internal migrants in the EU chose their destination country in part because it is within the EU.

2.3 Module III: political attitudes, Europeanness, nationalism

Theoretical literature suggests that some nations within Europe are more open in terms of assimilating immigrants than others. A generally accepted notion is that France is a 'universalist' citizenry, more open to immigrant assimilation than for example Germany, whose citizenship law is based on ethnic/particularist principles. Comparing notes between the interviews conducted with migrants in Germany and France seems to confirm the distinction, and more quantitative exploration of these themes would be welcome. The qualitative interview material offers a very informative basis on which to evaluate these claims. One relevant finding is that none of the 'movers' really feels German, though they do feel removed from their home national identity. Most respondents seemed more comfortable with subjective allocation of bi-national identity, or a village/town identity (Simone, Fr) than with a notion of European identity.

In making these cross-national comparisons, it would be especially meaningful to talk about integration/assimilation in terms of concrete indicators: speaking the language; know-how in the culture; friends they know; watching TV/newspapers; knowledge of country; subjective feelings about the country; and positive/negative experiences in various institutional settings. We must ground any such large-scale comparisons in information that we gather about actual life experiences of the migrants.

Clearly, the relationship between migration and identity (which was one of the theoretical interests of the project) is indeterminate and complex: it would seem from the qualitative interviews that the migration experience problematizes identity, as we would expect, but that the outcomes are indeterminate and extremely complex. Respondents often fall back on an other-than-national identity to describe their locus of identity (such as village or town), but rarely does Europeanness provide a key resource in identity construction. Lucia, an Italian woman living in Germany was happy with expressing a bi-national identity, but did not regard herself as European (and this seemed relatively common).

On the issue of European identity, the interviews offer a range of interpretations. A narrow majority appears to play down the notion of a European identity, but some, particularly respondents in Italy (e.g. interviews 1, 2 and 5), tend to stress its importance. These responses might be coloured by the identity of the interviewer. If the preamble to the questions identifies the interviewer as in some way connected to the European Commission then the respondent may be tempted to stress Europeanness. Experiential questions generally seem more productive.

We must not assume that the Pioneurs think of themselves as ‘migrants’. The results of many interviews indicate that they do not.

Potential hypotheses:

Pioneurs are more/less likely than the general population to report European identification

Pioneurs are more nationalist with regard to home country

Pioneurs are more nationalist with regard to host country

There is a large variation in the subjective feelings and practices of integration between different countries within Europe. (i.e., some countries are more open to integration than others).

Pioneurs do not see themselves as migrants (a term they reserve for non-European immigrants)

Pioneurs identify more with the city they inhabit than they do with the destination country, itself.

2.4 Module IV: quality of life

The issue of bureaucracy is clearly a major one for almost all migrants. The qualitative interviews show that an intra-European comparison would be enlightening: are there different experiences in different countries—or by origin? A very useful comparison would also be between intra-European migrants and extra-European migrants. We might expect that coming from an EU member state would smooth bureaucracy and difficulty of migration (e.g., common currency and banking system), but might hypothesise that this is not in fact happening on the basis of the interviews (see the experiences of a UK citizen, “Michael” in Paris). Because of the range of administrative procedures (e.g., registration of residence, with police) it seems that there is a very broad range of experience here, which indicates its relevance for policy.

It is therefore crucial that the quantitative survey offers a means to compare internal movers with external movers. Does the process of European Integration make it any easier for internal migrants than it is for external migrants? The current version of the questionnaire doesn’t seem to offer a means to measure this. Whilst the interviews suggest that in some countries

(France, Italy, Germany) bureaucracy is a more serious problem than in others (UK), this could be explained by interviewer bias and should be measured in the survey.

Finding housing is generally reported to be one of the main headaches for intra-European migrants.

Public services (particularly health and education) were referred to frequently by most participants. There appeared to be clear patterns about perception of public services. For example, the health service is criticised Italy and the UK, and education is praised in Germany. It would be good to measure variations in general satisfaction with public services by comparing the various host countries, and also to compare some of the individual services. This would be particularly interesting in the UK: there is a populist stereotype that immigrants choose the UK to gain access to its 'marvellous' health service, but most respondents interviewed were highly critical of health service in particular, and several even went home for treatment. One issue that came up in several interviews (and also very important in theoretical terms) is welfare rights. Ana, a Spanish immigrant to London listed the availability of benefits as a key to the migration experience.

Regarding discrimination, common sense suggests that there may be interesting patterns in discrimination experiences among intra-European migrants. We might, for instance, expect that southern European migrants experience more discrimination than others, or that migrants that seek work rather than come to take up a job have more experiences of discrimination. We might also find that certain nationalities (Germans, for example) feel discriminated against wherever they go. The evidence from the interviews suggests that both of these are valid hypotheses for testing in the questionnaire data. One respondent in France, Simone, however made the point that she was treated better than non-EU migrants. Therefore, the question of whether extra-Community discrimination is displacing intra-European discrimination needs to be addressed. There is clearly a need for more quantitative data on such issues.

A number of the questions relate to the general problem of social isolation and integration. It is a part of the self-understanding of European social democracy that Europeans are more 'rooted' than Americans (for example), but it is worth asking whether this carries across to Pioneurs too. Most respondents report being strongly rooted in their native towns and villages, but also in their host countries. However, several respondents outline an unexpected Pioneer/frontier mentality of the values of adventure and freedom over "settledness" (see Suzanne and John in France, though Suzanne reports some problems with permanent spatial mobility). Clearly, there is a need for behavioural measurement here of attitudes towards settling and integration.

Potential Hypothesis:

Intra-European migrants are less likely than extra-European migrants to experience xenophobic discrimination, even controlling for language ability

2.5 Module V: media, social networks

There is a group of questions that largely relate to the question of European citizenship in practice. Broadly they could be encompassed in the following hypothesis: Europeans have European Citizenship rights, but they do not claim them. Many respondents reported that they had failed to register to vote, and the picture in all the interviews is of a lack of engagement with no real pattern. The questionnaire must offer means to respond to this key theoretical issue by comparing rates of participation; loci of participation (local, national, European); and correlate with origins, destinations and socio-demographics. On the basis of the qualitative interviews it is recommendable that we try to ascertain the level of awareness of rights. It is telling that some of the respondents are unsure of their rights (e.g., the right to vote in local and European elections). It may be worthwhile simply to ask what people are aware of. If we found that 15% of migrants do not even know they have the right to vote, this would be a significant finding. Asking when the European elections take/took place may also be an interesting exercise.

One interesting comment made by a British respondent in France was that he felt unprepared to vote in France as a result of listening mostly to radio broadcasts from his home country. This contrasts with other respondents such as Isabel, a Spanish woman in Germany, who is inclined to listen to German broadcasts and be more interested in German politics 'now that I am living in Germany'. Media use and its relationship to citizenship practice and identity would be worthy of further research, though the relationships are so complex that the priority for the survey must be to measure use in relatively simple terms.

Potential Hypotheses:

Those Pioneurs that spend a lot of time using home country media are less likely to report subjective or practical integration with the host country.

Pioneurs experience more/less/the same isolation than the general population

2.6 Project partners' views on interview implications

The PIONEUR Project partners have outlined the concerns that they identified in the interview material, and the U.K. team has analysed them. What follows is an attempt to bring together some of the suggestions of project partners regarding findings and implications of the qualitative interviews for the EIMSS.

It seems logical that the greater the number of times that the same or similar finding or recommendation is reported by the partners, the greater importance it may have for the EIMSS. Additionally, if partners report contradictory implications or results for the same issue, then it seems that such a disagreement will require discussion by the partners (either on the website

forum or during the February meetings in Paris). Thus, we will be sure to highlight instances of partner consensus and/or disagreement while answering the aforementioned questions for each EIMSS module.

Following this logic, we can make several observations that help us to meet the Work Package Two goal of identifying the key issues for discussion during the generation of questions for the EIMSS. The quantitative survey should include questions about (1) previous travel and study in the destination country, (2) future plans for movement with family, (3) future plans for movement as an individual, and (4) the effect of left-right political self-positioning (and associated logics/biases) on respondent assessment of the mobility experience. The UK and German partners should discuss possible disagreement concerning the need to ask questions about (1) registration in the host country and (2) the comparison of experience and perception in host and home countries.

List of implications/recommendations

The implications are listed in order of frequency. The reader is encouraged to note that, for the first four implications, three were suggested by three partners, and a fourth was suggested by two partners.

There appear to be two issues where the U.K. and German partners suggested somewhat contradictory implications.

The following abbreviations indicate which partner(s) had the implication/result: (FR) France, (DE) Germany, (IT) Italy, (ES) Spain, and (UK) United Kingdom.

Similar and/or non-contradictory implications/recommendations

- Ask questions about previous travels, studies in country of destination (IT, FR, UK)
- Ask about plans for movement with family in the future (FR, UK, IT)
Ask a question about future individual plans—where and why? (UK, IT, FR) NOTE: the german partners found that their respondents tended to not have any specific plans for the future.
- Investigate the effect of left-right political self-positioning (and associated logics/biases) on respondent assessment of the mobility experience. (FR, UK)
- Focus on intergenerational dynamics: familial background, memories, and socialization. (FR)
- Consider family socio-economic background (UK)
- Differentiate 4 levels of identity (local, national, supranational/European, global supranational) (FR)
- Investigate personal histories regarding reasons for mobility (professional vis-à-vis affective/relationship-based) (FR)
Attempt to create a nationality-based typology for movers based on reasons for mobility (professional vis-à-vis idealistic) (UK)

- Questions about voting in local elections may not apply well in all cases (DE)
- Ask about experiences, not just attitudes (IT)
- Avoid simple integration questions that are loaded to provide socially desirable or self-evident answers (IT)
- Questions about discrimination may be beside the point (UK)

Contradictory implications/recommendations:

Issue: Comparison of experience/perception in host with home country

- Satisfaction with mobility only makes sense in the case of comparisons that movers make between host and home country. (UK)
- It may be impossible for movers to compare housing markets in home and host country. (DE)

Issue: The need to ask questions about registration in host country

- Ask question about registration with national consulate (UK)
- Questions about registration are not useful because all persons have to be registered and pay taxes (DE)

Comparison of results

Two partners reported similar and/or related results of the qualitative interviews for seven issues. Contradictory results were reported by two partners for two issues.

Similar/related findings

Issue: Respect, language and integration

- Knowledge of language vital for integration (DE)
- Feeling of being respected is important ingredient of belonging (IT)

Issue: Effects of Socialization

- European identity stronger in people with previous migration experiences in Europe or the USA (DE)
- Migration follows anticipatory socialization experiences (IT)

Issue: Discrimination

- Few complaints of differential treatment (DE)
- Very few reported discrimination (UK)

Issue: Identity

- Consider themselves to be different from other migrants, resent non-EU migrants (DE)
- Don't think of themselves as migrants—a term they reserve for non-Europeans (UK)

Issue: Social networks

- Friends are mostly other expats (DE)
- Hardly know any locals (FR)

Issue: Mover mentality

- Tend to be open and curious (DE)
- Can be workaholic or sociable (ES)

Issue: Political activity

- Most are on the political right (DE)
- No one votes (DE)
- Voting in local elections is uncommon (ES)

Contradictory findings

Issue: Effect of reasons for mobility on integration

- Movers with professional reasons (who also migrated alone) are less integrated than those who came for personal/affective reasons (FR)
- Movers who came on own are more satisfied/integrated than those who came with or because of a partner (DE)

Issue: Relevance of childhood mobility

- Not of great importance for following migration plans (DE)
- Adult movers who were childhood movers have positive view of mobility (ES)

3. Implications of qualitative interviews⁴

3.1 France

Socialisation and familial experiences

It clearly arises from our interviews that the mobility path is influenced by past experiences. We need to dwell on the familial background, the familial memories and on all of the striking events that happened during socialisation. We should understand these historical elements as the ground in which consciousness takes shape, modelling in the process the range of what is possible or not, of which alternatives are thinkable, and of which choices are doable (*espace des possibles*).

Concretely speaking, we assume that, for instance, the two Euro-elite interviewees of our sample (John and Suzanne) have been socialized for moving within Europe in a certain manner that causes identity problems. The interviewee we met who grew up in Hong-Kong (Michael) does not have the same pattern of adjusting his personal/familial memory to a nation-state and a homogenised culture. The young Spanish woman who has studied in a French high school in the Basque country (Aïnara) has a peculiar link to her home place and needs to feel at home in France.

⁴ Written by Maxime Vanhoenacker

In order to go further on family background (experiences of moving or cross-cultural paths) and family memory (link to collective identities on different levels/places) we have to add questions on the relationship between this sociological heritage and the process of mobility such as “How did you deal with your parents when you decided to move?” “Did they support you or not?” “Why?” Projective questions such as those on the future – for instance, the way the respondents are concerned with the place where their children will live later or the ways that the parents who have migrated deal with the transmission of their experience of migration are, to the same extent, crucial for our understanding of the mobility courses and for finding coherence in the familial history. We should pay attention to the mover’s childhood and parents, the mover’s own experience, and the projection on children. We have to understand the link between these different levels of negotiation within identity cohesiveness and the familial universe. We have to take into account the intergenerational dynamics of the process and to try to explore the intimate space within which it can develop.

Negotiations and conflicts between the differentiated levels of identity

We have to differentiate four levels of identity: the local, the national, the supranational/European and the global supranational. We must understand the impact that each one has on the experience and the representations of mobility. Regarding these four levels, the interviewees are more or less established/integrated or outsiders. This self-positioning within a social configuration is grounded on collective visions of the others who form the groups they may or may not integrate with. The process of negotiations and conflicts with these four levels of the identity gives the interviewees a vision of what is for them the inside/outside (borders between their home country and foreign countries) and can produce different levels of integration—different kinds of feelings of being integrated or not. We have to understand the links with Europe and also Europe as the link between citizenship practices and the European dimension. This can bring in the whole range of stereotypes that target “the other side of the border” (country to country, a local town regarding the rural surrounding region, Europe vis-à-vis the USA, international relationships) and then helps us to have an idea of the symbolic aspects of belonging and the images of mobility on which they depend.

The reasons of mobility

Beyond the historical events needed to understand the personal histories (most of the interviewees met French people, knew France, and were Francophiles before deciding to move there), the most striking difference relates to the reason for mobility. On the one hand, there are those who came only for professional reasons and whose lives are mostly oriented and driven toward that purpose. On the other hand, there are the movers who came for personal/affective reasons or the ones whose life is not only working life oriented (i.e., children, marriages, social commitment).

These reasons for mobility do influence and structure the experience of mobility in the way that they open some channels and close some others to

this experience. They change the sense the movers give to the experience of mobility and the way the migrants will tackle the different life that they must face. When the reason for such a move is professional, the social activities, the daily involvement and the views concerning identity and cultural belonging are much less developed. But when you find personal motivations behind the move (love affairs or a will to live in a particular place) or further personal links developed with the place of migration, people seem to take these issues the other way around.

This helps to explain the attitude of two of the interviewees (John and Suzanne) who were working in Lille for a European agency (Intereg). Their answers are almost the same on most of the items. They face the same difficulties to settle (the bureaucracy and taxes), have the same mobility practices (away every weekend, but with different destinations) and share the same perception of the effects of mobility: that one needs to be flexible in order to adapt everywhere, take what is to be taken but without blaming the rest. They also share the same personal difficulties: they are willing to settle but they don't think that they have an opportunity to do so, they hardly know any locals, they share with their colleagues all their extra-office practices, and they all live in the same city district (the old-town). They seem to fit perfectly the pattern presented by Tarrius (2000) on the European circulating elites, but they are at the other end of the spectrum from the ones who came in order to meet somebody they were willing to share their life with.

Understanding of politics

The last implication arising from the interviews conducted in France concerns the understandings of politics. Questions should get at the meanings and biases contained in opinions on politics. Political cleavages and rhetoric can be dealt with as the sharing of a system of representations that is mainly embedded at the national level. Focusing on the understanding of politics, together with elements of socialisation (the context in which such political opinion took shape) can be a useful approach to analysis.

Bureaucracy and tedious administrative processes are recurrent barriers in the migrant experience of France. Many interviewees point to them as the issue specific to expats/foreigners living in France. When they construct their experience in a political issue, they adopt some elements of the common political debate. Political self-positioning on the left/right scale helps to explain how the same issue can be linked or dissociated with the French sense of the state, how such an issue is seen as a structural or contingent feature of the French political system, and the attitudes towards public/private sector, nationalisation, and privatisation. This political self-positioning highlights the logics of such assessments.

3.2 Germany⁵

⁵ Written by Nina Rother

This section provides a general overview of what the German team considers to be the most important questions and the main results of the qualitative interviews. Therefore, no single answers of the interviewees are presented.

The role of language knowledge

It seems that the ability to speak and understand German is one of the most important factors for successful migration. It is very important to know the language to become integrated and a full member of the German society. Not being able to speak German fluently was also mentioned as a reason why a mover doesn't feel German. Movers want their (future) children to be educated bilingually. Language knowledge in general (i.e., not only German) was said to be very important for getting on well in the world. Many of our movers didn't know German very well and saw this lack of knowledge as a large barrier. They would recommend to other movers that they prepare for migration by learning languages.

Reasons for migration

There was quite a difference between movers who came to Germany on their own (i.e., for a particular job) and those who came with or because of a partner. Those who came on their own are more satisfied with their migration experiences, speak German better and have more German friends. They have tried harder to become integrated and the difficulties they had to face at the beginning made them tougher. Movers who came to Germany with a partner or to live with a partner received help getting orientated from their partners, but couldn't or didn't develop their own circle of friends that would have made them more independent.

The interviewees who had always wanted to spend at least some time abroad seemed to get on better than those who hadn't always had such a desire.

Importance of previous migration experiences

Whether a person moved during his or her childhood didn't seem to be of any importance for following migration plans. Prior movement inside of Germany seemed to be unimportant, as well. The previous migration experiences that persons made 'on their own' in different countries (such as during university education) seem to be more significant. Respondents who had previously visited other countries think of themselves more as Europeans, seem to be more reflexive and open, and can compare countries in a comparative way. They probably know better what to expect when migrating because they have had more experiences. Therefore, they are not disappointed with moving and more able to handle problems.

Satisfaction with migration

All movers said that they were very satisfied with their migration experiences (at least to some extent), but the movers that took a free and rational choice in favor of migrating were more satisfied and had no regrets at all. All of them would like their children to have similar migration experiences, and those who came to join their partners encourage their kids to prepare better than they themselves had.

Main issues for expats (governmental and everyday life)

Most movers mentioned the complicated and often superfluous bureaucracy they had to face in Germany as a problem. For example, the renewal of the residence permit, problems when getting married and problems (and efforts) with obtaining a driver's license were indicated. Our movers didn't indicate that they had been treated differently from locals (except for the Italian interviewee in Munich who mentioned differential treatment when searching an apartment).

Most movers mentioned the advantages that they have as EU nationals compared with non-EU foreigners. However, some complained that they are not treated differently enough (e.g., having to wait in the same long queue). In some interviews, a degree of resentment with regard to non-EU foreigners was noticeable—in particular when they were talking about high taxation and high costs for health insurance in Germany (which they perceived to be caused by migrants with non-working partners and many children).

Experiences on the housing market

Most of our interviewees could only (if at all) compare two cities. Thus, comparisons between Germany and the home country are hard to draw, if at all possible.

Daily contacts and friends

The composition of the circles of friends of our movers seems to differ strongly from that of the native population. Not only do the movers still have close contacts to their friends and family in their home country, but they also have close contacts to other expats or foreigners in Germany and in the city that they now live in. Thus, their circle of friends consists of a mixture of Germans, co-nationals and other expats, with a slight overrepresentation of foreigners. However, our movers don't meet their friends (Germans or expats) in special expat places (if there are any in Germany for people with a high level of education), but go to typical working class German places.

The movers mentioned the German mentality as a possible reason for these expat-based friendships and contacts. Germans seem to them to be less open at first and not as outgoing as the people in their home country. Language problems (especially at the beginning) were also named as a barrier for establishing social contacts with Germans.

From our point of view, these perceived mentality differences could be due to actual cross-country mentality differences (with Germans being less outgoing); but they could also be seen as an effect of self-selection, with movers being generally more open and outgoing than stayers, regardless of their nationality. It might be easier for expats to get in contact with other expats because they may all be more open and curious, and because they share similar migration experiences

Quality of life

The quality of life in Germany was perceived to be very high, especially due to higher incomes in Germany (particularly in comparison to Britain, Spain and

Italy). But the quality of life in Germany is lowered by the bad weather and the less-relaxed lifestyle.

Willingness to integrate

The evaluation of the term “integration” and the willingness of the movers to integrate (at least to a certain extent) seem to be key variables for successful migration. If the mover does not only think of integration as a positive thing but also as something that she or he has a personal longing for, then the mover seems to be more open to the new culture, has a better language knowledge and becomes more integrated and therefore is more satisfied with his or her life in Germany. If integration is seen as something positive but not as really necessary for living in Germany, the person is in fact less integrated and seems to feel less comfortable.

National vs. European identity

None of these movers really feels German, nor feels one hundred percent Italian/Spanish/French or English anymore. They locate themselves somewhere in between. This “somewhere in the middle” can also be seen regarding the cultural traditions kept and those that are newly acquired: all still celebrate certain holidays the way their home country does but all have also adopted typical German customs.

Those with previous migration experiences (that led them to other European countries or the US) feel closer to Europe than to any specific country and were able to mention more aspects that Europeans have in common, “compared to the US.”

Plans for the future and old age

All of the movers in Germany were too young and also seemed to be too flexible to have any specific plans—even for the next 10 years. The only exception was one not well-integrated Spaniard who wants to return to Spain. All are open to whatever will come, but they did have some dreams and ideas of where they might live. Thus, planning for the future seems to be age- and also mentality-related.

Other important notes:

Questions about registration in Germany are not very useful because all non-citizens must be registered and pay taxes there.

The voting questions from the qualitative interview guideline did not apply well in the German case, either. Nothing like a voting registration list exists. Concerning the answers of the interviewees, a typical pattern occurred: all are interested in politics and all think that voting is important, but none of them voted in the last local elections or they can’t even remember whether they voted or not.

Results of the quantitative part

All movers are much in favor of the European Union. All but one locate themselves slightly more on the right, politically.

3.3 Italy⁶

There were many questions on the qualitative interview guideline that yielded particularly interesting results that should be considered by the Pioneur project members while constructing the EIMSS. In this section, the most important implications for the survey are discussed.

Barriers To “Successful” Migration (key issues)

Bureaucracy proved to be a considerable impediment to the enjoyment of the migration experience. A good indicator of the degree of satisfaction with migration experience was the comparison of ‘easiness’ of everyday life (i.e., public services, weather, food, accessibility of information) in the home and destination countries. The EIMSS should ask about specific experiences, not just about attitudes. In some cases, the degree of interest in other cultures that the interviewee had seemed to be an important ‘independent variable’ in understanding whether migration was successful or not. The EIMSS should include such a question along with other personality questions.

The Migration Experience (Satisfaction with Migration)

It was seen that in many cases, migration followed some anticipatory socialization experiences. The EIMSS should ask questions about previous travels, studies, and the knowledge of the language of the country of destination. Questions that address the “missionary drive” of the interviewee such as “Would you recommend migration to X to a friend/relative?” brought to the forefront many ideas that were otherwise not openly voiced. Here, the ‘true’ evaluation of the migration experience becomes evident. A future-oriented, open question should thus be kept in the EIMSS. Regarding integration, the EIMSS must avoid asking questions that allow for the interviewee to respond with socially desirable or self-evident answers. It shouldn’t ask “Is integration positive or negative?” The survey should elicit ‘revealing’ definitions and answers in its questions about social networks. It may be possible to form answer categories for a closed question out of the qualitative interview responses. An interesting question is, “Do migrant communities exist?” Are migrants involved in a social network of co-nationals? Are there formal and/or associational expressions of it, perhaps also in cyberspace (chat/forum/web-sites for co-nationals)? The following questions regarding respect and disadvantage appear to be very important: “Did you ever feel that it was a disadvantage to be foreign (job, bureaucracy, house hunt, health system)?” and “Did you always feel respected as much as nationals of X country are?” These questions focus on respect. Very ‘revealing’ definitions and examples are given, along with disadvantages. This is an important theoretical ingredient of ‘identity/belonging’ and of ‘European citizenship’. The survey should ask movers about the open-mindedness of stayers in the destination country. It could ask, “Would you say that people

⁶ Written by Emiliana Baldoni, Tina Nebe, and Ettore Recchi

here are friendly, polite, helpful, respectful, or open-minded?” on a scale from ‘very’ to ‘not at all’ in order to evaluate the social environment.

3.4 Spain⁷

Mobility history of interviews

It is apparent that the people who moved during their childhood usually have a positive view of the migration experience. These moves were sometimes motivated by studies, as in the case with interviewee #2. Regarding international migration, previous experiences were usually related to tourism and were often (but not only) in the final destination country.

Interviewees gave several reasons for selecting Spain as a destination. Among them were the following:

- Spain is a member of the European Union
- To pursue education, to take advantage of grants for higher education
- To get to know a new culture and have new experiences
- Because parents, boyfriend/girlfriend, or other family members are Spanish
- They like the country, the good climate, and the way of life
- Spain is a good country in which to retire.

The interviewees didn’t always prepare a great deal before coming to Spain. The people who took care to prepare for moving had the following preparation:

- Language
- Knowledge of culture and customs (in this sense, interviewee #3 affirms that to be open to learn other cultures is essential)
- Previous travels to Spain

When they arrived in Spain, they usually looked for someone to be used as a bridge or contact. This person or these people usually are family, a friend, or 2nd level contacts. The next problem for the interviewees was finding a place to live. The first solution usually is renting alone or with other tenants. After a time, they usually look for a non-shared apartment or a house. In this sense, the particular scenario of housing in Spain is relevant. Interviewees underline the differences between the housing system in Spain and in their home countries. In Spain, home ownership is very common. This contrasts with the situation in other countries (like Germany or Italy) where renting is more common due to the higher cost of homes and higher taxes (and of course it is a cultural issue, too).

Educational background

⁷ Written by Oscar Santacreu Fernandez, Maria Carmen Albert Guardiola and Antonio Alaminos

The majority of the interviewees have high-level studies (only interviewee #4 has secondary education plus professional training as a construction worker). We must remark that the professional qualification equivalence is a real barrier to mobility. For example, interviewee #3 has a high professional qualification in Spain that will not be recognized in Italy not in other EU countries.

Politics and residency in Spain

All interviewees pay taxes in Spain, and it seems to be logical that they tend to vote in the destination country. Some interviewees are not interested in national-level politics, but they are interested in local politics because they think that their vote has a rational function in daily life. In this sense the act of voting could be considered as an element of identity, because to vote implies interaction, integration, and a sense of belonging. From this point of view, people are usually satisfied with being able to vote in the destination country. Some people do not vote (interviewee #1) but in any case they think that foreigners should vote in their place of residence. On the other hand, in several cases there are bureaucratic problems with voting in European elections. Evidently, the vote must be placed in the home country or from their consulates. The interviewees also expressed that it is difficult for them to go to their consulates.

An important issue in politics is mass media—the way they keep informed. They use local, national and international press and television. In the case of the local and national media, there are several motivations—such as a desire to be informed or to enhance their language knowledge. They use the international media in order to be informed about the situation in their country of origin. The Internet seems to be important as a globalised medium. It is used to maintain contact with family and friends, and of course as a working tool.

Immediate social networks and social life

In general, two contrasting situations can be identified. On one hand, we find people who subjectively do not have a rich social life because they are centred on their work and they lose their friends when they move. On the other hand, there are people who look for activities, leisure and hobbies as a way of forming relationships. The way of life, and the friendly and open mentality of Spanish people seem to be important for the interviewees in making friends. We can talk in the same way about family life. There are several cases where the family life is reduced to a minimum when they are in the destination country. The most common means of contact with the origin country is via the telephone. E-mail is emerging as a more important means of contact than the post and other means of communication.

Perception of the destination country

Interviewees usually have a favourable general perception of Spain. They frequently mention the Spanish way of life, happy people, easy relationships, very good climate, good food, and so forth. There are negative topics, too, such as a lack of seriousness and/or respect.

This perception is related to the way that the interviewees conceptualise the notion of quality of life. They offer the following definitions for quality of life:

- Safety and freedom
- Balance (in relation with oneself and with the others)
- The satisfaction of material needs
- To work in order to live, and not to live in order to work.
- To have the time to enjoy personal activities, hobbies, and relationships.
- Quality in daily life.

Integration

In general, all interviewees are happy with their experience of migration, but there are a few matters about integration that we should mention. The integration term itself has a positive value (but we can find exception in interview #4). Interviewees feel respected, but not integrated, because of the linguistic wall and because they think that Spanish people see them as foreign. The linguistic problem seems to be bigger when related to a 2nd language (Catalan). There, the language, and more concretely, the accent, could be considered as the only “discrimination” element (but from a subjective point of view). On the other hand, we can find a differentiation between integration and assimilation (interviewees #3 and #7). Interviewees seem to not have integration as an aim in the short term, but in the long term.

Identity

All of these issues can be summarized in the identity concept. Three archetypes can be extracted from the interviews. One type is the conservative identity. These are people who do not assume the identity of the destination country but stay attached to their national identity, instead. Another is the additive identity—people undergoing a process of mixing identities. They seem to have the identities of their origin country and of the destination country. A third type is the substitutive identity. These people feel that they are losing their original identity as they adopt a new identity as a member of a new country. Two positions are detected regarding European identity: Euro-sceptics and European identity as a meeting point for different identities.

In any case, identity seems to be a multidimensional concept that contains references to symbolic, cultural, and spatial elements. All but one of the interviewees want to stay in Spain (only interviewee #1 plans on returning to Italy, but only upon retirement). In general, they plan to return to their countries of origin for holidays (like tourism) and to visit their families (Interviews #5, #6, #7 and #8). They also hope to explore new regions and countries (Interviews #5 and #8).

3.5 U.K.⁸

Sampling

The first task might be to determine just how representative (or non – representative) the group that was interviewed is of European internal migrants as a whole (depending also on when the mobility cut off date is). The selection of migrants interviewed in the UK is skewed towards educated/professional/middle class people, self-selecting big city urban dwellers, and individuals who are clearly self-consciously free movers. Although they meet the specifications of the study perfectly, there clearly will be other European national foreign residents out there who will not be so obviously driven by free, career-based decisions, or by the cosmopolitan aspirations of these respondents.

Our sampling selection will presumably also not focus in on London, and may pick up all kinds of other residents such as students, working people in other types of jobs, and the married partners of nationals (following spouses etc). We therefore need questions that get at the salient differences between the people who have these life experiences and the ‘free movers’.

Comparison

Satisfaction with life in the host country only really makes sense in the case of comparisons that people make relative to where they came from. This is the clear rationale that leads all of the respondents to rationalise and evaluate their mobility choices. We need questions that get at this. Also, comparisons with peer groups back home are important: all of them are very conscious that they have chosen a different path than stayers have, and that the payoffs are not yet clear. It seems logical to hypothesise that people are dominantly oriented towards comparing with their home country, not living in some alternative international/global world. Where they come from matters both positively and negatively.

The crucial reference points of home and home culture are pervasive throughout the interviews. It is clear that we need to ask more questions about how people perceive home before and after the experience of movement. Does mobility de-nationalise them, problematize the relationship, or reinforce the national reference point? Is ‘Europe’ even relevant to what they are doing, beyond having guaranteed it from a legal point of view?

Family and Class Background

On family background, we do indeed need questions that probe at their family life, such as upbringings (provincial vis-à-vis urban and cosmopolitan) and

⁸ Written by Adrian Favell

how much their family moved around. We have very mixed indicators for these issues from the interviews that we have conducted.

Class background is also crucial: a critique that probably will come from readers is that we are studying 'elites' (and how unimportant/self-indulgent that is, compared to studying, poor/minority/disadvantaged people, which is what sociologists are supposed to do). Yet all of the respondents are middle class people, not elites, with salaries ranging from below to above average in London terms. The whole point of this is that in our bell curve type societies, the masses out there are middle class, that the pay-offs to more mobility within the EU will be in the middle range if at all, *and* that European welfare states and political systems (i.e., taxation, education, public services) are predominantly set up and controlled by and for the middle class (who control electoral outcomes). It is vital therefore that we try to get more at both the socio-economic background of migrants' families and their own situation, and thus allow ourselves to really be able to talk about social and spatial mobility within the European space of migrants of different class/education backgrounds.

One hypothesis is that the EU now allows for a new kind of 'spiralist' (middle class social/spatial mobility vis-à-vis the non-mobile bourgeoisie) trajectory (Watson 1964). We may also be seeing an 'escalator' phenomenon of people moving from provinces to cities, only here we are hypothesising an inter- not intra- national escalator.

Cross-national variation

It is crucial that we set up questions in terms of a typology of internal migrants that will allow us to quantitatively assess what we found in the pilot study about variation in national origins. We can hypothesise that 1) Irish and Italian/Spanish (young, middle class movers) often come from bourgeois or middle class backgrounds, and move predominantly according to the EU free mover ideal (for professional mobility reasons in the face of career frustrations/opportunities); 2) that people from France or Britain who move also have a professional logic, but are often more marginal provincial people who move as an alternative to following a 'classic' national career; and 3) that those who move from the North of Europe move for more idealistic, EU/internationalist reasons that are less specifically linked to career opportunities.

So far, our study is slim on questioning people's professional choices and trajectories. We might hypothesise that any growth in the types of people who are moving around (thought of as the second 'percentile' of people who have moved because of free movement opportunities) has been because of the internationalisation, and to some extent, Europeanisation of certain professions.

We need sufficient questions about the family, geographical and socio-economic background of movers to assess these hypotheses quantitatively.

We also need to assess their long-term strategy: is the plan to use international mobility as a way of breaking back into one's own country at a higher level (a familiar 'spiralist' refrain with the respondents in the UK)?

A migrant identity?

There is a crucial point regarding the notion of 'migration': virtually none of the respondents in the UK thinks of herself or himself as a 'migrant' and it is clear that the 'mobility' that they are experiencing is a very different kind of social trajectory to that of a conventional 'immigrant'. None are fully settled and most have temporary perspectives on their lives abroad, thus many of the integration questions are beside the point. More interviews have been done with people who have children and much more integrated lives (i.e., married to nationals) but there is very little similarity between their lives and those of 'integrated' or 'assimilated' foreigners of non-European/lower class family origin. Children clearly are where this plays out, but almost all get socialised into a kind of bi-national or international type of life/perspective that is afforded perhaps by the relative privilege of these people vis-à-vis the coercion of the nationalising host state and 'normal' immigrants it integrates over time. We should make sure we do not load any of our questions to imply that the conventional immigrant trajectory towards integration is assumed to be the backdrop of the questions. Rather, we must accept the fact of mobility and temporariness as central to these internal European migrants' situations, and ask questions that explore this.

Additional implications/suggestions

The PIONEUR project EIMSS should provide evidence for the following:

The EU has created more opportunities for more kinds of professional movement, but which? Has it affected who (what type of people) choose to/get the chance to move, over and above the obvious global elites and mobility within multinational corporations? We need a question to sort out the 'individual' from the 'corporate' mover, and a better sense of how the choice was made: was it normal/expected, organised through school/university, an individual initiative, or following the herd?

Do EU internal migrants actually feel that legislation has enabled them to move more easily? Did they know/seek out information, or were they aware of the EU's free movement laws, directives and publicity? We obviously want to find out what the residual discriminations might be, but we could also find out to what extent they've been personally encouraged to move or learn about their rights.

Assessing the previously learned 'know-how' of the individual about other countries is important. This includes languages, experiences of travel, knowledge about the country, and the tour guidebook type of knowledge as well. This obviously links to how they were socialised/family

experiences/attitudes and values, and we could ask them about how their parents view mobility, what was their international experience, and what are their political beliefs. We need more on this kind of 'profile' of the movers vis-à-vis stayers.

*We should assess how applied they have been to learning new things once they lived here (such as books, information, networks and learning the language).

"Have you registered with your national consulate?" would be an interesting question (assuming we have a sampling procedure that allows for this). It would allow us to get a sense of how large the hidden population is within our population. At least half of the respondents in the UK are not registered.

We should ask the respondents to assess counterfactually (more, less, the same) what they would have earned had they stayed back home. Would it have been different (Better/Worse quality of life)?

Regarding the media, the use of expatriate websites and magazines is worth asking about. This is something these media themselves are acutely interested in, and we might exploit this.

We should ask respondents to put a percentage on how 'British' they feel (say, if they are a Spanish person in Britain) – or use a 5 point Likert scale?

We should also ask a question to find out if European movers are more critical towards their home country (Has it made them more critical or more sympathetic to it?).

It appears that the discrimination questions may be beside the point, in this stark form. Very few respondents respond yes to this, and it may only get interesting in specific areas where we can ask about concrete experiences (i.e., work, housing).

We should ask which percentage of parents sends their children to their native-speaking or international schools as opposed to national public/private schools. Other good questions are "Which country do you wish your child to go to College/University?" and "Would you be happy if your children pursued an international/mobile lifestyle like yours?" (both are worth asking even if they almost all say yes).

It is crucial that we ask the following questions:

If you were to move again, would you most likely move :

- internally in this country?
- back home?
- internationally in Europe?
- internationally in North America?
- elsewhere (where?)

If unlikely, what would cause you to move again?

- family reasons
- being close to friends at home
- change in the political climate here
- change in the climate back home
- change in the economic climate

Another interesting question is how cosmopolitan the respondents consider their home country residence to be in comparison with the place that they now live.

It appears that we have had some interesting findings asking people about the left/right scale, and some (not all) of the political opinion questions in the interview outline. We should ask questions that have some kind of relevance for people who've moved internationally (i.e., public/private education questions, evaluation of state intervention) as well as questions that would be relevant for stayers as well (such as on the environment). We should be able to get enough information to compare them to the kinds of two-dimensional profiles of the European electorate that other researchers have done.

4. References

Tarrius, A. (2000), *Les nouveaux cosmopolitismes: mobilité, identité, territoires*, Ed. de l'Aube.

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5. Appendices

A. French partner interview summaries⁹

Nature and conditions of conduction of the 8 interviews:

In France, eight interviews have been conducted for the qualitative pilot set: four interviews in Paris (one for each nationality of the Pioneur project, two men and two women) and four interviews in Lille (North of France, the 4th biggest urban area in France, 10kms from the Belgian border, where two Britons, one Spaniard and one German were interviewed, balanced according to gender). The interviewees were from twenty-five to forty-four years of age. Most were highly educated people. Contacting them has not been easy; most of the interviewees have been met via our personal networks or connections. The interviews were conducted either at the interviewee's office (two interviews) or at the interviewee's home, (one interview) but mostly in public places, bars or restaurants (five interviews). All of the interviews are recorded on Mini-Disc. Each interview is summarized in a two to five page synthesis. It is interesting to note that several weeks after the first attempt to seek interviewees via public methods (e.g., announcements, contacts to cultural centres) twelve intra-EU movers have spontaneously expressed their will to take part in the survey (all the contacts are registered).

Synthesis n°1, SIMONE

Simone (female), German working in Paris since 1995, born in 1966, working as a television journalist.

Experiences

Simone came to France for professional reasons. She was posted to Strasbourg in 1992, where she joined new networks and found another job, which brought her to Paris in 1995. Previously, she had first come to France (Montpellier)—in 1986—to improve her command of French language. On this occasion she came on her own, thanks to European opening opportunities, without help from any exchange programme.

Throughout the interview, Simone is more prone to talk about her social life than her job. Family life is more central to her experience, although she came for employment first and met her husband after. She speaks about her career as a journalist in Paris as one activity among others. She is also a member of professional and sports groups, for instance.

The level which seems to represent an important place in her daily life is micro-social, the district where she lives. Her neighbourhood is the main ground for her social relations in France (friends and acquaintances). It is also the place where things are at stake: she is involved in local politics (urban

⁹ Written by Maxime Vanhoenacker

issues in the district). All in all, she often refers to the district where she lives as the place that shapes her opinions and daily life. Her experiences are not only micro/locally oriented. She mentions voting in all local and European elections and claims that, by paying taxes, “*je contribue à financer...*”

Her role as a parent is probably the one through which she thinks the most about her mobility experiences. Her children’s importance is crucial. She speaks German with them, reads them stories in German and insists on maintaining German cultural traditions (Christmas, Easter, and New Year’s Eve). The importance of schooling is central. They attend the local school that offers, in her view, a great advantage since the district is very multicultural (this diversity being an opportunity for her children). She wants them to have a mixed education with her children learning the best from each culture.

Barriers

In her view, she has encountered a few technical hurdles in her mobility experience, but has never discriminated against because of her foreign origins. She assumes that if ever she has been treated differently, it is because she is a woman. She contrasts her present situation to the climate she encountered previously in Strasbourg, where there was a widespread anti-German feeling. She reveals a paradox: this sentiment is rooted in the region of France with the most links to Germany (language, border, etc.).

The concrete negative points she mentions seem small in comparison to what she has managed to overcome. She faced administrative hurdles when seeking to sit journalism school entrance examinations in Germany, having previously been educated in France. She also mentions the French administrative system, “*l’angoissant filet administratif*”, which is difficult to negotiate.

The French health care system seems odd to her, particularly the need to pay (for doctor and delivery expenditures) and the tricky procedures of the social security institutions represent real barriers. This is somewhat counterbalanced by other advantages, such as a housing market that is more friendly to families, or the assistance and benefits for women that make their working life easier in France. Nonetheless, France remains a country where entrepreneurship is difficult, which makes her look towards the Anglo-Saxon countries to some extent.

At a deeper level, she reproaches the elitism of the French education system, its limitations according to social backgrounds and the manner in which it reproduces the existence of a class system. “*Il y a une reproduction des classes sociales...Il faut connaître les clefs du système pour accéder au pouvoir.*” This issue of schooling could provide a reason for moving back to Germany, where the high school system is more open and positive.

Thinking about immigration as a general issue, she feels like she is treated differently from the other immigrants (extra-EU migrants) for whom the language issue, among others, might be a much greater obstacle.

Motivations

Though she came to France for her professional reasons, it seems that, above all, her family life as well as her experience living in Paris shapes her motivations and opinions on her experience as a migrant.

She defines integration as a process of knowledge, understanding, relating to, and negotiation between different cultural features. It is not assimilation: she rejects the idea of being assimilated to France or to Europe. “*On peut s’intégrer en protestant.*” On the other hand, challenging such differences can make cohesiveness difficult. She thinks mobility brings freedom, which is the ability to overcome cultural barriers.

There is a tension in her experience. While moving creates freedom from social conventions and stereotypes, it also prevents being rooted somewhere. She feels integrated and likes the French quality of life. Nonetheless, she remains a foreigner to her colleagues. She sees herself at home in a multicultural Paris, more than in other parts of France. Still, she feels nostalgia regarding her native village community.

She uses the national stereotypes, but quite blurrily (*France is very easy going...*) or very abstractly (*I share with the other Germans a common past and history: Goethe, the Second World War...*). She does not see herself enclosed in a national identity, as she mentioned earlier. She feels different from other Germans, a ‘*stripped animal*’. She says it is important that when she claims to be German, not to associate it with too uniform of a German identity, but with belonging to specific things: her home country, her birthplace, and the village she grew up in. “*Mon village, ma tribu. Une communauté où tout le monde connaît tout le monde, où il n’y a pas d’anonymat... J’appartiens toujours au village.*”

The idea of Europe does not bring her the resources needed to link her life in Paris to her former one. Though she thinks she belongs to Europe, she thinks that the European spirit has lost its enthusiasm and has turned to a too cynical culture. “*On a déjà tout vu! Et ça finira mal.*”

Her children are the medium through which she creates links between the both sides of her identity. The children visit her native village—where her family still lives—several times a year, which makes her consider them to be also part of this village.

All in all, whereas she defines migration as a unique opportunity that she wants her children to experience (overcoming social conventions), she expresses the difficulty of holding such an open-minded attitude in a closed social order. If she managed to open up her way of thinking about the world (“*Au début, l’idée d’être enterrée à Paris m’était insupportable, parce que c’était une grande ville et parce que c’était à l’étranger*”), she finds some contradictions when thinking about her children’s future. Despite her criticism of the elitist French education system, she plans to send her children to an

international secondary school in Paris and perhaps to send them to Germany when they are older, as the high school system is better there. Still she says she wants them not to be enclosed in any country and its social barriers.

Nonetheless, she is still open to move again, despite the tension it generates. She regrets not having discovered the Anglo-Saxon cultural area and affirms that she could easily go back to Germany. But for the time being, they are happy where they live.

Synthesis n°2, MICHAEL

Michael, British, working in Paris

Experiences

Michael was born in England but grew up in Hong Kong from the age of four. From eighteen to thirty he travelled a lot: in France, the UK and then again to Hong Kong. He worked as a “*cuisinier*” for years before returning to Asia. He started working for a company in Hong Kong, left to work for the same company in London, and then resigned to work for again, the same company in Paris. He could not be transferred from the local office to the “*siege*” in Paris. He was lucky because in Hong Kong he worked with the current n°2 at the company who made him come to Paris. Now he has a much better job status but works much harder as well.

Michael speaks Cantonese and English and ‘Franglais’ at home with his French girlfriend. He does not speak French fluently. He briefly took lessons but gave up. At his company, he only works in English. Michael travels worldwide several times a month on business.

His parents have returned to the UK (since 1998) and he also has two children there (they live with their mother). His son and daughter (aged eleven and seven) were born in Hong Kong. He frequently travels to the UK to see them all, and they have started visiting France more frequently. Michael points out that he receives an allowance every school year from his employer to cover his children’s schooling costs. They attended an international school in Hong-Kong but now go to a state school in the UK. He prefers that his children attend a local state school, as he thinks the schooling is better there, whereas in an international school, “*you’re a little apart.*” His son loves France and studying French. He may one day move there.

Michael watches French television but reads British newspapers. He shops online for dry goods, and shops at the local market for fresh products. He pays taxes in France and hopes to be registered on the electoral roll, but did not register. He is aware of his rights, in theory. He has not voted so far, but he would, above all locally, because he thinks “*certain things should not be.*” As a “news person” Michael knows a lot about politics, both French and British, and he looks for information in many languages.

Barriers

The first time he came in France, at the age of twenty in 1983, it was much harder than today. He had no language preparation other than buying an English-French dictionary. However, he was helped by the people who were taking care of his training. He did not speak any French then and only learned catering terms. He argues that, at that time, nobody was speaking English in France. People were reluctant to help those who did not speak the language, whereas now you can easily live and make yourself understood in France without mastering the French language.

Michael dwells on the burden of all the administrative procedures. He points out the recurrent issue of bureaucracy for those migrating to France. He faced it though he knows how things should be with the EU regulations. The bureaucracy issue is to him the one and only thing peculiar to the situation of expats/foreigners in France. The main problems stem from the social security system and the registration procedures (he also experienced the “*nightmare*” of finding a flat in Paris, which is not particular to foreigners). Michael is angry, for instance, at having to apply for the resident permit, “*though we all come from the EU. And they ask me for my birth certificate, as if I were from Senegal, and I’ve refused cause we are all part of the EU and if a French person goes to England you don’t need anything. Normally I could work anywhere in Europe, but it is not true. The information has not gone to everybody. That’s another area, it is hard to know what should you do and what should you not do. Ok, I could go and buy a book ‘living in France’, but it is really not obvious.*”

Apart from these problems that are specific to France, he assumes that moving implies such procedures that you need to go through. Michael has gotten used to adapting to new places. “*It was much harder at that time. Moving from Hong-Kong to London is like arriving in a no man’s land, you are nowhere, you are not on the electoral register, you don’t have a bank account and you don’t have an address. You need to somehow enter the circle, and it is the same problem when I arrived in France*”. He does complain about such hurdles and says that it is part of the moving process. He told us about his older brother (living in Germany) who experiences the same administrative problems.

On the other hand, Michael has never experienced discrimination. He just tells us about his memory of the last football world cup, when everybody was supporting his own team and he was supporting... Korea!

Motivations

Michael has an unusual personal path due to his links to Hong Kong and his European citizenship. “*I consider England to be my birth place but not my home country, I am more a colonial English.*” There is probably room to dig here regarding his socialisation and the way he experienced living with differences, whereas most of the interviewees grew up in nation-states (idea of cultural cohesiveness inside the state boundaries). “*When I lived in Hong-*

Kong I felt truly an expat, but I think a lot of that was to do with I was a white guy and I was living in a Chinese environment... Whereas here you don't have that." Michael does not see himself as an expat in France. He also has no feeling of being European (he feels Asian somehow), but he knows what rights are derived from his European citizen status. That can explain why he often compares living in the US and Europe with the benefit of hindsight. He refers to the US for the housing situation that is, as in Asia, easier than in Europe, and he points out the administrative barriers that remain in Europe. *"That's a real barrier, everywhere you go, this bureaucratic thing... When you go to the US, you don't have that when you go from state to state"*. He also refers to characteristics in Europe that would greatly affect the situation for European migrants. According to Michael, *"People like one of the European cultures and they go for it. Some people still have a barrier to movement. In America, to move from state to state is OK cause the culture stays the same, whereas in Europe the culture changes."*

Michael seems to be ready to move from cultural features to others. He is not enclosed in any national culture or nationalist attitude. That is consistent with his definition of what integration is: *"It certainly does not mean that I must become French in order to get integrated... There needs to be a kind of an understanding on both sides of the story and that's not always the case. Some people would like to see you involved in the French ways of life and they don't really have a care for your past ways of life. I have one or two colleagues who are like that."* He misses the Chinese breakfast and says he shares a lot with people from Hong-Kong, both English and Chinese. He does not feel French: *"I like very much living in France... I still think Asia is a bit of a home to me."* He nonetheless says he was proud of living in France when the Gulf War was launched. He tells the story of him being in a bar in the US (he was on a business trip when the war started and his plane was delayed, so he stayed overnight), and of defending the French position when speaking with an American audience, who, he says, could not understand such an attitude from a Briton. He adds during the interview that people take him to be French when he is abroad, *"because I use a French hairdresser"* and that he is firmly Asian at work. He can be at the same time British—proud to live in France and behave as such—but with Asia as his home and source of his cultural heritage.

On the other hand, his experience of different places and cultures seem to bring tensions to how Michael represents his path. It helps him building bridges, via his experiences, between cultural items one would not have seen as being close to one another. He said that he found many similarities between France and Hong Kong (networking practices, cosmopolitanism) and that allows him to find cohesiveness in his personal trajectory. *"I must admit that for me, coming from Hong-Kong, I lived in London six months the last time and it was horrible. I hated it. A lot to do with the culture there, I did not like it so much, and to come to France was an absolute relief... It was more a culture I could deal with... much more me. In England I felt like a complete stranger."* In France he can feel integrated. He does not hang around with other expats, and has already advised a friend to come to settle in France. When one probes his discourse, contradictions arise and he seems to have

difficulties in being clear with his identity. He says his home country is Hong Kong. *“There is a difference between the Hong-Kong Chinese and the Hong-Kong English.”* But he adds that there are a lot of similarities as well: ways of living and a way of doing business. *“I do not have much in common neither with a common Hong Kong Chinese, nor with other Europeans. There is a real segmentation on who is what (French, German...), maybe less for young people...”* Though he says that he does not feel European, when he points out discrimination towards extra-EU migrants and the difference between them and the intra EU ones, he becomes European: *“I’m more advantaged than they are, because I am European.”* His vision of his home country is a bit distant and vague, too. Though he has never lived in Thailand, when he tells about his recent holidays there, he says, *“It was very nice to be back again. It’s a unique experience to be one of the few people in a whole street full of Asian people. Here I can walk along a street full of French people and, I know I’m different, but no one else does.”*

Synthesis n°3, BERNARDO

Bernardo (male), Italian living in Paris for seven years, born in 1967, works as a project coordinator at an international NGO.

Experiences

Bernardo settled down to work in Paris in 1996, after having passed an examination held by the Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry. This examination was reserved to highly educated candidates, himself having a Master Degree in International Law. The result of his success was to be posted in Paris, at an international NGO, as a project coordinator.

He knew Paris very well because he had come several times on holidays, had been keeping contacts with many people there and had spent one year studying in *La Sorbonne*. After finishing his studies, he worked in Brazil, Portugal and Malaysia, each time for a couple of months. Bernardo speaks about five languages.

When he talks about his mobility, he says his choice of such a job was as much for the job itself as for being located in Paris. He corresponds somewhere to the international civil servant profile (i.e., language skills, nature of work) but has no link with the Italian administration.

He maintains contact with his native region but seems very much rooted in Paris. Nonetheless, he feels closer to Italian politics than to French politics, and he keeps up to date from afar.

Barriers

Having diplomatic status, he cannot be registered as a local citizen. He does not pay any taxes and cannot vote in French local elections. He nevertheless

says that, whereas he sometimes votes in the Italian elections, he does not make a big deal out of voting.

Bernardo does not mention any obstacles in his daily life as a migrant. He spends most of his disposable income on going out and paying the rent of a cozy flat where he lives alone with no children. When he thinks about immigration and integration as a whole, he recognizes that he is in a much more privileged position than that of Italian migrants to Belgium or France in the early 20th century. At that time, migrant coal miners had no real control over their situation. He also assumes that hardships for immigrants to France must arise from the lack of assistance resources upon their arrival and from the complexity of the French language (which is hard to get to learn in the street and above all, in Paris). By having all the linguistic, social (friends and networks) and financial resources at his disposal, Bernardo never experienced such hardships. He says, “*Je suis un immigrant chanceux.*”

All in all, he only misses two things in order to live a perfect ‘*Dolce Vita*’ in Paris: the sea and easygoingness. But he says that it is balanced. He appreciates the French taste for philosophical discussions and the French cerebral and intellectual attitudes.

Motivations

The discourse Bernardo offers is very individualistic. He does not deny being in a privileged situation but he does not try either to understand his representation and opinions according to his situation. Therefore, integration to him means feeling at ease where you are, in the place you live. It is a matter of personality. He sees Paris as the most suitable place to live, so that is what he does: he integrates there.

He does not talk at all about France when it comes to nationality. He says he has a strong Italian cultural identity. When it comes to more concrete features of identity, he just talks about pasta and Italian cuisine. The rest is mainly to live a ‘*Dolce Vita*’, and this he can do easily in Paris. He feels happy this way. He is not a member of any specifically Italian networks and keeps in touch with Italy by visiting two or three times a year.

Bernardo’s personal path and the conditions of his mobility are such that he does not belong to any collective identity. He says he shares a way of life with other Italians (aesthetic sense and the bright side of life) though he is not typical compared to his compatriots. This side of ‘*Italianness*’ (“*plutôt une manière de vivre italienne*”) helps him to be at home in Paris.

He can cope with collective identity in a way that it confirms his own identity: there is no conflict. That is why he can talk about the so-called French aptitude for philosophical discussions. We might believe this attitude is rather reserved to some peculiar places in Paris, and that it suits a genuine French popular culture (if this exists).

As he does not claim to belong to any people, he does not need to look for common features and bridges between the different sides of his personal history. That might explain why he sees Europe as being no more than a geographical and cultural (Judeo-Christian traditions which suit him) area. As it relates to differences between peoples, he wants to teach his future children, “ *le respect des differences*”.

Synthesis n°4, JULIANA

Juliana (Female), Spanish living in Paris for four years, born in 1978, works as a sales person in a department store to earn a living while pursuing a fledgling career in theatre.

Experiences

She attended a French secondary school in the Spanish Basque country. At the age of fifteen she started high school in the southwest part of France. She then attended university in Bordeaux studying ‘*les arts du spectacle*’, and intended to study at a theatre school in Paris.

After graduating from this school, she formed a theatre company with some fellow students. To earn her living while it took off, she worked as a salesperson in a famous Parisian department store. This working experience is, in her estimation, the first time that her twofold Franco-Spanish heritage has been employed, since her knowledge of French and Spanish as languages are appreciated.

Apart from this, she lives with her boyfriend in Paris. All of her social network is split between Paris and Bordeaux.

Barriers

Juliana has not a single hint of a Spanish accent and she rarely refers to her Spanish origins. She recalls having been treated as a foreigner when she was in high school, largely because of her accent. She said she overcame it, but it remains a painful memory.

Since then, it seems that she lives as anything but a foreigner. She does not associate with any Spanish in Paris, and says she is more at ease with French people. France, as a country, suits her better than Spain. In France, for instance, young adults can live on their own at early age while in Spain they remain in the family home much longer.

She maintains some contact with her family and says that being held by such a link is one of the biggest problems for expats. Though she goes to her native region about twice a year to visit family, this seems to be a heavy burden. She must go there whenever it is possible, because her parents would not understand if she did not come (although this prevents her from travelling elsewhere). She believes it is a universal issue for expats to be

expected to visit home often. She seems ambivalent about her hometown: she says she will never go back permanently, but she maintains and uses the political situation there as a reference to judge her current experience.

She is not interested in politics. She follows French political life and some aspects of the Basque issue from a distance, but does not vote in France. Nonetheless, she felt hurt by the first round of the past French presidential elections. "*Le 21 avril, j'ai pleuré... c'est un choc pour tous ceux qui ont choisi la France comme pays d'accueil.*" She still does not vote and she is not willing to get her resident permit, since the application procedures are too humiliating (she considers herself to be very different from other migrants).

Motivations

This effort to bring together the two sides of her culture ("I am Spanish with a French culture") is a bit problematic. She admits being ill-at-ease with such ideas as belonging and identity, and said afterwards that she agreed to participate in the interview hoping that this would help her in clarifying her ideas. She faces a real tension in determining the extent to which she remains Basque or Spanish and which parts of her are now French. Her views on migration and integration are not only that it is doable and valuable to settle and live anywhere, but also that it does not mean to accept everything, nor that understanding another culture means forgetting one's own.

She says that living near the border has built ties with France, and that attending a French school drew her to French culture. She remembers having had an argument with her mother at the age of seven, after which she considered fleeing to Paris. At the age of fifteen, the idea of being the only Spaniard in her school seemed attractive. She does not know any Spaniards in Paris (except tourists or visiting relatives) and cannot say if there are specific Spanish places there.

She always tries to understand her life experience through comparisons, using her knowledge and past experiences in Spain as a resource to evaluate her present. This is how she assesses the housing market, the health care system, and the mentality of people here and there. But she has difficulty achieving cohesion, being "*une Espagnole avec une culture française.*"

"*C'est très compliqué quand on part d'être de quelque part.*" In this tension between the different heritages that she wants to combine, Europe appears as a positive rebuilding reference in the sense that it makes the division between us/them mobile. She sees Europe as a community of experiences (diverging from Africa for instance) for young people (during their studies and working life), even if each country is culturally distinct. She plans to live in Barcelona with her French boyfriend, not necessarily because it is Spain or her home region (which is the Basque country), but because Barcelona is 'the most European town'. This is not necessarily the only alternative in her future. She would also like to go to Latin America (possibly because of its link with Spain?).

Synthesis n°5, JOHN

John (male), British national working in France for eighteen months, born in 1973, works as a project coordinator in an intergovernmental agency.

Experiences

John had travelled a lot before settling in France. He first came to France at the age of eighteen, in order to be a language assistant in Avignon. It was not in preparation for coming to France: he was settling there with a friend as they found this job opportunity through their high school in Cambridge. They chose Avignon because it was a popular part of France in England at this time. John says that he was much influenced by his Francophile grandparents. He went on to study in many different places (Madrid, Montpellier) and finally completed a Ph.D. in European policymaking in his native Cambridge. John also had a vocational training at the European Commission. He is now working for an agency of the European Commission. He found this job reading the Guardian.

He had been posted to France for eighteen months at the time of the interview, and travels frequently (at least two times a month), hardly ever spending the weekend there. He has some ties to other parts of France (Paris, Toulouse) and visits on a regular basis. Most of his income goes to travelling and going out. He has a comfortable salary and a flat in the city centre. He has developed habits of where to eat and have a drink, and is not keen on the discovering more—neither the surrounding areas nor other parts of the city.

Barriers

John found it very difficult and tedious to apply for the resident permit because of the amount of documentation and waiting time required. He believes this permit is redundant because of his passport. As a result, he cannot vote in local elections. In any case, he does not seem to be interested or informed about French politics, and even less about local politics. He says that it might be different if he had been here for longer or if he was planning on staying for a while, but this is not the case. As a result, he seems a bit annoyed with France's heavy taxation. He has also experienced difficulty in opening a bank account. Because his city has few foreigners, it seems that there is a reluctance to offer them services. The city actually has a long tradition of immigration, but more of industrial workers and their families, so the channels of integration and social organisation are different.

The obstacles for such Euro-migrants are many: John does not feel respected in his professional life nor in paying taxes for funding a social system in a place he will leave soon (and therefore will enjoy no benefits). The administrative processes and the lack of information centres are to him the biggest problems that expats face in France. However, he recognizes discrimination against migrants of different types/origins. John has many difficulties in meeting locals ("*It takes time*") since he is away almost every

weekend and since much of his time is spent with colleagues, who are young Euro-elites just like him. Wherever they go, they stay together and speak English.

Motivations

He loves the quality of life in France but prefers his home country. *“I’m not French and I never will be.”* On the other hand, he considers himself to know more about France (cities, geography...) than about England. The cultural exchanges coming out of such an experience seem to be food- and drink-focused. John brings his tea bags from England and maintains British drinking habits, but has taken French habits as well (aperitif, cheese). He can notice the differences between the places experienced and appreciate what some have and the others do not have. On the whole, he tries to enjoy the best of both places and regrets only what is particular to just one. About home, he misses the English sense of humour and Indian food. He appreciates French public-mindedness and the sense of public service, although Great Britain remains a land of opportunity, which is not bad either.

John says he loves the European cities. Having met him and his colleagues after the interview, the interviewer was surprised by their knowledge of dozens of cities in Europe (capital or main cities) that they were comparing according to detailed points (food, pubs, walking tours). They could plan days before a journey, according to their travelling schedule, where to go for having breakfast before a meeting, which route to take, etc. Apart from work-related travel, they also travel several times a week to other European cities (not only EU cities, but also places like Prague and Budapest).

He thinks that moving gave him a totally different outlook to geographical distances and that it brings *“all the advantages of being foreigner... you feel freer... you can have the best pieces of England without living there.”* But still, it is hard to integrate and to meet locals because *“when you live abroad, you end up with the people of your own language group.”* He points out that his colleagues are not native English speakers: they come from many different countries but have adopted English as a language to live and work in.

John points out the disadvantages of living abroad (costs, sense of not receiving adequate respect, money lost to taxes funding a social system he will never benefit from), and on the other hand, defines integration as having local friends, having a routine and not being considered as a foreigner when you first meet people. Obviously, he does not consider himself to be integrated. His weak sense of integration can be related to John’s conception of the qualities that are required to be a migrant: *“stamina, a lot, because there are lots of ups and downs. When you arrive somewhere, it is just another scenery, when you go back, it doesn’t count. There is no security, you have to get ready.”*

Despite all this, John wants to keep his rootless way of life. He says he is afraid of any permanent job. Living abroad and moving is like a pattern he does not want to question (“to maximize it”). He thinks it is a generational

pattern. He would like to tell his mother, who is getting worried, “*Hey, Mum, I’m not gonna end up anywhere!*” On the other hand, as a result of being abroad, John changes his view of England. “*Abroad, you idealize your country... you have romantic ideas.*” He sometimes thinks that the time has come to go back there; he mentions possibilities for upward mobility in England. This contrasts with his desire to keep moving and his fear of any permanent job. John does not speak that much about having children. He simply focuses on his desire that they should speak English; he wants them to share his mother tongue.

It seems that much of his experience centres on his professional identity—inside or outside of the workplace. It is part of the advice that he would give to anyone on the verge of moving: “*make sure you’ve got a contract!*” Although he does not plan to stay in France, he says he could do so with another job: “*You can adapt to living anywhere... If I have to choose between a job and geography, I would go for the job.*”

Synthesis n°6, GEORGE

George (male), British, living near Lille for four years, works in computer engineering, born in 1965.

Experiences

George came to live in a small village near Lille to marry his French girlfriend. Before settling down permanently, he used to visit on a regular basis for about five years. Then he gave up his job in England and came to the north of France, with no idea of what job he could find.

The main purpose was to be together with his French girlfriend, to get married and to build a family. They now have a daughter. George talks much more about his daily life in the village where they live: his friends, local community life and, above all, the local football club with which he is very much involved. According to him, involvement in this social activity has been the key to his integration.

George describes his new job as normal, regular work. He found it quickly, with no difficulties, but now he thinks he was a bit lucky.

George comes from a medium-sized town in Yorkshire. He did not pursue higher education, but did take a course in French at high school. Although he spent all of his childhood living in the same city, he considers himself to be a mover since his former job in the UK required him to live in different cities, including London, which was a formative experience.

He has a resident permit and feels at home in France. When it comes to politics, he is more interested in British political life (listening to the BBC in his car) and does not feel like voting since he lacks specific views on the French political issues.

Barriers

Even though the change from his job in England to his new job has entailed a loss of professional status, George does not mention any obstacles in the moving process. The only hardship he faced was being teased—both at the office and in his village—a few months after his arrival, because of his accent. But he sees this as a normal step and considers it to be a good memory.

When thinking about awkward aspects of life in France, he dwells on the bureaucracy as a hurdle for the migrants' integration and on the prominence of trade unions and social rights in France that he believes impede free enterprise. "*Si j'étais un chef d'entreprise, je ne viendrais pas en France.*"

More recently, he felt the influence of national identity in international affairs. He disapproved of the French attitude towards the Iraq war, and it made him feel more British. He felt ill at ease about how national identity can create cleavages on matters of international affairs.

Motivations

George moved for family reasons. The process of leaving one place of residence for another, with all the change and adaptation required, was seen positively as part of the process of building a family. For George, the most important place to integrate was his village, and he acknowledges having actively sought to build networks. Now he is better integrated than his wife, and reproaches her stiffness in social contacts.

It seems that overcoming the difficulties of such an experience has been taken by George to be part of the process. The thing about being teased on his accent at the beginning, but no longer today, reveals a lot: George still has a very strong accent but he does not believe that this accent remains.

His goal of finding a job was to support his family. This steady job is less important than integrating through playing football in what he now calls "*ma communauté, et celle de ma fille.*" Much of his life centres on his daughter. Without question, she is a part of this community. However, she will learn English as well as French because there is no contradiction.

George feels at home in France but remains English. Whereas he does not feel like returning home, he could easily move to another country to settle down. The most striking thing in George's interview is how well he assimilated through the integration process. Now that he is part of his new village community, George seems to have interiorised the prejudice and biases that are part of his daily life environment. When he refers to England, he often talks about Indian and Pakistani migrants, for whom integration is easier (administrative difference) and more positive. To that extent, when thinking about what he misses the most from his home country, there is nothing other than Indian food (the experience of living in London is probably essential here).

Now he experiences another social configuration (the village) in which (because there are no foreigners other than George) one can face a widespread anti-immigrant feelings and a sense of threat. It seems that George has coped with this discourse that is, due to French history, directed towards migrants from African countries. Having overcome all the hardships of integration, he does not see himself as a migrant anymore. Then, when thinking about immigration as a general phenomenon, he uses populist French stereotypes and says that, if integration is easy, it cannot be so for everybody since “the more you come from the south, the more lazy you are. It is because of the heat, then you cannot work and integrate.”

synthesis n°7, ELENA

Elena, Spanish, working in Lille since 1991, born in 1959, working as a language teacher in a semi-public institute for adults.

Experiences

Elena has lived in Lille since 1991. She came to France in 1989 to settle with her boyfriend. Though he was originally from the South of France, he found a job in Dunkirk (in northern France) and settled there. Elena had completed her studies to become an English teacher in Spain (Madrid). After graduation, she remained in Spain for a couple of years to have her state-employed teacher status recognized. She had previously worked in Scotland and Ireland as a language teacher for the Spanish cultural institute. She met her French boyfriend in Dublin.

Because of her language and teaching skills, she easily found a job in Dunkirk. As she spoke Spanish and English and because of the shortage of English teachers in France, she joined networks (*Chambre de commerce et d'industrie*), which helped her find a job in Lille. It seems that launching a new career in France has been quite easy for Elena. As she moved she changed from teaching schoolchildren to teaching adults and professionals, which she finds much more interesting. Her situation was a bit more comfortable in Spain and she has also lost the security of being a state employee.

After the relationship with her boyfriend ended, she became involved with a French and Spanish cultural association to make some contacts. She maintains that most of this association's members are non-Spanish, and she was not seeking something specifically related to Spain or the Spanish language. She became vice-president and then president of this association, and launched many cooperative projects and exhibitions with local associations and cultural networks. “*On a besoin de s'inscrire dans des clubs ou des choses comme ça pour rencontrer des gens, mais indépendamment d'être Espagnol ou pas, ça ne change rien. C'est pas que ce soit dur de rencontrer des gens à Lille, mais c'est qu'on se retrouve dans une grande ville, sans parents et sans familles et que les collègues, on es toute la semaine avec alors on a envie de rencontrer d'autres personnes.*” Today, most of her friends live in Lille. Only a few are back in Madrid (like her family), where she returns about twice a year.

She is more aware of Spanish politics than of French politics, “*parce que je ne suis pas sur place.*” She voted in the local and European elections. She is also involved with unions.

Barriers

Elena does not relate her personal problems (which she does not tell much about) to being a foreigner: “*Dans mon cas, ça n’a eu aucune influence sur mes problèmes.*” She has never faced discrimination or derogatory treatment because of her origins.

When she discusses the issue of immigration on a more general level, she says there is a huge difference between Europeans and others. “*Les Européens sont toujours privilégiés.*” The better treatment European citizens enjoy would be most visible in administrative matters, as civil servants as well as the police officers can be very humiliating towards other immigrants. “*Malheureusement, c’est pas seulement la France, en Espagne aussi.*” She has never experienced such discrimination because, she says, “*Il n’y a jamais de discrimination envers les riches, nulle part.*”

Motivations

She says she likes living in Lille because she prefers the north to the south of France (“*bien que je sois Espagnole*”). She says it is the perfect size for a city. Although she grew up in Madrid, she dislikes big cities. She could never live in Paris. She thinks moving makes a big difference. “*C’est un monde à part, ça dépend du niveau culturel mais que ce soit en Espagne ou en France, ceux qui n’ont jamais voyagé, c’est un monde à part. Il y a une ouverture d’esprit, une manière de voir les choses beaucoup plus objective qu’on a pas quand on est resté toujours dans le même pays.*” Her employment situation did not influence her choices in mobility, it is rather “*des raisons amoureuses.*” She thinks about retiring to Spain in order to be closer to her family.

Integration means respecting the host country’s norms and way of life, but it is neither necessary nor positive to abandon your culture because immigrants can never feel totally French. “*Je me sens complètement intégrée, mais je ne me sens pas français. On peut pas oublier nos racines.*” This plural identity can generate tensions. “*Le problème, pour moi, c’est que je suis étrangère en France mais je suis aussi un petit peu étrangère en Espagne.*” She dislikes being in Spain and confronting stereotypes or prejudices against France, above all when people there do not know French reality. “*Les enfants, c’est le gros problème, chacun tire de son côté, c’est là qu’on voit l’importance des racines.*” She would like her children to speak Spanish. She advises everyone, all of her students, to move, because it broadens your mind. But you first need to be motivated and open-minded to make this choice.

She feels European because she says she has travelled a lot and has many friends abroad. She often asks her students if they feel European at all, but a positive answer is very rare (which makes her ashamed). She feels European but she assumes that most people remain tied to their national identities.

synthesis n°8, SUZANNE

Suzanne (female), German working in Lille for nineteen months, born in 1973, works as a project coordinator in a European Agency.

Experiences

Suzanne came to Lille to work for a European Union agency nineteen months before the interview. Her educational background is in international business, and she worked for a while at a small/medium enterprise in Germany. She was qualified for her job in Lille because of her language skills and her European experience. It is the job she was looking for. She came to Lille by responding to a job offer, not for the place in itself. She mainly speaks German (office and home) and English (office), but speaks French fluently with a strong accent, as well as Spanish, Italian and Dutch. She has lived in Paris (6months), Dublin (7 months), Mexico (6 months), Belgium (1 year) and Italy (6 months) either while studying or while on training courses or work placements.

Her mother is an interpreter (French and English). She often went on holidays with her parents to the south of France. She travelled frequently with her parents, then for her studies (many terms abroad) and now, living in Lille. She is away every other weekend. Her habits are similar to John's.

In Lille, she only seems to get along with her colleagues. She participates in social activities (sport, going out, language courses) with the aim of making contacts with locals, but has little success. She goes out with other expats from her office but thinks that the locals she meets are not responsive to her expectations. As far as shopping is concerned, she is similar to many locals (local markets for some things, supermarket for other), and she sees herself acting as a local. She has friends in all the places she lived previously, keeping in contact via email (for friends) and phone calls (for family).

She says that she is interested in the French political life, but not involved. She is more tuned-in to German politics, reading German newspapers daily (both online and hardcopy) and French newspapers on a weekly basis. She does not vote and does not know exactly what her electoral rights are. She says she does not know enough about the city to vote in local elections, but this would change if she were more involved. She does not see any particular political issue as being of concern to foreign residents in France.

She has an idea of belonging to the German community: she is attached to Christmas and St Nicolas, watching the Franco-German TV channel Arte and she buys all her clothes in Germany. She misses some food and dislikes the French bureaucracy. She misses structures that she knows and the ease of understanding things. She also mentions throughout the interview the fact that she spends half of her personal time in Ireland, where she has an Irish boyfriend. Living in Lille is seen as a consensus, being somewhere between Germany and Ireland. She considers Germany to be her home country and later mentions that she is first from Baden-Württemberg, but living abroad has made her feel more German.

Barriers

She is not registered as living in Lille, since she says the procedure to get “*la carte de resident*” is too costly, takes of a lot of time and entails that humiliation of hours in a queue with worldwide immigrants who are stigmatised by the French administration. She her taxes are too high (she estimates it to be 16% of her salary).

She has experienced certain difficulties being a foreigner in Lille. First was the housing market. She first found a flat in a suburb that is considered as being unpleasant to live in. Then she experienced the additional obstacles in the French housing systems, where agencies demand high commissions. She has since moved to the old town (city centre) where she shares a flat with a French girl, her first real local connection after having lived with a Swiss flatmate (with whom she spoke German).

Motivations

She sees integration as requiring mutual openness to differences, where migrants need to take part in the local life. She does not care about being seen as a foreigner in Lille, but is very proud not to be considered one when she is in Ireland (where she visits on a regular basis). She says she could feel a bit French if she had some family here or if she had a strong and steady relationship with someone French. She does not plan to stay in Lille, but it depends on her job. She thinks she could settle permanently back in Southern Germany or in Ireland, depending on her partner. When she has children, she would like them to experience diversity and to not remain enclosed by the reality into which they were born. She would like them to know that diversity exists and also to understand that we cannot judge it.

Suzanne says that her decision to move or stay will depend on her job situation. As with John, most of her life plans and expectations centre on her career. Being mobile is part of their Euro-elite profile. The main qualities for success in mobility are: the adventurer spirit, open mindedness, and acceptance of differences. It should lead migrants to question ‘life at home’ in order to find a balance. This makes her feel more flexible more relativist. She says she became part of a ‘European population’. “*Je peux me mélanger dans toutes les sociétés en Europe. Je peux m’adapter. C’est une question de caractère.*”

She notes a mutual misunderstanding between herself and those of her friends who have never left their native small town. “*C’est une différence de priorités.*” She associates this with her flexible mobile identity. Nonetheless, she clearly expresses the tension arising from such an attitude. She would advise to someone who is willing to move to stay longer in individual locations. She thinks that it was not possible in her case, but that it is highly necessary, overall. “*Si tu n’essaye pas de vivre vraiment quelque part, ça peut poser des problèmes mentaux. On ne peut pas être des nomads parce qu’on est pas né comme ça. On a besoin d’avoir des raciness quelque part.*”

This need to be rooted somewhere is problematic relative to France, though she would stay there for a good job. If she fails to integrate, she will put that down to the locals: however hard you work on opening up to local people and habits, if they are not willing to accept you in return, there's nothing you can do. Suzanne does not feel French, but remains German (*“je partage avec les autres allemands le gout de l'organisation”*); she has developed a peculiar regional identity.

She is also attached to Ireland (where her boyfriend is). She often uses Ireland as a point of comparison. There, she is proud not to be taken as a foreigner. Elsewhere, she does not care. The reasons for her Irish or German identities are then linked to roots she has in each location. In contrast, she has none in Lille: *“Je ne me sens pas française, parce que je n'ai pas de famille., Jje pourrais si j'avais une relation forte avec français.”* Europe is then a convenient point of reference as it can link together her split identities as well as comfort her in her mobile life. She does not think of something in common for all Europeans, but being European is for her related to her own ability to adapt to all European societies.

B. German partner interview summaries¹⁰

Pioneur pilot interview #1

Mannheim – 15th July, 2003

Isabel, born in the south of Spain, is a twenty-five year old woman and has lived in Mannheim since 1999. She is officially registered in Mannheim but did not vote in the local or European elections in 1999 because she hadn't arrived in time to register. Unmarried and without children, she has a boyfriend in Germany and is happy with her family life. She shares a flat with other people. Before coming to Germany she did not speak any German (she did not attend a German language course in preparation for her stay abroad) and knew little about the German land or culture.

She studied Spanish linguistics in Spain and came to Germany through the ERASMUS exchange program. Upon completion, she stayed in Germany and is now a Spanish teacher. She began her career in Germany and therefore has no experience in the Spanish employment market. She likes her job, even if the pay is low and she lacks job security. One advantage of living in Germany is that there is an automatic national insurance program through being employed. In Spain there is nothing like this. The health care system in Germany is also better than in Spain but more expensive.

She always wanted to get to know different cultures and lifestyles, and the ERASMUS program offered a choice between France and Germany. She could speak neither French nor German and chose Germany. In the beginning it was very difficult for her because she only spoke English (she felt almost like a disabled person) and received no help or orientation at the university. She thinks that the biggest problem for migrants in Germany is the

¹⁰ Written by Nina Rother

bureaucracy: there are too many regulations and no information easily available about it.

Her best friend is her sister who also lives in Germany. She says that she is open and outgoing, but in Germany it is more difficult to get to know people. She has a few good friends in Germany (Spanish, French and German people) and keeps in touch with her friends in Spain through telephone and email almost daily.

She follows German politics through the newspapers (sometimes she buys a Spanish newspaper, but they are very expensive) and is more interested in German than in Spanish politics ("Now that I am living in Germany"). She is not a member of a political or religious community. She does not watch TV, but frequently uses the Internet. She likes to visit big cities or her family in Spain during holidays (especially at Christmas).

Isabel thinks that the leisure time in Germany is "silly and boring". The Germans have a different leisure time rhythm: "If you call a friend at 11 pm then it is very probable that he is lying in his bed and wants to sleep. In Spain the people eat late and go out late. They are more spontaneous!" The advantages of living in Germany are her boyfriend, the intimacy, the security and that she learned a new language and likes her job. The disadvantage is that the Spanish people are more relaxed than the Germans. For her the quality of life in Spain is higher, but she would migrate to Germany again. Altogether, she feels comfortable in a group of people and she thinks of herself as a European.

Isabel thinks that it is a personal decision to migrate. The migrant must be open for the new experiences and it is advantageous to speak the language. She says about her own migration that she did not migrate successfully. In Isabel's mind, integration means to appreciate the new home and to adapt to the lifestyle (e.g., in Germany you have address someone more formally than in Spain).

She thinks that she shares with Spaniards the language and perspectives on life, and with Europeans the area, that they are neighbours and that the Europeans try to grow together. She is different from the Germans because of her character and temperament. The main thing Isabel misses is the open mentality of the Spaniards: "In Spain the traditions are more closed but the mentality is more open. In Germany this is reversed." She also misses eating fish.

Overall she has no future plans. Her stay in Germany is not limited but she really wants to change cities. She may start studying again or visit Great Britain or Australia.

Pioneur pilot interview # 2

Munich – August, 1st, 2003

Davide is a thirty-two year old Italian citizen who has been living in Munich since 1998. He attended the university of Pavia, Italy and has a degree in political science. After graduating, he attended a three-month course in Milan on business administration and then in London for finance. Besides his mother tongue (Italian), his Spanish, English and German are fluent and he also knows a bit of French. He learned these languages by studying abroad during and after university.

He has quite a lot of previous migration experience. During his childhood, he moved once with his parents within one village, but during university, he spent eight months in Germany (Konstanz), four months in the US (Florida), and seven months in Germany (Konstanz), mainly financed by scholarships (Erasmus, AIESEC). After graduating in 1997, he stayed four months in France (Bordeaux) to do some university courses. After that he attended the London School of Economics for three months, doing a summer course in finance, followed by an internship (import/export) in London. He then applied for several jobs at international companies based in Germany because he wanted to improve his German and because the employment market in Italy for political scientists was poor. In December 1998, he moved to Munich to work in the corporate communications department at the headquarters of a big German company. He had no problems at all getting his Italian university degree recognized but he also says that “it was astonishing - nobody is asking for what I was doing exactly, they just recognize my education.” He has to travel a lot in connection with his job (Southern Europe, South America), which is fine because he loves to travel. He is very satisfied with his job and his earnings (it is more than it would be in Italy).

He is officially registered in Munich. As a political scientist he is very interested in the political life in Italy and in Germany and he also knows a great deal about German politics. He follows Italian politics through the media (newspaper and Internet), but without being involved. He did not vote in the last local and European elections. He mentioned that the bureaucracy is a big issue for expats in Germany, (‘As a European citizen, I was shocked of the amount of forms that I had to fill in.’).

When he arrived in Munich, he could rely on personal Italian networks that helped him to find his apartment in a student association. At the moment, he is living with his fiancée (German) in a rented flat in the centre of Munich. Finding the flat was extremely difficult. He also felt like he was treated differently than the locals to some extent when searching for an apartment because of his foreign nationality. He appreciates the quality of the German health system and the possibility of freely choosing a doctor, but he thinks that it is extremely expensive (“You pay so much that you think, ‘I have to go to the doctor three times a week.’”)

His closest friends (besides his girlfriend) don’t live in Germany, but in Italy (friends from early childhood), and one in Mexico. He also has very good friends in Germany. Most of them are Germans but some are American. Generally, he has fewer friends here than in Italy, but only because “When I

was in Italy I had much more free time.” In his free time, he likes going to restaurants (German and international ones), but avoids places for tourists or foreigners. He is not a member of any associations, but pays church taxes to the Catholic Church.

He is very satisfied with his family life, although the first thing he mentioned is that he missed his ‘mamma’. He visits his parents about five times a year and also celebrates Christmas with his parents in Italy. He maintains many Italian traditions, especially Italian cooking, but he also adopted German traditions (e.g., the way of celebrating the ‘Adventszeit’). He likes travelling within and outside Europe to see interesting places, meet interesting people and be in contact with their cultures. However, since living in Germany, he mainly goes to Italy for his holidays.

Davide reads German national newspapers regularly and Italian newspapers only on the weekend. He watches little TV, mostly the news on the national German channels and CNN. As he doesn’t have a satellite dish, he is not able to see any Italian TV programs. He says, “I wanted to force myself to watch German television.” He uses the Internet mostly for work, but privately also for e-mail and for news to get informed about Italian political life.

He is very satisfied with the quality of life in Munich, which he judges as ‘extremely high.’ Important factors for a high quality of life in his opinion are high incomes, good environmental conditions, a good education system, and also the weather and the friendliness of the people (the latter two, however, are better in Italy).

He says he still feels at home in his village in Italy, but he also considers Munich to be his home. Therefore, he has two homes. There is no special group of people with whom he feels most comfortable. He feels respected and integrated here in Munich and does not regret having moved. The personal advantages of moving were the opportunity to “get out of my provincial golden cage” and to work on his personality. He thinks that being open-minded, curious, (and especially) convinced about moving are the main factors for successful migration.

When asked for his national identity, he says that he sees himself first of all as a European and after that as Italian: “I’m European, but an Italian European.” He is proud of being Italian and feels that he shares a lot of things with other Italians (like language, culture and lifestyle). But he also feels that he shares important characteristics with fellow Europeans, such as a common European history and culture. These commonalities were especially salient to him while he lived in the US. He considers his less than perfect language fluency as being the main reason for not feeling German at all.

With regards to the future, he has not made any plans for the long run. His main intention is to stay in Germany for the next few years and then to move to another country. But of course, any children and his partner would have to decide (and move) together with him. In contrast to the near future, he really dreams of living in Italy once he has retired.

Pioneer pilot interview #3

Munich – 1st August 2003

Ernesto is a twenty-seven year-old Spanish male. He was born in Spain and feels absolutely that Spain is his home country. He is married to a Serbian wife and has one child, aged one. At home they speak English and Spanish because Ernesto and his wife do not speak German fluently (he also speaks Italian and a little bit of Serbian, having lived in Serbia for a year and having picked it up from his wife).

He has moved about every six years with his parents to different places. He says when he was young he had no problems with travelling, but as a teenager it became harder because you have to leave friends. Overall it was a good experience because he made new friends everywhere. He learned English when living for four years in the US, where he studied computer science for two years at university. After returning to Spain for a few months he moved to Stuttgart at the age of twenty with his ex-girlfriend. She is American and her family moved to Germany (for military reasons) and both wanted to stay together. During the first years he worked and lived at the military base. When he first arrived he received help from the ex-girlfriend's family and lived with them. In 1999 he went to Munich. Since 2002 he has worked taking care of computer systems for a company. He found his job through a colleague from the military base. He earns more than in Spain but he thinks that the life in Germany is also more expensive. He describes his job as "definitely the best job I have had, the most enjoyable one."

Ernesto is officially registered as a resident in Germany and is interested in German political life. He acquires information himself through colleagues and by listening to the news. He just wants to stay in Germany for a few years and then to return to Spain. It is because of this that he is more interested in the political life in Spain. He gets information about Spain through Internet newspapers and through watching Spanish satellite TV. As a result of problems with the bureaucracy, he could not vote in the last election (neither the local nor the European Parliament elections). While living in Germany he would like to vote because he pays taxes and "wants to give his little part."

His best friend lives in the US and here in Germany most of his friends are Americans living in Stuttgart. He thinks that meeting people is harder in Germany because of language barriers and the narrow-minded German mentality (colder than in Spain). He stays in touch with his family and friends in Spain or the US through email or telephone.

In his leisure time he visits festivals (mostly German places). He is a member of a union and in Spain he is a member of a religious community. He celebrates holidays with his family in Spain, in Bosnia at the beach, or visiting the other members of the family (it is harder to sightsee with a child). They try to raise their child as multilingual. Ernesto and his wife talk to each other in English. Ernesto speaks to his child in Spanish and his wife in Serbian. This is sometimes a little bit confusing but in the first three years the priority is that

the child learns Spanish and Serbian because these languages are the mother tongues of the parents and their families.

He thinks that the housing market in Germany is more expensive than in Spain and that it is difficult to find a nice house, especially in Munich. The medical system is also more expensive. The quality of life depends in his opinion on the amount of money you have. And even if he feels more comfortable in Spain and with Spaniards, overall he is happy with his life in Germany and enjoys it. He says, "I have everything I need." Because of that, he would advise others to migrate for a while as "it's a good experience and I would do it again."

The advantages of migration for Ernesto are financial independence and getting to know a new culture and lifestyle. When he migrated to Germany he dropped out of the university, and this was a mistake. To migrate successfully, it is important to have financial support and an open mind to find new friends. He hopes that Europe integrates further so that "we are all one with similar rights." Personally, he wishes to integrate in Germany a bit better but if it does not happen it does not matter. He feels at first like a Spaniard and then as a European. He misses most the sun and the look of the landscape in Spain (you know when you see it that you are home), the relaxed lifestyle and naturally, his family.

Ernesto is thoroughly Spanish and hopes that his time in Germany is temporary, but he is not certain. He'd like to return to Spain before his child is old enough to go to school, but it depends on the job. He and his wife would like to live in Spain, but it is a difficult decision because his wife comes from Bosnia and Germany lies in-between. Finally, he hopes that his child can live happily wherever it wants. The child should see the world as much as it can and do as much as it can, but it is very helpful to grow up in a permanent place and to get attached to one location.

Pioneer pilot interview # 4

Munich-1st August, 2003

Olivier, a French citizen, was born in Belgium in 1973. He came to Germany first in 1995 for an internship in Saarbruck, moved back to France, and then back to Saarbruck for a short time. After completing his thesis for his diploma he went to Bavaria in 1997, where he moved twice. He was actively looking for a job in Germany, to avoid the military service and to be close to his wife (who he had known before he came to Germany). After he met his wife, it was 'logical' that they wanted to live in Germany and hence prepared for this. He and his wife have no children.

He earns 65000 Euro per year, about the same as he would earn in France. He loves his job. He has to travel inside of Germany and Austria approximately once a month. In a previous job he had to travel more, but did not enjoy it.

He speaks fluent German (which he learned in school and from his wife) as his first foreign language and English (as his mother is American). At home they speak German. He moved to France at the age of three with his parents, and then moved inside of France three times. He was very young then, so moving did not matter to him. He moved twice to study (from Paris to LeMans, then to Troyes). He is a mechanical engineer in a large German company.

He is officially registered in Munich and pays all of his taxes in Germany. He is only somewhat interested in German politics. He gets information through TV (German and local), newspapers (German and English) and the Internet. As for France, he is only interested in international and significant national affairs, about which he gets information by radio and newspapers (rarely, if he gets hold of them). It is difficult for him to ascertain whether he is allowed to vote in Germany, and he finally says that he isn't. He did not vote in the last local elections in France. He voted in France for the last European election. He thinks that voting matters in Germany.

As issues for expats, he mentions that it is complicated to get married in Germany (too much paperwork) and that the police have problems with foreign driving licenses. It was very easy getting integrated. As for housing, he got help from his employer. He thinks that there are some details that demonstrate that you are a foreigner, but that this makes it more interesting for him.

His best friend lives in France. He has a comparable number of friends in France and Germany, and two thirds of the latter are Germans. The rest are French (no other nationalities). He has no problems with friendships with Germans. He also has contacts in other parts of Germany. Contact with family and friends is maintained by phone, email and visits. A few of his friends have migrated to other countries, and subsequently returned. In his opinion, migrants are more open-minded.

He enjoys participating in sports, but does not frequently go to German pubs and restaurants (twice a month). He is not a member of any association yet, but was a member of a photo club in France. He likes travelling to different parts of the world (Asia and Africa) for sightseeing. Now he has more money, but less time for these activities.

With regard to French traditions, he only kept the 'apéritif'. He adapted to German traditions such as the beer garden and also participates in what his German wife does for Christmas. He has developed a few German habits, which he realizes only when he is in France (i.e., parking habits: "In France, a bumper is a bumper. In Germany, bumpers are part of the car.")

He spends his disposable income on rent, food, travel and the car. As for problems finding an apartment, he compares Munich with Paris. He thinks the medical systems are about the same, including the quality of the doctors.

He likes life in Germany, as it is rather relaxed. People respect the rules more, which makes things easier and safer. In France, people regard rules as

something made only for others. In his opinion, differences between regions are greater than those that exist between countries (Bavaria and Southern France would be two different countries).

As for quality of life, he wants a good environment for leisure time activities nearby, not to be called back to work when you are on vacation, and to have enough money, but also enough time (good balance). Quality of life is very high in Munich, and in France the corresponding areas would be the Alps, Lyon and Strasbourg. He feels his home is seventy percent Munich and thirty percent France. The nationality of acquaintances would not matter to him.

He would always advise people to migrate and would do it again. He does not regret a single day. He feels fully accepted and has never experienced discrimination. He recommends that people willing to migrate be open-minded. They should also have the ability to become accustomed to a new environment. Whether to maintain your old identity depends on what you are doing: for an artist it might be helpful to keep the old identity, but in big organizations people should set personal identity aside a bit. He also mentions foreign language skills as being important for successful migration.

For him "integration" means that you do not stand out as a foreigner, you understand the language and the society and you behave accordingly to certain standards. Germany and France are not too far apart. He mentions those who cook dishes that are too strange or listen to loud foreign music as examples of people who "stand out." He describes his national identity as European or a mix between French and German. He will never be 100% German and speak Bavarian like his colleagues.

He clarifies his understanding of Europeanness in the following way: in principle, he would refer to people as Europeans only if they have spent some time in all of the European countries. For him the label "European" could only be used when someone is somewhere else, but not in Europe. He shares with other French people education (this leaves a lasting mark), language, and common experience and with other Europeans a common way of seeing things and travel experience in contrast to the US. He feels German as well, and has some German traits.

He misses the good food, and in particular, the importance that preparing meals and eating is accorded in France. In his opinion, in France people spend their money on food, in Germany on cars. The French are a bit more open and want more contact, but such perceptions are very much related to the personality of the observer. In France, people care less about their neighbours. They close their shutters and inside there is family life (however, in Southern France everyone is outside).

Although he has no plans, he would like to go to another country that would be quite different (e.g., Africa, Asia, or South America). For him retirement is too far away and thus he has no plans. His children can decide where to live on their own, but should also have a foreign experience. They should also learn languages and be open-minded.

Pioneer pilot interview # 5

Nuremberg –2nd August, 2003

Belinda, a British citizen who was born in England in 1970, came to Germany first in 1994, but then moved back to London where she received a certificate for teaching English as a foreign language. She has been living in the Nuremberg area since 1996, when she moved to live with a German man. Since that time, she has worked teaching English freelance. She has since separated from her German boyfriend and now lives on her own with two children (ages three and five). Her salary depends on the number of hours worked. Currently she earns 3000 Euros per month for a part-time job, twice as much as she would earn in England (her last job in England was as a personal assistant—19000 pounds a year in 1995). She is fairly satisfied with her job, but regards her freelance status as a problem. In the past, she has travelled inside of Germany as part of her job, but currently does not travel.

She speaks German (which she started learning only after she moved) fluently but with some grammatical mistakes. In addition, she speaks a bit of French. At home she speaks English. She never moved as a child, but as an adolescent she moved out of her parents' home. She then stayed within London and lived in a shared house. Since the age of twelve she has been thinking of going abroad, but had not prepared for this. She is officially registered in a municipality in the area of Nuremberg. She pays all her taxes in Germany.

She is interested in politics, but does not have enough knowledge of German political life. She obtains information through the news on TV, newspapers (local and national) and the Internet. On average, she watches four hours of TV a week, uses e-mail regularly, and other Internet facilities once a week or so. She is less and less involved with English political life, which she gets information on from CNN, Time Business Magazine and the Internet. She is not allowed to vote in German national elections, but can do so in local ones. However, she failed to vote in the last one and didn't vote in the English election, either. She cannot remember the last European election.

As issues for expats, she mentions a lack of transparency of rights, the confusing paperwork and a lot of bureaucracy compared to the UK. She would have encountered severe problems upon arrival, if her boyfriend hadn't taken care of her paperwork.

Her best friend is English, but lives in Germany. She has a comparable number of friends in England and Germany, but only thirty percent of the latter are Germans. Friendships with Germans have always been difficult for her. She thinks that people in this area are not open to new contacts and are narrow-minded, especially in comparison to London where there are very open networks. In London, everyone is new. Here, people have lived all their lives in the same place and are not interested in meeting new people. She has a few contacts in Cologne. Contact with family and friends in England is maintained by phone and e-mail. In addition, she visits her family or is visited by them twice a year. All of her close girlfriends from London have migrated to

places all over the world. In her opinion, there is a clear difference between migrants and non-migrants: the former are more open and curious.

She enjoys sports, going to pubs, restaurants and, in particular, beer gardens. However, time for these activities is considerably reduced at the moment (down to twice a week) due to her children. She goes to German places and Irish pubs (where only the foreigners are talking to each other!). She is not a member of any associations (or religious community) in England or in Germany.

Due to a lack of funds she has not taken any holidays for the past three years (with the exception of her trips to England which she does not regard as holidays). Before, she travelled on her own as a backpacker for holidays in Asia and Africa, and went sailing with her ex-boyfriend.

She maintains some previous cultural traditions (e.g., Halloween) and now celebrates the German Christmas. However, she does not maintain any (English or German) traditions for meals. She thinks that when migrating, you lose some traditions, but do not really get into the new ones (e.g., she does not like carnival).

Her children go to a kindergarten. She thinks it is well equipped, but complains about the lack of education for older kids. In England, schooling starts when the child is four. Nevertheless, she is satisfied, because it allows her to work. Problems will arise when her children have to go to school: "It cannot be that the children come back at eleven o'clock in the morning." She does not know whether she can stay (in the area, in Germany?) under these circumstances. She also complains about the inflexibility of the selection criteria of the grammar school system. Finally, according to her, the German educational system knocks individuality out of children.

As her ex-partner pays the rent, she spends her earnings for food and insurance. She shops in German chains or little supermarkets for convenience. As for housing, she mentions that there is a larger market for renting in Germany compared to England, and that they were lucky to find a good place to stay. The housing standard in Germany is much higher compared to London (better quality for money). The same applies to the medical system, because you can go directly to a specialist and there is no waiting time. The treatment itself, however, is not different from England. The cost, even for state insurance, is astronomical compared to the forty pounds she had to pay per month in England for National Insurance. She considers all material and economic aspects to be better in Germany (compared to London). However, with regard to tolerance and people, London is better.

She feels at home neither in London nor here, and thinks that migrants will never become one hundred percent integrated. However, she feels comfortable amongst both people. She thinks she is respected because she is English. Because her written German is not perfect, problems might result if she applied for a regular job in an organization.

She would migrate again because learning new things is positive. However, she also sometimes regrets her decision. She recommends that people wanting to migrate prepare and set a deadline for deciding whether to stay or return. As for skills needed to migrate, she mentions foreign languages and preparation for the paperwork (through the Internet).

For her, "integration" is something both positive and necessary. She describes her national identity as "displaced" (no longer English and not yet German) and European. She shares with the English a sense of humour, background, culture, and the customs she grew up with, and with other Europeans a common history and culture. She feels German only when she has English visitors. She misses the different nationalities and the tolerance and openness of London and a few food products. She intends to stay in Germany for the time being, but also considers going to Spain. Children are important in that decision. She would never go to London with children because it would be financial suicide. She cannot think about retirement yet. Her children should also have mobility experience, but set a deadline for themselves.

Pioneur pilot interview # 6

Frankfurt–28th August, 2003

Lucia, an Italian citizen born in 1970 in Italy, came to Germany in 1998. She is single and has no children. Her salary amounts to 5000 Euros per month (gross income), a bit more than she would earn in Italy, but with better career prospects here (first job in Italy: 800 Euros gross income). She speaks excellent German and good English. She started learning German by taking a three-month course in Italy, then moved to Basel (a German area of Switzerland) and to Hamburg where she continued taking German courses. She speaks German at home and in her job. As a child (age two) she moved with her parents from Padova to the countryside. As an adolescent she moved back to Padova to study (chemical engineering) and remained there through 1996. After working at an engineering bureau in Italy for six months, she moved to Basel to work in a pharmaceutical company, then to Hamburg in 1998 to complete her Ph.D. thesis. She came to the Frankfurt region in 2001. She liked Swiss people less and Germans better (more open).

Since the end of her university studies she had been thinking of going abroad due to the limited engineering career prospects for women in Italy. She prepared by attending language courses. She prepared for Basel by reading, visiting and contacting friends there. She did not apply for a job in Italy after her Ph.D., but only in Germany. She is now working as a chemical engineer in a large company in the Frankfurt area. She is very satisfied with her job. She frequently travels inside of Germany on business, but not outside of Germany. She is officially registered in a municipality near Frankfurt. She pays all her taxes in Germany. Upon arrival in Hamburg, she had no adaptation problems. Colleagues were helpful and with the help of networks, finding an apartment was not a problem, either. In Frankfurt, finding an apartment was a bit more difficult.

She is not very interested in German or Italian politics. She gets information from the TV news. She reads a German weekly newspaper and an Italian newspaper now and then. She also uses the Internet. Mostly she reads books—half in Italian and half in German. She can receive English TV channels, but does not frequently use them. She is not allowed to vote in national elections, and does not know whether she can in local ones. She has not received an invitation and has not yet voted in Germany. She thinks it is important to vote in Germany. She voted in the last European election in Italy.

As issues facing expats, she mentions problems with Italian consulates in Germany. She has not had any problems with the German bureaucracy. She also mentioned that paperwork is not well coordinated or known by the authorities themselves. In Switzerland this is easier, as the employer takes care of it (but they admit you if you haven't found an employer).

Her best friend is German and lives in Germany. She also has friends from Italy (some now living in Germany) and her boyfriend is German. She has a comparable number of friends in Italy and Germany. In Germany most are Germans and one is British. Friendships with Germans have not been difficult for her (although they were with Swiss people in Basel). She does not think that people in Germany are less approachable than Italians. She still has contacts in Basel, too. Contact with friends in Italy is maintained by phone, e-mail and mutual visits. She visits her father in Italy twice a year and then visits the Italian-based friends, too. A lot of her friends have also moved to foreign countries. Those who did not want to migrate (among her colleagues from university) have not even moved inside of Italy, as they did not want to leave the area.

She participates extensively in sports and goes to restaurants, the cinema and the theatre. She participates in these activities twice a week on average. She mostly goes to German places. She is a member of a professional association and a sports club. In Italy she was a member of the girl scouts. She is Catholic, but not a member of a religious community. In addition to trips to visit her family in Italy, she spends her vacations doing sightseeing tours (no beach holidays!). She has gone to the US and Asia.

She keeps Italian eating habits, cooking and timing of meals. She does not observe Italian holidays. She has adopted some German Christmas traditions (baking cookies) and some German meals. She is happy with her personal life in Germany.

She spends twelve percent of her earnings on rent, thirty-five percent on food and gasoline, fifteen percent on insurance and the rest for vacations and savings. She shops in German chains or little supermarkets, but also in Italian and Asian shops. She also brings Italian products from Italy or orders them by mail. As for housing, she mentions the tight market in the Frankfurt area, but with a Ph.D. she had no problems. She thinks the medical system is expensive, but you get more than in Italy (insurance covers more, no waiting lists). She has private insurance. She likes the German mentality more than

the Italian one (singles and cohabitation are regarded with suspicion in Italy). Quality of life is better in Germany than in Italy.

She feels more at home in Germany (but that might be due to associating Italy with living in her parents' home, which was too narrow). She does not seek the company of Italians. She thinks she is accepted more in Germany than in Italy (cohabitation!). As for disadvantages, she mentions that she has fewer opportunities to speak in Italian here and, thus, she loses practice in Italian.

She feels fully accepted, as EU foreigners generally are. There might have been some instances of subtle discrimination as a foreigner on the housing market. If this was truth, it was not due to being Italian because her accent does not reveal her origins (this is true: she speaks standard German with a light Swiss accent).

People should be convinced about migrating. She would migrate again because learning new things is positive. She has no regrets. As for traits needed to migrate, she mentions openness and curiosity.

"Integration" means for her that Italianness is secondary. She feels as integrated in Germany as she would be in a different Italian city. She describes her national identity as Italian (because she spent twenty years of her life there), but feels a belonging to Germany, too. However, she would regard herself less as European. She thinks that such a feeling would more likely come up in Belgium. She shares character traits with other Italians (talkativeness, impulsiveness, not being fearful, openness) and, after probing, she also mentions language and upbringing/education. She shares readiness to be mobile with other Europeans (only with migrants!), but she does not see any other commonalities (e.g., with French people living in France--the stayers). She feels German when in Italy (e.g., respecting queues). She misses the sun and her family, but by no means the way of life. On the contrary, she thinks that cultural offerings and the supply of foreign food are better in Germany than in Italy.

She intends to have children in Germany and to return to Italy perhaps for retirement. Life with children is better in Germany. In particular, she thinks that a part-time job is easier to get in Germany. Her children should be bilingual and they also should have mobility experience and be open. Other countries that she might be interested in going to are Belgium, England and France. She would accept being transferred to Italy by her employer for some years.

Pioneur pilot interview # 7

Frankfurt – October, 24th, 2003

Linda, a twenty-six year-old British citizen, has been living in the area of Frankfurt since June of 2001. She attended university in Scotland and has a degree in chemical engineering. Apart from her mother tongue (English), she speaks German fluently with some grammatical errors and also knows

Spanish. She learned these languages through living and working in Germany and Mexico.

Born and raised in a small village in Northern Ireland, she left to study in Edinburgh at the age of eighteen, *inter alia*, to live on her own. During university ('the British university system is quite good for having holidays'), she travelled quite often (e.g., to Africa) and did an internship in Germany at the company she now works for. After university, she took 'one year off' to travel to the US and Mexico, where she also did an internship. She got her current job at a big German company in the chemical industry more or less by chance: an application for another internship resulted in a job offer. Thus, she had to decide within two weeks if she wanted to move to Germany. She decided to leave as she knew that she would like the job and because her German boyfriend lived in Germany (although not in the Frankfurt region at that time).

In the beginning, she received lots of help and support from her boyfriend, which made starting life in Germany much easier. Indeed, she is very satisfied with her job and her family life, especially after her boyfriend (now fiancée) moved in with her recently in her rented apartment (located between Frankfurt and Hanau).

She has to travel on business within Europe and gets "to see new interesting countries." She also goes to Great Britain from time to time, where she becomes more aware how much she has adapted to the German way of doing things (such as talking in a relatively direct way).

She is officially registered in Munich and is paying all of her taxes here in Germany. She is more or less interested in the political life in Germany, as "it has a strong influence on me because it could be that I have to pay more taxes." The political life in Great Britain is not that important to her anymore, except for the Northern Ireland conflict, which she is really interested in. Voting seems to be important for her and she intends to vote in the next European elections. As the biggest problem facing expats in Germany, she mentioned the complexity of the administration: "You can do things in different ways, but you have to do A before B and not the other way around. But nobody told me that."

Concerning daily contacts and her social life, she first mentioned big differences between Great Britain and Germany. She says that in Germany, "work and social life are separated strictly." She appreciates this now, as "you don't have to go out with colleagues you don't like." For her, it was relatively difficult to make contact with Germans, although she was not sure if this was only due to language problems or a question of mentality. To meet other people, she became a member of a sports club but the people there seemed to her a bit too competitive. In general, she has fewer but better and closer friends here than in Great Britain, and none of her friends in Germany are British (something she didn't want to do as she wanted to enter the culture). Instead of being a member of a church, "and paying taxes where you don't know where the money goes to!" she is a member of an association of god parenthood for children in Africa.

She still preserves some Irish/British traditions (e.g., St Patrick's Day and celebrating Christmas the English way). She has adopted some German traditions like 'drinking wine,' but to some extent it seems to be wrong for her (being British) to follow all the German traditions.

Linda reads German national newspapers more or less regularly (without subscribing) in which she also finds news from Great Britain. She watches little TV, mostly for entertainment and news. She is not able to watch English television, but also doesn't want to. She uses the Internet for information about what is going on in the local area and also in Northern Ireland.

Regarding differences in the housing market, she mentioned that renting an apartment is much more common and therefore much cheaper than in Great Britain—but that it is the opposite with buying a house. She has had very good experiences with the German health system (especially at the dentist) but she was astonished that general practitioners are only able to help in very general cases.

Quality of life to her means good environmental conditions, the opportunity (and time) to do sports and a medical system that is functioning. Therefore, she judges the quality of life here as 'high'. She feels at home here in Germany as well as in Northern Ireland. There is no particular group of people with whom she feels most comfortable, but when in Germany she does not want to be in contact with other British people. She wants to integrate completely into the new country. She never regrets having migrated, but says that one should be aware that migrating might be hard at the beginning and requires self-confidence. Personally, she never felt treated differently from locals when people knew that she was British. But when people didn't know her nationality, she sometimes felt treated differently.

When asked for the country she feels most attached to, she said she feels that she is first of all "(Northern) Irish, but not British, as this concept is too abstract, too weak" because she shares many things with the people there (e.g., the family-orientation). She also feels to some extent European-- "perhaps more than other people"-- but for her, Europe is also a relatively weak concept as "there are so many differences between the different European countries." She considers the short amount of time she spent in Germany so far and the still missing important life events (e.g. a marriage) that she might still experience in Germany as the main reasons for not feeling German at the moment.

With regards to future plans, she does not know where she will be in the next years, as this decision will depend on career opportunities and also her partner. She considers herself to be too young to make any definite plans, however, and she also has no plans for retirement. However, she does dream of buying a motor yacht for sailing the oceans.

Pioneer pilot interview # 8

Mannheim – November, 18th, 2003

Madeleine, a twenty-six year old French citizen who never married and has no children, came to the Mannheim area (where she is officially registered) in January, 1999, and then moved back to France for six months before finally returning to Mannheim. She did vocational training in economics/administration/marketing with an additional training in international affairs. In addition to French, she speaks German (fluently) and English (a bit less fluently than German). She learned these languages at school (German first, then English) and she is currently studying English through distance education.

She moved as a child with her parents within the same city. Before coming to Germany she spent two months in Australia on vacation, but she had never lived on her own. She came to Germany because German was her principle second language and because she needed to improve her German (due to problems encountered studying for the Bac). German had a priority over English because she believed that she would learn English in any case, but without special effort this would not be true for German. She came to Germany during the internship part of her studies. The firm then offered her a job, which she accepted because she also wanted to extend her stay in Germany. She did not actively look for opportunities in other countries, though she had considered going to Britain. She has always wanted to go abroad (interest in languages, curiosity). She is now working in the export department of a big company in the chemical sector. She really likes her job and is very happy about her opportunities here and the money she earns (which is almost double what she would earn in France). She travels within Europe on business, which is something she enjoys.

As preparation for her stay in Germany, she attended an intensive course with information on shared housing and banking in Germany. When coming here she received help from a German she had met France before. Finding an apartment was much more difficult than finding an internship (she tried to do it from France). Her present search for an apartment is quite difficult and she feels that she is treated differently from locals because of her accent. She is now living on her own in a rented flat for which she pays about a third of her income. This is relatively inexpensive for her, especially in comparison with France.

She is not very interested in German political life but is rather interested in that of France. She watches mostly French TV channels in order to keep informed about it. In general, she watches only a little TV and does not read the newspaper regularly (it's in French when she does). But she does use the Internet to get local information and to communicate with friends. She did not vote in the last elections because it was too difficult and too much paperwork to register to vote. She would have had to go to Stuttgart just for one paper. Nevertheless, she thinks that voting matters, especially if she stays in Germany longer. She mentions bureaucracy and the rather bureaucratic regulations of everyday life as disadvantages in Germany. However, she does not think that these make life for foreigners especially difficult.

She has no best friend but a few really good friends in Mannheim, and they are all French or French-speaking. It was not difficult to meet people, but it is not easy for her to get become close to Germans as "they have a different

mentality". Thus, about seventy percent of her friends are or speak French. She still has many friends in her hometown that she sees when she visits her family (every two months). She observed differences between people who have migrated and those who have not. Migrants are more open and – as they also have the migration experiences – they are better able to understand your problems. Thus, in her opinion, it would be important to be open in the sense of “accepting everything” in order to migrate successfully.

In her free time, she goes to a gym and she likes watching films at the cinema (“the best way to learn a foreign language”). For her vacations, she wants to go camping at least once a year but she also likes holidays at the seaside, especially in Southern Europe. Because she sees herself as French, she still maintains French cultural traditions, (e.g. the "Beaujolais Nouveau" and French food). However, she also adopted typical German traditions such as the Christmas market and Christmas cookies.

Madeleine appreciates the German medical system and its feature that you don't have to pay medical bills in advance, but is also very astonished that you never learn the costs of your treatment. For her, quality of life means above all security, which is superior in Germany than in France (where she would be afraid to walk alone at night). Although she has lived in Germany for five years and feels respected here, she doesn't feel at home. She does not feel at home in France anymore, either. However, she feels more comfortable with other French people as she shares the same “humour” with them. This is the reason why she still feels very French. But she never regretted having migrated and would do it again – also, because she is very aware that she can return to France if she doesn't like Germany any more. The main benefit of migration was that she could improve her German. As disadvantages, she mentions that it would have advanced her career further if she had remained in France and that she feels homesick from time to time. She misses the mountains and the French mentality. Madeleine feels German only in some aspects (but she cannot mention anything concrete), but not European and she couldn't mention any commonalities with other Europeans.

She has no detailed plans concerning the future, but she toys with the idea of moving to another country (maybe in Southern Europe) or of returning to France. In any case, her family will play a big role and she would regret it if her children were to grow up outside of France. Once she retires, she dreams of living in a big house with a big family in the south of France.

C. Italian partner interview summaries¹¹

Pioneur pilot interview # 1

Firenze – 15th Sept, 2003

Jeanne, a thirty-nine year old French citizen, has lived in Italy since 2001. She is a housewife and is married to an expat officer in a military elite corps (French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese forces) of the French Army. One son, 12, attends French school in Florence. She has a high school diploma

¹¹ Written by Emiliana Baldoni, Tina Nebe and Ettore Recchi

and she worked in a large company until 1988, when she got married. After leaving her job she started painting, an activity she still pursues regularly as an amateur. She lived with her French parents in the Ivory Coast until the age of nineteen and then moved to Paris.

Moving to Paris resulted in real culture shock. Afterwards, she moved to different French towns following her husband's job, and found provincial life more satisfactory. Moving to Florence met no opposition, and was accepted quite enthusiastically – there being no other option considered by the family. In fact, she likes living in Florence except for its metropolis-like urban chaos. "There is noise, always... like having bees around all the time." She likes the international environment (linked to the husband's job), but not 'living the city' – she prefers the countryside where she found their flat.

Italy interests her, although she admits that it is not her country. She clearly envisions a temporary (three to four years) stay. She declares that her philosophy of moving (which is part of her lifestyle) is "taking the best from every place, discarding what is no good." She says that Florence gave her a lot of inspiration (for painting?) and energy – "something I want to store for the future, when I will have to be in another place." Africa had a similar effect on her: "With my experience of life, I have no problems whatsoever. No problems of places, people. I can go anywhere, provided I am with my family and my husband and son are well. I no longer have a home in France or Africa." She doesn't feel particularly close to her French co-nationals, because "France is so mixed nowadays" [here and there she expresses an ethnic view of national belonging]. The only things she misses about France are her parents and relatives.

She professes to be an extremely tolerant and open-minded person, as "those who migrate keep their doors more easily open." She has friends of different nationalities, being sociable and willing to integrate with local people. "About half my friends now are Italian, half are French." She says she adapts quickly to local habits. But later she admits that because she lives in Italy, she finds herself cooking French cuisine more often than she did before.

Politics do not interest her at all, although she follows the news regularly and reads newspapers daily. But "Italian politics is not for me, I am not here to stay forever... it would be different had I married an Italian man." Later on she repeats, "Had I married an Italian, my life would have been fully Italian." She never belonged to a political party or any other political and/or religious association. She is Catholic, but does not attend church frequently.

She says that integration is very important. It basically means making efforts to learn the local language. She never felt discrimination in Italy, and finds the country friendlier than it was described to her before moving: "Nothing like the Mafia picture." Her only regret about integration, in practical terms, has to do with the school system. More precisely, she laments the lack of appropriate agreements between Italy and France on the admission of French pupils into Italian lower secondary schools. Her son had to sit an exam (V elementary) to be admitted to the *scuola media* – something he could not do when he arrived

due to a lack of language skills. So she was 'forced' to enrol him at the French school in Florence, to avoid the risk of him having to repeat the last year of primary school in Italy. In fact, Jeanne was very willing to send her son to the Italian school, as she was informed that Italian public schools are good and this could also give him the chance to learn Italian better and experience a foreign system.

She feels European, because "Europe exists in any case." "I have ancestors and relatives from Belgium and Germany. Europe is a fact for me from ever... We [as Europeans] have everything in common." She says she knows almost nothing about the EU, but in a sense her view of Europe is independent from EU institutions and European political integration (although her husband's current work depends on the latter). She does not think of a place to live forever ('maybe Toulouse?'). She would love to move to another country (not France) after leaving Italy. Her only concern is with the schooling opportunities for her son and the possibilities to visit her parents in France. But, all in all, "moving is fantastic."

Pioneer pilot interview # 2

Rome – 15th Sept, 2003

Fernando is a thirty-two year old Spanish citizen who has been living in Rome since 1994. He started university in Madrid, but completed his degree in Rome. He was not an Erasmus student, although he applied for the grant. After graduation he attended a three-month course in tourism marketing and an on-line course at the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) on "food safety and development", but "just to enrich my resumé."

He is single, and says he lives with a male partner (seemingly homosexual). He has no previous experience of migration. He learned Italian in Italy, a country he had visited as a tourist and where he settled as student. Obtaining recognition of his Spanish university experience took a long time (about one year). In the meantime, he survived on a student grant and temporary jobs—mainly teaching Spanish—but also in a call centre and as a night watch guard. In September 2001 he got a job in the administration of a cultural institute.

His first flat was at a friend's place. Then, after many renting for many years, he recently bought a flat. He doesn't know much about the housing market in Spain, but feels that Rome is expensive. He is officially registered in the Rome local census. He has no interest in becoming an Italian citizen.

He follows Italian politics, but without becoming involved. He has voted in local and European elections in Rome. He is not a member of any association or religious community.

Except for colleagues, his social network is almost exclusively composed of Italians. "Maybe it was not conscious... I never wanted to be related with Spaniards, first because I don't like Spaniards abroad, then because being into a group of Spaniards means entering a closer and closer circle." Making new friends proved to be extremely difficult, even at university: "You are the

stranger, the exotic part of the class. At the end it is difficult to be accepted by social groups. The Italians I knew, as a matter of fact, were not Romans. They had the same problems of social integration I had." Italians are diffident, he says ("If you approach a girl, she thinks you want to drag her"), and "they go out in groups."

He has travelled around Europe and USA, but he says he does not like "alternative holidays in exotic places." "When I got back to Germany from Poland, I felt like being back home. Maybe it's a mental thing. I recognized the EU flag, something I feel is mine."

He usually travels to Spain twice a year to visit his family. But going back home is always a trauma: "I don't like it so much. It's a kind of trauma, a stress I prefer to avoid... Leaving my parents costs me so much... If I don't see them I think they are alright and I don't get worried about."

He does not observe any particular Spanish or Italian traditions – apart from "eating grapes on new year's day."

He reads Italian and Spanish newspapers regularly, mostly over the Internet. He watches little TV, being very critical of the quality of TV programs. He watches Spanish TV "from time to time." He uses the Internet for leisure and shopping. He spends a lot on books and travelling.

In Italy, he does not like the health system because of its lack of organization and efficiency. He prefers to see private physicians. He is very satisfied with his family life and quality of life in Rome, which he sees as meaning "the chance to spend your time doing what you really want to do." He admits, however, that this mostly depends on having a good income.

He says he feels very much at home in Italy, while in Spain he now feels like a special tourist. However, "in Spain you live well if you want to have a good time." He feels at ease with Italians, although "There is always a heritage that cannot be shared, experiences, memories..." And this leaves a sense of exclusion: "Italian songs of children's movies don't belong to my childhood, and in spite of my efforts they will never be mine." He resists the idea of planning in the long run. His main intention, however, is to stay in Italy. The possibility of going to another country is not excluded ("I would like to make a fortune in New York"). But realistically, having a good job, owning a home, and a stable romantic relationship deters him. "Material things and affective bonds tie you to places."

Fernando expresses his strong attachment to Europe repeatedly. He says, "I am a convinced European." He feels that he shares history, culture, and institutions with fellow Europeans. Having visited many other European countries reinforces this feeling. Actually, he would like to have a European identity card – sooner or later.

Pioneur pilot interview # 3

Firenze – 16th Sept, 2003

Jean-Baptiste is a thirty-seven year old French citizen who has lived in Italy since 1996 (he registered immediately in the local census). Born in Paris, he moved to Provence as an adolescent with his parents. He returned to Paris for higher education. He holds a lower-tertiary level degree in Art. He is single, seemingly homosexual, and an industrial designer (more precisely, 'designer of bags') in a highly-reputed fashion company. He lives in a well-decorated flat on the top floor in the heart of the centre. Soon after obtaining this degree he was offered a job in a French shoe-making firm. His job entailed frequent trips to Italy (Milan, Florence, Rimini, Ancona, Naples), where the firm sub-contracted the production of its leather items. This gave him an opportunity to get in touch with Italy and to meet a number of Italians at the age of twenty-two.

He definitely wanted to work abroad "for work reasons." He planned to move to either London or Italy. He was offered a job in Florence, so he headed to Italy. In fact, he says that he wanted to leave France "because it's a cold place and I wanted sun." He also says that he had an intimate friend who had moved to Rome, and this spurred him to move to Italy.

He did nothing to prepare his migration. "I packed my luggage and left." He took classes in Italian for a fortnight, but then realized that he could make it alone thanks to personal and work relationships. He had no problem in finding a flat in Florence, with the aid of his employer.

He finds his work rewarding, and also better paid ("some ten percent more than in France"). Company organization is deemed to be sharply different in Italy and France, even in the same economic sector. In particular, Italian firms have a higher quality control and a tighter link between design and production.

He likes travelling. He visits his parents every two months, and takes one week during his summer holidays to see parents and friends. He also goes to New York, London, and Brussels regularly on business. For leisure, he takes a lot of small trips within Italy, and enjoys getting to know Italy better ("and then there are a lot of friends who come over and want to go around Italy").

Italian political life does not interest him at all. He says that "it's a big farce." He reads French newspapers more frequently and watches Antenne 2 rather than Italian TV. He does not use Internet at home, but does so at work. He never voted in Italy, but does in French elections ("but not the last Presidential election"). He is not aware of voting rights for local government. He did not vote in the European election, either. After thinking a lot, he says that in some years, if he does not move, he would be interested in voting in Italian elections. His knowledge of political affairs, generally speaking, is low.

He imputes all the problems with hiring procedures in Italy to the fact that "Italy was not a member of the EEC 7 years ago." He also complains about the functioning of Italian bureaucracy, and especially the health system. "The

French system is so much better... There are plenty of check-ups and control.” Moreover, he says Italians are unaware of the importance of preventative medicine. “Girls who work with me have never seen a gynaecologist in their life!”

He feels “half French and half Italian” now. And his home is in both places – Florence and Paris. He represents himself as sharing many aspects of the French national character, especially being more discreet and diplomatic than Italians. But he says he doesn’t lack anything specific from France in terms of habits, cooking, and traditions.

He speaks a very good Italian. He also speaks English very well (he says) and Spanish. He says, “Sixty percent of my friends are French, forty percent are Italians.” Thanks to French friends already residing in Italy and to colleagues he had no problem creating his own social network in Florence. But his best friends are still in Paris. He does not belong to any associations.

With regards to Europe, he notes that “Europe is a country nowadays... frontiers should disappear... the fact of having migrated makes me a European.” He feels particularly European when he travels to the US.

Migration is held to be a “stimulating experience, opening one’s spirit.” “People who migrate are different – they have a stronger character, they are more sociable, respectful... and especially open.” He has no regrets about migrating. He has never experienced discrimination because of nationality. The contrary has been the case, “since Italians are so curious...” Moreover, “Italian and French cultures are so close and mixed up: the Romans conquered France and the French conquered Italy in the modern age.”

“Quality of life means to have the chance to do what one wants as he wants. It’s also sun, because sun makes people happy.” Quality of life is higher in Italy than in France. Moreover, Florence is well situated to go to the beach, the mountains, and the countryside – “One hour from all these places! This is something you can’t have in Paris, New York, or London.” His only regret is the poverty of cultural life in Florence compared to Paris: “Everything here is made for tourists—contemporary art does not exist.”

He intended to be a “temporary migrant,” but his plans are changing. He would still like to move, “especially living in Rome or in Spain.” When retired, he would like to live “half of the time in France and half of the time in Italy.”

Pioneur pilot interview # 4

Rome – 15th Sept, 2003

Natalia is a thirty-one year old Spanish citizen who has been living in Rome since 1999. She graduated in law in Madrid. She is married to an Italian and they have no children. She is officially registered in the Rome local census. Other than local taxes, she pays all her taxes in Spain (such as *seguridad*

social, although she also has coverage from the Italian public health system). Her Italian was learned after she moved; she also speaks English.

Immediately after graduation in 1996 she moved to Rome to work with a NGO for six months: "After the degree I did not know what to do. There was this possibility and I thought it might be interesting because it gave the chance to be independent. I had always lived with my parents." Later, the NGO offered to prolong her stay for six more months. In fact, she stayed basically because of her boyfriend who she met as a volunteer in Rome. She did not really want to stay forever ("It is not something you decide consciously. I never thought of leaving Spain, because I am very close to my family. Perhaps as a temporary experience, but not something definitive"). She lived with her boyfriend and his family for one year, working from time to time as a Spanish teacher in private schools.

Then her work situation became very uncertain and her boyfriend lost his job, so she headed back to Spain, "forced by circumstances." In Spain she found a job in a phone company managed by an Italian ("not my degree, not my English, but my Italian gave me a job!"). Finally, her big chance came: a position in the administration of a cultural institution in Rome ("either I moved, or my boyfriend would have come to settle in Spain").

Her monthly salary is 1440 Euros, "more than what I could get in Spain with the same job... My degree is not recognized, but I am lucky, it's an ideal job. I'm always in touch with Spain. I speak Spanish all the time with my colleagues. I learn more about Spanish culture... The only negative thing is that there are few if any career prospects." She follows Italian and Spanish politics but without being involved. She has not voted in local and European elections in Rome. She is not a member of any association or religious community.

Her closest friends live in Spain and the awareness that these relations are bound to wither makes her sad and uneasy. She confesses that she found it hard to meet new people in Italy ("It has to do with my character. I'm quite closed, and then I think you make real friends at school or university. Later, it's harder"). She has major problems with Italian women, "who maybe see us as invading their territory. So many Italian men get married with foreigners, while the contrary is less frequent." The Italians she meets are almost exclusively her husband's old friends or people she knew when she worked in the NGO. The only Spaniards she meets are her colleagues.

She is happy with her family life, although she misses her parents a lot. She goes back to Spain in the summer and for Christmas, while her parents come to Italy for at least one month per year. Recently she felt the need to spend her holidays elsewhere, also to avoid possible tensions with her husband. "After all, if something goes wrong I have more to lose." "I can't have a normal life with my family, go shopping with my mother once a week, or have a Sunday lunch with them. It is rather all or nothing: either I have an overdose of my parents, or they have an overdose of her daughter." She says she keeps on observing many Spanish traditions.

Only seldom does she buy newspapers of any type and language. She watches news on TV. She uses the Internet only at work, since she has no computer at home.

In her view, in Spain there is a higher quality of life, especially because services are more efficient. "In Italy life is ok, because Italy is beautiful. Rome is wonderful. You eat well. People are cool and funny. The weather is good... But you live better in Spain. Here public transportation is a nightmare: if you are out of the underground areas you spend your life commuting for work. The health system is expensive. I prefer the daily schedules in Spain and at night there is always sunlight till later." She had a bad experience with the housing market ("so expensive in Rome") and the Italian bureaucracy: "You have to queue for the permit of stay, for going to the doctor... Even people who work in public institutions know nothing. They do not know how to deal with you."

She feels that she belongs strongly to Europe; studying EU law at the university strengthened this feeling. Her ideal model of Europe is "half-caste" Europe: "We migrants are building Europe through mixed marriages."

Her intention for the future is to stay in Italy, but to maintain links with Spain. Her main desire is that her children be "half and half," although she knows that growing up in Italy will lead them to feel more Italian than Spanish.

Pioneer pilot interview # 5

Rome – 17th Sept, 2003

Bridget is a twenty-seven year old English citizen who has been living in Rome since 2000. She holds a degree in social sciences from the University of London. She shares a flat with two Italian students. She is not married. Before coming to Italy she attended an Italian course. She speaks French, as well. She is officially registered in the Rome local census. She had always lived in London before, but she spent her holidays in Italy twice, "falling in love with this country." She was an Erasmus student in Paris, where she stayed eight months after graduating (living with a French boyfriend).

She gives no elaborate reason for migrating to Italy: "I didn't think too much about it. I had no clear ideas. I just wanted to live in Rome for some time." At first, she lived with an Italian friend (a girl she had known in Paris). Then she moved to Naples and was hosted by an English girl. She has worked in Italy as an English teacher, a baby sitter and a server. She had no significant work experience in Britain. She currently makes her living by teaching English at homes and in a private school. Moreover, three nights a week she works in a pub. Finding a job at the private school was relatively easy, as there is an intense demand for mother-tongue English teachers.

She finds it hard to quantify her income. It can vary from 600 to 900 euros per month. Going to the movies is her great passion. She does not care much about Italian political life, particularly because she "has no time." She voted in

the European elections of 1999 in Britain. But since then she is not really sure about her stay. She is not interested in voting in Italy. In fact, "Although Italy is marvellous, I would try to live in other countries too. Starting over is stimulating... Meeting different people, habits, lifestyles..."

She says that she has many Italian friends and that she knows a few co-nationals in Rome. Contact with her family is frequent, especially through the Internet. She has an older brother who has lived in Belgium for five years. She does not belong formally to any association, but she attends the meetings of a 'green' group.

She rarely buys newspapers and watches little Italian TV. In contrast, she watches BBC and CNN at a neighbour's place. She uses the Internet a lot.

To her, 'quality of life' means "having a network of material and affective support, people who are ready to help you when you need it and who make you feel integrated... They make you feel at home. Other things are important, for sure: safety, functioning services. But support is what counts most."

In her case, she says migration provided more advantages than drawbacks. "At first, it is hard. There is enthusiasm for a different country, but at the same time you have to learn how to behave, what people expect from you. You have to discuss what you took for granted, and this makes you richer in any case."

She thinks that she has much in common with Europeans than with Italians. In particular, it is a shared history. However, she admits that "national differences have their weight. When I went to the US I understood what it means to be European."

In the future, she would like to marry and have kids, but she does not know where she would like them to grow up. She finds it particularly difficult to make plans for the future or think of settling down, "because life has to be built day by day."

Pioneur pilot interview #6

Firenze – 12th Sept, 2003

Christian is a German national over the age of sixty and works as a consultant in the chemical industry. He lived in Florence from 1988-97 and again since February 2002. He is married and has two children, now thirty-five and thirty-six years old, who have never followed their parents abroad. Christian and his wife moved to Italy in 1988 and from there to Britain in 1997 due to a promotion; since 2002 they are back in Florence where Christian works as a 'consultant' (a sort of pre-retirement scheme) with the same firm he has been with all his life since his apprenticeship (he never passed the Abitur) to be 'Geschäftsführer'. He speaks good English, 'everyday Italian' and a bit of business Italian (all thanks to a language school his business sent him to), but he mainly communicates in German, both in his professional and private life.

As a child, he moved several times within Germany, both for professional and personal reasons. When the job offer in Italy came up, Christian was very happy to accept as he had already travelled in Italy, had learnt some Italian, and had always liked Italian cuisine. His wife, however, had never been to Italy, did not speak Italian and would have preferred to move to Asia; she found it very difficult to settle—especially because she was not allowed to work (due to a policy of his business at the time). The couple first moved into a large villa (eleven bedrooms) with a private park in San Domenico, because they could not find anything suitable for two people (even with the help of their company). For Christian, getting used to the new professional setting was smooth and easy, as he worked for the same company as always and he already knew the ‘dirigenti’ in Florence. Although Christian and his wife were invited to many social events through his job, they found Italians to be rather distant and were shocked about the *machismo* of the Italian ‘dirigenti’ who “ignored women totally” and “were ‘hiding’ their own wives”.

After five years in San Domenico, Christian and his wife bought a 100 square metre flat with a large roof terrace in the city centre. Christian feels that being German (and possibly his social position) helped in finding a flat and getting a fair deal. Their apartment is situated right “in the traffic hell” at a well-known Florentine traffic junction. They love the noise and the life around them and have much more social contact than before. According to Christian, he and his wife are integrated in the neighbourhood and “do not shock anyone in any way.” Nevertheless, over the years, his impression of social relations in Italy as ‘distant’ and ‘stiff’ has not changed much.

Although the couple has some Italian friends, Christian finds Italians to be formal and not very open-minded towards foreigners. From his experience, Italians (especially Florentines) hardly ever invite friends home. As a result, most of their friends in Florence are foreigners, of whom many are Germans. Regarding their friends back in Germany, Christian says that they don’t keep in touch on a regular basis and that generally they find it easier to keep up the friendship with people who have also left their home country for some time.

Christian is not officially a resident in Florence and does not pay taxes (other than ICE for his flat) or vote here. As he is working as a freelance consultant, he prefers to be based in Germany, pay his income tax there, be insured there and vote there. He recalls that during his first stay in Italy he would have had the right to vote in local elections but never knew exactly how this was to be done. Besides, he finds local politics rather boring while being very interested in Italian, German and international politics (in fact, he shared several of his theories on politics with the interviewer).

To keep informed, Christian and his wife have subscribed to the ‘Spiegel’ and read Italian newspapers when in Italy. According to Christian, the biggest political problems for foreigners in Italy are, first, to understand Italian politics, which seem volatile and obscure, but are actually extremely stable; and second, to deal with the Italian bureaucracy, a topic he feels very strongly about. In his mind, “regarding bureaucracy, Italy is stone-age, Germany is early Middle-Ages and England is Modernity. They have arrived” (As

examples he cites the ease of filling in an income tax declaration and being paid back any excess payments in England, compared with the obligation to pay a 'European tax' and other obscure taxes in Italy.) Indeed, Christian can imagine leaving Italy because of this bureaucratic jungle that he is by now accustomed to but that he will never accept. He feels that the State and its bureaucracy "make it difficult for you to live here," especially as a foreigner.

Regarding quality of life, Christian is very happy in Italy. He loves having the sea nearby while being in a city full of cultural attractions, and he really appreciates the sun and of course Italian food (especially after having lived in Britain). Christian is writing a Florence restaurant guide. He doesn't miss German food in the slightest (besides maybe the bread) nor any other German traditions or particularities; he feels that while living abroad, "one takes on a lot of habits and customs, maybe without even wanting to" and that this is in the end a good thing.

However, there are certain things that Christian prefers "the German way." For example, he and his wife go to the doctor in Germany only - after a bad experience in the Italian private health system (according to Christian, the public system is 'life-threatening') where his wife went to a German dentist, paid 55.000 German Marks and wasn't at all satisfied in the end. Something else Christian cannot come to terms with is Italian TV that he finds "cheap and tasteless" and very not very informative. Generally, the couple watches German TV, sometimes the BBC (especially documentaries) and sometimes the Italian news. They have never used the Internet but recently bought a notebook computer in order to learn more about it. However, they have not figured out a connection yet, and are avoiding dealing with the Italian Telecom.

Regarding similarities and differences between Italians, Germans and Europeans in general, Christian contrasts Italy and the United Kingdom throughout the interview (with Germany falling somewhere in-between). For example, he feels that Brits are much more respectful ("In England, if you hit someone, the one you just hit will apologise to you" while in Italy, people elbow their way through as can be noted in traffic). He thinks that the British have much more of a 'service-mentality' ("In England, the customer is king," whereas in Italy, it is hard to get a 'carrello', no one says 'thank-you' to you, and the goods you buy are carelessly thrown onto the delivery belt and into your bag, personnel are unfriendly, etc.). While Christian thinks that Germans are probably rather more like Italians than like Brits in these respects, they have the additional negative characteristics of being an extremely jealous society (e.g. singles without children have to be punished in the taxation system) and of complaining all the time.

As a German in Italy, Christian feels that he is sometimes treated differently from natives. In the professional sphere, for example, people were more distant toward him than toward co-nationals (sometimes fearing that "the German might want to buy us"). As a general formula, he thinks that "the Germans are not loved, but respected" holds true. At times, Christian feels that respect goes too far, whereby he is treated like the incarnation of

punctuality and technical superiority, and as being extremely rich. From Christian's experience, Italian workers are "at least as hard-working as Germans" and Italians in general are "reliable, productive and educated". He stresses that on the individual level (not bureaucracies and the state) there are more similarities than differences, in particular between Northern/Central Italians and Germans. He praises the economical power of Lombardy and points to the similarities between farmers in Franken and in the Po-delta and between business people from Milan and Frankfurt.

Christian feels very European and was happy when the Euro was introduced because it saves him money and effort (e.g. for international bank transfers). To his mind, feeling and behaving as a European means making national interest secondary. To him, European-wide regulations such as motorway charges are a good and necessary thing. Christian thinks that above all, a 'vision' is needed; people who point out the disadvantages of European integration (e.g. that things have become more expensive after the Euro has been introduced) are right but nearsighted. He also acknowledges that many practical problems remain (e.g. at Italian banks where you cannot even pay your TV license or ICE without having a bank account at the right branch).

All in all, Christian would advise others to move to Italy, but with due caution and preparation (especially being aware of the bureaucratic inefficiency). To his mind, moving is generally an extremely enriching experience, totally different from travelling, where one has to question one's standards (and learn not to complain) and to deal with new situations in everyday life and at the workplace. In the future, Christian and his wife plan to stay in Italy most of year, while keeping their flat in Germany and being officially registered there for tax and all other purposes (something he calls the "anti-Boris Becker" scenario).

General observations:

- Interview style – loose, compared with previous Interview (Bridget)
- Interviewee was (obviously) mixing memories and impressions from when he first moved to Italy in 1988 and from when he moved back there last year
- Respondent displayed a rather detached, impersonal vision of Italy, focusing on its food, wine and weather on the one hand and bureaucracy and politics on the other, rather than on experiences with locals, everyday situations, etc. Overall, the interviewer had the impression that the interviewee's perception of life in Italy was very strongly shaped by his social position.

Pioneer pilot interview # 7

Firenze – 11th Sept, 2003

Doreen is a multilingual secretary/data analyst in her late twenties from Thüringen, Germany, who moved to Florence in 2000 (possibly to join an Italian boyfriend?) after having spent several years in the U.K. and an Erasmus year at the *Universta di Studi di Firenze* in 1998/1999.

As a child/adolescent, Doreen went to school and did an apprenticeship (no Abitur) in the same German town. Her family never moved and she had no previous contact with Italy or any other European country. It wasn't until Doreen was offered a position as an au-pair in London that she felt like moving. In retrospect, she feels that her time in London (two years as an au-pair and working in a call-centre and three years doing an undergraduate degree in European Studies with Italian) really changed her life. After five years, however, she decided to move on and get out of the London metropolis.

She chose Italy because of the language, the nice weather and her previous contacts here and found it very easy to settle (back) in. Due to her studies, she is fluent in English and Italian and speaks good French. The only negative aspect Doreen recalls about her moving experience is the bureaucratic mess she faced upon arrival. According to Doreen, this was a nightmare "not because she is a foreigner, but simply because employees are not friendly, because they don't really know how the system works themselves".

Once she had all her papers together, Doreen worked in sales for one year (a job she had found via Italian friends when still in Britain). She changed jobs as soon as possible because she did not like the atmosphere (she says that compared with England, people were "less respectful and helpful", i.e. they did not want to deal with the questions of a newcomer). She now works as a multilingual secretary/data analyst and earns 1100 Euro/month net. Doreen officially resides in Florence.

She reads about politics (both Italian and German) occasionally and sometimes discusses current affairs with friends. She has never voted in Italy because "no one ever asked her to" and she wonders how it might work. However, she voted last year in the German general elections by mail.

Although she loves Italy and its people, Doreen finds Italians rather intolerant and ignorant vis-à-vis foreigners (both EU and especially non-EU foreigners). She feels that they show little interest in other people (e.g. what they eat, how they live, etc.). Her impression is that the Italian state has "never done anything to enlighten its citizens" (e.g. to teach them that not everyone from India is a Hindu). As a result, public officials do not know how to deal with foreigners, and as a foreigner, no one tells you about your rights and duties in Italy.

Most of Doreen's friends are Italian-speaking foreigners (mainly from Florence University) or Italians from outside Florence. She met most of them during her year at university here but she continues to find it easy to meet new people. As far as Florentines are concerned, Doreen does not really know where to meet them and, in any case, has the impression that they are more closed-minded than other Italians. She does not know any Germans although she wouldn't mind meeting some. About her international friends, Doreen loves how open-minded they are towards new people (something she misses with

Italians, especially at work) and that they can relate to the migration situation/experience.

To break through the initial contact hurdles with Italians, Doreen's technique has been to ask people about their own lives and then hope that they would ask her back. When they don't (which has often been the case), Doreen drops the affair. Doreen has experienced that, although there are both polite and impolite people in Italy like everywhere else, public sector employees (in the post office, etc.) are "particularly unfriendly, especially compared to England, but also compared to Germany". In general she would still say that social relations are less formal in Italy than in both Germany and England.

Doreen's hobbies are sports (swimming, biking) and going to typical local festivities and restaurants around Florence. She never goes out to expatriate-places like the Irish Pub. During her holidays she flies home to Germany or travels to foreign countries as she feels that she already knows Italy well. The only thing Doreen really misses about Germany is German bread. Although she notes many differences in customs and traditions, she does not particularly miss anything 'German'.

Doreen does not watch TV, other than 'listening to' MTV, because she finds Italian TV unbearable ("lots of half-naked dancing women") and dearly misses BBC documentaries. In contrast, when at home in Germany, she watches TV sometimes. She uses the Internet only at work, either to read 'Der Spiegel' or to check her email, but never to buy anything. Doreen goes shopping at Benetton, Sisley, etc. (just like she used to in Germany and England) and buys books at *Feltrinelli International*. She does not go to any specialised (German) delicatessen shops.

With regards to the housing market, Doreen found it difficult to find an affordable nice flat, because "landlords often do not let flats to foreigners". She has the impression that this is a recent and growing tendency. According to Doreen, the Italian health system is fine. Doreen uses it whenever needed and never goes home to Germany for treatment (she is not sure this would be possible with her Italian insurance). The only bad experience Doreen has had has been with long waiting lists.

As far as quality of life is concerned, Doreen really appreciates Italy, especially the good weather, the good food, the fact that meals are so much cheaper and better than in England, and the culture of "spending time together with friends" (something she did not experience to this extent in Germany or Britain, where she found social relations more 'individualistic'). She loves the long summers, and how old people speak to each other in the streets. The only thing that reduces her quality of life is that people are sometimes "uncivilised" and inefficient: they put things off and, in the end, never get them done. Overall, Doreen is very happy with her choice of moving to Italy and, in fact, has already asked a friend to come and join her (which her friend did despite Doreen's repeated warnings about the bureaucratic difficulties).

In Doreen's mind, integration means "to be able to accept other people as they are, regardless of where they come from, and the sort of music they listen to" and "to be able to learn from each other." As a positive example for this, Doreen mentions the English kindergarten her au-pair kids attended where "children learned from each other: they celebrated Ramadan, Thanksgiving,..." Personally, Doreen feels rather integrated in Florence and acknowledges that this is probably because she is rather similar to Italians. In terms of territorial identification, Doreen feels - and wants to feel- more European than anything else. Overall, she says that nationality is of no relevance to her and that she is certainly not proud of hers. Having said that, she would never change her German nationality; it simply doesn't matter to her. After a moment of hesitation she adds that "only when talking about history [she] feels German".

Feeling European, in turn, does have a meaning to her: it means doing things together with other young people in a group, where they all speak different languages, they all have the same rights and can move freely. The main thing Doreen feels she has in common with Germans is the language; with Europeans it is having travelled and having done an Erasmus-year, being part of the young generation that moves more than once and that is increasingly mixing. Doreen stresses that she has an explicitly positive attitude towards the European Union.

Although Doreen does not want to move again for now, she does not exclude the possibility for the future. In particular, she can imagine wanting to return 'home' once she is old. In any case, regardless of the country she and her children would live in, she would like her them to grow up bilingually and have a lot of contact with people from different countries and all sorts of diverse people.

Observations:

- Question "What are the biggest problems for foreigners in Italy, with regards to political questions": rather imprecise ('political questions'), hard to answer
- Missing: AGE
- Profile of Respondent: Prototypical 'mover' (both upward socially mobile and mobile across countries), has incarnated the idea of "young, multilingual, active people" that can fit in anywhere; see values for education.

Pioneur pilot interview # 8

Rome – 16th Oct, 2003

Ellie is a twenty-nine year old British citizen who has been living in Italy since 2001. She has a graduate degree in Italian and French literature from the University of London. She works as an expert in European marketing for an Italian firm. Her boyfriend is Italian, but they have no kids. Her Italian is good, but far from perfect. She also speaks French, but is forgetting it, she admits, as her Italian improves. In the past she had lived in Siena as an Erasmus student. After her degree she found a job in the news department of an

international news agency for six months. Then she travelled to New Zealand, Australia, Thailand, and Tunisia. Afterwards, she was briefly employed by a publisher in Australia, and then back in Bristol and London. Relying on her knowledge of Italian, she applied for a job in Rome through some British friends living in Italy.

Her first problem in Rome was housing. For a while she lived with some British friends, then she moved into a flat. She is not happy with it and understands that it is only a provisional solution. "To deal with this issue, I even sent an e-mail to my colleagues to know if they could suggest me accommodation."

The main reason she gives for leaving her home country is "the desire to know a different culture." She considers her stay in Italy to be temporary (she talks about staying here for one and a half years more). Her plans for the future are to return to Britain with her boyfriend, to get married and settle down there. She is happy with her current salary, but not with the kind of work she does.

In general, she is not interested in Italian politics ("The only knowledge that I have is because my boyfriend is Italian"). Politics did not appeal to her when she was in Britain, either. All she does now is to buy British newspapers, or reads them through the Internet. She never thought of voting in Italy, and does not bother about it: "This may only interest me if I decided to settle here once for all." She is not officially registered as a resident, but she applied more than one year ago. She pays her taxes in Italy, and finds this natural because it is where she works.

All of her best friends live in Britain. "My boyfriend is my best friend. I have other friends but just a few compared to what I had in England... It's quite difficult to make friends here." Her bad command of Italian hindered her social relations for some time when she arrived. "My social life has changed a lot from what I used to do in England. Here it's a much quieter social life and generally there is more eating out than going to pubs." She organizes dinners with her boyfriend at home. She also goes to a gym with him and goes hiking in the mountains, and to the seaside. She identifies herself as a Protestant, but does not belong to any religious group.

She misses certain foods from Britain—especially the organic ingredients she bought in health food shops in Britain and cannot find here. She uses her savings to return home regularly and to buy clothing.

Quality of life is meant as "to have a good balance between work and free time and to be happy in general." In this sense, in her view, it is higher in Italy than in Britain. "This has a lot to do with the weather," she comments. The weather is something she really loves in Italy, and especially in Rome.

Overall, she is happy about having moved to Rome and she would recommend a similar experience to anybody. "I miss my home country and my friends and my family, but it was a very unique experience." Of all her old

friends, she says, those three who migrated (one in France and two in Italy) were the most curious, motivated and ambitious.

To her, integration means 'fitting in'. She does not feel discrimination, but recognizes that her look (she self-describes as 'the typical *inglesina*') sometimes keeps people at a distance, "until they realize that you can speak their language and respect their customs."

D. Spanish partner interview summaries¹²

TABLE I	INTERVIEW #1	INTERVIEW #2	INTERVIEW #3	INTERVIEW #4
Displacements	Intranational: at childhood, holds a positive view International: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selection of destination: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problem with confirmation of the training • European country important 	Intranational: for studies International: working Motive: New culture knowledge. New experiences.	Doesn't change in country of origin First time in Spain for studies (grant)	No intranational moves First international travel: holidays. Motives for coming to Spain: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Their parents are Spanish. • He likes the good climate and the space.
Preparation to emigrate	None	Studying language Knowledge of culture (nothing specific)	Studying language (necessary for the grant) Open to learning other cultures.	No specific preparation
Form of contact	Family of a friend	An intimate friend	German state grant	His brother lives there
Housing	Looking for housing: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • News • Agencies Type of housing: Rental	Type of housing: Rental house with other people. Now, rents house. He lives alone.	Housing: Rental house with other people Searching through an agency.	First, he lived in his brother's house Now, he owns a house.
Studies	Licentiate in Medicine, speciality in Paediatrics.	Licentiate in Law	Licentiate in German Language	Secondary education + vocational training as a builder. (education isn't recognized in Spain but it is in France).

¹² Written by Oscar Santacreu Fernandez, Maria Carmen Albert Guardiola and Antonio Alaminos

TABLE I	INTERVIEW #1	INTERVIEW #2	INTERVIEW #3	INTERVIEW #4
Politics	<p>Tax in destination country (Spain) Regular knowledge of the politics. She is not involved. Participation by voting in country of origin (Italy). She does not want to take part of the politics in the country of destination (Spain) . Not involved in politics in country of origin. She voted in the European Parliament in country of origin (Italy). To vote implies interfering, integration, sense of belonging (property). To vote is an element of identity</p>	<p>Tax in destination country (Spain) Interested in politics of the destination country (Spain). Information from press or television newscast. Not involved in politics in country of origin. He can vote in local elections in the destination country. Resident Card recently. He did not vote in elections for European Parliament because he had to do it in Italy. Bureaucratic problems. He is satisfied he can vote in destination country now. Possible political problems for only non-European immigrants</p>	<p>Tax in destination country (Spain) He is interested in politics of destination country. Information from press, no TV. Alternative mass media (Foreign press, CGT Medios He participates in a trade union and in a solidarity association. Not involved in politics in country of origin but he stays informed (German press, Internet, books). He can vote in Spain. He did not vote in last elections (local and European) He thinks the democratic system is not correct (I vote every 4 years. He prefers Anarchistic system). EU citizens have no problem with voting: they are privileged as opposed to other immigrants.</p>	<p>Tax in destination country (Spain) Not interested in Spanish politics. He is not involved in Spain or France. He doesn't vote in Spain or France He thinks foreigners should vote in place of residence</p>
Social life	<p>Her life is only her work. She doesn't have a social life. Friends were lost when she moved. Few friends Age is a barrier to making new friends.</p>	<p>Friends in Italy and Spain: the same number. Activities, leisure and hobbies are to form relationships, to relate socially.</p>	<p>Friends in Germany and Spain: Now he has fewer friends in Germany, because he doesn't live there.</p>	<p>Friends in France and Spain. Negative experience: difficult to make friends. No difficulties as a foreigner. He doesn't participate in any organizations. He feels alone. He misses France.</p>
Family life	<p>Sense of family is greater in home country than in destination country (ref. Catalonia)</p>	<p>Doesn't prefer family life. He lives alone. Enjoys his single life.</p>	<p>He enjoys his family life.</p>	<p>Distance from family is a problem. He thinks family is very important to integration.</p>
Contact with origin country	<p>Telephone and e-mail. Holidays Retains her previous culture.</p>	<p>Telephone E-mail (minimum)</p>	<p>Letters E-mail Telephone Travel</p>	<p>Telephone (little)</p>

TABLE I	INTERVIEW #1	INTERVIEW #2	INTERVIEW #3	INTERVIEW #4
Mass media	<p>Newspapers: home country and local. Italian and Spanish</p> <p>National and local TV</p> <p>Internet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Home country newspapers. • National Professional Association • Entertainment 	<p>National and local newspapers. Spanish</p> <p>TV: News (National).</p> <p>Internet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional use: Research. • E-mail: little <p>National and international area.</p> <p>Radio: National and local broadcasts.</p>	<p>National Newspaper (El País)</p> <p>International newspaper (Le Monde Diplomatique)</p> <p>Mostly in Spanish.</p> <p>Doesn't watch TV.</p> <p>Internet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional use: Research., Looking for information. • Communication (e-mail) • Not for entertainment • Websites: alternative groups • National and international area. 	<p>TV (satellite in brother's house): international</p> <p>He watches little national TV and he has language difficulties.</p> <p>He doesn't read newspapers.</p> <p>He doesn't use the Internet</p>
Perception of destiny country	<p>Very good general perception.</p> <p>Work as very important.</p> <p>Racism is less than in home country</p> <p>The perception is more positive in destination country (Spain) than home country (Italy).</p>	<p>In Spain there are more traditions, especially religious.</p> <p>The distance between values and traditions is larger in Spain.</p> <p>There are fewer prejudices in Spain than in Italy</p> <p>Social life is more open in Spain than in Italy.</p>	<p>Life is more relaxed in Spain than in Germany: less formal (negative and positive aspects to this)</p> <p>The pace of work is more regular.</p>	<p>He thinks there is corruption in the construction industry. He has difficulty becoming comfortable in Spain.</p> <p>In Spain he misses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect • Seriousness <p>He perceives more dangers to children (drugs, alcohol).</p>
Quality of life	<p>Emphasis on safety and freedom.</p> <p>Spain is better to live in than home country, but family is absent.</p>	<p>Emphasis on balance (relationships between yourself and others).</p> <p>There is better quality of life in Spain, enhanced by the development of personal balance.</p> <p>If he returns to Italy, quality of life will deteriorate.</p>	<p>Covering material needs.</p> <p>To take care of relationships.</p> <p>Having time for relationships.</p> <p>Not only working.</p> <p>Time to enjoy personal activities</p> <p>Very positive in Spain: more relaxed.</p> <p>Positive in Germany: better material level.</p> <p>Differences between autonomous communities.</p>	<p>Enjoying work</p> <p>Climate and leisure.</p>

TABLE I	INTERVIEW #1	INTERVIEW #2	INTERVIEW #3	INTERVIEW #4
Economy	Earning incomes: house, car Shopping: little local shops (where she lives) Differences in housing market--> mentality is different <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Italy: Rent Spain: Buy 	Spending: communications (telephone). Books Shopping: every type of shop (local, national, international) Differences in housing market: here it is cheaper to rent, but not to buy. Housing market is better developed in Spain.	The salary is lower in Spain than in Germany. Spending: housing, car, clothes... Shopping: Mercadillo, mercado central, Mercadona Differences in housing market: in Spain it is cheaper to buy than to rent. The quality of housing is better in Germany. Now there are equal prices between Spain and Germany.	Spending: leisure and home. Shopping: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Carrefour (French company) Local shop Differences in housing market: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> France: Rent (more difficult to get mortgage) Spain: property ownership
Health system	More humane in Spain and Venezuela. In Italy the doctors are overbearing.	More humane in Spain	Good experience with the health system.	He doesn't know the Spanish health system. Family doctor in France is a friend.
Integration	Happy to emigrate. Linguistic wall (Catalan) Customs She feels respected but not integrated The language makes her seem foreign Foreigners are perceived as sources of problems: in home country and in destination country. Her second nationality (Venezuelan) makes it more difficult for her to look for a house. Integration like adding to your identity: you acquire new customs without losing your own. Integration is positive.	He preserves few cultural traditions and they are shrinking. In Spain there are more traditions, especially religious. He feels respected. He prefers being a foreigner. Linguistic problem: Valencian Integration is like integrating a person's conscious desires with his instincts. Integration is positive. He wants to achieve integration for a long time. He can't distinguish if he is Italian or Spanish. More Italian.	He doesn't observe his own traditions (Germans) Fuses European cultures (food, customs,...) He feels respected in all areas. There are differences between locals and non-European foreigners Doesn't suffer discrimination Integration is respecting differences, rather than assimilation. Integration is positive under certain conditions (non- assimilation). It's impossible to achieve it 100%, but it's always possible to improve it.	He feels better with French than with Spanish people. He has had negative experiences with friendships. Now it is ok. The integration is easier when with others than when alone. Integration as a negative word: it isn't necessary when everybody is the same. He thinks people should live in their home country. Negative view of immigration. More important is equality, migrants aren't respected.
Discrimination	Her accent is a very important element in discrimination No economic discrimination	He's perceived different treatment as a foreigner. No economic discrimination.	No economic discrimination as a foreigner. Independent of nationality, there is salary discrimination as an associate professor at the university.	No economic discrimination. No personal discrimination In the beginning, he didn't feel respected.

TABLE I	INTERVIEW #1	INTERVIEW #2	INTERVIEW #3	INTERVIEW #4
Identity	<p>Way of thinking determines it. Customs. Language Symbolic (flag, symbols, hymns, football team) Subjective identity problems/objective (Italian Venezuelan)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She doesn't seem Italian to Italians <p>European:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She is never with Europeans • Europe like a "gran farol" <p>Problems identifying with destination country:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural baggage. <p>Familiar identity vs. cultural identity (mentality). Less cultural identity.</p>	<p>Traditions of Italian culture: Foods Language and topics. Difference between local – national traditions. National traditions as symbol of the nation. European:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • European culture opposite to American culture or Oriental. • In that sense, he feels more European than Italian. <p>Doesn't miss Italian culture.</p>	<p>He doesn't need a nationality. He only needs to cover basic needs (work, food...) Language Identity isn't determined by elements, more by relations with others people. European:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Western culture: values --> behaviour • Only Economic union (now) <p>He doesn't feel any nationality. No symbolism (e.g. Sport) Doesn't miss German culture, because it's very rigid.</p>	<p>He doesn't practice French and Spanish traditions He doesn't feels French:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He misses French mentality (respect, seriousness) • French pride • Possibility of returning to France to escape the monotony <p>He doesn't feel Spanish.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Customs are different. • Way of thinking is different. • Seriousness is less. There is less respect. <p>He doesn't feel European.</p>
Future plans	<p>Work in Spain Retire to Italy. Motivation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To stay: work (job) • To return: family. Sons " they are seen like immigrant sons" <p>Doesn't seek further migration Doesn't save (family economic situation)</p>	<p>Their children don't impede mobility Marriage isn't mobility problem Problems can be in others "Italian culture or Spanish" Doesn't have savings</p>	<p>He want to stay in destination country (Spain) Children and relationships will influence him. Doesn't have savings</p>	<p>He thinks he'll stay in Spain. He would prefer to educate his children in France.</p>

TABLE II	INTERVIEW #5	INTERVIEW #6	INTERVIEW #7	INTERVIEW #8
Displacements	No intranational moves. International: 6 months in Spain before moving permanently. Motives to come to Spain: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Studies • Spanish boyfriend 	International: visited 3 countries (France, Portugal and Spain) Motives to come to Spain: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He likes the country and the climate • Retire-part-time job 	Motives to come to Spain: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • work (his father can't work in England) 	Some tourism for short periods (6 weeks) in Benelux countries, France, Scandinavia
Preparation to emigrate	Learned customs from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boyfriend • Boyfriend's family • Boyfriend's friends. Language	He travelled to Spain before.	Before coming to Spain: learned Spanish customs, foods, parties, etc...	No special preparation
Form of contact	Knowledge of the customs from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spanish boyfriend • Boyfriend's family • Boyfriend's friends 	He travelled before to Spain as a tourist.	His grandfather lives in Spain	Au pair
Housing	Apartment (owns)	Owns house	Owns house. They had housing before coming to Spain.	Germany housing much more expensive than in Alicante, but of higher quality
Studies	Industrial training in Germany. Language University School. Training in trademarks, patents and industrial property.	Primary, Secondary Education and Interpretation Studies (Actor).	He was in England until age 13, and continued his studies in Spain. His level of studies is well perceived in Spain, but more theoretical than technological.	COU (in Germany) Degree in German and English Philology in Valencia
Politics	She isn't registered as a resident. She is apolitical She is interested in local politics and national politics in Spain. She doesn't stay involved in the German political life. She voted in local elections. She didn't vote in the national election. She can't vote in European elections, but she wanted to. She thinks voting is a part of daily life.	He is interested in his home country's political life.	He isn't interested in politics.	Interested in Spanish regional (Alicante) politics—partly because of husband's involvement. Votes in municipal elections in Spain and national elections in Germany

TABLE II	INTERVIEW #5	INTERVIEW #6	INTERVIEW #7	INTERVIEW #8
Social life	Spanish are open, easy to get to know. She has good relations with neighbours (park, shopping). Her friends are Spanish, Argentines, Germans. She has little religious life (Protestant).	Most friends are English. He said he is an introverted person. He doesn't like making new friends. He doesn't like social life.	He has many friends in different cities.	Has mostly Spanish friends and says that maintaining friendships is much easier in Spain than in Germany.
Family life	She likes her family life.	Didn't mention.	He enjoys his family life.	Has a daughter
Contact with home country	Telephone e-mail (little)	Telephone e-mail	Once a year he visits his family in England.	Internet, telephone, letters
Mass media	Local and national newspapers, occasionally German newspaper, occasionally. She watches little TV. Internet: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work • e-mail • Look for information about travel. 	Local newspaper English newspaper (Telegraph) Satellite TV National TV --> entertainment	Doesn't watch English TV (to practice Spanish language) Spanish newspapers.	Watches Spanish television, reads Spanish newspapers
Perception of destination country	Open mentality. People are friendly. Freedom Mediterranean climate is good. Differences between North and South in Spain.	Happy country. Happy people. Very good climate. Good food. The perception of Spain is positive.	Quiet country. Relaxed, people who like to party. Everybody is good with other people. Climate is good (relationships easier) Also, Spanish have a strong character. Until one knows Spain you think it is a "backward country".	Easy to maintain friendships Great nightlife Even tempered people Less materialistic than Germany
Quality of life	Quality in daily life.	Quality of life like tranquillity, rest.	Quality of life: cover materials needs (work) and maintain relationships (friendships).	Excellent
Economy	She earns more from her job in Spain than in Germany (OAMI) Shopping: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fresh food in local market and local shops. • International supermarket: occasionally. • National supermarket: frequently (Mercadona) 	Retired- part-time job, writer.	Professional	German teacher, translator

TABLE II	INTERVIEW #5	INTERVIEW #6	INTERVIEW #7	INTERVIEW #8
Health system	There are differences between public system and private system. Public system is arbitrary. Private system is perceived as limited.	No experience.	N/A	Prefers choice that is available in German system to the Spanish system. Returned to Germany for medical treatment in the past.
Integration	Migration is disorganized to some countries (Latin American), but it is easier in Spain than other countries. Positive view about integration.	His sons would go to a Spanish school. No integration problems. Integration is positive.	No integration problems. Integration is positive. To learn Spanish customs, foods, parties, etc.	Sees voting in municipal elections as an expression of integration. Thinks that the German language propaganda produced by Spanish political parties is poorly done.
Discrimination	She is perceived as being different as a foreigner, but it isn't a problem. In the beginning, language as a barrier.	No recent discrimination. Spanish have an open character as opposed to the English.	Doesn't recall discrimination. Spanish have an open character as opposed to the English.	No negative experiences
Identity	She teaches German culture to children. She feels more German, but she prefers multiculturalism. Way of thinking is more important, but it doesn't determine European identity: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She feels European. • The individual identity is important. She doesn't feel Spanish.	Manner of being determines identity. English identity: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feels isolated from the rest of Europe • Perceived as being superior (ancient empire) Doesn't feel integrated into the Spanish traditions Doesn't feel Spanish	English identity, outsiders: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feeling being superior. • They don't think about the others. 	Says that she is German, but that it's not of great importance to her Says that she doesn't believe in national personality types. Feels somewhat European.
Future plans	She wants to stay in Spain. Also, she wants to know other places. Her daughters feel Spanish. They will decide where they want to live. Her relationship will influence her decision.	He likes living in Spain. He won't return to England.	He won't return to England, only on holidays.	Stay in Spain and have more children.

E. U.K. partner interview summaries¹³

Laure

42, French, high paid executive manager in the media business, married with 2 children to an English journalist, moved to UK in 1989, married 7 year later.

Laure was a prototypical Euro-mover, who chose to come to London for textbook professional reasons (although long before London became the career destination of choice for ambitious young French people). She literally barged her way into a career with the nascent CNN, and rode this through to a successful, archetypal London media career, in a highly dynamic, international sector. Dissatisfaction with her French education (Sciences Pô, Paris) and frustrations with French media opportunities drove her into the arms of the Americanised London media industry, very much against her political and sentimental preferences. Her talk was peppered with a wistful nostalgia for France, for French urban life, civility and community, and with a recognition that even a long term, highly integrated settlement into London (and England – which she has positive views of, on the whole) was eluding her and her family. Her background was provincial, with no previous migration experience in the family: contrary to the French group's findings, this is common as a highly internationalised/mobile family background, and in some ways a more compelling explanation of the rootlessness of ambitious provincial people who decide to take alternative routes to careers/lives than through conventional 'national' paths. She reflected on the unsettled, dissatisfied nature of highly mobile people, with masses of opportunities to experience travel and change, and yet with an inability to settle down. This was related also in Laure's case to the difficult asymmetries of a mixed nationality/dual career household. She was acutely critical of British medical system, London's childcare possibilities (lots of expense and problems with nannies), its weather, architecture, and infrastructure; but she was very positive about its multiculturalism, open-mindedness (she thought that racism was worse in France), work culture. She was damningly critical about the 'rip-off' culture in Britain and its materialism. She clearly feels that life would have been more boring in Paris (where she criticises its 'pensée unique' and political correctness; and the effects of bourgeois social upbringing). There was no real reflection about Europe, Europeaness – her experience seems poised between the two national locations, and her dissatisfaction with both.

Josette

French, 28, mid-range job in IT web design, single, 4 years in London.

Josette is no less archetypal: she is the classic, moderately ambitious young European who heads to London as a source of new opportunity. English is

¹³ Written by Adrian Favell

seen as the gateway to the global world and (again) mobility is a way to get away from a dreary provincial background with a somewhat conservative family upbringing. She had a very negative experience of Paris, which spurred her on, but has lived in London from year to year with little expectation of settlement or long term personal change. She finds work reasonably fulfilling in Britain's open and fairly dynamic IT sector. She is damning about work culture in France and very positive about the mixed international/French/English social life she has built in London. She hates the expense of London, and is palpably trapped within the usual cycle of expensive accommodation: 'Should I buy a flat?--But how can I?'. There are limited quality of life payoffs for her—similar to what many young English graduates in their 20s find. But it is interesting how her temporary life is connected to being single, and certain frustrations with relationships that she finds in her life there. A model of conventional settlement in France looms large, because she does not believe she will meet anyone right in England, or settle down there. Yet she stays – because it is difficult to go back. She would like to move on—to all kinds of global possibilities. She is critical of the medical system and has had some problems with British unemployment benefits, but it worked out. She didn't feel that these problems were because she is foreign. She thinks Britain is more open-minded and less conservative than France. She enjoys the fact she now feels she is different when she is in France, and that her life has taken a different trajectory to her friends back home. However, she is much more connected with French politics, news etc, and still manages quite a few things back home (medical etc). She does not think of herself as a migrant (very few interviewees do).

Pedro

36, Spanish, high earning, works in City for Spanish bank, single, in London 9 years

He comes from a fairly conventional bourgeois Madrileño background (although his family and identity, i.e. soccer team, is rooted in Galicia). He is a well integrated Londoner, but still a strongly Spanish and Spain-oriented character who has settled in "for the time being" into life in the city, and his affluent single life in London. Acutely critical of the social/nightlife limitations of London, such as early closing, he also displays a fairly strong and typical level of assimilation to the London way of living, despite the strongly Spanish identifications. He came to London out of professional frustration, to learn English and to get involved in the London finance world. He enjoys its global centrality, and his highly cosmopolitan (albeit mainly Spanish) workplace environment. He says it's a good mix of British, Spanish and international friends. He lived expensively in the West End initially, before buying accommodation in Islington, which is now well sought-after by European foreigners such as him for its location and cosmopolitan atmosphere. He had big problems with getting a British bank account (a typical problem), and with negotiating the English property market. Family life is still extremely important for him, but all in Spain. He thinks his family life is easy enough to manage, but it's clearly why his life is only semi-developed in London. He is critical of

the medical and dental systems. He enjoys London for its openness and cosmopolitanism. He knows that childcare is a huge problem; and realises you have to live the London way to enjoy it. It is also clear that he knows he can always go back to Spain—and he probably will.

Carla

38, Italian, mid-earning, works in the city for an Insurance company, single, in London 5 years

Carla is Southern Italian (Puglia). She moved to London on a classic periphery-to-centre trajectory that took her first to Milan. There she was frustrated with the business world opportunities, so she went to London to learn English and better IT qualifications. Carla used education as the channel to move in to good finance sector work, in a strongly British environment. She is very independent minded and has been in a long-term relationship with an English person. She seems to be a typical single independent woman, who has moved and established a life through her career in the city. She is strongly invested in the city – the central city – as an international environment where she can live out her life. Carla is not much interested in a more provincial or suburban English life, which would separate her from many of her colleagues. She hated the frustrations and limitations of professional opportunities in Italy. She came from a very modest family background (farmers), and all her friends and family are still back home. She does, however, remain emotionally close to them. There are many Italian women like Carla in London and elsewhere. An archetypal mix of free movement and independence has driven them on; but Carla is more determined and less doubtful than most. She tries not to adopt all the negative aspects of London social life (drinking, etc.) and loves the cultural opportunities, but is frustrated by early closing times and the limitations of a London lifestyle. She had a very painful experience of buying a house, because of being a foreigner and lacking the know-how – but it worked out. Carla thinks that the UK bureaucracy is much better than in Italy but she is very critical of NHS (she went home for treatment). She is still strongly connected to Italy through politics, news etc., and doesn't find it difficult to feel connected. She thinks she will leave London when she has accumulated enough work experience. Carla is interested in moving to the developing world through work with an NGO. She finds that the English sometimes resent the foreigners in London and the jobs they have, and defines herself specifically as an *expat* (not as a migrant or a Londoner). She thinks that it would be impossible to feel rooted in London, any more than in Hong Kong or Singapore, and has a sober assessment of the rootlessness of her life compared to her peer group back home.

Jaime

27, Spanish, modest paid job in IT (web design), single, in London for 3 years

He is an articulate and reflective free spirit, who came to London determined to get an education in graphic design that was not possible in Spain. He suffered the indignities of impoverished British college life in a run down FE college, before moving on quickly into jobs in London. He has a very temporary attitude to life in London, but likes it here very much, especially since he has been able to combine a lively Spanish circle with some good English friends through work. Jaime expects to travel and is not sure if he will stay in London. Again, the professional aspect was clear: England offered much better opportunities in graphic design, although as it turns out that he has not fulfilled his creative ambitions (his job is boring) and he is thinking about going back to higher education. He wanted to move since he was twelve years old, especially because of the image he had of America, but has grown up now with more anti-American ideas and decided that London was the better option. Jaime is still attached to much that is European: he loves British humour and jokes with colleagues, and has a strongly developed English know-how. He enjoys British tabloids, but continues to read the Spanish press. He is very positive about Europe. Home is still his mum's place, his "base" from which his current "floating" lifestyle is made possible.

Valerie

30, France, City broker, single, in London 5 years

Valerie is currently unemployed and is interviewing for new jobs in the City after a refreshing break travelling in continental Europe (esp. south of France, and Italy--where her family comes from originally). She has fallen into a fairly settled life in England that is awaiting something that might end its temporariness and lead her back home, to settlement, or further on. She came in 1997 to learn English, and ambitiously worked her way into high-stress work as a broker in the City. She enjoys London, the social life, and the cosmopolitan freedom it has given her as an escape from a conventional, provincial and rather conservative family (who still pressure her to come back home and match the bourgeois achievements of her own peer group). She wavers a bit on the issue of return, but recognises the non-viability of the lifestyle she has at the moment: an expensive Islington flat with many other friends in London in a similarly in-between world. Valerie dislikes some aspects of British socializing, had problems with bank account, but strongly enjoys the British work environment, lack of formality, and room for initiative that she felt were missing in France. She feels she would have a hard time returning to France because of this. She has mixed international friends. She lived for a long time in an international hostel in Kensington, a typical aspect of the provisional life many young Europeans lead in London. Valerie gets very frustrated about having to assimilate to the speed and way of doing things in London, and to the negative aspects of quality of life compared to the south of Europe. Migration is in her family roots: her ancestors were Italian migrants to France during the war, which she thinks is significant. She doesn't feel "integrated" because she doesn't drink. Valerie reads the French news and doesn't like the way England is so closed to the rest of the world. She is

quite anti-European: she thinks the EU is destroying national distinctiveness, although she can see that the Euro is practical.

Rainer

35, German, high-earning manager with a multinational corporation (MNC), married with two children, in London for four years

When turning to a MNC employee, many of the “free mover” aspects of the other stories become limited. Rainer, a high flying, ambitious employee of a progressive, international company, lives on a very generous expat package in a city he and his wife chose to come in a conscious attempt to internationalise their very rooted, regionally-centred life in Hamburg – while staying close enough to home to have family and friends visit, and without giving up on many aspects of German life. Rainer has an articulate reflection on nearly every aspect of expat life, and life as a German in England. Seeking a more integrated, English lifestyle, they rented a house in a suburban neighbourhood full of English people (which they’ve liked), but a couple of years on, the choice of German school for their boys has led them to move in almost exclusively German or international circles. Rainer has a mixed national background (his mother was Swedish) and his family moved around Germany. However, he and his wife (especially) were very settled in Hamburg. Their friends and family were aghast at their decision to leave. Rainer has traced this ‘reluctance to move’ in many of his peers from school and marvels at their localism in Hamburg. He is prepared to go further afield but clearly has a long-term intention of breaking back into Germany with his career when he has accumulated the experience, and will not make any move that sacrifices the quality of his family life. He finds the German business environment more constraining, and has consciously benefited from working in the distinct Anglo-European (not American) environment of his company. Choices to move are somewhat predetermined by internal company policies and career structures, and much of the ‘encounter’ with the host country is mediated by the company – in which Rainer (and all MNC employees like him) “trusts” completely with his finances and long term career interests. His medical experience has been alright, but he has preserved many things back in Germany for his children. He likes London (suburban) living, but couldn’t bring himself to tackle the British property market. He is pro-Europe, but doesn’t think that the national governments are serious about mobility because of his experience with the German embassy in London. He has been made uncomfortable by some British people’s insistence on mentioning the war to him. He feels that the biggest benefit of the move has been for his children who, although confused at first about leaving home, have now come to appreciate that they are internationalised Germans.

Ana

Twenty-eight years old, Spanish, modestly paid work in graphic design/layout for an English newspaper, in London for one year

Ana followed her boyfriend over to London, in search of better work and experience with graphic design. She is very typical of the younger generation of free moving Europeans who are beginning to think of the move as a natural option despite very few other intrinsic connections to England. She was the first of her friends to do it and they are watching her closely, with envy apparently. Language experience is again a key motivation to move, in combination with the frustrations of low paid work in Spain and having to live at home. Ana had very diligently found out about benefits and resources available to someone unemployed in Britain. As a result, she found that when she gave up her first jobs (which were very poorly paid jobs in shops) she was able to claim a housing benefit and to get help with looking for work. Both she and her boyfriend have taken a step down from the training (and family station) they had in Spain, but they hope that some opportunities might come up while he is waiting to take the exam to become certified as an aircraft traffic controller in Spain. She has a very temporary view of life in London, although she is enjoying it and hopes to stay. Apparently, they have very few friends and have to live very carefully once they've paid the rent. She doesn't find it so different from living in Spain with regards to city life. She has lots of contact with family and friends in Spain and many visitors and holidays back home. Her family has a solidly bourgeois background. Her parents took the unusual step of putting their children through regular study abroad to learn languages. Ana says that this is why she finds it so natural for her to move this way. She likes English television and thinks the bureaucratic system is very good. She is not too confident about the medical system. Again, she rationalises her time in London in terms of opportunities and experience, and is very determined to make a positive experience out of it.

F. Guidelines for the qualitative interviews¹⁴

Qualitative Interview

This interview was influenced by Adrian Favell's 'Free Movers in Brussels: A report on the participation and integration of European professionals in the city,' and by Anja Weiss' 'Highly Skilled Migrants. The Transnationalisation of Social Inequality'.

The entire interview consists of 2 parts: the interview plus a written questionnaire. The interview itself covers 8 topics plus an introduction and ending. The 8 topics are: demographics, mobility history, career, government and political aspects, social networks/life, economic aspects, quality of life aspects, psychological aspects and future plans.

Interviewer Instructions:

- The entire interview must be tape-recorded. All interviews should be conducted in as standardized a manner as possible. Nevertheless, the interview should feel like an open discussion.
- Questions with numbers indicate key topics of interest. They (as well as introduction texts) have to be read aloud. Bulleted questions are typically follow-ups to these questions and should be asked if they were not answered within the scope of the Rs responses. Questions that have been answered must be checked off to ensure that all questions have been asked during the interview.
- The question order must not be changed. However, if R jumps in his answer to a question with a number, he should not be stopped and all bulleted questions under this question should be asked. The interview should then resume with the question the respondent jumped from. If R jumps to a bulleted question instead, tell him that this question will be asked later on, and redirect him back to the current question.

¹⁴ Draft of the Guidelines for the Qualitative Interviews; co-authored by Nina Rother and Emily McFarlane, ZUMA, Mannheim, Germany; July 2003

- [CAPITALISED] words in brackets serve as Interviewer Instructions and should not be read to the R.
- (*CAPITALISED, ITALIC*) words in parentheses denote fills. For example, (*INTERVIEWER LOCATION*) refers to the city, in which the interview occurs, i.e. if the interview city is *Frankfurt*, the sentence should be filled by the interviewer to read as follows, "...have you always lived in the *Frankfurt* area?"
- (*HOME COUNTRY*) is determined in question 2 under demographics. If 'HOME COUNTRY' is *Italy*, then '*PERSONS FROM HOME COUNTRY*' would be *Italians*. '*HOME COUNTRY*' is referred to throughout the questionnaire and should be remembered.
- **Footnotes** are used when a word or concept might not be entirely clear within the context and can be read to the R if they seek clarity on the topic.

Introduction:

Our study is about people who have migrated from one country within the European Union to another country in the EU. We are interested in hearing about your particular experiences. Thank you very much for participating.

As I told you on the phone, I would like to record our conversation so that it can be analysed more thoroughly. However all names and details will be changed in any reports that are published in order to ensure anonymity. All responses will remain entirely confidential and will not be used for any purposes other than our research.

Please feel free to answer all the questions openly with whatever comes to mind. There are no wrong answers and we are interested in hearing about your unique experiences. If you do not understand a question or need clarification, please let me know.

[IWER WRIT IN:]

DATE _____
EXACT TIME NOW _____

INTERVIEW LOCATION _____

R'S SEX _____

Demographics

First, we'd like to know about your cultural background.

1. What citizenship(s) do you hold?

2. In which country were you born?

- Do you consider that to be your home country¹⁵?
- [IWER:IF NOT]: What is your home country then? Why?

[IWER: USE THIS FOR 'HOME COUNTRY' FILL]

3. What is/are your native language(s)?

- What do you think, how well do you speak German?
- What language(s) do you speak most often at home?
- What other languages can you speak or understand?
- And how well?
- How did you come to learn it?

4. What is your marital status?

5. How many children, if any, do you have?

- What are their ages?
- Do they live with you?

¹⁵ By 'home country' we mean the country that you considered to be your home **before** you moved to Germany. This could either be the country where you were born, where you grew up, or just where you felt most "at home." [IWER: GERMANY IS NOT ACCEPTIBLE AS A RESPONSE]

MOBILITY History

Now we would like to know a little bit about your mobility history. Feel free to add any information that you feel is pertinent even if it is not covered in the questions I ask.

1. **During your childhood, did you ever move with your parents to a different home?**
 - From one country to another?
 - From one place to another?
 - How often?
 - How did you feel about it?

2. Before moving to Germany, did you have any other personal experiences with moving?
 - To which places?
 - For what purpose?
 - How long did you stay there?

3. **In which year and month did you first move to Germany and to which city? How old were you when you migrated?**
 - [IWER: IF CITY IS THE SAME AS INTERVIEW CITY]: Since you arrived in Germany, have you always lived in the (*INTERVIEW LOCATION*) area or did you live in another part of Germany or in a different country between now and then?
 - [IWER: IF DIFFERENT CITY FROM INTERVIEW]: When did you move to the (*INTERVIEW LOCATION*) area and did you live anywhere else in Germany or in another country between now and then?

4. How did you get to be in Germany?

- What were your alternative migration/mobility choices?¹⁶
- What was your motivation?
- Why did you go abroad?
- When did you first think about going abroad?

5. Did you prepare for going abroad? [IWER: IF YES]: How?

- By learning languages?
- By acquiring cultural skills?

6. How did you manage it when you first arrived?

- Did you receive help getting oriented?
- Did you receive help finding a place to live?
- What type of place to live was it?
- How did you find your present home?
- And in what kind of house or apartment are you living now? And with whom?

¹⁶ alternatives means either alternatives to migrating to Germany (e.g. stay in country) or alternative countries to which you could have migrated

Career

In this next section I am interested in learning about your education and what kind of work you do here in Germany and the type of work you did before moving to Germany.

1. Can you tell me a little about your educational background, i.e. school, university, professional training? What did you do?

- What is your highest level of education?
- [IWER: WRITE DOWN DEGREE] _____
- In which country did you get your education?

2. What is your main occupation here in Germany?

- How did you find this job?
- When did you begin working at this job?

3. What training qualifications did you need for the job?

- Did you receive adequate recognition here for your education and professional qualifications?

4. How much do you usually earn from this job?

- Do you earn more than you would in (*HOME COUNTRY*) for such a job?
 - [IWER: IF YES]: How much more?
- Would you earn more for the work you do, given your qualifications and experience, if you were a local?

5. Had you been offered this job before you came to Germany?

6. How satisfied are you with your job here compared to your jobs before you moved to Germany?

7. How often do you travel in connection with work?

- Where do you travel to?
- And for how long?
- How does this compare to the amounts you have had to travel with previous jobs?

8. What was your main occupation in the last country you worked in before coming to Germany?

- What kind of organization was that?
- How much did you usually earn from this job?
 - Was that in Euros or...?
 - What year was this in?

Government and political life

This next section concerns matters related to politics and residency in Germany.

- 1. Are you officially registered as a resident of this town?**
- 2. Do you pay taxes i.e. income tax, property tax, social security in Germany or in (*HOME COUNTRY*) or both? Please specify.**
- 3. Are you interested in German political life?**
 - How well do you know it?
 - How do you get informed?
 - Do you have any personal commitment into it?
- 4. Do you stay involved with your home country political life?**
 - To what extent?
 - How do you get informed?
- 5. Are you permitted to vote in Germany? Were you registered to vote in (*HOME COUNTRY*)?**
 - Did you vote in the last local elections? [IWER: IF YES]: In which country did you vote?
 - Did you vote in the last European Parliament elections that were held in 1999? [IWER: IF YES]: In which country did you vote?
- 6. For you in Germany, do you think it matters if you vote or not?**
 - [IWER: IF NO] Would you change your opinion if you had lived here longer?
- 7. What are the big issues for expats/foreign residents in Germany concerning political or governmental topics?**

Social Networks/Social Life

I'd like to talk a little about your immediate social networks and social life.

1. First please tell me about your friends and daily contacts.

- Do you have a best friend¹⁷? [IWER: IF YES]: In which country does he/she live?
- How many friends do you have here compared to (*HOME COUNTRY*)?
 - Are any of them Germans? And how many?
- Was it easy to meet people here compared to other places you have lived?
 - Why was it easier/harder?
- Do you have close, personal contacts outside this area in Germany and abroad, in (*HOME COUNTRY*)?
- How do you stay in touch with friends and family from (*HOME COUNTRY*)?
- How many others do you know who have migrated to another country from (*HOME COUNTRY*)?
- Do you notice any differences between them and people who do not migrate?

¹⁷ By „best friend“, we mean the person, with whom you can best discuss intimate and personal matters.

2. What kind of things do you do socially?

- Do you go to pubs, restaurants, clubs and how often?
- Are these places German, 'expat' or what?¹⁸
- Are you a member of any associations, i.e. professional, political, union, leisure, religious, sports?
 - How does this compare to (*HOME COUNTRY*)?
- Are you part of a religious community here?
 - How does this compare to (*HOME COUNTRY*)?
- What do you like to do on your vacation?
- Where did you used to go on your vacations before moving to Germany?
- How much of your previous cultural traditions do you still observe or practice? By cultural traditions we mean such things as national holidays, customs, traditional foods, etc.
 - How does this compare to any German traditions you practice?

3. IF R HAS CHILDREN: Can you tell me a little about how you have handled the issue of schooling for your children?

- Do they go to local schools or international schools (or kindergartens)?
- How does this compare to where you have lived before?

4. Are you happy with your family life here?

5. Do you read any newspapers?

- Are they local, national, international?
- In which language(s)?

6. What type of programs do you watch on TV?

- Are they news or entertainment programs?
- Are they local, national, international?
- In which language(s)?

¹⁸ we mean both: if they are owned by Germans, expats etc. and if they are visited mainly by Germans, expats etc.

7. Do you use the Internet?

- For what purpose?
 - Communication?
 - To get information?
 - Entertainment?
- What type of websites do you view? Are they local, national, or international?

Economical aspects

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about economical matters.

- 1. On what kind of things do you spend your disposable income?**
 - What are your shopping preferences, i.e. local, national chains, international?

- 2. Can you tell me about your experience on the housing market here compared to in (*HOME COUNTRY*)?**
 - Where is it better?

- 3. What has your experience of the medical system here been like compared to in (*HOME COUNTRY*)?**

Quality of Life aspects

This next set of questions is about your general attitude towards living in Germany.

1. What is your general perception of life in Germany?

- What does 'Quality of life' mean to you?
- How does 'Quality of life' here compare to (*HOME COUNTRY*)?
- Where do you feel most comfortable or "at home", i.e. here in Germany, (*HOME COUNTRY*), elsewhere?
- With whom do you feel most comfortable, i.e. Germans, (*PERSONS FROM HOME COUNTRY*), or others?

2. If someone, who is in a similar situation to yours when you migrated, asked you whether they should migrate, what would you advise?

- If you could go back in time, would you decide to migrate again?
- Do you (sometimes) regret having migrated?
- In what respects was your migration an advantage for you?
- And in what respects was it a disadvantage?

3. Do you feel that you are respected here, i.e. at work, in social relationships, in every day life?

4. Were you sometimes treated differently from locals?

- When finding a job?
- When finding a place to live?
- When making new acquaintances?
- [IWER: IF NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES ASK FOR EACH POINT]: How did you handle that?

5. In your opinion, does one need specific skills to migrate successfully?

6. What does the term 'integration' mean to you?

- Is it a positive or negative term? Is this something you're longing for personally?

7. Do you sometimes think about these things in terms of where you 'belong' or your 'national identity'?

- I.e. do you think of yourself more as a German or more as a [PERSON FROM HOME COUNTRY]?

Psychological aspects

Now, I would like to know a little about your feelings...

1. What do you feel you share or have in common with other (*PERSONS FROM HOME COUNTRY*)....

[IWER: PROBE UNTIL THEY GIVE 3 OR MORE, IF NO ANSWER]

- Do the topics that you just mentioned make you feel that you belong to (*HOME COUNTRY*)?

2. What do you feel you share or have in common with other Europeans?

[IWER: PROBE UNTIL THEY GIVE 3 OR MORE]

- Do the topics that you just mentioned make you feel that you belong to Europe?

3. Do you feel German at all?

- [IF YES]: What do you share with other Germans? Do the topics that you just mentioned make you feel that you belong to Germany?
- [IF NO]: Then please tell me why you don't feel German. I.e. I don't feel German because I don't share with Germans...

4. When you're thinking about (*HOME COUNTRY*), what do you miss most?

- What about food?
- What about the life style?
- What about the mentality of persons?

Future plans

This last section is about your plans for the future.

1. Is your living in Germany temporary?

2. What are your future plans?

- Do you intend to stay in Germany? Don't you know that yet or doesn't it matter to you now?
- Would you like to return to (*HOME COUNTRY*) permanently one day?
- Or would you like to go somewhere else?
- [IF HAVE CHILDREN OR PLAN TO HAVE CHILDREN]: What role would children play in your choice?
- What role would play your spouse/partner in your choice?

3. Do you have any plans or dreams for your life once you retire?

- Where do you plan to live when your retire?
- Where do you think your family will be then?
- Do you have any savings?

4. Being a (future) parent, what do you expect for your children?

- In your opinion, where would be the best place your children could live?
- Would you like them to have a similar mobility experience as yours?
- What would you like to share with them regarding your mobility experience?

End

If you could wait just a moment while I check to see if I have missed in any questions...

[IWER: check if all questions have been answered]

...Okay, that is everything for this part of the interview. Thank you very much for participating. Your responses will be very helpful for our research. Now, if you could please fill out this short written questionnaire...