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**Middling Transnationalism and Translocal Lives:
Young Germans in the UK.**

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Doctor of Philosophy

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September 2012

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

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SUMMARY

The thesis examines the migration decision-making and everyday experiences of young highly skilled professional migrants through the case study of German migration to the UK. It develops a framework combining the twin notions of transnational urbanism and translocal subjectivities, allowing a strong focus on migrants' subjective experiences, perceptions and emotionalities of mobility, while acknowledging the centrality of spaces and places for them. The geographical setting of the case study further serves to accentuate the relatively small-scale disruption occurring during the migration process, and the subjectivities connected to this.

Data was collected in the UK (mainly London) during thirteen months of fieldwork, using participant observation, in-depth interviews and expert interviews. The research reveals a previously unacknowledged high ambivalence and diversity of this migrant group. Young German highly skilled migrants display various mobility and migration patterns with regard to the translocal connections they maintain, the emotional importance they attach to these connections, and their previous internal and international migration history. Three mobility types emerge from this: 'bi-local', 'multi-local' and 'settled' migrants. The close translocal connections practiced by migrants can lead to conflict, particularly for bi-local migrants, as judging of the migration project can occur by friends and families; meaning the spatial and emotional proximity between the migrants and their social network can be both positive and negative. The expectations towards the UK are also highly complex, and strongly influence micro-scale personal geographies. Lastly, the diversity of migration projects leads to widely varying attitudes towards fellow German migrants, as well as tensions and potentially conflicts within German social spaces. Overall, a strong and pervasive ambivalence about the migration experience emerges, which is experienced differently by the three migrant groups and the geographical proximity between Germany and the UK plays a large role in this.

This thesis adds empirical and analytical insight to the academic debate regarding young professional migrants within the EU, and German contemporary migration in particular. Theoretically, it contributes to the discussion around lifestyle migration and middling transnationalism, and it enhances the practical use of the concept 'emotional geographies' for migration studies.

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List of abbreviations

General
AD	Anno Domini
LFS	Labour Force Survey
NRT	Non-Representational Theory
POWs	Prisoners of War
WG	Wohn-Gemeinschaft – group of people sharing a flat

Meetings in German spaces
AA	Anonyme Akademiker – Academics Anonymous
AWD	After Work Drinks
GT	Get Together
WLT	West-London Treffen – Meeting of West Londoners

German institutions in London
GAC	German Advice Centre
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
GWC	German Welfare Centre

German parties
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei – Free democratic party
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschland – German social democratic party

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aims, Scope and Research Questions

Recent research has suggested that Western migration has changed – with migration seen as self-realization by the migrants, fuelled by 'banal cosmopolitanism' (Szerszynski and Urry 2002; Kennedy 2009) and high mobility in the form of cheap flights and better communications (Larsen et al. 2006). According to research this is especially the case for young professionals. Favell (2008) defines those moving within the EU as 'Eurostars', while Fechter (2007) points out the different self-understanding of migrants in comparison to those migrants of an of older generation. According to Boenisch-Brednich (2002) and Schubert-McArthur(2009) migrating internationally, such as from Germany to New Zealand, is to these migrants akin to 'moving internally'.

Research so far has portrayed young professionals moving mainly as a homogenous group: the 'young professionals', for whom movement is easy due to the new connections in terms of transport. Research focusing on problems encountered has concentrated on institutional problems and obstacles: how to deal with your pension scheme when you move abroad (Ferbrache 2011), how to access highly nationalised schemes of education and healthcare, etc. (Favell 2008).

Yet many of the migrants I know were conflicted about their moves, feeling guilty at times, trying to manage this new mobility in a way that made sense both to themselves and to those around them, too. Pension schemes were not on top of their agenda as much as the question whether they should stay or go, move back for their friends and parents, or stay abroad with new-found friends and partners; whether their friendships with people back home were changing too much, whether they were visiting enough, whether they had made the right choice. I wondered about their personal struggles when reading the research done. What about the everyday lives of this new migration, rather than the institutional challenges? Considering this everyday dimension matters if we want to expand our understanding of this kind of mobility.

As a result I decided to focus on the everyday life of intra-EU migrants; to answer the question of what their life is like as a migrant, living with this new kind of mobility. In a migration where all the choices are their own, with no institutional limitations in the

form of work permits and visa applications, what are their personal experiences? Based upon this very broad question, I focused especially on three areas:

1. How were transnational connections with friends and family experienced in the age of new technology and cheap flights?

2. How did they experience decision making about their migration in the context of a 'borderless' Europe?

3. How was the migration itself experienced in the sense of settling into the new country? How and with whom did they socialise? Which role did spaces and meetings organised around German nationality play in this?

The results will add to migration studies in several areas: to start with, an in-depth understanding of (some of) this 'new' mobility and migration, and of the challenges faced by these migrants in their everyday lives. And secondly, as my research focuses on people between roughly 25 and 40 years of age, a better understanding of young professional migrants, the diversity within that group and, as a result of this, of 'middling transnationalism'.

German migrants offer a fascinating case study for these questions: German migration within the EU has risen rapidly between 1987 and 2002, almost doubling (Recchi and Favell 2009: 12), and numbers of Germans within the UK are estimated at between 100,000 and 250,000 (see chapter 3). Of emigrating Germans 40% are between 25 and 39 years of age (Ette and Sauer 2007: 37), meaning that this age group is likely to have a large presence in the UK. The proximity between the UK and Germany plays a part with viable and cheap connections via ferry, train, plane or car possible. The framework of free movement provided by the EU means that a focus completely on the everyday dimension and the struggles around decisions is possible, as considerations like application for visa (Ho 2011a) are not relevant. They also offer a further highly fascinating dimension: Germans abroad are anecdotally known to be inherently cautious of other Germans abroad, or German clubs (see Kaiser 2011), which marks a departure from assumptions in migration studies about supportive co-patriots (Ryan et al. 2009), and provide interesting insights into the departures from patterns of socialising by other migrant groups.

The relative openness of the questions allowed me to remain within an overarching framework while giving space to German migrants' own experiences, and allowing for

aspects that were important to them to emerge. In order to find answers to these questions I used a mixture of participant observation and individual interviews.

In terms of the new mobility, it is especially the age group of 25-40 which has emerged as important (Fechter 2007: 128; Braun and Arsene 2009: 49). In choosing my participants I used these boundaries loosely. I was also interested in migrants who were slightly older, but shared certain characteristics with other 'young' migrants in terms of the new mobility. Hence, rather than deciding on a cut-off point, I decided to be open-minded about the boundaries, and include people as participants if their experiences seemed both interesting and challenging to stereotypes. The majority who participated were between 25 and 35 years of age when I spoke to them, with the largest group in their late 20s or early 30s. One of my participants was 42 when I interviewed her, and the youngest 24 years old. At the time of my research, all my participants resided in England[1].

In addition to focusing on this particular age group I also decided to focus on migrants without children of their own, due to several considerations. Largely I was afraid that the presence of children would lead to migrants no longer being highly mobile, or using different criteria to decide about their migration. In fact, several of the people I spoke to during the research confirmed this. People with children I spoke to pointed out to me the different view they now had of mobility, of staying in touch with people at home, and of being in what could be considered a German cultural environment, such as a German church community, to be able to pass on German culture to their children. Several of my participants also told me that the topic of children was something they thought about, in particular in light of their choice of which country to live in, and where their children should grow up, changing the decision making process. This is further supported by the research conducted on German migrants with children both in the UK (Meier 2009; Moore 2005) and Singapore (Meier 2009) as well as Jakarta (Fechter 2007), which has made it clear that in the majority these migrants do not generally share the trait of avoiding fellow Germans. In fact, activities with fellow German migrants can become the focus of their social activities and support networks. German schools especially work as a nodal point for families with children. For this reason I assumed that their social behaviour would differ markedly from that of young

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[1] At the time of research, all of my participants were living in England. This was largely due to practical considerations: travelling to Scotland, Wales or Ireland was simply not feasible in the course of this study. However, some of my participants had previously lived in other areas of the UK, such as Wales.

professionals without children. Beyond particular reasons of this case study to focus on migrants without children, there were also wider implications of this. For example, Walsh (2007) points out with reference to the wider migration studies literature that "despite their significance in global flows, the social experiences of single international migrants have been relatively neglected" (Walsh 2007: 507), with a disproportionate amount of attention targeted towards families in migration (see for example Parrenas 2002, 2005). By focusing on migrants without children, I seek to contribute to this body of research.

All the participants in my study were highly-skilled according to Salt's (1997) definition of a highly-skilled migrant as someone possessing "a tertiary-level education or its equivalent in experience" (1997: 5). My participants, as well as the vast majority of the people I spoke to at German events, had either studied or had completed a German apprenticeship (which usually lasts three years) and is seen as equivalent to attending university in terms of prestige by some people (Hofstede 2001: 452). They were also highly-skilled in the sense that they could (if they wanted) find a job in their area of expertise.

This means that they can be considered as part of the 'global middle' - part of the vast majority of the "skilled and educated among the globally mobile [such as] students, nurses, mid-level technical and clerical employees, ambitious or adventurous upwardly mobile middle classes …" (Favell, Feldblum and Smith 2006: 2). In migration studies, this 'global middle' is still largely under-researched (Favell et al. 2006; Conradson and Latham 2005). As Kim (2011) writes:

> Despite a diverse and bewildering array of migrant groups today … little is explored in detail and known about how a wider array of social actors … form, develop and maintain 'transnational social space' …, the everyday transnational communities, social civities and networks, relational experiences, hidden struggles and conflicts emerging from that seemingly free, and evident flow of migration (2011: 43).

Only recently has research in this area started gathering more attention, based upon the idea that even though the migrants might not feature high on the political agenda, as their movement is usually relatively straightforward, their experiences are highly relevant in that they constitute an important, yet often unrecognised, skills-base. Not only this, but the global middle is politically relevant, because it can reveal a lot about the 'real state of human mobility'. In comparison to the "two stylized images counter-

posed at either end of the social spectrum: high-flying corporate elites and desperate, poverty-stricken labour migrants and asylum seekers" (Favell et al. 2006: 2), the 'middling migrants' are important because:

> [their] mobility is linked more to choice, professional career and educational opportunities. … Their experience would reveal not just how far liberalization might go under ideal conditions, but also reveal, in sharp relief, what persisting global limitations there might still be to a completely unfettered global economy of mobility (2006: 4).

As Ette and Sauer (2007) point out, as well as Ackers and Gill (2008), this is not merely a choice of academic interest: it is highly relevant too for the sending countries, as they lose highly-qualified personnel, at least in the short-term (and potentially in the long-term) through brain drain.

Apart from adding to the knowledge base on migration in general, migration is also increasingly portrayed as diverse and non-linear. Migration is recognised as often having multiple, coexisting reasons – such as the search for a more fulfilling 'lifestyle' which is connected to economic considerations, as well as considerations of work-life balance and environmental factors, such as pleasant climate. These factors are beginning to make their appearance in the literature more and more frequently; different interactions of mobility, migration and tourism are highlighted in some research areas. As Williams and Hall (2002: 1-2, 8) point out, this is not a completely new trend. Yet recently it has gained more attention in migration studies as 'lifestyle migration' (Benson and O'Reilly 2009; Benson 2011). To the above-mentioned 'choice, professional career and educational opportunities' this research adds insights into the choice to move for non-career or educational reasons. Rogers (2005) also points to this increasing diversity, as well as the new insights that these academic boundary-crossings could bring.

This recognition of diversity, as well as the fact that the migrations under discussion here are not overly politicised, has brought with it a focus on the everyday lives of migrants, heralding a qualitative shift. As Ho (2011a) points out, understanding on a deeper level is essential, as "studying migration only in terms of visas or occupational categories limits a full understanding of the breadth and changing episodes making up migrant experiences" (2011a: 116). Ho studied the experiences of young Singaporean transmigrants in London with regard to both everyday life and the actions needed in order to fulfil visa categories and plan their lives abroad. According to Ho, Singaporean

professionals often shift between tourist and working visas, which does not capture their actual experiences or motivations for migration, but is more a reflection of the best strategy of achieving their current aim, such as coming to London on a working holiday-maker visa in order to accompany a boyfriend, then attempting to switch to a visa enabling a longer stay (Ho 2011a: 125). Other research on migrants' everyday life includes projects on New Zealanders' 'Overseas Experience', a mixture of working, travelling, and temporally bounded migration (cf. Conradson and Latham 2005a, b, c; Haverig 2011; Wiles 2008; Williams et al. 2011; Wilson et al. 2009). This approach of incorporating everyday live from a qualitative understanding of migration can easily be applied to, and considerably add to, the research on German emigrants by Ette and Sauer (2007). Through highlighting the migration patterns and temporality of German migrants, they treat the migration in itself as a black box; meaning they have no idea as to why migrants chose to live as they do, or when they decide to return.

It is in this growing literature on the diversity of migration that my research on Germans in the UK is situated. In order to make sense of their experiences I use the framework of transnational urbanism, which has been used to study middle-class young professionals before, notably by Conradson and Latham (2007). This framework, which I introduce in depth in chapter 2, is particularly well adapted to my study for several reasons. Its focus on the simultaneous embeddedness and mobility of migrants allows me to highlight both the connections of migrants with their region of origin, as well as their new everyday life in their chosen destination. Migrants' agency is given plenty of analytical space, without neglecting the structural economic and political constraints within which the migration takes place. At the same time, power relations leading to differential mobility are considered an important part of migration, making this a very detailed, structured, and critical analysis, which still grants migrants a voice as well as agency.

1.2. Overview of Chapters: Structure of the Thesis

Before presenting data specifically about Germans in the UK, I start the next chapter with a literature review of 'middling transnationalism' in which the research will be embedded. This includes recent German migrations, research in the category of 'lifestyle migration' as well as research on migrants within the EU. Both of these latter areas of research have certain weaknesses, as I will show. In order to overcome these

weaknesses in my own research, I used the theoretical framework of transnational urbanism, which is also introduced in chapter 2.

Chapter 3 sets the migratory context for the thesis. German migration to Britain has a long history, with current German migration to the UK thus taking place in an urban and national space which has been modified by previous migrants. Yet, despite the long-standing history, there is very limited historical awareness of this among German migrants in the UK, and limited interactions between different groups and generations of migrants. Germans are thereby marked out as different in comparison to other long-standing migrant groups, where intergenerational interaction takes place on a much larger scale, even if it is decreasing (e.g. the Poles or Italians in the UK). This chapter also importantly provides the background on the ethnic institutions and organised spaces to which I will refer throughout the thesis.

In chapter 4 I begin by considering German migration on the grounds of the mobility and transnational connections displayed by the migrants. As I highlight in chapter 2, transnationalism so far has not received a large amount of attention in research upon both middling transnationalism in general and, more specifically, intra-EU migration. This is a very significant omission. For many of my participants, the UK was picked as the country of destination based at least partly upon its perceived proximity to Germany. Transnationalism is therefore central to the migration decision right from the start. Similarly, all my participants and the other people I met during my research had connections with Germany, and regularly went for visits. In this chapter, I therefore look in detail at their transnational connections with Germany. It turns out that while 'Heimat[2]' plays a role for migrants as an emotional concept, this does not translate into actual visits to the region migrants consider as Heimat. Much more important for the destination of the visits were connections in terms of friends or family. With regard to this, the migrants fell into three different categories, displaying very different mobility behaviour. For some migrants, moving to the UK had been the very first move away from their place of origin (bi-local migrants), while others had moved internationally before, or moved internally within Germany before venturing abroad (multi-local migrants). Yet others have spent formative periods in the UK, or have been resident for long periods of time. As a result, they are more oriented towards the UK with their

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[2] A concept akin to home, but more emotionally and nostalgically linked to ideas of memory and landscape. See pp. 83-84.

contacts, and can be described as 'settled' migrants. The differences in mobility, as well as how the migrants handle them, are substantial. While 'mobility' is more frequently used to formulate insights into migration research, such as in the case of O'Reilly's (1995a, 2000a) study of the British in Spain, I argue that simply looking at frequency and length of moves does not provide enough information, but that other factors, such as migration history, and the geographical dispersal of people important to the migrant, plays a very important role in how mobility is lived and perceived. In order to highlight this, I expand the transnational urbanism concept to include that of 'translocal subjectivities'.

In chapter 5 I look in more detail at the conflicts that can arise from mobility. In the research on middling transnationalism conflicts have been mentioned briefly, but not thoroughly studied (Kim 2011: 43). Yet some of my participants struggled with conflicting expectations towards their migration and future lives by themselves, their friends and their families. Conflicts were often based around different ideas about the migrants' future in either the UK or Germany, as well as (perceived) changes in the personality of the migrant. The close translocal connections were highly influential and ambiguous in those conflicts, as the swift exchange of information as well as the proximity for visits often fuelled the conflicts; the proximity was however often not close enough to prevent silences and misunderstandings. The geographical location of the migration therefore matters hugely. Of similar importance was the cultural background of the immediate social network of the migrants: if their social network in Germany held very conservative views, they were likely to 'struggle' more. Yet the migrants also experienced strong inner conflicts relating to whether they should stay in the UK, or return to Germany. The open-endedness of the migration could often be a burden, rather than a blessing, for those migrants. The situation tended to be much more conflict-laden for bi-local migrants than the other two categories (multi-local and settled), due to the fact that culturally in their social support network in Germany migration and mobility were not seen as favourable activities. Despite sharing a few characteristics with lifestyle migration, the transnational proximity and emerging conflicts are major departures from this.

In chapter 6, I focus on the expectations that migrants have towards their life in the UK. Here, it is particularly bi- and multi-local migrants who are the focus, as settled migrants have been in the UK for quite a period of time in most cases, meaning that

their expectations of life in the UK and their experiences in the UK coincide closely. In particular, many expectations held by migrants concern 'spaces of migration'. Conradson and Latham (2007) have highlighted the 'affective spaces' that migrants expect in terms of an exciting, multicultural city. Here, I focus both on smaller and larger scales. To start with, many migrants have strong expectations of affective spaces, especially concerning small spaces such as flat shares, and interpersonal practices of friendship. Beyond that, Britain is expected to be a white European space. At the same time as seeking new experiences the migrants also expected familiarity, especially with regard to small spaces such as flats and practices such as friendship. This chapter allows me to extend the concept of affective spaces further on a different scale, as well as that of migration as a disruption of familiar spaces and practices.

In chapter 7 I focus on social spaces of migration. As mentioned above, Germans were not always terribly keen to meet other Germans. This is the chapter where I attempt to find an answer to the 'why?', as well as an answer to the question why the social spaces I investigated for the research could be experienced as highly fragmented and judgemental. I argue that migrants are on their own already likely to use highly prejudicial stereotypes of other migrants to regard themselves positively. The stereotypes reveal a certain non-acceptance of other migrations; in organised social spaces in particular, different ideas of migrations collide, leading to conflicts and tensions. In particular, the smaller the social space with large amount of interaction, the more conflict emerges. I argue that in parts, the non-acceptance of different migrations lies in the diversity of the many different migration projects present, and the very different positionalities – background, previous migration, social and cultural as well as economic capital. Arguing over migration becomes possible as people see only 'their' type of migration as acceptable, and therefore seek to put down other modes of being a migrant.

Chapter 8 concludes with a summary of the key findings with regard to both theory and practice, bringing together the very different strands from the chapters and highlighting future avenues of research.

1.3. Methodology

In order to obtain the insights I wanted – into individual migration decisions, socialising patterns as a migrant as well as group behaviour and views propagated – I

decided to use the approach of in-depth interviews in combination with participant observation. The interviews would grant me insights into the individual experience of being a migrant, while participant observation of groups of Germans would give me the insights into social spaces, social behaviour and norms. With regard to social spaces I would attend during ethnographic fieldwork, the interviews would complement this with insights by migrants into groups, or their non-participation in groups.

In existing research on middling transnationalism interviewing has been used as the method of choice over participant observation (e.g. Conradson and Latham 2005 a, b; Favell 2008; Ho 2011a, b), while a lot of the work focused on migration within the EU is still mainly statistical (Recchi and Favell, 2009). Within lifestyle migration ethnographic research is more common, as used by O'Reilly (2000a), Oliver (2007) and Benson (2011). Both methodologies – interviewing, or interviewing in the context of ethnographic research – have led to interesting research outcomes. In order to maximise the benefits, I decided on the combination of methods, especially as this has previously been put to good use. Ethnographic research and in-depth interviewing has been the mixed method of choice for research projects on migration, intimacy and sexuality, and has been used successfully before in studies relating to emotions in the migration process (see Brennan 2004; Christou 2011; Hildson and Giridharan 2008; Kitiarsa 2008; Malam 2008; Parrenas 2005). In a discussion of the benefits of ethnography for studies of migration and heterosexuality Walsh et al. (2008) relate this to the holistic and contextual approach that is, according to Mahler and Pessar (2006: 29), particularly useful for complex concepts and practices, and "while this limits the number of participants each researcher can include, the advantages are evident in the in-depth and nuanced discussions [here]" (2008: 577). There is also a strong element of participants being able to introduce their own topics of importance perhaps more than during an interview only. Through a process of spending more time with participants, alone or in groups, topics that are important to participants will have a higher chance of being picked up on.

For me, the appeal of ethnography also lay in the fact that I would be able to also see other people's reactions to certain topics, to discern which topics were discussed in public, and how this was reflected in individuals' private accounts. Participating in organised social spaces would also allow me to find interview participants, as well as

contextualise their behaviour and attitudes within the wider pool of German migrants in the UK.

1.3.1. *German Spaces in the UK*

I followed several leads in order to 'find' young German professional migrants. As a starting point, I distinguish between 'organised' and 'unorganised' German spaces. 'Organised' German spaces I use as a term to refer to German social activities and meetings which are organised publicly, and usually accessible for any German migrant in the UK. They are often organised via the Forum for Germans in the UK(at www.deutsche-in-london.net), which has information on living in the UK, as well as acting as a forum for people to organise meetings, outings and similar events. These include monthly 'Get Togethers' in bars and pubs in London, a weekly 'After Work Drinks' (AWD) on Thursdays in bars in Central London, occasional other geographically organised (e.g. 'West London Meeting') or occupationally bounded ('Academics Anonymous'[3]) meetings as well as hiking trips in the counties surrounding London. In the organised spaces I also included the German Protestant Church in West London I attended, again as this is publicly advertised and open to new members[4]. There was a service once a week, followed by a social gathering (tea and coffee) in the community rooms, as well as occasional extra meetings, such as a Friday gathering for young adults or barbeques. I found most of these activities advertised either in the monthly German newspaper, 'The German Link' and the German Forum. I started attending these organised spaces occasionally as preliminary fieldwork in May 2009, in order to explore themes and issues as well as meeting people, before becoming a regular attendant in most of these events in autumn 2009.

I use the term 'unorganised' German spaces as denoting German social spaces that are not publicly accessible or obviously open to newcomers. Mostly, these spaces are organised around pre-existent friendship groups. Finding events to attend here was a little more tricky, and involved building up relationships with people, or using pre-existing contacts. I attended private events such as parties, hikes with smaller groups, drinks and similar. Here, for example, 'German parties' organised as a motto party for friends were events I attended, as were activities organised by a small closed group for

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[3] A meeting for those working in academia, doctoral students or in fact anybody with a university degree.
[4] I could have also attended the Catholic Church, yet by denomination, the Protestant Church was most easily accessible to me, as well as being close to my own flat.

themselves, e.g. a hike among German friends. I used mailing lists as well as the Forum and other organised events to build contacts to people, which later on might lead to unorganised spaces.

Even though I put events into those two categories, the boundaries between the two are fluid. For example, it was very common for small friendship groups to form at organised German spaces which would then meet separately to the organised social spaces. However, there were also cases of unorganised German spaces where participation in the organised social spaces was very limited. It was particularly those spaces that were not connected to organised German activity at first sight that I was interested in to complement my data collected in organised social spaces.

Apart from organised German spaces there are also some German institutions in the UK, such as the German Embassy, the Protestant and the Catholic Church, a German school and the German Cultural Institute (Goethe-Institut). The German Forum as well as the German newspaper – The German Link – provide a good overview of the landscape of German institutions. Many of the institutions such as the embassy and the churches are concerned with the welfare of the migrants, for which reason I conducted interviews with staff at the Embassy, at the German Welfare Centre and the German Protestant Church. They all highlighted areas in which migrants struggle, and tended to have an idea of past or present changes that were relevant. I decided to completely exclude certain spaces. While the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) was established early in the 20th Century by Germans in the UK (see chapter 3), I did not attend any social gatherings there, as the YMCA was predominantly oriented towards German pensioners as well as young au-pairs. The Goethe-Institut, the German cultural institution, also had a monthly gathering which I did not attend, as it was targeted to learners of the German language and therefore did not appeal to young German migrants. The Goethe-Institut also did not offer any other spaces of relevance to my research. Not only does it cater mainly towards those who are learning German as a foreign language (mainly German language courses), but those services of interest to the German people living abroad, e.g. the library which contains current German newspapers and magazines, come with limited accessibility for the working population: the library is open Monday to Friday, 9am-5pm, and is therefore practically never used by most working Germans. Furthermore, they hold no specific information or services for those Germans who are new in the country. The German school was also not

included, due to two main points. One of these was the nature of the research focusing on young people without children. When attending two events (both in winter 2008/2009) at the German school to see the social space this constituted, it emerged that it is indeed a very closed social space for pupils and their families. Secondly, the German school is the one space that is already well-represented in the literature on Germans in the UK (cf. Meier 2009, Moore 2005 and Zuhl 2009).

1.3.2. *Participant Observation in German Spaces*

As highlighted above, the German Forum was very useful in order to find organised German spaces. The Forum has a section entitled 'Meetings and events[5]', where monthly or weekly meetings as well as one-off events are advertised. This provided a starting point for me, from which I then decided which spaces to further pursue. As my research was focusing on a certain group of migrants – roughly between 20 and 40, without children – I strategically tried to pick the spaces where the presence of them would be higher, in order to find participants for my individual interviews, as well as to be able to answer my research questions on organised social spaces. Hence, I did not attend any school events, mother-toddler groups or other groups specifically aimed at families with children. However, none of the spaces I attended had an 'exclusive' usage by 'my' migrants, nor did I only speak to young highly-skilled migrants; I did not want to exclude the input of other people from my research, as I felt that through their input I might find things that would help me confirm whether certain issues were limited to the group I was researching. Also, it simply was not always practicable to establish whether they were part of my group before talking to them.

There are not many exclusively German physical spaces in London which are used socially by German migrants. The one social and physical space frequently used is a German pub in Vauxhall, South London called the Zeitgeist. This is where a monthly meeting, the Saturday Get Togethers, take place. I first attended this meeting in spring 2009 and then, in summer 2009, I also took a temporary job in the German pub to get a feel for what the place, and space, is like apart from the Saturdays when German meetings take place. While this was not a long period of employment (about two months), it did provide some useful background information. I also started attending other monthly gatherings, such as the Wednesday Get Together (in Central London,

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[5] 'Treffen und Events' - http://www.deutsche-in-london.net/forum/forum/11-treffen-und-events/

near Piccadilly), as well as the church service in Knightsbridge. All this allowed me to get a feeling for the events going on, and to understand the dynamics of the meetings to a certain extent before starting fieldwork in earnest in autumn 2009. Based on this, I then decided which meetings to attend additionally. In addition to the 'Get Togethers', where everybody is welcome, every first Saturday and third Wednesday of each month, I then also started attending smaller, more 'specialised' meetings – e.g. meetings of those living in West-London (WLT), meetings by students and academics in the UK ('Academics Anonymous'), I went hiking a few times, and also started going to weekly After-Work Drinks (AWD), which take place every Thursday evening in East Central London (around Tower Bridge). Besides these, there were so many events going on from hiking, lunch breaks together, picnics, concerts, dinners, 'girls-over-28-years' meeting, au pairs meeting, geographical groups pairing off (based upon geographical distinctions in both Germany as well as the UK), that often I mainly picked on the basis of convenience and group fit – it would not have made much sense for me to attend the 'girls-over-28-years' meetings[6], or the East London residents meetings. Instead, I aimed to build a consistency in the meetings I attended, to be able to build certain observations over time. By no means, though, are my findings representative of all Germans in the UK – or at least, if they are, I cannot claim them as such.

I also attended the services and church socials of the German Protestant Church in West London. As I discuss in chapter 3, German churches in the UK have a long-standing tradition of being used in order to 'preserve' ethnicity; quite apart from that, they have a very long-standing history in England. Also, I expected a different mix of people – which turned out to be right. Very broadly speaking, the church was one of the only spaces where different generations of migrants meet.

Originally I wanted to conduct key interviews with providers of social spaces, this in many cases turned out not to be possible – many spaces for the 'young' are somewhat 'self-organised' through the Forum, so that a person to speak to is not always apparent. If it happened, it was more of an informal chat with a person who was organising, or partially organising, such a space. An example here would be the AWD – even though location and time would be posted in advance by a member on the Forum board, this did

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[6] While I certainly could have gone to this meeting, I did not feel comfortable lying about my age, nor would I have felt comfortable overstepping the explicitly marked boundaries of exclusion (which it appears were clearly doing their job). The tone in both the forum and meetings towards what were perceived as non-fitting individuals could turn quite sour, something I was keen to avoid.

not mean that that person was officially responsible, or had a great plan as to which purpose the AWD should serve; it just so happened that they knew a bar that they thought would accommodate the group well. An exception here was the churches, again: I spoke to both the pastor (one of two sharing a post at the church) as well as the pastoral assistant who organised youth work and the 'young adults' activities in the church.

Apart from these 'organised' social spaces, I also attempted to attend as many 'non-organised', or not officially organised spaces as possible – meeting up with Germans who did not usually attend German meetings, going to parties, going to see Germany play the World Cup in various locations around London, going hiking and on days out of London, going along to events with other Germans, and generally 'hanging out'. In total, the balance strived for between organised and non-organised social spaces worked out well: excluding my work in the German pub at the beginning of the fieldwork, I attended only slightly more events in the organised spaces (ca. 50-55 in total) than in the non-organised (45-50 in total):

Unorganised Social Spaces   Organised Social Spaces

Parties, coffee, sports, trips out of London, Football World Cup 2010 (45)		Church (ca. 15-20): Services Socials: Friday meetings, service socials (coffee afterwards), lunches, afternoon activities	Forum (35) After Work Drinks (10) Wednesday Get Togethers (7) Saturday Get Togethers (8) 'Anonymous Academics' (6) Hiking (2) Meetings of West-Londoners (2)

1.3.3. Interviews

The ethnographic work included individual interviews. Here, the distinction Deborah Thien makes (2009) between formal and informal interviews is useful. Like her, I had informal interviews (without a tape recorder, sometimes not going through all questions, as the setting was more informal or focused more on one aspect) and formal interviews (with a list of topics to talk about, and a voice recorder)[7]. Out of a total of 39 interviews, 20 interviewees had been recruited through other people and generally speaking did not spend much time in officially organised German spaces; while the other half of

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[7] Appendix A gives an overview of the date of interview, whether it was formal or informal, and other key data.

respondents were recruited at German socialising events or through the Forum itself. The distribution of interviewees can be seen in the figure below in terms of their 'recruitment social space', i.e. where I first met them. However, them being in a German social space when I first met them does not express anything about how regularly they attended these spaces.
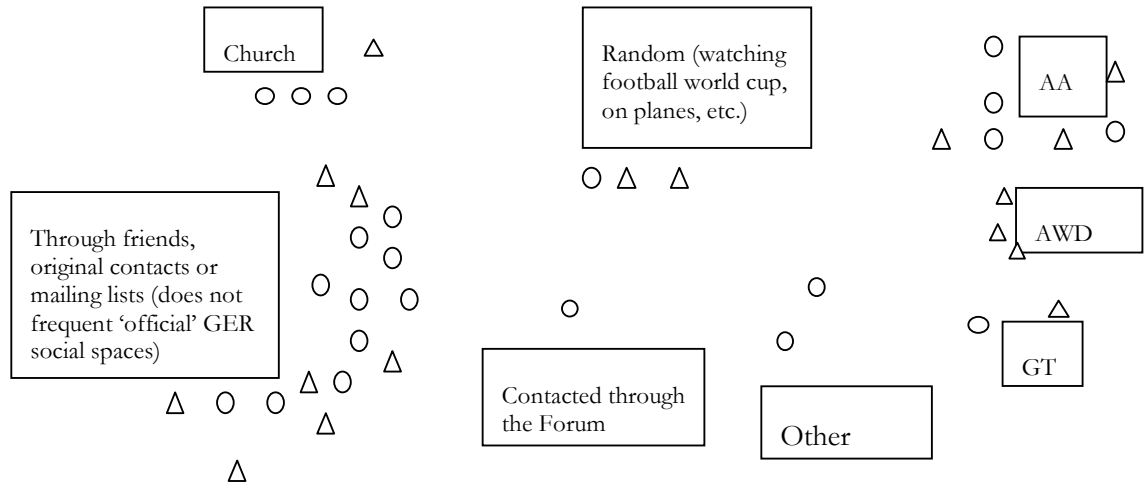
Figure 1: Depiction of where interviewees were originally met.

△ depicts a male, and ○ a female respondent. AA stands for 'Anonymous Academics', GT for 'Get Together'.

Another important factor in the selection and recruitment of interview participants was a wish on my behalf to ensure that a perspective outside London was included. I therefore tried to ensure that at least some of my participants were living or had lived outside London. I succeeded in achieving this by particularly asking people who had lived outside London whether they would be willing to participate. In some cases, I also specifically targeted people living outside London on the Forum by sending them a message describing my research and asking them to participate. As a result, I managed to obtain 17 interviews with people who lived or had lived outside London.

In total, only four of my respondents were originally from the former GDR[8] (some of these born in the last years of the GDR), which mirrors the statistical trend that within Germany, people living in the former GDR are less likely to migrate internationally (Ette and Sauer 2007: 35[9]). In terms of the relevance of this to the study, sentiment between Germans from the formerly two different countries can occasionally still be

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[8] East Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia.
[9] Whether this is due to strong outmigration after 1990 to the West of Germany, and a subsequent onwards migration, which might not have been statistically picked up, remains unclear though.

difficult; some feelings of division and mutual non-understanding remain (e.g. Armbruster and Meinhof 2002; Meinhof and Galasinski 2005; Stevenson and Theobald 2000; Thomaneck and Niven 2001). This might have had a small influence in particular regarding chapter 7, "Fragmented Social Spaces"; however, as my sample was too small to fully take this into account, and the topic of remaining divisions highly complex, this was considered an acceptable caveat.

Informed consent was obtained before the interview, pointing out that interviews would be transcribed but anonymised. Pseudonyms were picked by myself. Formal interviews were recorded but if participants requested I turn the tape recorder off for a certain section, this was done. The interviews were transcripted in German, and translated for the PhD. In the PhD itself, the English version is used. All formal interview quotations are marked with an endnote, the German original transcription for them can be in Appendix B, together with the transcription conventions used. Most of the work took place in the evenings and on weekends, as apart from a few, my respondents were all working. In the summer of 2010 my research picked up considerably, as I was finished with my teaching assignments for the year, and not only had more time to spend on research, but the added incentive of wanting to finish before October 2010, when teaching started again.

All interviewees had obtained tertiary education. In some cases, interviewees had taken a step back in their careers in order to live and work in London or the UK, yet these cases were not too frequent. Also, all of these interviewees went back to their original careers after a certain time in the UK (see also chapter 4). Almost half of my participants (16) had spent a substantial part of that tertiary education in the UK (undergraduate, Masters degree or PhD, and in one case A-levels). For 17, moving to the UK was the first major move, national or international. 17 of my participants were men, 22 women. The youngest participants were in their early to mid-20s, with the oldest just over 40. Interviews took place mostly in public places such as cafés and occasionally parks, with a few taking place in private homes, where usually the environment was quieter, making the recording and transcription process easier[10].

As pointed out above, the study was quite London-centric with regard to the social spaces I attended, unlike the interviews. Most of the organised social events took place in London – the Get Togethers, the AWD, the meetings of the 'Anonymous

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[10] Some transcriptions were carried out by a transcription service, due to time constraints.

Academics', the church services. Within London, my interviews were relatively evenly distributed. My participants lived in all parts of London. While it could be argued that the 'London bias' distorts the data, I argue the reverse: it reflects the distribution of social activity in the organised social spaces with its heavy focus on London. Based on observations and readings from the Forum, organised social spaces in other cities outside London are relatively sparse and informal, and thus might have been difficult to access as an outsider not living in the city[11]. Similarly, attending the church service in Reading, where anecdotally only few people attend, most of whom are 'war brides' (see chapter 3), would not have fitted the research questions.

1.3.4. Positionality

While my being a migrant certainly informed my research to a certain extent, e.g. when thinking about what questions to ask participants, I did not want the research to be auto-ethnographic. I used my positionality to inform my research; it also enabled me to participate in the German spaces. I was to a certain extent an 'insider'. Namely, as a young researcher in my early 20s, having lived in the UK since 2004 enabled me to have some ideas as to what migrants might find difficult. In no way did my experiences always mirror my participants' though. I had come to the UK as an undergraduate student, and was thus in a very different position, especially in comparison to migrants who had just arrived in the country. Even though my positionality was therefore not always the same as that of my participants, the multitude of migrant experiences I encountered during my research led me to the conclusion that the classical insider-outsider classifications might be misleading, and that the real situations were more complex (Ganga and Scott 2006). The question seemed to be less about whether one was a complete insider or outsider, and more about the experiences that I could find in common with my participants, and usually this would be quite a few. However, my field research experiences also mirrored those of Ganga and Scott (2006) who point out that while a shared ethno-national background generally helps with qualitative research, the smaller differences between 'researcher' and 'researched' become more exposed to both sides. They term this "diversity in proximity", meaning that "as insiders we are better able to recognise both the ties that bind us and the social fissures that divide us" (2006:

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[11] From anecdotal evidence it was clear that there were organised social spaces outisde London; however, their size varied drastically, with an apparently more vibrant scene in cities in the South-East of the UK, where, traditionally, more Germans live.

3). Hence, the length of time I had spent in the UK, the region of origin from Germany as well as my education history and age were all used to place me by my participants, with differing results, depending on the positionality of the party trying to place me.

My research and ethnography were influenced by several factors of my positionality, certain aspects of which I want to highlight in order to contextualise my data and the following account. My positionality certainly alerted me to certain aspects over others. To start with, my field was in an ambiguous position that was neither home nor away, at least in the beginning of my fieldwork in autumn 2009. Having gone to university in the UK, London did not represent a completely clean slate for me – in fact, instead of being only my field to me, it was at the same time also a place where many of my friends lived, while also being the place where I earned money to help fund my studies until January 2010, and from where I set off to teach at university in Falmer. It was not quite home yet but, at the same time, it was far from removed from my previous life, meaning I had obligations beyond the field. Having certain commitments to keep towards friends and a partner, as well as researching several groups, meant that unlike the people in the organised social spaces, who would often meet up frequently as a group, I did not participate in activities as often as they, thereby possibly not gaining the depth that could have been obtained by focusing on one group only. Also I would often leave before the events finished – I usually did not stay past the last local train or tube (00:30), as my fieldwork or paid work would often continue early in the morning. For example, fieldwork on a Saturday night would usually be followed by fieldwork in the church on Sunday mornings. During autumn 2009, my research on Thursday nights at the AWD was followed by a train south to Brighton at about 6am the next morning. Also, I found my ability to observe and remember deteriorated rapidly after a certain point, compromising the quality of my data. Based upon my previous readings in anthropology, where a 'total immersion' is seen as much more common, I often felt guilty for not immersing myself enough – even though I certainly obtained enough data, I still worried that it was not enough, that I had somehow failed to be a 'real' researcher.

From the beginning, my time was split between conducting fieldwork and teaching. After the first two exhausting months of partially commuting, yet trying to do research while worrying about the rate at which research – often in bars, pubs, cafés – was draining my funds, it struck me how few accounts of ethnography mention the struggles of self-funded researchers. Being self-funded for the first few months certainly impacted

my ability to partake in some activities my participants took part in regularly, seemingly without thinking twice. For example, the social gatherings in the pub would often involve food being bought, while plans were being made to go out on Friday and possibly Saturday night as well. It also certainly reinforced a positionality of me as a young researcher as opposed to my participants, who in most cases were well-established in their jobs, and emphasised the positionalities of migrants within the city to me. Again, similar to Scott's experience (Ganga and Scott 2006), this highlighted starkly the power differences between the researched and myself. In some instances, such as the 'Anonymous Academics' meetings, this power imbalance was much less pronounced, as several other doctoral students would attend, who were in a similar financial position. The AWD by comparison usually involved a group of young well-earning professionals who did not seem troubled by either the high prices or the frequency of going out. The most extreme case I can remember is one of my participants inviting me and two other people onto the London Eye during an AWD, at a cost of roughly £100 pounds in total, because he thought the city would look nice from the top at night, and we were close to it geographically at the time. While of course I cannot be sure that they did not privately struggle with financial worries, this did enable me to guess at what the city was to them, and what for them made it a good place to live (see chapter 6), as well as emphasising the diversity among the migrants.

Power differentials also came to play in the interviews; as I was often quite a bit younger than my participants, I sometimes felt shy to push them on certain topics. Generally, the interview dynamic – even though participants were a lot easier to find than I had expected – was quite strongly influenced by the fact that I often felt 'guilty' for taking up their time while not being able to offer much in return.

Another issue that was interesting to note was the issue of trust. Trust in the literature is quite often implicitly assumed, or not defined any further; it is assumed that conducting ethnography, and getting to know your participants, will lead to 'trust'. This, I think, is much more tricky than presented. What kind of trust will be established? That you are who you say you are? That you will not use the material differently than they intended? Also, it is assumed to be a one-way street in many writings: that you have to get your participants to trust you. But what about the researcher trusting the participants? I found this very hard to do – after all, you have only just met them, and I am a private person. As a result, I was often profoundly uneasy, particularly as quite often the situation was a

reciprocal exchange of information: I could ask people for information on their migration etc., but in return I had to return the favour. While occasionally making me uncomfortable, this also served as a reminder to me that migration decisions are highly personal, an aspect which it is easy to forget when migrants are encountered as case studies in texts. The nature in which the information was asked of me also served to highlight the quality of the space. As I discuss in chapter 7, the spaces were often very judgemental. I noticed this for instance when I was criticised for not bringing my boyfriend to events, or reprimanded for occasionally avoiding alcohol.

I would like to be able to say that after fieldwork I still continued to meet up with people; that as I did not really leave the field site physically, and both me and my participants were still around in the same city, we met up often and frequently. After all, other ethnographers often write about staying in contact with their participants, missing them, going back for visits, becoming friends. I had the idea that I might do this, that I could stay in touch with them, and we would remain friends in a similar fashion to how the relationships had panned out during fieldwork. However, for me, it did not quite work out this way. Fieldwork left me feeling drained, yet at the same time, my 'old' life – my friends in London, work, my scholarship group – caught up with me, using my free time. As I was no longer available during the week, time became a scarcer resource, making meeting up more difficult. Withdrawing from the field by becoming less available and no longer attending events was also important to me, as I struggled after fieldwork with distinguishing between myself as a migrant – occasionally judging their behaviours – and myself as a researcher, objectively looking at the data I had collected, or at least trying to do so, thereby highlighting one of the challenges of 'insider' research. Despite 'leaving the field' this way – by withdrawing - does not mean I no longer know what any of my participants are doing. I keep in touch with quite a few of them, but on a sporadic basis, not in a regular fashion. This post-fieldwork 'break' also highlighted the different friendships that are formed in the diverse social spaces. Few people seemed to think it particularly strange to only be in touch sporadically, with most comfortable with a fairly occasional friendship.

Over the last twenty pages I have introduced the aims and scope of this research, as well as the methodology used. Before turning to the collected data and its interpretation, I now review the relevant literature.

2. 'MIDDLING TRANSNATIONALISM': EUROSTARS, LIFESTYLE MIGRATION AND TRANSNATIONAL URBANISM.

2.1. Introduction

The overall aim of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical frameworks, concepts and key literature that appear throughout this thesis. The overarching conceptual framework, as introduced in chapter 1, is that of 'middling transnationalism'. An introduction to this key concept will therefore set the chapter off. Within the 'middling transnationalism' framework, I discuss three areas of literature: starting with research done on German migrants, both within the EU and worldwide, followed by qualitative studies of migration within the EU, and finally research done explicitly under the heading of 'lifestyle migration'. Across all these areas, common issues can be found that seem to be central to the experience of being a middle-class migrant, irrespective of age, occupation or area of residence. However, some gaps within and weaknesses of the research and literature also emerge. This is specifically the case in the areas of transnationalism, the age group studied, and geographical split on where studies took place (rural locations for lifestyle migrations, urban locations for the majority of the other research, with the exception of Boenisch-Brednich 2002), and extending the research beyond white spaces and migrants. I suggest that in order to add to this literature in a meaningful way, 'transnational urbanism' (Conradson and Latham 2005a; Smith 2001, 2005; Rogers 2005) is a useful conceptual framework, exactly because there is a strong focus on urban areas, the transnationalism practiced by migrants, and young professional migrants. 'Transnational urbanism' also has a strong focus on middling transnationalism (Rogers 2005).

When reviewing literature concerning intra-EU migration, I focus on general research based in the EU-15[12], rather than including research conducted on migration involving citizens of the A8[13] countries. The main reason for this decision lies in the fact that, although now subject to the same legal rights to free movement, migration still appears

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[12] The 15 countries which were members of the EU before 2004, i.e. Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the UK.
[13] A8 refers to the eight Central and Eastern European countries which joined the EU in 2004, namely the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. They are considered as A8 separate from the other two joining countries, Cyprus and Malta, due to the fears of mass migration from these eight countries.

to be a slightly different experience for migrants from these two different parts of the EU. Favell and Nebe (2009), for example, suggest, based upon research in the five countries of Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Spain, that there is a higher visibility of A8 migrants relative to EU-15 migrants, which is not least due to hostile press coverage and a fear of the new migrants in those countries. Based upon this, discrimination – whether perceived or real – also plays a large factor in marking out Eastern European migrants. Also, migration reasons differ - for many A8-migrants, migration is still largely economically motivated. Furthermore, migration is often circular and oriented towards a return to the home country for these reasons. While circular migration among EU-15 migrants certainly also occurs, there is a qualitative difference, as Favell and Nebe argue. Among the A8, rather than being down to the migrants' own choice alone:

> [circular mobility] appears driven by the short term exploitation in the West of this labour force, reinforced by formal and informal barriers to settlement that persist and the sense it will be better for all if they do not stay in the long run (2009: 222)

Their positionality within the EU country they migrate to is therefore very different from the relatively more privileged EU-15 migrants. This can be exemplified by a comparison between the research done by Ryan et al. (2009) on Polish migrants to London and the Germans in the UK I spoke to. Ryan et al. discuss the experiences of Polish migrants arriving in London without knowledge of where to stay, or knowledge of the language. This is substantially different to all the Germans I spoke to, who were generally very clear as to where to stay in the beginning of their migration, and had a good to very good knowledge of English, if not always a job offer. Contributing to the different positionality within migration streams is also the very different migration history throughout the 20th century (e.g. Burrell 2006, 2009). For these reasons, the literature on A8 migration is not systematically reviewed here.

Secondly, I also chose literature which focuses on the migrants themselves, rather than people around the migrants[14]. Accordingly, the research discussed here is qualitative and in-depth, rather than numerical overviews. As student mobility has not been included in the main part of my research it is excluded here as well. Within the section on retirement migration I focus again on the migration happening largely within the EU,

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[14] There is very interesting research e.g. on migration and family relations and transnational care by Baldassar (2007a, b), however, here the focus is both on migrants and their home-country family, which is a different story altogether. While the research is highly relevant, here, it is not the focus, and hence will not be included in the literature review.

for practical reasons; hence the research by Howard on retirement migration to Thailand (2008, 2009), or retirement migration from the USA to Mexico (Sunil et al. 2007) will be omitted too.

2.2. Middling Transnationalism

'Middling transnationalism' is the most appropriate overarching framework for my study. It is a relatively recent addition to the migration literature, based upon the idea that the migration literature to date had been focusing too much on the extremes of migration, the "high-flying corporate elites and desperate, poverty-stricken labour migrants and asylum-seekers" (Favell, Feldblum and Smith 2006: 2). Conradson and Latham (2005a) argue that this in no way reflects the current reality of migration:

> What is striking about many of the people involved in these kinds of transnational travels is their middling status position in their country of origin. They are often, but not always, well educated. They may come from wealthy families, but more often than not they appear to be simply middle class. In terms of the societies they come from and those they are travelling to, they are very much of the middle. But the fact is that surprisingly little is known about these kinds of migrants (2005a: 229).

Conradson and Latham (2005a) attribute this rather extreme divide in studies of transnationalism to the historical emergence of transnationalism from an American context, where this divide can historically be found. In order to gain insights into this under-researched phenomenon, they used the framework of transnational urbanism to study middling transnationalism.

Transnational urbanism as a concept was coined by Michael Peter Smith (2001; 2005). As a result of some geographers' tendency to see migrants as agency-less pawns in the hands of capitalism (Smith 2005: 236), he developed the framework of transnational urbanism to give space to the agency of migrants in the construction and development of transnational spaces. By definition, transnational urbanism focuses strongly on the transnational context of migrations, but despite its name, not only on urban centres – the idea behind this concept is to use 'transnational urbanism' as a metaphor as it:

> captures a sense of the wide range of possibilities for social change that we usually associate with urban life, even though some of the particular changes discussed in this book are taking place … in the countryside … , as well as in urban centres throughout the world. … 'Transnational urbanism' is thus a cultural rather than a strictly geographic metaphor. I use the term as a marker of the criss-crossing transnational circuits of communication and cross-cutting local, translocal, and transnational

> social practices that 'come together' in particular places at particular times and enter into the contested politics of place-making, the social construction of power differentials, and the making of individual, group, national, and transnational identities, and their corresponding fields of difference. (Smith 2001: 5)

Conradson and Latham (2005a) used the concept due to its attention to the everyday lives of migrants, as well as its recognition of the importance of both structure and agency as co-determining one another in order to study the under-researched 'middling migrants'. Middling transnationalism can be defined as focusing on:

> … the transnational practices of social actors occupying more or less middle class or status positions in the national class structures of their countries of origin, like skilled workers or working holiday-makers who spend extended periods abroad living transnational everyday lives (Smith 2005: 242)[15].

Instead of focusing on the middle class position by itself, Favell et al. (2006) focus more strongly on the highly skilled as a group, but match the call to direct attention towards the agency of the migrants, calling this the 'human face' of global mobility. They ask for research on the skilled and educated, including "students, nurses, mid-level and clerical employees, ambitious or adventurous upwardly mobile middle-classes, migrants from a range of intermediate developing states, and many more it would be hard to describe as 'elites'" (2006: 2).

Elaine Ho follows this route of enquiry, using 'middling transnationalism', with its focus on the migrants' everyday life, to shed light on the experience of being a young professional Singaporean transmigrant in London (2011a, b). Under the umbrella of middling transnationalism, it is possible to study various aspects of the migrants' experiences; Ho, for example, studies the adaptation to the host society and the implications of this for the concept of cosmopolitanism (2011b), as well as the strategies employed by Singaporeans in order to obtain different kinds of visa to prolong their stay in the UK (2011a). The focus on political aspects of the migration process show the diverse approaches that middling transnationalism can be used for. The differentiated way in which Ho looks at the migrants' stories shows the potential which the framework holds for new contributions to migration research. It also shows the breadth of topics that can be covered under the label of middling transnationalism.

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[15] This is one interpretation that Smith uses of 'transnationalism of the middle'. The other concept refers to the inclusion of social actors positioned between migrants and the state, such as "social movements, advocacy networks, business networks, religious organisations and, increasingly, criminal and terrorist networks" (Rogers 2005: 403), but will not be used in this thesis.

Further on in this chapter, I use this opportunity to place my own emphasis upon transnational urbanism containing elements of emotional geographies.

Strüver (2005) points out that middling transnationalism is neither (necessarily) concerned with 'elite' transnationalism, nor does it fit into the often used category of 'transnationalism from below' as suggested by Smith and Guarnizo (1998) – it is just *ordinary* trans-nationalism (2005: 325-326). As Scott argues, this is particularly relevant within Europe, where more migrants are middle class rather than high-flying managers or cleaners/irregular workers (2006: 1107). This statement reinforces the relevance of the concept to my thesis. Several researchers also confirm the appropriateness of this concept for research on German migrants. Mau and Mewe (2010) note that mobility and transnationalism are essentially a middle-class phenomenon (the more education, the more transnational connections). Hence, the concept of middling transnationalism is suitable for my research.

The migration research introduced in the following overview can be interpreted as being on 'middling transnationalism', even if it falls into this category implicitly rather than positioning itself thus[16].

2.2.1.   *Germans Abroad: Worldwide and Intra-EU Migrations*

In this section I consider the literature on contemporary German migrants living abroad[17], first in countries other than the UK, then specifically Germans in the UK. In total, the literature is very limited, with some more literature on Germans in countries outside the UK. There, research has focused in particular on German migrants to New Zealand (Boenisch-Brednich 2002; Buergelt et al. 2008; Schubert-MacArthur 2009; Schellenberger 2011) and Australia (Berchem 2011; Buergelt et al. 2008), to Singapore (Meier 2009) and Indonesia (Fechter 2007), as well as a small amount of work on Germans in Namibia (Armbruster 2008, 2010).

The work on New Zealand and Australia encompasses only a small amount specifically on recent German migration, due to the long timeframe adopted: the two most

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[16] Here, I follow both Favell et al. (2006), as well as Kennedy (2010) and Smith (2001, 2005) by seeing 'middle class' migrants as migrants with a learned skill, acquired through tertiary education (either apprenticeship or studying). Implicitly, therefore, the vast majority of research presented below falls into this category. Where this is not the case, I point it out.

[17] Migrants who left Germany in the last 20 years.

substantial pieces of research in this area[18] study German migration to their respective countries of destination from the late 18th century (Berchem 2011), or from the Second World War onwards (Boenisch-Brednich 2002).

Within this timeframe of 60 years, and with a life-story and oral history perspective, Boenisch-Brednich in particular highlights the change of migration patterns over time, as well as the changes in self-definition by the migrants. She explores the reasons for migration, and their changes over time, arguing that recent (in the 1990s) migration to New Zealand by Germans is nowadays often motivated by a search for a certain lifestyle. Buergelt et al. too suggest that in particular, a search for adventure is becoming a common reason of migration to New Zealand (2008). At the same time, the migration to New Zealand is not seen as a permanent relocation by the younger emigrants, but more as one move that might be followed by others. An open-endedness in migration is characteristic here and is confirmed by Schubert-McArthur's study (2009). Also, a central point for the more recent migrants is the close connection through communications and flights to Germany, something which allows them to sit 'between' cultures. As she writes, particularly for the 'young urban migrants' (those between 26 and 36) migration is seen as something reversible, as a simple exercise of 'moving house' (Boenisch-Brednich 2002: 200; see also Schubert-McArthur 2009: 183). Despite both researchers' assurance that communications and visits are more frequent, it is also obvious that due to the distance between New Zealand and Germany, money and time are important factors in the frequency of visits (2002: 207)[19]. Due to the current points system in New Zealand, which was introduced in the 1990s, together with the long distances and relatively expensive plane tickets, it is clear from Boenisch-Brednich's account that most of the recent German migrants in New Zealand fall into the category of middle-class migrants who can afford these migrations.

In comparison to this theme of changing migrations over time, Berchem explores the theme of sitting 'between' two cultures at great length (2011). Throughout his book he explores the ways in which German migants in Australia are situated between cultures,

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[18] Further research on Germans in Australia exists; however, the vast majority of it studies historic migration of Germans to Australia and does not include any current migration (for references, se Zuhl 2009: 22). For this reason, it is not included here. An exception is Buchanan (2007); however, her work is so specific that it is not discussed here but taken up later on in chapter 6 in more detail.

[19] Boenisch-Brednich (2002) also mentioned 'commuting migrants' who spend substantial amounts of time during a year in both New Zealand and Germany. Schellenberger (2011) studies these 'commuters' in depth. However, as a very specific structural situation needs to be given, such as having a place to live in both countries where 'slotting in' is easily done and a job that allows for these changes of location (Boenisch-Brednich 2002: 210) I have excluded these migrants from the literature review.

trying to maintain ties with both, and the practices which result from this, such as an adapted Christmas, an 'additional' Christmas in summer, when the weather is colder, or celebrations and rituals at key events throughout the year like Easter which, combines elements of both German and Australian culture. As the author does not really differentiate in most of his writing between the different migrant streams which now make up the contemporary German population of Sydney, it is hard to draw any particular points from this for young German migrants, or any particular changes over time.

Unlike Berchem, Armbruster does study the changes in migration over time, as well as the interactions between different German emigrants in her study of Germans in Namibia (2008, 2010). History, and the associated changes to migration, provides important background information for the migrants, which they draw on to situate themselves with respect to other migrants as well as the political and social situation in Namibia as a whole. History here is, unlike in Berchem (2011), not done for the sake of recounting it, but in order to bring light to a fascinating social situation. Due to the very different circumstances of emigration – with some German migrants having left Germany for Namibia straight after the second world war, and some much more recently – together with the changing history of Namibia such as post-colonialist changes, make for very different attitudes amongst German migrants in Namibia. Armbruster studies the resulting tensions, as well as highlighting the similarities between both groups in everyday lives and post-colonial encounters. The German migrants, it appears, have very limited interaction with the local non-German society; and what little interaction there is, is structured by power dimensions infused with racial prejudice and colonial ideas by the Germans.

Similarly limited interactions between German migrants and the host society can be found in both Fechter's account of 'expats' in Indonesia (2007) and Meier's work on financial managers in Singapore (2009). All three studies take place in highly unequal societies, which therefore set the context for the encounters. The two accounts by Fechter and Meier, by comparison, do not include a historical perspective; instead, both focus on current movements and the specific local outcomes of globalised flows of people. Fechter, who includes German migrants as part of her study of Euro-American migrants in Indonesia, analyses the pervasiveness of boundaries in a supposedly borderless migration stream, and the interactions between flows and restrictions. The

boundaries not only govern interactions with local residents but influence everyday movement patterns through the city, as well as other everyday practices, such as eating.

Meier (2009) studies the local emplacement that takes place in a globalised environment. He compares white, male German financial managers in London and Singapore, the highly globalised environment they operate in, and how they embed themselves in the local cityscapes in their everyday lives: how the distinctness of the city makes the managers adapt their everyday behaviour, how it influences their attitude towards it, their feelings. By comparing the same group in two different locations, the role of the place and its distinctness on the migrants can be brought to the foreground. History plays a role in the way the cities are seen by the managers, and the way they are perceived by others, in this way somewhat confirming Smith's (2005) idea that history plays an important part in transnational urbanism. Yet for the financial managers, it is history mostly in the sense of the history of work which plays a role: for example, the admiration some of the bankers expressed at being able to work in London, the perceived historical capital of banking in Europe.

Two more works focused on different aspects of the lives of expatriate city workers come from Moore (2005) and Zuhl (2009). Moore's work is very strongly focused upon cultures of work in transnational coorperations. However, she also discusses the lives of the German expatriate workers in London and, in particular, the sense of community. Despite being repeatedly told that there was no community, she found that as everybody knew everybody else among the bank's employees living in Richmond, a community existed – but one based upon lose connections rather than being focused strongly on institutionalised contexts (Moore 2005: 49). Zuhl also studied Germans in the Richmond/Petersham area of London, where many ethnic businesses and institutions such as the German school and two German churches are located. Despite the fact that other researchers (namely Kettenacker 1996) have claimed that a German community exists in that area, Zuhl finds that there is indeed no understanding among the Germans of a community in that area. This is all the more surprising, as part of her study was a self-administered questionnaire which was distributed through businesses and services catering to German migrants, such as a German bakery and a German gardener. The image that emerges from these two researchers then is one of a reluctant community; a community that is in fact one through networks, shared spaces and experiences, yet which is not frequently openly acknowledged.

It is clear from this short overview that there is indeed very limited literature especially on recent German migration to the UK. This literature deals with the same group of migrants, living in Richmond, or working in the banking sector as a while male (Meier 2009); it is also exclusively focused on London, with a large role played by the City.

Beyond this homogeneity in the UK the studies on German migrants explore a variety of migrations – from self-exploration (Boenisch-Brednich 2002) and adventure (Armbruster 2008, 2010; Buergelt et al. 2008; Schubert-McArthur 2009) to employer-induced mobility and 'trailing spouses' (Fechter 2007; Moore 2005, 2008; Zuhl 2009). There are also widely different approaches, from historical approaches to comparative studies to investigstions of everyday life and community. Despite this diversity, the common factor is that the recent German migrants studied can all be considered to be middle-class; even though Armbruster (2008, 2010) points out that the Germans living in Namibia might be better off in Namibia than in Germany. However, they still all have excellent educational, cultural and economic resources to aid their migration.

Throughout the studies cited the age group that I focus on has either not been part of the researched group (Moore 2005; Zuhl 2009), has been part of the researched group but with no specific insights into this groups' migration gathered (Berchem 2011; Armbruster 2008, 2010), or has received limited attention (Fechter 2007; Meier 2009). From both the latter accounts it is obvious that in comparison to the focus on family migration supported by (usually the husband's) company, migration takes on different forms: the young migrants tended to live in slightly different places and socialise differently, with motives skewed more towards the 'adventure' end of the scale. Fechter (2007) for example highlights the difference between 'family expatriates' and younger foreigners in Indonesia in the eagerness with which young highly-skilled professionals embark on their time abroad, as opposed to 'family expatriates' who see the time spent abroad as something which has to be done in order for the husband's career to advance (2007: 127-128).

The focus on expatriates overall in this literature could possibly partially explain the somewhat limited discussion around independently migrating women. Fechter (2007), Zuhl (2009) and Moore (2005, 2008) discuss women migrating, in particular in the context of 'trailing spouses', due to the nature of the migrations studied which are often driven by the male 'breadwinner' being placed abroad by his company. Berchem (2011) and Meier (2009) mention very little on either family or women migrating.

Boenisch-Brednich here provides an exception in her discussion of how, over the course of the last 60 years, women have emerged as independent migrants to New Zealand; she embeds this in the historic achievements of the women's movement in the 20th century (2002). Gender is discussed more as a concept; for example both Fechter (2007) and Armbruster (2008, 2010) provide extremely insightful analyses of the way in which in Indonesia and Namibia power and gender intersect for the migrants to create very specific positionalities for the migrating women. This silence on independent women migrants and gender in situations *not* dominated by vast power inequalities in the host society seems to suggest that gender no longer matters in these migrations. This aspect in particular will be taken up in chapter 5.

As I have shown overall the literature on young German professional migrants abroad is rather scant and limited in scope; I now turn to literature on intra-EU migrations.

2.2.2.   *'Eurostars' and Other Intra-EU Migrants*

Despite the importance of free movement for the EU in general (cf. Recchi and Favell 2009; Favell 2008), there is surprisingly little literature on mobile EU citizens[20]. Favell's book on 'Eurostars and Eurocities' (2008) made a start on this, yet does not seem to have initiated a new era of research on EU-Migration[21]. The literature review therefore focuses on a few authors, namely Favell (2006, 2008), Scott (2004, 2006, 2007), Kennedy (2009, 2010), as well as considering points of overlap with the already introduced Meier (2009), Moore (2005) and Zuhl (2009). The research ranges from considering the migration more generally (Favell 2008, 2006; Scott 2004, 2006, 2007) to more specific studies on cosmopolitanism (Kennedy 2009) or the importance of place for German bankers in London (Meier 2009).

Favell (2006; 2008) set out to discover why so few people within Europe migrate, considering that freedom of movement is one of the four essential pillars of European integration. He introduces the so-called 'Eurostars' – 'new Europeans', 'West Europeans' who migrated, the 'pioneers of European integration' (2008: x), EU-15

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[20] Then again, as Favell points out, there is surprisingly little movement or few migrants to study, as only about 2% of EU citizens live outside their country of birth.

[21] There is the work to which 'Eurostars and Eurocities' was the qualitative companion – the PIONEUR-study, which can be seen in published form e.g. in Recchi and Favell (2009). As this research was largely quantitative, I do not discuss this latter book in detail.

citizens who live outside their country of origin in a European city[22]. They display "temporary, often highly mobile modes of living across borders" (2008: x-xi). What, he asks, can we learn from their experience about moving within the EU? For him, understanding their experiences is vital, as they are "ideal types, exceptions to the rule, one-off cases illustrating individual mechanisms that might someday aggregate into a trend, a pattern, even a structure – a Europe that is changing, perhaps" (2008: xi). Favell (2008) strongly questions the discourse of 'rational' migrants, and introduces the idea that in many cases, migration within the EU happens for reasons such as a compromise between two different nations within international couples, or to search for something different, to embark on an adventure. This fits Braun and Arsene's later research including a group of 'Eurostars' who, according to the researchers, are "characterized by individualistic motives and migration strategies, beyond formal recruitment and chain migration" (2009: 50) Paradoxically, it is the fact that there are not too many intra-EU migrants which makes migration attractive for the 'Eurostars' – allowing them to feel 'special' and adventurous, and describe themselves as seeking out the different life than the one that would have followed the traditional lifecourse in their home region.

Despite the adventurous reason they set out with, and a certain amount of idealism regarding the EU and free movement, the migrants eventually encounter the still strong national identity and bureaucracy in their host country. There is a discrepancy for the migrants between the discourse of free movement and internationality on the one hand, and on the other the very national context in which their lives are embedded. The 'global cities' are in fact not quite so global as one would like to think; national systems can still be hard to understand, e.g. health care, child care, schooling. According to Favell, 'Eurostars' seem to feel more European than national identities, yet still need to integrate into national social systems such as healthcare, pensions, the housing market and schooling for children. As Favell's focus lies very much on middle-class migrants,

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[22] Despite the name appearing in the book title and throughout, he does not explicitly define 'Eurostars' as a term any more than this – nor does there seem to be a timeframe, number of moves, or anything that he considers critical for inclusion under this label. The only combining feature of the Eurostars in the book seems to be that they are West Europeans who have moved from their country of origin, and are currently living in Brussels, Amsterdam or London. The migrants seem to have been in their then-places of living for various amounts of time, or even undisclosed amounts of time, after having lived, or not, in different locations. Some have children, some do not. The age bracket of interviewees ranges from 20s through to the 60s (2008: 232-235). A somewhat more stringent definition has been used by Braun and Arsene (2009) who classify a group of migrants as 'Eurostars' based upon their age (28 at the time of migration, on average), and the fact that they "seem to embody the ideal type of Favell's (2008) study of European free-moving professionals" (2009: 50).

rather than financially privileged migrants, his respondents certainly notice it when things are run differently: if you have enough money, you can for example 'go private' with healthcare, and thus buy yourself out of the national system where you reside, making your points of friction less frequent. Favell shows exactly those points of friction, such as discontent with the health and pension system, living space and culture. He also points out the positive sides to EU migration though, such as the feeling of liberation often experienced by migrants upon moving from a possibly rather provincial region of origin to a liberal city (cf. Favell 2006: 255, 260; 2008: ix). This freedom plays out not least in the freedom of not having to decide where to go next, when to leave, how to continue life, but simply by taking opportunities one at a time. According to Favell a 'sojourner mobility' can be quite prevalent (2006: 268-270). While Favell's work is a good introduction, the variety of migrants, cities, and different life trajectories makes it hard to see patterns, or attribute certain developments.

In contrast to Favell, Kennedy focused on just one city (Manchester) where he interviewed 61 skilled EU migrants from 13 EU countries. He particularly focused on reasons for migration as well as challenges for migrants once in the new country, highlighting the role of cosmopolitanism within both these processes. As he points out, cosmopolitanism – or sometimes even 'banal cosmopolitanism', an unreflective perception of stimuli promising global connections and possibilities to the individual (2009: 24) – can both lead to migration, but also be shaped by migration. Yet this is not always an easy process for the migrants, despite the cultural resources migrants possess (2009: 25). Again, Kennedy focuses very closely on everyday challenges. By comparing different nationalities in their settlement a very diverse picture emerges, different to the 'Eurocities' studied by Favell. The focus lies more on the individual migrants and their personal challenges and transformations, rather than on European processes. Kennedy's research is particularly useful as he points out the enduring importance of economic motives in an unequal EU (Kennedy 2010), and the importance of self-transformation after such an economic migration, which can lead to further migration. Mobility thus creates more mobility. Recchi (2006) points to the logical conclusion of this; if mobility creates more mobility, and mobility leads to the accumulation of both cultural and economic capital potentially, then there is a possibility that within the EU social divides could occur between 'stayers' and 'movers' (2006: 76). In this statement Recchi paints a very black and white picture of people

either constantly moving or always staying put. The possibility of more complex mobility decisions, such as a major move, followed by a move back and a settlement in the region of origin or a different city, is not given enough space here. This is particularly significant as for some of the Germans I spoke to this was certainly an option, and occurred relatively frequently.

Scott (2004; 2006; 2007) introduces and provides an overview of British migrants in Paris and the Ile-de-France region. He aims to address the lack of recognition of the diversity and complexity among the skilled migrant communities in world cities. This diversification is due to a 'normalisation' of migration for middle-class people as he argues:

> skilled international migration, although still practiced by a relatively small number of people, has nonetheless become a 'normal' middle-class activity rather than something exclusively confined to an economic elite (2006: 1105).

According to Scott this normality is reflected in the diversity of migrants of one nationality in one location. Upon studying the British in the Ile-de-France region, Scott distinguishes between six different classes of migrants according to occupation, age and lifestyle: two types of 'Professional British Families' (one with young children, one with grown-up children who have left home), 'Young British Professionals' who have often been sent over to Paris for a temporary job, 'Graduate Lifestyle Migrants' who came to Paris to enjoy a certain lifestyle, with career progression being of secondary concern; 'Bohemians' who have settled in Paris, also mainly for the lifestyle (especially the cultural part); and finally 'Mixed-Relationship Migrants' who have settled down with a French partner and largely disappeared from the British 'scene' (Scott 2006: 1112). The boundaries between the different categories can be subtle and unclear, though, and this is something which Scott does not discuss. Also the distinctions are further blurred by the fact that he applies different criteria for the different groups[23], with no acknowledgement of the movement between those categories.

Despite these shortcomings Scott's research is a good overview of different middle-class mobilities within one national group, and provides a good framework for other EU migrants in large cities. For example, from available literature on Germans in the UK Scott's differentiation appears to match very well others' differentiation; Meier (2009) also distinguishes between German migrants living in the Richmond area with their

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[23] From mode of migration through to age or lifestyle.

families, in order to be close to the German school, and younger professionals who live closer to the city centre. As Scott points out, the people around the international schools are much more visible than for example the migrants who have entered into an international relationship. Again, this seems to be confirmed by research on Germans in the UK where most of the research done has focused on these relatively easily accessible migrants – Moore (2005) and Zuhl (2009) completely, and Meier's (2009) study was half focused on these migrants. While Scott points out other groups such as the Graduates, the Young Professionals or the Bohemians, he does not offer much of an in-depth discussion of their migration decisions or behaviour.

A highly relevant point raised by Scott, and not mentioned in other literature on EU migration, has to do with the impact of the diversification of migration on a lessening of participation in national migrant community activities. The reason this has not been picked up in other research seems straightforward: Meier, Moore and Zuhl largely focused on the part of German activities taking place within the German community, thereby not challenging the community as a valid entity in itself. Favell and Kennedy, by studying different nationalities, had less interest in finding out more details about the different national community groups, and hence did not focus on changes taking place. Scott (2007) offers the perspective that participation in British community activities in Paris, such as charities and voluntary organisations, is dwindling due to the different socialisation of different migrants. He states, for example, that younger migrants are more likely to find acquaintances and friends through the workplace, meeting new people at the British pubs throughout the city, or going to more informal, irregular events, such as a 'poetry slam' (2007: 656). This stands in contrast to expatriates with families, who tend to socialise through British associations and clubs. The dwindling numbers have apparently been felt acutely by the clubs. Scott offers mainly a perspective from the inside of the clubs, rather than discussing in more depth the reason(s) that younger migrants might have for not attending.

 The Germans I spoke to were situated outside what could be called the 'organised community' centred around the German school, and in about half of the interviews they were situated outside organised German spaces (see chapter 1). This means they are able to offer a different perspective on the non-participation by young professional migrants in these groups. Another striking difference, possibly linked to an explanation of the limited uptake among Germans compared to among the British in France, lies in

the sheer numbers. Scott apparently found in excess of 100 British clubs and institutions in the Ile-de-Seine region (Scott 2006), highlighting the importance of context and history of the migration concerned for the current situation.

Generally research on intra-EU migration has highlighted certain important points for middle class professional migrants. For one thing, a picture emerges of young European migrants as enthusiastic Europeans; a picture of the self as 'cosmopolitan' (Kennedy 2009) or 'European' (Favell 2008) seems to dominate. Integration, socialising and friendships seem to be very important topics that surface frequently. Also, the diversity and intermingling of multiple motives for migration is beginning to come out very clearly. While Scott does not seem to see this intermingling as clearly as others, Kennedy highlights it when stating that both motives and people change; as does Favell, when pointing to the multiple reasons leading to Eurostars changing cities or staying put.

With the background of my research on Germans in the UK the lack of a detailed discussion of transnational, or translocal, activities in the research reviewed above is striking. For my participants, and people I spoke to at events and during activities, contact with friends and family in Germany, such as visits, phone calls and emails or other electronic communication, was vital. Not only were the actual events of importance, but the emotional implications of the contacts – feelings of being judged, missing out, sharing nice memories, experiences and spaces – played a large role in the migrants' lives. In light of this importance, the lack of a discussion of transnationalism in the research mentioned above constitutes a major oversight.

2.2.3.   Lifestyle Migration

More research on intra-European middle-class migration can be found under the heading of 'lifestyle migration'. This umbrella term is a very recent addition to migration literature, and has been defined by Benson and O'Reilly as including:

> … relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that for various reasons signify, for the migrant, a better quality of life. Ethnographic accounts especially have revealed a narrative of escape permeating migrants' accounts of the decision to migrate, further emphasised by their negative presentations of life before migration (2009: 609).

The authors view this migration as a "project, rather than an act" (2009: 610). The concept of lifestyle migration is necessarily a very subjective and individual one, involving a lot of comparison by the migrants of their regions of origin and destination (2009: 610-611). This act of comparing means that the migration is actually not the sudden or complete break with the former life that migrants often seem to seek (2009: 618). This approach fits closely the idea of a different mobility mentioned in the introduction. Even though under the heading of 'lifestyle migration' so far, mainly migrants over the age of 40 have been considered[24], I still consider some points from this new strand of literature.

One of the central points that all lifestyle migration research so far has in common is an emphasis on the diversity of mobility, and a challenging of the boundaries between migration, mobility and tourism. This started with Karen O'Reilly's work on British people living in the Costa del Sol (1995a, b; 2000a, b). With her data from more than a year of ethnographic study, she challenged the binary of migrant/non-migrant by pointing to the differential mobilities behind people living in the Costa del Sol, grouping them into five mobility categories based upon length of time spent in Spain and return visits to Britain. All these differently mobile people, though, have attachments to Spain and invest in their lives there, thereby challenging the previous differentiated understandings between tourists, migrants and mobile people.

The blurring of boundaries with tourism is confirmed by other research done in this sector, such as by King et al. (2000), who studied retired British migrants in Spain, Malta, Portugal and Italy. They also point to the differential mobility, such as migrants spending summer months away from regions that are too hot in the summer, or spending only the winter months in the climatically milder region. Gustafson (2008) also studies this differential mobility and its implications for meanings of 'home', specifically taking the case of Swedes in Spain. Research done on Germans in the Mediterranean also confirms these findings (Breuer 2004, 2005; Kaiser and Friedrich 2004), in terms of a large range of time spent in the 'migration destination', from year-round to three months, as does research on international retirement migrants in Spain, e.g. from Switzerland and France (Huber and O'Reilly 2004). The different mobilities therefore exist across different nationalities, with cheaper flights certainly having an impact here upon the mobility.

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[24] For exceptions, see Korpela (2009), O'Reilly (2000a, b), and Trundle (2009).

The blurring between tourism and migration comes into play not only in the length of stay, and varying mobilities, but also in two other factors: first, the 'finding' of a retirement home or location while on holiday and, secondly, a strong orientation towards leisure by the migrants. In contrast to these common factors with tourism, though, generally it seems as if the lifestyle migrants take great care to differentiate themselves from tourists, by positioning themselves as more 'local' (Waldren 1997).

The migrants which are the subject of the studies just cited have several shared characteristics. They harbour a strong emotional investment and expectations towards their new life. This is strongly represented in discourses of escape, frequently found in accounts of lifestyle migration. The escape can be from adverse weather, from a society that the migrants no longer find to their liking and, often in the case of retireed migrants, from a perception of ageing and old people in their society of origin (see especially Oliver 2007, but also Benson 2011). Others cite the need or wish to escape from potentially adverse living conditions, e.g. living in areas of cities not safe for children (Benson and O'Reilly 2009; O'Reilly 2000a). The discourses of escape do not usually stand alone; frequently they are backed up by a counter-positioning of the life left behind with the new life, with the new life seeming to have more advantages. However there is a discrepancy between public and private discourses about the new life after migration, with negative views of the new life not talked about publicly. O'Reilly (in Huber and O'Reilly 2004) describes the way in which migrants would open up in private about their doubts, rather than in public (see also O'Reilly 2000a; 2000b).

Together with a strong emotional investment a certain naivety – often connected to the emotional investments, the hopes and dreams of the migrants – emerges. Some relatively spontaneous migration decisions are described (Benson 2011; Oliver 2007; O'Reilly 2000a). Linguistic skills for the new host society are, across the board, reported to be a problem for the majority of migrants, with only few exceptions[25]. The naivety of migrants is further represented in the in-depth accounts in the reductionist ways in which migrants see their host societies. For example, researchers have pointed out that especially in some areas of the Mediterranean, such as the Canary Islands, migrants from poorer regions frequently work in the tourist industries, with refugees

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[25] This situation is limited to the lifestyle migration literature– none of the previously introduced literature on intra-EU migration mentioned linguistic problems. In fact, this is mentioned as a problem mainly in literature on Central and Eastern European migrations (see Gill and Bialski 2011; Moores and Metykova 2010), and even here only affects a few migrants, with generally rapid improvements in their language skills reported.

from Africa also present. Yet the migrants studied do not display knowledge of these other migrants in the local spaces. Secondly, several of the researchers have pointed to the fact that migrants seem to confuse their positionality with the positionality in the region of destination in general. For example, Benson (2011) points to the fact that migrants who move to the rural countryside in France are rarely aware of the fact that while for them, this move is a choice, local residents might not be in a position to move, but might literally be stuck in the area. O'Reilly (2000a) goes as far as pointing out that, by integrating, the British would become acquainted with everyday life to the extent that they would have to give up their illusion of constant holiday, thereby highlighting the different positionalities that are conflated by the migrants. Generally in rural areas, migrants seem to be less moving to an actual location, but rather to an imaginary place. Hoggart and Buller (1993; Buller and Hoggart 1994) were the first ones to write about this hunt for a 'rural idyll'; the idea being that it is easier (and cheaper) for British people to find, and buy, their 'rural idyll' in France than in Britain. This is a topic which is taken up, in a lot of detail, by Benson (2009, 2010, 2011).

 The lack of linguistic skills also contributes to a certain non-integration into the host society; as a result, researchers have found a strong tendency of migrants to further their interests and social contacts in societies with their co-nationals, or other internationals. This tendency is particularly strong in Spain (O'Reilly 2000a; Oliver 2007). While there is some tension with regard to this, such as migrants wishing to integrate further and not spend all their time with co-nationals, the societies play very central roles in the social life of migrants at the new residence. Fewer nationality-based societies can be found among the British in the Lot (Benson 2011), and among Germans in the Mediterranean (Kaiser 2011). Benson (2011) describes the wish of her participants to integrate into French society and not spend much time with other British migrants as a result of a middle-class mentality of wishing to be different, with the result that ethnic associations are not seen as an acceptable way to lead a social life. While research on German migrants in the Mediterranean has hinted that Germans are less likely to be part of ethnic associations and societies, the quantitative nature of much of the work means that inferences on the reason of this are hard to make (cf. Kaiser 2011; see also Huber and O'Reilly 2004). As Huber also points towards a low ethnic-association participation rate among the Swiss in comparison to British counterparts, this could be a feature of German-speaking people (Huber and O'Reilly 2004).

As can be gathered from above, the universal definition of lifestyle migration so far has not broadened into a wide array of research. The caveat of it being 'relatively affluent individuals' seems to have translated into a focus upon migration mainly within the EU. Further to this economic caveat a number of implicit understandings and assumptions have also found their way into lifestyle migration.

Lifestyle migration has an overwhelming emphasis on rural areas. The exception here are some smaller urban congregations in which retirement migrants in Spain might live; yet even here, generally, the towns tend to be small (e.g. Oliver 2007; O'Reilly 2000a). While this might reflect the actual moves of migrants to rural areas over urban areas - there is for example a stronger movement of British to rural areas within France than to urban areas (Hoggart and Buller 1993; Buller and Hoggart 1994) - the bias of much research in the lifestyle migration section is not acknowledged, much less critically considered in its implication. From the research done by Scott, Kennedy, Favell, Meier, it should be clear that moving to a city can also be part of a lifestyle choice for younger migrants. Yet this research is apparently not taken into account by Benson and O'Reilly when they write about the potential of lifestyle migration (2009). This focus on rural areas therefore means that lifestyle migration as a concept is implicitly limiting its own study intake.

The implicit focus upon rural areas also contributes to a further weakness of lifestyle migration as a concept. As pointed out above, the authors depict migrants as having a fairly limited understanding of the host society. Yet, at the same time, while they critically point out the different positionality of migrants in comparison to local residents when it comes to gender stereotypes (Oliver 2007; O'Reilly 2000b) and living in the countryside (Benson 2011), they do not seem to notice the absence of non-middle class, non-white migrants. Considering that the focus on retirement migration lies very much on post-colonial societies - France, Spain, migrants from the UK - this is a rather large omission. The focus on rural areas exacerbates this tendency, as it can be assumed that small villages might have a smaller, or no, ethnic minority population. This oversight is thrown into sharp relief when considering German migrants in the UK, as I found that their reactions to a post-colonial society were often naive to an extent, and occasionally bordered on or crossed the boundary to racist. My own research reveals a very distinct understanding of multiculturalism and the 'international environment' that migrants were hoping to find in the multicultural city of London. Yet, other research on

urban areas does not necessarily avoid this pitfall – Scott (2006), for example, also adds no comment on this topic, even though his study on Paris should have at least been more likely to stumble upon multiculturalism, and different ethnic groups in a city. Favell (2008) is the only author to acknowledge diversity, possibly also as he focuses on more than one nationality. So far it seems as if in the vast majority of research on middle-class migration the 'host society' has been seen as one entity only, rather than as a multi-faceted, multi-dimensional construct.

From the above, then, it should be clear that while lifestyle migration can offer some interesting research ideas upon which to draw in order to make sense of my data, at the same time there are conceptual shortcomings that need to be taken into consideration. As I explain below, transnational urbanism as a framework offers me the potential to avoid these shortcomings.

2.2.4.   *Common Issues of Middle-Class Mobility in the EU*

Apart from these issues, which are relatively limited to lifestyle migration, there are other issues that include both lifestyle migration literature as well as the literature introduced earlier about European migration which are particularly relevant to my own research.

The two strands of literature show the diversification of migration, both in the sense of co-existing, multiple motives as well as the increasing diversity of mobility in terms of duration, visits and length of stay. In the literature on middle-class migration within the EU, career advancement as a reason to migrate or change location temporarily is no longer seen as the sole or even predominant reason to move. This is most obvious in lifestyle migration literature, and especially among retirement migration. However, among Favell's Eurostars (2006, 2008) we can also find the wish to escape a provincial region of origin; and among Scott's British in France, we can find people moving to Paris to enjoy the city, rather than to only advance their career (Scott 2006, 2007). The search for an 'adventure' can also be found in the justifications of Scott's and Favell's participants. Kennedy (2010) highlights the blurring of boundaries and motives by pointing out that even though one particular reason could have triggered the initial decision to migrate, other reasons can come into play further into the migration project, leading to a multitude of factors which can be valid at any given time. The idea that migration is a project, not an act (Benson and O'Reilly 2009) therefore gains

prominence and focuses our attention on the changes occurring during and after migration. Similarly, the actual mobility - visiting back home, having visitors, how long to stay - is also becoming more diverse (O'Reilly 2000a), with moves beyond the migrant/non-migrant binary.

 A certain indeterminacy of migration length is also becoming visible, together with a tendency to quick decision making. First of all, there seems to be a speeding up of the decision making process. Quite frequently migrants in the various destinations would point out that they had 'fallen in love' with an area – be it Paris (Scott), the Lot (Benson) or Spain. This point is particularly interesting in relation to Germans in the UK as at the different meetings, as well as in the online Forum, 'having fallen in love with a city' was usually derided as a reason to move to the UK. Particularly from the perspective of the expectations new migrants have of their new life, this lack of preparation seems highly relevant. Lack of preparation could lead to many disappointed expectations, as was frequently the case for Germans coming to live in the UK. After the act of moving, migration appears to be an open-ended process in middle-class Europe – timescales do not have to be decided upon in advance, but can be decided as the migrant goes along, and finds their way in a new city. Scott and Favell both strongly point to this phenomenon of migrants almost 'coasting along', seeing how long to stay for on an ad hoc basis. This can be coupled with short-term decisions about moves elsewhere or returns to the country of origin. Returns to the country of origin can also be short-term, such as for a few weeks or months at a time, and also occur in lifestyle migration. While a return for good is often not really seen as an option – migration is supposed to be 'forever' (see for example Benson 2011; Oliver 2007; O'Reilly 2000a) – seasonal return seems quite frequent. Return, too, can be fast: Oliver, O'Reilly and Benson as well as Favell all point out that return (or onward mobility) can happen very quickly. Within the lifestyle migration literature it is pointed out that return is almost a 'taboo' subject, which explains the suddenness of moves if they are not talked about in advance, while among the Eurostars moving somewhere different, new, exciting and challenging is seen almost as part of the game. Migration within the EU as conceptualised by Scott and Favell seems to thrive on this open-endedness, and does not seem to mind onward or backward migration too much. Fluidity of migration can therefore be seen as both negative or positive depending upon the individual migrant and circumstances; moral weighting and ambivalence as well as the search for new

adventures all play a role. Yet very little is known here about how migrants consider these options in everyday life.

In terms of integration, the two different areas of research focus on different aspects. The linguistic factor preventing integration is rarely mentioned in research by Favell, Kennedy or Scott ; here, cultural barriers are discussed more. Scott and Cartledge (2009) for instance point to the cultural barriers instead of the linguistic barriers, arguing that for migrants not in international couples, integration remains an elusive goal. Benson too suggests reasons beyond language capability for a lack of integration. Especially in the rural migrations, she writes, migrants do wish to integrate – but often find a linguistic barrier, coupled with a wish to not incorporate newcomers by the host society (Benson 2010: 56). The British and other nationalities in Spain also seem to struggle with integration into local society (cf. O'Reilly 2000a, b; Oliver 2007; King et al. 2000), often due to lack of knowledge of the local language. The lack of integration seems to be felt acutely by some migrants more than others, in particular where the migrants had initially imagined themselves as integrating into the host society well. This is particularly well-described by Benson (2010: 56) and highlights the importance of imagination on the subjective experiences of the migrants.

Interaction with co-nationals, or internationals (Oliver 2007; Scott 2004, 2006) is often much easier to achieve than integration into the host society. The research by Benson, O'Reilly and Oliver has been particularly insightful with regard to the social group dynamics in the host region, looking both at positive outcomes, such as the good and quick integration of newcomers into groups, social events and activities, as well as the negative outcomes, such as the censorship of unwanted opinions, fall-outs, and intra-group competition. It has to be pointed out that for all three authors the research took place in settings where migrants had extraordinary amounts of time on their hands; where this is not the case, interaction might look different. Scott and Favell for example both point more to the importance of work colleagues, rather than co-national or international clubs; and while socialising is mentioned by both authors, it does not achieve a similar importance as in lifestyle migration ethnographies. Scott (2007) also highlights the changing nature of migration with respect to community engagement. The British in Paris are becoming younger, he argues, and often without a family, so they centre their social activities around work friends met in bars and clubs in the centre, rather than activities in one of the numerous British clubs in Paris that often

appeal more to the British middle-class families with a trailing spouse. Hence, the clubs are struggling to recruit volunteers, even to keep running; while other forms of socialisation by the younger migrants are springing up around Paris, such as poetry readings, or the aforementioned meetings in pubs and bars. The co-national clubs and organisations thus might also represent age groups as well as available leisure time.

As intimated, social relations are hugely important to most migrants. Friendships with the local population are hard to form; many migrants do not move beyond the stage of acquaintances with nationals. Differing cultural understandings of friendship, though, are hardly mentioned at all, apart from Favell (2006: 269), who points to the gendered and cultured nature of friendships nurtured by French women in London – such as the fact that most of their very close friends tend to be other French females. However, he does not attribute this to different cultural understandings, but rather mentions it in passing. Another important factor mentioned about friendships is the fact that the above-mentioned fluidity of mobility can seriously compromise people's friendships – as they are never sure whether friends are going to suddenly up and leave (cf. O'Reilly 2000a, b; Oliver, 2007). The impacts of mobility upon the personal lives of migrants are becoming more obvious. In the light of these insecurities and the importance of friendships and social networks it is particularly surprising that not more attention is given to transnational friendships.

Most authors simply mention transnationalism in passing. When 'transnational connections' are mentioned, the discussions that follow are usually relatively short and quite technical, referring mainly to the actuality of visits(how often, who) as well as some short descriptions of the emotions involved, yet no discussion over how central this really is. For example, O'Reilly points out that for several British migrants in Spain, long visits by extended family and friends can be quite stressful (2000a); Benson (2011) also points to the ambivalence of visits to Britain. It is also pointed out by O'Reilly and Benson that people in their sample really miss somebody (grandchildren, family, friends) and O'Reilly goes so far as to look at the gender dimensions behind this (O'Reilly 2000b). However this ambivalence around visits and connections to friends and family back home is not discussed in further detail. A possible explanation for this lack of discussion could lie in the fact that, unlike other European migrants, retirement and lifestyle migrants present their decision as having made the choice to migrate for good, rather than feeling that they will return to their home country in the future. Both

Benson and O'Reilly, for example, make the point that even though return to the country of origin (Britain) happens, it is not talked about. In fact, people who move back are rarely mentioned, and in Spain even seem to 'disappear' from one day to the next (O'Reilly, 2000a), while in France, they are only mentioned as a counter-example (Benson, 2011). This lack of attention to transnationalism in lifestyle migration is matched by an equal disregard for transnationalism in the more general literature on European migrants mentioned above. In the case of 'other' EU migrants, as presented by Scott and Favell, the idea that migration is 'forever' does not really hold; yet, even they mention transnationalism as something 'normal', something to be completely taken for granted – as if it hardly seems worth commenting on. In fact, it is given such short thrift that when Scott (2006) talks about the different 'transnational behaviours' of the six groups of middle-class migrants in Paris, he only refers to transnationalism as meaning involvement in the British community. Not once in the article, which supposedly discusses part of the 'second-wave transnationalism research', are connections home to Britain mentioned, such as phone calls to friends, or visits by friends. This is a particularly strange omission, as other in-depth migration research has made it clear that transnationalist connections are very much central to migrants and their families (cf. example Horst 2006; Parrenas 2005; Baldassar 2007a, b) – the argument that maybe it is not quite so important for the migrants therefore seems unlikely.

Thus far I have pointed out the various shortcomings of literature on middle-class migration within the EU. In the following section I introduce transnational urbanism as a concept that can help overcome these shortcomings largely by focusing on transnationalism, everyday practices and urban areas. While this is not yet a large area of literature, the focus on the everyday, the mundane and the small-scale can help add a new dimension to lifestyle migration. As it has a geographical core, I believe it also offers a counterpoint to the so far very strongly sociological focus on middle-class EU migration.

2.3. Transnational Urbanism

I have already introduced the idea of 'middling transnationalism'. Here, I want to focus further on the concept of transnational urbanism and how this can aid me in my research.

Specifically the concept will be helpful by highlighting the importance of place, space and connections, not least in relation to urban spaces. By focusing on migrants' agency and subjectivities it allows a very differentiated view of the migration process, not least as despite the agency, the wider context in which migrants are positioned is still taken into consideration, making it an ideal choice to consider the everyday lives of migrants and the constraints that act upon them. After a brief theoretical introduction, I therefore introduce research that uses transnational urbanism in order to highlight the practical uses this can have. In the practical exemplification, another advantage of transnational urbanism becomes apparent: it allows for the incorporation of further concepts, such as emotional geographies and affect, as I subsequently demonstrate

M. P. Smith's framework was originally designed with a focus on urban geography and globalisation. Despite this, the concept is easily adaptable to a more exclusive focus on migration studies. It is not yet terribly widespread, but the idea seems promising. Conradson and Latham (2005a), editors of the special edition of the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, point out that it is the focus upon the "mundane and situated efforts by which people make their lives across international borders" (2005a: 227) which makes this framework so exciting. Instead of focusing only on mobility, or emplacement, the idea is to study both at the same time, thereby allowing researchers to show both the "everyday practices and geographical emplacement" (2005a: 227) as well as transnationalism, notably the everyday practices involved in bridging distance to friends and family in other locations.

Other elements of the approach are also attractive. For example, both Rogers (2005: 405) and Smith (2005: 240) see great potential in transnational urbanism to open up the researchers' view to reasons for differential mobility – and to answer the long-standing question of "Why are some people and places more transnational than others …?" (Rogers 2005: 405). By fixing the researchers' attention not only on migration, but also on the differential access to and influences on transnationalism for different subjects, and the differential impact that this can have, the historical context is emphasised (Smith 2005: 238). Power differentials are also highlighted. Migrants are very much perceived as situated and emplaced, yet still holding their own agency. While these larger questions are asked, then, the greater focus on the mundane becomes both possible as well as desirable (Rogers 2005: 406), meaning that there is "a bifocal lens which brings into view 'ordinary people' and at the same time frames them within

'contested historical and geographical contexts' as 'socially and spatially situated subjects'" (Yeoh 2005: 409, on Smith 2005). There is therefore a simultaneous look at the wider structures, as well as the implications this has for the everyday lives, the routines and rhythms, of migrants.

One piece of empirical research to introduce in more detail is that by Conradson and Latham (2005b, 2005c, 2007) on New Zealanders in the UK. The reason to pick this out is the focus upon young people, their relatively open-ended migration (within visa restrictions), and the lifestyle character: wanting to move somewhere else because it offers better opportunities for a certain way of life for a few years. Here, then, is a combination of transnational urbanism as a framework, used for what could be termed a 'lifestyle migration', to show the possible benefits of such an approach to my research of young(ish) German migrants.

Through their research with 30 young professionals from New Zealand living in the UK, and their focus on everyday practices, Conradson and Latham are able to give an impression of their migration. Due to the focus on migration as part of the life cycle by taking into consideration the culture of mobility in New Zealand, the view is open by the researchers for the framing of the experiences within this culturally mediated mobility. The culturally mediated mobility is framed by the researchers as part of the transnational urbanism, in that friendship networks of New Zealanders already in the UK act as information hubs, as well as activity hubs once in the UK. With an attention to everyday life, the importance of friendship networks for the migration project of New Zealanders comes out strongly (2005b), as well as the way the different cultures collide during everyday activities, for example during the usage of public transport.

The expectation of London as an exciting destination is also pointed out, in what Conradson and Latham term the 'affective possibilities' of London (2007). The expectation of a certain life while in the UK clearly influences New Zealanders' choice of destination; this expectation of London as an exciting city goes in fact quite strongly in the direction of a lifestyle migration. As opposed to most lifestyle migrations as depicted by Benson (2011) and O'Reilly (2000a) though, it is clear to most New Zealand professionals whom the researchers spoke to that, eventually, they will return to their home country. Yet within this temporally bounded migration project, the migrants hope for a journey of personal self-discovery and maturation (Conradson and Latham 2005b). The ethnographic research, and the amount of importance placed on

details and subjective experiences by the migrants, makes this a fascinating read, showing the potential of the approach of transnational urbanism.

Other research in this area has focused on working holiday makers in Australia (Clarke 2005), Singaporean and British migration to China (Yeoh and Willis 2005), financial elites in New York (Beaverstock 2005), and Turkish migrants in Germany (Ehrkamp 2005), amongst others. What all these authors emphasise, despite their disparate topics, is the centring around places and connectivity, the translocal connections and the everyday. On a much smaller scale Strüver (2005) focuses on everyday border crossings by Dutch people living in Germany. Again the connections between two locations in the everyday and the mundane are emphasised. Here a certain shift towards the translocal can be detected, as Smith himself writes:

> [through] local, translocal, and transnational social practices that 'come together' in particular places at particular times and enter into the contested politics of place-making, the social construction of power differentials, and the making of individual, group, national, and transnational identities, and their corresponding fields of difference. (Smith 2001: 5)

2.4.   Embedding Emotional Geographies

Smith sees transnational practices as central to transnational urbanism (2001: 5); as a result, there is a strong focus on "positioned subjects, occupying multiple social locations", and the conflicts and tensions that this can cause in people (2001: 6). Conradson and Mckay (2007: 168) argue that mobility can have significant effects on the migrants themselves. Within transnational urbanism there is the possibility to draw out these possibly conflicted subjective experiences of migrants and their everyday experiences. As a result, the attention to detail and migrants' depictions of their everyday life draws a fascinating picture. The possibility to concentrate on the migrants' emotions and subjectivities is partially done by a focus on embodiment (Conradson and Mckay 2007: 168), and partially a focus on affect and emotions (Conradson and Latham 2005c). As Ho (2011a) writes, "by valorising the emplaced corporealities of movement, these studies underscore the continued significance of place and locality while eschewing narratives of a frictionless world" (2011a: 118). This is particularly relevant within the supposedly 'frictionless' mobility space of the EU. This is done by:

> careful qualitative studies of the everyday resources and strategies through which 'middling' transnational actors create and maintain networks of association both transnationally and within the cities in which they currently are living (Smith 2005: 242).

Emotions not only matter in terms of how migrants cope with being a transnational migrant but they can also have a significant impact on the initial migration, as in the case of New Zealanders moving to London. Their migration might as much have been caused by curiosity, a view of travelling and being a migrant as a culturally acceptable form of being, and the affective lure of London as a global cosmopolitan city. This affective side of the attraction of London to young New Zealanders has been highlighted by Conradson and Latham (2007); part of the attraction of London lies in how it was perceived as an exciting, energetic space.

It is exactly these everyday experiences of being a migrant that I want to present in my own work. The questions relate very much to the ones posed by Conradson and Mckay when they ask:

> How do we achieve physical co-presence at important social occasions such as weddings, births and funerals, when they are spread across disparate locations? And how might we manage the complex economies of obligation and guilt that accompany attendance or non-attendance at such events? Negotiating such quandaries is central to the performance of translocal subjectivities (2007: 168-169).

In order to capture these experiences I decided to embed emotional geographies within the transnational urbanism framework. In emotional geographies, the focus lies upon:

> … [a] common concern with the spatiality and temporality of emotions, with the way they coalesce around and within certain places. … An emotional geography, then, attempts to understand emotion – experientially and conceptually – in terms of its socio-spatial mediation and articulation rather than as entirely interiorised subjective mental states (Bondi, Davidson and Smith 2005: 3).

I decided to include emotional geographies in my epistemological framework rather than a focus on affect, as I felt emotional geographies give more room to the words and articulations of emotions by participants. Generally, emotional geographies focus on people's conscious talking about emotions rather than unconscious movements and experiences, as done in studies of Non-Representational Theory (NRT) (e.g. McCormack 2003; Thrift 2004; or Nash 2000 for a critique of this). A lot of the work is based upon interviews and ethnographic work, and the research participants' own words

are often given considerable space. Yet it does not only focus on the individuals - a large portion of research deals with interpersonal and intersubjective encounters, as "placing emotions in the context of our always intersubjective relations offers more promise for politically relevant, emphatically human, geographies" (Thien 2005a: 450).

Within these intersubjective encounters and social situations a lot of attention is devoted to power structures and a thorough consideration of local circumstances is considered necessary. The explicit pointing out of this by researchers is a positioning against NRT and affect - due to the criticism received by purveyors of the NRT, such as Thrift and McCormack, that verbal expressions will never be enough to convey emotions. 'Affect' as used by NRT can be defined as:

> … unqualified intensity, implicated in the sensible materiality of corporeality, but in a way that opens up the actuality of experience to what Massumi, following Deleuze, calls the virtual. … The virtual dimension of affect is accounted for by the fact that much of what happens in a world of activities and relations happens before it is registered by conscious thought. (McCormack 2003: 495)

The person being affected might be aware of the affect, but it will not be in the form of reflexive consciousness. Hence, affect is commonly studied by watching, yet not granting the subject space to talk about their experiences. While not all interpretations of affect go to this extreme, an example would be McCormack (2003) describing his research about the pre-conscious, where talking about things afterwards is not seen to aid research (2003: 493).

While this can certainly lead to interesting results, I doubt it would be much help when trying to understand migrants' decision making, experiences and subjectivities. I can see the appeal of using it to describe the energy levels of a city, such as London as an 'exciting, energetic' city – yet beyond that, I decided not to use affect in this study. This approach was used by Conradson and Latham (2007) in their study of the affective possibilities which attract young professionals from New Zealand to London. As they write, there are "experiential attractions" (2007: 235) associated with London, which can be seen as "affective possibilities" – highlighting the "opportunities that certain places offer, or are perceived to offer, for new modes of feeling and being" (2007: 235). While they see affect as emerging from interactions and encounters between bodies and objects, which mean that:

> … upon arrival [of the migrants in London], and in daily life, there will

> be a myriad of new sights, sounds, smells, vocabularies and ways of doing things – not necessarily wholly unfamiliar, but often different nonetheless. At each moment of encounter with these new forms of urban life, but before an individual is necessarily able to explain what is happening or give it a name, affective responses … will be taking place (2007: 236).

Yet they also write that speech is what this gets translated into, what is accessible to the researcher:

> Affect thus emerges through engagement and interaction: it is an outcome of emplaced encounters. Human emotions then reflect our recognition and perceptions of affective states, the naming and narration of which always reflects particular cultural vocabularies (2007: 232).

Feminist emotional geographers enable me to point out the social restrictions and complex situations in which these expressions take place, due to the focus on social bodies, power relations and their impacts upon people (Nash 2000; Sharp 2009; Simonsen 2007).

Taking this social context in which experiences are articulated into consideration allows me to position the expressions of affect and emotions:

> … we prefer to think in terms of different people in different places being more or less successful in their attempts to convey emotional states using ordinary language … This means that it might be [more] pertinent to trace the unsayability of emotions in certain situations to the workings of local power relations, noting the greater or lesser influence of norms and expectations as bound up with which figures and institutions are effective locally. (Parr, Philo and Burns 2005: 98)

Milligan, Bingley and Gatrell (2005) draw upon Hepworth (1998) to make their distinction between two dimensions of human emotions: first, subjective experiences ('within' the individual), and secondly, socially prescribed expectations which originate 'outside' the individual (2005: 50), which shape how the subjective experiences are articulated (see also Hepworth 2005; Parr et al. 2005). To an extent this goes back to the sociologies of feeling and, in particular, Hochschild's 'Feeling Rules' (2003)[26]; a concept which does not appear at all in NRT, but is frequently referred to in feminist emotional geographies (cf. Bondi 2005; Hepworth 2005; Milligan et al. 2005). 'Emotional geographies' offers an interesting perspective here as by focusing on the

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[26] 'Feeling rules' can be defined as a set of social rules which "guide emotion work by establishing the sense of entitlement or obligation that governs emotional exchange" (Hochschild 2003: 56-57); they are seen as establishing whether emotions are seen as appropriate in a society or culture, and how people should behave emotionally (e.g. what emotional reaction is considered 'normal' following a certain event).

social context and positionality of actors, it provides a framework to study (non-)articulations of emotions, both in relation to individuals as well as social groups of people. For example, Milligan et al. (2005) studied the "ways in which public, familial and social spaces act to facilitate or inhibit the expression of emotion in later life" (2005: 49) by researching the effects of communal gardening on people aged over 65. Here, the focus rests both on the individual experiences of their participants, as well as the effect of shared spaces. Parr et al. (2005) focus on what they call the 'emotional terrain' of certain regions, which are marked by "widely shared beliefs about the inappropriateness of disruptive emotional display" (2005: 87); again focusing in part on social groups and the negotiation by individuals of this group behaviour.

This focus on social bodies means that the 'emotional geographies' approach very much fits into the framework of transnational urbanism, again with its focus on the details of everyday life, and the need to consider the positionalities of actors within varying contexts.

I believe that using 'emotions' allows me to use both people's representations, as well as taking into consideration the social and cultural context that surrounds people and influences which emotions are seen as appropriate in certain settings. Emotions will be particularly helpful when looking at representations – such as interviews, or chatting to people – which made up a large amount of my data collection. Also, I believe it is important to involve people's 'reflective' thoughts about emotions and events. In addition to this I will also occasionally use 'affect' to highlight specific interactions and encounters between people and the physical spaces they move through, as well as encounters between people. While the 'emotional geographies' and 'affect' will therefore not necessarily be right in the foreground of my conceptual analysis, they will be drawn out throughout the thesis in order to highlight the complex nature of a seemingly simple migration.

3. GERMAN MIGRATION TO THE UK: SETTING THE SCENE

> There exists hardly any period in Britain's history in which groups from the part of Europe covered by the present borders of Germany did not live within Britain. Whether as invaders, businessmen, employees, refugees, or residents within the British mainland for any other reason, they have nearly always been present. (Panayi 1996b: 1)

3.1. Introduction

The Germans who were my research participants can be contextualised as the latest phase in a long history of German migration to the UK, going back to the Middle Ages and earlier. The UK can be seen as a multilayered German migrant space, where various groups have arrived throughout history and left their mark. According to Panayi "definite continuities" exist in the various migration movements, from migration motivations to the reception by the British (1996a: ix). However, there are also certain breaks or upheavals in the migration patterns of Germans to the UK, and in the lives of migrants in the UK. Political shifts in both countries (e.g. wars and general diplomatic relations, religious persecution) and economic factors, such as differential industrial development or famines, played dominant roles here.

While the numbers available about German migration to the UK are not very accurate (and only go back to 1861), it is still possible to obtain a general overview of migration patterns over time. The historic background to the current migration is not only fascinating but it also provides the framework necessary in order to understand the current (non-)existence of German institutions in the UK, settlement patterns, and age structures of German immigrants. As Smith (2005) writes, historicising transnationalism is highly relevant:

> Attending to and specifying the historical context in which transnational practices take place is important methodologically for several reasons. First, it guards against a de-contextual ethnographic inscription of 'transnational communities' as timeless cultural wholes detached from the often contested historical and geographical contexts of their emergence. … [Secondly] It helps us to differentiate between what is new about contemporary transnationalism and earlier instances of transnational migration … (Smith 2005: 138)

In this chapter I therefore provide a survey of historic and current German migration to the UK, followed by an overview of changes to ethnic life and the reasons for this. Together they provide the background for the study to follow.

Panayi (1996b) sees migration to Britain as having distinct phases throughout time. According to him there are three phases in and before the Middle Ages (before the Anglo-Saxons, during the Anglo-Saxons, and during medieval times). From here onwards, the distinction is arranged by centuries; with the twentieth century seen as one phase (1996b: 1-2). This distinction is however so vague that large upheavals and changes in migration patterns are contained within one phase. For example the 20th century alone, seen as one phase by Panayi, saw two World Wars, and concomitant marked changes in the patterns of migration and the situation of Germans in the UK. As the phases proposed by Panayi are not particularly useful here, I present German migration to the UK in three different phases instead. As the 20th and 21st century are of most importance, they also receive most space here. I start with a brief overview of the middle ages to 1914 for the very broad background. 1914 posed such a significant turning point for German people living in the UK that it serves as the starting point for the section focusing on the war and inter-war years. As migration during and immediately following the Second World War differs in certain respects from that in the years to come, more recent migration up to the present day (following different patterns from post-World War II migration) also receives its own section. Migration to the UK, it is shown here, mirrors the general pattern of German emigration.

There are certain traits in the migration that are continuous over time, while there are also some striking temporal differences, especially occurring after the Second World War. They concern not least the ethnic 'clubbing together' of Germans, and the institutional landscape. As the institutions still play an important role for today's migrants the last section provides information on German institutions and services, and how these have changed over time. Taken together the overview presented here enables a contextualisation of the study population.

3.2. Early Days: From the German Hansa to the Early Twentieth Century

The beginning of German migration to the UK is unclear (Panayi 1996b: 2); however, by the 7th century AD there appeared to have been several rounds of German involvement both in invasions (e.g. German soldiers in the Roman army) and in

merchant activities. By the tenth century merchants were the most important group of German visitors to the UK. As trade grew, trade organisations and merchant communities were formed, such as the association of Cologne wine traders in the 12th century (Panayi 1996b: 2). The best known of these is the German Hanseatic Kontor (hereafter Hansa) in the UK, which was established in 1281 (Panayi 1996b: 3). It had branches in London, as well as other ports in the UK from the 14th century onwards. The Hansa brought with it mainly merchants; according to Esser (1996: 18), "around 1500 [AD] as many as eighty Hanseatic merchants were resident in the city [of London]". Other important migrant groups of that time included miners, who were hired by British mine owners for their special expertise (Esser 1996: 21), students, pilgrims, and soldiers (Panayi 1996b: 4). From the middle of the 16th century onwards they were joined by protestant refugees. This migration to Britain was in fact part of a wider pattern from all over Europe as protestants were escaping to England and specifically London (1996b: 4).

The situation for migrants in those days appears to have been very dependent upon the political climate at the time; as the merchants of the Hansa experienced when, in the late 16th century, political opinion turned against them and native merchants finally succeeded in their campaign against the Hansa (Esser 1996: 19; Panayi 1996b: 4)[27]. Its rights were revoked by Queen Elizabeth in 1598, extraditing the property owned by the merchants, and asking them to leave the country (Panayi 1996b: 4). However, the disbanding of the British Kontors of the Hansa did not mean an end to the settlement of German people in London and Britain. Property was returned to the merchants by Queen Elizabeth in 1605, and businessmen and sugar refiners formed the basis of a new German community (Panayi 1996b: 6).

In the 18th century migration levels from Germany increased. According to Panayi (1996c) this happened due to various factors. Unfavourable climatic conditions in parts of Germany led to famines and a lack of income for farmers. This was exacerbated by inheritance patterns that made emigration a viable option for many (1996c: 30). The above factors were reinforced by apparent overpopulation and heavy taxation. At the same time, England was seen as relatively prosperous due to the Industrial Revolution, and as a liberal country where it was desirable to live (1996c: 34). Not all of those who

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[27] Esser (1996) and Lloyd (1991) provide a detailed account of the difficulties faced by German merchants and civilians in the 16th century, when tensions over the Hansa were rising.

emigrated had England in mind though – but being literally on the way to America in those days, England received a fair share of 'transit migrants' whose aim was the USA, but who found a job in England during their transit period, or ran out of money for their onward journey (Panayi 1996c: 31). The push/pull factors named above would affect mainly the working classes; other occupations like musicians and scholars were encouraged in their migration by the ascension to the throne by the House of Hanover in 1714 (Panayi 1996c: 36-37).

Many of these factors were still important in the 19th century, namely large population growth rates and inheritance practices that negatively affected people's livelihoods (Panayi 1996d: 74). In terms of industrialisation, though, it was less the pull-factor of fast development in the UK, and more the destruction of the German cottage industry by the British competition, that Panayi sees as a driving force (1996d). Transit migration also retained an important role. Unlike the 18th century, a number of conflicts (e.g. the suppression of the Young Germany in the 1830s) as well as the suppression of the revolts of 1848 led to a number of refugees (Panayi 1996d: 77).

In terms of numbers, there are only very vague estimates of how many Germans lived in the UK from before 1861. Estimates might range from 5,000 to 10,000 at a certain point in time, which is a difference of 100%, and hence, rather unreliable. Even after 1861, when the census in Britain started recording the country of birth, statistical data remains contested, and numbers can be ambiguous and disputed. However, based upon the censuses, it can be seen that between 1861 and 1911 the number of Germans in England and Wales rose considerably: from 28,644 in 1861 to 53,524 in 1911 (Panayi 1996d), an increase of nearly 100%. Among this growing number of migrants patriotic feelings were expressed more and more frequently after 1871. These growing German patriotic feelings, often expressed vociferously (Manz 2002: 413), met a slowly rising British fear and aversion towards Germany and the Germans, related to the deterioration of Anglo-German diplomatic relations in the early 20th century, as well as a fear of German militarism and invasion (Panayi 1996d: 89-90). By the time that war was declared by Britain on Germany in 1914 the atmosphere was fairly tense.

3.3. The Two World Wars and the Interwar Years

The First World War led to a rupture of German migrant life, and migration, in Britain. German migrants were severely affected by the war from the beginning. The simmering

Germanophobia and anti-alienism were already present in Britain before they broke out forcefully during the war (see e.g. Panayi 1996d and e). According to Panayi:

> … the biggest perceived threat of all consisted of Germans in Britain, which meant the government introduced a series of wartime measures to eliminate any danger which might exist (1996e: 116).

Specifically the government put certain measures in place affecting Germans, mainly relating to their freedom of movement and their property. Freedom of movement was curtailed by interning men of military age and attempting to repatriate all other Germans. If not repatriated immediately, Germans still faced severe restrictions upon their freedom of movement due to the Aliens Restriction Act (1914) and its several amendments, which meant that without permits they could not leave/enter Britain, move outside a radius of 5 miles from their homes, and enter certain areas within Britain. Also clubs and restaurants frequented by aliens, as well as newspapers, could be (and were) shut down. The Trading with the Enemy Act (1914) and especially its amendment in 1916 allowed the government to confiscate German property and shut businesses (see Panayi 1996e for a detailed listing of the different acts and other restrictions).

Apart from this official intervention there was also general anti-alienism and Germanophobia which affected Germans. Panayi even claims that the combined governmental and non-governmental German resentment meant that Germans experienced the highest levels of hostility of any immigrant group in Britain in the 19th and 20th centuries (1996e: 113). As a result riots occurred in different cities in the UK (e.g. London, Liverpool, Manchester, as well as smaller cities), during which German shops and people were attacked (1996e: 128).

Other factors contributed to the tense atmosphere. To start with, Germans themselves were often not without blame in these attacks: they would frequently make public their anti-British stance, their support for the emperor and the German Reich (Manz 2002; see 412-415 for details of 'outspoken Germans' attracting hostilities through their verbal attacks on Britain). Secondly within British culture during the First World War, the radical right with ideas of extreme nationalism and xenophobia won ground (Panayi 1996e: 124), with hostility directed at marginalised groups in general, such as Jews, socialists and pacifists, as well as Germans[28].

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[28] Germanophobia was also not limited to Britain alone, but occurred in other countries which had taken in large numbers of German migrants during the 18th and 19th century, such as Australia and the USA (Panayi

From a Germanophobic point of view the measures against Germans in Britain were a full success; internment and repatriation led to an extreme reduction in the numbers of Germans in Britain. A reduction by about 50% is the most frequently cited (see e.g. Manz 2002: 414; Panayi 1996e: 122). Barnes and Barnes (1996) speak about a reduction in the size of the community from 60,000 before the war to 6,000 (1996: 131) but, without naming any sources, this seems somewhat exaggerated.

It is undisputed that the German community suffered not just a very large reduction in its numbers but also the subsequent effects of the closure of most of the clubs, newspapers and restaurants. However, after 1920 a certain slow and incomplete revival occurred with a slight rise in migrant numbers. According to Barnes and Barnes, England remained quite attractive to Germans as:

> In spite of the repercussions of the great depression, London of the early 1930s was a time of comparative stability and hope for the German community. Unemployment was far higher in Germany than it was in Britain, and London was generally spared the turmoil and violence which beset the last years of the Weimar Republic. (1996: 145)

Apparently even German students and pupils travelled to England on exchange programmes (Barnes and Barnes 1996: 140-43). Despite this, the numbers of Germans in the UK recovered only slightly between 1919 and 1931: from 22,254 in 1919 to 29,202 in 1931 (Panayi 1996b: 9), as figure 2 shows. Ethnic German life also recovered slightly.

Figure 2: Germans in Britain 1861-1931
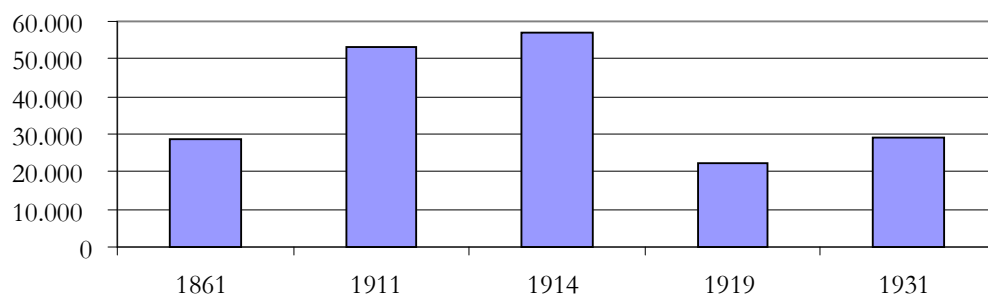
Source: Panayi 1996b, 1996e.

1996e: 130). It seems as if the Germanophobia was partially a result of the mass migration of the 18th and 19th century.

In the mid to late 1930s refugees from the National Socialist regime started arriving in increasingly large numbers (Panayi 1996b: 9-10; Ritchie 1996). However, the rescue of Jewish people and others persecuted in mainland Europe and Germany experienced a slow start in the UK for several reasons. To start with, many Jewish people first sought refuge in other countries closer to Germany, in the hope of returning soon when the nightmare was over. The UK was not a first choice, hence the delayed start in the arrival of refugees. In addition Britain had restrictions in place against refugees, which were not alleviated early, as both the British authorities and Jewish agencies underestimated the potential refugee numbers (Ritchie 1996: 147). There is a further argument that these restrictions were based not simply on an underestimation, but also upon a racialised fear in Britain of immigration (London 2003; Panayi 1996b: 9-10). According to London, the British government never took in as many refugees as would have been possible; while Ritchie (1996) sees the restrictions as having been lifted when the scale of the problem became apparent, at which point, he claims, the programmes were stepped up. All authors agree, however, that many more refugees were taken in later on than in the early days. Panayi provides a broad breakdown of refugee numbers into the pre- and post-1938 phase: between 1933-38, there were 11,000 refugees, while after 1938 more than 55,000 arrived (1996b: 9-10). A further breakdown of the numbers from 1933 to 1939 can be seen in figure 3, following data provided by Ritchie (1996).

Figure 3: Refugees from Germany arriving in Britain, 1933-39
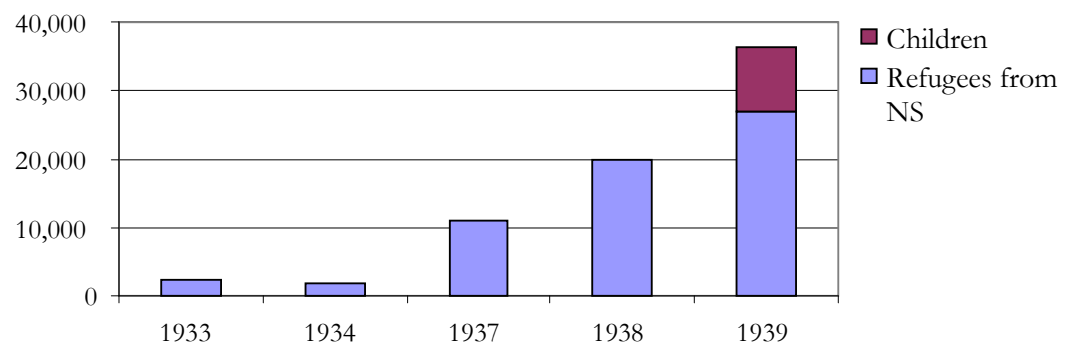
Source: Ritchie 1996

Apart from the route of entering Britain as a refugee, several German Jewish women trying to escape Germany entered Britain under the status of 'Foreign domestics', applying for entry to the country under the pretext of holding a position of domestic worker in a British-resident household. When this became obvious, according to

Ritchie, the British government relaxed the conditions attached to these positions (such as allowing women to change profession and employer once in the UK). As a result the numbers in this category rose quickly from just over 4,000 in 1935 to 14,000 in 1937 (1996: 165).

After 1937 and 1939 respectively, it appears that there are few numbers available; especially as in 1941, there was no census. After 1945 patterns became apparent again, and two different groups of German migrants in Britain emerged. There were those who had been in the country before the war ended (Prisoners of War (POWs) and refugees), and those who entered the country as migrants after 1945, to work in Britain, or as so-called 'war brides'.

3.4. Post-1945 Migration: Movers and Stayers

It is unclear how many refugees stayed in Britain after 1945 (Kettenacker 1996; Ritchie 1996; London 2003). As only very few returned to Germany Kettenacker assumes that most of them assimilated[29]. According to London, this is not unthinkable (2003: 79). Weber-Newth and Steinert (2006: 132) in contrast believe that onwards migration was an option for many, rather than returning or staying in Britain. As the sources consulted do not seem to sufficiently point in one direction or the other, it is difficult to see exactly what happened[30].

The second group that was already in Britain at the end of the war were POWs. While after the war there were large numbers of POWs in Britain, this was soon reduced drastically by the government. As Kettenacker writes:

> About 3,700,000 German prisoners passed through British hands at the time of surrender, but only a fraction of these were actually detained in Britain for any length of time. … in September 1946, the number of German POWs detained in Britain reached its peak at 402,000. (1996: 188; see also Weber-Newth and Steinert 2006: 23).

Of these 402,000, only 15,000 were allowed to stay under a special permit system. This included those who got married within a specified time period, as well as those who worked, or had a contract to work, in agriculture (Weber-Newth and Steinert 2006:30). Their reception into the local workforce and society was not always smooth, with many

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[29] This is despite his own estimate (Kettenacker 1996) that less than 1,000 refugees in total were eligible for British citizenship.
[30] Some more detailed information on German-Jewish refugees from the NS regime can be found in Berghahn (1988).

maintaining manual jobs throughout their lives as in the beginning it was either impossible to obtain a better job, or convenient to stay in the agricultural sector in which many started out (Wewer-Newth and Steinert 2006; see also early work – Faulk 1970; Sullivan 1979; Wolff 1974).

The 'new' migrants were in the majority women and can be split into two different groups again. About 25% entered Britain as a result of labour recruitment schemes by the British government in Germany in order to fill labour shortages. In contrast to these schemes, just short of 75% of the new migrants actually entered the country individually as a domestic worker, often to a British person for whom they had worked in Germany, or as a war bride. The migrants entering Britain under the labour recruitment schemes were coming to work in agriculture, the health services, or the cotton industries. Under the Westward Ho Scheme, 1,378 ethnic German women and 1,304 Sudeten German women entered Britain, while 10,000 entered under the North Sea Scheme. In addition, 20,000 entered the country individually as domestics[31].

In contrast to these government-induced migration schemes, the so-called war brides were an undesired (by the British government) side-effect of the British occupation in Germany. British soldiers were originally forbidden from 'fraternisation' with the native population in Germany. However, this did not stop interactions between German women and British soldiers for long[32]. In face of a pressing reality (and many children out of wedlock), after 1946, it became legally possible for British-German couples to marry under certain restrictions (Weber-Newth and Steinert 2006: 71). It is estimated that following this about 10,000 German women entered Britain with the purpose of marrying a British man; and just under 300 German men for marriage with a British woman. According to Weber-Newth (2008) and Weber-Newth and Steinert (2006), who consulted church sources as well as interviewing 14 war brides (by the time of the research in their 70s), it appeared that while some were happy in their marriages, they were not without troubles. The main problems lay in differential expectations of marital life, and a lack of understanding on behalf of the migrating partner of what life in Britain would hold in store for them (Weber-Newth 2008: 68). Also not only did they have to contend with a negative attitude of British people towards them (including, in

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[31] See Weber-Newth and Steinert for the differences between the schemes (2006: ch. 2 and 3)
[32] A more detailed account of this policy of non-fraternisation, also of the US troops, can be found in the book "It Started with a Kiss. German-Allied Relations after 1945" that was an accompanying catalogue to an exhibition on war brides.

some cases, their parents-in-law), but also with the negative attitude that Germans had towards them. In Germany they were seen as "morally reprehensible" and "unruly" for having a relationship with the enemy (Weber-Newth 2008: 53), meaning that "they had to develop strong survival skills to enable them to cope in cultural climates that marginalised them, both in Britain and back in Germany" (2008: 54).

In total the post-1945 migration to Britain, or migrants in Britain, can be distinguished into five groups, if refugees – for whom numbers are not available – are excluded. Their respective sizes can be seen in figure 4.

Figure 4: German migrants 1945-51
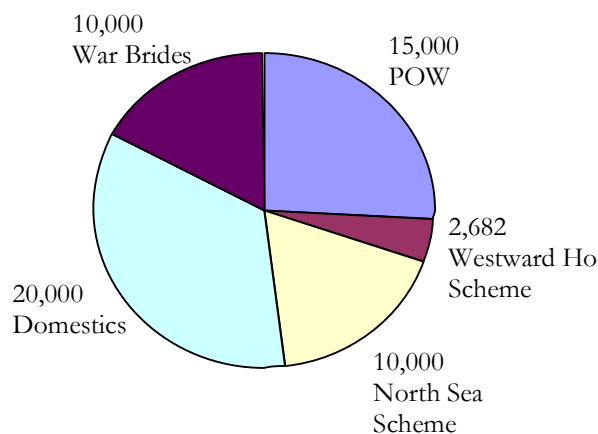
Source: Weber-Newth and Steinert 2006.

In the long run only the war brides and a few of the POWs were likely to stay – the other groups of migrants often returned to Germany. Rates of intermarriage with British people, or international POWs, were lower, meaning that there was less incentive to stay in the UK when the economic situation in Germany picked up, while simultaneously deteriorating for them in Britain: wages were being undercut by new Commonwealth migrants, at the same time as a general deterioration e.g. in the cotton industry (Weber-Newth and Steinert 2006: 113, 136). However, even these broad trends are somewhat imprecise, as already in 1950 it became clear that no-one was keeping track of the migrants: where they were living, who they were working for, or even who was still in the country. With the end of the recruitment schemes came also the end to (reasonably) reliable numerical data on Germans in the UK.

3.5. Migration since the 1950s

Migration of Germans since the 1950s has changed considerably. Key elements of this shift were the decline of migration recruitment schemes, the transformation of the international migration landscape, and of course the UK joining the Common Market (now EU), thereby changing immigration laws for Germans. In this section, I start by giving a numerical account of German migration to the UK since the 1950s. This is followed by a brief overview of the different migrant groups that make up Germans in the UK today, and the research done on them. Generally, migration to the UK by Germans mirrors broader trends of German migration.

Before starting to introduce these trends, though, it is important to note that despite its importance for German history, the German division and reunification (1949-1990) does not make an appearance in literature on German migration to the UK. In the literature and trends discussed in section 3.5.1., the focus lies only on migration from the Federal Republic of Germany, possibly due to the limited ability of GDR citizens to travel internationally. Numerically, their impact therefore seems limited[33]. As the division was an incisive event politically, socially, economically and emotionally, it is unlikely that there is no impact on the people themselves moving. I therefore briefly discuss the division and unification, the implications this had socially, and the consequences this might have for migrant groups in section 3.5.2 before discussing the subgroups among German migrants from the literature in 3.5.3.

3.5.1. Numerical Estimates

If there is a certain dearth surrounding literature on migration until the 1950s, in the sense that the research appears to be done by only very few authors, this appears worse for the period beginning in the 1950s (the end of the labour recruitment schemes). However, this is not limited to German migrants, but can be seen as a wider phenomenon, in that scholarship on European migration after 1945 especially is limited (Panayi 2003: 33). Those few studying German migration have argued that the arrival of non-European immigrants to Britain shortly after the end of the Second World War diverted attention away from European migration (Panayi 2003: 33; Weber-Newth and Steinert 2006: 2). According to the latter, this has led to a certain idealisation of

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[33] This can also be seen in the graph on p. 66, where after unification in 1990, emigration to the UK from Germany does not increase immediately or exceptionally.

European migration, which might have reinforced the lack of critical studies engaging with these groups, as there was no perceived 'problem' to study. This could possibly be reinforced by the lack of reliable statistics on European, and especially German, migration. While there are several statistical sources that can be used to get rough ideas about German migrants to the UK, they all work to different specifications which do not overlap, meaning that migration is neither accurately counted, nor that a second source can be used to overcome the weakness of the first. The first source that can be used for numerical estimates is the UK census, which gives an indication of the country of birth (not nationality). Due to its regularity and consistency, this probably provides the best overview. Secondly, there is the consolidated German data of emigration to the UK, which presents a different picture to the Census data. The British Labour Force Survey (LFS) provides an additional perspective on how many German people live in the UK.

Firstly, the census data offers the broadest overview of the numbers of German-born people in the UK since 1951. According to this source, the numbers have steadily increased since 1951, more than doubling (see figure 5).

Figure 5: German-born people in the UK Census, 1951-2001
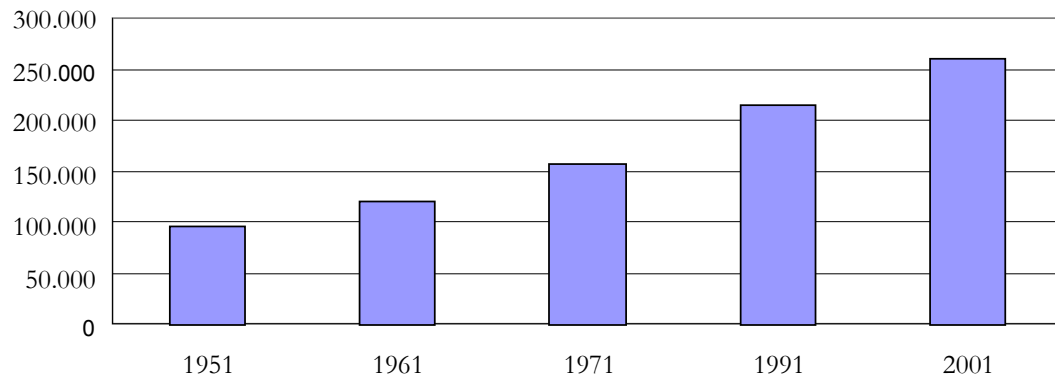
Source: Weber-Newth and Steinert 2006: 133; BBC Born Abroad.

The general pattern of an increasing number of German-born British residents is obvious. It has to be borne in mind that the German-born population includes children born to British parents when residing in Germany. This has led to a pattern of an increased number of German-born people around army bases in the UK (BBC Born Abroad). Also, the census is conducted every ten years only, thereby missing temporary migration of a shorter duration; yet most migration researchers agree that temporary

migration is on the rise[34]. While supplying a good idea of an upward trend, these numbers have to be treated with extreme caution. It is therefore unsurprising that the numbers given in the census differ significantly from those obtained by other statistical measurements, for example the LFS or the German Statistical Institute (Statistisches Bundesamt). When comparing data from the censuses with data from the German Statistical Institute, it becomes obvious that the data from the German source does not display a similar rise in emigration as seems to be visible in British immigration[35].

The data of the German statistical institute are obtained through consolidation of the registration and deregistration data of people in the local authorities. In Germany people are legally obliged to be registered with the regional administration where they reside[36]; upon moving house, they therefore supposedly deregister. While it is legally binding in practice there are a number of problems with this. Not everybody who intends to move abroad will inform the administration of this move. Ette and Sauer (2007: 17) count ignorance among the population as to the law as a reason for this. In cases where the authorities are unlikely to find out it might seem an added inconvenience; hence, young people in particular who are still registered as living at their parents' address might be particularly likely not to do so (Uebelmesser 2006: 214)[37]. Among the Germans I spoke to the majority was still registered with their local administration. In the statistics compiled from the deregistration data, these people are therefore missing. Secondly, in the statistics, not only Germans are counted, but everybody who moves away from Germany: this means that in fact far fewer Germans move to the UK than the numbers seem to indicate. So for example in 2007, a total of 17,942 people moved from Germany to the UK, but only 9996 of these were Germans (Statistisches Bundesamt 2009: section 3.2; see also Uebelmesser 2006: 213). Last but not least, as Ette and Sauer (2007; 2010) point out, the German registration process is one of cases, not persons, meaning that every registration or deregistration is treated as a separate event. Hence, it is not possible to gather much information as to the length of stay abroad, just numbers.

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[34] See for example Ackers and Gill (2008), Haug and Diehl (2004), Piracha and Vickerman (2002: 1), Williams et al. (2004).

[35] However, some census years seem to coincide with a peak of registered German emigration to the UK.

[36] The law in question is the *Melderechtsrahmengesetz*, from the 16.08.1980. A copy can be found at www.gesetze-im-internet.de/bundesrecht/mrrg/gesamt.pdf. In particular, it is paragraph 11 which applies to people moving away.

[37] The main process by which authorities can find out that a person has moved without telling them is the return of official mail. The local authorities are also responsible for issuing tax cards, as well as dealing with passports and I.D. cards and elections. When correspondence is returned, and the authorities find you no longer live there, they are able to forcefully deregister you. As young people living with their parents have somebody to receive their mail, the authorities are unlikely to realise their migrant status.

Despite their shortcomings, though, the numbers collected offer a guide to the scale of the migratory moves between Germany and the UK. According to these numbers, roughly 17,000-18,000 people from Germany deregister with their local authorities every year, giving the UK as their destination[38]; the fluctuations around this figure over time as well as the gender distribution are shown in figure 6 below.

Figure 6: Emigration to the UK from Germany, 1974-2010
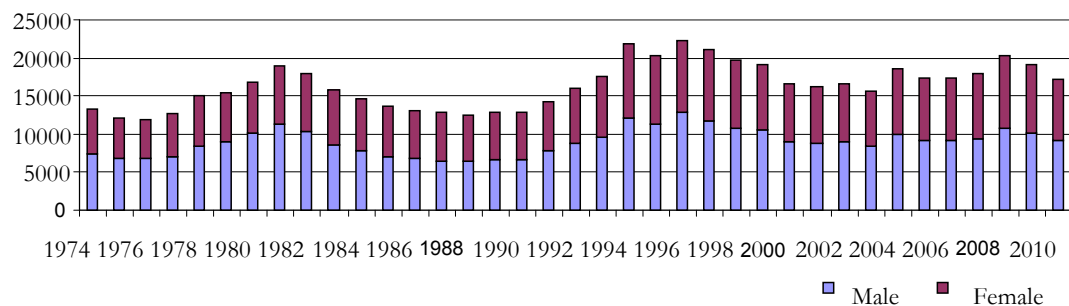
Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (www.destasis.de)

The pattern of relatively steady emigration, with a slight growth, mirrors the general pattern of German emigration in that period[39]; after 1990, the table includes the former GDR[40]. Ette and Sauer (2007) use the same statistics, having filtered them for German nationals[41], and found that both German emigration in general had increased, as had German migration to the UK (2007: 28-33). According to them migration by Germans to the UK increased between 2002 and 2006 by 60% (2007: 33). However, this is a prime example of statistics giving different pictures, as this is not evident in the graph above. A possible explanation would be to assume that the migration of *Germans* to the

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[38] This differs from the UK census for a number of reasons. One, the census is cumulative, while the local authorities in Germany only count the people leaving that particular year, not how many there are in the UK already. Also, the census counts people according to their country of birth. In the case of Germany this is likely to include quite a few people with British nationality who were born in Germany to army personnel. In fact, the BBC claims that four English counties with strong army bases have 12,000 people born in Germany living there; and that in recent years, this number has increased, due to the end of the British consignment in Germany (BBC Born Abroad: Germany. Undated).

[39] The data is taken from the German statistical ministry, found at destasis.de; the detailed data (by country, period of time, and type of movement) can be found and downloaded at https://www-genesis.destatis.de/genesis/online. The data used here was downloaded on the 14.04.2009, and again on the 26.06.2012.

[40] More info can be found at https://www-genesis.destatis.de/genesis/online/data;jsessionid=94703C4BDFDE9B5C98269CF0311EAE58.tomcat_GO_2_2?operation=statistikLangtext&levelindex=0&levelid=1340707118745&index=2, point 1.4.

[41] This was not possible to do with the publicly available data.

UK has risen, while migration of non-German nationals from Germany to the UK has relatively fallen. Moreover, not only has migration to the UK by Germans risen but the net migration to the UK from Germany has increased, meaning fewer Germans are moving to Germany from the UK than are moving to the UK. In the following graph (figure 7) from Ette and Sauer (2007: 33), the development of migration by Germans to the UK can clearly be seen, especially in relation to migration to other states.

Figure 7: Migration from Germany to selected countries, 1975-2005.
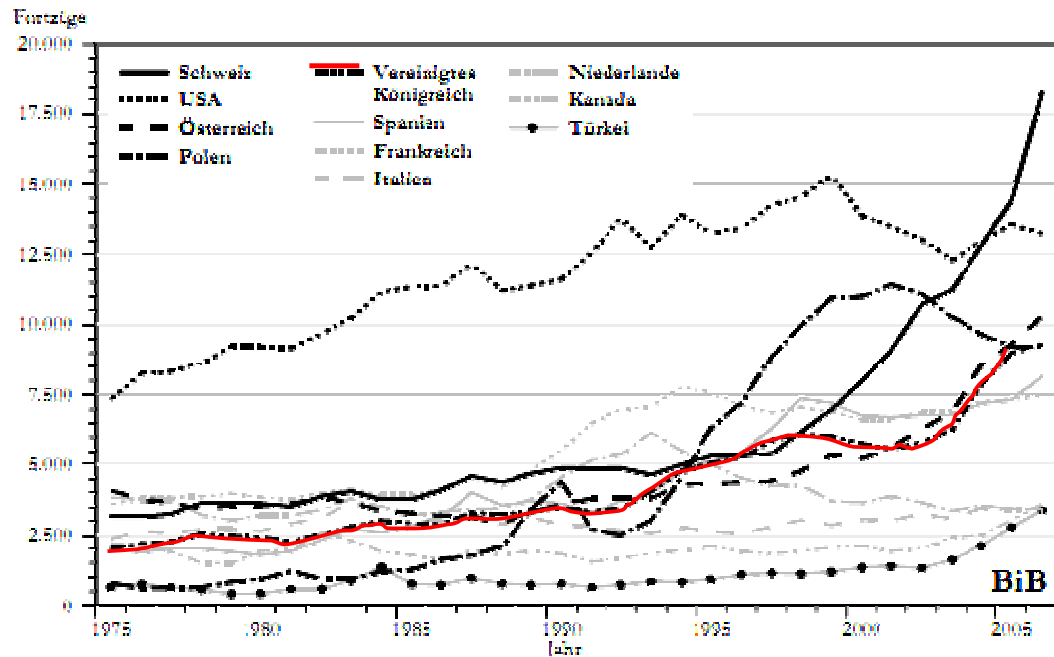
Source: Ette and Sauer 2007: 33, based upon data from the German Statistical Institute. Own modification (red line highlighting migration to the UK).

From this graph the general trends towards more migration, the increasing importance of intra-EU migration, and the slowly falling relative significance of the 'classical' immigration countries of Canada and the USA are clearly visible.

Another statistic concerning Germans living in the UK is the LFS, which also enables an estimate of the number of foreign residents in the UK. Here Germans constitute one of the five largest groups of EU-15 migrants in the UK. According to the LFS there were about 91,000 Germans living in the UK in 2006, 88,000 in 2007 and 91,000 in 2008 – 2.7, 2.3 and 2.2% of all foreign residents in the UK respectively. Of these well over half are working and living in the UK (56% in 2006, 53% in 2007 and 59% in 2008). The discrepancy between the LFS and the Census is very large (again, more than

100% difference) – based upon both figures, the best conclusion is probably that there are more than 100,000, but significantly less than the census-given figure of 'Germans' living in the UK, which includes German-born British nationals.

3.5.2.   *The Implications of German division and (re-) unification*

As stated above, the literature does not mention any impacts of the German division and reunification; here, I will briefly discuss them. Having surrendered to the Allied Forces after WWII, in 1945 Germany was divided into four different occupation zones (British, French, American and Soviet). Subsequently, in 1949, the political divisions between the British, French, American zones on the one hand, and the Soviet zone on the other, became formalised in the establishment of two different German states, the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR. Separation between the two countries happened quickly, culminating in the Berlin Wall in 1962. The two countries developed in highly different ways, not only economically, but also socially and culturally. After over 40 years of division, Germany was reunited officially in 1990[42].

Within Germany, despite over 20 years having passed since then, divisions remain, both economically and socially. Economically, states from the former GDR, such as Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, remain weaker, with a general divergence in income between the former GDR and FRG widely acknowledged (Thomaneck and Niven 2001). Socially, after reunification in 1990, divisions and different identities remain, with the different political, economic, cultural and social histories of 1949-1989 seen as the driving force (Thomaneck and Niven, 2001: 69-70). As Armbruster and Meinhof put it,

> …the two German states of forty years ceased to exist in 1989. The new formation of the nation state in 1990 was followed by a process of unification, which is still going on. This swift unification at the level of the constitution, currency and administrative system has been followed by a much slower process of 'growing together' in cultural, mental and experiential terms (2002: 15)

Armbruster and Meinhof go on to explore the ways in which these differences are expressed in discourses, forming a strong part of people's identities. Strong discourses

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[42] See Thomaneck and Niven (2001) for a comprehensive overview.

of 'us' and 'them' are still used by people, both highlighting the different identities of people from the former GDR and the FRD as well as helping to maintain the remaining differences between them through discourse (Armbruster and Meinhof 2002). These divisions are also found in popular culture such as newspapers (Meinhof 2000; Schrabback 2000) and films (Hoerschelmann 2000), highlighting their prevalence and consistency.

The diverging identities and 'us vs. them' mentality of people from the former GDR and FRG do not appear in migration literature regarding German emigration so far; hence, it is difficult to assess their impact on the migration of Germans to the UK. This is particularly so with regards to the cultural and social differences and barriers, and whether these differences in identity are similarly upheld by migrants from the respective regions of origin when abroad. As this study did not set out to study differences in identity, or identity in general, I do not answer this question in this thesis; nonetheless, it is important to bear this potential division in mind at this point, where other divisions among German migrants are discussed.

3.5.3. *Who Migrates? Different Sub-Groups of Germans in the UK*

Similar to the lack of accurate information concerning statistics, there is also a lack of information concerning migration patterns and sub-groups of German migrants in the UK. One certain fact is the sheer diversity of migration. It ranges from permanent migrants, such as POWs and war brides, and settled professionals to temporary migration as diverse as au-pairs, student mobility, company transfers (sometimes with trailing spouses and children) and independently mobile young professionals. However, it is unclear how many there are within each group; disentangling them is a very vague business.

In terms of migration patterns, soon after the Second World War, migration turned towards more temporary stays for lifestyle purposes, as well as enhanced career prospects, for young Germans:

> Young Germans now [1950s] sought employment in Britain, preferably London, for motives other than money. The cosmopolitan atmosphere of the metropolis and the chance to improve their school English prompted many, notably young women with a solid middle-class background, to spend a couple of years in Britain, accepting whatever job was available,

> usually as au pairs or secretaries. Nothing much has changed in this respect up to the present day (Kettenacker 1996: 192)

This trend towards more temporary forms of mobility is not limited to Germans in the UK. For one Ette and Sauer (2007) confirm that in general German migration nowadays is more often than not temporary. Similarly, other migration researchers working on international skilled migration have confirmed it as a global trend (see e.g. Ackers and Gill 2008). Ette and Sauer also highlight the fact that a very large minority of German migrants are nowadays relatively young: 40% of emigrating Germans are between 25 and 40 years of age (2007: 37). Again, this fits the picture of other migration groups within the UK.

The major groups of German migrants in the UK today that are most visible seem to fit these descriptions: temporary stayers in the form of au pairs, students, young independent migrants in the UK for a while to gain more skills, or company transfers. Whether this is an accurate picture is hard to state, as it can be argued that the temporary migrants are simply the most visible ones, while migrants who stay in the country for longer, or have plans to remain indefinitely, blend into the host country society much more.

While au-pairs do matter as a group there is no means to find out how many are in the UK for what period of time, as au-pairs from Germany in the UK do not need a visa. No research has to date been done to date on German au-pairs (see Zuhl 2009: 26). Establishing their presence is mainly possibly by anecdotes, their presence in forums, as well as the variety of au-pair organisations (both national and international) that promise to place au-pairs in the UK, such as the YMCA. These organisations are manifold but do not supply numbers. It is also questionable if numbers would be much use, as au-pairs stay in the UK with "their" families for varying lengths of time, depending on their plans and the success of their stay.

In contrast to au-pairs numbers exist for students. According to the UK Council for International Student Affairs in 2008-09, 14,130 German students were in higher education in the UK, and 13,625 in 2009-10 (UKCISA, undated). As the website has sparse information it has to be assumed that these are undergraduates as well as postgraduates, registered at British institutions; as well as possibly exchange students, such as through the ERASMUS scheme. If going with a rough estimate of 100,000-

150,000 Germans living in the UK (based upon the numbers above), students would constitute about, or more than, 10% of the total German population in the UK.

Students are the only group on whom reliable numbers exist, due to the universities' statistics; by contrast, practically no numerical estimates exist for young independent professionals. Apart from Favell (2008) they have not really been researched, either. The problem might be that as opposed to expats who are in some cases relatively visible as a group (see below), young independent professionals do not seem to be visibly organised.

Much of the recent work on Germans in the UK focuses upon expatriates living in the Richmond area (see Meier 2009; Moore 2005; Zuhl 2009). Even in this relatively well-studied group, though, numbers are hard to come by; most studies are qualitative rather than quantitative. The vast majority of the writing is focused upon those living in the Richmond area (predominantly Germans with children). According to the above-cited writers, for those professionals sent to Britain by their companies the early 1970s were crucial, as this is when the German school was built in Richmond. This enabled a continuous education of their children following the German school system, as apparently, many had refused to move due to a fear for the education of their children (Zuhl 2009: 51). As many German families settle close to the school in order to minimise the school journeys for their children, a hub of expatriates tends to cluster in the Richmond area (Meier 2009: 180, 185; Zuhl 2009: 75, 79). Also, the German school features as a major social hub for Germans with children in London (Meier 2009: 187-189; Zuhl 2009), organising social events, thus making socialisation easier for the families. Quite some detail on the expats' life in Richmond, as well as on the German school, can be found in Moore (2004).

Meier (2009), studying German men working in the banking sector only, distinguishes between those who live in Richmond with their families, and those bankers who come to London on their own and live closer to the city centre. According to him, the bankers living in Richmond are more focused around their immediate area of living – socialising in Richmond with other German families, enjoying the 'great outdoors', and going as far as making physical amendments to the family homes (e.g. knocking through walls and similar). While they are part of a German social group, they are described by Meier as being very much based in their local area. Not so the bankers who live in the East of London: he describes them as being 'in transience', with their main focus still on

Germany. This is represented in frequent phone calls and visits to partners staying in Germany, family, and friends. Furthermore, those described in his study appeared to live alone, and not use the area of living much in terms of local services or shops. They leave their flats as they are, renting furnished, as their stay is seen as so temporary to not warrant bringing over personal goods, or buying furniture. Both groups remain in their own little islands – while in Richmond, Germans automatically seem to cluster together, thereby forming an island, the bankers living in East London (Tower Hamlets) form an island within their local area by renting much higher-quality property, singling themselves out by choice of living space (Meier 2009: 213).

All the literature on German expats in the UK centres around a certain class of movers, who are quite well-off, and in stable employment situations, mainly in banks. A more diverse picture of the varying professions and the situations of German migrants is lacking; as well as a representation of, or accounting for, the migrants which resemble the so-called 'Eurostars' (Favell 2008). The difference between the two groups as described by the researchers is striking, as according to Zuhl (2009: 22, 33), German expats in Britain long for stability; while Favell's Eurostars apparently enjoy flexibility.

3.5.4. *Continuities and Discontinuities*

The biggest continuity is clearly the unbroken popularity of the UK as a migration destination. Even several wars, political upheavals and periods of Germanophobia did not change this: numbers of German-born people living in the UK are higher than ever before. Britain has been consistently popular not merely with one German migrant group, but received a very diverse mix of German people. While one group of migrants might be dominant at any one time (e.g. merchants in the Middle Ages), other groups migrated too. Especially during the 18th and 19th centuries, when migrant numbers increased, diversity and fragmentation also increased. As Panayi (1996d) writes, every class from Germany could be found in Britain, in various occupations and residential areas (1996d: 90). General societal fragmentation in Germany was mirrored in the fragmentation of German communities abroad: not only was the British German society fragmented, but New York's 'Little Germany' apparently was too internally-fragmented to deserve the name (Zuhl 2009: 108-112). Still today, the diversity, as set out in the section above, is striking, as well as the fragmentation in terms of activities and sub-groups (which I discuss later on in the thesis), without even taking into account the

different occupations people hold. Student mobility has also played a role since the middle ages (Panayi 1996c), as well as through the interwar period (Barnes and Barnes 1996).

Another factor that has remained relevant throughout the entire migration history has been the influence of the wider political and economic circumstances, i.e. factors not limited to Germany and the UK. This explains for example the increased influx of German protestants into Britain during the 16th century as part of a Europe-wide phenomenon. Political revolts in the 19th century, and continental wars, also led to an increase in migration, but were not limited to the UK or Germany. Transit migration to the USA in the 18th and 19th centuries depended on large-scale differences in economic development. Similarly, the current German migration to the UK is not an isolated pattern concerning two countries, but based on the general increase in mobility, both for elite migrants as well as for the so-called 'Eurostars', which are based on general increases in European migration.

Since the UK became a member of the EU it can be argued that not only has paperwork become less burdensome for EU-migrants, but also the dependency upon the political climate. Throughout history, and into the 20th century, German migrants in the UK were highly dependent upon the political climate at the time, as could be seen above in the expulsion of Hansa members in the 16th century, as well as the Germanophobia and government responses to this during the First and Second World Wars. In comparison to historic times, it seems as if nowadays less dependence on the political situation on behalf of German migrants exists. Thanks to the EU, the paperwork and permit systems, which appear to have been particularly burdensome immediately after World War Two, disappeared.

The possibly biggest changes though concern 'ethnic German' life in the UK, and the institutional landscape of German activities in Britain. While the wars and Germanophobia did not ultimately damage the UK as a migration destination, they had a definite influence on German ethnic life in the UK, which changed drastically during the century, and still today bears the imprint of those changes.

 3.6.   The Ethnic Landscape

3.6.1.   Pre-World War Two

As mentioned above, German migrants in the UK already formed ethnic associations in the middle ages (such as the Hansa Kontors); however, ethnic life appears to have picked up in the 18th, and especially the 19th century:

> At virtually no other time in British history did the German community develop to the same extent or become as vital as it did during the nineteenth century, especially during the Victorian and Edwardian Years (Panayi 1996d: 73).

This 'extreme' level of activity is recognised by other scholars as well (e.g. Manz, 2002; Weber-Newth and Steinert, 2006). The activities and clubs were spread over various topics:

> they [the Germans in Britain] organised themselves according to their social and financial circumstances in exclusive clubs with economic, political, cultural, social and sporting aims, in associations of craftsmen, and in philanthropic organisations that tried to reduce the misery of their fellow countrymen. A German hospital, an old people's home and an orphanage, together with schools and churches in many British cities were visible expressions of the richer Germans' activities (Weber-Newth and Steinert 2006: 1).

Pre-1914, according to Panayi, there were eight charities (1996e: 86) and four schools, as well as three newspapers, various local working-class clubs and middle-class associations (several in London, and generally at least one in other cities like Manchester and Bradford), various political groupings as well as occupational associations (1996e: 87). The reason for this vast variety can be seen in a combination of factors. As set out above, there was certainly an increase in numbers of Germans in Britain: the census of 1861, the first one to record country of birth, placed Germans as the largest group of immigrants from the European continent (Panayi 1996d: 73); and between 1861 and 1911, the number of Germans in England and Wales rose from 28,644 to 53,324. As set out in the paragraph above, the backgrounds of migrants also diversified, especially with more political refugees. Another factor could have been the fragmentation according to class and religious affiliation (where religious divides could sometimes still be overcome for good causes: Panayi 1996d: 85), meaning more clubs were needed, even if they had similar aims:

Class affected ethnicity, in the sense that most activities were conducted upon a class basis. With regard to social clubs, for instance, it was impossible for an East End sugar-baker to belong to the German Atheneum. Similarly, philanthropy stressed rather than broke down class barriers. Religious differences, as well as political ones, were also factors in the division of Germans in Victorian and Edwardian Britain (Panayi 1996d: 92).

However, all these factors would probably not have led to the thriving of societies and clubs, had not clubs and societies thrived in Germany at the time, which was mirrored by the Germans in Britain (Manz 2002: 399-400). These clubs, however, were highly politicised, especially after 1871, which again was mirrored in Britain:

One structural feature of nineteenth-century German society was an abundance of clubs and societies. These were characterised by a high degree of politicisation, even when taking the form of choral or gymnastic societies. Towards the end of the century, militaristic undertones became increasingly perceptible, within existing social clubs as well as through the foundation of patriotic, extra-parliamentary agitation societies and pressure groups. … German ethnic life in Britain mirrored this development (2002: 399-400).

A number of clubs found themselves together in Britain on the basis of shared patriotic feelings for the German Reich and the Emperor after German unification in 1871. Apart from these explicitly political clubs (either new clubs, or new branches of existing clubs), other clubs or 'Vereine' with less political goals – like sports clubs – became politicised, mirroring the developments that were happening in Germany. As Manz puts it, "'Reich'-nationalism was not a marginal phenomenon confined to a few right-wing associations and individuals but permeated German life in Britain generally" (2002: 412).

In the Germanophobic environment of World War I, the ethnic associations and activities declined to almost zero, due to both official and unofficial anti-German sentiments (see section 2.1.2, above). For many Germans who were running businesses, clubs and societies, this meant closing down, whether enforced or not. As Barnes and Barnes wrote:

… as anti-German sentiment grew, German nationals tried to become less conspicuous by closing their shops, abandoning their businesses, and disbanding their social and religious organisations. The British government in time became a party to this process when it adopted policies that led to the commandeering of German churches and schools which were then converted into refugee centres or emergency offices

(Barnes and Barnes 1996: 131).

As a result the German ethnic landscape in Britain was rebuilt after the war. While some churches had been allowed to remain open throughout the war, the majority were only reopened, with attempts to revive the communities, from 1920 onwards; but not all churches and communities were revived (Barnes and Barnes 1996: 131).

Despite this closing down of the ethnic landscape, the interwar years seemed to see a certain remission of German ethnic activities. Several German restaurants, or restaurants specialising in German cuisine, survived the war (Barnes and Barnes 1996: 132), while over the years two exclusively German newspapers re-emerged. Several clubs reopened or were established anew. Organisations continuing pre-war work include the Orphan Asylum (dating back to the 19th century) (1996: 139), some of the German schools and the German hospital (1996: 144). Due to the lower population numbers, though, there were only two primary schools that were almost exclusively German; in 1933, they were still struggling to find enough students (1996: 139).

3.6.2. *Post-World War Two*

The lifespan of the re-emerged societies and clubs was short-lived. With the advent of National Socialism in Germany the clubs and charities experienced internal divisions based on political convictions, as some people turned to National Socialism (Barnes and Barnes 1996: 146). When confronted with the Second World War most of the institutions seem to have disappeared after this double shock. Even after the Second World War very few institutions re-emerged. This is probably due to a number of factors. To start with, it appears as if the migrants who were present before the war started would either have returned to Germany, or anglicised their existence by ceasing ethnic activities, in order to not attract negative attention, especially after the Germanophobia of the First World War. Also the settlement pattern of Germans after the war differed markedly from that before the war: before the Second World War, Germans had tended to settle close to each other, in certain cities or parts of cities. As POWs tended to stay around their area of release/imprisonment, war brides moved with their husbands/wives, and workers were placed all over the country, Germans became much more geographically dispersed than they had previously been (Weber-Newth and Steinert 2006: 1; 124). From a practical standpoint, the geographical scattering made forming ethnic associations more difficult.

Apart from this pragmatic reason war brides and POWs were experiencing negative reactions to their nationality/ethnicity, and therefore felt that hiding it as best as possible would be the best way forward. Weber-Newth and Steinert wrote that:

> In these circumstances the women considered it necessary to mask their ethnicity and to lead unassuming and inconspicuous lives. In the course of their interviews they all mentioned that adaptation to British cultural norms and appearing 'British' to the outside world became important to them. They used strategies such as keeping their voice down in public, trying to disguise their accents and giving their children English names because 'everything German was being avoided in those days and we didn't want to cause trouble' (Weber-Newth 2008: 65)

In addition to this Weber-Newth and Steinert point to another reason: a certain lack of need to meet up with other migrants. According to them Eastern European migrants in the UK faced the reality of not being able to return to their countries of origin, and hence felt the need to share culture and language, not least in order to preserve it for the next generation (2006: 124). By contrast, for the German migrant things were different. Even if they intended to stay in Britain for some length of time they were soon able to afford to visit relatives and go on holiday in Germany. It seems that only when they reached retirement did they start to meet more often and regularly with other Germans (2006: 124).

The only institutions that were strong enough to survive the wars, as well as the lack of input by migrants, were the YMCA and (some of) the churches. The YMCA's recovery was, more than that of the churches, based upon the volunteers' input. It started out as a "spiritual and practical self-help group" (YMCA 2010[43]), in the above-mentioned 19th century society drive. Their members were in the late 19th and early 20th century mainly looking after other Germans in the UK and London, and often those less fortunate, e.g. the unemployed. The members still around after 1945 were quick to recognise the needs of certain Germans in the UK (e.g. POWs), and based their activities on benefiting those they perceived as in need. Much of their work was practically oriented around the difficulties faced by Germans they saw, rather than determined by their ideological programme. Even though they suffered severe setbacks during both wars (not least losing the property they had previously owned, which had served as the centre of their activities), immediately after the Second World War, they started looking after those members of the association who had been interned, and

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[43] http://www.german-ymca.org.uk/about-us-history.html, accessed 18/10/2010.

POWs more generally in 1946 (Bindemann 2001: 165-173). Despite lack of facilities, their activities and responsibilities expanded quickly - e.g. they also took in some of the women and girls who came over as domestic staff after the war, even though strictly speaking they did not qualify for help by the YMCA[44]. Today, the YMCA still looks after au-pairs, while also catering towards other age groups, mainly pensioners (with a weekly coffee morning, and other activities). In 2009 they celebrated their 150th anniversary in the UK.

The other institutions to survive both wars were the churches (Catholic and Protestant). Some of the churches continued community activities and services right throughout the war. Their revival seems based upon input and leadership from Germany. This appears to have set the course for their structure and development in the UK after the war:

> German churches in Britain developed in different ways after the Second World War. It seems that the Catholic Church worked on the assumption that as soon as their members had learnt the English language they would quickly integrate with the local parish, whereas the Protestant-Lutherans did not foresee such a rapid integration. (Weber-Newth and Steinert 2006: 127-128)

Following on from this assumption, the German Catholic church in the UK today only has one priest, while the Protestant church employs seven (Zuhl 2009: 180-182). Generally their survival might in part be due to their long-standing history, as well as partially to the fact that they appeared to be filling a gap in the welfare provision to new German migrants in the UK (not unlike the YMCA). According to Weber-Newth (2008), it was the churches that allowed war brides to share their experiences and obtain some emotional support:

> … the conditions of their migration as wives of British husbands led to a dispersed settlement that allowed relatively little contact with other Germans. Whilst this undoubtedly accelerated their integration into British society, for many years the war brides missed the opportunity of turning to an ethnic community for practical help and emotional comfort (2000: 66).

Apart from the churches and the YMCA, which survived due to the need by people for welfare and volunteers' input, other institutions that survived the war, or were reinstated soon afterwards, were largely state institutions, such as the embassy. The embassy reopened officially in 1955, with a different structure (German Embassy 2004). It is

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[44] For a more personal account of the post-war years by a YMCA worker, see Bindemann (2001: 165-173).

rather difficult to establish whether the perception of the embassy by Germans has changed, or whether their tasks have changed: the scholars quoted above do not refer to the embassy and in the publication by the embassy itself the focus lies much more on diplomatic relations than on the relationship with 'ordinary' Germans.

Only very few new institutions emerged, and very slowly, despite the apparently rapidly rising numbers of Germans in the UK. The first new institution after the war was the Goethe-Institut, opening in 1951. Despite its new name, it was in fact a continuation of another former institution: the Deutsche Akademie (German Academy), which had existed since 1925, and thrived under National Socialism. In order to free up the frozen funds of this institution after the war in Germany, the Goethe-Institut was funded. It acts on behalf of the Federal German Republic, and has three principal objectives: "to promote the study of the German language abroad; to encourage international cultural cooperation; to convey an all-round image of Germany by providing information on its culture, society and politics"[45]. From these it becomes obvious that it is not really aimed at Germans themselves, but at people interested in German language and culture. In their library they do not hold any materials to help German migrants in their everyday lives (e.g. materials to help them settle in); and from anecdotes by my research participants it also became clear that it is not used frequently, if at all, by Germans, mainly due to their restricted opening hours which prohibit people with jobs from attending.

The German Welfare Council (GWC) – or as it was then called, the German Advice Centre (GAC) – was opened in 1952, instantiated by the British government. When it was opened Weber-Newth and Steinert (2006) state that the purpose was somewhat unclear; but the sociologist case worker assigned to this ensured that again, it was an institution centred around the needs of old and new migrants. The GAC existed until 2009-10, was housed near the Embassy building in Belgrave Square, and staffed with three social workers; however, in 2009 the funding was cut, and staff no longer employed. The German YMCA then decided to offer an office and private funding to one social worker, who now runs the German Welfare Centre (GWC) from the YMCA building near Paddington. Today, the GWC alleviates poverty and provides financial assistance to Germans in the UK in need; and helps provide good living conditions for elderly Germans e.g. through visits or heating grants. It also has a certain social

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[45] http://www.goethe.de/uun/org/enindex.htm

function: Weber-Newth, for instance, writes that the coffee mornings at the GWC helped her find respondents for her study on war brides (Weber-Newth 2008), while anecdotal information from my interview with the social worker hinted that for some elderly people, speaking German was fundamentally important.

In the 1970s the existing institutions were joined by the German School (Deutsche Schule London – DSL). This was established so that German expats would no longer be deterred from going to the UK for fear of their children's education (see above, also Zuhl 2009: 115). Since then it has become a hub of social activity for parents, and forms the one 'German centre' in the UK, according to Zuhl (2009). The school was complemented in 1971 by the "Freunde des Douglas House" ("Friends of Douglas House"), a registered charity run mainly by parents of former and current students that has as its aim the raising of funds for the school, e.g. through bazaars, and get-togethers around Easter, Christmas etc. (Zuhl 2009: 117; see also Moore 2008). Apart from these major institutions, a number of smaller ones have recently emerged.

In 2003 the internet forum 'Deutsche in London' (Germans in London – http://www.deutsche-in-london.net/forum; hereafter referred to as the Forum) was formed. From small origins (originally a platform to set up meetings, mainly), it now has about 7,500 registered members[46], and sections covering everything from arriving in the UK, paperwork, work, childcare, health, offering a wanted/needed/to sell section, to moving back to Germany. Discussions are lively, especially on contested topics. One of the main functions of the Forum is as a social tool to meet people; it is therefore in the literal sense a network, in that it connects people. However, on second glance, the Forum is also used to provide support to one another, migrant-to-migrant – not only as it provides a possibility to set up meetings with like-minded people, which can offer support in case of loneliness or specific problems, but also in that many problems people encounter are discussed online. Hence, it is more than an information hub.

In 2008 a German newspaper was established, the 'German Link', which is now published every three months (originally monthly), and can be either subscribed to, or picked up at certain institutions (such as the library in Richmond, the German pub, the Goethe-Institut). It provides basic information for new migrants, as well as a section on upcoming events – generally including events put on by the Goethe-Institut, and any services put on by the churches – one section on German migrants in other countries

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[46] http://www.deutsche-in-london.net/forum/, member number accessed 09/01/2011.

(e.g. Australia), as well as a discussion of events concerning the German community in recent months.

Major German political parties and institutions also tend to have a branch in the UK – the German parties SPD and FDP have a 'London office' for party affiliates abroad, while the CDU boasts a 'UK office'. The German scholarship foundations with a larger number of scholars studying in the UK (or alumni in the UK) also tend to have branches and meetings in the UK, such as the 'Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes', the 'Stiftung der Deutschen Wirtschaft', etc.

A number of German food outlets now exist, as well as a German pub (run by a German owner, selling German beer and food, showing German football), and a 'Bavarian Beerhouse' (aimed more at people looking for a cliché of Germany, rather than Germans themselves). These fall under the category of service providers; many of them have only been around for a few years. This extends to a number of bakeries which are now scattered around London (with both independent bakeries, as well as chain stores such as 'Ditsch' expanding from Germany to include the UK), while there is also a shop selling bratwurst near Farringdon Station, at least three German hairdressers who advertise to Germans via the Forum and the German Link (one based in West London, one in East London, and one in Primrose Hill, North London), and a plumber from Germany whose services are advertised by word-of-mouth. There is a German beer garden overlooking the Thames in Richmond, a German Deli near Borough Market, a German bookshop, as well as a number of German doctors and dentists.

Apart from the 'Backhaus' in Richmond, as well as the German Deli and the German bookshop, who have been around for a while, most of the service outlets have appeared in the last five years. It seems as if, after the two World Wars, the German ethnic landscape in Britain is slowly picking up again. And yet, in comparison to other migrant groups in European countries, such as the British in France, it appears as if German clubs are not simply suffering from a historic circumstance and are therefore few, but are actually generally few in number. Scott for example mentioned the existence of roughly 100 British clubs and associations in the Paris and Ile-de-France region (Scott 2004).

Fairly striking in relation to the ethnic life in the UK is the large absence of a second generation as well as a sense of continuity. In research focusing on Italians in the UK

(Fortier 2000) or Poles in the UK (Burrell 2006), it emerges that among those ethnicities, there is intergenerational interaction, as well as in some cases long-standing geographical centres. In the cases of Germans in the UK this seems to be largely absent, to the extent that the Pastor of the German protestant church whom I interviewed told me that they missed having a second generation. If there was a second generation, he told me, it assimilated quickly. Even in comparison with German migrant groups in other countries, such as New Zealand (Boenisch-Brednich 2002) or Australia (Berchem 2011), the image emerges that in those countries a more diverse German population exists, due to different migration waves which are more pronounced. For example Boenisch-Brednich highlights four distinct German migration groups in New Zealand between the mid-1950s and the late 1990s. Berchem's description of German migrants to Australia highlights very similar phases, while in the UK these distinct phases either did not exist so starkly, disappeared again due to return migration, or are simply invisible due to a lack of research. Germans in the UK therefore appear to be a somewhat disjointed 'non-community', potentially without a second generation, with a high volume of return migration, in comparison both to other comparable nationalities and ethnicities which have settled in the UK, and to Germans in other parts of the world.

In conclusion even though most of the Germans who participated in my study were unaware of the historical context of German migration to the UK, in order to understand the larger picture, the slow emergence of ethnic spaces, and the 'German geography' in the UK, the historical overview that I have presented in this chapter is important, as it provides the backdrop for the everyday geographies of Germans in the UK. It also allows us to contextualise the current migration in comparison to the migrations before, confirming the difference both in size and composition of this migration to those previously. The unawareness by the migrants of these historical connections and spaces is in addition also the first clue of a certain self-understanding of the current migrants: as part of a new migration which does not need to pay heed to the historic migrations and connections which went beforehand.

4. TRANSLOCAL SUBJECTIVITIES AND MIGRATION: SURPRISING DIFFERENTIATIONS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter (the first of a series of mainly 'empirical results' chapters) makes two arguments. Firstly it highlights the importance and centrality of remaining connected with Germany for young Germans coming to the UK. For quite a few migrants the UK won over other possible destinations exactly for its proximity, and the anticipated possibilities of connection between the two countries (see section 4.2). Transnational connections are therefore inherently central to the migration project. The connections and attachments are both to places and to people, forming highly localised attachments. 'Transnational subjectivities' as a framework allows me to highlight these emotional investments. Secondly looking closely at those attachments shows that young independent professionals are a fairly differentiated group. The actual mobility takes different forms, not only in the sense of where people go, but also in the sense of the emotional investment they make into those journeys and what the mobility means to them. Their previous migration history here takes an immensely important role, which so far has not been given much attention. Not only does the highlighting of the complexity allow us to see these differences in migrant behaviour which have previously been unacknowledged but it also adds a qualitative dimension to assumptions about current migration from Germany that so far has only been known statistically (Ette and Sauer 2007).

When looking at the different experiences of mobility and the transnationalism lived by the people I spoke to, the factors that emerged as particularly strong in influencing their transnationalism were their migration history, the shape their migration project took (was this a job transfer? a year-out project?) and, critically, the friendships they held both in Germany and in the UK. Taking into consideration these factors, three different mobility models can be identified around which people converge: bi-local, multi-local and 'settled'. Not every migrant displayed exclusive characteristics from one migrant model, and changes between these can and do occur (see section 4.7), but they seem to be important 'ideal types' with a strong influence on the migration as experienced as a whole at the time of interviewing.

My approach extends Scott's (2004) insight that migrants might leave a life behind physically, but are unlikely to leave it behind emotionally. While he argues that migrants rarely experience a complete social relocation (2004: 402) as a result of a geographical relocation, I highlight more specifically the different forms this continuous connection takes and the effects this has on the migrants. As I show in this chapter, in some cases migrants display extremely ambivalent attitudes towards their migration project.

I argue that we cannot fully appreciate the salient differences between migration projects if we do not understand the differences in attachment and emotions displayed, and the meanings of the migration to the migrants themselves. Without this information our picture and understanding of migration will always remain superficial. As Ho writes, this understanding at a deeper level is absolutely essential as "studying migration only in terms of visas or occupational categories limits a full understanding of the breadth and changing episodes making up migrant experiences" (2011a: 116). In other words, in order to better understand complexities and differences in migration, we need to move away from descriptions such as length of stay, age at time of emigration, and so forth, towards including migrants' emotions and subjective understandings of migration and distance – their translocal subjectivities.

4.2. Hoped-for Mobilities and Geographical Proximity

It emerged strongly early on during my fieldwork that the geographical proximity between the UK and Germany was considered a bonus by many migrants and essential by others. Transnational connections were hoped for, fostered and kept up regularly. Quite a few of my interview respondents and other Germans I spoke to wanted an experience of living abroad. The UK for them was a good choice, and sometimes a compromise, as it offered them a country the language of which they spoke well enough, while not being too far away. Or, to put it differently: it was far away, but not *that* far away. In this line of thinking the linguistic advantage of the UK was often intermingled with the geographical advantage of it being close. As English is the most commonly taught foreign language at German schools, this makes an English-speaking country the first choice for quite a few people[47].

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[47] Statistics about schooling in Germany are notoriously hard to obtain due to the federal system which means that education is not centrally planned, nor is data collected centrally. According to Destasis, the

Isabel provides a good example to support this. I met Isabel when she attended a social gathering advertised on the German Forum in West London in December 2009. Having just moved to London a few days prior to the meeting, she was still without a job and agreed to an interview. She was in her late 20s and she had travelled widely during her studies, before finishing her degree and getting her first graduate job. When she was made redundant a few years later she decided to take the step and move to London with her partner; apparently they had been considering going abroad for a while. They had not wanted a 'complete break' (moving somewhere like the USA or Australia), but rather somewhere from where they could still get to Germany relatively easily for visits. The USA or Australia as alternative destinations for them shows the importance of English as a language of the host country. This was also expressed by Sven, who had moved to London about a year before I spoke to him:

> I wanted to move to a metropolis (…)[48] I would have loved to go to Paris, but my language skills weren't good enough (…) and so, the English-speaking countries were an alternative, and the USA was too far for me in this first step. Now I could imagine it, but back then it really was just too far for me, just because the cut would have been complete… then I wouldn't have been able to simply fly back for a bit.

The metaphor frequently used in this context here is that of avoiding too much of a 'cut' or a 'break', emphasising the search for continuity by the migrants, even within their migration. It was maybe put most succinctly by Hannes, who said that when moving to the UK, "you don't have the feeling that you have to leave everything behind, because you don't spend twelve hours on a plane".

In a few cases the proximity and convenience, not least of all the language, meant that the UK emerged as a rational compromise over an emotionally preferable different location. The wish to live abroad for these participants came before the wish to move to a particular country. Pragmatic considerations concerning where one could get by in day-to-day life were then further constrained by considerations of distance.

German statistical service, in 2009/2010 and 2010/2011 about 7.5 million students in Germany learnt English as a foreign language, followed by French with 1.6 million learners. Both languages can be learned at the same time, but the comparison shows the relative predominance of English as a foreign language in German schools. (https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/BildungForschungKultur/Schulen/Tabellen /AllgemeinBildendeBeruflicheSchulenFremdsprachUnterricht.html?nn=50770)

[48] (…) in interview quotations denotes that the quote has been shortened, while … denotes a break or pause by the interviewee.

Annika, a woman in her late 20s, decided she wanted to go abroad after her education. She had already spent a year in the USA as an au-pair before her studies, and therefore did not want to move somewhere that far again. While she would have really liked to go to Spain she felt her Spanish was not good enough. When she told her boss about her wish to go abroad he suggested England, to which she agreed. Within a matter of weeks an intra-company transfer had been arranged for her. Similarly, Björn had spent the year before moving to the UK in Australia; while he said he would not have picked the UK for himself if it had not been for his partner's job transfer, the fact that he could fly home for a weekend if necessary makes a huge difference and he would not have stayed in Australia for much longer.

All of these cases highlight the importance of relative proximity within the distance of moving internationally - the expectation of frequent physical contact, of continuity. It is somewhat unclear whether Germans are alone in this pragmatic consideration of moving abroad, where country selection is almost an afterthought within a certain parameter of choice. For the participants mentioned it mainly seems as if countries within the EU, followed closely by classical countries of immigration (USA, Australia) were largely interchangeable. Only Moores and Metykova (2010), in their descriptions of Eastern Europeans' choices of coming to the UK, describe this to a certain extent. Out of the twenty migrants they interviewed, several mentioned the proximity as a factor in swaying their decision to migrate to the UK (2010: 183). This is in stark contrast to literature on lifestyle migration, which highlights the country as one of the important features of migration. Participants are frequently reported to choose a certain country because of the 'lifestyle', the countryside, *despite* the language (see chapter 2, section 2.4 on linguistic difficulties). Germans choosing the UK *because* of the language therefore marks a significant departure from previous assumptions about this type of migration. Similarly, it seems as if the migration itself is more important than the migration to somewhere specific.

This strong importance of connectivity can also be seen in the amount of Forum threads ranking around mobility: from the scuppered mobility and sought-after ways of still getting to Germany in the event of transport failure (such as in the event of the Eyafjallajokull eruption in 2010[49], or through the Christmases of 2009 and 2010 when

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[49] Forum Thread No. 34374 - 'Inselkoller', 15.04.2010, and No. 34378 – 'Icelandic Volcano breakout: Flüge von/nach UK cancelled', 15.04.2010.

snow caused travel disruption[50]), to the more 'normal' mobility (various threads in which people post when they will travel, especially around Christmas, in order to meet up with fellow Forum users[51]).

Visits and phone calls were also an everyday feature for the Germans I spoke to. Lasse, in his mid-30s, had lived in Germany, the USA and now London. He was in Germany every couple of weeks, and it was not unusual for him to be in Germany two to three times a month, for both business and private visits, with the two often intermixed (e.g. staying a weekend with friends or family after a business trip ending on a Thursday or Friday). When I asked him if he would mind cutting back he said, yes, he would certainly notice and mind. Malte, in a similar geographical position of having moved several times, spoke of his frequent phone calls with friends and family back home. Hannah spoke to people back in Germany almost every night and had frequent visitors, like many other people. Especially the frequent phone calls would be a lot harder to incorporate into the daily routine in the case of a substantial time difference. For the majority of participants in my study connections with family and friends in Germany and elsewhere were incredibly important. They often informed, if not caused, mobility in the form of visits, holidays and similar.

4.3. Translocal Subjectivities

Due to the centrality of connections to Germany and associated emotions a form of 'translocal subjectivities' emerges. The idea of 'translocal subjectivities' comes from Conradson and Mckay who argue that "the formation of migrant selfhood is usually more closely related to localities within nations than to nation states" (2007: 169). In short, transnationalism implies a connection between two nations when, for migrants, this is often secondary. The idea of translocal subjectivities is based upon Appadurai's idea of 'translocalism' (1995), which describes how:

> Many such locations [that are opening up due to globalisation and modernity] create complex conditions for the production and reproduction of locality, in which ties of marriage, work, business and leisure weave together various circulating populations with kinds of 'locals' to create neighbourhoods which belong in one sense to particular

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[50] Forum Thread No. 32183 – 'Wer ist vom Verkehrschaos dieser Tage betroffen?', 21.12.2009, and No. 39636 – 'Airport Chaos', 19.12.2010.

[51] Forum Thread No. 44134 – 'Christmas Holiday Airport Thread Reloaded', 31.08.2011, and No. 37866 – 'The Christmas Holiday Airport / Ferry Terminal / Train Station Thread 2010', 16.08.2010 .

nation-states, but are, from another point of view, what we might call *translocalities* (1995: 216; emphasis in original).

This idea has been taken up in geography as looking at "the ways in which emplaced communities become extended, via the geographical mobility of their inhabitants, across particular sending and destination contexts" (Conradson and Mckay 2007: 168). The concept is particularly relevant due to its setting apart of the highly localised connections between places, which explains its uptake and adaptation by geographers; it has since been applied to different migration settings, including urban environments. Brickell and Datta (2011) point out the benefits of focusing on the "ever variegated localised contexts where transnational networks are maintained, negotiated and sustained in everyday urban life" (2011: 3). For them the appeal of translocal geographies lies in the connection of scales, in the possibility to understand the "overlapping place-times in migrants' everyday lives" (2011: 4). The emphasis no longer lies on the extended communities but rather on the lived realities of being a migrant, as well as the geographical scales that find themselves overlapping in place, due to the various translocalities in global locations. Complexity is prevalent; Brickell and Datta (2011) explore various localities of translocalism - connections between everyday spaces of the home (land), street/neighbourhood and city (2011: 13). It is still a very new concept, which is reflected in the rather varied application of it to research thus far. The overarching commonality between the different threads of research lies in the importance of place, as opposed to community in Appadurai's case. A large influence on the writings and the understanding of place, as well as space can be attributed to Doreen Massey. Place here is not seen merely as a point on a geographical grid; rather, it is the sum of the connections, the intersections (see Massey 1994).

Rather than following Brickell and Datta (2011) as well as other authors in the volume in their focus on place, I want to turn away slightly from this. While place was undoubtedly important for Germans in the UK to some extent, it was not enough to capture their experiences and practices of transnationalism. In order to capture those I use Conradson and Mckay's (2007) term 'translocal subjectivities' to "describe the multiply-located senses of self amongst those who inhabit transnational social fields". This concept takes into consideration the migrants' ideas about their interconnections, allowing me to highlight the subjective experience of being in one place yet often thinking about and being emotionally involved with another. This links in with the second qualifying element in Conradson and Latham's understanding of 'translocal

subjectivities': a certain emotional investment and commitment towards the locale where one has migrated from (2007: 168-169). The focus on the personal dimension here is also very appropriate to this context; as my migrants did not appear to be involved in the local lives they left behind beyond a personal dimension. For instance, none that I knew was still involved in local politics or something similar; hence, the tern 'translocal subejctivities' with a focus on the personal dimension is more suitable to describe this than a variant of 'transnationalism'.

With regards to German migrants it could be expected that the first localised attachment would be to 'Heimat', which can be roughly translated as 'home,' and for the migrants I interviewed encapsulated strong emotional ties with a specific region or place in Germany[52]. While many, if not all, agreed that the UK was now 'home' ('zu Hause'), none saw it as their Heimat. Heimat for many denoted the area or region in Germany where they had grown up, a space or place that was replete with memories. As Claudia said when I asked her what makes her feel that the region where she grew up is her 'Heimat', "Heimat? For me, that's where I'm from originally, and the place where I like going back to… (…) I think it's all the memories from my youth, all that nonsense lying around …"[i].

For my participants Heimat had a lot in common with a spatial interpretation of memories (Jones 2005: 210). This fits with other research done on the attachment by migrants to places where meaningful events took place, such as by Moores and Metykova (2010; particularly p. 172 and 182). Yet it soon emerged that the idea of Heimat did not necessarily translate into actual visits or connections. Heimat especially was often to a certain extent a nostalgic concept for the participants, in the sense that the landscape is very connected with memories of growing up; it is almost imaginary, and while it could be important – either by its presence or in its absence – there often was a certain element of longing in this, as most of the things associated with Heimat lie in the past. Not all, or many, of my participants actually had that many contemporary connections with their 'Heimat' in terms of visiting. So when I asked Claudia whether she still saw it as Heimat, she sad 'yes', yet in the same interview told me that she did not usually spend much time there, as it got very boring for her, and she therefore actively avoided long periods of time there. Similarly, when I asked her if she could see

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[52] This is despite the fact that despite the fact that Heimat is a very contentious term, having been "heavily laden with political and contradictory meanings – especially in fascist ideology which mystified the term" (Huber and O'Reilly 2004: 330).

herself living in Germany, Kirsten replied "well, yes, at some point, but not where I'm from – it's very rural[53], all my friends moved away, there's nothing going on… I really couldn't live there at the moment"[ii]. Malte, when asked whether he missed his friends, pointed out that actually, his friends are spread out all over Germany – whether he is in a German city or in London hardly makes any difference to how often he sees them, according to him.

While the concept of 'Heimat' was important to the migrants on an emotional level, this does not always translate into actual visits. However the migrants might still use it to make sense of their migrations, as I show in some instances below.

4.4. Bi-Local Migrants

Quite a few people I met moved right after finishing their education in Germany, and in a few cases straight from their parental homes. Internal migration in Germany had not happened beyond regional moves, if at all. They had therefore never left their social network for an extended period of time; their friendship groups and quite often their families are all in the same place in Germany.

Elena for example was in her 20s and had been living in London for just over two years when I interviewed her. She had moved out of her parents' place previously, to live on her own during her studies, in a city close to the village where she grew up and where subsequently a lot of her friends from home lived too. The decision to migrate was due to her wanting to 'get out' for a little bit – she had been living close to her family, including her sister to whom she was very close, and her somewhat overprotective[54] circle of friends. London seemed perfect in order to have some degree of separation, and something different. Through a previous contact she obtained a job, and two weeks after getting the offer she moved to London, even though she was quite clearly overqualified for the job. For her a part of the challenge of living in London was the fact that she was for the first time outside her immediate support network.

For bi-local migrants the norm in their area of origin appeared to be geographical stability, rather than mobility. The lifecourse expectations that are implicitly or explicitly put forward do not include mobility or migration above regional moves. In some cases people in this category had siblings living close to their families at home,

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[53] 'Pampa'
[54] Elena used the term 'gluckenhaft' – like a chicken looking after its young.

often with families of their own. The siblings' lifecourse and choices were presented as the complete counter-model to what the migrants were doing.

Marianne was in her mid-20s when I spoke to her. She had originally come over to the UK to work for a summer, had moved back to Germany, but felt she had not fully taken her chance yet. Therefore she went back to the place where she had worked, just long enough to find a position as an au-pair in London, where she stayed and worked for a year. After this she started working in an office job that she was overqualified for. Her brother still lived in the local rural area where she had grown up. He now lives there with his children, and he has no intention, as far as Marianne can see, of ever moving away. For him, she says, it was always very clear that he would stay regional, and that he likes it.

In most cases the migrants were not only the first to move from their families, but also from their friendship groups. Rather than having a social network that is used to facilitate geographical mobility they are reliant upon a social network where stability is key, often leaving them feeling as if they were letting friends and family down by going against their expectations. Elena in particular, with her close-knit group of friends and family in one region, felt like she had gone against her friends' wishes, and felt as if they were 'humouring' her as a result of this.

In terms of mobility the participants in this category demonstrate Recchi and Favell's (2009) point that the overwhelmingly large majority of EU residents (98%) are still living in their country of origin, and that mobility even within the EU seems to be the exception rather than the norm. This counters Boenisch-Brednich's (2006: e.g. 463) claim, following Urry (2000, 2007), that mobility is becoming the norm. In their immediate social network the migrants are often the only ones moving. Once in the UK their mobility pattern tends to be dominated by visits to the home region, and possibly to other European cities in the form of weekend travel. Sandra and Marianne (both in their mid-20s) made use of London's good airport connections for some weekend breaks. However, with regard to Germany, their visits were very strongly oriented towards their home region.

As Conradson and Mckay (2007: 168-9) write, it is not only about the physical mobility when speaking about translocalism; a large role is also played by the emotional investment and the effort that it takes by migrants to maintain ties. In the case of bi-

local migrants their emotional efforts with regard to managing their migration are all directed towards the same region; the 'complex economics' of being home for certain events only centre around one geographical area. This very distinct geography is particularly important for two reasons: firstly, this is the backdrop against which the new experiences are compared by the migrants. Second, should the home region lose out in those comparisons, the migrants tend to assume that what they are seeking cannot be found elsewhere in Germany – because they do not know the rest of Germany from first-hand experience, and therefore exclude it from their list of potential places to live.

4.4.1. *Temporality: Time-Out and Half-Hearted Migration.*

The strong and pervasive idea of a temporally limited move to a region which is not terribly far away had a strong influence on many participants' migration behaviour. Migrants were frequently still geared towards a return, both in their personal and their professional lives, illustrating a certain conditionality of migration. This fits with the findings of Ette and Sauer (2007) who found that migrants from Germany are predominantly from the 25-40 age group, more likely to emigrate somewhere within the European Union, and the migration is likely to be temporally limited. This return did not necessarily happen, but it did influence the mode of their migration, with them seemingly taking a break out of their regular lives, to which they would return afterwards.

The temporality is initially expressed by migrants as giving a timeframe to their migration: a minimum length of stay. There is thus a very strong idea among many migrants of moving to the UK for a relatively short time (one to two years) to see what it is like, rather than treating the move as an indefinite migration. Sven and Sandra provide interesting quotes on this:

> Sven: I said in the beginning, I'd like to give it a try for a year, just to have done it, and now it's developed so positively, I've made two years out of the one, and it's open to the top, there's no limit really… [iii]

> Sandra*:* So my original timeframe was a year… there's quite a few who say that, a year, I don't really know why… (…) I always treated going abroad with a lot of respect, you're completely on your own, and you don't know anyone, and … that's why I thought, ok, you can do this for a year. And my boss at the company where I was working at the time, (…) they kept my workplace for me for a year. [iv]

The initial temporality is almost a safety net. A year was seen as the minimum amount of time one needed to stay in the country in order to have lived abroad; after a year, if it went wrong, it was assumed it would be relatively easy to pick up the pieces in Germany. Yet the mover did not have to see their migration as a failure, because they tried to make it work for a year.

At the same time the temporal timeframe for the migration means that life plans do not have to be changed, just put on hold for a while. Michael, a dentist, saw his time in the UK as the last time he could 'get out and try something different' before going back to Germany, his region of origin, settling down and having children[55]. When I spoke to him he had just accepted an offer to return to Germany to continue his specialisation. With this settled, he saw the 2.5 years he had spent in various places in the UK as a great time, literally his last chance to get out of the region where he had spent his entire life, including his studies. He clearly seemed to equate migrating for a short period of time as something that was to be done while 'young', without a family of his own, which could impossibly be done once he did have a family of his own.

The metaphor of 'getting out' was used frequently, reinforcing the idea of the migrants' return home after that year or so. In combination with this bi-local migrants, with their strong focus on one region in Germany, originally plan to return to the region they set out from. This was evident in their material possessions: they would frequently leave their lives behind in the form of material possessions, coming to the UK with one or two bags only, leaving the rest of their things in their parents' place, expecting to pick up the pieces once their time in the UK was over[56]. It almost seemed as if they were taking a break from their lives – leaving behind friends, family, furniture and belongings – while not fully removing themselves, and keeping in close touch with people and developments at home.

Similarly, for some of the migrants, their career development took a back seat, meaning that they would take jobs for which they were overqualified in order to enable them to come to the UK, like Marianne or Elena above. This was not always because they would not have been able to find a job in their field: quite a few times I had the feeling

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[55] Despite the fact he did not have a girlfriend at the time I spoke to him.
[56] See also Schubert-McArthur (2009) for a case study of Germans moving to New Zealand with similar strategies of leaving things behind.

that my participants were not even looking for anything else[57]. The idea behind this being that because this is only for a year or two it is acceptable to not work in your trained profession; because upon your return to Germany and your chosen profession, your superior English skills will make up for this small break. Scott (2004: 397-398) as well as Conradson and Latham (2007: 235) both mention the fact that for young transnational migrants, the career can take the back seat behind the goal of obtaining experiences abroad, of having an 'adventure'. The other striking factor was that in many cases the job taken was a relatively easy option. Migrants often only applied to a limited number of places, or had job offers from a company at home. Katja initially came over on a contract from her then employer. Even though she had not wanted to stay with them for work, when they offered her a job abroad in the UK, she took the chance of an easy migration. Similarly, Elena came over on a job contract that was below her qualifications, yet she did not attempt to find a different job for the first two years. Hannah too took a relatively easy option of staying with employers and offering herself as a maternity cover, knowing it was not her dream job, but accepting it in order to go abroad. It almost seemed as if the job gave them the minimum security they felt they needed to take the step of going abroad for a while. It is striking that all those who 'traded down' in the job market were women; none of the bi-local men (Sven, Jens and Tilman) traded down. Whether this is due to a lack of confidence in their own skills or lack of knowledge concerning the British job market, or rather a need for added security and stability during the migration in the form of having a job for sure, is uncertain.

In a way the migration could almost be called half-hearted (Armbruster 2010: 1237), as even though they were moving countries they seemed not fully convinced of the move – they fully expect to return to their region of origin, at least in the beginning. The proximity to Germany, which is not seen as a 'complete break', is another factor in this. Things that are comfortable and well-known are just within reach. They strive to be abroad, yet are happy with a somewhat conditional existence, a way of being in the new country that is not geared towards them building a new life there, but obtaining new experiences. The connections with Germany were physically much stronger than in Armbruster's case study of Germans in Namibia. In some cases, migrants continue to have health insurance in Germany (sometimes paid for by their parents), keep visiting their doctors there (see also Favell 2008), and remain active in the social life. Certainly,

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[57] In fact, when they stayed longer, both Elena and Marianne started looking for jobs with clear prospects of career progression.

the bi-local movers are emotionally still very much both involved 'at home', as well as geared towards a return. In fact, they keep things at home almost ticking over, ensuring that everything is still in place for their eventual return, and nothing much would change. It is, it seems, a very cautious form of mobility that the bi-local movers inhabit.

4.4.2. *Expectations of Co-Presence and Differential Views of Distance*

As highlighted above, people frequently chose the UK as it enabled them to travel to Germany relatively frequently and inexpensively. As many of them think they will return eventually the emotional investment and involvement in Germany is high. In some cases, this involvement in their social networks in Germany was so intense that I got the feeling that they did not really expect to be very much removed from it despite their migration. In these cases sometimes the actual, practical distance turned out to be different from the idea of distance: it was harder to visit, both emotionally and financially, than they expected, especially considering that the proximity to Germany played an important role in their choice of destination. Many pointed to the advantage of the UK by emphasising the one-hour flight to Germany, highlighting the ability to maintain high levels of involvement. Here, I want to return to Elena, as well as introduce Tilman.

When I interviewed her Elena had just gone through a phase of being in Germany at least once a month for about half a year. She also emphasised the amount of visitors she received, often people who had already visited her before and were there for a second, third, or fourth time. In addition she told me she frequently spoke to her friends on the phone – and even though this was in some cases not as frequently as in the beginning, it still involved substantial amounts of time. She was clearly very involved with people at home, closely in touch with actual activities and important festivities, like birthdays and weddings. To her, this was almost too much, as in the last half year, she had hardly spent any weekends in London, cutting her chances of exploring the city further. Apart from not having any time for London as a city, the time needed and the stress that can result from the constant travelling was also emphasised by Elena. In addition to spending a lot of time travelling and in Germany, she had spent a lot of money on the flights. Even cheap flights usually come to about 30-50 pounds return minimum. The prices for onwards travel have to be added to this, and spending £80-100 each weekend for visits can become very pricey.

When I spoke to her again a few months later she felt like she was not home often enough, as she had not visited for a few weeks, and was not planning a trip either. She was getting worried that she was neglecting her parents, and therefore felt like she should plan a visit home soon to see them. Having to find a balance between whom to visit, and when, could therefore be more tricky than it seemed at first. Yet, on the other hand, it becomes clear that for Elena, there was very much the expectation and understanding that she could be there if she wanted to. There was therefore a co-existent guilt that if she did not visit this could be seen as a choice of hers to not visit, a conscious turning away.

Tilman also had a certain way of staying in touch with life and people at home. He pointed out to me his system of cheaply buying plane tickets en masse up to a year in advance, as soon as special offers became available (such as a £20 return flight with Ryanair). By using this system he was then able to travel cheaply back home for weekends, leaving on Friday nights and returning on Monday mornings. If he could not make the weekend he would only lose a limited amount of money. He too went home to spend time with family and friends, staying with his family and going out with his friends similarly to when he was still living at home during his studies. However he also pointed out that the time at home was usually very limited, in that he would have about 48-72 hours in which to see friends and family, go out, sleep and go to the airport again. His family had felt put out by the rush he was constantly in when visiting, and complained:

> I did this [the weekends] for quite a while, and I noticed it became really hard work, so I cut back a little… my parents also said, it's not nice if I'm home, that it's such a constant stress, time pressure… like, I started micro-managing my parents, like saying, if we want to eat together, it has to be at 7pm sharp, because at 8.30 I'm meeting people, and I need to shower and leave, and… and my mum said, I'm not an entry in your diary! And that was… well, so, since about a year and a half ago, (…) it all became a bit quieter… I just didn't like it [the stress and hectic timing] as much anymore[v].

Unlike other accounts of migration that have highlighted the guilt experienced – such as Conradson and Latham (2007), studying New Zealanders in the UK, or O'Connor's (2010) account of Irish in Australia – this seems to be a different quality of guilt. In the case of New Zealanders, there might be guilt at not being in New Zealand for certain events, yet the distance and costs of flights to attend these events is prohibitive.

Similarly O'Connor describes in detail the feelings experienced by her respondents of missing out on rite-of-passage events (O'Connor 2010: 79). In contrast I had the feeling that because England was only a one-hour, at most two-hour flight away, there was a much stronger expectation that one could live in the UK and still attend the important events, to spend weekends at home and with friends. While of course it is possible to do this to a certain extent, participants would often admit that it was not as easy as they thought, as seen above with Elena and Hannah. Marianne also readily admitted that it is not just about the one-hour flight: you have to get to the airport, through security, through the flight, land, get a shuttle bus from budget airports or be picked up. All in all, it takes a long time. Especially budget flights tend to be at anti-social hours, involving a lot of commitment from friends and family to pick up and drop off the visitor.

Some of my participants admitted that it was harder to visit home than they thought; that long travelling hours on a weekend after a long week at work could leave them tired out. Yet, because the UK was comparatively close to Germany, they felt like they should be there. Missing out on special events to them therefore felt less like something inevitable and more of a choice; the availability of cheap transport put the onus on them to travel.

Beyond migrants trying to navigate frequencies of visits and emotional involvement at home a second problem occurs when life at home and friendship groups move on. Similarly to Tilman's idea that his life would continue almost as before when he was home, migrants frequently seemed to expect to slot back into their friendship groups at home. When this does not happen, for various reasons, again the self-understandings of the migrants can be challenged. This becomes clear in a quote from Sandra who, when talking about when she went home, disappointedly told me that her friends had not really made a special effort to come and meet her, and that in fact it had been quite hard to meet up with many of them, as they were quite unaccommodating:

> It's a bit of a shame, it's all falling apart a bit [her friendship group in Germany]. When I'm back 'home', then I try to organise meetings for us, to make arrangements with all the people so we can all meet up, you try to get all the people you know to come to a bar… and the last time I tried, last May, of the 10, 12 people I asked, only 2 came (…) And I usually try to arrange it that I'm home when other people are there too, and you'd think that if they knew I was coming, they might make a bit of an effort to coordinate with me, at least that's what I'd hoped they would do, but they didn't do that at all… [vi]

There is therefore an expectation that friends should be excited to have one back, to hear stories of one's migration, but on the other hand there is also a disappointment that one cannot simply slot back into the life that was had before; a disappointment almost that life for the other people had continued, that they did not simply drop everything to be with the visiting migrant. The feeling of being missed is seemingly a desired dimension of moving abroad, while the feelings of connectivity can also highlight negative developments. For example, the possibility of visits home and staying in touch mean that it is much easier to notice a drifting apart of friendships, such as Sandra noticing that her friends were not all that willing to meet up with her when she was visiting.

In all these cases the emotional commitment depicted by Conradson and Mckay (2007: 168-169) as a feature of translocal subjectivities is clearly evident, with ambiguous feelings and emotions expressed with regard to both the proximity and distance experienced.

4.5. Multi-Local Migrants

In opposition to the bi-locals, the multi-local migrants are oriented towards more regions or areas at the same time. The multi-local movers often have a history of migration from studying onwards – the first move is often a move within Germany for studies, followed by studying abroad, or partaking in the ERASMUS programme, thereby gaining their first experience of living abroad. These are more like Favell's Eurostars in the sense that they tend to be very well-qualified professionals with transferable skills, who would be happy to move elsewhere. Even if they had not moved internationally before, all of the people in this group had moved internally within Germany at least once, often between or to larger cities, and therefore over more considerable distances than moving intra-regionally only.

In many cases there was an acknowledgement of the impact that this had on them in terms of preparing them for other migrations. For example, they would often compare their first internal migration to subsequent international migrations: Björn, a migrant in his late 20s, saw the move to England as comparable to his initial move out of his parents' house when he started university. In addition, quite a few of the people in this group are from what could be termed transnational families (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002: 3), where the families are scattered across the globe, or where migration is part of family history. This could be either due to historic forced migration, such as after the

Second World War, or due to more recent migration streams in Europe, such as the south to north migration within Europe in the 1960s and 1970s. There was a rather large number of Germans I met who had one German parent, and one parent from Italy, Greece, France or elsewhere, as well as some who had a background of forced re-settlement after WWII.

I met Marie at one of the German meetings. She had just moved to London in 2010, and was using the meetings to make contacts. Her mother was French, her father German, and she had grown up in both places, with a few years in the USA in between, when her father held a job there. After her schooling and an apprenticeship in France she went to the UK for a while to learn English. After applying to, and attending, an English university, she stayed in the UK, moving around for a number of years, before finally settling in London. At the same meeting, I got to know Dirk, who was also relatively new to London. He had lived elsewhere in the UK before, but as a currently unemployed architect he was hoping to find work again in London, at a time when most of the industry in the UK was suffering badly. His father was Greek, but he had grown up in Germany. His entire family, he said, was a little footloose, shifting around. When he decided to move abroad he had also considered moving to other areas, like Dubai, in order to find a job.

This fits with findings by other researchers on the impact of migration for the rest of the lives: Bürgelt et al. (2008) studied Germans who had moved to Australia. Even though their sample was rather small (16 people), most of them also came from a family background with migration in the history, quite frequently still in the aftermath of World War II. According to the authors, the previous migrations gave them important skills which made subsequent migrations easier and more feasible. The relationship between different moves has been recognised. Kennedy (2009: 466), even though not writing specifically about Germans, but about young EU migrants, nonetheless points out that migrants obtain certain skills during their travels and migrations, which can influence their further lifecourse trajectories.

The skills obtained were clearly obvious to the migrants themselves. Frequently, when I asked them whether they had felt daunted by the move abroad, or minded not being near friends and family, they would tell me that to them, it was no different to moving internally in Germany. Björn told me that moving to the UK was exactly the same to him as moving elsewhere in Germany:

> [Friends and family in Germany] just had to cope with me moving to the UK. Like I said, I had already left behind friends and family when I moved to another town to study, it was a separation to start with. You could only meet up maybe once a month. And then I went to Australia for a year, I didn't meet anybody there, and when I came back from there I wasn't back [in Germany] for long enough for them to get used… they were already used to me being on the move a lot[vii].

Malte, too, highlighted the fact that wherever he would have moved to, he would have been further from friends and family than before, so it almost did not matter about the specific location.

4.5.1. *Migration as Part of the Planned Lifecourse*

For most multi-local migrants the move to the UK was one of a few, or many, migrations, and they therefore tended to have a social network that reflected this, being friends with people with similar mindsets, in similar occupations. Lasse's friends in fact had such similar lifestyles to his own that a number moved to London not long after he himself moved there:

> I don't know whether it was sheer randomness or something else, but when I came to London, in the beginning I was all alone, but within the next two or three years, a whole lot of my friends, really good friends, moved over to London as well, some close friends from university who were part of my closer group at uni, and then a friend from sandpit days[58], from before primary school, and it's really funny that all of us are now here together…[viii]

Similarly, many were friends or in couples with other Europeans. Henrik lived together with his Dutch partner, having lived in the Netherlands himself for a long time. Hannes was living with his Spanish partner, whom he had met while working in Berlin. This is not dissimilar to the Eurostars who tend to spend their time with other Europeans (Favell 2008). While they might be from socially conservative areas in Germany characterised by a sense of stability, their moves for academic purposes or work would have grouped them with like-minded people. Through the different stations while studying, their social network tends to be geographically wider spread, and more understanding of frequent moves.

Of Lasse's siblings, one was currently living abroad, and the others had studied and/or worked abroad for a certain amount of time, meaning that within his family there was

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[58] Meaning a friend he played in the sandpit with as a toddler, i.e. a friendship that goes back a long way.

little friction over his move. According to him, his parents never complained about his move; he did not really seem too worried about their reaction, and actually had to think quite hard about whether they had voiced any misgiving. Any trouble about keeping in touch he put down to the phase of life they were all going through:

> the phase where you're on the go all the time, where when you're off, you're busy going out with your friends, and you can't be on the phone as often, you hardly have any 'domestic life', you don't really spend all that much time at home…[ix]

Despite his family not being near him, it is obvious that his lifestyle was not considered very odd by his family. His friends also favoured a similar lifestyle of living abroad, as the quote above shows. Similarly, Malte's friends were scattered throughout the larger German cities, so that when I asked him whether he could see himself moving back to the region he came from, he looked at me in a rather puzzled way before saying, 'my friends are so scattered across Germany - Frankfurt, Cologne, Munich… even if I was in Germany again, I wouldn't see them very often…'[x].

For the multi-local movers, temporality is a more inherent part of their lifestyle rather than something that enables you to move away from your life. They are less cautiously mobile, and much more settled in mobility. Their aim seems to be to keep in touch, rather than keeping things the same. Mobility, and the search for new experiences, becomes ingrained. When I met Marie she had just embarked on a long post-graduate course. Part of her reason for choosing that particular course was the fact that the teaching was organised in short blocks about four to six weeks apart. As she put it:

> Because it's only once a month… (…) I mean, it's a possibility, right? It's not ideal, but I had that in the back of my mind. I mean if my life… five years is a long time to commit to[59]… and it's good to know that if something unforeseen happens (…) if I meet someone and I have to move away or want to, or whatever, then an option like that is really useful. [xi]

Quite a few other Germans who I met moved on because they wanted to experience something new again, because it had become too settled; or if they did not move away, at least they pointed out in the interviews that they were getting restless. Here is a fieldwork diary entry:

> I start chatting to T. She works in a very niche area of work in international sports management, so I ask her how she got to where she is

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[59] She had signed up for a five-year part time course.

today. She then tells me about the luck and falls of the dice that brought her to London. She grew up bi-lingual, speaking French and German, and used to live in France for quite a while as well. Somebody asks whether she can imagine going back to Germany at all – she replies that she can imagine going back to Paris, where she used to live for a while, but that she has gotten so used to being 'foreign' that it would be strange to go back to Germany. L. chips in and says that she agrees. L. works as a lawyer for an international law firm, and also says that she always feels a little bit 'up-rooted' (entwurzelt); after living in London, she can't imagine living in a smaller city anymore. She now sees it as home – when she moved here, she said, oh, a year, and then after that year, you stay longer, and you get used to it, you stay the second year, and it becomes home… before she came to live in London, she already studied for a year in the UK before finishing her studies in Germany. (Fieldnotes, Saturday Get Together, Zeitgeist, October 2009)

Henrik: I quite like living in London… but I kind of know in the back of my mind that for me, this is not it, and that I can imagine going elsewhere on short notice… I'm flexible. When I moved here, I already thought, ok, I'll do two years… now it's four, it'll probably be five, but I think, that at some point I'll say, (…) I've seen it, I want something else now. It's kind of starting at the back of my head[xii].

As Boenisch-Brednich states "they lose the liminality which they experienced as positive" (2006: 467). Temporality and mobility for them is their life. Or, as Morokvasic (2004) puts it, albeit in a slightly different temporal context, they are 'settled in mobility'. For the bi-local movers, mobility is a one-off; the associated temporality gives them the freedom to take a break from their lives, quite literally. For the multi-local movers, it *is* their life.

4.5.2. *Imaginary Geographies of Germany and Possible Returns*

The transnational movers do not necessarily see themselves as going back after their stint in the UK, but as moving on, where work takes them, or their fancy. Even though, often, they see their stay in the UK as temporary as well, they do not put their lives on hold – this *is* their life. Lasse wanted a job where he could travel, and would have the option of moving on elsewhere later on. Malte, too, had moved to the UK primarily for career reasons, and has since moved to New York. Even though his contract was unlimited theoretically, he was always relatively clear about wanting to move on. In fact, some of the multi-local migrants tend to present themselves as hyper-mobile, and claim that they like to travel light – one of the first times I chatted to Lasse about his migration, he told me with a degree of pride that if he wanted to, he would be able to

pack up in one night and leave, as his possessions in England did not exceed a few boxes or suitcases. Similarly, Jan told me he still has things in his parents' cellar from his recent move, something that sat uneasily with him. Malte, on the other hand, had gone out of his way to make sure most of his furniture and things had moved over with him to the UK, as he did not want to burden other people with his possessions.

In terms of their physical and emotional mobility, as opposed to the bi-local migrants, multi-local migrants tended to invest their emotional energies towards different areas in Germany, and world-wide. They might be in regular contact, including visiting, with their family; but as often, they would also maintain emotionally close ties with friends living in other parts of Germany, as well as other parts of Europe or the globe. When in Germany, their visits are geographically spread - different areas or cities are visited in order to catch up with friends. Daniel, in his late 30s, took advantage regularly of work trips to stop by friends' places, visiting them whenever possible. As he said, frequently he had the feeling he was seeing more of them than he was before, as he was now making more of an effort.

Many of the multi-local movers highlighted the quality of friendships they maintained, saying that the sometimes occurring dearth of contact for a while was all but forgotten as soon as they saw one another. Tamara, a woman in her 30s who had been living in the UK for almost ten years when I spoke to her, expressed this clearly:

> I'm not great on the phone or with email, but I really try hard to see them regularly… I really try, even if it's once a year or every other year, to organise a meeting where you spend some time together, and I have to say, I was surprised, but with good friends, even if you haven't seen one another for two years, and maybe not spoken so much on the phone, but you kind of know what was going down in each others' lives, when you're just hanging out together, then the first two three hours are catch up and then, after that, it's like not much has changed, the friendships are just there, and that's really nice to know, that they don't go anywhere just because you haven't spoken or emailed, and I really appreciate that[xiii].

This is a very different scenario to Sandra above whose friendship group was disintegrating slowly; or Elena and Tilman who tried to maintain an incredibly close contact with whole groups of friends still in Germany. Several other multi-local migrants confirmed this as well; such as Aron who described his friendships in Germany after nine years of living in the UK "as if you've just seen each other yesterday". Daniel added an interesting perspective on this. While moving to the UK

was his first international move, he had moved within Germany before. He also had friends who had moved internationally before, and when talking about his friends back home told me that it was a lot easier to stay in touch with those of his friends who had moved internationally before:

> DM: So, is it the case that you have the feeling that you're the one who has to stay in touch, because you moved? That people assume that?
>
> Daniel: Well… with some of them, yes. Not those people with whom I had long-distance friendships before. (…) they check how you're doing, they send an email… with them, it's different, they don't expect it. But those who remained in [the town he lived in before], they expect me to. They never ask, when do you come here next? It's always me saying, hey, I'm here for a bit, and they say, cool, let's meet up… (…) The friend who now lives in North Germany, she lived in Ireland before, and so I knew what would happen[xiv].

Daniel here points out the friendships of multi-local people in reverse, by highlighting that for him they are much more understanding of his situation, getting in touch with him rather than expecting him to get in touch.

Marie pointed out that the high quality of the friendships could also be due to a certain negative factor: being a migrant, living abroad and further away than convenient, means that many friendships simply die along the way. When I interviewed her she told me that the close friendships remain, and the others disappear due to the energy one needs to put into remaining in touch. It could be argued that the slow disintegration of friendships, the changes described for instance by Sandra, had already happened.

Due to their visits to other cities in Germany, through work or privately, they also have a picture of the different possibilities of living and working in Germany which would offer them a sound basis for a decision regarding their future moves. Lasse, through extended travels to Frankfurt for work but also knowing people who live there, had a very clear idea of what kind of life would await them were he to move there. Based upon this he had decided that this was not what he wanted at the moment:

> Recently, I visited friends in Germany, Bockenheim in Frankfurt, of course it's nice, or there's parts of it that are nice, there's a bit more space that you can afford, but other than that, it all seems a bit… (…) it all seems a bit petty-bourgeois[60]… (…) of course it's nice to have a large flat, but… but then there's negative things. To use Bockenheim as an example, the flat that they [the friends] have, it's not huuuuge, and the

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[60] 'Kleinbürgerlich'

> city [Frankfurt] wouldn't give me the opportunity to earn as much money, that I would be able to afford a flat that's that much bigger… and when I walk around South Kensington, it's a nice feeling, in comparison to Bockenheim, that's a bit… am I jealous? I don't think jealousy in that sense exists [for me]… I'm relatively convinced that if I wanted to, I could move back to Germany any time I wanted to, so … [xv].

Tamara had also seen a number of German cities through visiting friends. At the time of the interview, she was actively thinking about moving back to Germany, but after having considered her options told me she would rather move to Berlin than return to Hamburg where she had studied, as at the moment it suited her better in terms of the lifestyle and work she was looking for.

Simultaneously, the higher number and broader geographical spread of energies and visits across Germany was not only driven by the wider distribution of friends and family, but also the lessening of attachment to the region of origin. Lasse, again, when I asked him if he saw the city where he grew up as 'home' or Heimat replied that:

> Over the last eight, nine years I learned that just Germany as Heimat, it doesn't work, it's not quite right – not when I'm, for example when I'm with my parents, then I feel like, once I've been there for a day and a half, I realise that I don't really belong there anymore. I no longer feel at home there… of course it's nice to be at home, and then it has an effect like, oh, I haven't seen that for ages, or that, and it's nice to see that again, but then I feel relatively quickly that that's not me[xvi].

As a result, he said, even though he spent quite a bit of time in Germany, he was back at his parents' place least of all, usually being in Frankfurt, Munich or Hamburg visiting friends and attending network functions.

In comparison to the bi-local migrants, it is very obvious that proximity and distance are perceived very differenty, with emotional investments towards Germany spread more widely. It appeared as if the multi-local migrants were a lot more comfortable with personal relations being spread out over both space and time.

4.6. 'Settled' Migrants

Settled migrants demonstrate particularly well the influence of friendships on migration behaviour and the desirability of return. In the group of 'settled' migrants, I have included those of my participants and other German migrants I spoke to more informally who had in some cases attended school in the UK as A-level students, and then remained in the UK for university, as well as those who attended undergraduate

courses in the UK. It also includes those migrants who see themselves living in the UK in the short- and long-term future, often due to their partner being British or of another nationality, which meant that Britain was a good compromise for them.

By the time I spoke to these migrants they had been in the UK for a large number of years, especially in comparison to some bi-local migrants. Jana had been in the UK with an interruption since 2001. She originally attended school as an exchange student for one term and enjoyed it so much that she decided to stay the whole year. After the year it made more sense for her to remain in the UK to finish her schooling. She then decided to apply to English universities and remained for her undergraduate studies before taking a job in Germany. From there she eventually returned to the UK, as her partner was there as well as her friends from school and university.

Konrad's story is similar. He, too, attended school in the UK. When all his friends started applying for universities in the UK, he said he wanted to follow his cohort and started applying to British universities as well. He got accepted into university, finished his undergraduate studies and completed a postgraduate degree before starting work in the City. As he himself points out, if it had not been for his friends and the almost normative pathways (in terms of studies, career choice and career progression) that students from the upper universities (and private schools) on average tend to follow, he probably would not have stayed:

> I came here when I was 16 to improve my English (…) And since then, it's easier for me to stay here too. So it was like that when I finished school, and all my friends applied for British universities and (…) so I said, well, I'll give that a go. It's so easy to be influenced by your surroundings, about what steps you take next… because they applied for English universities, I did too. And that was ok. And when I finished studying, many said ooh, maybe a masters. And I thought about maybe an academic career, and therefore I also took a masters degree. And then they all applied for bank jobs, and I thought, it's not so bad, so you can do that too. (…) Maybe that's also a result of the English way of studying, three years bachelor, then a masters, then you work as a professional… I think the curricula are much more similar here than they are in Germany. (…) over there, they differ much more strongly, you don't get pulled along as much…[xvii]

Both Jana and Konrad display very strongly the pull of friends they made during their school time and their university years in keeping them in the UK. Tamara, introduced above as a multi-local mover, could also almost be counted as a 'settled' migrant after

having spent almost 10 years in London, including an initial year of studying. Aron had been living in the UK for nine years when I interviewed him in 2010 and had no intention of returning, having settled with his partner.

For the settled migrants, generally, the UK as a country was well-known – as Jana joked, almost in some cases better than Germany, as through friends met at university and school travelling to different parts was frequently done. Theresa, too, knew the UK very well as a result of long-standing family connections to the country. As a child and teenager she had spent many summers and a gap-year in the country, and when the opportunity arose to move temporarily to London she took it gladly. She was planning to move back to Germany when I interviewed her and was quite sad about this as she really enjoyed living in the UK. However her field of work was highly specialist, with only a very limited number of jobs available in the UK. It was very obvious to her that working in the UK was not a long-term option for her in terms of career development. Even though personally she was very happy and certainly settled in with a large circle of friends, she returned to Germany. Being 'settled' in the country would therefore not necessarily mean that migrants certainly would stay in the long term[61].

When I interviewed her, Jana did not have any plans to move back to Germany. Claudia, who could also be counted as a settled migrant, said that she was more inclined to move somewhere else again but was very happy in London for the time being. For these migrants, the current centre of their lives was clearly in the UK. Jonas, who was in his 30s and had been living in the UK for seven years, was happily settled with his partner and a permanent job in northern England. While there were connections to other German cities and friends living there, for the moment this did not translate into a desire to move back. In general though, there was still perceived to be a freedom of deciding where to move:

> Konrad: Generally, I like London, I'm happy here, I feel rooted and at home. But in the long term, I could imagine returning to Germany. It's probably similar for many people…
>
> Me: Why do you think that is?
>
> K.: I think it's simply the, the quality of life. If we're talking about families, I can imagine that in London, the appeal of the UK to me is being in London. And to raise a family in London would be very

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[61] In chapter 7, I explore this category further with respect to some negative aspects being settled can have. My participants in this category were somewhat skewed as they were very happy. The less happy aspects emerge more strongly in chapter 7, under the category of 'emotional exile'.

> difficult. The schools are bad, so you have to pay a fortune to send your kids to private school, and then you want to move to a good catchment area, and it costs a fortune. And before I do what other people do, and move to Kent or Hertford, then I've lost the nice things about London and I might as well move to Mannheim. [xviii]

The fact that they had been living in the UK for quite lengthy periods of time meant that for all of the 'settled' migrants I spoke to there was minimal guilt around being in the UK. The time span, it could be argued, meant that over time arrangements that worked and ways to keep friendships alive had crystallised, enabling a settled life that was not experienced as disrupted.

In some cases, the 'settled' life literally meant settling down in the traditional sense: Aron had moved to the UK over nine years ago in order to be with his partner. He could not see himself leaving again and knew he was in the UK in the long term due to being settled in a relationship. For them as a couple moving to Germany was not an option. Similarly Jonas had settled down with his girlfriend in the North of England, and freely admitted that he was highly unlikely to ever move back to Germany. Sonja's husband, too, was British; for them it was also clear that they would stay in Britain. Sonja did not feel any strong urges to move back to Germany, having few strong connections, while her husband spoke very little German and was not intending to learn any more. He was also clearly the reason that Sonja was still in Britain: when I interviewed her she told me that she had not liked the UK much when moving there and was almost on the brink of moving back to Germany when meeting him. She was happy about her choice to stay though. Playing into this might have been the further element of her and her husband belonging to a relative minority religion and her feeling more accepted with this in the UK.

Here the emotional connections by the migrants had certainly shifted towards the UK; connections with Germany are maintained but in most cases, not with a view to return in the near future.

4.7. Unsettled Categories

While there are several migrants who fall fairly easily into either of the three above categories there are also migrants who fall somewhere between. Overall it seems as if time spent away from 'home' tends to shift migrants from bi-localism towards multi-localism, as they meet other people who live in different places and thereby begin to

also invest their emotional energies towards other places. Sven originally came to the UK with his first major move; after about two years there he told me he was very happy not living in Germany anymore as it had all been a very strong small-town mentality. After the first successful move he was now toying with the idea of moving elsewhere for a while, such as the USA, but did not have any concrete plans yet.

Similarly other bi-local migrants might be turning away slightly from being so closely involved with their social circle at 'home'. Elena was very slowly shifting her possessions to the UK via friends bringing her bits and pieces when visiting. Slowly, her life was beginning to be more centred around London, and this was reflected in her material possessions shifting. At the time I spoke to her and incidentally, also Marianne, both of them were looking to find jobs that would offer them much better professional progression. When I finished fieldwork Marianne had in fact found a job in her field that she was very happy with; she was excited about the career progression that it might entail. At the same time her friendship network at home was changing, slowly dispersing and/or disappearing from her home village while at the same time, as she was in an international relationship, other options of possible onward migrations or permanent settlement in the UK might open up for her. Tilman, for all his visits to his home region and good times out with friends, also told me that his friends are slowly scattering all over Germany both for work and further studies. His centre to which he used to return is dispersing – in the future it is likely that he will turn more towards becoming a multi-local migrant rather than a bi-local migrant, incorporating more and more other German cities into his Germany trips. Importantly for the migrants, social relations could change strongly - friendships might slowly wither or be strengthened in other areas, parents might move to other regions or, like in Hannah's case, decease. There are therefore a multitude of ways in which these patterns can shift. One man I met, Paul, in his late 30s, whose parents were no longer alive, was quite frank in his admission that his parents death had meant that he had more freedom in his mobility.

4.8.   Conclusion

In this chapter I have used the concept of 'translocal subjectivities' to highlight the multiple complex attachments to localities in Germany that migrants experience and invest in, based upon their previous migration history and what the migration means to them. Transnational or translocal connections emerge right from the beginning as highly

relevant to the migrants, making them central to the migration from the start. The geographical situation of Germany and the UK of relative proximity through flights, trains and ferries plays an important role here. As I showed, this in some cases makes the UK an ideal country of compromise between not migrating at all and moving to where is perceived to be too far away. The idea of choosing the destination of migration as a compromise in highly-skilled migration has so far been neglected in the literature, only receiving a mention in Favell (2008) as a compromise between two international partners for a third country or city. Here, though, the role of friends and family was central. The relative silence in the literature on this could be due to the fact that such migrants are usually perceived to be highly independent; yet also the fact that, for example in lifestyle migration, emotional reasons for migration ('I just fell in love with this country and the lifestyle') play a large role, which among my participants did not feature[62].

The translocalism displayed by the migrants is oriented strongly around people as well as places, emphasising emotional connections. By using translocal subjectivities the focus on the personal dimension was both feasible and foregrounded. Due to the fact that few other connections were maintained this was more suitable than 'transnationalism'. Studying the complexities of translocalities in practice has helped shed further light on the multiple different experiences and migration projects within what is in other migration literature considered as one group: the 'young professionals'. This group is more complex than previously given credit for – previously young highly skilled migrants have been treated by researchers as one group, or maybe two (based upon whether they were sent by their companies or came on their own accord), yet the diversity revealed here in their migratory experiences, as well as the importance of their previous migration history (or lack thereof) adds a new dimension to migration research of this population group.

The geographical situation of the migration poses a number of further questions with regard to the experience of mobility. To start with, as I pointed out, occasionally people in the UK can be prevented from being mobile through the weather or other events, which might not impact German migrants in other European countries such as France or Austria. It would therefore be fascinating to compare these two different situations for

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[62] As I discuss in chapter 7, though, this could partially be as 'falling in love with the city/country' as a reason for migration was frowned upon in some social spaces, hence, they might not have felt comfortable expressing this.

the migrants. Similarly the fact that the migration destination is on a global scale relatively close has enabled me to draw out the translocal subjectivities in a situation where for the migrants, the involvement with places in Germany is certainly feasible. This means that the guilt migrants experience over being away could be seen as somewhat different in quality. In the case of New Zealanders in the UK the guilt seemed to be generated from the fact that, due to the time/money involved in returning, this was simply not feasible very frequently. In the case of Germans in the UK the guilt stemmed more from the fact that it would be feasible to return, but occasionally the migrant chose not to, or could not, return, when it was perceived as something that *should* be feasible, and done.

5.   AMBIGUOUS MOBILITY: NEGOTIATING MORAL AND EMOTIONAL BOUNDARIES

5.1.   Introduction

An important element of the translocal subjectivities of German migrants in the UK is the context upon which they draw to make sense of their migration; the value systems that they hold and believe others to hold with regard to their migration. There is the belief by migrants that, in the UK, they have a life that they would be unable to have in Germany, reinforcing the idea of young professional migrants to the UK being lifestyle migrants. However, many of the values that supposedly make the UK such a better place to live are unknown to the migrants at the time of migration and are used to justify the migration retrospectively. This is revealing and it highlights that, even though often phrased in terms that could be used to classify it as a lifestyle migration, the reasons for this can change retrospectively. Furthermore, when regarded in the wider context of migrants struggling to make sense of their lives and their decision to live in another country, it also becomes clear that this is less simply about a 'lifestyle' and more about the migrants using certain selected attributes of the countries of residence to justify and support their migration decisions. They seem to perceive themselves as situated, almost caught, between two very different value systems regarding mobility and stability: their own and that of their friends and family. This becomes most obvious in the fact that it is largely the bi-local migrants with a social network which regards stability as a positive value who struggle most with their migration decision, while multi-local migrants did not display similar levels of anxiety around whether they had made the right decision. For this reason, this chapter will focus largely on bi-local migrants.

To start with, I introduce the reasons and justifications given by migrants in their interviews for their migration. Here I draw out the narratives of stability as a counterpoint used by bi-local migrants to justify their migration decision. The narratives are very geographical and spatial in their drawing upon geographical stability and mobility as metaphors of conservative values and personal liberties respectively.

This is followed by a discussion around the conflicts emerging from the different valuations of mobility: the often latent and implicit conflicts between migrants and their social networks regarding their decision to migrate and to stay abroad. Assumptions about temporality play a large role here. The conflicts break out most openly in

situations when the migrant is visiting their home region, or being visited. Proximity plays an ambiguous role here: on the one hand, friends and family are able to partake in the migrants' new life to a certain extent. However, this also means that any project of 'self-finding' and experimenting by migrants with new ways of life are quickly picked up on, making this trickier for the migrants. Also, despite the proximity and information exchange, not all information is passed along, as silences and misunderstandings remain, particularly on the topic of return, leading to conflicts.

Despite the migrants frequently depicting mobility/stability as a here/there dialectic, with stability often presented as something undesirable, this binary valuation can break down, again usually when the migrant visits, with stability at these times seen as something very desirable by the migrants, despite the recognition that the image of a stable life they have may be misleading, as it is an incomplete 'sugarcoated' image. Together with other factors this ambivalence can lead to insecurity about whether migration was the 'right choice' for the migrants.

It appears as if the geographical proximity between the two countries here has a large influence, shifting our attention in migration studies from distance towards proximity. Here, both versions of the lives the migrants could have are so close to each other, and often temporally and physically intertwined during visits and phone calls. Especially in cases where the migrants' friends and family disapprove of their decision to migrate, the impact on the migrants' experience of migration can be strong. As a result of this constellation and embeddedness of the migrants the translocal subjectivities of migrants do not only contain feelings such as guilt, but also often struggles with what are perceived to be different value systems.

5.2. Arguments for Movement: Stability as Counterpoint

Stability was used by migrants in various ways as a contrast to highlight their current mobility, and it was frequently used in a way that associated stability with social conservatism. On a large scale, it was used to highlight the high levels of mobility and open-mindedness of the migrants by drawing the comparison with people who were less mobile. On a smaller scale, mobility was depicted as allowing them personal freedoms, often on a personal mobility level, or the scale of their bodies in making them feel they could dress differently. Unlike lifestyle migration, where the migration itself is frequently driven by the knowledge and search for an alternative lifestyle, here the

migration was not caused by this knowledge; the knowledge especially of smaller-scale freedoms came after the move itself. Hence, while there is a lifestyle element it is not really appropriate to talk about a 'lifestyle migration' as previously understood.

5.2.1.   *Stability as Conservatism*

Frequently, migrants would draw upon stories of friends and relatives at home who had not moved to emphasise their decision to move. The not-moving by friends and relatives represented the relative stability at home, both geographically and in terms of personal freedoms. At the same time as providing a counterpoint to the migrants' own levels of mobility, this juxtaposition also tends to highlight the open-mindedness of the migrants in moving away, displaying them in a positive light. Marianne used the example of her brother and those of her friends who remained back home to distance herself from stability back 'home':

> Well, I have one brother…(…) he stayed in the area (…) and he will stay there, he was never really tempted to go anywhere else, that's … maybe it's the village thing where I'm from (…) I think when you've never been anywhere, then … you don't really have this longing to go elsewhere (…) but once you've looked over the rim of your plate, then it's difficult to …to go back. And for him (…) for him, it was always so obvious, so clear (…) I always think, oh man, you're missing something… where I come from, there's so many who just stayed, and they fly to Majorca once a year (…), that's their holiday for the year. … That's the highlight of their year, and I always think oh god, that's awful, that's really awful… that, I really can't imagine. [xix]

Within this critical view of the limited large-scale mobility is a relatively clear criticism of the small-mindedness associated with it for Marianne. The problem therefore lies not only in the large-scale stability, but in the associated conservatism. By contrasting this with her own mobility, she highlights her own open-mindedness and curiosity for the world. Stability here is clearly something she does not desire, something not worth striving for.

Apart from this large-scale stability in comparison to others, there was also a possibility of a temporal contrast of one's own life, juxtaposing the life beforehand with the current life. Sandra moved in order to escape a routine that she felt limited her both physically and mentally:

> My life in Germany was super boring… I was somehow really stuck in this routine where I couldn't really get out at all, you come home from

> work, … like 5 pm or so, you sit down in front of the telly, and you watch TV until quarter past 10 when you fall into bed, and it was like that every day… Even if you went shopping one day or spent an afternoon on the balcony reading, somehow it was always the same[xx].

She decided to move to the UK to escape this smaller-scale stability. Stability was again not something she viewed as desirable. Clearly, it appeared easier to her to move abroad and 're-invent' herself there, than to attempt to alter her patterns of routine in Germany. For her, this approach worked: after the move, she enjoyed her newly found non-routine so much that she took a certain degree of pride in highlighting to me all the activities she undertook, the explorations and excursions, the people she met. Here, Sandra does not need to draw on other people to highlight her own current mobility and open-mindedness, her searching for new experiences. She simply refers back to how she used to be. Highlighting her activities both in the interview and in our other interactions clearly helped her position herself against this stability.

Sven, too, prefers to not be in the stability syndrome anymore – for him, the most off-putting factor of stability seems to be the averseness to risk taking which he presents as stifling to personal development and freedom:

> I really wanted to live in a metropolis… for me, it was the main reason for the change, it wasn't anything career-wise really … At this point, I was really unhappy with my job, and living in this small city, and it was awful… so at some point, I just said, I'm going to do what I want to do – up to now, I'd always, I did my studies quickly, and I did my masters, I did long-distance courses, I always made sure my CV looks good, and now I do what I want to do, and for this, I'll go where I want to be, where I like it. [xxi]

In Sven's quote the geographical freedom of moving to a large city, away from a small city, is very clearly linked to the personal freedom of being able to do what he wishes to do, rather than what the 'right thing' as seen by others is. Stability is considered by him as limiting. Through contrasting these two lives, he makes himself look more open-minded, needing to escape from a small city and highlighting the migration as a means to escape not just from the city itself as a geographical entity, but also from the small-minded life of always looking after one's CV first.

Self-realization and recognition feature in all these stories, as well as an element of 'breaking out': of routine, of the small world of the countryside, of stability. Stability as a negative factor also came out strongly in considerations of moving back: many bi-

local migrants could not imagine moving back. As I discussed in chapter 4, part of the reason for this is their idea of returning as a return to their region of origin. In the context of seeing the region of origin as too conservative, this hesitancy to move back takes on an extra dimension. For many migrants, a hesitancy to give up personal freedoms became obvious (see section 5.2.2).

It could be seen that this is simply a more personal manifestation of the relatively common feature of congratulating yourself on your choice of country – O'Reilly (2009) for example points out that 'her' migrants in Spain would watch news about England and conclude that they made the right choice; while Benson and O'Reilly (2009: 609) see the highlighting of the old life as negative as a common feature of lifestyle migration. As opposed to 'objectifiable' measures, such as crime rates in the UK in the case of British in Spain, here the preference for the UK is based simply on both personal and geographical mobility. The emphasis on the freedom to choose, the open-mindedness of 'once having looked over your plate' (interview with Marianne) and of escaping routine also highlight the extent to which migrants dissociate themselves from a different way of life. Unlike Benson's (2011) or O'Reilly's (1995a, 2000a) participants who would highlight difficult circumstances in the UK, this is not about events or living areas, but a whole way of life that favours stability. It is perhaps more comparable to Oliver's (2007) analysis of the rhetoric used by retirement migrants in Spain. They would frequently compare their retirement in Spain to the lives they had left behind, similarly revelling in the freedom from social norms, such as conservative dress sense, or 'appropriate activities'. This similarity, beyond age-groups, is highlighted again by the emphasis migrants placed upon the freedoms experienced by being outside a particular set of social norms.

5.2.2. *Being Outside Social Norms*

The social norms Germans in the UK would refer to as having escaped from are often played out on the micro-scale, such as a street or even body level. On the Forum the UK was frequently praised by people as being so much more liberal in terms of social surveillance by the neighbours. Often, having migrated for other reasons, migrants then found these micro-level freedoms from social norms they had been subject to before very liberating. Social norms have been highlighted before as pervasive and controlling to people. With regard to emotional geographies Parr, Philo and Burns (2005) and Thien

(2005b) have highlighted the impact that social control over small-scale activities as well as the supposed behaviour and feelings can have. In this case, then, some Germans used migration to escape a social system. Whether this was a conscious decision at the time is hard to pinpoint but, over time, this dimension became more important:

> Kirsten: To a certain extent, I also moved abroad maybe because I didn't like the German culture that much anymore…
>
> DM: German culture?
>
> K.: Yes, you know, the pettiness[63], when a grass blade is a bit longer than the others, then it needs to be shortened immediately, or subjected to stringent gazes, … in [town], people really stare at you[64]… and here, no one really cares if there's a frog sitting on your head, or… and I go shopping in my pyjamas sometimes, and I really don't care, so here I can be who I am, and in [town] I always felt that… [breaks off] [xxii]

Marianne too pointed out the freedom to go shopping in your pyjamas; clearly, this was a popular metaphor (or even activity). Some (though by no means all) women also emphasised that there was a larger diversity in acceptable dress style in the UK for women, and some experienced this as more feminine; Hannah in particular pointed this out. We met up a few times throughout my fieldwork, including shopping for clothes or shoes. She strongly felt she could dress differently than in Germany, in a way that was 'more feminine' to her. Again, this was not the reason for her migration, yet it became more important to her over time. She said it was about the different clothes that were available in shops in the UK, and to a certain extent the fact that 'the British' had a different understanding of fashion which liberated her. She told me about a colleague of hers who had come in to work wearing a piece of hair decoration with a fake gun embedded in it, with the implication that whatever she wore, however revolutionary it might be in Germany, it was still rather conservative in Britain.

The freedom in this remaking was experienced quite starkly, and often physically, by migrants. Elena told me almost elatedly that she often went to museums on her own if she wanted to and no-one else was free, something she would never have considered otherwise. And when I asked her what she would miss if she were to move back she said:

> There's many things that …I would miss the freedom of sitting down

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[63] 'Das Bekrittelnde', implying strong criticism over a relatively small and irrelevant matter.
[64] 'du wirst wirklich dumm angeschaut' – you are subjected to other people's critical, evaluating stare.

> somewhere and saying, I'd really like to eat some chips[65]… in Germany I never ever ordered chips anywhere! I wouldn't eat it there, but here… I do. [xxiii]

This freedom from expectations is also mentioned by Favell (2008: 7), who emphasises its importance in particular in relation to the expectation frequently placed on young women. As he described the case of a young Greek woman in Amsterdam, it becomes obvious that the freedom from family and friends, or social expectations, is a wider spread phenomenon than originally thought. The move of Sven to the UK in order to escape social norms about the life he should live further shows that it does not necessarily have to be restricted to women only.

The freedom from social norms was not only experienced as freedom from general social norms, but in some cases also from being the person one was before, thus concerning very specific social norms and expected behaviour of individual people. As already mentioned, Elena came to the UK (amongst other reasons) to gain some distance from friends and family. In the process she took a job that she was overqualified for. As a result of her job she dressed much more casually, as she did not have to be dressed up for the office. This clearly marked a change to her from her previous working life. She also no longer put as much emotional energy and money into improving her flat. This was mainly due to the short-term nature of the rental market in London, where rental contracts for a year or less are very common, and thus any investment into the flat is likely to be lost when the contract ends.

Kennedy (2009, 2010) confirms this personal re-invention as a wider phenomenon in his study of European migrants in Manchester. He sees this re-consideration of personality as almost a necessity in that "the situation facing these migrants is especially likely to require the construction of a new social life and persona because they mostly moved abroad alone and unmarried" (2010: 468). Apart from this necessity, though, there is also an element of choice. He claims that for young professional migrants, living abroad, leaving their in some cases traditional home cultures, offers migrants the possibility to almost completely 'reinvent' themselves:

> People can and do re-make themselves but in deeply interactive social contexts …. Accompanying these changes were two overlapping processes. One concerns the respondents' relative dis-embedding from their previous social bonds and early cultural orientations at home. Some

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[65] English chips, i.e. French fries.

also discovered a scope for re-inventing the self which would have been much less possible in their native country (2009: 475).

However, for the migrants themselves, this 're-invention' or distancing from their old selves is not always straightforward. Elena experienced both the liberty, but also the conflict arising from this:

> Back at home, I was really really house proud… I was always really conscious of my flat, and for example I'd save up for ages to be able to buy a piece of decoration that I really wanted to put on the table… whereas here, I would never do that… somehow you don't really invest here [in the rented accomodation], you know you'll move on in a year or two… And my friends, when they came over here to visit for the first time, really, they said, oh, this doesn't suit you, you live so simply here, so… not at all, you know, how you used to live in Germany… they were a bit shocked at the flat, really. [xxiv]

This quote sums up very well the dilemma that Elena experienced around being in the UK. She is happy in London, and in her flat share, and clearly enjoys being in the UK. However, she cannot quite get used to the fact that her friends back home, and her sister, to whom she is very close, seem unable to comprehend her lifestyle. Not only do they disapprove of the job she has, they also cannot understand how she can live in the flats she does, or with her flatmate. This, she thinks, is because they do not really know what rented accommodation in London is like, and because they know what her flat was like before, and how much she cared about it. She used the example of friends visiting to expand this further. They arrived, saw her flat, and started questioning her. Also they could not understand why she lived with her flatmate – as she says herself, she would have been unlikely to share with her flatmate in Germany. For Elena, even though Germany and the UK seemed not really all that different, it was the small things that make the difference, and often the small things that people from home did not really understand. She could see this gap of understanding, and was unhappy about it, but there was fairly little, it seemed, that she could do about it. Her sense of frustration at this gap was evident – when trying to relay this to me, she was literally lost for words, not even being able to fully convey verbally her sense of frustration and being at a loss The sense of frustration was further amplified by the gestures she used, and the gaps she needed; her tone of voice was often incredulous at the gap of understanding between her and her friends and family.

The personal freedom is as a result not absolute, but temporally limited. The re-invention of Elena as a person, the liberties she could take now that she was geographically removed from a certain kind of social control by her friends, was limited to times when she was not with them. As soon as there was a temporal and spatial co-incidence of her old and new persona, as when friends and relatives visit her new flat, a conflict emerged around who she was, but also whose rules she abided by, which social norms she adhered to. Elena has a sense that she is being judged negatively for the choices she had made by her friends, and the way she lived her everyday life in the UK. While at first she admits to being somewhat shocked by the nature of London's rented accommodation, she adapted to it, and now is happy with her life. But having her life compared to her friends' imaginary life of her, and the consequent judging, still perplexes her.

The transnational connections – the proximity between the UK and Germany – play an important role here, in that they enable her friends to see her new life; without these connections, it might have been somewhat easier for Elena to 'remake' herself. The research on New Zealand professionals' 'Overseas Experience' does not suggest similar struggles, mainly, I argue, as the distance is so large that fewer actual interactions are possible, and also, as Conradson and Latham argue, as "self-experimentation, exploration, and development afforded by the liminality of travel" (2005b: 290) are seen as part of the reason to go abroad. The proximity, so sought after to ensure that the migration is not 'too far away', and to enable close contact with friends and family, can occasionally turn out to be somewhat too close for comfort.

5.3. Conflicts Around the Migration Decision: Friends and Family

From the points made above it is clear that stability as a concept plays a large role in migrants' lives through the input of friends and families. From the last section on the conflict around Elena's slight personality change, it is also already clear that the migration project as a whole and parts within this are not always seen positively by the migrants' social network. In this section I focus on the results that the divergence of opinion around the migration project as a whole has on the migrants, and which values it centres on.

The diverging opinions of friends and family concerning their migration played a large role in the migrants' accounts. This is quite similar to conflicts highlighted by lifestyle

migration researchers. O'Reilly (1995a, 2000a) and Oliver (2007) in particular point out the potential for conflict between elderly migrants and their children, who are often worried about their health. To a certain extent there also seems to be a dissonance to the idea of what the elderly people should do; that migration is not 'appropriate', i.e. a migrating elderly person goes against their relatives' understanding of what a retired person should do. In terms of younger migrants, Favell (2008) only hints at the divergence in values between the migrants and those left at home, when he described the 'golden youth' many of them left behind:

> One of the interviewees I talked to … spoke of the kind of archetypal upbringing of average middle-class children in continental Europe as 'la jeunesse dorée" ("the golden youth"). A safe and secure family base, school and college friends you will keep for life, maybe a little socially conservative, but enlightened and well-educated. … They [her high-school friends in France] had stayed close to home, and followed their parents' footsteps into a similarly comfortable affluence, rooted in the city or region in which they were born and structured by reliable and familiar social institutions (2008: ix).

However, Favell does not go on to explore the potential for conflict, or indeed whether there is a potential for conflict here, merely bringing out the differences between the two social systems.

Here I focus on exactly this discrepancy in values, and the conflicts that arise as a result. That friends and family play a large role for the migrants comes as no surprise; in chapter 4, I highlighted the central role that personal transnational connections play for the migrants. The views of the migration by friends and family, even though I did not speak to them directly, were often present in social interactions and interviews through a distorted double mirror – migrants would talk about how they thought others perceived their migration[66]. While there is no direct data, there are the migrants' perceptions of other people's (friends and family) opinions on their migration[67]. As my participants kept mentioning this, and pointing out these discrepancies to me, it seemed important to give these the space that reflects their significance to the migrants.

As highlighted above, the migrants draw upon the discourses of stability to depict themselves as open-minded and cosmopolitan. Generally it seemed that a notion of geographical stability was perceived as prevalent in their regions of origin, together

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[66] I did unfortunately not have the chance to accompany any of my migrants on a home visit, or speak to their friends and family back in Germany.

[67] In representing this data as it was passed on to me, I am, in fact, making this a triple hermeneutic.

with a certain conservatism. Stability is here juxtaposed to mobility in the sense of moving around, as well as 'adventures', which do not seem to serve the purpose of a settled life. Stability is seen as positive by friends and family, yet as something stifling and negative by the migrants themselves. While this has been discussed above, here I focus more on the conflict that emerges as a result of this, as experienced by the migrants.

Some of my participants and other German migrants in the UK reported that their family and friends were rather surprised at their movement, and that their decision to move to the UK was often met with incomprehension[68]. This was presented as having to do with geographic stability, but also with social and financial stability (stability in the sense of security). Family and friends in many cases were reported to be puzzled that the migrants choose a life of, as they perceive it, risk and insecurity, over a stable job, marriage and kids – the 'traditional life' – and a suburban home. Sven left a stable, secure job for no job offer in the UK, based simply upon the thought that there might be something he could do in the UK, and that this time was a good time for him to go for it – and as he says, his friends were astonished:

> My friends and acquaintances… they were rather surprised, obviously, because it is a relatively drastic step, especially because I wasn't doing it for career reasons, but simply handed in my notice at my job, but then they supported it and thought it was a good idea, but I think they were all really awed that somebody would at this point, in the current economic situation [late 2009], that somebody could be so insane as to give up their job… [xxv]

Despite the fact that in the end they supported his decision, it is clear that they thought stability should have been given preference. It seems as if courage to try something new is not seen as something to be applauded, but rather as something slightly insane. This idea of a stable, secure life following a traditional set pattern – education, job, marriage, children - that the migrants 'shunned' can also be found in the Forum, e.g. when one of the participants writes that her father keeps telling her to 'get her sheep into the dry[69]'

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[68] To a certain extent, there is an argument here that maybe people were surprised and uncomprehending because of the migrants' short-term decision making process in regard to their migration. However, frequently the people around the migrants had been aware of the wish to migrate for a while, so the wish in itself was not a surprise. Secondly, it was not the quick departure that was perceived to be the problem by the migrants, but the migration itself, in its totality.

[69] 'Seine Schaefchen ins Trockene bringen', to bring one's sheep into the dry, is a German saying which implies securing one's economic position and capital: as the sheep are in the dry, they are therefore safe.

before she is 30[70]. Her father, the original contributor points out, would like her to be nicely settled by 30, with her own flat, a husband to start a family with, and a job with a permanent contract. Her plans, such as studying at 25, or just moving to the UK for fun, indefinitely, are considered unconventional and not approved of. This disapproval includes her immediate family as well as her friends, who are rather negative about her international moves and experiences. Other posters were responding to the thread, emphasising the familiarity of this scenario and highlighting the fact that these social disapprovals can be quite widespread. Through transnationalism – the original contributor highlights the fact that her friends point this out *when she is at home* – and the frequent connections, the social worlds clash more than maybe in other migrations.

The presence of this stability paradigm seemed to be less characteristic of multi-local migrations. Multi-local migrants might still point out that their families were not all happy about their decision to migrate, yet they frequently had friends who they were able to gather support for their chosen lifestyle from. This fits with the observation that stability was also especially prevalent for those migrants whose life so far had adhered to this stability – for instance, migrants from a rural area in Germany where an apprenticeship instead of studying might be encouraged as representing the 'safe' option, and where geographical stability is also seen as something safe. Marianne and Elena were both from such a background. Both had obtained their professional qualification first through an apprenticeship – in German, an 'Ausbildung'. Elena had subsequently followed this up with studying while working. As well as not having migrated before both women also had come from geographically very close families in Germany. In Elena's case, her friends were now starting to nag her to come back to life 'proper', and to stop 'playing'. Hannes had also come from a traditional background: having completed an apprenticeship, he then also studied while working, and is now successfully working in London. When I asked him how his friends and family reacted to his migration, he explained it as a generational issue, that especially those of his relatives who were older than 60 were particularly unable to understand his decision to come to London:

> They really couldn't understand why I'd want to give up a secure job, as well as go abroad for that, they think it would be better to just have a few kids, and buy a terraced house… but then again, they also can't really understand my motivation to do this: they can't understand that it's not

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[70] Forum Thread No. 32225 – 'Wer fühlt noch so?', 27.12.2009 .

just about money and career…

It was clear from the interview that he knew that they were puzzled by his choice, but at the same time it was also clear that this did not really bother him; he was able to distance himself from their opinion by arguing that they were in fact, simply old, and would therefore be naturally more conservative.

The rural background could in all three cases be argued to have a large impact on the fact that stability is favoured. Hannes' background displays another important feature, especially when seen in conjunction with Elena's friends above asking her to 'stop playing'. Hannes himself had an international circle of friends as well as an international partner who would not find his decision to migrate strange. Therefore, the conservatism of his elder relatives was counterbalanced by his more liberal friends. In Elena's case, though, her friends from home, to whom she was close, could not understand her decision to migrate. Therefore, in the case of friends holding more conservative views about migration, it seemed to impact the migrants more strongly. Similarly, the woman posting in the Forum mentioned above also seemed to suffer more from her friends' rejection of her lifestyle than her father's: after all, she could always, like Hannes, blame her father's ideas on his age and different upbringing; however, the same was not possible with her friends.

5.3.1.   Stability vs. Adventure: 'Official' and Other Reasons

As described above, stability was preferred by the wider social circle of quite a few migrants. In this sense, even though for migrants the move to the UK was often seen as 'exciting', something to look forward to, and something that they simply wanted to do, the social influence appears to be such that they would regularly frame their migration in different terms in order for it to fit the value system they had left behind. In the absence of what they perceived as a motive that would be accepted by their social surroundings, such as a career that could not be had in Germany (e.g. in the case of some migrants who 'had to' live in other cities), other reasons were put to the fore. In the long run this often gave rise to conflicts with family and friends. Here, I look at the discrepancy between the reasons presented to friends and family, the lifestyle elements and the conflicts that this can give rise to.

As pointed out above, multi-local migrants were less likely to be affected by conflicts around their migration decision. Not only could this be ascribed to their closer social

circle being more open-minded towards migration; many multi-local migrants to whom I spoke also held relatively senior positions in international companies, e.g. Hannes and Lasse; in which case their migration had a certain credibility in the eyes of people preferring stability. There was, in their migration, at least one element of stability - their career. Meier (2009) describes something similar in his study, when he writes that being in London really 'counts' as something in the financial world, as it is seen as one of the major centres for banking. Some of my participants worked in the banking sector and therefore clearly had this bonus; while the same principle also applies in other areas. Katja worked in the print media sector; for her London was the only acceptable choice for a career[71].

In opposition to this, bi-local migrants appeared to migrate less for their career, or because mobility was an inherent part of their lives due to their career or migration history (see chapter 4), and rather appeared to migrate for the sake of migrating: like Elena said, 'I just wanted to get out for a while'. Also, they were the ones more likely to take a step back in their careers in order to do so. However, while migrants seemed to see it as an adventure, as something different, they were highly reluctant to label it thus, possibly because they assumed that this would be met with disapproval by friends and family.

This is at odds with other migrations by younger professionals, who very much can use adventure and the search for the new as an 'official' reason. An official reason would be the reason given to friends and family for the time spent abroad, in order to hide further reasons that the migrant might have to this decision. Conradson and Latham write about the possibility of 'experimentation and exploration' (2007: 232) that young New Zealand migrants find attractive about their temporal resettlement to the UK. The element of the migration as a great personal experience rather than something that would further their careers is well recognised, for instance in the fact that many New Zealanders do not tend to move their careers ahead much during their 'Overseas Experience', while using the opportunity to travel a lot and enjoy the cultural life of London. In the case of New Zealand, this even has a historic context of 'reverse diaspora' (Wilson et al. 2009). Scott (2004: 398) also describes this 'putting things on

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[71] It is clear that not all multi-local migrants hold careers which require, or favour, them working in London. Breaking the mould is Judith, who had originally planned to migrate to Australia, but needed some more international experience in order to get her qualifications accredited in the visa procedure. Her field of work (the health sector) was not necessarily renowned for international mobility; here, it was her personal motivation for a further move that had sent her to the UK.

hold' for one of his transnational types of British migrants in France. However, he does not comment on how this is received by the social circle around the migrants. He writes that for graduate migrants:

> Youthfulness, a lack of familial ties, limited professional responsibilities and an uncertain commitment to overseas life were crucial in this respect. Career aspirations were secondary, or temporarily on hold, to allow for a period of 'emigration as walkabout'. Employment, therefore, tended to centre on service-based occupations and was rarely viewed as a long-term career option (2004: 397-398).

For Bohemians, too, "employment was often seen as secondary to broader lifestyle desires" (Scott 2004: 398). Interestingly, while Favell writes about the Eurostars in some cases positioning themselves as the opposite of the European 'golden youth' (see chapter 4), he does not describe the interaction between the people who have left and the lifestyle they have left behind in much detail, thereby not enabling a comparison.

In the case of my bi-local migrants, they were clearly more hesitant to present their move to the UK as a lifestyle migration. Hence the migrants usually employed an 'official reason'. This reason often went along the lines of wanting to learn English, or gaining experience abroad to re-enter the job market in a better position. Sandra's official reason, as well as Elena's and Hannah's, was 'wanting to learn English properly'. In Sandra's case, though, the reason why she really wanted to come to the UK was to escape her more and more stifling and repressive routine:

> Well (…) I came because of the language, and in order to learn English properly (…) well, at the moment I can't really imagine going back… my life in Germany was so boring! [laughs] I was really stuck in this routine… (…) and for that reason, it really was the best decision to come to England, because here I don't have that stupid routine, and maybe that was a reason as well, not obviously, but maybe more subconsciously… simply to change my life, even though the language was the official reason. [xxvi]

It seems as if the migration is harder to justify for those who have a traditional or conservative background, or social network which values stability. Particularly the combination of geographical and career instability seems to be perceived by the migrants as gathering disapproval by friends and family who prefer social and geographical stability, with the wish for something new and exciting seen as incomprehensible. A pure career move, however, would be justified in their eyes. Based on the differences between some of the German migrants and the two cases of the

British in France and New Zealand travellers, the inference that seems likely is that an adventurous migration might be more acceptable in the Anglo-Saxon cultural circle, possibly due to a longer history of this, such as the 'reverse diaspora' mentioned above. Also, the positionality of the migrants as from a more conservative background plays a large role, emphasising the element of transnational urbanism which highlights the embedding in the social, cultural and gendered contexts both in the region of origin and destination (Smith 2005; Yeoh 2005).

5.3.2. *Misunderstood Temporality*

A second source of conflict appears around the length of migration. Migrants often felt like they are not taken seriously, as their social circle assumes that they will only be gone for a relatively short while, and therefore can appear to be slightly condescending in their reaction to the migrants' stories. Secondly, though, miscommunication over the length of migration by the migrants themselves also leads to misunderstandings and conflicts.

To start with, as mentioned above, migration is often seen as something temporary. This in itself should not be a problem, as recent studies have shown that migration *is* frequently temporary, more so than in the past, especially within the EU; and frequently, the migrants themselves *did* plan their migration as a temporary endeavour, rather than a permanent emigration (see Ette and Sauer 2007; Favell 2008). However, the view of the migration as a temporary endeavour apparently leads to the migrants feeling in some cases as if they are not taken seriously in their migration by their social network, with their social circle underestimating the effects that moving to a different country can have on the migrating individual. As pointed out above, Kennedy (2010) maintains that migration can change a person's outlook quite substantially. However, it appeared from some interviews as if there were expectations that the migrant returns in the state in which they left – while the migrants themselves often perceive this as patronising. As Marianne put it when I asked her about what people around her said about her going to England – "they were pretty negative about it, but then… maybe because they always thought that I'd only stay for a couple of months…"[xxvii]. Or as Kirsten said, "I think they think that I'm on a long exchange trip, they don't really realise that I've got a life here… they (…) couldn't quite understand what I was experiencing here"[xxviii]. The comparison with the school-trip is very telling, as a school-

trip can be seen as a journey where you see the sights, accompanied by several adults who absolve you of all responsibilities by acting as guide, mentor, and organiser. Similarly, Elena said her friends were watching from a distance, 'tolerating' her migration, but at the moment of the interview with the implication, "come on now, it's been two years, you've played enough – it's time to come back here!" Again, there is the implication of not being taken seriously, being seen as not responsible for their own life, but having fun.

Yet, at the same time, the feeling of not being taken seriously was also present in the disappointment by migrants that people back at home might not be terribly interested in their new lives. Questions would frequently remain at the surface, or, as Marianne expressed it:

> They seem to think you're always on Oxford Street… Many don't even ask anything further. They say, ooh, London, great, hmm, and then… then they don't want to know anything else, but I think that's because they can't really imagine it, and instead of asking stupid questions, they don't ask at all… [xxix]

The idea that the migrants are always doing exciting things is somewhat similar to the idea that they are on a school-trip. There might be an interest in the life, but at the same time a miscommunication between the two parties, a not knowing how to approach the topic.

One could argue that this not-taking-seriously, where it occurs, impedes communication between the migrant and the social network at home, as there is a feeling of mutual non-comprehension. As especially bi-local migrants see their migration as a time of growing up, of learning rapidly, and some unpleasant lessons, having this compared with one long school-trip does not sit well with the migrants. Elena pointed out to me that after moving to London it had been the first time in her life that she could not rely upon her network to help her sort out the practicalities of life, such as finding a flat. It was the first time ever, she said, that for things like that she had to cold-call people. However, the migrants' telling of their experiences to people at home probably contained large elements of the more exciting side of their lives abroad: meeting people for drinks, meeting new people, visiting museums, and similar. Many Germans would readily admit that their social circle at home did not really have an idea of their everyday lives; when visiting, the visitors would see the more sociable aspects of life in the UK. A communication gap between the mundane and the exciting life in the UK therefore

emerged, as a result of which migrants felt misunderstood. The geographical proximity between Germany and the UK, and the proximity due to new communications, therefore does not necessarily translate into a better understanding of the migrants' new life; despite the proximity, a personal distance can remain. It is also clear that the migrants were expecting this to be different.

A different level of miscommunication concerns larger-scale time plans. Here, migrants started from a skewed stance, by positioning an 'official' reason in front of them without necessarily going abroad for that reason, as they did not perceive their search for adventure to be appreciated by their social circle. Miscommunication starts early – as there are completely different understandings of the migration, both of the life as pointed out above, but also towards the motive, and its fulfilment. This can backfire later in the migration process. Elena gave as her 'official' reason that she wanted to improve her English; after two years, her friends were therefore assuming that her English was improved enough. However, she quite liked it in the UK and did not want to leave yet – only she was out of a 'good' reason to stay, especially as she had downgraded in the job market in order to come to the UK. Working below her qualifications, her job was therefore not really of a nature that could not be bettered in Germany easily. As she said, her friends were telling her to come back home, and trying to get her to come back home to the extent that they asked her for her current CV to pass along to people they knew. In this case, the proximity between the two countries, and the communication between them, could be seen to be hindering Elena's cause: by allowing her friends to be closely in touch and party to her life in the UK, her situation was very obvious to them.

As highlighted above other reasons or factors could become apparent in favour of staying in the UK for longer, yet the migrants might not communicate this clearly. After their initial experience of living in the UK, the migrants might find they really enjoy the personal liberties. Yet these small things making their stay in the UK more pleasant and that might swing a decision in favour of the UK for now might not get communicated clearly to friends and families back home. Reasons to stay in the UK, therefore, can be different to the reasons the German migrant originally set out to the UK for, yet this change might go undetected by the social circle exerting pressure on the migrant to return, again despite the proximity.

A second miscommunication seems to concern inter-generationally different ideas of migration. As set out above, in Hannes' case, his elderly relatives did not approve of his migration. Similarly, but much more pronounced, this was the case for Claudia. Her parents, especially her mother, disapproved of her move to the UK. While she had originally come over for studying, she then decided to stay in the UK, and has been happily settled, with friends and a job in London. To her mother, though, the idea of her daughter living abroad was deeply upsetting. When speaking to Claudia about the formal de-registration process from the local authorities at home, this topic came up.

The topic came up when I myself had to obtain a new passport in London. In order to be able to have my application processed, I had to obtain a certificate from the local German authorities that I was no longer registered in Germany. As I was still registered in Germany at the time, I asked my parents to deregister me. My mother especially was not best pleased with this. When, the week after, I attended the protestant church service and the social afterwards, I told people about my passport experience, and my mothers' reaction. Claudia then told me that this was nothing by comparison - her mother burst into tears upon Claudia telling her she would de-register for tax reasons. Similarly, she says that in her mothers' presence, even on the phone, she cannot refer to London as 'home', as this would upset her mother too much. For her mother, Claudia's story centres very much around the concept of 'home' being still in Germany, where Claudia still considers her Heimat to be, but not her home. In contrast, she points out that 'home' for her consist of her own bed:

> I would say this [her flat] is home for me, yes. (…) I think it's having my own sheets… it's more that I know that I can come back here everyday. But… I've never really thought about it. I really think it's just my own bed and my bed sheets… everything else, there's nothing I'm really attached to… [xxx]

Yet, at the same time as seeing her flat as home:

> When I speak to my parents, then I can't say 'home' for London, because my mum will just burst into tears (…) I think for my mother the term 'at home' is very different, I think to our whole generation, for us it's not so absolute, it's not that when I say home I mean that it's home for the next 20 years, it's something temporary, and I think when I say at home, my mum sees it as something final, something very much more long-term than it is for me. [xxxi]

For her, then, home is much less centred on an emotional concept of stability that it seems to be to her mother. This different understanding of mobility and stability serves to point out the different understandings of timescale involved: for Claudia, home is a short-term, reversible entity; yet for her mother, a long-term commitment. Similarly, it simultaneously highlights general understandings of mobility: in the case of her mother, mobility as leading to settlement elsewhere, and for Claudia, mobility as a short-term relocation somewhere else, with an open end.

Isabel made a similar point with regard to generational differences. She pointed out that for her and her partner, London was a compromise – not too far away (see chapter 4) but still abroad – whereas for her family:

> My mother was totally shocked [that I was moving to London]. I think my parents, I think they're quite attached to me, maybe because I moved away for my studies…. and now my mum is worried that I won't ever come back… Of course, to a certain degree, she's right, I'm unlikely to ever move back home, what's there for me? But really, she's worried that this is the complete break… it's totally irrational, because even when I lived in southern Germany, I was quite far away from home, four hours by car, and whether you take the car, or go onto a plane, what's the difference?

This point was made by Anette too, who told me that her mother was initially upset with her decision to move to the UK, but when she found out that taking the train from Köln only takes four to five hours, found the whole idea much less upsetting. This can be seen as a generational conflict, between parents and their migrant children: that for parents, mobility is not something you do regularly, but something you do once and then you stay; it is a form of stable mobility, or mobility that leads to stability. The parents' fear, based upon their understanding of migration, would therefore be that their children are far way and unlikely to ever return.

In light of this, occasionally, protective measures are taken by migrants in order to avoid hurting people, and in particular, parents (see also Claudia above):

> Marianne: I think you don't just say that [you're probably not coming back]. I think, you're probably more likely to tell your friends [that you don't think you're coming back]… and then with your parents… I guess of course, when you have a child you always hope that they're going to come back… [xxxii]

This matches research done by Schubert-McArthur (2009: 183) on Germans moving to New Zealand. She found that among the recent migrants, 'selling' the migration as a

'holiday' to those remaining in Germany was rather common, mainly in order to spare all involved the anguish of knowing that it was a permanent relocation. It is interesting to note that the distress of a more permanent relocation is still perceived by some migrants as bad enough that making this decision, or telling others about it, should be put off. It would have seemed more intuitive that, especially after the praising of the quick and short connections between the UK and Germany, a migration to the UK would not be perceived as so distressing; this is not always the case, as I have shown above.

It is striking that all the people quoted here as struggling with their parents', and in particular their mothers', reaction to their migration in particular were women who had grown up in relatively small towns or villages. It is unclear how far this is a reflection of the migrants' own gendered positionalities – that they were more outspoken about their concern for their family members, where male migrants might have simply brushed over this much more in the interviews – or highlights the gendered positionalities of the migrants' mothers, their understanding of their relationship with their daughters and their ideas for their daughters' future.

A lot of the conflicts which I have discussed here seem based on misunderstandings and silences, despite the proximity both geographically and in terms of possible communications. Partially, this could be as this is a topic that is emotional and sensitive: migration and (potential) return. Conflicts arise due to the different expectations exhibited and different interpretations of why migrants should be, or remain, abroad, and the underlying different valuations of stability and mobility.

5.4. Internal Conflicts: The Burden of Choice

It is within this framework of differential ideas about mobility and stability that migrants have to decide how long to stay for, or when a point is reached to return or move elsewhere. People who seem happiest about these decisions are those who are on temporary contracts: for them, there is no such question. They stay until their contract runs out, then they return. Martin had been given a five-year maximum contract to be abroad by his company. He was very unperturbed about whether he had made the right decision, or whether he should stay or go, and simply enjoyed his time in London and the UK as a temporarily limited experience. In contrast to this, the bi-local movers in most cases did not come over on specific contracts, but searched for work in the UK

upon their arrival; or came over on a convenient job before looking for other opportunities; as a result, they had to decide themselves. Not only this, they also have to convince those who stayed at home (parents, friends, relatives etc.) that their choice is a sound one. Maria, whom I met on a hike, put it the following way:

> Well, I don't know, my mum is saying I should come back – and then again, there's not really anything holding me here. I have a job here, but it's not that great, and there are few career prospects – it's not like it's a great career! And I don't have a boyfriend… so really, there's nothing holding me here. And if I don't go back soon, my mother worries that the career window in Germany will close for me, and then I'll be stuck here.

Tamara had also taken stock in her interview, with a similar result – she was without a partner in the UK, and therefore not bound, while at the same time she was at a point where leaving would not be too disruptive to her career. There were again no 'good' reasons to hold her in the UK, but 'good' reasons to leave. If there is nothing 'holding you there' (in the UK), then their reasoning was, you might as well move back to Germany.

It is interesting to note that, apparently, friendships in the UK do not hold much power in making people stay. This is surprising in so far as Belot and Ermisch (2009) found that local friendships tend to stop English people from moving internally. There are therefore two possibilities in terms of the friendships formed in the UK by German migrants. One is that migrants form friendships in the UK that are seen as transient, in the same way that the entire migration is seen as temporary. The second explanation is that migrants form friendships either with other migrants, who also tend to move a lot (and therefore are transient, too, rather than locally bound to one place) and therefore do not tie the migrant to a certain place, or that they form friendships with British people who display similar tendencies of moving internationally. In fact, several of my participants commented on the fact that they tended to meet British people who had also moved internationally before.[72] Still again, though, it is notable that local friendships in Germany have the ability to beckon people back home, as in the case of Elena, yet do not necessarily bind them to the UK in the same way.

The other thing that becomes obvious here from the quote above by Maria is that despite the presumed easy mobility to the UK, there are on occasion windows of

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[72] A third explanation would be that the friendship ties for the migrants come into play on a smaller scale: rather than preventing them moving to a different country, the friendships could still prevent them from moving to a different part of town, a different village, or a different part of the UK.

opportunity that can close for the migrants, meaning that on return, certain career paths might be closed to the returnees. The threat here is the idea that by not taking a chance and moving back, migrants are losing their future happiness, and pressure runs high to make the 'right' choice at the 'right time'.

In the Forum, topics that were often discussed revolved around whether the choice to come to live in the UK was the right one – on a more abstract level. The topics discussed often concerned the quality of life in a broad sense, including contacts with family and friends as well as work-life balance, personal freedoms and similar. Especially when many negative factors occurred at the same time, migrants tended to doubt their decision and wonder whether going back might be the way forward, so to speak. But, as one participant in the Forum put it, that puts a rather large burden on England, and pressure on the migrant. If things do not work out well in Germany for a while, you just assume that things are not going too well. If the same thing happens in England, you assume that you have made the wrong choice and moved to the wrong country. As one of the Forum posters put it:

> I'm here voluntarily, because job and partner are important to me, and other stuff kind of comes with that package. But still, it's a decision, and a weighing-up. But I also notice that it's probably exactly this voluntary-ness that drives me up the wall every time I get annoyed with something. Because then it immediately raises the question: do I actually want this? It's really quite stressful in the long term. When I was still living in Germany, of course I was occasionally annoyed, but it didn't lead me to question my life decisions every time it happened, because it was normal (natural) to live in Germany (posted 24/06/2008, Forum Thread No 21442).

As opposed to other lifestyle migrations, such as the British moving to the French Lot, where migration is seen as a permanent decision (Benson 2011), here migration is seen as temporary; hence, there is a constant analysis as to whether staying on is, at this point, a good idea or not: has the 'right time' come to move back?

Other than at times of stress and negative experiences, the struggles around the decision whether to return or not also came through particularly strongly when visiting Germany. The reason why going to Germany triggers this lies in the fact that, when visiting, you see everything that you could have had – especially as a bi-local migrant, where in most cases your complete life is still in the one place you left. Visiting home then really reminds you of everything you could have had; enacting a virtual standoff between

mobility and stability; the debates around homesickness show this well. Often, the advice that was given to migrants on the Forum who said they were very homesick was to go home for a few days. This would then subsequently be fiercely negated by other migrants saying that this would be the worst thing to do, as it tends to exacerbate homesickness for them: you're at home, you see what you could have – and you are torn. Elena expressed it thus in the interview:

> In the beginning, I wasn't homesick at all, it was all so exciting… but then in between I had a phase where I was homesick, that was now, this autumn. I had this phase where I wasn't feeling too well, and where I think homesickness played into that… or where I think, it was homesickness, but maybe that was also because you're there so often, and you see the people again, and your family, and they're all so completely… so interested, or rather when you get back here [London], then I was homesick… but when I haven't been home for a while, then I'm not homesick. [xxxiii]

It is the temporal coincidence between the old life and the new which enables the direct comparison, where the new life loses out, because the old life presents itself with a nostalgic touch, lacking the 'reality check' of things one did not like when living there. Again, it is the proximity, the fact that often migrants travel far less than a day between their respective places of living, which means that the comparison is so direct.

This temporal coincidence can lead to a sense of rupture, of torn-ness for the migrant, making stability suddenly seems quite attractive again. Florian was a PhDstudent in his 30s, who had embarked upon his PhD on a stipend with a prestigious university after working for a number of years. The move to the UK university was not his first, as he had moved around Germany before, as well as having studied abroad. In the interview with him it became clear that he felt somewhat ambivalent about his mobile lifestyle. At times of visiting Germany, this became more pronounced:

> So when you go and visit people at home, you're always wondering whether they didn't get something right… when they settle down, with family, building a house, children, and you go there for dinner and you talk about insulation systems for houses, which is something I'd never normally talk about outside my job, but for them, it's really important, and they talk about the fact that at the moment XY market has a sale on, and you think, wow, great!, I want something like this, simply because it has been such a long time that one felt rooted in a region, that you knew who had a sale on at what time, and whether it's worth going… and then you do wonder whether people have done something right, and you've gotten it totally wrong – you know that your brother goes to the pub

> every week with the same people, people who have known each other for ages, it's just a different dynamic of people… I constantly meet new people, but then you move on, or the others move on, and you skype with people at home, or others, but it's not the same thing… it's just not the same interaction…

It is in these situations, more than others, that the binary of mobility as good, and stability as bad, is questioned more explicitly, adding to the decision problems experienced by the migrants. If you justify your migration to yourself on the assumption that in Germany, you would only have stability, which you would not like, seeing stability in a positive light suddenly challenges your assumptions and the underlying reasons for remaining abroad.

The only research where this kind of conflict is discussed is the study by Thorpe (2012) on highly mobile snowboarders, who tend to move in a seasonal rhythm – moving to northern hemisphere ski resorts from October through to March, and southern hemisphere resorts in the other six months. Thorpe's participants also highlighted the dislocation they felt upon returning to their parents' home, usually over Christmas, and the feeling that maybe their friends' choices were quite attractive. Thorpe describes this as 'affective homecomings' where "coming 'home' … can evoke affective and cognitive responses, and questions regarding … lifestyle and career decisions, and social relationships with family and friends" (2012: 335). Here, though, the difference in the lives compared – between a nomadic existence, changing location every couple of months, seeking the adventure and thrills of snowboarding, and the sedentary life led by friends and family – is vast, whereas for Germans living in the UK, the lives compared really seem remarkably similar.

Interestingly, Benson (2011), Oliver (2007) and O'Reilly (1995a, b; 2000b) all highlight the hidden nature of the conflicts; the idea that migrants might secretly not like their new lives yet do not want to admit this and therefore put a brave face on it. In contrast to this hidden, private conflict, the questions of whether one should stay or return were frequently discussed in German meetings and Get Togethers. The question as to whether you will return to Germany, or move elsewhere, and your reasons for this, are almost standard repertoire at the German meetings I went to. Reasons to stay or go were debated at length. Did one feel ready to go? Were there compelling reasons why one should go back or remain? On the one hand, it could be argued that this increased the pressure on the migrants who were in doubt. And yet, on the other hand, this also

offered a type of relief to migrants, as Elena pointed out to me. When I interviewed her, she had never been to a German organised meeting or Get Together, but when I mentioned them she said that it might be nice to go, in order to meet other people in a similar situation to her – trying to decide whether to stay or to go – and hear how they solved their conundrum, and how it worked out. Co-migrants therefore can provide a system of knowledge that can be accessed and shared, based upon a common pool of experiences. It also offers the chance to talk about migrant decisions with people who do not have a vested interest in one's return to Germany – unlike friends and family of the migrant in question.

In comparison to the lifestyle migrants in the studies by Benson, Oliver and O'Reilly, whose public silence on the issue of return helped foster the image of generally happy migrants, the constant talking about possibilities of moving and staying could be seen to create an atmosphere instead of perennial choice. There were only two reasons I came across repeatedly that would lead to the assumption that the party questioned would remain in the UK; for them, there was no choice. One of them is a job that cannot be done anywhere else; the second is an international or British partner. For the latter, it is telling how many (mainly women) write in the German Forum about having a British partner, and therefore not being able to leave. Similarly, I was told very frequently by other Germans I met during my research 'oh, so you're going to stay here then' when they found out my boyfriend is British. This often happened without them pausing to take into consideration any possible other plans that might be in place. In some cases people appeared almost envious of those reasons, in that they were jealous of the fact that these reasons apparently let the 'owner' stay in the UK without perpetually justifying their decision to themselves or their friends and family. They appeared to envy the (apparent) freedom from the burden of deciding about return.

The atmosphere of perennial choice is further fed by the excessive information available on the idealisation of Germany and a return, or the 'dangers' or return[73]. The knowledge of the 'sugarcoating' of life in Germany by migrants meant that the migrants tended to be extremely cautious concerning the option of returning; at the same time, it can be argued though that it simply increased the amount of information available for migrants to ponder when thinking about a potential return. Further to the information on

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[73] There is a wealth of information on this in the Forum at http://www.deutsche-in-london.net/forum/forum/21-zuruck-nach-deutschland/ – including information in general about moving back to Germany and 'reverse culture shock'.

returning, many discussions in the Forum involved people highlighting the idealisation of life in Germany (particularly in threads where migrants were letting off steam about their new country of residence). In one particular thread[74] people were discussing the dangers of this – of giving in to the temptation of returning to the 'idyll', only to find that the idyll is a terribly boring landscape. The fear of this dismantling of the idealisation also came out relatively strongly when I asked Oliver (we met on a hike), what he would miss upon his imminent move back to Germany. He said almost immediately that he would miss the multiculturality of London, and that he was a bit worried about the fact that he was moving back to a small village in the countryside where the most exotic people would be 'Spätaussiedler[75]'. His fear was that his idea of living in the countryside in Germany, an idyll, would not be what reality would be, and that he would not be able to cope with this.

It has to be pointed out that despite the many people constantly weighing up options, there were others who were completely happy. Silke told me that she was incredibly happy to be living in London. She first came to the UK after her A-levels, spent a year working before studying, and has now been living in the UK for five years. She was not planning a return anytime soon, nor did she ever regret her decision to move to the UK. However, even she was keeping her options open: she had chosen her course at university specifically so that she could potentially relocate to Germany at a later stage in her career; and she also pointed out that should she decide to start a family, she would reconsider again. Similarly, as highlighted in the very first section, Sandra, Sven and Marianne were all happy to have 'escaped' their life back in Germany. However, it could be that as Sandra and Sven were still very recent migrants who had not been in the UK for very long, that the novelty and 'excitingness' of living in the UK was to an extent still prevalent.

In the lifestyle migration literature it has been pointed out that, generally, the migrants used information available about their country of origin to cement their choice, such as TV news about the crime rate in the UK. In the case of Germans in the UK, however, it seemed to be the case that information in general was used to re-evaluate the choice;

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[74] Forum Thread No. 26648 – ' Wie lange wollt ihr bleiben?' [sic], 06.03.2009.

[75] Spaetaussiedler are ethnic Germans who used to live in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European states. After the dismantling of the Soviet Union, they were granted German citizenship. Their presence relatively small towns and rural areas can be explained by the fact that until late 2009, their place of residence was nominated by the county-level administration into which they moved. (http://www.bamf.de/DE/Migration/Spaetaussiedler/spaetaussiedler-node.html)

information included here would be a bad day at work, or stress in the job, such as in the Forum post quoted above. If Benson's British in the Lot, or O'Reilly's British in Spain occasionally appeared to be overconfident in their choice, downplaying their doubts, in the case of young highly-skilled Germans in the UK, there seemed to be very little confidence in their choice of country of destination.

5.5. Conclusion

With the expansion of cheap travel and virtual mobility in the form of Skype and mobile phones, migration is often displayed as something 'easy' where distance does not matter much. Yet it is clear that even within the European Union, migration is not always smooth – in fact, this chapter seems very much in support of Conradson and Latham's point that migration is still a movement through space with all the associated friction (2005). In this chapter I have looked in detail at the conflicts surrounding migrations within the European Union for young professionals, focusing both on conflicts with friends and family as well as conflicts which are internal to the migrants themselves.

The expectations of people left behind can matter immensely for the migrants; as can differential understandings of mobility between migrants and those remaining at home, particularly when these are generational differences. The study of those who remain at home seems as a result vital to migration studies, in particular in order to answer the question as to why not more people in the EU are moving (Favell 2008). Here, it would be good to have more information on the attitudes of those remaining in Germany, as it appears that these attitudes matter to a large extent to those who do move. In particular, mobility does not appear to be seen as a positive thing among some parts of the German population. As Mau and Mewes (2010) have already highlighted, in Germany this could be linked to socio-economic indicators, such as education. The authors point out that the longer people spent in school (either nine, ten or thirteen years), the more transnational connections they have in general. Non-support for mobility could therefore be a result of a lack of education. However, as in my study, all participants had attended school for thirteen years, and their school friends are therefore likely to also have done so, this distinction is not very helpful. Further research seems necessary in order to establish what other factors play a role in this.

The dissociation from the home culture displayed by the migrants has been highlighted in the migration literature, in particular with regard to societies with what could be

considered more traditional gender roles, such as Greece (Favell 2008) and China, Japan and Korea (Kim 2011). The use of the stability as a counterpoint by the migrants therefore surprised me somewhat, yet shows that the mechanisms at play in a migration, and the subjective experiences of migration, can be subtle and include processes that would not normally be seen as having a large influence. Also, while Favell (2008) and Kim (2011) have in particular highlighted the influence of the culture on women, this is not expressed as openly in the migration stories of German migrants to the UK. Both the respondents to Favell and Kim who reported this explicitly referred back to gender roles as a point of divergence and missed expectations. None of my respondents made use of explicit gender roles in their descriptions of the migration process and conflicts. Despite this, I have shown throughout the chapter the gendered nature in which the conflicts are experienced.

In particular, in all the conflicts, proximity played an important and highly ambiguous role: the proximity between Germany and the UK enabled the sharing of information, which in reverse could lead to too close an involvement of friends and relatives in the migrants' lives. Further, the proximity together with the open endedness of the migration meant that there seemed to be almost an excess of information, which by many migrants was used to perpetually question their decision, and ponder whether they had made the right choice. In particular, during visits by the migrant to Germany, these questions were considered in much depth. Choice, and freedom of movement, was therefore also somewhat ambiguous, simply in enabling the migrants to forever consider whether they should move back, or not.

Having emphasised the internal conflict migrants experience about whether to return or not also shows the potential that might exist for a returners programme. A large number of insecurities about whether to return revolve around careers, whether changes will still be possible, and similar. This is highly relevant to the debate around the 'brain drain' or 'brain circulation' concerning young highly skilled migrants (see Ette and Sauer 2007), as it starts to offer a perspective on the factors that make migrants hesitate in their move back.

6. LIFE IN THE UK: SPACES OF EXPECTATION AND EMOTIONAL GEOGRAPHIES.

6.1. Introduction: The Role of Expectations

Expectations and preparations towards the migration play a crucial role in how the migrants perceive their new life[76]. In the literature so far, this has been established specifically with regard to economic migration, where expectations of the lifestyle possible and the money one can earn influence the clash between expectation and reality to a large extent. As Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2010) show, this clash between expectations and reality extends to family and friends around the migrant. Here, expectations of German migrations largely concern issues apart from the economic area, as I show.

Benson, discussing lifestyle migration, emphasises the impact that migrants' (often unrealistic) expectations and imaginings of their future life have on their life after migration (2011), while O'Reilly highlights the fact that for British moving to Spain, Spain was an "unreal, an imagined place" (2009: 106). Conradson and Latham (2007) take the talk of expectations one step further by analysing the 'affective space' that migrants move into. Young professional New Zealanders moving to London are attracted by the promise of "a feeling of being in the heart of things, an embodied state that is both valued and closely linked to New Zealand's former status as a British colony" (2007: 231). This argument could be extended retrospectively to Benson's research, arguing that instead of merely searching for a lost 'rural idyll', her research participants are actually searching for an affective state of being embedded in a community. Similarly, without using the term 'affective space', Buchanan (2007) discusses how Germans moving to Australia expect to move somewhere 'exciting' – and turn out disappointed in light of standardised coffee-chains and a 'normal' Western city.

The expectations of affective space have so far only been studied by Conradson and Latham (2007). Here, I argue that the expectations of affective space are much more complex than 'being in the heart of things', or wishing for something 'exciting' upon migration (Buchanan 2007). While there are some commonalities between Germans and

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[76] In a different context, freedom from expectations – as in, freedom from expectations others have towards the migrants – has been covered in chapter 5 already.

New Zealanders when it comes to the expectations towards London as a city, I want to highlight smaller spaces laden with affective expectations, as well as some emotional geographies that emerge from this. The clashes between expectations and reality can have both positive and negative outcomes for the migrants.

Here, I follow Massey's understanding of space as "formed out of social interrelations at all scales" (1994: 5) – not an empty container, but rather as something which is "constructed out of the multiplicity of social relations" (1994: 4). Migrants can hold affective expectations towards those spaces, which they will expect to have emerged out of social relations in a certain manner.

Germans moving to the UK displayed several different and conflicting attitudes towards the space they moved into, with three main areas of expectation emerging. First of all, the migrants expect to move to an 'empty space' that is simultaneously full of positive affection - expecting the space to be 'empty' in the sense of anticipating there to be a social and physical space which they can slot into easily, with regards to flats and friendships. At the same time, they also expect the UK to be a white European space. While migrating for new experiences, migrants were also expecting familiarity, in particular with regard to certain spaces, such as flats, or relatively intimate activities and connections, such as friendships and going out, as well as personal hygiene. The search for stability and respite into the familiar in those areas is in stark opposition to them seeking new experiences. The expectation of the UK as an empty space was strongest for bi-local migrants. However, most migrants were displaying some if not all of these expectations, with variations by degree and detail.

The expectations held by the migrants lead to a highly charged emotional landscape that they move into and through. Frequently, it appeared that the imaginary landscape of their post-migration life they had created – including affective spaces and events, such as going out, friendships and similar – had been the result partially of very limited preparation on the migrants' part. This fits other accounts of migrants' limited preparation, such as Benson (2011), Oliver (2007), O'Reilly (1995a, 2000a, 2009), of relatively spontaneous decisions, as well as a 'banal cosmopolitanism', where the exposure to global media pictures and images of other places leads to assumptions of familiarity (Kennedy 2009: 24). It also reveals a very ambiguous relationship that migrants experience between stability and mobility. This continues the stability/mobility dialectic already explored under different aspects in chapter 5. Multi-

local migrants were more likely to have both the financial and emotional resources available to maintain stability throughout the migration, as well as having different expectations towards their migration due to previous migrations, while bi-local migrants were more likely to encounter the differences to their lives before migration as unsettling instability which they do not (yet) have the resources to transcend. One aspect which in particular is touched by the migrants' expectations is friendship. Friendships are highly emotional and affective phenomena. Due to this, disruptions and slight changes to the way friendships are performed were unsettling for the migrants..

6.2. The UK as an Empty Space: Affective Spaces and Emotional Geographies

When describing the moves by British people moving Spain, O'Reilly (2009) highlights how the migrants have the expectation that they are moving to an 'empty space': a space with little history, with people just waiting to meet them; the emptiness of the space is then filled with their imaginations and imaginings (2009: 106; 117). For O'Reilly, this is revealed in the adjustment problems that her migrants have to the life in Spain, when the real spaces and places collide with their imaginations. While not expressing it so directly, Benson (2009, 2010, 2011) certainly highlights similar expectaions of the Lot as a space being filled with ideas by the migrants about the friendships they would find – based upon their expectations that people would be welcoming them with open arms.

Similarly, German young professionals moving to the UK, specifically bi-local migrants, often displayed tendencies of expecting the UK to be 'empty' when they arrived. Yet, at the same time as being empty, migrants also expect the UK to be a certain type of affective space, including friendship, empathy, and enthusiasm for their migration. Young highly-skilled Germans seem to be in particular looking for integration – this marks them out as different from other young highly skilled migrants such as New Zealanders. According to Mason (2007: 97-8), the young New Zealand migrants who come to the UK tend to take the role of an 'observer' of British society, rather than wishing to 'experiment', due to their eventual return. By contrast, most of the Germans I spoke to were very keen to integrate. This search for integration heightens the small-scale affective spaces that Germans seek.

The search for certain affective spaces was particularly prominent with regard to two main topics: one of them being flats and living spaces, and the other finding friends.

Often, the two were interrelated in that Germans would frequently look for flats with people to share with, who could then become their friends. The search for affective encounters led to emotional geographies: migrants began changing their everyday behaviour and lives in order to escape or seek out certain affective spaces.

6.2.1. *Searching for Affective Spaces in Flats*

Sandra spent a very long time searching for the 'perfect flat', which would include nice flatmates who were English speakers so she could practice her English. However, after a long search which finally culminated in English flatmates, she was sorely disappointed:

> I think now I probably regret that I moved out [of the first flat share], because I just haven't been lucky since with flatmates… I was searching for six weeks!… But I would rather have a flat share where the people are friends rather than flatmates only, but that so far hasn't really worked… [xxxiv]

It becomes obvious that Sandra was expecting friendship from her flatmates, she was expecting them to spend time with her, speak to her; and was not expecting them to have their own lives that would exclude her:

> In the flat now, I just don't know what to do sometimes in the evenings, or on the weekends… my flatmates, they just watch TV, and I don't really get what it's about, so I don't really want to sit down and watch with them, but to be alone in my room, that's … that's stupid as well. [from an informal conversation]

Other Germans I spoke to who lived in shared flats frequently pointed out that they were unhappy in their shared flat, as the people they shared with were in a flat share for economic reasons, without much appreciation of shared space in a friendship sense. Paula, whom I met at a football match during the World Cup 2010, said that she was looking to move, as the flat share she was in was very much a 'Zweck-WG'[77]: "the kind where people say you owe me £1.23 for the toilet paper and where people label their milk". A big problem here was the fact that for many Germans, the idea was that people in general would share a flat because they wanted to (at least implicitly). In England and especially cities with high property prices this does not hold up: here people (and especially young professionals) share flats because they cannot afford to live on their

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[77] A shared flat for the purpose of costs only, as opposed to a flat that is shared between friends or people to a certain extent sharing their lives.

own. Cultural differences therefore create the mismatch between expectations and reality:

> My flatmates [in her first flat when moving to the UK] were really nice. But it was very clear from the beginning that it was a different 'WG-Kultur'[78], as in, there was no WG-Kultur. (…) It was a really different way to live together in shared flats. And I was used to (…) cooking together, and having breakfast together. (…) In Brighton, it was nice and friendly, but … less a feeling of togetherness. Everybody does their own thing … I don't look for an alternative family in a shared flat. But I do see it as an alternative to living as a couple. In Berlin that was much more obvious. Here, I really noticed that for some people this isn't obvious at all. And that, I really had to get used to[xxxv]. (Beatrice)

The search for affection in flats also reveals a wish for stability within the migration: a kind of emotional stability and security within the intimate space of one's flat. Moving into a flat with people who could become friends would enable them to have less disruption in their lives, making the flats affective spaces of home.

Comfort in the flat, making it a positive affective space, was really important to most of the migrants. Sandra's quote above highlights this. Also, to her the flat she lived in was not home:

> At the moment, I feel like there's not really a 'home' (…) maybe that's because of the flat situation, I guess if I had my own flat, that would be different, I could do whatever I wanted, and behave however I wanted, and I wouldn't have to consider the stupid flatmates… [xxxvi]

Paula later on moved into a flat of her own where she was rather happy as it was the way she wanted it to be: a home. Sven too tried living in a flat share but did not like it either so moved into a place of his own. Hannah similarly was very unhappy in her first flat. Due to the fact that she did not get on with one of her flatmates, the living room and kitchen were contested and tense spaces. Lea, a doctor, spent most of her salary on a flat in a nice part of London. She was very happy she spent the money, as she knew that she was likely to be in the country for a limited period of time, and that therefore she might as well have a nice flat in which she felt at home.

The search for stability in flats can be seen in the case of Elena who, after looking around, moved in with Germans due to the familiarity:

> I moved into a flat with other Germans, I didn't really want that, I still think hmmm, no, and you need to integrate yourself a bit more (…) I

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[78] 'Culture of shared flats'

> need to improve my language (…) I want a mixed flat share, I don't want to move in with other Germans at all… but then I had a look around some flats (…) the typical flat search, everything is kind of ok, the room's ok, the flat sharer was an Asian girl, it was all clean and ok, and then you step outside and you practically walk into the gang members, kids, and (…) this house is right next to a really brutal housing estate, (…) and it's things like that all the time, or that the people are somewhat strange, and then when I went to introduce myself to this German flat, that's exactly how you know it, everything was well organised, and then you drop by, 'and then we'll do this', and it was all clean, and it was all exactly… not too much, and generally, and I said, ok, for now, I'll just move in here. [xxxvii]

This highlights her wish for a certain amount of continuity despite wanting to live abroad for new experiences, and to improve her English: the search for familiarity, a sense of order in this place that until then was seen as scary and threatening. This search for the emotionally re-assuring, for the flat as an affective site of comfort and the familiar, often then does not sit well with their wish to integrate, which is frequently the reason that Germans moved into flat shares with English speakers in the first place. This strategy of integration of finding a flat share with people who could aid the integration into British 'society' is very different to the strategies employed by other young migrants to the UK. New Zealanders coming to live in the UK frequently sought out flat shares with other New Zealanders (Conradson and Latham 2005), possibly in search exactly of that comfort and familiarity.

The lack of familiarity is also exacerbated for the migrants by comparisons with flat shares in Germany. Paula compared the 'Zweck-WG' she was in when I first met her to her flat share in Berlin before where she had lived with friends. Annika compared her current flatmate to the people she had shared with previously. Even though this had already been in the UK, they had been friends in comparison to whom her flatmate could only lose out. These comparisons to often bygone affective spaces can further add to the feeling of discomfort in shared flats for many migrants.

People who could afford their own flats like Paula and Sven tended to be in a successful career, meaning that their salary was high enough to allow them to buy comfort. It is clear that this solution is not available for everyone. As Malte put it when I asked him about whether he shared a flat when he originally came to the UK:

> I know the starting salaries, you don't really have a choice but to live in a flat share, but luckily I came over with a salary on which I could afford

to have my own flat. [xxxviii]

A further cultural factor that could make flat shares somewhat uneasy for migrants is the fact that in Germany it is relatively common to share flats during studying, but it is also fairly common to be able to have one's own flat when starting a career. In a situation where people are used to having their own flat, and often see this as a marker of their success, independence and a positive stage in their lives, this can be problematic. Florian had been working for a number of years when he came to the UK to complete a fully-funded doctorate. Moving from his own nice apartment, which he had had for a few years and took as normal and appropriate in his life stage, to a shared apartment with several other students was an economic necessity, but to him quite a shock. Hannah was lucky enough to be able to move out of the shared flat where she did not get on with her flatmate. Tamara too would have prefered her own flat but was not able to move out. A fairly common exclamation was '*at my age*, living in a shared flat…', showing that on paper it is less about the shared flat and more about the age and cultural connotations.

The affective space of the flat is here disrupted in a different way: the affective space of one's own flat as a sign of being a grown-up, of one's independence, is disrupted by the UK's rental market. It should be pointed out that this phenomenon was much more common in for migrants who lived in London due to the extremely high property prices, than for migrants who lived in other areas of the country.

6.2.2. *Searching for Friends*

The idea that it would be easy for the migrants to find friends, particularly in the early days after their move, can be seen most easily from the number of statements expressing surprise at how hard it is to make friends and general surprise at the "relative social vacuum" that migrants can experience after migration (Kennedy 2009: 35). The expression of this could be found in interviews I conducted as well as a number of Forum threads in which people would search for like-minded people (e.g. a similar age group, newly in the country) to meet up with. Frequently, these threads were interlaced with comments such as 'I'm feeling a bit lost'. The fact that people were surprised at the difficulty of making friends to me highlighted the expectations they had held with regard to this. To a certain extent, again, they had expected a 'point zero' or an empty

country, where they can easily be incorporated into the country's ongoing society and a social circle. I once wrote down in my notes:

> they are looking forward to meeting new people, and you get the feeling that the migrants cannot wait for the long meaningful discussions about what it means to be European, to improve their English, and to learn about British life.

The migrants were not searching just for any friend but for a particular type of friend, similar to the search for the 'ideal flat'. There were two dimensions to this. First off there is the idea that they should be greeted with open arms. This comes through particularly strongly in Forum threads, mainly as this can be a good outlet for people who struggle to find the contacts they anticipated. One Forum user posted about the lack of warmth with which her partner's friends had greeted her, as well as the lack of warmth towards her in her knitting group which she had subsequently joined[79]. Similarly the reception by colleagues was often mentioned in interviews as not as enthusiastic as hoped for. Daniel pointed out that in Germany, he and his colleagues had frequently shared the journey to workshops or work events further away, which was not a done thing at his new place of work. Neither were his colleagues keen on joint undertakings in their free time. What comes through here is an expectation of a certain affective state, certain emotions with which they should be greeted in these socialising contexts. If their expectations are not met the migrants can feel incredibly lost.

Secondly, ideally, they wanted British friends. Searching for friends could be hampered by working in an international environment, like in Sven's case who did not have any British colleagues, or by the fact that the colleagues at work have their own friends and activities that take up most of their time. Says Daniel:

> what I thought was that with, well, my colleagues… I was really hoping that it would be(…) getting to know them privately as well, as friends, but it's quite tricky… I know that with the salary in my sector, many of them can't live in London and live far out, and then they're all relatively quickly… gone again into their suburbs. So you don't really do things together, it's already really tricky to go for drinks after work, it happens maybe once a month that you get even a small group together… and I was just hoping that it would be different, because I also knew it differently. [xxxix]

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[79] Forum Thread No. 29079 – 'Sind sie einfach anders?', 12.07.2009.

The relationship envisaged in some cases reminded me slightly of observing anthropologists rather than people wishing to make friends. A case in point is Hannah:

> Hannah: (…) I wanted to meet English people, which so far I haven't been terribly successful in…
>
> DM: Do you mind that you haven't met that many British people?
>
> H.: Hmm mind? I'd like it to be different…
>
> DM: Just to know British people?
>
> H.: Yes, and really, to learn more about their mentality… the British people I *do* know, they're normally the ones who've been abroad themselves, because they can understand the situation better, and generally they're more open [minded]… [xl]

Even British people who have lived abroad before therefore do not really 'count'. There is an essential paradox: the British people do not just have to be British but also at the same time open-minded enough to talk to the migrants, yet not too open-minded. Similarly it is not enough to have a British passport. As Sandra said: "Yes, surely they can have a British passport, but the different cultures…", implying that for instance second-generation immigrants from the Carribean or Asia are not seen as British. The British in question have be familiar enough in their distinctness that the migrants are not too uncomfortable with their difference.

It is clear from the literature that they are not the only people suffering from problems in finding friends. Unlike Germans in New Zealand, who reported being greeted very nicely but later on found that these friendships did not extend much beyond small-talk and superficiality (Boenisch-Brednich 2002; Buergelt et al. 2008), in Britain European migrants in general appear to struggle. Kennedy (2009) describes the process of European migrants settling in Manchester and also highlights that many of them struggled to find British friends, even in shared activities, and thus out of necessity 'ended up' with other international friends. Nor is this limited to Britain it seems – according to Torresan (2011) Brazilian middle-class migrants living in Portugal too struggled to fit in, and find strong friendship, despite the seeming cultural similarities.

For multi-local movers finding friends (or having friends in the location already) frequently seemed easier. The contacts they often had from previous moves worked in their favour, as London as an international city tends to attract young professionals. A case in point here is again Lasse, a banker, who said that it almost seemed as if he had transplanted his previous friendship structure from Germany, so many of his friends

from university and school were now also living in London (see also chapter 4). For Lasse this transplantation of his friendship groups was also not really something that bothered him, he liked the internationalism mixed with old friends:

> It's really funny that we're all here again (…) it *is* in a Londoner setup, and of course on some level, you shop in pounds, you speak English, but apart from that, it's all like it used to be earlier… Really, there isn't much difference… [xli]

> I still feel German in terms of character etc., I certainly don't feel English, I feel international to a certain extent, or maybe as a convinced European, (…) I think you get a perspective that's a bit beyond, because you've seen several things, and then you look at London, this international metropolis… in comparison, Germany, (…) it just seems petty-bourgeois. [xlii]

For him the comfortable was already in London, by virtue of his friends living there and a certain internationalism in South Kensington where he lived:

> I know it's kind of the typical, (…) not expat, because we're not expats, but this life of the international community, you look out of your window into the yard of the French school, and you go to the French baker, and have coffee at the Italian's place, and you get your bread sent over from Germany… [xliii]

For multi-local movers there is therefore often a significantly larger amount of stability within mobility in terms of emotional comfort and known situations[80].

6.2.3. *Expectations of Being Different and the Lack of Preparation*

For bi-local migrants the expectation of arriving in an empty, yet affective, space is often compounded by another affective viewpoint: the idea of being a 'special' migrant, of being somehow different and thereby warranting attention from the people they encounter in their country of destination:

> Svea: Well, of course, one wants to be something special, especially Germans abroad see themselves as something special, and then there's the thousands of others [Germans abroad], who all do exactly the same, and you realise, you're not actually that special…

This theme of new migrants feeling 'special' can also be found reiterated in the German Forum. And partially, this is true: for some migrants, from their circle of friends at

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[80] Settled migrants, due to both the length of the time they had been in the country as well as the fact that they had frequently either attended university there or had a British partner, tended to have very well functioning friendship groups, so were therefore not particularly affected by the search for friends.

home, or from their family, they will be the only ones living abroad. This is not limited to Germans: in the cases of Benson (2011) and O'Reilly (1995a), too, the migrants tended to be single families moving from an area. Favell (2008) similarly highlights the settled background of many of the Eurostars (the 'golden youth' – see chapter 4).

The idea of being special among German migrants is reflected partially in their expectations of arrival. They almost seem to assume that because they are special, that because for them being in England is special, for the English people they should be special too, feeding into expected affective spaces. This can be seen to also go together with an overestimation of their own agency, where the migrants believe that due to their skill set settling in will be easy (see also Boenisch-Brednich 2002). Often, this overestimation of agency is particularly strong with regards to language. Hannah reflected very critically upon her English linguistic skills at the time of her migration:

> All the people always told me that my English was so fantastic, which really with hindsight wasn't the case at all, but I only understood that here, that it was really quite poor (…) it's just the English politeness, you get so much positive feedback how great your English is that at some point you believe it yourself [laughs]. (…) And in the beginning, I thought my English was so great, and then slowly I realised, oh my god, I can't understand people, I absolutely did not understand the jokes (…), I wasn't fast enough [with the language] (…) and it got better, but it was, (…) It was awful, I totally hadn't expected that. I was so proud that I was being so brave [about moving abroad] and then suddenly… (…) that was really, it really got to my self-confidence, and my euphoria about this [going abroad] and the positive things, it was all gone due to the self-doubts… [xliv]

This is coupled with the expectation that because England is neither geographically nor culturally terribly far, and because they as migrants are so open-minded and 'special', moving to England should be easy. Benson (2011) too writes about a certain over-estimation of agency on behalf of her migrants, expressed in the fact that they believe that they can mould their lives for the better with their decision to move abroad. The initial agency of deciding to move abroad is thereby translated into the idea that their agency will translate into a relatively straightforward and positive experience, where people will recognise one's will to live abroad and where therefore they will meet lots of new people.

An important factor in this disillusionment is certainly a lack of preparation, as other authors have also pointed out (cf. Armbruster 2010; Boenisch-Brednich 2002: 138;

Buergelt et al. 2008). Both Armbruster and Buergelt et al. put the expectation of cultural similarity as the reason for this, and the connected expectation that the migration would be easy. Benson (2011) also points out the 'if-I-had-known' migrants: those migrants who came to France unprepared, and might not have migrated had they known about the full implications and difficulties lying ahead. In the case of German migrants, a second factor adding to the unpreparedness, apart from the expectation of similarity, was in some cases the incredible speed with which people moved from Germany to the UK. Annika told me that the time period between telling her boss that she would like to go abroad and finding a job within the same company was two weeks, while Elena finalised her decision within six weeks. Some of the people who moved over very quickly would also have preferred to go to another country had the conditions been right; in this sense they were probably not prepared in much detail for British culture[81].

To some of the German migrants I spoke to, moving geographically means such a break from their former life that they seem to expect to arrive in a country which stands still, waiting for them at a point zero. Life in the UK though does not stand still – flats and flat shares are given to others, finding a flat and friends is difficult, and their English is probably not as good as they hoped when put to the test in everyday life. Adapting in this situation seems to be difficult; especially the admission that they are not quite as adaptable as they thought. This feeling of powerlessness, of being lost, is something the migrants did not expect. It might lead in fact to a feeling of vulnerability[82] – as Hannah said, her self-confidence was dwindling, with severe self-doubts making the situation difficult for her. Similarly the feeling of not being that warmly acceped (having a hard time finding flats and friends) can be a severe knock to the migrants. It can be unexpected: because they are often so proud of their decision, of their open-mindedness, that the thought of not being welcomed does not really enter their thoughts. How do the migrants cope with these challenges if they occur?

6.2.4. *Filling Empty Spaces*

The empty space which the migrants expected can become quite disorientating for the migrants when there are few affective connections to link in with. In the absence of

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[81] While the lack of preparation is striking in this context, it is somewhat unclear whether better preparation would have helped to narrow the gap between expectations and reality. It might be more useful for the migrants to be made aware of this gap, rather than any specific country-specific preparation.

[82] This vulnerability also has implications for the dealings of the German migrants with one another, as I show in chapter 7.

friends or flatmates taking one's hand the UK as a space is perceived as empty by the migrants, both to explore and to fill. This has both negative and positive consequences. To start with, the space can be empty in the sense of empty of obligations. A freedom from obligations becomes translated into free time and space to explore and do as one wishes. In the case of difficulties finding friends the German Forum can help, offering a relatively simple way of meeting people and taking part in activities. In some cases these can include an 'appropriation of the countryside' through hikes, day trips, weekends away and similar.

On an individual level, there was in many cases a lack of obligations for new migrants: beyond possibly going to work, there are very few things they have to do[83]. There are likely to be no old friends to see in the UK and no family to visit in the first few weeks. In the absence of this, the early period is often used by migrants for exploring. Johanna took a language class in the mornings in her first few weeks in the UK, leaving her the afternoons to explore London by herself. Sandra, among others, also spent some time in the beginning going shopping, following a pre-conceived notion of London as a great city for shopping.

The emptiness of space and time, having to decide what (not) to do, was in many cases translated into narratives of personal growth. This was often intricately linked to emotional geographies. Both Elena and Sandra mentioned the amount of times that they were doing things by themselves as a result of not liking their flats. Sandra in particular struggled with her flatmates, and therefore tried to spend as much time as possible out of the flat. As a result, even though she often met up with other people in some instances she would simply go to places she wanted to see by herself; something which she was not used to before. Elena similarly highlighted the wish to get out of the flat as a motivator to explore spaces on her own, going to museums and exhibitions, again something which she readily admits she would never have done in Germany.

Hannah said about the initial language barrier,

> It [the initial difficulty] really does something to you. It really separates the wheat from the chaff… some will go back to Germany, saying, ooof that was really a tough time, I'll never do that again, and the others will say, no, I'll push through this, and it's those ones who really profit from the experience… I really grew here on a personal level. [xlv]

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[83] This clearly matches other research findings, see Kim (2011: 138).

The story of hardship then also becomes a story of personal growth, strength and success. Sven in a similar vein said that after his experience of moving to the UK, he is confident that wherever he goes, he will always land on his feet. When I interviewed him he was toying with the idea of moving to the USA after the confidence booster of having managed his first migration well.

On the level of German migrants as a group, the initial emptiness of the country in terms of people – described rather aptly by Kennedy as a 'social vacuum' (2009: 35) – often translated into participation in German meetings and the Forum. Many people would use the German Forum initially to meet people in order to undertake activities together such as sightseeing, exploring their new place of residence, going on weekend-trips, or simply hanging out and having somebody in a similar situation to chat to. The UK in this respect was quite literally an empty space for them: one that could be filled with new experiences.

When participating in activities organised by Germans, the people met would be predominantly German. Many regarded the Forum as a good way to initially meet people, but not something one had necessarily to follow all the time. Usually, people would attend a meeting or two; another common thing were threads posted to find people in a similar situation looking for contacts[84]. Through these meetings constellations of people would then emerge which would after a certain point no longer use the Forum to meet up. They might no longer come to meetings now that initial contacts and friendships had formed:

> Sandra: Well as soon as you make friends with people from the Forum, then you don't always have to write on there anymore – like us [we were having coffee at the time], even though originally we met [through a meeting posted on the Forum], there's now no need for us to post there that we're having coffee together. [from an informal conversation]

From the Forum itself and the meetings I attended, it was clear that the activities were especially attractive to new people. Among the people attending monthly meetings regularly, it was a rather well-known fact that at the meetings there would be a number of people who had moved to the area relatively recently, particularly in London, leading to the 'beginners' questions', as they were known:

> It's always the same questions… Where are you from? What do you do here? Why are you here? Where do you live here? Or they talk about

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[84] E.g. Forum Thread No. 46158 – 'Neu in London! Kontakte gesucht', 08.01.2012.

always the same things… the tube, the amount flats cost, the fact that
British people are hard to get to know… (Lars, met at a Get Together,
09/2010).

Generally, it can be argued that the moving process is much easier if one moves with a partner. Not only is it often more affordable to have a flat without flatmates, thereby avoiding the conflicts around finding a suitable flat, one also has a partner to go and explore things with. Johanna was very conscious that she profited from this. As her boyfriend had been in the UK before she moved over, she avoided the hassle of having to find a flat. Also, she was very appreciative of the fact that between the two of them they had enough colleagues to meet and activities to undertake that they were quite busy. And if they had a quiet weekend, she pointed out, they still had each other's company, whereas other migrants might begin feeling lonely quite quickly. Sandra by contrast dreaded weekends and evenings with nothing to do, as it made her feel lonely. As a result she was almost constantly on the go, busy and meeting friends. However there are also drawbacks to moving with a partner, as Daniel pointed out. There could be problems relating to one partner adapting faster than the other in terms of language and social contacts; or one partner might struggle to find work if they relocated with a specific job for one partner. While many of the people I spoke to acknowledged that it was easier moving with a partner, there were potential problems further down the road.

In a parallel to the activities described by Oliver (2007) by international retirement migrants in Spain, who go on frequent day trips in order to see the country and take an avid interest in the local culture and history, 'etwas vom Land sehen' – to see something of the country – is a popular way to spend free time. Martin disdainfully told me of a colleague of his who lived in London but never left it, apart from holidays when 'anything far away' was a worthy destination. He and his girlfriend by comparison holidayed in Britain in order to see more of the country: Cornwall, Devon, the Lake District… Particularly popular for the weekend visits are towns like Cambridge and Oxford, Edinburgh, as well as Brighton or other seaside towns. In the Forum, the 'best corners of the UK' are usually praised to be Cornwall, the Lake District, Devon, Exmoor, Wales, the Scottish Highlands. They seem to be not only Britain's most touristy areas, towns or cities, but also those that are recognisable to Germans in Germany.

Hiking trips that can be completed from London in a day are also often arranged on the Forum. Anybody interested in the hike shows up at a specified time and place, and a

train is usually taken out of London to the hiking place. I participated in two of those hikes, once around Box Hill and once around Hazelmere, both in Surrey. It seemed to me that the point of the trips is not only to be able to say that one has indeed 'seen the country' and made the effort to see more of the country than those who stay in London all the time, but also almost as if it is an appropriation of the countryside. Heidi Armbruster describes similar trips and activities in her article on Germans in Namibia (2010), also taking place in seemingly empty nature. One of the long-standing arguments around landscape in general has been the fact that the invisibility of the creation of those landscapes leads to the assumption of 'natural' beauty, and allows one to ignore the social relations actually engrained in the landscape (see e.g. Smith 1991; Smith 1993). On the hikes the landscape is seen as 'nature' in the sense of 'unaltered' - thereby, 'the British presence' is removed and, for the day, the German migrants are maybe able to escape the feeling that they do not quite belong and 'embed' themselves in the English landscape. Benson (2011) describes a similar phenomenon. Some migrants in the Lot were very keen to join local rambling societies, and walking around the countryside learning about local history and geography for them was very important. Benson's point that it is the embodied knowledge that they seek brings out a further dimension in the Germans' hiking. By walking in the countryside and actively creating memories, the empty landscape is transformed into something more personal where memories can be stored. These can later on be accessed again, by visiting the same site, or viewing pictures (see also Richter 2011: 225). In a way, this could be seen to transform the empty landscape into one of emotional signifiers by creating emotional memories in the English or British landscape (see also Jones 2005), and thus transforming it into something more like 'Heimat' (chapter 4).

Expectations of the UK as an empty space already build up to complex expectations, affective spaces and practices by the migrants influencing how they experience their migration. This is further complicated by the other two expectations of Britain.

6.3. Expectations towards the UK as a White Middle-class Space

Intersecting with the expectation of the UK as 'empty space' is the expectation of the UK as a white European space, judging by German migrants' reactions to multiculturalism. This reveals a very telling gap in lifestyle migration literature so far: the predominant setting in rural locations, and lack of discussions around the role of

multicultural societies that the migrants move into means that, so far, little is known about the perceptions around this.

Here, I believe that many of these views of the UK as a white middle-class space are due to a lack of detailed knowledge of the UK as a post-colonial multicultural society. This is particularly striking as the UK, and particularly London, is often praised for its multiculturalism. For example, one of the special travelling magazines on London centres on multiculturalism as a selling point (GeoSpecial London, Oct./Nov. 2005). Secondly many of my respondents told me that they really appreciated the multiculturalism that London had to offer. Yet at the same time, different ethnicities were frequently seen as threatening, and Germans' openness to other cultures seen as 'un-British', was often revealed as rather limited.

6.3.1. *Multiculturalism: the Expected and the Unexpected*

The apparent appreciation of multiculturalism stood in stark contrast to a very limited understanding and high levels of discomfort reported in places around other people in the UK with a migration history, particularly from parts of the former empire such as India, Bangladesh and the Caribbean. Some case studies and examples will illustrate this point. It was a fairly frequent occurrence, which is highlighted by the following selection of field notes and interview extracts which illustrate this point.

> M., an intern, who is relatively new in London … lives in zone 4, she catches a train home at night. She talks about living in zone 4, and 'all the Indians' who live in the area where she's staying. One of the men chimes in, saying that 'oh yes, that's dodgy'. I'm not sure whether he means the area, or the Indians. Apparently, she wears skirts to go into work, and always feels like she is being watched, so she always carries spraying deodorant in her handbag as a pepper spray replacement; and she always makes sure that she isn't home too late at night, and knows how to best get home. At the same time, she is full of ideals about English people, such as English people being so polite and nice. (Fieldnotes Captain's Cabin, Wednesday Get Together, 19.08.09)

> Sandra, talking about Lewisham where she lived for a while: I didn't really know anything about the area when I came over, I didn't really look into it before I moved, I didn't really think it would be necessary. And then I arrived with all my stuff at Lewisham station, and I stood at the station, and I saw only black people, and I thought, Jesus, is there a nest somewhere? (…) my flatmate was black as well, at least she put that into the ad, where she said 'black French girl' and so that was ok, but …

I don't think I'd move to a black area again. ^{xlvi}

> Elena, when talking about the first flat share she moved into with German people: [the flat] was close to Edgware Road (…) Awful, the area…. So my flatmates and me, we were the only blonde women in the whole area, maybe 10km,… I went to a beauty salon where normally no westerners were allowed, but they let me in 'cause they knew I lived in the area… and I think every morning I was the only woman not wearing a veil walking along the road, and you feel as if you're a steak walking along the road, where all the men…of course no one says anything, they're very.. they try to hold back [85] ^{xlvii}

Three things are particularly striking. One, they were all told by women, and secondly, that they were all linked to high levels of physical discomfort and frequently fear. They also highlight a very reductionist view of other ethnicities as different and thereby dangerous by collapsing ethnic difference and violence into one. Not once, in the above extracts, is there a connection made between areas where one feels unsafe and crime rates, rather it is the 'other people' themselves who cause this discomfort. Tellingly Elena does not have any particular incidences that would have made her feel unsafe. Thirdly, for all the women mentioned above this was the first area they moved to, citing a certain level of ignorance that now has been 'rectified': Sandra told me she would not move to a similar area again, now that she knows what to look for; the intern in extract one also pointed out that the area was ok, because she was only staying for three months. Fascinatingly and tellingly, while Sandra did want to live with English native speakers, clearly she did not think Lewisham an appropriate area to look for English speakers to share with. It is revealing that either she did not think of them as 'English' at all, or as not the right kind of English.

The extracts above highlight the unexpected nature of the multiculturalism, the fact that they were surprised by it. It is almost as if it was not on their radar before moving to London. This unexpectedness, almost invisibility due to ignorance, was reflected as well in other areas of the migrants' lives, for example in the search for friends. For many gaining British friends is seen as a great aim; people hope to meet British people, often seeing this as a sign of migratorial success. Yet the expectation seems to be to meet and make friends with native speakers who are very similar to oneself. Sandra was implicitly making the point that black people were not really people she (originally) saw as British; instead of potential friends, they were perceived as a threat.

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[85] On the other hand, I met a woman the first time I went to the Zeitgeist Get Together in February 2009, who was living in Richmond at the time, saying that 'it's a bit more expensive, but at least it's safe'.

Similarly, Tilman told me a story of how he met some friends, who happened to be black. To him, this also was unexpected:

> One of my best mates is a black guy from the West Indies, so… when I just got here and was trying to find my way around, and I thought I'd get a haircut before starting work the next day, and so I was on this market in East London, in Tower Hamlets, and it said 'Ebony Hairstyles', and I didn't really thing anything of it, it didn't really register, and then when I went in, it was clear why it was called Ebony… so there were 20 people in there, and I must have been the only white person to have set foot in there in like 20 years or so… and at first I was really embarrassed, I stood in the door and they all looked at me and one of them said, so what do you want? And I said, well … I think I'm in the wrong place. And he was like, what do you want? So I said, a haircut… And he was like, so come in, and he was the guy who said, so come in then, and so I sat next to him (…) so then we knew one another, and I kind of hung out with him, and at some point he said, hey do you fancy smoking a joint? And I said, sure, and we had a joint together, and since then… [xlviii]

Similarly to Elena and Sandra, he also first protested his ignorance, claiming he had no idea what he was getting into. While trying to convince me of his open-mindedness with this story, by placing special emphasis on this and highlighting their difference, he drew attention to the fact that he did not necessarily consider this his 'normal' friends. Tilman's migration history highlights the reason for the unexpected; he was originally from a relatively rural area in the middle of Germany, where multiculturalism could be considered to be relatively rare. Movements from relatively ethnically homogenous areas in Germany (this can include larger cities, if the people living there do not necessarily have much contact with other ethnicities – after all, both Elena and Sandra had lived in two of the biggest German cities before moving to the UK) to the multicultural London can be challenging to the migrants' ideas of societies.

This surprise about one type of multiculturalism (for want of a better term, 'black' multiculturalism) contrasted with the migrants' pleasure about an expected multiculturalism, namely that of a very European, or Western, type of multiculturalism. When asked about their work environment, many would stress the pleasure of working in a multicultural environment: "oh, it's really nice, in my team, there's a Russian guy, behing me were some Swedish guys sitting until recently, an Italian guy, my boss is english (…) there's another English guy, an American guy… it's really diverse…" [xlix] (Lasse).

Similarly there was frequently the acknowledgement that it was very easy to meet like-minded people in London, as it was a city full of people from other European countries. This type of multiculturalism was generally seen as positive, but not always. Hannah pointed out that all the European friends she had made were nice but stopped her from meeting English people and learning 'proper' English. And as Elena said, "many of my friends are German… it's difficult…. Very few are English. Most are German or French, or some other nationality…"[86] [1].

There are other references to highlight the idea of Britain as a predominantly white space. Conradson and Latham (2007) emphasise the surprise that some of their respondents displayed towards London's multiculturalism. The historic colonial connections with New Zealand makes this all the more surprising, as a certain knowledge of Britain could be assumed. Kim (2011), researching young female Asian (South Korean, Chinese and Japanese) migrants in London, also points out that many of her respondents believed the British people to be "only gentlemen", displaying a prevalence of stereotypes. It is unclear whether this stereotype extends further to Europe as a whole – Ferbrache (2011) in her thesis writes that Europe "has often been imagined as a single homogenous culture of whiteness and Christianity" (2011: 91-92); yet, there seems to be an absence of further research on this. Kim (2011) points out the potential role that the media might play in the construction of these stereotypes. Considering that the UK seems to be presented very stereotypically abroad, further research into this would be a good idea.

6.3.2.   *German Multiculturalism Abroad*

The limited understanding of multiculturalism was not limited to English society, but extended to Germans. In chapter 4 I pointed out that I met quite a few Germans who had a family history of migration, such as one of their parents not originally being from Germany. In many cases this simply went undetected. Yet when this was physically visible or when the name was an indicator of the country or region of origin, quite a few times the assumption was made that they simply could not be German. Two incidents from fieldwork highlight this. The first incident concerned a young woman whom I met

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[86] This type of multiculturalism is perpetuated in some books concerning life in Britain as a German person, where multiculturalism only occurs in the limited versions of Europeans, or Westerners, forming the multicultural elite. Many of the books seem set completely in a white, middle-class setting with other European migrants, for example Gelfert (2002), Koydl (2009), Regeniter (2008).

in church, Meng. She had grown up in Germany, and considered the town where she grew up as home. Her parents had immigrated from China. Having studied in Germany, she had come to London to do a Master's programme. After I met her in church, I interviewed Claudia, who had also met Meng at church. Talking about multiculturalism, she told me that,

> I think it's much more open here towards (…) other cultures. What I thought was quite funny, so you met Meng on Sunday, and for me, that was nothing special, that she's Chinese origin but grew up in Germany (…) and then two weeks ago, [when somebody brought their parents, who were visiting from Germany, to the church service] the mother (…), she asked immediately, so how come your German is so good? That's like asking an Indian person here in England, why do you speak such good English? [li]

For Claudia, this was a generational question; to her, young people were more open-minded, especially those who had moved internationally. Yet this assumption was completely refuted when, a week or two later, I met up with Meng to go to a German Get Together at the German pub. We went to sit in the beer garden outside, with a clique of other young professionals I had met before. Max, whom Meng was sitting next to, insisted on switching to English repeatedly, sometimes participating in a conversation in German before apologising to Meng in English and switching back to English. It took her several attempts to establish that she spoke absolutely fluent German and would rather speak German. After this, she first had to explain her migration history to establish 'why she spoke such good German'. Considering that Max was a young professional who had moved to an international metropolis, his robust belief that Meng could not possibly be German or speak good German refuted Claudia's belief in open-mindedness among this group of people rather thoroughly.

Strikingly, apart from Meng, I never encountered Germans at the Get Togethers who visibly had ethnic minority heritage, even though clearly this population both exists and could also be expected to move abroad at either the same or a higher rate as the general population of Germany, if their family's migration history had made them multi-local. Multiculturalism within the Germans in London was therefore not something that was seen frequently at the Get Togethers.

The second incidence concerned a meeting of the 'Anonymous Academics'. I was talking to Alberto, a man in his 50s whom I had met before. His parents had moved to Germany from Sicily; he was born and raised in Germany.

> While we're talking, Phillip joins us. He introduces himself, and when he then joins the conversation, addresses Alberto as 'Sie'[87], saying, 'Nett, Sie kennenzulernen[88]'. This is particularly odd as usually at these meetings, everyone uses 'Du' immediately, using first names: clearly, there is some kind of distance towards Alberto on his part. When Alberto shortly after leaves the conversation, Phillip asks me whether Alberto is 'one of us'. When I say yes, Phillip asks whether he is therefore German. When again I say yes, he points out that he is of Italian origin. When I say that to the best of my knowledge, Alberto was born and grew up in Germany, Phillip finds this quite 'crass[89]'. [Academics Anonymous, 17.10.2009]

There seems to be an assumption about what 'Germans abroad' look like, which is rather narrow. Somebody who does not fit this bill is clearly surprising to Phillip to a large extent; he appears to have expected other Germans abroad to be mainly like him – middle-class white Germans.

6.4. Unsettling Mobility

A third dimension that emerges is the expectation of similarity, or familiarity. It reveals a somewhat comical and ironic conundrum for many migrants: the fact that while they move in order to gain new experiences, the differences in certain areas of their lives takes them aback. This can be highlighted particularly with regard to items and aspects of their life concerning embodied experiences, such as flats, food, and hygiene articles.

Flats or houses, as the place where one lives and spends a certain amount of time, were one of the areas where migrants really noticed the differences with regard to size and living standards. The problems regarding flats, broken things in flats, where to find affordable flats, etc., really ranked highly throughout: from interviews, informal chats, to the amount of time Germans would spend flat hunting and the rants about flats and living standards both in the German Forum[90] and at meetings in person[91]. To quote Svea,

> The flat we're in now [her and her partner], it's ok, we're quite happy

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[87] The formal German version of you.

[88] 'Nice to meet you' – 'kennenlernen' translates as 'to get to know', but 'nett Sie kennenzulernen' is used in much the same way as the English 'nice to meet you' as a polite phrase when meeting someone new.

[89] 'Krass' – a colloquial word, usually used as an adjective to indicate that something is particularly extreme, either particularly good or bad (has to be qualified). In this context, as it was not qualified as either good or bad, it could also be interpreted simply as striking, an expression of surprise, or being taken aback. He is therefore here expressing his surprise at Alberto's Germanness.

[90] See e.g. Forum thread No. 31574 – 'Baumängel – Ärger mit Vermieter – rechtliche Situation', 16.11.2009, for a typical example of this.

[91] This ties in with the cultural problems mentioned earlier of not being able to afford a flat of one's own

> there – it's got quite a good standard, not like all the others here, normally it's all really awful, and in Germany the standard really is quite high…

The fact that the differences riled people so much highlights both the amount of similarity they expected and the very personal level of disruption experienced.

Moores and Metykova (2010) point out that migrants often needed the disruption to realise what they had liked best before, in terms of their living environment. The authors here talk about the city-scape, predominantly. In the case of German migrants in the UK, the disrupted environment was often on a smaller scale. Yet, the phenomenon described remains the same: the disruption of routine and everyday life through differences in another country, and the extent to which the migrants were previously embedded in their lives, and furthermore, how this embeddedness translates into an expectation of similarity. In addition to issues concerning flats it was mainly the relatively small-scale practices often relating to the body, such as comfort foods as well as personal hygiene, which came up repeatedly. Practically all migrants whom I interviewed recalled certain comfort foods that they missed, sometimes bought from traders in the UK, but also got brought over or sent over from friends and family in Germany. This ranged from bread and cured meats to smaller items such as vegetable spreads. Similarly, in the Forum, food or ingredients that people looked for were discussed – where to find specific items or how to replace them. 'Food' has its own Forum section, with currently almost 1300 different discussion threads[92].

Personal hygienic articles such as face creams, toothpaste, and (for women) tampons[93] were frequently brought over to the UK from Germany. When I asked her what she missed, Sandra replied:

> Apple puree (…) toothpaste I always get sent (…) and then sweets, tons of sweets… (…) [shouts] Tampons! My mum sends me tampons… they don't sell o.b. here… honestly, they should import them. They would sell so quickly. (…) You *have* to write that, you *have* to! [lii]

Tamara told me that she very regularly brings back face cream from Germany, as did Claudia, both for the same reasons: that they did not like experimenting with their skin as well as finding the products in the UK very expensive. Considering that Tamara had been living in the UK for almost ten years, and Claudia for well over five, the

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[92] http://www.deutsche-in-london.net/forum/forum/19-essen/. Last checked 03.07.2012.
[93] The best-known German brand of Tampons, o.b., is not sold in Britain, much to the chagrin of female German migrants.

consistency of this pattern highlights the strength of a dislike of disruption with regard to personal hygiene and the body, as well as the hesitancy to give up a very personal stability in the face of new experiences.

The difference in products is most easily negotiated by professionals with good salaries who can afford to spend large amounts of money on a flat similar in standard to the German flat left behind, as well as the sending of products. Lasse regularly ordered bread online in Germany - his 'favourite bread *ever*' which, luckily for him, could be bought online. He ordered ten loaves at once, froze them, and then re-ordered when he ran out.

The assumed familiarity could be down to an assumption of cultural proximity, leading the migrants to believe that things would be very similar to what they are used to. This seems to extend generally to migrations to an Anglo-Saxon culture, as both Buergelt et al. (2008: 120) and Boenisch-Brednich (2002) highlight this regarding the migrations of Germans to New Zealand. Kennedy (2009) attributes this to what he calls 'banal cosmopolitanism': the idea that skilled migrants are attracted to going abroad partially in order to encounter cultural 'others', which are familiar from media images and influences from tourism, amongst others. This then leads to a 'banal cosmopolitanism', "an everyday and taken-for-granted set of stimuli on which individuals rarely reflect very deeply" (2009: 24). Banal cosmopolitanism therefore positions the problem less in the unexpected cultural difference but in the creation of that expectation of cultural similarity, and a mind-set which expects to be open-minded and knowledgeable yet finds that real life abroad is very different.

As a result of changes in areas where familiarity could not be bought and sent, as in the case of bread or toothpaste, occasionally people would seek out familiar things for comfort, or re-enact familiar practices. This is particularly evident with regard to friendships, and going out.

Geographies of friendship are different in the UK to the ones of friendship in Germany. This took many of the Germans I spoke to or followed on the Forum by surprise - not only the fact that it was different, but also the way that these differences affected them in some cases quite strongly.

It has been found before that friendship models differ, and that this that affects migrants. Boenisch-Brednich (2002) and Buergelt et al. (2008) write about the struggled

by Germans in New Zealand because of what they perceived to be differences in culture, found in friendships. The Germans found that they could not 'really' get to know New Zealanders as Germans had a more intimate understanding of friendship, while New Zealanders were happy to remain slightly more superficial. Similarly, 'British reserve' has become almost mythical. Germans in Australia, too, apparently struggle with a certain perception of Australians as superficial and not interested in 'proper' friendships (Berchem 2011). As this has all been sufficiently highlighted, here I focus on the actual geographies of friendship that are seen to differ by the Germans in the UK.

Many of my participants and the people I met during my study were frequently going out and meeting people in public places. This represents an adaptation to British customs. In the German Forum, a student started asking other Forum users where they tended to meet friends, as he felt he always had to go out[94], which was not only getting expensive, but also not his prefered space of socialising. Meeting up in flats would have been the preferred option, as this was what he was used to from Germany. Daniel also emphasised this. He told me that he could have a maximum of three people over for dinner, so he mainly met up with people in town. The meeting outside of private spaces was emphasised by him as very different to his friendship patterns in Germany.

In addition to being too small, the flats especially in London tended to have the additional disadvantage of being far away from each other. Daniel pointed out that only three friends or acquaintances lived within walking distance of his. Still it was the preferred option for many Germans to visit each other in flats, also as it seems to match their cultural ideas of friendship. Boenisch-Brednich (2002) points out that Germans wish for deep, meaningful friendships, often holding intimate conversations over cups of tea. As Beatrice said,

> Yes, I miss my friends… (…) I miss the kind of friendship I have with them. (…) you could call that a 'German kind' [of friendship]. For example sitting in the kitchen for hours, drinking tea and talking… or going for breakfast together. (…) With Sarah [flatmate], I have a relatively German friendship… we sit around and talk a lot. [liii]

The meeting in public places in Britain could be uncomfortable to Germans. Meeting in a pub, with many other people around, often in a group of people, often involving

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94 Forum Thread No. 40975 – 'Mangel an "private space"', 04.03.2011.

'banter' rather than serious conversation, could throw them quite a curveball[95]. Hence, many of the German activities would take place within the Germans' own homes. I was invited to several barbeques, a Christmas dinner and various parties. In many cases, the retreat into the private with a group of largely German people was accompanied by a retreat to German traditions and ways of doing things. A birthday party I went to had almost exclusively German snacks, ranging from open sandwiches to the traditional German party food of 'cheese cubes' (Käsewürfel); the barbeques were accompanied by pasta salad[96]. As one participant at a church-organised barbeque commented, to him it was the relief of knowing how things worked at the barbeque that made it such a relaxing event. Actually, I must admit that this reinstating of the familiar was even to me in some cases a welcome respite, a possibility of falling back into familiar ways without thinking.

The private space, rather than simply becoming a space to meet up, then also becomes a space of familiar comfort, not dissimilar to what Scott (2004) describes for the British in France. Kim (2011) similarly points out a retreat into the private space for comfort. Yet with Kim's research, there is more the feeling that the retreat into private space is almost a flight rather than a brief retreat, as generally from her writing the impression forms that her participants were rather excluded in everyday life. The retreat appears less temporary than in the case of the British in France, for whom according to Scott 'indulging' in British cultural items is temporarily limited and bounded. Collins (2008) also highlights the seeking out of familiarity, in this case by Korean students in New Zealand in the form of Korean bars, restaurants, McDonalds restaurants as well as Korean internet cafes. The main difference to his research lies in the fact that for the German migrants, it was the private space that was the retreat, as the supposedly 'German' pubs and bars around London were not perceived to be relaxing in the same way. The German pub in Vauxhall, the 'Zeitgeist', while selling German food and beer and having German staff, worked in principle like a normal English pub, with people paying at the bar. While the staff spoke German there was often a confusion among those attending for the first time as to whether staff actually spoke German[97], as menus

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[95] See e.g. Forum Thread No. 29079 – 'Sind sie einfach anders?', 12.07.2009.

[96] Pasta salad, made up in a specific way (with mayonnaise and gherkins), is usually found at barbeques in Germany.

[97] This happened to me on my first visit to the German pub, but also other people whom I observed when they were searching for the Saturday 'Get Togethers', and was again confirmed in a few interviews, such as the one with Elena, who told me that she too had not known whether to speak to staff in German or English.

etc. are in English[98]. Geographies of friendship were therefore different in the spaces where they took place, as well as the rituals involved; for the Germans, the retreat into the private space occurred occasionally. The expectations of friendship spaces here overlap with expectations of similarity in general (e.g. with the barbeque), to create highly emotional spaces of relaxation where things are familiar and friendships are able to be enacted in the 'appropriate' geographies.

The exception to the retreat into the private were the GerManic parties, organised by GerManic-London twice a year. I attended one of these, and here are some extracts from my fieldnotes:

> They're playing mainly Schlager[99], the absolute classics that everybody knows, even I. … Miriam struggles, as she didn't grow up in Germany, I think the songs don't have quite the same memories for her… but for us [Nicolas, a friend I went with, and me], this is what we grew up with. It's what they played at the local funfair, at parties, … people are really singing along, with a lot of energy. I almost feel as if I'm 14 again and at one of the funfairs, it's a bit surreal. … On the way home, Andreas says that this is the first time in years that he feels homesick. Miriam doesn't quite understand this, but I think I can follow – it's … more a knowledge of where you're from, and that you belong somewhere – because everybody knows the same songs. It seems as if you don't celebrate the music (hopefully. It's terrifyingly bad!), but your own, individual past at parties gone and bad funfairs … And even though everybody has their own memories, you share the space at these parties, dancing to a common nostalgia. Maybe it was different for other people, who got really drunk. But to me, it mainly seems like a re-enactment of all the parties you had before. (Fieldnotes on GerManic Party, 24.07.2010).

6.5.   Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to highlight the complex personal and perceptual geographies of migrants in the UK which result from the strong expectations held by the migrants that might not match reality. The lack of preparation, exacerbated by the geographical proximity of the two countries, fuelled this mismatch between expectations and reality further.

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[98] Other supposedly 'German' bars, such as the 'Oktoberfest' in Fulham, or the Bavarian Beerhouse, were perceived to cater to tourists with German clichés, rather than appealing to Germans themselves.
[99] A type of German music with somewhat cheesy lyrics, strong beats and very memorable tunes and lyrics. They tend to be played in German festivals, at parties, and would also count as après-ski music. They are very well-known, generally speaking.

In comparison to other migrations, such as the one studied by Kim (2011) about Asian women to London, the cultural gap as well as the gap between expectations and reality is relatively small. And yet as I have shown above, this relatively small gap affects migrants in a number of ways and leads to fascinating emotional geographies. A strong idea among young German migrants, which is different to other young migrants (such as New Zealanders), is the idea of integration into, rather than observation of, the host society which makes the gulf very large especially with regard to affective spaces.

Extending the concept of 'affective spaces' as used by Conradson and Latham (2007) also shows that the affective expectations relate to far more than the city itself for the migrants, but also extend to intimate spaces, such as flats and the body, as well as practices such as friendships. Similarly Moores and Metykova's (2010) highlighting of the disruption of familiar spaces through migration is highly relevant. Rather than merely re-appreciating their environment at home, I have shown that migrants transplant their ideas of everyday life and the familiar into new situations, leading them to a disruption between their expected and real experiences. The chapter thereby also shows the importance of focusing on everyday activities and spaces in order to understand migrants and their behaviour post-migration, both with regard to the familiar spaces and everyday activities as well as the affective spaces they expect to move into. Focusing on the small spaces of the unfamiliar and those of the expected affect highlights the complex way in which these interact. While the lack of preparation has been highlighted before, the highly geographical outcomes of this in terms of emotional geographies and affective spaces have so far gone unremarked.

The chapter raises a number of questions, though. Specifically, Kim (2011) has highlighted the role that media played in facilitating migration for Asian women. Similar research for migration within the European Union would be desirable, as it is unclear to what extent the migrants' decisions are based upon media images, and whether, based upon this, representations in the media could be altered to obtain a more realistic image of the country of destination. The idea of 'banal cosmopolitanism' plays an important role here, as it links into the question of which images are reproduced in the media, and how they impact on the migrants' behaviour.

Secondly, it is also unclear whether Germans have particularly high expectations relating to interpersonal relations and friendships with British people due to their higher-than-average enthusiasm for the EU and European integration (see Diez-

Medrano 2003; Neu 2010; Pichler 2008a, b; Spannring et al. 2012), or whether another factor that has remained invisible plays a large role. It would also be very interesting to find out the expectations of British people towards European migrants, in order to obtain a different view of international working relationships and friendships.

7.   FRAGMENTED SOCIAL SPACES

7.1.   Introduction

The starting point to this chapter was predicated on the anecdotal evidence that Germans abroad tend to avoid one another. In this chapter I therefore look at the different ways in which German social spaces are perceived, as well as experienced, by migrants. I specifically look at negative attitudes as well as practices which could cause these attitudes to social spaces.

In the first part of the chapter I look at attitudes towards organised social spaces among my participants. As I show in the first part of this chapter, Germans avoiding their co-nationals is not necessarily true, but is rather an image of a type of migrant – the cosmopolitan migrant who avoids other German migrants – which is employed by bi- and multi-local migrants who wish to appear open-minded and international, and therefore downplay connections with other Germans. Many of the migrants I spoke to used the idea of not having German friends or attending German social spaces to convey this message. In contrast to this, some settled migrants position themselves as actively seeking German connections. In this case, a situation that could be called 'emotional exile' emerges from the stories of the migrants, in which Germans have chosen, for whatever reason, to not return to Germany, yet suffer from not being able to share the cultural familiarity with other Germans[100]. German social spaces are portrayed as highly positive by them. Migrants then used different explanations to justify the divergences between their attitudes to organised German spaces, and their everyday practices of interacting with them. In contrast to British lifestyle migrants in the Lot, then, there are attitudes which conflict directly with the attitude to avoid co-nationals. However, both of these groups have in common that they use highly judgemental images and stereotypes of other migrants in order to express their ideas about their own migration. I suggest that as others have also highlighted the use of stereotypes by migrants to underline their own unique migration, it can be assumed that this stereotyping is in fact done by most German young professional migrants.

I then look at the organised social spaces themselves, as conflicts frequently emerged. As I argue, it is the de-valuation of other migration stories as already seen in the

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[100] As I will explain, in a few cases, the settled migrants lived in the countryside, making contact with other Germans even scarcer than for many of the bi- or multilocal migrants who often lived in London.

stereotypes which results in these conflicts. In the organised social spaces, as a result of these judgemental practices, divisions and splits occur. At the same time, though, the conflicts led to a certain cementation of the sub-groups with similar migration histories, enabling migrants to find support for their 'way' of migrating.

Throughout the chapter, I show the importance of emotions, and normative ideas about emotions associated with migration, to the way social spaces are seen and experienced by the migrants. As I further argue in the concluding section, transnational urbanism as a concept allows me to highlight the different situations and positionalities of the migrants which emerge in the conflicts. The discussion in this chapter reveals the multitude of migration projects, the emotions involved, and the conflicts that this can give rise to. It also highlights, as I have already done in chapter 4, that what is called 'middle class migration' is in fact internally highly differentiated, giving rise to part of the conflicts described here. More attention needs to be paid in future research to these differences.

7.2. Attitudes Towards Fellow Germans

On first sight, there seems to be anecdotal acknowledgement that Germans in the UK are somewhat uneasy about their compatriots, as can be seen in the following extracts. The first two extracts are from a forum debate concerning fellow German speakers, the third from one of my interviews:

> *Guest_J_** … I noticed that many Germans or Austrians who have been living here for a few years already refuse categorically to speak German. Not that I find this terribly important, but I hardly speak any German, and sometimes I quite like meeting fellow nationals and speaking German – especially in Liverpool – if you have something in common. But I'm often ignored. When I ask (because I can tell that they're German) where they are from and they say 'from Germany', I obviously tell them I'm German too. … I don't mind speaking English, I just feel a little strange when I speak to a German in convoluted English set phrases and the other side thereby makes it clear that they have no interest in the conversation …
>
> *Joni* Interesting question – I already had it a few times that it seems to be embarrassing to other Germans who live here to be outed as Germans and speak German with me… … (both posted 20/06/2010, Forum Thread No. 35899).
>
> Sven: Well, I have to say, I avoid Germans abroad, like when I'm [walking] in a street, when I'm in a café, and I see that there's some Germans sitting there, I don't sit down next to them, I'm simply not

> interested…I'm abroad for a purpose, and I want to have that [the 'abroad'] around me then as well… [liv]

The last quote by Sven is very telling, and was an answer that, in some form or another, was given to me quite frequently. People insisted that 'it wasn't out of malice' that they did not wish to talk to other Germans in the UK, it was merely that they were abroad and, therefore, not wanting to be with other Germans was somehow 'natural'. In Sven's statement, the choice is depicted as something very simple and obvious. It should be pointed out here that, despite his claim that he 'avoids Germans abroad', Sven went to quite a few German meetings – in fact, we met at one, and he was a regular at another – and indeed had quite a substantial circle of German friends. On the other hand, there were people who were actively looking to find more German friends, such as Aron or Sonja, both settled migrants with a British partner. In the following two sections I look at this contradiction, and highlight that the differences might well be the result of different migration projects and outlooks for the future and future mobility.

7.2.1. *'I don't really have any German friends…'*

The attitude of some migrants towards other Germans of not actively seeking any contact was played out in practice in a number of ways, and justified in a number of overlapping, intersecting ways which make it both a common feature of middling transnationalism, as well as distinctly German.

Quite a few of my interviewees were very openly hesitant about the idea of German 'Get Togethers', and often seemed downright condescending when I asked them whether they went to those meetings, or had ever gone. We already heard from Hannah (chapter 6, section 6.2.2), who said she had met enough other people elsewhere and did not *need* to meet new people; as well as saying "I'm not in England to meet German people", which resonates with Sven's quote above. The lack of a *need* to meet new people was frequently emphasised, meaning that there was therefore a depiction of people going to the meetings and meeting German people as desperate. This was further corroborated by people saying that they used the Forum in the beginning, but then stopped using it and going to meetings, as they had met 'enough' people[101]. Note that both for Hannah, who included Germans in the 'enough people elsewhere', and Sven, as well as Henrik later on, there is a (rhetorical) distinction between their German friends,

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[101] Michael, for example, called it a 'crude way to meet people, but it works'; see also Sandra in chapter 6, section 6.2.4.

and Germans who go to organised German spaces. Germans who they do not know, who attend organised social spaces, are thereby labelled as different and desperate for friends.

Related to this is also a cliché as to what meeting other Germans would be like:

> DM: So, do you have much contact with other Germans?
>
> Henrik: Hmm, interesting question – until half a year ago, I would have said none at all, this wasn't unwanted either – I thought that as a German, I don't need to hang out with other Germans, and then I ended up sitting next to Lea on a plane, and since then I've just been finding more and more Germans who become friends, and with whom I spend time… (…)It all worked out without a circle of German friends [before that]. (…) I really didn't have that feeling before that I'm missing something, or that I need to meet other Germans to sit around and bake dark bread… lv

This quote makes obvious the clichéd picture that is used by some Germans to position themselves against the organised spaces, depicting them as filled with those migrants who pined after lost cultural items. At the same time, Henrik therefore also rejects the emotional element of longing for those familiar items, thereby positioning himself as somebody seeking out, or not minding, new experiences. Similarly, some of my participants had been to one or two organised social spaces only, and drew upon those experiences to justify their non-going. Martin told me about a meeting he attended, "a meeting of Hessian people, but there were only three people, and they were all a bit strange…so I didn't go to one of those again until a friend took me to one of the Academics Anonymous meetings". Again, here, it is a known German who persuades him that it is OK, not an unknown one.

As I already pointed out, they still had German friends, hence did not avoid Germans altogether. Yet by rhetorically positioning themselves against the German spaces, they could emphasise their open-mindedness as opposed to the mind-set of the Germans who went to organised social spaces (they sit around and bake dark bread, so they cannot be open-minded). It also lets them emphasise their social skills, and how successful their migration is – they have managed to find other friends themselves. Occasionally the migrants would use stereotypes of migrations in order to make sense of their diverging attitudes: that on the one hand, they wanted to be cosmopolitan and not be seen to attend too many organised German spaces, yet on the other hand it was clear to me and them that they did, as we had met there. Stereotypes were then used in order to reconcile

these differences. Following Benson's use of stereotypes in her research, the question here is not whether the pictures presented by the migrants are factually correct, but what their use of metaphor and opposing stereotypes tells us about their migration. They were not only used to present a certain picture of the self, but were also used to reconcile differences between theory and practice: for example the gulf between a migrant claiming, 'oh, I don't really hang out with German people much' and attending organised social spaces regularly.

Two of the most common stereotypes used for this are the 'expat', and the 'naïve migrant'. They seem to be the types of migrants that are seen as completely inacceptable by young German professionals in the UK; *the migrant you do not want to be* (seen to be?): naïve and unknowing, in essence the young and innocent migrant stumbling into the UK because they fell in love with it ten years ago; or the uninterested, aloof expat who does not engage with the culture and never sees any of the country. In comparison to this, there is the *migrant you want to be*: interested, open-minded, cosmopolitan, hard-working, self-made. Sven used the expat-stereotype to position himself as a more courageous, open-minded migrant:

> DM: Did you come over here for a specific job?
>
> Sven: No, no, I came over completely voluntarily… I was in Germany, I had a safe job, an unlimited contract, and I just handed in my notice… I just didn't want to do it anymore, and so I decided to search for something. So there was… there was no necessity, really, I'm not an expat either or anything like that*,* but I decided on this completely voluntarily, (…) I had always wanted to do that… (…) It was all my own doing… (…)
>
> DM: So what makes you not an expat?
>
> Sven: For me an expat is a person who's been sent by his company and he's abroad for a specified period of time, and he probably even has a German employment contract, and after that he returns, and with me, well, I applied on the English job market, as a normal, as somebody from the outside, and I've got an English contract, and I don't have anything to do with Germany anymore, and I have no securities if I were do get back, in the sense that I wouldn't have a job there or anything … [lvi]

Here Sven emphasises very strongly the fact that he is much braver than an expat (he has no security, and did not have a job before coming to the UK), and he is in the UK voluntarily rather than being forced to be there, as an expat might be in his view. Benson (2009, 2011) writes about how for the British in the Lot, lifestyle migration

made them feel as if they were in charge of their own fortunes (e.g. 2011: 8); this too is apparent in Sven's account. As opposed to somebody who is sent over, who does not get any say in the matter, he *chose* to come to the UK and make his own way. He is fully in charge of his own life. Also, there are positive character traits and emotions he highlights in his account: in particular, being decisive and courageous as opposed to passively sent over. The translocal subjectivities, where emotions are important to consider in the connections towards 'back home', here are extended the other way: there are emotions towards the country of destination; in this case, bravery, voluntariness, and the willingness to face insecurity. For Sven, this could also be seen as a possibility to reconcile the fact that he did attend German spaces regularly: by presenting himself as clearly not an expat, he represents himself as open-minded and knowledgeable of the English job market despite the fact that he attends German meetings.

Hannes, another of my interviewees, was actually a typical 'expat' – coming to London on a contract with his company for whom he worked in Germany already, having all the financial benefits (e.g. having the move and an initial period of travelling between the countries paid for). However, he too was at pains to point out that he would have preferred to not keep his furniture – it was only really a number of circumstances that meant he took his furniture along, letting him emphasise his flexibility, and the fact that he was not frequently in Germany, meaning he was not really an expat. Other interviewees drew out the fact that for them, expats did not engage with the country they were in; hence, because they were not like expats, that made them cosmopolitan, open-minded, culturally open for new experiences. Martin for example went to great trouble to explain to me how many places in England he had already visited with his girlfriend (see chapter 6); he too had an expatriate contract and package.

Sandra used the image of a 'naïve' migrant to position herself against:

> …and then there's those (…) Germans who've just moved here… I met one guy for example who was 19, I think he was fresh out of high school, and apparently he had always wanted to live in England, to come to London, and he was here for two weeks and couldn't find a job, but that had been his dream, to come to London and to live here, and I think he didn't really have a clue about anything, he didn't inform himself in advance, he had never been here before, and then it turned out that two weeks later he was working as a barman on Majorca…so much for his dream to live in London… [lvii]

Again, this is less a statement of fact, and more a moral tale about how not to migrate; but also at the same time pointing out that she had done so much better – she had been informed, and had some tenacity and patience, and her dream to live in London had clearly been stronger than his, as she was still here, while he was not. The vignettes were used to let the speakers portray themselves as both independent, with a good attitude and a strong will (Sven), as well as 'migrant-wise' (Sandra) and well-prepared.

The conflicting attitude towards fellow Germans goes strongly against the implicit assumption in migration studies that intra-ethnic cooperation happens among migrants. As Ryan et al. (2009: 152) write, "migration researchers often take for granted that migrants arrive and simply slot into networks that provide them with jobs, housing and emotional support" (2009: 152). German migrants, by contrast, seem to try to actively avoid those networks.

So far, this idea of migrants avoiding co-nationals has not gathered much attention. In two research projects, the avoidance of co-nationals was down to a criminalisation and stigmatisation of the migrants by the host society Guarnizo et al. (1999) found in their study of Colombians in New York and Los Angeles that Colombians were likely to avoid Colombians they did not know previously due to the fact that Colombians were seen by outsiders as associated mainly with the drugs trade, which caused "social fragmentation" (1999: 373). In the case of Albanians in Italy, stigmatisation was also related to an alleged association with criminality, illegal immigration or prostitution; moreover, coming from a former communist country with 'forced' cooperation, there was a resistance towards organised forms or association, and a general mistrust towards other Albanians (King and Mai 2008). This argument of stigmatisation seems unlikely in the case of Germans in the UK, in particular as it seems that the stigmatisation experienced by Germans during and after the two world wars (see Chapter 3) is not relevant today; none of my participants showed any awareness of the extent of the previous stigmatization, nor did the majority report any negative feedback to their ethnicity by the host culture. Other research has suggested that the new temporality of migration prevents migrants becoming friends, and is used by Galasinska's participants to explain the problems of young Poles in meeting other young Poles. Here, the lack of will to engage with one another is based on a sense of fatalism that 'it won't last anyway' so there is no point building relationships that will not last (2010). Yet, the fact that German migrants *did* have German friends refutes this point for this research.

Benson's study of the British in France focuses on one generational group – usually about mid-forties upwards, and for the most part retirement migration, but also one class, namely, the British middle class. They display the behaviour also exhibited by Germans in the UK: while claiming to not have much contact with fellow British people in the Lot, and downplaying their contacts, those contacts are actually rather important (Benson 2009, 2010, 2011). According to Benson, emotional and practical support by fellow nationals is crucial to the migrants (2010: 78). This leads to an ambivalence, a difference between ideology and practice. Benson explains this official dissociation of fellow British migrants in the Lot with the vision the migrants have of their movement to France. For the migrants, they have moved to France for 'authentic' rural living in the French countryside, meaning that they would largely have contact with their French, rural neighbours. Actively seeking contact with fellow nationals living abroad would amount to them not fulfilling their migration vision; hence, the contact that usually existed was downplayed. Benson's reason for this lies in the original motivation for their migration, as in their imagination, they would only fully obtain the lifestyle they sought once they were as completely integrated into the local community as possible (Benson 2010, 2011).

In some cases German migrants displayed similar tendencies. However, I believe that this is connected less to their reason of migration, and more to their picture of themselves as a certain type of migrant. The migrants depict themselves as open-minded in comparison to others (see chapter 5). Displaying German spaces as clichéd further highlights their position as world citizens. This is suggested as a middling-transnationalism, or lifestyle migration, phenomenon. The surprising element in this matching of explanations is the fact that Benson's migrants wished to integrate because they planned to stay put for the rest of their lives, while the German multi- and bi-local migrants had planned a temporary stay (see chapters 4 and 6). A quote by Henrik reveals that this idea of being open-minded is related to the wish to learn the local language, as well as to integrate (see chapter 6):

> I think it's true that Germans don't necessarily avoid other Germans, but maybe we're a bit more structured as a people, and I met many Germans who really went abroad and thought, ok, I'm here to learn the language, and that's what I'm going to do… I mean I never avoided other Germans to talk to, but I noticed that Germans … don't always like to meet other Germans. (Henrik) [lviii]

The construction of Germans as particularly open-minded intersected with a stereotypical picture of other nations being much more ethnically embracing. My participants would often tell me that Germans simply were not like 'the Italians' or 'the Spanish'. Southern Europeans or South Americans especially were portrayed stereotypically as rejoicing upon meeting another co-nationals, speaking their own language, and becoming best friends immediately. It appears as if this keeping of distance is even seen as something that sets Germans apart from other migrant groups, making them 'better' than other migrants:

> Andreas[102]: Well, the Germans, they're not like the Spanish, or the Italians or the Mexicans, who always hang out together, and that's a good thing. Germans abroad tend to do their own thing, they try more to get in touch with the indigenous people… And here in this pub [where we are], there's a lot of Spanish people working here, and they hang out with each other, as well after having finished work, and they live with other Spanish people, and then even after 10 years of living here, they don't speak any English…

By essentially depicting this as a nationality or ethnic trait, the keeping of distance was presented as inevitable, not a matter of choice. This then served to depict German migrants as a certain type of migrants: those who did not seek out the company of their fellow migrants. Anybody who did seek out fellow Germans was therefore presented as strange, as deviating from the norm.

Kaiser (2011) also confirms in her research on German retirement migrants that German migrants are much less likely to join ethnic clubs than other nationalities[103]. Scott points out that young British migrants in France socialise differently to older migrants. Older migrants are more likely to attend the traditional, established British clubs, with younger migrants more likely to attend more informal spaces, such as British bars and pubs, meeting up more informally. He terms this form of socialising "tribal ephemeral networks" (2007: 656), based more upon fluidity. Yet, in the case of young highly-skilled Germans, there was very little of this informal socialisation with previously unknown co-nationals going on; which suggests that this is not, as suggested by Scott a generational issue, but more likely, as I suggested above, a specifically German issue.

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[102] Andreas was a German I met who had lived in the UK for a over 15 years; I conducted an informal interview with him which centred more on the changes to the Germans in the UK over time rather than his own experience as a migrant. Hence, the interview is not listed in the appendix.

[103] Unfortunately, she does not provide an explanation, possibly as much of her research was quantitative and therefore did not offer the scope for in-depth exploring of this issue.

7.2.2. *'Honestly, the things you do to find other Germans…'*

I met Aron at a football game (Germany lost against Spain) in a bar in 2010. He had arrived in the UK almost nine years prior to our interview, after a long-distance relationship with his British partner. They had decided to remain in the UK for the foreseeable future, not least as both of them had good careers in the UK. During the interview he told me that he would never normally go to a football game, but was looking for some contacts with other Germans in the UK. His sentence "the things you do to meet other Germans…" shows the sacrifice he portrayed himself as making, highlighting his eagerness to meet some other Germans, as he went to see a football match despite not having any interest in football.

Sonja was married to a British man, with little prospect of returning to Germany. While she did not actively wish to return to Germany, in the sense that she had very few family and friends left there who could pull her back, she told me that she still missed it occasionally, and in particular missed speaking German, a feeling very similar to the initial forum quote at the beginning of this chapter.

A number of threads on this can be found on the Forum, as well as a number of posters who seem to have a similar problem. One writes that her coming to England was:

> an accidental slip… I never thought in my life I'd live abroad at some point. But you can't really choose who you fall in love with, right? I would much prefer to be in Germany, and I always suffer from bad homesickness, but whatever… England is ok, you get used to it. (Abnoba[104], 19.05.2008)

While another describes her being in the UK in the following way:

> I have been homesick for months, and it's getting worse, not better… I miss everything and everybody, and just drag myself through the days. … but unfortunately, I'm sitting between the chairs, and at the moment can only choose between unhappy here, because I miss home, and unhappy at home, because I miss my partner… (Guest_katrinsche_*, 12.07.2009[105])

In addition to those who are in a relationship that is currently placing them in Britain, there are a few who are bound by untransferable jobs to remain in the UK. On a hike I met a woman whose job in Germany had been cut due to lack of funding; she managed to transfer to the UK without much hope of finding a similar job in Germany again. Her long-term partnership had therefore been transformed into a long-distance relationship.

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[104] In Forum Thread No. 20359 – 'England – Traum oder Versehen?', 17.04.2008.
[105] In Forum Thread No. 29079 – 'Sind sie einfach anders?', 12.07.2009.

When I met her she had only moved to the UK about a year ago, and hence the situation had not been resolved; it was unclear whether it would ever be resolved for her and her partner. Similarly, some academics saw themselves as 'stuck' in the UK, due to the very different career paths in the UK to academia in Germany, where academic jobs in Germany are seen as unattractive in comparison to those in the UK. For them, it was their career too which kept them in the UK.

In this situation some migrants appear to be in an 'emotional exile', where they point out the factors which imply that they should move back – missing the culture of Germany, not quite feeling at home in the UK – yet they portray themselves as bound to the UK by other circumstances that for now prevented their return to Germany. As opposed to seeking out other cultures, they seek out the familiarity of German culture. Ferbrache (2011) looked into whether the British in France could be described as a diaspora. While she came to the conclusion that no they cannot, I argue that some Germans in the UK who are settled long-term display diaspora-like tendencies. In this sense, they try to retain their culture in the light of the fact that they are unlikely to return to it in the foreseeable future. The central role of the emotional component of migration – here the unhappy one of missing Germany and German culture – is very clear.

Trying to 'perform' their culture in the UK through speaking the language was also, to a lesser degree, done by other migrants who felt that their grasp on the culture was slipping slightly. Hannah told me in the interview that she tried to read a lot of German books as her German linguistic abilities were to her becoming unacceptably bad. It could be argued that this allowed her to portray herself as a very 'mature' migrant, who was aware of her own culture and what she might lose, somebody who values her culture. To explain this to me she drew on the image of somebody who seems themselves as very cosmopolitan as her counter image:

> I really don't like it when somebody speaks German with an English accent, and then they drop English words…(…) it's our mother tongue, I want to be able to speak both absolutely fluently, that's my aim, and not some blabla like 'oh I'm so cosmopolitan and I'm already struggling with my two languages…' I think that's so silly! I see it more with young Germans who've just arrived… (…) of course to a certain extent I excuse it, I mean it's all really exciting for them, and it's great for their ego, but really, it's just a bit daft… [lix]

Organised social spaces in some cases were sought out here, as in the case of Sebastian who made the very conscious decision to attend a German church service for the cultural familiarity it provided, despite originally not wanting to meet other Germans abroad. He had avoided interactions involving the German Forum or meet-ups organised there.

Similarly to Sebastian, Tamara, who had been living in London for nine years when I spoke to her, and in other countries before that, saw a temporal change in her own behaviour over time with regards to other Germans:

> I was in France and in Japan, and then I really strongly had this attitude that I don't want anything to do with the Germans, I want to learn the language, I want to get to know the culture (….) But here in London it was … I did a masters here, and there were so many people around, I didn't really feel the need to find more specific people, (…) I never really sought out German contacts… (…) and then by accident I found the German Forum when I'd been living here for five years and was like, wow, there's so many meetings… so I went to a meeting, and it was nice, and then I actively went a bit more frequently for a while. [lx]

As Tamara went on to say, her attendance waned again after a while. Still, within this group, there are some degrees of seeking out other Germans, and organised German social spaces. Seeking a connection with German culture, and fellow Germans, is presented as more strongly part of everyday life for the migrants, in the form of reading books or being an active member of the church; as well as having an element of extrameetings that they might attend it they feel like it.

There is also a wider range of the incorporation of other German migrants into everyday life – in stark contrast to Henrik, Sven and Sandra mentioned above, Aron and Sonja for example had few German friends living in the UK who were strongly incorporated into their everyday life. By contrast, due to his involvement with the church administration, Sebastian had many so German friends and acquaintances; that he felt he almost had to protect the non-German parts of his life to maintain them. Despite this wide range, the general attitude that incorporating German social spaces into everyday life is sought-after means that, as a whole, there is a strong contrast to the migrants mentioned above who seek to downplay their German connections in everyday life.

It is interesting to note that both Aron and Sonja live(d) outside of London. Sonja, though, still lives in one of the UK's biggest cities, and yet the number of other Germans with a wish to meet Germans was negligible, as she told me. Aron relocated to

London, where I met him, effectively making his relationship a weekend relationship, yet enabling him, among other things, to meet fellow Germans. Clearly it seems emotional exile is easier to endure in London, yet at the same time not limited to this city. In their everyday lives other Germans did not play as big a role as for others. Katja confirmed the importance of location on whether there were German meetings - she had lived in Cardiff before and told me in the interview that when she lived there she also attended German meetings, which were only attended by a few (usually about five). As it is effectively the settled migrants who experience this there might be an invisible population of Germans who might wish for more contact with other Germans. As I showed here, some of them are living outside London; if there are children present in the household, they are likely to go to English schools, as impressions gathered from the Forum suggest. As a result they have not been researched at all so far, as any research on parents has focused on the German school in Richmond. There is therefore a large gap in the literature relating to the population of Germans living outside larger cities in dual-nationality households, possibly extending to other nationalities, of whom a similar 'disappearance' could be expected (e.g. Spanish, French).

There are obviously large differences in the attitudes towards organised social spaces displayed. The different attitudes, especially with regards to integration and German culture while abroad, stem from very different translocal subjectivities and different forms of being a migrant. For the bi- and multi-local migrants who go abroad in order to see a different country and work there, the new culture is exciting, with German contacts and culture seen as something that is already known. Based on this they attempt to portray themselves as open-minded by publicly positioning themselves against German social spaces. By contrast, for some settled migrants the emotional investment in German culture and also potentially the emotional meaning of connections to other Germans is very different, and geared towards enabling them to preserve more familiarity in a situation that for them can be emotionally difficult, in a culture where they do not feel at home. Emphasising their reasons for being in the UK, and their appreciation of German culture, enables them to justify their attendance of social spaces, such as the football game in Aron's case.

7.3.   Fragmentation in Social Spaces and the Role of Emotions

When I started doing fieldwork I was rather struck by what I found to be an often stilted and uncomfortable atmosphere, while in the German Forum, the tone could be very rough. At Get Togethers and meetings strong divisions regularly emerged, while conversations could be incredibly stilted. Frequently at larger meetings, smaller cliques would form with very limited interaction between the groups. One of the strongest elements from the meetings was the amount of gossiping which happened, both about absent and present persons, and in smaller settings, quarrels between individual members. As one of the people I met said about the AWD (while at an AWD), "I find the people really cliquey, and they gossip so much… ".

The tensions that were present in these social spaces have very limited presence in the literature so far, as tensions within migrant groups have so far mainly been attributed to generational divides or economic competition. Yet, as I show below, this is an unsuitable explanation, as in the German social spaces, the tension revolves largely around different migration projects and the differing opinions on them which clash in these social spaces. Also, unlike in the other literature, where much attention has been focused on opinions of migrants about one another, here I also look in detail at some of the actual clashes which occur.

Several authors point towards the generational divide. The lack of shared experiences between generations seemed to cause these rifts, including the role that different circumstances of migration and reception in the host country play, as well as – based on this – different political views. Armbruster (2008, 2010) attributes intra-ethnic tensions among Germans in Namibia to this. The disagreements are portrayed as occurring between relatively recent arrivals and those who have been in Namibia for a while; and generally based upon different understandings of the current social situation in Namibia and ideas about the world. The migrants who arrived earlier appear to base their ideas of society upon old surviving Nazi-German ideas, as opposed to the supposedly more enlightened ideas of more recent arrivals. A generational divide is also obvious amongst Poles in the UK: Galasinska (2010) describes how there is very little interaction between three different generations or waves of migrants: wartime, post-1989 and post-2004. The different circumstances of their migration make interaction tricky, not least because migrants have differing views of each others' migration stories, integration success and political views (e.g. of Poland as a state). In the German case, while there is

a certain non-interaction with the older generation which arrived during and after the two World Wars, and a certain remoteness of the Germans living in Richmond (see chapter 3), this is not particularly relevant for the tense organised social spaces, as these groups do not tend to meet in those spaces. The lack of common experiences seems to lie with a group that is relatively similar in terms of migration experience, in that the migration legislation has recently not had major changes.

Other researchers focusing on one age group only have attributed non-cooperation to either intra- or inter-class conflict. Ryan et al. (2009), again in the case of recent Polish migration to the UK, explain the non-identification with fellow nationals as either due to economic competition in the case of being in the same class or working sector, or due to the non-associating migrant being in a higher economic class (e.g. doctor, lawyer – 2009: 157) and thereby not wanting to associate with what some of them describe as 'chavs' (cf. Gill and Bialski 2011). In a similar vein, Tapias and Escandell (2011) describe jealousy and economic competition as the reason for the break-up of friendships in the case of Bolivians in Spain. This is set in a general environment of cooperation and mutual helping out, though. By comparison, in the German case the vast majority of migrants are middle-class in terms of education and income; there are very few working-class Germans in the UK. Competition for the same jobs is also rather limited due to the diversity of the qualifications of migrants. This explanation therefore holds limited applicability to the avoidance and mistrust directed towards other Germans. Instead of competition for economic resources, I argue that the tensions in the social spaces emerge due to judging of other people's migration projects, and in particular the emotions associated with them.

7.3.1. *Organised Social Spaces: Get Togethers, AWDs and Hiking*

When I went hiking for the first time on a Forum-organised hike, I noticed the obvious splits within the group. The group consisted of 15-20 people and, throughout the day, they became ever-more obvious. I noted down that:

> It's really incredible how much bitching is going on behind people's backs… about everybody, more or less, about outfits… particularly Franz seems to be a popular antagonist. … Franz generally seems a bit miserable. On the train back into London, he complains about the tube, and asks for advice on how to avoid the rush hour, moans about his tube trip to work, and so on, until at some point Verena. asks him, 'You're not really very happy here, are you?' whereupon he says, no, and he doesn't

expect to be. He seems to be generally attacked by people for not 'trying harder' or 'adapting better' to London's 'quirks' (Fieldnotes, Hiking, 06.02.2010).

From the notes it becomes obvious that Franz's unhappiness is seen as a problem; it is also seen as his 'fault' in that he does not try harder. Clearly, being unhappy and not taking action to resolve the situation is seen as unacceptable. What is notable here is that even though we spent all day out hiking together it was only in the relatively confined space of the train at the end of the day that the differences were really brought out in the open, rather than simply complaining behind other people's backs, as the relatively fluid space of hiking meant that people could avoid other people more throughout the day if necessary.

It is already emerging that there were strong views about what constituted an 'acceptable' migration, and which emotions were 'acceptable' to be experienced by the migrants. Unsurprisingly, as people's opinions differed on this – I have already explored the different stereotypes various migrants used to position themselves – frictions and tensions arose, as different migration stories and associated emotions were challenged in the social spaces. As a result the more heterogeneous a social space in terms of who attended, and the less opportunity for members to disperse in small groups, the more of these conflicts would emerge.

Migrants regarded certain organised spaces in different ways due to the likely constellation of people there. At the Get Togethers, After Work Drinks and similar, small cliques were likely to form. The AWD was usually regarded as a relatively homogenous space by those attending, in contrast to others. Those attending the spaces adjusted their behaviour in attending them accordingly. As Sven said:

> When I went to the Wednesday meetings [at the Captain's Cabin] … it just didn't do it for me… (…) I think it's because there seem to be small groups which already know each other for quite some time, they don't really give off the impression that they want to meet new people there (…) At the AWD, I have the feeling it's different, its character is more like everybody can join, and if you go and you stand around, you're taken in immediately, and belong immediately, in contrast to in the Zeitgeist, there I don't find that at all… to go there, you have to go with someone. (…) I *always* arrange to go with somebody else to the Zeitgeist, but with the AWD I never do that, I just turn up… [lxi]

The Zeitgeist therefore for Sven had a certain atmosphere where you would not necessarily go alone, possibly because it seemed to also be quite uninviting – as small

groups of people would not integrate you, if you were on your own, as they would at the AWD. As the AWD were largely attended by people quite similar to Sven – young, single professionals – the group was rather homogenous, and usually interacted well.

As I observed the first time I went to the AWD, in comparison to other meetings, the atmosphere was very relaxed:

> I think what sets it apart from the other evenings in the Get Together I've been to is the atmosphere: it feels very flirtatious, banterous. Not too serious. Not too much of the small-talk of 'oh what are you doing here, how long have you been here', etc. … Not everything seems to be about migration as an act (Fieldnotes, AWD, 29.10.2010).

At other meetings, in particular well-attended GetTogethers, people would slowly sort into smaller, more homogenous groups. The splitting into small groups ensured that they were surrounded by people with similar experiences of, and thoughts on, migration:

> Generally, the evening is very quiet – people are staying very much in their small groups, with not very much apparent interest to mix it up … conversations are quiet too, the kind of quiet conversation in small, separate groups – it doesn't really seem like a meeting of everybody, it seems like a collection of small groups that don't really interact much (Fieldnotes, GetTogether, 18.08.2010).

> There's a group of young people sitting in the furthermost corner of the beer garden, all are relatively young, and they're very separate from the rest of the meeting. I talked to X., because he was talking to Y. and I could link in, but otherwise it would have been much harder to get into the group, no one in the group really introduces themselves. While they chat, and I sit there, Maria, X.'s girlfriend says that she finds it very surprising ('krass') that she's been here for two years already, that's such a long time…it's like the longest time of all of them!, until X points out that in fact, there's others (part of the other group) who have been here for years and years, but she points at them and says, they don't count, they're older already - 'oh, them….' (Fieldnotes, Zeitgeist, September 2009)

There are several points in this quote. The split goes beyond a division based merely upon time of arrival, as Maria had already been in the country for two years. Based upon this, it is clear that it is more about the migration project as a whole – to Maria, the migration projects were non-comparable, as her remark of 'they don't count' shows. The way the different groups had split up based upon both age and time in the country

ensured that the people in the small groups would largely share similar experiences; the size of the beer garden we were in ensured that the groups could keep to themselves.

Similar to the experience on the train, if the meetings were held in small spaces which made re-shuffling difficult, personal differences in the experience of migration were likely to come out quite strongly:

> When I come in, there's only four men. One of them, T., I've met before, our conversation was rather stilted and awkward … Later on, a couple joins us. The conversation remains rather slow. … As soon as T. has left, the couple start talking about him: they can't believe he's still here, they almost didn't believe it when they walked in, they would have thought he had moved elsewhere by now… apparently he has been living in a hotel since giving up his flat… (AWD, fieldnotes, 05.03.2010)

In this situation it was the size of the group that made leaving it impossible. It was also clear that the couple strongly disagreed with the mode of migration where the migrant would live in a hotel room, even if for a little while. It was also frowned upon that T. spent most of his weekends in Germany with his family – the combination of factors, of living in a hotel while not spending any weekends, clearly violated the expectations of other migrants with regards to the emotional investment into London or life in the UK that another migrant should make. This was all conveyed to me in the small group as soon as T. had left. It was also clear to me that had the meeting been larger, there was likely to have been very limited interaction between the people of this group.

At other meetings it was sometimes the layout of the pub we attended that 'trapped' people into smaller groups. At one 'Academics Anonymous' meeting, it was both the layout and the size of the group – a relatively small group around a table – which meant that very different opinions about migration clashed; the latter part of the evening was largely dominated by a quarrel between two people.

By contrast to these meetings where very different migration projects collided, the AWD was largely made up of young professionals. Despite Sven's assurances that it was a very open space, it could also be argued that as it was largely homogenous in its make-up, it was also very normative, excluding those with different experiences. Sandra, who had regularly attended the AWD in the beginning of her time in London, stopped after a few months, as she found it too normative for her liking, telling me that it was always the same people with a very different attitude to hers, due to the fact that they largely worked in the city. Similarly, there were other limitations to the

inclusiveness – as already I pointed out above that even at the AWD, people have reservations about the cliqueyness. Also, depending on the group constellation and size, the meetings could go from awkward to outright bizarre.

7.3.2.   *Shared Spaces with no Hiding Place: Conflicts in the Forum*

The Forum can be seen as the classical social space in which conflicts between different migrants were likely to occur most visibly. This is probably due to a number of reasons. To start with, it is a space shared by many different migrants who often hold strongly differing views. While in a physical space such as at a Get Together, these migrants might avoid one another and not share a discussion; on the Forum, a discussion is often shared. Secondly, in the Forum communication is in writing and, without the communicating modifiers of tone of voice and mimics, misunderstandings are likely. Thirdly, as Fechter (2007) and others (Constable 2003) already pointed out in research on migration involving forums, people might be more outspoken and provocative in a forum, making the tone generally rougher.

 I want to here use these conflicts order to highlight the way in which different emotional states are presented as (un-)acceptable by the different groups. This then creates an environment and space in which "different people in different places [are] being more or less successful in their attempts to convey emotional states using ordinary language" (Parr Philo and Burns 2005: 98). As in the Forum, no one group is terribly dominant, it is a constant battle by the groups to attempt to assert their priority.

In the German Forum the most obviously present conflict took place between what could loosely be termed two groups: the 'naïve' migrants and the 'cynical' migrants. The 'naïve' migrants were often seen to be unprepared and naïve by those who have lived in the UK for a few years, and are presented rhetorically as diametrically opposed to those who have been in the UK for some years, who are described as sarcastic and cynical, and very harsh towards younger migrants due to their apparently superior knowledge. I will start with a quote from my fieldnotes, not directly taken from the Forum, but taken from a discussion *about* the Forum, and those writing there:

> There's a lot of cynicism in the group concerning those who 'have fallen
> in love with the city'… apparently the ultimate worst-case is if they 'fell
> in love' with London when they were 16 and in London on holiday or

school exchange for a day[106]… apparently, on the Forum, Z. likes to wind those people up a lot for fun. It seems to me as if the people here [at the meeting] see themselves in contrast to them as more pragmatic, as those who are there because they happen to be here, but not because of any strange romantic reasons (fieldnotes from a West London meeting, December 2009[107])

The quote already shows somewhat that a large part of the differences between the two groups lie with the emotions associated with the migration: 'falling in love' with the city, associated with a hasty, not very well-planned migration, is clearly frowned upon by this group of people.

In the Forum these different attitudes towards migration come out in threads where the different approaches are pitted against each other. Those threads most perceptible to these discussions tend to be about modes of migration – they often concern ways of settling in the UK, including issues of homesickness[108], struggling with the new culture, whether one can emigrate with imperfect or limited English language skills, problems of finding a job, problems with flats and similar. There are now whole threads devoted to discussion between the cynics and the 'naives'[109], besides threads in which discussions take place which deal with other topics, such as homesickness. Generally it appears as if the 'cynics' assume that any negative consequences of migration experienced by the 'naïve' migrants is due to a lack of preparation. For the cynics only migration where individuals do the hard work is seen as acceptable; experiencing emotions associated with hardship during your migration is viewed as a positive formative influence. For them, therefore, the 'naïve' migrants do not have a valid opinion or voice, as they did not have to do any hard work as the Forum could answer their questions. The quote "when you dare to take the step to go abroad, you should have enough strength, backbone and tolerance. Nothing else is being 'tested' here by some" (gwenny, 09/04/2008, Thread No. 20236) is very telling here. For the naïve migrants, of course, this is unacceptable – to them, the cynics are inflexible, unhelpful and too self-

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[106] It is highly fascinating to see the talking down of emotional reasons, in opposition to lifestyle migration, where apparently people 'falling in love' with the country/landscape was seen as perfectly acceptable.

[107] The West London meeting was relatively small, with a high number of people very active on the Forum.

[108] Forum Thread No. 32225 – 'Wer fühlt noch so?', 27.12.2009; No. 15857 – 'Is it just me or is everything shit????', 08.08.2007.

[109] Forum Thread No. 17610 – 'Diskussion, Meinungsfreiheit, Provokation', 03.11.2007; No. 20726 – 'Die eigene Meinung ist in diesem Forum nicht erwünscht?', 10.05.2008; No. 35814 – 'an die "Alten", denkt mal etwas mehr nach ohne Neue koennt ihr auf Dauer nicht leben!', 17.06.2010; No. 20236 – 'Unfreundlich?', 09.04.2008, to name but a few.

righteous, and do not recognise their problems as valid problems to be given support for. They tend to insist that 'in this day and age', their migration is perfectly acceptable.

In addition to this very clearly delineated conflict between two groups, other conflicts and strong disagreements would often surface in discussions. A comment from a moderator in one of the discussions sums it up rather well:

> Could you not just stop snarking at each other, or do I have to close yet another thread? It really shouldn't be that difficult that those who have already expressed their opinion on a certain topic simply shut up and accept, that others have made different experiences. [jade, 13/08/2007, Forum Thread No. 15857]

Other examples around the emotional talking down of migration experiences include a thread where one poster struggling with everyday problems was told that "you should try to relax a bit, and put down your German thoroughness a little more"[110] –indicating that the problem lay with the original poster's unrelaxed attitude and general inflexibility. In particular, anger at things that were different from Germany were seen as completely unacceptable, as I also show below. Further heated debates revolved around how long people should stay, or whether they should attempt to solve problems encountered in the UK, rather than returning home; whether returning home was in this case the result of a 'weakness', as one poster put it – i.e. the returnee not being in a position to deal with adversity – or a justified decision. Hurt feelings, homesickness, lack of quality of life, and similar emotional criteria were discussed and dissected in the Forum at length[111]

 The quest for recognition of the different migration projects by existing migrants seems to be at the heart of many discussions. In the debates the different migration projects are associated with very strong moral weightings and valuations. On a certain level this debate seems almost moot: surely, there can be more than one kind of migration at any given time; yet this does not seem to be recognised in these spaces.

7.3.3.   *From Stereotypes to Forum Debates: A Case Study*

A common point of discussion and disagreement point among migrants were 'British ways' of doing things that are somewhat different to the way they are done in Germany,

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110 Mofolo, 26/10/2009, Forum Thread No. 31130.
111 See for example Forum Thread No. 15857 – 'Is it just me or is everything shit?', Forum Thread No. 379015 – 'Nase voll'.

such as going out, the perceived use of credit cards, a sense of dress and so on. Similarly to differences in modes of migration, the migrants would establish these ways of doing things as either positive or negative, leading to further discussions around, essentially, how to be a migrant. In this section, after having discussed both individual stereotyping by migrants as well as discussions in social spaces, here I want to use the case study of the 'British way' of doing things as an example of how these points of debate can become highly present in many different interactions and social spaces.

The highlighting of British differences frequently centred around highly visible elements of British life (such as going out, things reported frequently in newspapers etc.). While some migrants would highlight these as a rather bizarre irrational construct which could not possibly be understood by anybody, other migrants would in turn represent British culture as completely accessible, and the other migrants at fault for not trying harder. Again, this was most vociferously played out in the Forum, but frequently also discussed in the interviews I conducted and over cups of coffee, as well as at Get Togethers and other meetings.

One of the differences most frequently discussed was the pub and associated fashion culture, with claims that all English people did was get drunk while dressed (in the case of women) rather scantily. The pub visit by English people was also presented as a rather brainless or senseless activity. Sven, for example, after he had told me that he had no contact with English people, stated that

> well, (…) on the one hand it would be nice [to know some English people], just to get an insight into their culture and the life here, because I don't know at all what the English do all day long, what they do in the evenings or some such, apart from going to the pub and getting drunk, but then again on the other side, I'm not forcing it, because I have lots of friends, and I wouldn't even have time to meet them. [lxii]

Here it becomes clear that the part of British life he does not understand/cannot partake in (going to the pub with English people and getting drunk) is now presented as something undesirable. The German word he uses, 'sich vollaufen lassen'[112], is somewhat denigrating, and morally more damning than 'getting drunk', as it removes the active component. The British here are not actors, they are all indiscriminately the same. German behaviour did not even differ that much in many cases: enough German

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[112] The translation according to a dictionary is 'to get plastered' – but in German, there is no active component to this. You are literally letting alcohol run into your body, with no active component.

migrants get drunk at the weekends, or during the week, often in pubs; while most of the regular German meetings advertised on the Forum actually take place in pubs, and end with a few people drunk, as I observed. Events such as the German carnival parties or summer parties too are heavily influenced by alcohol[113]. One such party I attended in July 2010 started out relatively stiffly but as it got messier as the night progressed, as my field notes indicate:

> All the people seem to be dressed almost formally… it looks like a formal reception rather than a party … everybody looks incredibly conservative and boring. … The mass of people is incredibly homogenous – between 20 and 30 years old, anybody closer to 40 is the exception, and I can see exactly one non-white person who's not a barman. … [with the music playing] there's very little interaction between the small groups of people that have formed, they even dance separately in different groups, even though spatially we're all close. … the other people are getting more and more drunk, things are starting to pick up – they drink quite a lot, and when we leave (1, half 1), the groups are finally mixing, and when I leave, K. is busy with a young man at the bar, and people are definitely not sober anymore. (fieldnotes, GerManic party, July 2010)

By the time I left at around 1am, there was certainly a lot of 'drunken debauchery' – including drunken kissing usually so decried by the Germans who claimed they did not understand how the British could do this. The main difference to a British party was the music, and the outfits worn. When I asked Lasse how he found a German party he attended (not the one I attended), he answered, "well I think it was kind of fun ('ganz lustig'), but, aehm, for some reason I couldn't drink so it was actually quite boring…". Despite the similarities, British pub culture and clubbing in general was seen as incomprehensible by most. Benson (2011) mentions a similar valuation of alcohol consumption in the case of British migrants in the Lot; however, the moral roles here are reversed. In Benson's case, British migrants would often align their drinking habits with that of the French, as they were seen to be more cultured with drinking. They would therefore claim that they drank 'like the French', very responsibly and in a cultured way, rather than like the British (associated with binge drinking) (Benson 20: 143). Their positionings, irrespective of their actual actions, made them feel integrated, as they had understood French drinking culture. In the case of Germans in the UK, clearly, the moral behaviour is swapped: German behaviour is seen as morally superior.

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[113] In fact, at most meetings and Get Togethers, people who do not drink alcohol are regularly asked why, and had to defend themselves.

This means that British life is portrayed as not desirable to emulate. Similarly, at an 'Academics Anonymous' meeting, I was told vociferously by one of the attendees that the 'British way' of buying things on credit cards was so much worse than the German way of buying in cash again highlighting the German superiority[114].

British culture was also presented as something that it is impossible to get into:

> DM: So do you feel integrated here*?*
>
> Lasse: Well, I feel integrated into the international community here in any case, integrated into the UK, or England, no… (…) it's a part of society that's not really open to me… the British people here in London, they're all pretty much "one club", and well that's isolated from the rest of society in the UK more or less as well. It's all the people from Eton, from Oxford and Cambridge, Oxbridge club… and of course I have to deal with them professionally, and professionally we get on alright, no question, but I'm not really integrated there… (…) but from my point of view they don't really want that either… They're stiff upper lip, the Eton Oxbridge stuff, they're people with whom I can work really well, I like that, but … apart from that…
>
> DM*:* Do you mind*?*
>
> Lasse: No. … I mean… no. [lxiii]

It is revealing that not only did Lasse point out twice that they are a geographically and historically bounded club from his perspective, but also that he presents it as a complete truth. At no point does he suggest that it might be his perception, he presents it as an absolute, measureable truth that 'these people' are shut off from the broader society. Again, this removes the onus from him to integrate, and means it is not his fault. He is open-minded in comparison to 'the Oxbridge set'; by employing this description, his picture of himself as being able to fit in anywhere, being cosmopolitan, remains intact.

The employment of stereotypes to designate British culture as not desirable by the migrants is often contested by other migrants. It appears that those who contest this can thereby prove that they are part of British culture – that they understand it and are, therefore, embedded in it. Again there are parallels to Benson (2011), who points out that migrants in the Lot could gain cultural capital among other migrants by displaying local knowledge of how to live best in the Lot. In the German case, this display of knowledge takes place frequently in discussions around items or practices that trip some migrants up. In most cases, the migrants with the cultural capital to gain will label the phenomenon under discussion as something normal – instead of having it described as

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[114] Ironically I could not escape this debate as it was taking place in a rather confined space in a pub.

something very strange that one cannot possibly understand, they will then attribute the lack of understanding of the other migrants to their lack of experience, their lack of will to try to fit in. As an example, one Forum thread is titled 'are they simply different?' (Sind sie einfach anders?) and it was started by a very new migrant, who had been in the country for two months and was feeling lonely and finding it difficult to estasblish contacts:

> I'm currently very homesick and somehow I don't really feel like, apart from my continental friends, I don't feel any Herzenswärme[115], and I always feel like the British people (in my current small experience) never let another person close to them… … is this just homesickness, or is this really the case? … Do they just take longer? … … is it just me[116]?

Again the emotional elements here play a very important role. While she was wondering whether British people are simply different to Germans in regard to friendship, contacts etc. (where different would mean that it is not her fault), the tenor of the replies went along the lines that it *is* her fault, that she needs to start to appreciate the different culture, and stop being German and direct. The ones who have been in the UK longer proceed to point out that they have, indeed, managed to make close friends – hence, they present themselves as embedded in British culture, as having learnt. As one of them writes:

> I think it is presumptuous to turn up here, and to imagine that they will immediately like you immensely[117]. As has been mentioned above, one is not an exotic bird here, but one of many. If you want to meet people, you have to work on that, otherwise nothing will happen. For me, it took well over five years, until I was able to have proper friendships. … until then, it's a long, thorny road, but you have to walk it.

The fault clearly is with the original asker, who expects it to be a walk in the park rather than a 'thorny road'. They are not mentally and practically prepared enough, in their view, for the long hardship that migration takes. Hence, it is the fault of the migrant if they cannot understand British culture, which is perfectly understandable if one puts the hard work into it. Again, these differences are not terribly constructive topics for the migrants to disagree about; yet it highlights that the diversity of migration projects and insecurity about their own migration ('am I doing it right?') leads them to defend their

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[115] Herzenswärme (warmth of the heart) – i.e. 'proper' caring attitude towards one another: caring with your heart.
[116] Forum Thread No. 29079 – 'Sind sie einfach anders?', 12.07.2009.
[117] In the original: "dass die einen sofort ins Herz schließen" – hard to translate, but goes along the lines of being 'encased in someone else's heart' – immediately liked immensely.

own migration project at the expense of others. Social spaces as a result are fraught, particularly in those cases where many different migration projects coincide.

7.4. Constructing a Value-System?

It can be argued that through these debates and arguments a value system is being constructed which allows migrants to position themselves relative to other migrants. Oliver (2007) describes the construction of a value system among international migrants at the Costa del Sol, highlighting its emergence as a result of a vacuum of hierarchy in the new social spaces: as the previous attainments of migrants are unknown and do not matter, a new system of placing people is constructed. It seems that even though people initially liked being 'a blank slate' after their migration, and being able to redefine themselves completely, this also led to a sense of uncertainty for the migrants themselves – in that their previous history suddenly did not matter. Trying to reassert oneself often led to people being rather vociferous in public, or engaging in community matters – in order to obtain an identity, for example by becoming a club's treasurer. This public outspokenness, however, led to tensions among the migrants:

> However, whilst the effects of 'the great leveller' of moving are no doubt experienced as liberating, it nevertheless strips individuals of taken-for-granted sources of identification. This may be disconcerting for some, for whom the anonymity provokes rather a more forceful reassertion of the self. Indeed it was notable that when I asked some Spanish friends of their views on retirement migration, it was less the community spirit than the regular tensions they saw occurring between the *extranjeros* (foreigners) which provoked commentary (Oliver 2007:116).

Drawing upon the writings of Myerhoff (1986), who analysed the conflicts between members of the Jewish ethnicity in Venice Beach, California, she puts in-fights among retirees in the Costa del Sol down to the need to reassert one's identity:

> Although the drama [the fighting] rarely changed anything and rather led to the reiteration of common membership, they were nonetheless important for allowing people to be 'heard from, seen, authenticated' (1986: 268) in a context where people were without the props of earlier identities, lacked an established history and felt invisible to mainstream society (Oliver 2007: 118)

With Germans the case is somewhat different. In the absence of clubs (or membership in clubs) in which migrants could establish themselves as 'great migrants', common images were used of different migrations. Also in contrast to international migrants at the Costa del Sol, German migrants *did* draw upon their previous history in order to

position themselves: as I have pointed out above, the previous migration history as well as previous and current access to knowledge about different countries and migration in general influence the migration, as well as the emotional experience of being a migrant, meaning that the previous history is very much part of the value system. In addition, the fact that in some cases, people very much see the attendance of organised German spaces as a 'necessity' only for those migrants who do not manage to make any other friends (see Hannah, above), an additional emotional dimension and positioning takes place.

As I have shown they also strongly incorporate emotional elements of migration into the value system. However, instead of refining their sense of community using these images as a value system cemented the sub-divisions in the social spaces, as the images are used differently by different groups. For example, the 'young, naïve migrants' would not use the label 'naïve' to describe a negative migration, yet describe those participating in social spaces who had been in the country for a long time possibly as 'boring', or otherwise negatively. As a result of this small groups form in the organised social spaces, in which migrants share the experiences of being a migrant.

The reinforcement of the sub-groups which takes place in this manner appears to allow the migrants to feel more recognised within their migration, and by being in a social space which largely reflected their experience of migration and had 'feeling rules' which they conformed to, make their migration experience easier. The acknowledgement they sought might have been found due to the initial fragmentation and de-valuation of their experience. Yet as a result, the organised social spaces can be experienced as highly fragmented and very emotionally charged landscapes.

7.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have looked at attitudes towards organised social spaces, as well as the negative aspects of conflicts which emerge in those spaces. The migrants' history and positionality in migration, which influences their migration experience and understanding, is crucial here. There is a fierce defending of their different migrations, which go back to different initial positionings. The point raised by Rogers (2005) as well as Smith (2005) with regards to the power of mobility becomes paramount here. It is obvious that the different initial positionings, with their differential access to capital, experiences of moving, and access to contacts who can be asked advice before moving,

are very unevenly distributed. It is clear, for example, that a person who is established in a well-paid professional field and has lived in the UK for a number of years after having moved internationally before is in a very different position to a young migrant who conducts their first big move after university. The latter will have less access to resources, both internal and external, to ease the transition; many feelings associated with a big move, such as potential loneliness and so on, will not be as familiar to them. Yet on the Forum and in organised meetings both groups interact, with some seeking advice on issues such as settling in and homesickness, or feeling lonely. It is clear that here the different positionalities lead to very different understandings of the situations and conflicts that emerge. It is not simply a matter of distinction, as Benson (2011) writes, of wishing to be more special; the divisions go beyond wishing to be a 'good' migrant, and include different migrations which are partially the result of very different positionings in the transnational field. This element of power, of access to economic and cultural capital, is not given enough viability in Benson's analysis. There are clearly large internal differences between them, despite all of the migrants studied being from middle-class backgrounds, as dicussed in previous chapters.

It could be the case that generally more diversity among migrants leads to more conflicts and contestation especially where this change occurs relatively rapidly, as in the case of German young professional migrants, whose migration rates have increased rapidly in recent years (see chapter 1). As more migration is changing towards increasing complexity, it can be expected that more spaces will become fraught in a similar way. For instance, a certain fragmentation can already be seen among Polish migrants in the UK, where less inter-generational and intra-generational interaction is taking place (Gill and Bialski 2011; Ryan et al. 2009). Similarly, the British in France seem to be experiencing a similar fragmentation, resulting in the decline of traditional clubs (Scott 2004).

As a concluding note it should be pointed out that by no means all interactions were negative; on the Forum, there were also plenty of instances where people received useful advice concerning their situations, or found close friends and great times at Get Togethers. However, I did want to highlight this negative dimension, as I found the tensions to be rather persistent throughout my fieldwork.

8.   CONCLUSION

Through the analysis of my empirical data the previous four chapters have answered the research questions posed in chapter one. In this chapter, I want to draw together key findings from those chapters and discuss them in light of the new insights they offer to migration studies and geography. Connected to this are findings related to the theoretical framework consisting of transnational urbanism, translocal subjectivities and emotional geographies. I then highlight areas for further research, which have arisen out of this thesis.

I originally set out to answer the following questions with regard to highly-skilled young German migrants:

1. How did transnational connections with friends and family matter in the age of affordable travel?

2. What shaped their decision making about their migration in the context of a 'borderless' Europe?

3. How was the migration itself experienced in the sense of settling into the new country? What characterised their social lives? Which role did spaces and meetings organised around German nationality play in this?

Together, this let me answer the broader question of what their life is like as a migrant, living with this new kind of mobility. In a migration where all the choices are their own, with no institutional limitations in the form of work permits and visa applications, what are their personal experiences?

8.1.   Key Findings

Throughout the last four chapters, I have provided findings answering these questions. Specifically, chapter 4 addresses the first question. Chapter 5 answers the second question, while the third question is answered in chapters 6 and 7. Here I want to discuss the overarching topics that surfaced time and again, and in particular highlight the new insights they add to migration studies and geography. The key findings, in particular, relate to the highly pervasive sense of ambivalence in the migrants' experiences. This is reflected also in the diversity among the migrants, within which this ambivalence was experienced. I have shown how bi-local migrants (i.e. those migrants for whom moving to the UK was the first major move) had highly diverging

experiences from multi-local migrants (those who had moved internally or internationally before), and settled migrants (those who have lived in the UK for a number of years, and see their near future there). Finally, the ambivalence stretches to include a certain ambivalence of the historical context, where history is not immediately obvious as an important element, yet enables me to highlight some important factors.

8.1.1. *Ambivalence in Relative Proximity*

Really striking was the permanent feeling of ambivalence experienced by the migrants, related to all aspects of the migration experience. Ambivalence was permanently present in the transnational connections and the translocal experiences of the migrants. The UK was frequently chosen because it was away, but not too far away from Germany (chapter 4), thus enabling the migrants to continue their involvement in their previous lives. I have highlighted that frequently the migrants would put their lives almost on hold in the case of bi-local migrants, migrating somewhat half-heartedly and fully expecting a return. The time in the UK was frequently originally limited to a year. In the case of multi-local migrants, their mobility having been a feature of their lives for longer did not necessarily translate into more commitment to life in the UK, as they appeared always on the verge of wishing to move elsewhere, or considering their options again. They too used the proximity to maintain their connections in Germany in case of a return. Even relatively 'settled' migrants liked to keep their options open in case of any changes in their circumstances, such as starting a family.

Despite the fact that the UK was chosen due to its proximity, this proximity was experienced as ambivalent. To start with, for some bi-local migrants in particular who wished to use the time to develop further personally, the constant and close contact with friends and family from home made their deviations from their previous personality and practices harder, as was shown by the case of Elena (see chapter 5). Further, while it was experienced as positive to be able to maintain close contacts, the relative proximity did not mitigate the absolute absence of the migrant from the home region. Relatively closely away was still absolutely too far away. Here, the proximity in turn allowed the upset about this absence to be communicated freely to the migrant, often making them feel guilty (see Claudia, chapter 5). Their own absence was also clear to the migrants, as it was usually obvious what they were missing out on in their 'home region'. At the

same time, they could see their friendship groups changing, moving on to what it had been like while they lived there (see Sandra and Tilman, chapter 5).

In addition to this involvement with the home region and activities there, the proximity also made the migration more difficult by enabling very direct comparisons: the brief flight and near-constant contact meant that the migrants could compare the two lives they could have had very easily. This permanently available choice, and the infinity of information about potential return which could be gained on both the internet and personal visits, meant that decisions about staying in the UK, returning or moving on were often agonised over. Migrants could not seem to decide for one option or the other, potentially not wishing to take a stand and make a decision, thereby simply remaining in an ambiguous undecided position, which meant that they were wholeheartedly neither here nor there.

The ambivalence around the migration project was enlarged through the translocal connections, and in particular through semi-truths and different expectations regarding return (should I stay? Should I tell my parents and/or friends that I am planning to stay? Should I return?). Migrants were frequently trying to sidestep expectations. In comparison to other migration groups, where half-truths told could go undetected due to the distance for instance between Italy and Australia (Baldassar 2007b), this was not the case here: due to the proximity, friends and family would notice, and conflicts could arise.

The migrants who most often told me about the expectations of others and the importance of that for their experiences of migration tended to be bi-local women, as well as women who grew up in relatively small towns or rural areas. They were much more likely to tell me about the pressure faced from parents and friends to return, or different understandings of migration. Bi-local men tended to not mention the different understandings and views of migration too much, if at all. It is clear, therefore, that based on gender the migrants are positioned very differently in the 'sending' context. This influences their migration experiences in particular with regards to the experience of translocal connections and proximity. Considering that especially in literature on recent German migration, gender has been notably absent (see chapter 2), drawing these aspects out a bit more is highly relevant. In doing so, this research offers a detailed additional perspective to Boenisch-Brednich's findings (2002) that there is more

independent migration by women in recent German migrations, by highlighting the ways in which in these recent migrations, gender still plays a pervasive role.

In terms of settling in a new country, this ambivalence has been highlighted throughout the thesis, and in particular in chapters 6 and 7, with regards to socialising and practices of friendship, and experiencing spaces such as the city as well as smaller spaces such as flats.

The ambivalence regarding these spaces was closely interlinked and intersected with the ambivalence regarding distance, and moving. Young highly-skilled Germans often migrated in order to gather new experiences, yet at the same time they moved to the UK intentionally because it would be close enough to maintain their familiar connections and circle of friends. They temporally limited their migration to 'a year or two' but usually told me that they wished to integrate and meet British people. Their 'banal cosmopolitanism', (Kennedy 2009), the assumption of cultural familiarity based on media images and influences from tourism (2009: 24[118]), showed in the ways in which very few migrants were prepared to acknowledge the different positionalities inhabited by them and the permanent residents of the UK.

As I have highlighted, many of the migrants moved to the UK in order to experience something different; yet when confronted with differences, they often expressed surprise and occasionally dismay at the 'new' items or ideas. They wanted new experiences, but at the same time did not want these new contacts and ideas to take them (too far) out of their comfort zone. Especially with regard to multiculturalism this came out strongly. Furthermore it was often in relatively intimate spaces and practices such as flats and friendships, where their previous experiences were taken for granted and as 'normal', that disruptions to their embodied memories were experienced as most disturbing. These ambivalences of wishing for new experiences, but feeling disoriented and unsettled by those new experiences, were least experienced by multi-local migrants with social, cultural and economic capital. They knew about the changes migration brought, had friends who had made similar experiences with whom they could share this, and last but not least often had economic means which meant that they could 'buy' stability (in the sense of being able to afford a flat which was close to the standard of flats they knew, or being able to buy 'comfort food').

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[118] See also pp. 33, 142 and 164 in this thesis.

In terms of socialising German migrants often did not express a strong wish to meet fellow Germans, yet often had (close) German friends. This ambivalence about fellow German migrants was also found in their stereotypical portrayal of their own migration as a 'worthy endeavour', emphasising their initiative, creativity and staying power, and the portrayal of others' migration as ill thought-out, badly planned, delusionary or conceited. This ambivalence in turn translated into social spaces, where often conflicts and tensions between the different migrants would arise. These tensions pose a strong challenge to the idea of co-national solidarity, further to Ryan et al. (2009) who pointed out that co-national solidarity is frequently assumed in migration studies, yet not usually closely scrutinised. In the case of Polish migrants studied by Ryan et al., it was largely generational disagreements and economic competition that prevented close solidarity. In the case of Germans, it was the ambivalence about their own migration which meant that other migrations were seen as negative, leading to conflict. In this case the ambivalence about their own migration and their co-nationals translated not just into stereotyping other migrants and gossiping, as has been found before (see Benson 2011; Oliver 2007), but into actual conflicts in social spaces.

The concept of ambivalence which I have highlighted throughout has not yet been sufficiently discussed in other literature on migration. Ambivalence, if discussed in the migration literature, mainly relates to feelings of not being with friends and family in the country of origin, yet in most cases with the migrants otherwise being happy with their migration. Ambivalence is said to be either due to the circumstances dictating the migration, such as economic need, or due to the fact that migrants are happy with the life they lead. For example, the German migrants studied by Schubert-McArthur (2009) did display a certain ambivalence towards their migration with regards to family, going as far as protecting their families from the 'ultimate decision' of migration by calling it a 'holiday' (2009: 183); yet, apart from this, they were very happy with their decision, with no constant reappraisal of their fortunes. Similarly, to those migrants studied by Baldassar (2007b), apart from separation from their family, they were settled and happy in their country of destination. In lifestyle migration, the concept of ambivalence is discussed with relation to other migrants from the UK (Benson 2009, 2011). In the case discussed throughout this thesis, though, the ambivalence was a constant presence, not limited to one aspect such as family or co-nationals, but weaving through all aspects examined here.

It appears as if the closer distance makes the decision less permanent, or is seen to remove the decision concerning the length of the stay. Due to the fact that the familiar is so close, and contact with Germany still so prevalent, the temptation seems to be to wait for further information to come along, to wait and see if there is a 'right' time to return. This ambivalence about return was all the more puzzling in light of present migration literature. Within lifestyle migration, as I highlighted in the literature review (see Chapter 2), one of the main challenges for migrants to integration with the host-society is linguistic non-proficiency. In the case of Germans in the UK, this caveat was not relevant. Despite their linguistic abilities, the bi- and multi-local migrants never seemed to commit to their life in the UK, always keeping the option open of being able to move on. The lifestyle migrants discussed by Benson (2011), Oliver (2007) and O'Reilly (2000a) were emotionally committed to their new life, to the extent of glossing over difficulties and maintaining a discourse of 'the great new life'. By contrast, Germans in the UK did not gloss over difficulties, and instead remained emotionally somewhat detached, ambivalent about their commitment and future, and constantly discussing the relative merits of Germany or the UK.

As I have shown throughout the thesis the ambivalence is largely the result of people's own perceptions of their migration, of their negotiation of expectations placed upon them by different actors, and their own expectations. Unlike Favell (2003, 2008) who puts emphasis on the institutional obstacles, I have shown here that within these relatively 'easy' migrations with few institutional boundaries and obstacles, it is the migrants themselves who maintain obstacles in their permanent ambivalence regarding their migration.

One further aspect that was also particularly affected by the ambivalence was the geographies of friendship. To start with, transnational friendships were often experienced as ambivalent by the migrants, between keeping close contact and trying to 'find the self', with proximity allowing both close interference as well as silences, and importantly also noticing that some friendship groups drifted apart. Secondly, they were also a strong factor in drawing the migrants back, especially in the case of bi-local migrants. While friends could be a great source of support, they could also be a source of distress if they did not seem to understand the migration decisions or the migrant's choice of living elsewhere. Despite the proximity, maintaining friendships was more

difficult in some cases than expected, with friendships often having a 'survival of the fittest' character.

In comparison to this, friendships formed within the UK mattered, too, yet did not seem to exert quite so much of a hold over the migrants as their transnational friendships. The disruptions to the intimate affective practices of friendships were experienced by the migrants as particularly disturbing; many struggled with new ideas about where friendships were performed, and how. Yet at the same time they wished for these new friendships. The focus by migrants on the 'where' of friendships – in a private space, such as a flat, vs. a public space, such as a pub – highlights the strongly geographical element of this. Yet migrations and cross-national friendships have thus far been highlighted with regards to different friendship 'styles', such as what is talked about and how much intimacy is perceived to be created and shared (see Boenisch-Brednich 2002; Buergelt et al. 2008 for research on German migrants and their friendship efforts with New Zealanders).

In German organised social spaces where friendships and solidarity could be expected, this was often absent. This was represented in the migrants' account of needing a friend's support to attend, and generally very ambivalent feelings while attending these social spaces(chapter 7). The absence of friendship and support was particularly striking in light of the fact that other young professional migrants, such as British in Dubai or New Zealanders in the UK, often seem to create strong spaces of friendship, intimacy and support (Walsh 2007; Conradson and Latham 2005b). The different geographies of friendship within the UK as well as the different geographies of transnational relations in the form of translocal subjectivities add substantially to the so far rather limited geography of friendships (Bunnell et al. 2012).

8.1.2. *Diverse Ambivalence*

Ambivalence, as discussed above, was experienced very differently by different migrants. In chapter 4, I introduced bi- and multilocal, and settled migrants. These groups had different personal migration histories which strongly influenced the experiences of their current migration to the UK. In comparison to lifestyle migration, where a large focus has been put on the amount of time spent in one country (O'Reilly 2000a), this focus on previous migration history rather than temporal patterns of return visits offers a different perspective on the diversity of migrants. Within the EU, a space

of free movement where people with very different migration histories move at the same time, to the same place; is emerging. As some of them have more experience at moving, both internally and internationally, their situation within the host country will be very different.

The diversity in migration history and positioning in a social and gendered space (Smith 2001, 2005; Yeoh 2005) means that ambivalence is experienced highly differently. Views towards meeting fellow Germans for example were strongly influenced by this, with settled migrants rather keen on meeting fellow Germans. Bi-local migrants and women who were brought up in a rural or small town background struggled most with the expectations placed on them by friends and family, highlighting the importance of their positioning for their concrete experiences.

This recognition of diversity meets other recent recognition of diversity; for example, Ho (2011a) highlights the diversity of Singaporean transmigrants in London. Her analysis shows that the different experiences are strongly interlinked with different visa paths taken, with the different life-paths of the migrants both reflected in and shaped by their visa category. From this, it is obvious that there is a large diversity within current, highly-skilled migration; it is also obvious that the exact diversity depends on the circumstances. In the migration of Germans to the UK, in the absence of visa categories and requirements, it is the personal experiences and knowledge that set the migrants apart from one another.

In terms of middle-class migration and middling transnationalism, my research has revealed strong structural differences in how migration is experienced. It became obvious that different migrants had different access to capital (social, cultural and economic), experience, knowledge, as well as the embodied knowledge of what migration feels like based upon whether or not they had migrated before. This difference has not been acknowledged before and I want to emphasise its importance. More research, as suggested by Favell, Feldblum and Smith (2006) have argued, is definitely needed in order to further understand middling transnationalism and in particular the differences within it. Both current research by Ho (2011a) and this thesis, reveal that there is internal differentiation; yet so far little is known about this. In light of this absence of knowledge of the internal diversity, I believe that the term 'middling transnationalism' or 'middle-class migrants' can be somewhat misleading in suggesting a homogeneity where there is heterogeneity in a structural manner. When talking about

'middling transnationalism', it should therefore be borne in mind that the suggested homogeneity in this term hides a wealth of differences.

Yet while I believe that it is useful to look at middling transnationalism in terms of the factors that distinguish their migration from each other, I am less convinced about the usefulness of 'lifestyle migration' as a separate framework. As I have shown throughout the thesis, there are certain elements which make the migration of young German highly-skilled migrants similar to a lifestyle migration, for example, the wish to escape from everyday life, or the portrayal of the life left behind as negative (see chapter 4). Yet many factors which could be described as making it a lifestyle migration, such as the praising of a different quality of life, only occurred after the migration. Furthermore, the term 'relatively affluent' did not really fit with some of the migrants – while middle-class, affluence was here not necessarily pertinently present. While it is therefore generally laudable to include lifestyle migration as a category in migration studies, as I have highlighted, there can be aspects of it present without the entire migration being a lifestyle migration.

Based on this 'muddling' of lifestyle migration factors in the case of young German migrants in the UK, I am not convinced that keeping 'lifestyle migration' as a separate idea is necessarily a good basis for fruitful discussions in migration research. This is even more the case considering that there are already a number of often rather arbitrary divisions in migration studies. 'Lifestyle migration', and elements from this, appear under different headings in much research already. Yet due to the different labels applied to it, and the so far rather restrictive application of the 'lifestyle migration' label, much research involving similar patterns and influences of migration do not step into dialogue with each other. By limiting the term 'lifestyle migration' to those who explicitly move for a lifestyle, rather than other reasons but find that the lifestyle is to their liking, means that dialogue is hampered. Rather than seeing lifestyle migration as an either/or phenomenon (either it is, or it is not), I believe it makes more sense to consider the lifestyle elements influencing a migration decision either before or after the move itself on a continuum, together and intersecting with other factors.

8.1.3. Ambivalent History

In chapter 3, I introduced in detail the history of German migration to the UK. This was done in order to contextualize the current German migration. Yet, the way in which

historical context influenced current German migrants to the UK seemed fairly hard to see at first and even sometimes second sight. In particular, the fact that of the migrants I spoke to very few were aware of different historical migrations to the UK made history seem almost irrelevant. There thus seemed a strong ambivalence between my theory telling me that history should matter (Smith 2001, 2005), and my respondents largely telling me that it did not.

This ambivalence could be seen as the result of the fact that maybe history mattered in somewhat different ways to what I had originally imagined. Once I could see beyond the obvious non-connections between different phases of German migration to the UK, the historical overview of German migration to the UK has helped me greatly to understand the current migration.

In particular, it helped me to identify the strangeness of the discourse of avoiding fellow Germans, by offering me a historical perspective on German migration, highlighting that avoiding fellow Germans had not always been the norm. Secondly, the historical perspective also provided a first possible explanation for the discourse of avoidance: that of avoidance in order to escape negative attention after the Second World War. Being aware of this pattern of avoidance also meant that I could highlight the difference to this, and treat it as a different phenomenon, illuminating the differing dimensions and processes.

Further, it was only my own historical awareness which meant that the seeming historical non-awareness by the German migrants I spoke to stood out as different. In fact the historical emptiness displayed by them highlights their idea of themselves as 'new' migrants, as adventurous and different, enabling them to maintain their discourses and ideas about themselves.

While in the long context of history of German migration to the UK, young German professionals in the UK therefore might appear as a continuation of the previous migration patterns, their own attitudes towards ethnic institutions and organised social spaces marked them out as different to previous migrations. However, the temporary pattern of migration – moving to the UK for a short period of time before returning to Germany – has already been a feature of historic German migrations to the UK, such as in the migrations taking place between the wars, as well as in the 1960s and 1970s.

Hence, while their patterns of mobility are not new, their self-understanding at least differs strongly from that of previous migrants.

Finally, the ambivalence between theory and practice also meant that I questioned exactly what kind of historical context we should study when studying migration. In addition to the context of history on a large scale, going back two or three generations, or even further, I have shown that personal histories are highly relevant to how the migration is experienced. This personal history provides a second historical context of which we have to be aware in order to make sense of the migration.

With regard to history, and the ambivalent role it occupies with apparently different understandings by academics and participants, more discussions are needed, in particular with regard to different migration backgrounds and stories, to different places and contexts. The importance placed upon history by Smith (2001, 2005) is part of what sets transnational urbanism apart as a framework, and makes it such a useful tool for the study of current migration. In the following section, I look more closely at other elements of this framework which have been highly useful in this study, and how my thesis contributes to our understanding and potential usage of this.

8.2. Theoretical Findings: On Transnational Urbanism and Emotional Geographies

Transnational urbanism as a concept has proven to be highly useful for this research; not only in the context of it highlighting the social context and background, as suggested by Yeoh (2005) and Smith (2001), but also in allowing me to highlight the diversity and the ambivalence experienced by the migrants.

It could be argued that on its own, the concept is somewhat vague, mainly by focusing on the positionings of the migrants within both structure and agency, especially when used in migration studies rather than urban geography, for which it was originally conceptualised. However, as I have shown, this broadness of the concepts instead gives researchers the chance to incorporate other concepts within this that highlight certain aspects in more detail. To target this concept towards research on middling transnationals, rather than urban context, I incorporated emotional geographies throughout the thesis. In chapters 6 and 7, I have used emotional geographies in combination with affective spaces and practices to highlight the everyday geographies of the young German migrants. In chapters 4 and 5, I have used the idea of translocal

subjectivities, which extends the emotional framework to the idea of the 'translocal', which Smith also encourages for fruitful transnationalism research (2001: 166-167).

I have in particular incorporated emotional geographies in order to highlight the small challenges to everyday life experienced by the migrants. Since emerging in the open in the academic geographical discussions in 2001 (Anderson and Smith 2001), the concept of emotional geographies has started gathering more attention. However, so far it has struggled with two factors. First, a certain marginalisation where emotional geography was seen as separate from other mainstream geographical research. Second, it has struggled with strong arguments and discussions with researchers working on affect. In this research, I have shown that both concerns can be overcome, by incorporating emotional geographies and affect into an overarching framework of transnational urbanism.

As I set out in the literature review in chapter 2, emotional geographies can easily be incorporated into transnational urbanism by highlighting the emotional elements of the migrants' experiences, and the emotional spaces which emerge as a result. Incorporating the emotional geographies approach in this way is very promising: after all, (feminist emotional) geographers have pointed out that emotional geographies was supposed to be a way to overcome binaries with respect to excluding the emotions from mainstream research (Anderson and Smith 2001: 7; Smith et al. 2009b: 7; Thien 2005a: 450; Thrift 2004: 57-8). Leaving emotional geographies as a separate research category is therefore limiting its potential. I believe that incorporating it as I have done is a good way of overcoming the exclusion of emotions from mainstream research. Thus far, geographical research focusing purely on emotional geographies is only slowly making its way into mainstream research and publications, with largely separate publications (*Emotion, Space, and Society;* Davidson, Bondi and Smith 2005; Smith et al. 2009).

A further argument for the incorporation of emotional geography relates to methodological concerns. To study emotional geographies on their own is challenging as there have been few methodological discussions of it. This means that it remains unclear how to best grasp emotional geographies through field research. More epistemological and methodological discussion on emotional geographies is needed in order to make it more accessible and appealing for researchers.

Together with emotional geographies, I have also included ideas about affect and its importance for migrants. To break the stand-off reached in academic journals, which present an either/or choice between affect and emotional geographies (see especially Thien 2005a; as well as Davidson and Bondi 2004; Davidson and Milligan 2004; Sharp 2009), I suggest here that there is potential in actually using both in combination for insightful academic research. In particular, the combination of using 'affective spaces' to describe the expectations migrants can hold with regards to the affective states (such as excitement, openness, friendliness) they will encounter in certain spaces with 'emotional geographies' to describe the geographies and spaces which can result from this, such as migrants avoiding certain rooms in their shared flats, or spending more time on their own in museums and their place of living as a whole, offers a great opportunity to highlight complexity. In the instance of Elena and Sandra, for example, the fact that they did not feel at 'home' in their flats translated into a greater independence, and associated explorations of the city. The two concepts, while highlighting different things, work well to together illuminate different areas of the same aspect, thus increasing our understanding of the experiences of middling transnationalism. Using them enabled me to highlight the complexities of life in the country of destination.

I used the concept of translocal subjectivities (Conradson and McKay 2007) to highlight transnational connections. Within transnational urbanism, Smith (2001: esp. 166-167) suggests using the term 'translocal' rather than 'transnational' to study the transnational connections by migrants. 'Translocal subjectivities' takes this a little further by studying the "multiply-located senses of self amongst those who inhabit transnational social fields" (Conradson and McKay 2007: 168), incorporating as a key element the "emotional and affective states that accompany mobility" (2007: 169). By adopting this perspective with regards to the very personal connections which migrants held with people in Germany, I have been able to highlight the complex transnational connections held by migrants. The focus on the very personal nature of the connections – by focusing on the emotions and energies invested in the connections to specific locales by migrants – was, in this context, highly appropriate, and offers an alternative to using the concept of transnationalism. While I have used the term 'transnational connections' to describe the, literal, connections used by the migrants between two countries in the form of flights, other transport and communications, I believe that translocal subjectivities

allows us to focus on the personal aspect of this. In particular, as the German migrants I spoke to were rarely involved in their home region beyond personal connections (no obvious monetary or political involvement), using the concept of transnationalism would have been misleading.

I have used the term 'translocal subjectivities' to study the connections on a relatively small scale, between Germany and the UK. Previously, this concept has been mainly used to highlight connections between countries relatively far away from each other, such as the UK and New Zealand (Conradson and Latham 2007), or connections in relatively unequal migration positionings, such as migrant domestic workers (McKay 2007; Huang and Yeoh 2007; Silvey 2007). Using the concept in this context has allowed me to highlight the very different translocal subjectivities which emerge from this geographical context. For example, even though on the first look, both New Zealanders in the UK and Germans in the UK experienced guilt at having missed important events, on a closer look, this was a fundamentally different experience. In the case of Germans in the UK, the migrants felt that the relative proximity between the countries meant that they had made a choice to not attend. Further, the proximity between the countries and the different communications which resulted from this meant that the migrants seemed to experience more conflicts with people personally close to them, yet geographically distant. Translocal subjectivities therefore reveals the different migration experiences on a personal level, interlinked with transnational connections, while not necessarily implying a political involvement.

In summary, transnational urbanism provides a highly appropriate framework for this type of migration. Especially the possibility to integrate emotional geographies in order to focus on different areas, such as transnational connections or everyday experiences, make this framework highly attractive. By using this framework, I have also suggested further possibilities of incorporating emotional geographies into mainstream geographical and migration research.

8.3. Additional Research Suggestions

There are a few areas in which research would add significantly to the knowledge and insights originated from this thesis.

A large aspect which I have highlighted as relevant throughout the thesis concerns the social spaces of the migrants in Germany. On the one hand, it would be fascinating to

extend research to include home visits, and potentially speak to the migrants' friends and family, thus gathering their attitudes to migration. In this thesis, I have focused exclusively on the migrants, who often acted on their own perceptions of how others saw their migration. Being able to compare these perceptions to actual data would be fascinating. For example, considering the gendered nature of 'emotion management' by migrants of family and friends at home, where especially bi-local women were highly aware of the occasional pain and distress they would cause others, while the bi-local men in no way expressed this as clearly: were there actual differences in how their parents perceived this? Or was this simply a difference in expression by the migrating women? Or, for example, were Elena's friends really as put out by her personal changes as she perceived them to be? Why would this be? In the case of multi-local migrants where often the whole family was more attuned to migration, were the parents really completely happy with their children living abroad?

Studying a whole group of friends, some or few of whom are mobile, while others are not and decided to remain behind, would also be highly instructive in revealing the different reasons within the same group for mobility or geographical stability. I have highlighted throughout the importance of the social network and surroundings in Germany for the experiences of migration; being able to look directly into that would certainly add a lot to migration literature, not least answering the perennial question of why some people migrate, while others do not (see Rogers 2005; Smith 2005; Favell 2008; Recchi and Favell 2009), much better than any research on migrating people ever can.

A further dimension to the social spaces in Germany emerges with regards to a possible return by the migrants. Again, overcoming the distinction between migration, mobility and stability, I believe that we should extend migration research to include European migrants who have returned to their country of origin. In the case of Germans, the personal developments the migrants (particularly the bi-local migrants) experienced suggest that a return to Germany might pose challenges to them, which would lend themselves to a highly intriguing case study. This could include certain aspects such as: did the job experiences and their improved English skills help them in the local labour market? How do their social networks change upon their return? How do they cope with these changes? Their ideas about themselves might once again be fundamentally challenged. The question is particularly intriguing as many of my participants and many

of the writers in the forum claimed that their view of migrants in Germany had changed completely. They argued that before their migration, they rarely ever made the effort to get to know migrants, or were quick to judge them for not integrating. The question is whether this realisation leads to fundamental differences in their social lives back in Germany, and whether this happens on a scale that a different kind of socialisation in Germany might emerge.

In addition to thereby further studying other aspects of the same migration, there is also much to gain to further understand this migration by extending the group to be researched, both in the sense of nationalities involved, as well as the age group, in order to attempt to find out in how far this phenomenon of ambivalence is limited by nationality, migration type, or age group. What are the boundaries of this?

To start with, a comparison with Germans living in other EU-countries would be good, such as France or Spain. A comparison to Germans in Switzerland would also certainly be insightful, in particular with regards to the even closer proximity. Researching in-depth other young EU-nationals within the UK would also enable further insights into the extent to which the ambivalence is the result of particular national or cultural traits, rather than a result of the type of migration occurring.

Together with the young independent migrants I met, I also met a number of not-quite-so-young independent migrants, closer to their 40s and 50s than their 30s. They had migrated on their own, with no dependents or partner, and seemed to be making up an increasingly large group. Included in this group could also be a number of people I met who had been divorced, in some cases with children in Germany or a third country. Yet, in light of the increasing divorce rates, fragmented lifestyle which no longer follow a linear model (Rogers 2005), and later marriage ages, this age group might increase. Their concerns might differ widely from those of younger migrants. From my limited insights, for example, issues concerning age, retirement and health insurance became more important, as they were more firmly established in their careers as well as closer to retirement (even though by no means close to retiring) and therefore planning ahead. This category is also missing from the literature, possibly as this age group tends to be perceived as migrating within a family context, or already as 'lifestyle migrants' when moving to France; finding out more about them in their own right, and as professional migrants rather than lifestyle migrants to France, might yield some interesting insights and allow us to discern whether at some point, the personal ambivalence experienced by

migrants is turned further towards institutional obstacles such as pension schemes and similar.

Similarly, extending this kind of study to young migrants with children would be relevant, as it would highlight to which extent ambivalence changes under these circumstances. As it could be argued that during the first few years of a child's life, the 'institutional obstacles' to rearing them in another country, such as schooling, as well as them being fairly mobile, so that mobility might not change too much. Some of my respondents have had children since my field research, which does not seem to have dented their mobility decisions too much on the surface. Yet, this needs further insights, to establish whether there is indeed a change from an older generation of migrants and these 'new' migrants, or whether over time, their ambivalences too will change. Researching this group would also establish whether and how ambivalence changes with lifestage, or key events in the life of the migrants.

Any of these studies should take social media into account. During the last few years, facebook has grown vastly in size; towards the end of my research, I could begin to see the usage increasing among my research participants. For the research topic at hand, this is certainly relevant matter, as facebook further collapses the time-space difference between already-close Germany and the UK by allowing people to share thoughts, photos, insights into their lives, as well as seeing new connections with people that they have established (having a 'new friend'). At the same time, as the novelty has worn off, it has frequently become a central part of everyday lives. Collins (2009) conducted research which allowed him to show the important role that Cyworld, a Korean platform for sharing photos and thoughts already well-established in the early 2000s, had for South Korean students in New Zealand by enabling them to share their lives with friends and family, as well as partake in their friends' lives and keep up to date. Especially considering the conflict between distance and proximity that I have highlighted, in particular in chapters 4 and 5, it would have been interesting to see how it influences that. For example, which role did facebook play for Elena and the fact that she felt her friends did not understand her life in the UK? Also, facebook 'groups' have emerged such as 'Germans in London', with German shops now also present on facebook, advertising their business and using social media to gather more customers. This dimension had not been around during my research, often only emerging in the last year. The impact of the social media on the organised social spaces, and whether this

has changed the attitude by some Germans towards these spaces (chapter 7) – would be intriguing. Together, these research spin-offs would add much to our understanding of EU migration, highlighting whether ambivalence as an experience of migration is limited to certain nationalities, age groups or lifestages.

By examining the migration decision-making and everyday experiences of young highly skilled professional migrants through the case study of German migration to the UK, this thesis has added empirical and analytical insights to the academic debate regarding young professional migrants within the EU, German contemporary migration in particular, the discussion around lifestyle migration and middling transnationalism, and the practical use of the concept 'emotional geographies' for migration studies. It has sought to further our understanding of the everyday experiences of young professional migrants and the ambivalences which emerge in a migration without boundaries.

9.   Bibliography

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Appendix A: Interviews Conducted and Participants' Case Studies

Name	Date of Interview	Type of interview	Place of Interview, previous residences	Type of migrant	Came to the UK in
Anette	11/2009	Informal	London	Multilocal	2003
	Anette is a woman in her 30s. Having grown up near a big city in central Germany, North-Rhine Westphalia, she moved to a northern city for her studies. After a few years of working, she then moved to London, where she was also studying part-time while working. When I met her, Anette had already been living in London for six years, and was not planning to move any time soon. She occasionally attended organised social spaces, but was both picky about which ones she attended, as well as slightly critical of them.				
Annika	03/2010	Formal	London	Multilocal	2001
	Annika was one of my informants who had been in the UK longest, and was in her 30s. She had grown up near a small town in southern Germany, in Baden-Wuerttemberg, where she went to school. After school, she spent a year in the USA, before returning for her studies. After her studies, she decided she wanted to move somewhere else again, and applied for a transfer through her job, which saw her move to the UK, even though Spain would have been her preferred location. Within the UK, she had moved cities once. When I spoke to her, she was seriously considering moving back to Germany. She did not regularly attend organised spaces, beyond church services.				
Aron	08/2010	Formal	London, N. UK	Settled	2001
	Aron, in his early 40s, grew up in southern Germany. He studied both in Germany and abroad, but within Germany studied and lived in an southern city in Baden-Wuerttemberg very close to where he grew up. In 2001, he moved to the north of the UK for personal reasons. After a few years in the north, when I met him in 2010, he was beginning to spend more time in London. He occasionally attended some organised spaces, in order to meet German people. He was not looking to move back to Germany in the future, both due to his British partner as well as better job prospects in the UK, but maintained close ties especially with his home town, where he still felt at home.				
Beatrice	01/2010	Formal	London	Multilocal	2007
	Beatrice, in her early 30s, had moved to the UK in 2007 for a specific job offer. Before this, she had grown up in a small, southern-German university city. She then moved to a large German city for her studies, during which she travelled and lived abroad a lot. She described herself as 'footloose', always looking for something new. When I interviewed her, she did not voice any strong urges to move back to Germany in the near future, but was curious to explore other countries and opportunities. She did not attend any organised German social spaces.				
Björn	07/2010	Formal	London	Multilocal	2009
	Bjoern, in his late 20s, had moved to London with his partner. It had not been his first choice of location, but he was happy enough there. He was originally from a town in central Germany, Hessia, and had moved out for				

	his studies, which he felt had given him independence. After his studies, he spent about a year travelling before coming to live in the UK. He did not express a strong desire to return to Germany soon, as professionally, he was growing in the UK. He did attend organised German spaces on a regular basis.				
Claudia	08/2010	Formal	London	Settled	2005
	Claudia had come to the UK in 2005 to study. It was not her first stint abroad – she had already spent three months in the USA during school as an exchange student. Beyond that, though, she had always lived in the same place in Germany, a rural area in Baden-Wuerttemberg. Since 2005, she had also spent a year living in France before returning to London; beyond London, she had not lived anywhere else in the UK. She enjoyed living in the UK, and did not see a specific need to return to Germany anytime soon; like others, she was thinking of moving to a third country instead. She attended church regularly and was quite involved with some of its running; beyond this, she did not attend organised German spaces.				
Daniel	09/2010	Formal	London	Multilocal	2008
	Daniel was in his late 30s; before coming to the UK, he had been living in a small city in Lower Saxony, central Germany, for a number of years, where he moved after having moved around Germany for his studies and later work. Moving to the UK was his first international move. He did use organised German spaces very occasionally, but did not like the Forum very much; he preferred to meet people based on mutual interest rather than nationality, as he put it. While he enjoyed living in the UK, he did not see himself staying for a long period of time, but saw the time in the UK more as an interesting interlude for personal and professional growth.				
Dirk	06/2010	Formal	London, Bournemouth	Multilocal	2007
	Dirk had moved to the UK in 2007 due to a German employment crisis in his sector. From Bournemouth, he then moved to London in winter 2009/2010 to change jobs. Dirk was from a multinational family, and grew up in a small town in south-western Germany (Baden-Wuerttemberg), before moving for his studies. He also spent a year working in South Africa, and moved within Germany for work, too, living in Hamburg for a while. He used the organised German spaces in London to meet new people, but was not terribly keen on them beyond this. At the time I spoke to him, he was unemployed and therefore unclear where he wanted to move next, or should move next; however, he could not see himself staying in the UK for the rest of his life, and took this into consideration of his further career and geographical moves.				
Elena	02/2010	Formal	London	Bilocal	2008
	Elena was from a small town in Lower Saxony, northern Germany. After an apprenticeship, for her studies, she moved to the nearest town with a university, but stayed very much within her circle of friends. Apart from a brief stint in a southern German town of a few months for some project work, she had not moved about in Germany; moving to London was her first major move. When I spoke to her, she very much enjoyed living in London, and did not have any immediate plans for a return to Germany; unlike others though, a further international move was not on her agenda. She did not attend organised German spaces, but had close German friends				

	in London.				
Florian	02/2010	Informal	Cambridge	Multilocal	2009
	Florian was from a small town in southern Germany (Bavaria), where he completed an apprenticeship before studying. Before moving to Cambridge, he had been living and working in Hamburg, far from his town of origin, and had moved internationally during his studies already. He was not sure where he would see himself living in the future, but expressed a highly critical opinion of the mobile lifestyle. He did not attend organised German spaces.				
Hannah	07/2010	Formal	London	Multilocal	2004
	Hannah, who was in her early 40s, had had two major moves within Germany, changing cities and thereby removing herself from her previous social circle. Her move to London therefore did not scare her in itself. She had also already spent one year in London in her twenties, as well as having been travelling frequently for her work. Hannah did in fact return to Germany after my fieldwork was finished, but less for desperately wishing to move back, and more for what she called the 'perfect job'. She had only attended two organised German spaces right after moving to London, but after that did not feel the need to attend them anymore.				
Hannes	04/2010	Informal	London	Multilocal	2009
	Hannes, a man in his mid-thirties, had moved to London from southern Germany; he had grown up in a small southern German town before moving to a city in Bavaria for work. He then completed a stint of living and working in Spain, before returning to Germany and then moving to the UK. He had transferred jobs within his company in order to come to London. When I spoke to him, he had only been in London for a few months, but was really enjoying it on both a personal and professional level. Due to his international partner, he moved in international circles rather than meeting Germans. He had attended a few German organised meetings, but did not enjoy them particularly, and found he did not have much in common with fellow Germans, especially as he did not see himself returning to Germany in the near future.				
Henrik	07/2010	Formal	London, Manchester	Multilocal	2005
	Henrik, while not having grown up in a multinational family, had started moving internationally early with his family as a result of his father's job transfer. He was originally from Schleswig-Holstein, the northern-most county in Germany, but spent a large part of his youth growing up in the Netherlands, before coming to the UK to study. Since his studies, he had lived in the UK, and moved within the UK a few times. While he was not looking to necessarily return to Germany in the immediate future, he saw himself there in the long term. In the short term, he wanted a new experience and a new city rather than settling down. While he did not seek out organised German spaces, his circle of German friends had expanded quite a bit in the last six months before I spoke to him.				
Isabel	12/2009	Informal	London	Multilocal	2009
	Isabel had grown up in the Saxony, and had moved for her studies to a town in South Germany, Bavaria. While studying, she had already travelled extensively, spending half a year travelling and half a year researching her diploma dissertation. Her decision to move to London had been made easier				

	by being made redundant in Germany, as well as her partner being offered a position near London. When I spoke to her, Isabel had arrived just two weeks prior; hence, she did not have any plans for an immediate return, or a strong idea of whether or when she might return to Germany. She did attend some organised German meetings in order to meet people – both new people and to meet people in person whom she had already been in contact with electronically before moving to the UK.				
Jan	08/2010	Formal	London	Multilocal	2004
	Jan, in his mid-30s, had grown up in southern Germany (Baden-Wuerttemberg), where most of his extended family still lived. He had studied close to his original hometown, and continued to work there for a number of years after his studies. He then moved to the UK in 2004 for career development reasons. He did use the 'Academics Anonymous' meetings to meet people with similar interests, but beyond that was somewhat critical of the German Forum as well as German meetings organised there. For his future, the main deciding factor as to whether he was going to return to Germany or remain in the UK was based largely on the quality of potential jobs he could take; a good job offer in Germany, he said, might just tempt him to return.				
Jana	01/2010	Formal	London, Cambridge	Settled	2001
	Jana had come to the UK from a town in North-Rhine Westphalia originally to go to school as an exchange student for one year. She then extended the year into two and started studying in the UK too. After her studies, she originally returned to Germany for two years, during which she worked, before moving to London, where she has been living and working since. She did not express any desire to return to Germany or move on elsewhere, nor did she attend any organised German spaces. Through her studies, though, she had an international network of friends, including a few German ones.				
Jonas	03/2010	Formal	Leicester	Settled	2003
	Jonas came to the UK for his PhD studies originally; he had grown up in Bavaria and attended university not far from his hometown. However, he had already spent some time in the UK as part of his studies. After moving to the UK in 2003, he then found a job straight after graduation, and is now happily settled in the British countryside with his international partner. Due to the nature of his job and his international partner's occupation, he does not see himself returning to Germany; he does not have an extensive network of German friends, nor did he attend organised German social spaces.				
Johanna	08/2010	Formal	London	Multilocal	2010
	Johanna moved to the UK in 2010 mainly in order to be with her partner, who had transferred with his company a year earlier. She herself would not have had London or the UK on her agenda otherwise, as she said. She grew up in a northern German town in Lower Saxony, before moving to a slightly bigger city for studying and later working. During her studies, she lived in Paris for six months, but had never been in the UK for longer than a weekend before moving to London. She occasionally attended some organised German meetings with her partner, but did not use to German Forum at all, and did not see a need to meet Germans specifically, or go to				

	more organised German spaces. In the long term, Johanna and her partner were planning to return to Germany, but were discussing the option of a different European country as the next place of living and working.				
Judith	08/2010	Formal	London; Brighton	Multilocal	2007
	Judith was from a small German town in North-Rhine Westphalia, where she had grown up as well as studied, and had moved to the UK in order to later on continue her migration to Australia. She had fallen in love with Australia while travelling, but could not get her qualification recognised for a visa. Working in the UK would enable her qualification to also be accredited by Australia. Despite originally planning to stay only for long enough for the accreditation, she had already been staying for three years when I spoke to her, as she enjoyed the life and working style. She had moved within the UK from Brighton to London. While she had attended a German meeting once or twice, she had not started attending on a regular basis; her close friends in the UK were exclusively German though. She was planning to either return to Germany in the next year, or move on to Australia, but was still undecided, mainly due to the visa uncertainty regarding Australia.				
Katja	07/2010	Formal	Manchester, Liverpool, Cardiff, London	Multilocal	2002-2004; 2007
	Katja, a woman in her early 30s, originally came to the UK in 2002 from the north of Germany in Lower Saxony after finishing her education. After working for two years in Manchester, she returned to Germany to study. As part of her studies, she studied in Liverpool for 6 months. Having finished her studies, she returned to the UK in 2007 to Cardiff, where she was working until 2010, when she moved to London for better job prospects. While living in Manchester, Liverpool and Cardiff, she sporadically met other Germans, but only started using the German Forum and German meetings more when she moved to London in order to meet new people and make contacts. While she could theoretically imagine returning to Germany to live nearer her parents in the long run, at the time I spoke to her she had no concrete plans or desires to return.				
Kirsten	12/2009	Formal	London	Bilocal	2004
	Kirsten, in her late 20s, had grown up in Bavaria, and gone to university close to where she grew up while still living at home. After a few years of study, she decided to transfer to a London-based university instead, as it suited her better. This was her first major move; her brother too lived in the UK. She had a few German friends, but only ever attended one organised German meeting, as she was unemployed and 'particularly bored' at that point. For the future, she toyed with the idea of returning to Germany, but struggled with the transferability of her qualifications; whether, how and when she would return was therefore open to her at the time I spoke to her.				
Konrad	02/2010	Formal	London	Settled	1998
	Konrad had come to the UK from one of the old industrial cities in the Ruhrgebiet in North-Rhine Westphalia. He came to go to school as an A-level student, stayed on to study with his friends, completed a postgraduate degree in the UK and stayed in the UK for work, too. In his late twenties, he				

	had just started his own company when I spoke to him, and immensely liked London. He did have a large number of German friends from university and work, but did not attend German meetings. Despite enjoying London, he could not see the long-term appeal when starting a family, and told me he would rather move to a more provincial town in Germany for a better quality of life, than Kent or Surrey.				
Lasse	09/2010	Formal	London	Multilocal	2002
	Lasse was in his mid-30s when I spoke to him. His first visit to London had been in the form of a school exchange. For his studies, he then moved from his hometown in North-Rhine Westphalia to the East of Germany; he studied abroad for a semester, too. After his studies, he took a job in London with an American company and has remained in London since, with a few brief stints (a few weeks to months) abroad, such as the USA. While he liked Germany, he did not feel particularly connected anymore to any one region. Similarly, he did not feel the need to move back; he enjoyed the life he had in London, in particular the international aspects to his job, and did not feel that a move to Germany would lead to gains in the quality of life to outweigh London's benefits. Lasse did not attend any organised German spaces.				
Malte	05/2010	Formal	London	Multilocal	2005
	Malte, a man in his mid-30s, was getting ready to leave London for New York when I met him through an acquaintance. He had spent nearly five years in London at that point. He had grown up in central Germany and studied in Hessia before moving to a city in North-Rhine Westphalia for work. He told me he had never attended a German meeting, although he did have quite a few German friends and had attended at least on GerManic Party. He was not sure where he saw himself in the long term, and whether he would return to live in Germany at some stage in his life.				
Marianne	02/2010	Formal	London	Bilocal	2007
	Marianne in her mid-20s, had come over to England originally on a seasonal contract in the hospitality sector to improve her English. After her return to northern Germany – the are where she grew up, and her family still lives – she decided to return to England. She worked in a variety of jobs for which she was overqualified, but nonetheless enjoyed living in London. She was in an international partnership, and did not see herself returning to Germany anytime soon. She too did not attend organised German meetings, but, as she had capitalized on her German skills to obtain her then job, had a network of German friends from work.				
Marie	07/2010	Formal	London, Newcastle, Manchester	Multilocal	2000
	Marie was in her early thirties when I spoke to her, and had moved to London very recently. She had grown up in Bavaria, spent a few years in the USA due to her father's work, before returning to Bavaria and moving to France while still a teenager with her parents. Her family was multinational. From France, she came to the UK after school to practice her English and get out a bit; she then decided to stay and studied in Newcastle before moving to Manchester for work. After a few years there, she moved to London for career reasons, and was studying part-time for a PhD. She had not attended organised German spaces in Manchester or Newcastle, but				

	did attend a few meetings in London in order to meet people. She had no immediate plans to return to Germany, or indeed for moving anywhere else, but had intentionally chosen a flexible PhD course, just in case she would want to move.				
Martin	01/2010	Informal	London	Multilocal	2008
	Martin had grown up in a small town in Hessia, central Germany, before moving to a city in southern Germany (Baden-Wuerttemberg) for his studies. During his studies, he already spent his Erasmus-semester at a UK university. After his studies, he moved to a northern German city to work, and continued living there until 2008, when the company he worked for offered him the chance of working in London for a number of years. His girlfriend came to London with him, and both enjoyed their time abroad immensely. As his contract in London was limited to five years, they were considering whether to move to a third country again afterwards, and did not see any particular need to return to Germany, even though he maintained close contact with friends and family there. Martin attended 'Academics Anonymous', but no other organised German meetings after attending an initial one which he found very weird.				
Michael	12/2009	Formal	London, Swindon, Guildford	Bilocal	2007
	Michael had, before moving to the UK, never left his hometown for longer periods. He was from a small town in the north of North-Rhine Westphalia, where he had stayed for studying, and later on for his work. Moving to the UK was, as he saw it, his last chance of 'escape' before settling down. When I spoke to him, Michael had accepted a job back in his hometown which would enable him to further specialise at a high level. He did frequently attend organised German meetings, in order to meet other people, and did not have a large network outside people attending those organised spaces.				
Tamara	02/2010	Formal	London	Multilocal/Settled	2001
	Tamara was in her early thirties when I spoke to her. Originally, she was from a city in the north of Germany; she had already worked as an Au-pair in France for a year, and also studied in Japan for a year. While she had originally not felt the need to meet other Germans, similar to the other times she had lived abroad, she then had a phase where she attended meetings almost regularly, before this phased out again as she felt she had little in common with people after a while. On a more consistent basis, quite a few of her friends were German, and partially people she had met through work, where she too capitalised on her German language skills as an asset. Having been in the UK for almost 10 years, when I spoke to her Tamara was in the process of constructing a plan to return, looking at job options and potential cities to move to; while she said she was not completely set on Germany, it was definitely the direction she was looking at most, and would like best.				
Theresa	07/2010	Formal	London	Settled	2007
	Theresa had grown up in a city in former East Germany before relocating to rural Hessia with her parents when she was about 10. She had come to London in her late twenties after having lived in a very rural area in Germany, in Rheinland-Pfalz. She worked in a sector which required her to				

	move about a lot, and partially into relatively rural areas. Opportunities to work abroad were rare, so when the opportunity to move to London arose, she was very happy, especially as she had long-standing family connections to the UK and had spent some summers in England before. Due to the nature of her job, she interacted a lot with other Germans, but did not attend any organised social spaces outside of that. She was perfectly happy and content living in London, but as her contract was running out with no chance of renewal or a different position, she returned in late 2010 to Germany.				
Tilman	07/2010	Formal	London	Bilocal	2006
	Tilman was in his mid- to late twenties when I spoke to him. Before moving to the UK, he had not moved inter- or intra-nationally before, and had still been living at home with his parents in a very small town in Hessia, central Germany. He moved to the UK as his employer offered him a job in London, and he thought it was a great chance. He told me he did not attend any organised German spaces, but he did have a few good German friends in the UK, some of whom he had met through work. For his future, he was not sure yet where he wanted to be or go – he was thoroughly enjoying London when I met him, and did not have any immediate plans for return, or any definite long-term plans or preferences about his place of living.				
Sandra	08/2010	Formal	London	Bilocal	2009
	Sandra had moved to London from one of Germany's biggest cities in the north in 2009, after having grown up in the city all her life. She first came to London for a six-week internship, then returned after having finished her education. She was in her mid-20s, and really enjoyed London as well as the opportunities that the move offered her personally. In the beginning of her time in London, she attended organised meetings on a regular basis; but as she developed her own circle of friends and activities, this gradually became less over time. As she enjoyed London so much, she did not plan on returning to Germany anytime soon, and was in fact not sure where or when she would move next. After her successful move to London, she toyed with the idea of moving to New Zealand at a later date.				
Sebastian	07/2010	Formal	London	Multilocal	2002
	Sebastian had moved to London from a small town in the middle of Germany, Lower Saxony, where he had worked and lived for a couple of years. However, before that, he had already moved within Germany a number of times, both with his family while growing up and later on alone, as well as spending some time abroad with his family as a child. The opportunity to move to London with his company was therefore one he relished. He then enjoyed living and working in London so much that he was still there in 2010, with no concrete plans to return. Instead, him and his girlfriend were open-minded about where the future would take them geographically. Sebastian was very active in the German church, which he had started attending about a year after moving to London; since 2007, he played an active role in its administration, too. Beyond that, he did not seek out any organised German spaces.				
Silke	09/2010	Formal	London	Multilocal	2004
	Silke was in her mid- to late twenties when I met her. She had come to the UK from a rural area in former East Germany originally to improve her English after her A-levels, and then decided to stay and study. Part of her				

	studies she actually conducted in Germany as part of a dual degree, but she decided to remain in the UK for now. During her studies, she had also spent a couple of months working in South Africa. She did not attend any organised social spaces, and did not have any desire to. For her future, she was not sure yet where she wanted to be, but was happy to move around a bit; in fact, she then spent six months working for her company in Hong Kong. However, while she was not entirely sure where she wanted to be, she emphasised that in the long-term future, she would consider relocating to Germany, as she felt bringing up a family would be easier there. For this reason, she had consciously decided to do a dual degree with a German university, and worked in a sector where her skills were transferrable.				
Silvia	02/2010	Formal	Cambridge	Multilocal	2007
	Silvia had grown up in rural Baden-Wuerttemberg in a multinational family before studying in the USA. After her studies, she returned to Germany for a few years to work, and then relocated to Cambridge for further study. When I spoke to her, she was in her late twenties. She did not attend any organised German spaces, but did have a number of German friends in Cambridge. For the future, she was not entirely sure where she would be, but she did miss Germany and said it would depend on any potential job offers where she would live in the near future.				
Sonja	07/2010	Formal	Leeds	Settled	2007
	Sonja was in her early thirties when I spoke to her; she had grown up and lived in Saxony before moving to the UK. Originally, she came to the UK for a few months in order to have a break from her life in Germany; while in the UK she met her now-husband and subsequently decided to stay. She did not have any long-term plans to return to Germany and did not miss it much either; there was some potential for her and her husband to relocate to China for a while with his work, which they were considering. Despite the fact she claimed she did not miss Germany, she was one of the more active participants in the German Forum. Beyond that, she did not attend many organised social spaces, but largely due to the fact that there were few meetings in Leeds where she lived.				
Svea	02/2010	Informal	Cambridge	Multilocal	2007
	Svea, a woman in her late 20s, had grown up as a child in a city in the north of Germany before moving to a southern city in Hessia when she was about ten years old. To study, she then moved to a small town further south in Baden-Wuerttemberg. After spending time abroad for her Erasmus and Diploma thesis, she then decided she might as well move internationally again for her PhD, and followed her then-partner to Cambridge. While she did not attend any organised German meetings, she did have both international and German friends rather than British friends. In the long term, she would like to return to Germany to be closer to family and friends, but the job market for her new partner in Germany might pose an obstacle to this, with jobs more readily available in the UK in his field.				
Sven	11/2009	Formal	London	Bilocal	2009
	Sven was in his early thirties when I meet him at an organised German event, which he attended very regularly. He had considered moving internationally for a while before coming to the UK. He had moved only very regionally in Germany before 2009; moving to the UK was his first international migration, but not his last, as he said. He did not move for a				

	specific job, but was happy with the job he found initially, and a job he later on changed to. Both suited his qualifications very well; he did not work in any jobs he was overqualified for. He did not express any desire to return to Germany anytime soon, preferring to move internationally again.				
Yvonne	08/2010	Formal	London, Leeds	Multilocal	2007
	Yvonne had grown up in a small town in central-northern Germany, Lower Saxony. She originally started studying in a somewhat bigger town close to her hometown, but stopped after realizing it was not for her. She then spent a year in the USA as an Au-pair, and before coming to the UK to study, spent a few months living in Berlin and Hamburg. In Leeds, she had not attended any organised social spaces, while in London, she did attend a few to meet people when she moved there. When I spoke to her, she had just started working in London. While she could see herself enjoying it for a few years, she told me that ultimately, she could see herself living in Germany again in the long term; even though she was uncertain where she would move next or how long she would stay in London at that time.				

Overview over key figures interviewed

Key figures in German spaces		Type of business/service offered	Date interview conducted
German Baker	London, Greater London Area	Food	08/2010
German Deli	London, UK-wide distribution	Food	08/2010
German Embassy, informal interview about German prisoners	London	Embassy	07/2010
German Welfare Service (?)	London	Welfare support for Germans, including pensioners	07/2010
Haensel and Pretzel	London, Richmond	Food	07/2010
Journalist doing German Newspaper	London, UK-wide distribution	Quarterly Newspaper	08/2010
Kurz and Lang, German food	London	Food	08/2010
Pastoral Assistant, German Protestant Church	London (as Pastor)	Pastoral Services	08/2010
Pastor of German Protestant Church	London, Areas West of London (Reading, Oxford, Petersham)	Pastoral Services	05/2010
Zeitgeist owner	London	Pub, Food	09/2010

Appendix B: Participants' quotes: Original German transcriptions

Quotations are listed in order of appearance according to the endnotes used throughout the thesis. The following transcription conventions were used:

Breaks
… denotes a brief (one-second) break
… … denotes a break of two seconds

[pauses] indicates a silence of several seconds

[laughs] indicates laughter by the participant.

Sentence changes
- indicates that the participant changes the word half-way through, or broke the sentence and continued with a grammatically incorrect new sentence fragment.

Gap fillers
äh, *aaaäh*, *ne* and *ja* are frequently used as gap filler, but do not carry a special meaning.

Omissions
(…) indicates that some of the participant's longer answer has not been reproduced here.

[town] indicates that the participant referred to their hometown or a specific town in their answer, which has been removed in order to protect their anonymity.

Italics in the quotation indicate a special emphasis placed on a specific word by the participant.

i *Interviewer*: Und würdest du dann in Deutschland das als Heimat bezeichnen?

Claudia: Ja. Das ist so... Heimat ist für mich, ähm... so, so ursprünglich, ja... wo ich urprünglich herkomme, und wo ich auch gerne immer mal zurückgehe.

I: Und was macht das für dich aus? Also dass du da aufgewachsen bist?

C: Im Sinne von was ich daran schätze, oder....

I: Was es für dich zur Heimat macht.

C: Was es für mich zur Heimat macht... einfach ganz viele Erinnerungen, ganz viele Jugenderinnerungen, ganz viel Unsinn der da rumliegt, wo ich einfach gern mal wieder hingehe und durchkruschtle…

ii *Kirsten*: Ob ich zurückwill irgendwann mal? Ja, vielleicht... vielleicht irgendwann schon mal, aber, also nicht dahin wo ich herkomm'... also das war halt 'n bisschen in der Pampa, und meine Freunde sind ja auch dann weggezogen... Da is halt nich so viel los, also... ja, nee… also da leben könnt' ich im Moment echt nicht...

iii *Sven*: Ich hatte am Anfang gesagt, äh, ich würd's gern mal einfach für'n Jahr machen, um… um es mal gemacht zu haben, da sich jetzt aber alles so positiv entwickelt hat, sind aus dem zwei Jahr… sind aus dem aeh einen Jahr quasi zwei geworden, und… ich hab aber gar- überhaupt keine Grenze nach oben hin.

iv *Sandra*: Ja, also erstmal so ein Jahr war mein Zeitrahmen. ähm... des machen ja viele eigentlich so, oder, dass die dann 'n Jahr, was weiss ich (...) ja ich weiss nicht, also ich hatte früher... schon Repekt davor, irgendwie nach... nach, ins ins Ausland zu gehen... vor allen Dingen du bist ja immer auf dich alleine gestellt und kennst keinen und weisst nicht... und weisst du, und deswegen, hab ich gedacht, ok, 'n Jahr kannste ja das mal machen. War'n guter Zeitrahmen, das hatte ich mit meinem Chef (...) so lange hätte er mir dann auch meine Stelle freigehalten, also zumindestens dieses eine Jahr...

v *Tilman*: Das hab'ich relativ lang gemacht, und dann hab' ich irgendwann gemerkt, dass mir das doch ganz schön... also... man merkt das doch, dasses ganz schön anstrengend ist, dann hab ich's auch etwas zurückgeschraubt. Vor allem meine Eltern ham dann auch gesagt, dass ist nicht schön für sie wenn ich da bin, und dann, dass ich dann halt immer so... so kontinuierlich unter dr.. Stress, Druck, Zeitdruck... das war halt einfach so, ich hab dann auch angefangen meine Eltern so zu managen, dann hab ich gesagt, so, wenn wir zusammen essen wollen, dann müssen wir um Punkt sieben Uhr essen, und um... äh... acht Uhr dreissig hab ich den nächsten Termin, das heisst ich muss um 7 Uhr unter die Dusche [sic], und weil ich 'ne Viertelstunde brauch um dahin zu fahren. Und meine Mutter dann so, ich bin doch kein Eintrag in deinem Zeitkalender!, oder was,... ja, also.... und seitdem... also seit annerthalb Jahren (…) hab dann etwas ruhiger gelebt, also... äh, hat dann immer einfach nicht mehr so gefallen, ja.

vi *Sandra*: Also ich find's schade, dass das irgendwie… so auseinanderbricht. Vor allem wenn ich jetzt zurück nach [town] gehe, dann ähm... hatt' ich immer noch versucht irgendwie Treffen zu organisieren, und was weiss ich, mich zu verabreden beziehungsweise äh alle Leute mal zu... einem Barbesuch zu kriegen, so alle Leute die ich so kenne, also was weiss ich, so 10, 12 Leute oder so, das hatte ich beim letzten Mal

mehr im... im Mai versucht zu organisieren, und von den 10, 12 Leuten sind dann genau 2 gekommen... ähm... (...) und ich bin dann meistens so, ich versuch das dann, wenn ich sowas weiss, so zu legen, dass ich sag ok, wenn ich sowieso alle zwei Wochen fahre, dann leg ich das halt auf das Wochenende, wo Steffi in Berlin ist, dann kann ich sie auch noch sehen, so würd ich mir das denken... zumindest hatte ich gehofft, das das.. so gemacht würde... war eben nicht.

[vii] *Bjoern*: Die [Familie und Freunde] mussten sich halt damit abfinden, ja. Also, wie gesagt, ich hatte ja Freunde, Familie… alle schon im Prinzip zurück gelassen, als ich nach [town] gezogen bin zum studieren (…). Es war natürlich schon 'ne Trennung. Man hat sich vielleicht einmal im Monat getroffen. Dann… war ich ein Jahr in Australien, da hab ich überhaupt keinen getroffen. Und war dann auch nicht mehr lange genug zurück um einfach… die hatten sich im Prinzip schon daran gewöhnt, dass ich viel unterwegs bin eben.

[viii] *Lasse*: Dahinter ist aber auch die Tatsache, dass es... ja, entweder Zufall oder wie auch immer, ähm, aber.. ich bin nach Lndon gegangen und war damals... mehr oder weniger... hier neu und also auf mich... auf mich selbst gestellt, ja? Ähm, es ist aber so, dass innerhalb der nächsten zwei drei Jahre dann 'ne ganze Reihe dann von wirklich sehr guten Freunden von mir dann hier auch nach London gezogen sind, und zwar also zwei...äh st... direkte Studienfreunde mit mir von mir, die also so zu meinem... zu meiner engen Clique da... von der Uni gehörten, und dann auch noch gewissermassen mein... so' n so'n Sandkastenfreund von mir, aus...äh aus aus Grundschulzeiten, oder, ja, oder Prä-grundschulzeiten sogar fast, ähm, Prä-grundschulzeiten um genau zu sein, und insofern isses eigentlich auch da wieder fast lustig dass man da die ganze alte Bande mehr oder weniger wieder zusammensitzt, ja, und...

[ix] *Lasse*: … dass halt alle sich in 'ner Lebensphase befinden wo man so die ganze Zeit unterwegs ist, wo man, wenn man frei hat, irgendwie immer mit Freunden unterwegs ist, wo du jetzt auch nicht so viel telefonieren kannst, und so weiter und so fort, und ähm... und du relativ wenig... wo du relativ wenig so in Anfürungszeichen ,domestic life' hast, ja. Also... du verbringst halt relativ wenig Zeit zu Hause, relativ wenig Zeit... äh ja... irgendwie ... dort...

[x] *Malte*: Alle meine Freunde sind jetzt soweit verteilt über Deutschland, also sprich sie sind in Frankfurt, sie sind in München, ähm, sie sind in Köln... dass ich sie selbst wenn jetzt ich in Deutschland wohnen würde, sie gar nicht so oft sehen würde…

[xi] *Marie*: Dadurch, dass das nur einmal im Monat ist (…) Also, es ist,… es ist ist, es ist 'ne Möglichkeit, ja? Also es ist nicht das Ideal, aber… hab ich halt auch im Hinterkopf gehabt. ich hab mir halt auch gedacht, wenn sich mein Leben… halt also weil fünf Jahre ist 'ne lange Zeit, ne (…) und… oder, oder, was ist wenn ich jemanden kennenlerne und wegziehen muss oder möchte oder wie auch immer, und da ist halt… so'ne Option ganz gut, ja?

[xii] *Henrik*: London ist eigentlich cool; ich komm mit dem Leben hier hier ganz gut zurecht, auch wenn ich weiss in meinem Hinterkopf dass es für mich nicht das Ultimum

ist... und dass ich hier mir sehr gut vorstellen kann kurzfristig... woanders hinzuziehen. Also da bin ich, da bin ich dann schon flexibel (…) Und ich bin ja hierhergezogen, ich hatte gedacht, ok, ich mach zwei Jahre, ok, mittlerweile sinds vier, werden wahrscheinlich 5, aber ich glaube dann schon... (…) dass ich dann irgendwie sage, also, jetzt hab ich's auch 'n bisschen gesehen... jetzt will ich was anderes. Also das zeichnet sich mittlerweile ab in meinem Hinterkopf.

[xiii] *Tamara*: Ja, also ich bin jetzt nicht so die... die grosse Telefoniererin und ähm... Emailschreiberin, aber eigentlich hab ich, also, relativ viel Wert darauf gelegt dann auch... sich relativ regelmässig zu sehen, also ich bin dann auch gerne irgendwie... ja, selbst wenn's halt irgendwie jedes Jahr oder jedes zweite Jahr... irgendwie... versucht, irgendwie 'n Treffen zu vereinbaren, und dass man da einfach 'n bisschen Zeit miteinander verbringt, und so, und,... ja, das muss ich sagen, erstaunlicherweise mit guten Freunden, selbst wenn man sich zwei Jahre lang nicht gesehen hat und vielleicht jetzt auch nicht soooo oft telefoniert hat, aber so'n bisschen eben weiss was irgendwie im Leben passiert und... wenn man dann einfach ... zusammen ist, dann... hat man dann irgendwie zwei drei Stunden wo dann die ersten zwei drei Stunden erstmal die ganzen... so Catch-up und so, und danach, ja,... verändert sich einfach wenig, und das ist einfach ganz schön zu wissen, dass einfach dann die Freundschaften auch da sind, und... die auch nicht vergehen, nur weil man jetzt irgendwie vielleicht mal 'n paar Monate lang sich nicht irgendwie gesprochen oder geschrieben hat oder so, und das find ich eigentlich ganz schön.

[xiv] *Interviewer*: Aber hast du das Gefühl dass quasi davon ausgegangen wird, weil du derjenige bist der weggezogen ist, dass du derjenige bist der den Kontakt aufrecht erhalten sollte? Dass das so angenommen wird?

Daniel: Hmm… ja, bei einigen ja. Bei einigen ja. [pauses] Amm…. nicht bei den Leuten… mit denen ich vorher schon fernbezüglichen Kontakt hatte. Die schreiben auch mal Emails, um zu gucken wie's geht, ähm also wie geht's so, ähm biste mal wieder in der Nähe, oder solln wir mal vorbeikommen, oder ich mal vorbeikommen, also… bei denen ist das anders. Von denen wird's glaub ich nicht so sehr erwartet. Die Freunde die in [town] geblieben sind, glaub ich da wird's eher erwartet. Und die… beispielsweise fragen auch nie nach, und wann kommst du mal wieder nach [town] oder sowas, sondern dann schreib ich halt immer, ich plan dann und dann nach [town] zu kommen und so, und dann sagen die so, ja dann lass uns mal treffen, oder so. [pauses] (…) Die Freundin die in Norddeutschland wohnt, die hat ja vorher in Irland gewohnt, und ich wusste wie's bei ihr so gelaufen ist.

[xv] *Lasse*: Neulich hab ich wieder Freunde besucht da in... in Deutschland, ähm, in Bockenheim in Frankfurt... Ja, das ist... das ist nett aber... Oder es gibt Teile davon, die sind nett, gibt auch 'n bisschen, 'n bisschen mehr Platz den du dir leisten kannst wahrscheinlich, und solche Sachen, aber... aber... aber other than that isses eher, ja... (...) kommt dir halt irgendwie so'n bisschen kleinbürgerlich vor, ja. man... (…) Also gut, so 'ne grosse Wohnung zu haben ist schon schön, ja, aber das hat halt auch immer… äh, hat halt auch immer negative Aspekte, ja. Ich meine da, um das Beispiel zu nehmen, ja da Bockenheim und so, also die Wohnung die die haben, die war jetzt also auch nicht grösser, ähm, und... die Stadt würde mir halt nicht die Möglichkeit geben, ähm... also irgendwie so viel Geld zu verdienen, dass ich, dass ich mir da jetzt über die

Massen mehr leisten könnte... da in Frankfurt... nehm ich mal an, ähm, und... und a...
also wenn ich hier so überall, überall was weiss ich durch die South Kensington
Strassen laufe, ja, das ist schon irgendwie 'n nettes Gefühl, ähm, die... da sieht im
Vergleich Bockenheim so 'n bisschen, naja, begrenzt-bespasste... Studenten
Studentinnen und so 'n paar, naja, sagen wir mal... mehr oder weniger Alternative zu...
zu, zu haben, also... von daher... also Neid... ich meine der Punkt ist, Neid kommt auch
nicht in dem Sinne auf, weil also ich bin relativ überzeugt davon, ich könnte jederzeit
den Move nach Deutschland machen wenn ich wollte. Also...

[xvi] *Interviewer*: Und würdest du Deutschland als Heimat bezeichnen?

Lasse: Teile von Deutschland, ja. wobei, es ist eher... ich frag mich... ja, ist 'ne gute
Frage. ähm, also Heimat... da muss man unterscheiden. Erstens, was ich über die
vergangenen... ja, mittlerweile acht, neun Jahre festgestellt habe, ist, Deutschland...
soo... einfach als Heimat ist nicht richtig, weil... wenn ich jetzt da bin wo... wo ich, wo
zum Beispiel bei meinen Eltern in [town] bin, oder so, da fühl ich mich, wenn ich so'n
bisschen länger bin als jetzt so'n Tag oder annerthalb, merk ich schon, da gehörst du
irgendwie nicht hin... also es ist nicht so als würdest du dich da heimisch fühlen. ähm...
in dem Sinne, ja. Ähm... und du realisierst auch, oder ich realisier auch dann relativ
schnell, ja, das ist halt mal so nett, da mal wieder da zu sein, ja, und dann hast du so'n
Effekt, dass du, ja, das hab ich lange nicht mehr gesehen, das hab ich lange nicht mehr
gesehen, und das mal wieder zu sehen ist nett, aber du hast auch relativ schnell das
Gefühl so, ... that's not me, ja

[xvii] *Konrad*: Also… ich bin halt mit 16 hier hin gekommen, weil ich Englisch lernen,…
also der Wunsch war, mein Englisch zu verbessern (…) Und seitdem ist es quasi
einfacher auch für mich hier zu bleiben. Oder es war dann so, dass ich, als ich mit der
Schule fertig war, ähm, haben sich alle meine Freunde für irgendwelche englischen
Unis beworben, und… (…) und dann hab ich gesagt ja, dann mach ich das auch mal.
und dann ist man… Es ist überraschend, wie einfach es ist, von seinem Umfeld
beeinflusst zu werden, was die nächsten Schritte sind. Und da… so generell, dieee…
sich mein Umfeld an englischen Unis beworben hat, hab ich das auch gemacht. Und das
war in Ordnung. Und… dann aus dem Wirtschaftsstudium kommend, meinten viele,
joah, wir machen mal'nen Masters und ich hatte auch so ein bisschen den Gedanken,
dasses vielleicht ganz gut ist, so 'ne akademische Karriere auch anzustreben, und
deswegen hab ich auch einen Masters gemacht. Und irgendwann haben sich alle für
irgendwelche Bankjobs beworben und da hab ich gesagt ja, so schlecht ist das auch alles
nicht, machst du das auch mal. (…) Vielleicht ist es auch ein Ergebnis des englischen
Studiensysems, dass das alles sehr vorgeschrieben ist, du machst drei Jahre Bachelor
dann machst du ein Jahr Masters und dann nimmst du hier irgend'nen professional Job.
Des ist also so… Die Laufbahnen, glaube ich, die ähneln sich hier viel mehr als in
Deutschland. (…) Ich glaube da sind die, die Lebensläufe sind sehr, sehr, sehr viel
unterschiedlicher. Deswegen… gibt es nicht so ein Fahrwasser, wo man sich dann doch
quasi einklinken kann.

[xviii] *Konrad*: Generell würd' ich sagen gefällt's mir mittlerweile in London, also es
gefällt mir sehr gut, ich bin hier sehr glücklich, verwurzelt und zuhause. Äh, langfristig
könnt' ich mir aber schon vorstellen nach Deutschland zurück zu kehren, ne. Aber ich
glaube das geht vielen so.

Interviewer: Und was glaubst du gibt dann den Ausschlag, irgendwann mal?

Konrad: Ich glaube das sind einfache… sagen wir Lebensqualität. Äh, besonders so, wenn es dann so um Familien geht, ähm kann ich mir vorstellen, dass das im… quasi in London… Also der Reiz für mich in England zu sein ist London. Und in London 'ne Familie groß… zu… ziehen… ähm… das halt' ich für sehr sehr schwierig. Ähm… Besonders… Ich meine du musst- die Schulen, also… sind schlecht. Wenn du deine Kinder zu einer Privatschule… schicken möchtest, kostet das ein Vermögen. Wenn du in 'ne Gegend ziehen möchtest, mit 'ner guten Catchmentarea für 'ne gute Schule, kostet es ein Vermögen. Ähm… Und bevor ich dann, was sehr viele Leute machen, sie ziehen nach Kent oder Hertford oder so und bevor ich das mache, irgendwann, dann hab ich das Schöne an London verloren, dann kann ich genauso gut nach… nach Mannheim ziehen, ja?

[xix] *Marianne*: Ich hab einen Bruder, der ist... (…) der ist in der Gegend geblieben (…) und der wird auch da bleiben, also... der hatte auch nie 'n grossartiges Verlangen danach, da irgendwo hinzugehen, das ist.... aber ich glaube bei uns auf dem Dorf, (…) ... wenn man da erstmal so... also wenn man niee irgendwo war dann hat man glaub ich auch kein Verlangen mehr nach grossartig woanders... (…) Aber wenn man einmal so über'n Tellerrand so hinausgeguckt hat, dann... dann ist's schwierig da wieder... zurückzugehen. Und so, bei ihm war das... (…) bei ihm war das alles so selbstverständlich, alles so klar (…). Aber ich denk mir dann auch immer, oh Gott, ihr verpasst doch was, wenn ihr hier jetzt, ne... also bei uns sind so viele die dageblieben sind, und die fliegen dann einmal im jahr nach Mallorca, zum Ballermann, machen da einmal Urlaub im Jahr, und das war's dann (...) das war dann der ihr Highlight des Jahres, und ich denk mir dann oh Gott, das ist schlimm, das ist ganz schlimm... schrecklich. Ich kann mir das nicht vorstellen.

[xx] *Sandra*: Mein Leben in Deutschland war ja einfach mal laaaangweilig, [laughs]… Ich weiss es nicht, ich hab irgendwie in so'ner Routine festgesteckt wo ich echt nicht ausbrechen konnte, weisste, du bist von Arbeit gekommen, irgendwann um 5 Uhr oder so, und dann... oder 17 Uhr, ähm... und dann haste dich vor'n Fernseher gesetzt, und dann haste dann das ganze Vorabendprogramme und Abendprogramme genossen bis um Viertel nach 10 und bist ins Bett gegangen... und das jeden Tag, und das war einfach nur, ich weiss nicht, selbst wennde dann irgendwann mal... noch mal einkaufen warst, oder mal... n... ,n Nachmittag auf'm Balkon gesessen und gelesen hast, irgendwie es war ja immer das gleiche, und...

[xxi] *Sven*: Also es war für mich klar dass ich in 'ne, äh, in 'ne Metropole wollte, das war für mich eigentlich auch der Hauptgrund zu, äh, wechseln, es war... weniger berufliche Motivation dahinter, sondern, äh, ich wollte endlich mal, weil ich [pauses] Ich war mit dieser Stelle sehr unzufrieden, und da war ich auch noch in [town], und das war ganz furchtbar, also, das war ganz langweilig. Und irgendwann hab ich gesagt, jetzt mach ich endlich mal was, was ich machen wollte, ich hab jetzt immer... meine Studien durchgezogen, meinen Master gemacht, Fernstudium, hab... hab immer... hab immer geschaut, dass mein CV gut aussieht, jetzt mach ich mal was, was ich machen will, und da will ich wo hingehen, wo's mir auch gefällt.

xxii *Kirsten*: Ich bin ja aus nem bestimmten Gr… ich bin aus nem Grund ins Ausland gezogen, und... das war teilweise auch weil ich... die deutsche Kultur nicht wirklich so mir besagt…

Interviewer: Was für ein Teil der deutschen Kultur?

Kirsten: [pauses] Das ist 'ne gute Frage. Naja halt dieses Bekrittelnde und sich... sich, irgendwie dieses... wenn ein Grashalm länger ist oder anders ausschaut dann gehört der sofort irgendwie gekürzt oder dumm ang'schaut… in [town] wirst du unglaublich viel dumm ang'schaut, ja… und…ähm... hier kümmert sich keine Sau ob du jetzt n Frosch auf'm Kopf hast oder nicht … und... ich geh in meinen… ich geh in meinem Schlafanzug einkaufen teilweise, und dann... und mach mir… scheiß mir da nichts, und... ich kann hier irgendwie sein wer ich bin, und in [town] da hatt' ich dann das gefühl…

xxiii *Elena*: Jetzt als Beispiel, also es gibt ganz viele andere Sachen, wo ich auch sag, ich vermisse das irgendwie [wenn ich wieder nach Deutschland ziehe], die Freiheit mich irgendwo hinzusetzen und zu sagen, ich hätt' gern Chips, weil... äh.. in Deutschland hätt' ich mir niemals irgendwo Pommes bestellt! Würd ich gar nicht essen, aber hier ... mach ich das.

xxiv *Elena*: Und die Wohnung [in Deutschland] war echt so mein Kleinod, ja, ich hab also wirklich teilweise monatelang auf 'ne bestimmte Schale gespart, ja, das ich mir die dann kaufen konnte, um sie sich auf den Tisch zu stellen, ja, weil sie so teuer war, würd ich hier niemals im Leben machen… irgendwie investiert man nicht so richtig [in die gemietete Wohnung] weil man ja sowieso weiss dass man spätestens in ein zwei Jahren wieder auszieht... aber auch so selbst, äh, als meine Freunde mich das erste Mal in England besucht haben, waren alle so, das passt so gar nicht zu dir, du lebst hier so einfach, so... überhaupt nicht so, weisst du, wie du das irgendwie in Deutschland hattest... also die waren schon so'n bisschen schockiert dann, so mit der Wohnung.

xxv *Sven*: Es war natürlich, aaäh,... Freunde und Bekannte waren natürlich überrascht, klar, weil es ja doch 'nen relativ drastischen Schritt darstellt, vor allem wenn man's nicht aus, äh, aus beruflichen Gründen macht sondern einfach so... seinen Beruf kündigt, aber, äh,... sie haben es alle unterstützt, fanden es gut, und hab'n... denk ich mal, alle auch Respekt davor gehabt, dass sich jemand in der aktuellen Situation, in der wirtschaftlichen Situation, dass jemand so wahnsinnig sein kann seinen Job aufzugeben, das zu machen, und... ja....

xxvi *Sandra*: Mein Ziel war ja, wegen der Sprache herzukommen, und... irgendwie vernünftig Englisch zu reden... … nee, also... im Moment kann ich mir nicht vorstellen zurückzugehen, weil mein Leben in Deutschland war ja einfach mal laaaangweilig, [laughs] ich hab irgendwie in so'ner Routine festgesteckt (…) dahingehend war es auch die beste Entscheidung... nach England zu kommen, weil hier hab ich diese blöde Routine einfach nicht, und vielleicht war das auch mit 'n Grund... nicht offensichtlich, aber vielleicht so unterbewusst. Dass...ähm, ja einfach mein Leben zu ändern... auch wenn der Sprachgrund, ähm... der offizielle war. [laughs]

xxvii *Marianne*: Ja, aber das Umfeld, also… (…) bei mir kam's eher… ja, negative Reaktionen… aber dann... Weil sie eigentlich glaube ich immer gedacht haben, ja, die bleibt ja nur 'n paar Monate und kommt eh wieder, ne, aber...

xxviii *Kirsten*: Ich hatte immer das Gefühl sie meinen ich bin hier auf Schüleraustausch, und ich... wo die gar nicht realisieren, dass ich hier 'n Leben habe, ähm... (...) und konnten's nicht wirklich nachvollziehen, weiste, was ich hier erleb'…

xxix *Marianne*: Ja, die denken, du bist immer so auf der Oxford Street zugange, ne? (…)... viele fragen dann gar nicht weiter nach. Die sagen dann, oh ja London, toll, ja, super, ok... und dann ...die wollen nicht weiter irgendwie was wissen, aber ich glaube das liegt einfach auch daran dass man sich das irgendwie nicht vorstellen kann. Und anstatt blöde Fragen zu stellen, fragt man gar nicht weiter.

xxx *Interviewer*: Und würdest du die Wohnung hier als Zuhause bezeichnen?
Claudia: Dafür bin ich zu kurz da... aber das ist für mich sowieso... Wenn man so oft umzieht... ja, ich würd schon sagen, das ist Zuhause jetzt.
Interviewer: Und was macht das für dich aus?
Claudia: [pauses] Hmmm [pauses] Ich weiss nicht – meine Bettwäsche [laughs] Meine eigene Bettwäsche. Ähm. [pauses] Ja – also es ist eigentlich... einfach nur dass ich weiss, ähm, hier kann ich jeden Tag zurückkommen... Aber.... keine Ahnung, so richtig Gedanken hab ich mir jetzt auch nicht drüber gemacht. [pauses] Ohne Spass, ich glaube es ist wirklich einfach nur mein eigenes Bett. Das ist es so (...) Ja genau, ich glaub, des is meine Bettwäsche und mein Bett. Ja. Alles andere, ich glaube da gibt's nichts, wo ich jetzt unglaublich dran häng,

xxxi *Claudia*: Wenn ich mit meinen Eltern rede, dann darf ich Zuhause nicht sagen für London, weil dann bricht meine Mutter glaub ich sofort in Tränen aus (…) Ich glaube für meine Mutter ist auch der Begriff Zuhause anders als er für mich ist, beziehungsweise, für ... uns, ich nehm mal an unsere ganze Generation, das ist nicht mehr so absolut, das ist nicht mehr so dass, wenn ich jetzt zu hause sag dann ist das das für die nächsten zwanzig Jahre, sondern das ist eben was Temporäres, ähm, und ich glaub, wenn ich, wenn ich Zuhause sag dann sieht das meine Mutter schon eher als was... final... äh, Finales, oder zumindest sehr viel Langfristigeres als es für mich eigentlich ist.

xxxii *Marianne*: Das macht man aber glaube ich auch nicht so einfach [dass man wahrscheinlich nicht zurueck kommt], ich finde man sagt das auch eher Freunden, das man jetzt, ach nee, ich glaub ich zieh noch nicht zurück, oder vielleicht irgendwann mal, aber im Moment kann ich mir das überhaupt nicht vorstellen, aber wenn man das dann den Eltern sagt, also ... weil dann halt, also... ich denke schon, dass die dann... also klar, wenn man 'n Kind hat, dann hofft man immer dass die... dass die wieder zurückkommen, ne...

xxxiii *Elena*: Also am Anfang hatte ich gar kein Heimweh. Am Anfang war alles total aufregend, aber ich hatte zwischendurch mal 'ne Phase, wo ich Heimweh hatte, und das

war jetzt, also, diesen Herbst hatte ich 'ne phase wo's mir nicht so gut ging, und wo ich eventuell auch unter Heimweh gelitten habe, also oder wo ich denke, es war Heimweh, was aber echt daran liegt, dass wenn man so häufig da ist, und die Leute wieder sieht, und deine Familie wieder siehst, und alle wieder, so total.... interessiert sind, ähm, beziehungsweise irgendwie war das wenn man wieder zurückkommt, da hatt ich Heimweh, ja... ähm, aber wenn ich längere Zeit nicht da war, hab ich auch kein Heimweh. Ähm...

xxxiv *Sandra*: Und mittlerweile bereu ich wahrscheinlich dass ich dann da ausgezogen bin, weil mit den Mitbewohnern hatte ich ja seitdem nicht mehr so viel Glück, beziehungsweise mit den Leuten da,... ähm... ich war auch schon soweit dass ich also.. ich hatte glaub ich sechs Wochen gesucht oder so…Eigentlich hätte ich gerne... 'ne... WG wo die Leute eher Freunde sind als... Flatmates... Mitbewohner. [pauses] Aber... das hat ja bisher nie so richtig funktioniert…

xxxv *Beatrice*: Und ähm… ja, und in der… also, mit meinen Mitbewohnern in [town], das war… glaube ich total nett…. Aber ähm, aber es war irgendwie auch von Anfang an total deutlich, dass es eine andere WG-Kultur, also keine WG-Kultur ist. (…) Nicht keine, aber 'ne, also 'ne andere Art irgendwie zusammen zu wohnen in Shared Flats. ähm… Und zwar irgendwie… bin.. bin ich, war ich das gewöhnt, ähm, weiß ich nicht, zusammen zu kochen und zusammen zu frühstücken, oder… (…) ähm und in [town] also… war das schon alles total nett und freundlich aber weniger ähm Nestwär- also weniger, hmm, so zusammen… so 'nen Zusammengefühl. Genau, jeder macht sein eigenes Ding und das ist auch total, also ich hab keinen Ersatz… ich such keine Ersatzfamilie in einer WG. Aber ich sehe WG als ähm, als sozusagen eine Alternative zu, ähm, irgendwie, ähm … ordinary… also so Paarsituationen z.B. Also ich seh' des, ich ähm… seh das sch- als alternative Lebensform. Und… äh. ja. Und in Berlin ist das viel mehr selbstverständlich ähm… und klar, also es war viel selbstverständlicher für mich und ich hab sozusagen in der ersten Zeit deutlich gemerkt, dass es gar… dass es für andere Leute gar nicht so selbstverständlich ist. und das war irgendwie… also da musste ich mich eingewöhnen.

xxxvi *Sandra*: Ahm... ja, also, Zuhause gibt's glaub' ich grad gar nicht... (…) Vielleicht ist das aber auch wohnungsbedingt, ich glaube wenn ich hier meine eigene Wohnung hätte, dann wär das was anderes, ähm... dann könnte ich schalten und walten wie ich will, und mich benehmen wie ich will, ich muss keine Rücksicht auf irgendwelche doofen Mitbewohner nehmen...

xxxvii *Elena*: Dann bin ich in 'ne WG mit Deutschen gezogen [pauses] was ich eben nicht wollte, ich bin immer noch so neee und uah, und du musst doch mal so'n bisschen mehr ähm dich... so integrieren und so, (...). muss meine Sprache verbessern (...) ich möchte in 'ne gemischteWG, ich möchte auf gar keinen Fall mit anderen Deutschen, aber ich hab mir auch echt wieder Wohnungen angeguckt (...) so die typische Wohnungssuche, eigentlich ist ja alles ganz nett, Zimmer war ok, Mitbewohnerin war Asiatin, war auch ganz sauber und ganz ok, und dann rausgegangen, und draußen vor der Tür kommen die dir Gangmitglieder entgegen, so...also weiste, so Kids halt, (…) ok, dieses Haus ist direkt an 'nem Estate wo's wirklich brutal ist, (...) und ich hatte hier die ganze Zeit

immer so Geschichten, oder das die Leute irgendwie komisch waren... und als ich dann in dieser deutschen WG mich vorgestellt hab war das halt so, naja, wie man's halt so kennt, also so richtig typisch so organisiert, und du kommst dann da vorbei, und dann machen wir das, und alles war sauber, und alles war genau...von keinem zu viel, und überhaupt, und dann hab ich irgendwann gesagt, ok, jetzt zieh ich erstmal hier ein, ja.

[xxxviii] *Malte*: Also ich kenn ja auch Einstiegsgehälter, im Bankbereich, und…dann hast du ja gar keine Wahl als dir… als, ähm… als hier Flatsharing zu machen, aber… ja…ähm… (…) also ich konnt' dann eben auch, sag ich mal, dann schon mit 'nem Gehalt rüberkommen mit dem ich mir dann auch 'ne Wohnung leisten konnte.

[xxxix] *Daniel*: Was ich definitiv gedacht habe, dass… auf Arbeitsebene, also mit den Kollegen… mehr privater Kontakt entsteht, (...) ähm… die Leute… vielleicht auch weil's auch wegen des Geldes, was sie verdienen, nicht in London wohnen können, richtig weit ausserhalb wohnen, und die sind dann auch relativ… schnell wieder in ihren vororten verschwunden… passiert nicht häufiger wie einmal… einmal im Monat dass man überhaupt 'ne kleine Gruppe zusammenkriegt… und das, das hatte ich mir anders vorgestellt, weil ich's auch irgendwo anders kannte…

[xl] *Hannah*: ... Aähm... irgendwie... ja... wollt ich Engländer kennen lernen, was mir ja bis heute nicht so wirklich geglückt ist. aber... ja... das war ja das ... (...)
Interviewer: Und ähm, stört dich das, dass du nicht so viele Engländer kennst?
Hannah: Aäh... was heisst stören... ich... hätte es gerne anders, ja... ja.
Interviewer: Einfach um Briten zu kennen?
Hannah: Ja, einfach um auch tatsächlich noch mehr Einblick in die Mentalität zu bekommen, ne.. ja. Weil die Engländer mit denen ich eng... äh, mit denen ich enger bin, das sind in der Regel die, die selber schon mal im Ausland waren, weil die einfach meine Situation besser verstehen können und auch grundsätzlich einfach offener sind…

[xli] *Lasse*: …und insofern isses eigentlich auch da wieder fast lustig dass man da (…) wieder zusammensitzt, ja, und... Ja, ist halt irgendwie in 'nem Londoner Set-up, und irgendwie klar isses hier irgendwie, du kaufst in Pfund ein, du redest Englisch, aber... ansonsten ist das irgendwie alles so wie früher halt auch. Und .. also... es nimmt sich da jetzt nicht wirklich viel.
[xlii] *Lasse*: Ich fühl mich auf jeden Fall so characterlich und ähm und so weiter halt Deutsch... ich fühl mich mit Sicherheit nicht Englisch... ich fühl mich ja in 'nem gewissen Rahmen... also international natürlich, klar, oder auch als, in dem Sinne, als überzeugter Europäer, ähm... aber... ähm... ne.(…) was man natürlich schon hat ist einfach so ne... (…) so'ne Perspektive, die irgendwie.. naja doch schon irgendwie n bisschen drüber hinaus geht, weil man halt einfach mehrere Sachen gesehen hat, ähm... (…) wenn du dir London anschaust, klar ist 'ne internationale Metropole (...) im Vergleich dazu, (…) in Deutschland besucht (...) ja, 's kommt dir das alles sehr, ist das alles so'n bisschen sehr... ähm (...) kommt dir halt alles irgendwie so'n bisschen kleinbürgerlich vor, ne?

xliii *Lasse*: …ist halt so'n bisschen [in South Kensington] dieses... dieses typische... dies typische, wie sagt man, ähm... naja Expat ist das falsche Wort, weil man ist ja kein Expat in dem Sinne, aber... es hat schon halt so'n bisschen dieses international community... international community-Leben, ja... also ich meine du... du guckst aus dem Fenster auf den Hof der französichen Schule, du gehst beim französischen Bäcker einkaufen, du gehst Kaffeetrinken beim Italiener, ähm, und,... äh ja lässt dir dein Brot aus Deutschland schicken ähm, ja?

xliv *Hannah*: Und mir ham immer alle komischerweise erzählt mein Englisch wäre so fantastisch, ja, aber das war ja *überhaupt* nicht der Fall, das ist ja nun auch was was ich dann erst hier begriffen hab, dass, ähm... dass das eigentlich ziemlich erbärmlich war [lacht] (...) aber das ist einfach die englische Höflichkeit, ne, du kriegst so viel positives Feedback wie fantastisch dein Englisch sei dass du's irgendwann selber so glaubst, ja? [lacht] Ich kam ja hierher und dachte mein Englisch ist toll, ähm... und dann hab ich erst peu a peu gemerkt: oh. mein. Gott. Ich verstand die Leute nich, äh, ich verstand die Witze sowieso schon mal gar nicht [lacht] (...) äh, ich war auch nicht schnell genug (...) aber es hat sich dann auch relativ schnell doch ähm verbessert, ne, aber das war echt 'n hammereinstieg, (...) das war schlimm... also, weil damit hatt ich auch nicht gerechnet, ich war ja nun so stolz, dass ich so mutig gewesen war, ne, und dann plötzlich… (...) und ähm, das hat dann total an meinem Selbstwertgefühl genagt, also diese Euphorie und dieses Positive war dann plötzlich hh...ausge... äh... löscht durch diese... dieses... diese nagenden Selbstzweifel, ne.

xlv *Hannah*: Das macht dann ganz viel mit dir. (...) [laughs] und dann...sch... scheidet sich eben die Spreu vom Weizen. ne? Die einen gehen dann zurück nach Deutschland und sagen, das war echt 'ne Scheisszeit und ähm, also... nie wieder, und die anderen sagen, nee nee, das zieh ich jetzt durch hier, und die profitieren dann auch enorm davon, also.. ich bin... dann auch... auf persönlicher Ebene unheimlich gewachsen.

xlvi *Sandra*: Nja. Ich hatte ja nun überhaupt noch gar keine Ahnung als ich hier zu (…) gekommen bin, so... welche Gegenden, und so... hab mich vorher auch echt nicht erkundigt, weil ich nicht wusste dass das möglicherweise notwendig ist [laughs] und dann bin ich mit Sack und Pack da angekommen... an der Lewisham... station, die ham... die ham ne Railway. Ham die, ne Anbindung. ähm... stand dann da am Bahnhof, ähm... da sind mir nur Schwarze über den Weg gelaufen, und ich hab mir gedacht... ist hier irgendwo 'n Nest? [laughs] (…) Meine Mitbewohner waren ja dann auch schwarz... aähm... zumindestens sie meinte, äh, sie hatte das dann in ihrer Anzeige, (…) und meinte dann ja, black french girl und so... ja, soweit war das auch in Ordnung aber irgendwie... nä, in n schwarz... schwarzes Viertel würde ich wahrscheinlich nicht ziehen.

xlvii *Elena*: Das war in der Nähe von der Edgware Road (…) Gja...die ist auch ganz schrecklich die Gegend (...) Also meine Mitbewohner und ich war'n die einzigen blo... äh... blonden Frauen dort, im Umkreis von 10 km, hmm...[pauses] ich war in 'nem Schönheitsstudio wo eigentlich keine westlichen Leute reindurften, aber die hab'n mich aufgenommen weil sie wussten das ich da halt wohne, ähm, in der Nähe ... und ich glaube ich war jeden Morgen auch die einzige unverschleierte Frau die bei uns die

Strasse langlief, und da kommt man sich irgendwie immer vor wie ein Steak was da irgendwie die Strasse langläuft, wo alle Männer.... weil die Männer... aber es sagt ja natürlich keiner was, die sind sehr ...rücksichtsvoll, und die versuchen sich halt zurückzuhalten.

[xlviii] *Tilman*: Zum Beispiel einer meiner besten Kumpels is'n Schwarzer aus ähm... aus'n Westindies, (unverständlich), das war auch einer meiner ersten Gehversuche, so... ich hab' n Friseur gesucht (…) ähm, ja, also... dann bin ich damals in Ostlondon auf diesen Krystallfields Market in äh... in Tower Hamlets, da so die Gegend (…) und dann stand da so 'n Schild, Ebony Hairstyule, ich dann so ah ja gut, sieht halt so'n bisschen schäbig aus, aber joh, ist halt London, gehste einfach mal rein,(…) ich hab dann natürlich das wort Ebony, war mir gar nicht so bewusst, und dann hab ich die Tür aufgemacht, und dann war mir auch klar, warum's Ebony Hairstyle heisst, da waren nämlich... da waren dann ungefähr 20 Leute drin, und ich war der einzigste Weisse der da wahrscheinlich... seit 20 Jahren seinen Fuss da rein gesetzt hat [lacht], und mir war das erst total peinlich, ich stand so in der Tür drin, gucken mich so an, was willst n du hier, und ich so, äh, tschuldigung, ich glaub ich bin hier falsch, und er so äh ja was willst n du, und ich so jah, äh haircut, und so ja, komm rein, alles klar usw., und das war dann auch dieser Typ, der hat damals so gesagt, ja, komm rein, und bla, hab dich nicht so, was weiss ich, dann sass ich neben dem, (...) ja, und dann kannten wir uns einfach und dann ...und ich bin dann mit dem rumgelaufen und so, und dann so irgendwann hat er gemeint, ja, hier haste nicht ma Bock 'n Joint zu rauchen, dann hab ich gesagt, ja, klar, dann ham wir irgendwie da 'nen Joint zusammengeraucht, und seitdem...

[xlix] *Lasse*: das ist super, ne, also mein Team, da ist 'n Russe, hinter mir sassen bis vor kurzem Schweden die sind jetzt weg, dann sitzt da 'n Italiener, mein Boss ist 'n Engländer, (…) dann noch 'n Engländer und 'n Ami, also... ist echt so die ganze Bandbreite, ja...

[l] *Elena*: Also ganz viele von meinen Freunden sind deutsch...ähm... das ist schwierig... also ich hab, ich mach schon ... ne, aber wenige sind Engländer. Die meistens sind deutsch oder französisch, oder... irgend'ne andere Nationalität...

[li] *Claudia*: Dass du hier einfach... sehr viel offener bist, ähm, sehr viel mehr über ähm... andere... (…) Kulturen... weisst, glaub ich, das schon... ähm... Was ich... immer wieder lustig finde, also du hast ja Meng auch gesehen jetzt am Sonntag, ... und für mich war das jetzt eigentlich gar nicht sowas Besonderes, dass sie eben zwar chinesicher Abstammung ist, aber eben in Deutschland aufgewachsen ist, (…) aber dann... war vor zwei Wochen,ähm, die Mutter von [guy from church] auch da, die dann eben gleich irgendwie gefragt hat, ja, woher können Sie so gut Deutsch? Und das ist halt so 'ne Frage, das ist wie wenn du irgend'nen Inder fragst woher kannst du so gut Englisch oder so?

[lii] *Sandra*: Also Apfelmus (...) Zahnpasta lass ich mir immer mitschicken. (...) ja eigentlich Süssigkeiten. Tonnen von Süssigkeiten. (....) TAMPONS! Meine Mama hat mir Tampons... Echt. Die verkaufen hier kein o.b. [German brand], dabei sollten die die

echt importieren. Ich glaube die würden hier reissenden Absatz finden. (...) schreib auf, das musst du... !!

liii *Beatrice*: Weil ich glaube ich vermiss… ähm… es gibt schon Leute, die ich vermiss. Ähm… (…) ich vermisse die Art Freundschaft, die ich mit ihnen hab. (…) Und des könnte sein, dass das… des in Anführungsstrichen eine deutsche Art ist, Freundschaften zu haben. Also z.B. stundenlang in der Küche zu sitzen, Tee zu trinken und zu quatschen. Ähm… Oder zusammen Frühstücken zu gehen. Oder so. (…) Und mit Sarah zum Beispiel habe ich 'ne relativ deutsche Freundschaft. Also wir sitzen oft rum und quatschen.

liv *Sven*: Schwierig zu sagen, also ich muss sagen, ich ich ich, ich meide, ich meide Deutsche im Ausland, äh, wenn ich so auf der Strasse bin, wenn ich im Cafe bin und dann setz ich mich, wenn ich seh da sitzen Deutsche, dann setz ich mich nicht daneben, einfach weil ich da kein Interesse dran hab, ich will eigentlich kein… ich bin bewusst im Ausland und möchte das auch… möcht' das dann auch um mich rum haben,

lv *Interviewer*: Und hast du viel Kontakt hier mit anderen Deutschen?

Henrik: Interessante Frage. Ähm... bis vor 'nem halben Jahr würde ich sagen, fast Null. Und das war auch nicht ungewollt, weil ich einfach der Meinung war, dass ich mich hier als Deutscher... äh... nicht unbedingt mit den anderen Deutschen assoziieren muss, dann sass ich komischerweise neben Lea im Flugzeug, und seitdem äh, find ich nur noch Deutsche die sag ich jetzt mal, ähm... ja, Freunde werden und mit denen ich Zeit verbrindge (...) Das klappte eigentlich auch ohne den deutschen Dreundedkreis ganz gut. (…) aber ich hatte dieses Gefühl vorher wirklich nicht, dass mir da was fehlt, dass wir uns jetzt zum Schwarzbrotbacken irgendwie zusammensetzen müssen, ja.

lvi *Interviewer*: Und bist du fuer 'nen bestimmten Job hier ruebergekommen?

Sven: Ich bin aus völlig freien Stücken hierhergekommen, ich hatte in Deutschland 'nen sicheren Job, und 'nen unbefristeten Arbeitsvertrag, und hab den einfach gekündigt, weil ich keine Lust mehr hatte, und mir dann... hab mir dann hier was gesucht. Also es war, äh... es war keine... keine Notwendigkeit, es... ich bin auch kein Expat oder sowas, sondern ich hab mir das wirklich aus... aus völlig freien... ich dachte, wenn ich's mach, dann mach ich's jetzt, weil ich das schon lange vorhatte, ich wollte schon lange ins Ausland gehen. (...) Das war alles Eigeninitiative. (…)

Interviewer: Du hattest gemeint, dass du dich nicht als Expat siehst. Was macht für dich so'n Expat aus?

Sven: Also soweit ich weiss definiert sich 'n Expat ja dadurch, dass er... dass er von ner Firma gesendet wurde und, äh, sich für 'ne definierte Zeit im Ausland aufhält und wahrscheinlich 'n deutschen Arbeitsvertrag hat sogar, und dann danach wieder, äh, zurückgeht, und bei mir war's ja so, ich hab mich... ich hab mich ja auf'm englischen Arbeitsmarkt beworben als ganz normaler, als, als Aussenstehender, und hab 'n englischen Arbeitsvertrag und äh hab mit Deutschland im Endefekt überhaupt nichts mehr zu tun, aber auch keine sicherheit wenn ich jetzt wieder zurückgehen würde, dass ich da irgendwie n, irgend... irgend... irgend'n Job bekomm oder 'ne Stelle hab' oder sowas. Und da müsst ich wieder ganz genauso bei Null anfangen oder, ja, mir halt 'n Job suchen.

[lvii] *Sandra*: Es gibt aber auch Leute die (…)… Es gibt Deutsche, wenn se… die frisch hierhergekommen sind... ähm...hab ich zum Beispiel einen kennengelernt... der war 19, ich glaube frisch von der Schule, und er wollte sein ganzes Leben schon mal nach England, in London leben, und der war zwei Wochen hier, hat sich ähm hat keinen Job gefunden, und das war aber sein Traum nach, nach England äh nach nach London zu kommen und hier zu leben, ich glaube der hatte von Null 'ne Ahnung, der hat sich vorher nicht informiert, der ... der war hier vorher noch nicht, äh und wie sich dann wieder rausgestellt hat war der dann zwei Wochen später in Mallorca und hat da gearbeitet als Barmann oder so... also so viel zum Traum... in London leben... ähm...

[lviii] *Henrik*: Ich glaube, das ist wahr... (...) also (...) ich glaube da ist was dran, dass Deutsche... nicht unbedingt die Deutschen vermeiden, aber sie ham n gewisses... wir sind da 'n bisschen strukturierter vielleicht als Volk, und... ich habe viele Deutsche kennengelernt, die wirklich ins Ausland gegangen sind und dachten, ok, ich bin hier für die Sprache, und das mach ich jetzt auch, und das zieh ich durch.... Also dementsprechend hab ich Deutsche nie vermieden, aber ich hab es mitgekriegt, dass Deutsche ... es nicht unbedingt toll finden, wenn man andere Deutsche trifft.

[lix] *Hannah*:Also, ich... ich find das überhaupt nicht schick, wenn jetzt irgendjemand ähm... mit nem englischen Akzent Deutsch spricht plötzlich, und dann immer so ab und an immer englische Wörter einfliessen lässt (…), weil's is unsere Muttersprache, und ich hab den Anspruch dass ich beide Sprachen absolut...äh... ahm fliessend spreche. Das ist mein Ziel, und nich da irgendwie so'n heititei ich bin ja ach so cosmoplitisch ähhh und und, ne? komm doch tatsächlich ins trudeln mit meinen beiden Sprachen...Äh, 's find ich albern, find ich absolut albern. und das beobacht ich auch eigentlich eher bei jungen Deutschen die frisch hier sind, ne, (…) und ich entschuldige das natürlich auch, weil es is ja alles sehr spannend, und äh, is ja auch gut dass die da irgendwie ganz viel für ihr Ego rausziehen, aber es is, eigentlich isses albern [laughs]

[lx] *Tamara*: Ich war in Frankreich und in Japan gewesen, und da hatte ich immer ganz sehr, sehr stark diese Einstellung gehabt, ich will gar nichts jetzt mit Deutschen zu tun haben, weil ich will die Sprache lernen, ich will die Kultur kennenlernen(…) Aber dann hier in London war's einfach so gewesen dass irgendwie... ja, ich hatte hier meinen Master gemacht, da hatte ich ja eh so viele Leute um einen herum, ja wenig Bedarf jetzt irgendwie noch speziell Leute zu suchen, (…) also ich hab eigentlich nie hier nach deutschen Kontakten irgendwie gesucht (…) und dann irgendwann, ganz zufälligerwise, ist echt schon... also ist nicht sooo, das war vielleicht... nachdem ich hier so vier fünf Jahre oder so gewohnt hatte, das war irgendwie ganz zufällig, bin ich auf diese Webseite Deutsche in London gekommen, und dachte so wow, und so, es gibt ja echt viele Treffen und dachte, naja, vielleicht nicht, und vielleicht ja, und bin da mal zu so'nem treffen hingegangen und ich fand's eigentlich ganz nett und bin daraufhin 'ne Weile, auch ne ganze Weile, auch 'n bisschen aktiver hingegangen.

[lxi] *Sven*: Ich weiss zum Beispiel nicht, wo… wa- warum mich dieses, dieses Mittwochstreffen [im Captain's Cabin] nicht wirklich anspricht. (…) es sind irgendwie, aaäh, es, es, es, es scheinen so kleine Grüppchen zu sein die sich schon relativ lange

kennen, und äh, die kleinen… die mir nicht so den Eindruck machen als wenn sie so grosses Interesse hätten da neue Leute zu kennen… kennenzulernen, (…) äh, das find ich beim AWD anders, der AWD hat eher… hat eher so den Character, da kann jeder hinzukommen, und wenn jemand irgendwo steht, dann wird der sofort, äh, eingebunden, und ähm gehört dann dort sofort dazu,…… im Gegensatz zum Zeitgeist, da isses auch nicht so. Da bin ich auch, da muss man sich verabreden, immer zum Zeitgeist, mit jemandem… (…) ich verabrede mich immer um ins Zeitgeist zu gehen mit jemandem, während ich das beim AWD nie mach, da geh ich einfach hin.

[lxii] *Sven*: Ich würde es mir natürlich einerseits irgendwo wünschen, um… um… um einfach auch Einblicke in die Kultur und in das Leben hier zu bekommen, weil ich überhaupt nicht weiss, was eigentlich die Engländer so den ganzen Tag machen, was sie so abends machen oder so, ausser in 'n Pub gehen und sich volllaufen zu lassen, aber auf der anderen Seite, ich forciers jetzt nicht, weil ich hab 'n grosses Umfeld, und ich hätte gar keine Zeit jetzt noch mehr zu machen.

[lxiii] *Interviewer*: Und fuehlst du dich hier integriert?

Lasse: Integriert in der internationalen Gemeinschaft auf jeden Fall, integriert in UK, oder in England in dem sinne, nö. (...) aber... das ist halt so'n Teil der Gesellschaft der jetzt nicht wirklich mir zugänglich wäre, ne. Also die Briten die hier in London sind, die sind halt alle... eigentlich in Anführungszeichen weitestgehend ein Club,... in dem sie auch gesellschaftlich... innerhalb von UK mehr oder weniger... mehr oder weniger isoliert sind, ja, das nämlich dieses ganze Cambridge/Eton/Oxford Gedöns, Oxbridge Club oder wie man das jetzt nennen will, und klar hab ich mit denen professionell irgendwo zu tun, und komm da auch professionell irgendwo mit rein, absolut, überhaupt keine Frage, aber bin ich da so wirklich... bin ich da irgendwo integriert, mit Sicherheit nicht. (...) aus meiner Sicht wollen sie das auch nicht so wirklich, ja, weil die sind halt so oder so diese, weisst du so upper class, diese stiff upper lip, dieses ganze Etonoxbridgegedöns, das sind Leute mit denen ich super so professionell super zu tun haben kann, was mir auch Spass macht, manche klar gibts da immer mal fälle wo man dann doch 'n bisschen mehr mit zu tun hat, logisch, aber ... so nee... so sonst... nicht so.

Interviewer: Und stört dich das?

Lasse: Aäh... also... nö.