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SOCIALISING WITH DIVERSITY

Numerical smallness, social networks and urban superdiversity

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SUMMARY

The notion of superdiversity demands a move beyond an ethno-focal analysis of migration related diversity and calls to analytically incorporate other aspects of diversification, including differential migration, legal status and labour market trajectories. Taking London and Toronto as field locations, this thesis investigates how a superdiversity lens can be operationalised and utilised to discuss migrant socialities in urban contexts. It methodologically explores one particular avenue for doing this - personal social network analysis - to better understand the theoretical and empirical implications of adopting a superdiversity approach. Both qualitative and quantitative analysis strategies are used and particular emphasis is on visualising complex patterns and exploring how starting with complexity as an assumption facilitates the multidimensional analysis a superdiversity lens calls for. Focusing on networks of migrants who in statistical terms are commonly categorised as 'other' – who have relatively few co-migrants in terms of place of origin but who are differentiated in terms of other superdiversity aspects – the thesis questions if and what impact small group size has on patterns of sociality. With this focus it is established that a) the numerical size of the origin group impacts on social activities differently depending on whether one small group is explicitly linked to other pan-ethnic groups or not; b) that sociality patterns of migrants emerge from the complex interplay of general socialising opportunities but are also linked to individual trajectories of migration and settlement; and c) that with a superdiversity lens it is indeed possible to move beyond the ethnic network notion. To support this latter point the thesis explores four alternative ways of describing migrant networks in terms of *city-cohort*, *long-term resident*, *superdiverse* and *migrant-peer networks*. The analysis contributes to theoretical debates by proposing a relational understanding of diversity rather than one based on the enumeration of categories be they ethnic or otherwise.

für Amalia und Fritz Strienitz

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List of abbreviations

GTA – Greater Toronto Area

NG – Name generator

NZ – New Zealand

SNA – Social network analysis

UK – United Kingdom

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Situating *Socialising with diversity*

In studying international migration, it is increasingly recognised that previous models assuming larger, mostly homogenous migration streams from few places to few places are less and less descriptive of social reality. Such models have to be replaced with new ones that recognise the multidimensional ways in which global migrations play a role in processes of social diversification. This is especially true in urban areas where people live in relatively close proximity. If it is assumed that diversity implies a constant negotiation of difference, rather than necessarily a homogenisation of that difference, then the contemporary city is bound to be the locus of an abundance of migration-related diversifications. Yet what does this diversity mean for the way that people socialise, and can diversity be described by inquiring into ways that people in the city are socially interlinked?

While we live in an 'age of diversity' (Vertovec 2012: 287), the social implications of this diversity are not sufficiently understood. In this thesis I aim to contribute to debates about the connection between international migration and diversity. To this end I undertake a theoretical and empirical analysis studying the social networks of individuals who are part of numerically small migrant groups. The notion of superdiversity (Vertovec 2007), which emphasises the many different ways in which migration diversifies (city) populations, and which shines a particular light on recognising smaller groups as part of diversity, is taken in this thesis as a starting point and lens for an empirical analysis of the social relations of Pacific people and NZ Māori living in London (UK) and Toronto (Canada).

Superdiversity encourages us to look beyond simple ethnic explanations of the emergence of different patterns of sociality in cities. Yet, to go further than this, it makes it necessary to develop concrete methodologies for understanding and representing (relational) diversity. Diversity is too frequently talked about in terms of a proliferation of categories, but it would be much more useful for social analytical purposes to talk about it in terms of how those categories are present in *patterns of sociality*.

What do I mean by patterns of sociality? Sociality, describes those 'dynamic social processes in which any person is inevitably engaged' (Toren 2005: 61-62).¹ It implies a 'relational matrix' (Strathern 2005: 53). I here assume that in contexts of urban diversity, sociality brings into contact people of various backgrounds, people who have moved to the city from

¹ I borrow Torren's definition, but I am not here engaging with the key debate from which it arises, asking whether the concept of society is theoretically obsolete.

various places, via different migration, legal status and labour market trajectories.² Social relations forged exemplify different configurations of similarity and difference between people and can be used as a proxy to describe diversity in relational terms. Those configurations are what I refer to as patterns of sociality and in the course of this thesis it will become clear, how I operationalise describing those patterns. In other words, I choose to use the term *patterns of sociality* to refer to the complex social configurations which emerge from *practices of sociality* - the practices of forging and maintaining social ties and groups. In this thesis I demonstrate empirically that such an approach allows for a better or at least a more nuanced understanding of diversity because it foregrounds the multidimensional differences within and between migrant (and non-migrant) groups. The thesis does, however, exclusively focus on *migration-related* diversity and does not attempt to widen the analysis to other aspects now commonly associated with the notion of diversity, such as those of disability or sexuality.

The choice of empirical focus will be discussed at length in Chapter 3 of this thesis, for this introduction and the more conceptual theoretical chapter which follows, let it suffice to say, that both London and Toronto have a high share of foreign born residents and that the population of Pacific people and NZ Māoris in those cities is but a small fraction of this foreign born population. Why I focus on small groups is explained in the next section.

From a small group focus to visualising patterns of sociality

At the outset of this study I had one central question in mind: What networks do migrants with few co-migrants from the same origin form in exceptionally diverse cities? In other words my primary interest at the start of this project was to establish whether migrants who in numerous studies and policy documents were grouped together as 'other', due to their relatively small group size, pose an interesting case study for exploring patterns of sociality in cities marked by diversity. Individuals moving in numerically smaller numbers arguably face particular circumstances in terms of their sociality in highly diverse urban contexts. Would migrants from these smaller groups seek out their few co-migrants from the same country or region of origin or would their social networks reflect the (super)diversity of the city? I hypothesised the latter but found that this question cannot be answered in terms of either/or, but that once the complexities of superdiversity are recognised, both different propensities to seek co-migrants as social contacts and diversity within networks and the city

² I do not assume, however, that all people living in a city have the same likelihood of meeting each other.

as context played an important part in explaining the patterns of sociality I elicited through both qualitative and quantitative data collection.

I contend that patterns of sociality are best studied by eliciting information about social relations and seeking to find how those configurations of difference and similarity can be read in those social relations. I employed the still relatively novel technique - in the field of studying urban diversity at least - of collecting information about the social networks of individual migrants by means of personal network interviews. I combined this with the more established research method of participant observation. Through this I am able to draw a differentiated picture of the social interactions and relations of the migrants in question. Yet why is a numerically small group focus relevant for this investigation?

There is often an implicit assumption in social science research that a focus on publicly debated and large-scale social phenomena is of particular importance in contributing to an evidence-based understanding of social processes and patterns. Funding decisions frequently perpetuate this trend as the social relevance of research has to be immediately recognisable. Theoretically, focusing on less researched migrant cohorts can be supported by arguing that in developing a better understanding of sociality practices and patterns, social relations between individuals taking place at the micro-scale are crucial to grasping larger social phenomena. Even though some of those relations may be framed as 'apparently insignificant[, they] may profitably be subjected to investigation' (Simmel 1909: 313).

Those 'apparently insignificant' relationships include those of migrants from small groups with others from their own origin group, but also those counted into the other smaller and larger groups and into the autochthonous category. However, in studying how migration transforms cities and how people living in those cities interact, for a number of reasons but including the perceived social relevance argument referred to above,³ there has been a frequent focus on migrants who move from particular origins to particular destinations in large numbers. Many studies commence with the argument that the origin group their research focuses on is the Xth largest migrant group living in a particular city and that this

³ For example, the disproportionate visibility of larger groups or their impact on the labour market, but importantly also a group-based language, foregrounds the relevance of ethnic communities (see below and Chapter 5). As I argue in Chapter 2 this can also be attributed to research having for a long time been driven by post-World-War-Two migration patterns marked by new and large migration streams.

contributes to the importance of understanding the social and economic engagement of migrants from those origins in those cities.⁴

There is also a number-crunching argument in favour of studying smaller groups. If we take the example of London, where in 2001 roughly 27 per cent of the population were foreign-born, focusing exclusively on the top 10 most numerous origin groups would imply systematically excluding from the analysis 57 per cent of the foreign-born population and 15 per cent of the total city population.⁵ If the focus were on the top 20 most numerous groups, this would still imply disregarding more than 37 per cent of the foreign-born population and 10 per cent of the total population. This argument certainly becomes less pressing once we move into 'really' small numbers. For example those 100 (out of 191) stated countries of origin that accounted for fewer than 2,000 individuals each in the 2001 census only comprised three per cent of the foreign-born and less than one per cent of the total population. What is usually done is to group those who have come in smaller numbers in the statistical category 'other'. Given how much attention is paid to where larger migrant groups have come from and how internally diverse this 'other' category is, this seems to be wanting in terms of trying to understand the social complexities of living in a city with people of diverse origins.

There is another argument in favour of a small group focus which is of particular relevance to the topic of this research. For studies that analyse post-migration networks, the large group focus seems to have inscribed a number of assumptions into the debate that are not as easily assumed for migrants with fewer co-migrants living in the city. Brettell, for example, cautions that:

'[N]etwork theorists, especially those interested in the problem of ethnicity, assume that networks based on common origins will inevitably emerge. This concept of the urban ethnic community [...] needs careful scrutiny, especially since community [...] is not necessarily inevitable and cannot simply be assumed.' (2003b: 109)

Based on her research with Portuguese migrants in Toronto and Paris, Brettell argues that different city contexts will strongly influence whether increased social interactions of co-nationals develop. Even though she had already issued this caution some 22 years ago

⁴ Examples might be Bangladeshis in London or Portuguese in Toronto.

⁵ Source: Census Commissioned Table: C0413 Country of birth. Available at: <http://data.london.gov.uk/datafiles/demographics/detailed-country-of-birth-2001.xls> [accessed: 26/05/2013] applicable for all data presented in this paragraph.

(Brettell 1981) an overwhelming focus on post-migration networks in terms of ethnic communities still prevailed. In particular, debates about ethnic enclaves frequently take a certain size and institutional completeness (cf. Breton 1964) of different ethnic groups in different cities for granted (e.g. Fong and Ooka 2002; Bashir 2007; Clark and Drinkwater 2002; Warman 2007). Similarly, studies that research ethnic residential segregation (e.g. Simpson 2007; Myles and Hou 2004; Murdie and Ghosh 2010; Kim and White 2010), which is frequently linked to the presence of group networks, also need a particular group size to be able to detect those patterns. A small group focus thus inherently questions some of those assumptions.

This is because 'social networks should be seen in relation to the demographic size of different ethnic-national groups because the statistical chances of relating with somebody from a large group are obviously higher than with a member of a small group or category' (Wimmer 2004a: 16). In the study where Wimmer articulates this argument he asks 'does ethnicity matter' and finds that a direct link between group size and variation in the social networks of different origin groups does not translate. Based on comparing the composition of the social networks of people living in three Swiss neighbourhoods who are of a Swiss, Turkish or Italian background he finds that indeed his respondents do disproportionately engage with others of the same background. Yet he also finds that those patterns are much more complex once other aspects such as 'profession, gender and other non-ethnic variables usually overlooked by the multiculturalist account of immigrant societies' (Wimmer 2004a: 28) are taken into consideration. A superdiversity lens emphasises such a broader engagement with understanding other more or less migration-related aspects in exploring the implications of diversity. This thesis engages with such a wider understanding of migration-related diversity. Again, however, this key study undertaken by Wimmer (2004a) is focused on two numerically larger migrant groups, and the question whether there is something about being small that matters remains an empirical one which this thesis aims to contribute to answering.

Maybe more importantly, by foregrounding the relevance of a diversified diversity in terms of different origins, but also often in terms of different shares of migrant and non-migrant populations living in cities, a small-group focus can challenge another common characteristic of migration studies where post-migration networks are frequently discussed in terms of degrees of social integration. Building on Granovetter(1973) social links to non-migrants are frequently conceptualised as weak ties which imbue migrants with the bridging social capital needed to be incorporated into society (Bommes 2011: 250). Expressed in

simplistic terms, this type of social analysis (e.g. Esser 2001; Ganter 2003) equates the share of non-migrant contacts with the success or failure of migrants to have integrated into a society. The assumptions that underlie this type of research involve linear processes of incorporation and disregard the importance of different origin groups interacting with each other. They are therefore difficult to defend in urban situations marked by a diversified diversity, both of origins but also of other aspects of migration-related processes of diversification such as differential migration, labour market and legal status trajectories. Furthermore, this issue is particularly relevant in urban areas where frequently in excess of 25 per cent of the population are foreign-born (Brenton-Short and Price 2004). Thus there is good reason for moving beyond the ethno-focal analysis of post-migration networks.

This area of research involves yet another massive field of inquiry that is concerned with studying post-migration networks in terms of social capital (for a classic review of the concept see: Portes 1998), this research, when focused on migrants, has in large part also remained ethno-focal in its analysis rather than taking multidimensional population diversification into account. This literature is too vast to review here but what is important in terms of this thesis is that the analytical value of focusing on the social networks of small migrant groups facilitates a) moving beyond some of the assumptions associated with large numbers of co-nationals, such as a certain ethnic infrastructure, and b) in questioning those assumptions it supports the need to first explore multidimensional patterns of migration-related diversity to develop new ways of talking about those networks, before commencing an analysis of how the patterns identified might be relevant in terms of social outcomes.

Exploring those multidimensional patterns implies recognising and grasping the resultant social complexity. This requires innovative approaches to researching those patterns and avoiding the axiomatic conclusion that 'things are more complex' (Hylland Eriksen 2007: 1059). The approach taken in this thesis is to visually represent those complexities and patterns of sociality. To be able to do this, I have to address a number of methodological questions regarding the operationalisation of a superdiversity lens, and ultimately this thesis is not only about individuals moving in small numbers but also about implementing superdiversity in research practices.

This means that the aims of this study are both ambitious and limited. Ambitious because it sets out to present a theoretically and methodologically challenging analysis potentially paving new ground in terms of thinking through the complexities of how migration diversifies cities. Limited, because the research is exploratory and does not provide policy

solutions for how to best regulate urban diversity. Policy in fact remains relatively absent from this analysis. Instead, some possibilities for rethinking current frames for explaining the impacts of migration-related diversity are explored. Thus in contrast to many other studies in the field, this thesis does not aim to tell a story of conflict nor one of social cohesion, but instead focuses on identifying patterns of sociality which at their outset are not necessarily amenable to being framed as a social issue or problem.

Summary of the chapters

This introduction has set out the thesis' foundations in an initial sociological desire to better understand small group patterns of sociality in contemporary cities. The thesis is undertaken in the light of previous research on post-migration social networks, but seeks to accommodate the added complexity brought into the discussion by superdiversity. The analysis of superdiversity is advanced in Chapter 2, which develops the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis. It argues that the notion of 'superdiversity' implies an investigation of diversity that goes well beyond the nature of migration origins and trajectories. To probe the academic value of superdiversity I situate it within broader academic debates, suggesting that it is necessary to distinguish between superdiversity as a malleable social science concept - a set of variables that researchers conjunctively investigate - and superdiversity as a context where these variables play out in complex social patterns. In Chapter 2 I further argue that complexity is an integral aspect of superdiversity and explain why a relational understanding of diversity is necessary to grasp this complexity.

In Chapter 3, I explain how the study of superdiversity is operationalised in relation to small groups by setting out the parameters of the empirical investigation at the heart of the thesis. Here the more focused research questions to be answered in the empirical analysis are presented. The three lines of investigation those questions focus on are: (1) the observable practices of groupness and how these can help to better understand the role of small group size in superdiverse contexts; (2) assuming that people interact with others who are like them, I ask if it possible to find diversity in similarity; and finally (3) I inquire how the complex patterns of sociality elicited can be made sense of to move beyond ethno-focal descriptions of migrant network.

Chapter 3 continues by explaining the logic behind conducting a dual-sited research project and why the novel approach of starting my research with a fuzzy category was chosen. I then go on to explain how this focus was operationalised in terms of sampling. The

emphasis of this chapter is on the exploratory nature of the research, its novelty in terms of subject and research design, and how challenges in sampling were dealt with.

In Chapter 4, I further elaborate the research design by providing a detailed account of how the data analysed in the subsequent chapters was collected using two primary methods: personal network interviews and participant observation. The chapter first explains why the study adopts a mixed methods approach. Then I detail the design of the interview instrument to explain the different types of data elicited and how the design pre-empted potential challenges arising from the uncertainty of sampling based on a fuzzy category. The chapter goes on to discuss the second primary method – participant observation – and the types of data derived from it are presented. I pay particular attention to how participant observation also resulted in self-reflexive fieldnotes and a need to clearly acknowledge the researcher's positionality. The chapter closes with a reflection on ethical challenges and how they were dealt with in practice. Overall the chapter provides an in-depth analysis of how the novel method of personal network elicitation was combined with the long-established method of participant observation.

In Chapter 5, I contrast the two cities where research was conducted – London and Toronto – and discuss how they can be understood as two distinct contexts of superdiversity but also as a number of nested contexts of superdiversity. This recognises that the city should not replace the nation in a container model of society (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002) and that different areas of any city are differently effected by the impacts of migration. The broader aim of the chapter is to show that superdiversity as a context implies looking beyond the variables that are associated to the notion. For this study this implies that the superdiverse contexts have to be understood in relation to: (1) prevalent representations of diversity and the resulting imaginaries of being social in a diverse city; (2) how their particular migration regimes, both historically and in contemporary times have impacted on the multifacetedness and temporalities of diversity in the city; (3) how a differentiated spatiality of sociality is evident both cities; (4) and how the cities as a social context are differently perceived. Those contextual parameters are deducible from fieldwork observations and the ways in which respondents reflected on their experiences of living in the cities. The conclusion of the chapter thus sketches the cities as two contexts of superdiversity that have a number of aspects in common but also diverge in other important aspects.

Chapter 6 is the most ethnographic chapter of the thesis. It engages with the question of whether group size matters to individual migrants, and more importantly how groupness

(Brubaker 2002) is practiced amongst my interlocutors. The literature used to make sense of the data in this chapter is focused around pan-ethnicity. I develop the notion of *migrating labels* to explain why we might expect Pacific people and New Zealand Māori to be socially interlinked in the city. I argue that on the one hand groupness is practiced situationally but on the other hand it is also linked to group size. However, group size matters, not as it is understood in census category terms but more in relation to the presence or absence of social links between groups because those links relativise the numerical size of the 'group'. The chapter thus explores the situational fusions and fissions of groupness in the two cities' contexts of superdiversity.

Moving away from an origin/background-focused analysis and introducing the network concept of homophily which suggests that people are more likely to be socially acquainted with people who are like them, Chapter 7 explores patterns of similarity and difference among my respondents and their social contacts. First the potential for diversity in their networks is established, and then two measures of differentiation are estimated and discussed (homophily and index of qualitative variation). The chapter concludes by visually representing the complexity of similarity patterns between the personal networks of my respondents and thus points to the possibility of describing diversity through sameness. Here a novel way of representing diversity is used, a heat map that allows to visually relay the described complexity.

Not content with the conclusion that 'things are more complex' as a possible reading of Chapter 7, Chapter 8 takes the homophily values from that chapter and incorporates them in a fuzzy cluster analysis to determine what types of similarity patterns can be distinguished, and how those different groupings of patterns allow for a different rhetoric about individuals' post-migration networks and relational diversity. Four clusters of socialising patterns are identified which I call *city-cohort*, *long-term resident*, *superdiverse* and *migrant-peer networks*. The clusters are discussed in light of how they can be interpreted towards a more nuanced discussion of individual post-migration networks.

The concluding chapter – Chapter 9 – first summarises the empirical insights developed in Chapters 6 to 8 and then links them to the initially more conceptual and methodological part of the thesis. I can thus evaluate how the empirical analysis that grew from my conceptual interests can advance the debate on migration-related diversity in urban superdiverse contexts. Future research directions emerging from my analysis are discussed and point to the merit of further developing the three main themes that run through my thesis:

conceptually and methodologically advancing the notion of superdiversity, querying the question of small group size and developing a relational understanding of diversity.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

The nexus between migration and superdiversity: towards a relational diversity

In the introduction to this thesis I proposed the notion of superdiversity as a useful lens for studying the social implications of migration for contemporary cities. This was done based on the argument that thinking about migration-related diversity through a superdiversity lens requires researchers to look beyond ethno-focal explanations of the emergence of different social patterns in cities. This is even more so in cities where diversity has become the norm and is no longer perceived as the exception. Yet, few studies have so far explored how superdiversity can be operationalised in empirical research and how the idea can be better theorised. In this chapter, I critically explore how superdiversity has been adopted, where it stands in relation to contemporary debates at the intersection between migration and ethnic and racial studies⁶ and why I contend that the social complexity inherent in explorations of superdiversity can suitably be investigated by focusing on patterns and practices of sociality. Through this exploration I am able to clearly delineate my epistemological standpoint - based on ideas from the complexity literature which foregrounds contingencies over certainties - and my ontological position, based on notions of 'becoming' as part of a relational understanding of the social.

The following theoretical explorations form a basis for the empirical research in the subsequent chapters. The arguments made are thus inevitably abstract. They should be understood as one way – amongst others – to think through superdiversity before setting out to operationalise it in a small-scale study. The case study that follows later in this thesis contributes to filling a research gap by empirically investigating what the implications of superdiversity might be for our understanding of processes of (urban) diversification and, importantly, patterns of sociality in contexts of migration-related diversity.

According to Vertovec (2007), superdiversity refers to the multiple axes of differentiation that must *simultaneously* be taken into account when researching (migration-related) diversity. This is a highly challenging notion, and one that has potential to radically transform our understanding of migration and population diversity, and its social implications. The term

⁶ The distinction between the two areas of research is obviously blurred; I am here referring to migration studies in its variant concerned mostly with people's motivations and patterns of movement and to ethnic and racial studies as concerned mostly with post-migration social configurations.

has, at least in the British context, already moved into public use (e.g. Hill 2007; Odone 2012; Vertovec 2005). Yet while the notion does have the potential to transform the dominant approach to discussing migration-related diversity, and encourages us to consider novel methods and approaches to thinking about social complexity, this potential has barely been realised to date in published research. Therefore a clear analysis of its potential – theoretically and empirically – and the challenges involved in operationalising superdiversity research is needed.

To do this I first review the origin of the term and its subsequent uptake in academic literature. I then discuss possible difficulties and theoretical challenges in operationalising superdiversity. In this critical discussion I develop the argument that in drawing on a superdiversity lens it is important to distinguish between superdiversity as a malleable social scientific concept; a set of interrelated variables; and as a social context. Following this discussion I situate the notion of superdiversity first within and between the migration and ethnic and racial studies literatures and secondly within broader shifts in social scientific research and the study of social complexity more generally. Finally, I propose a relational understanding of configurations of diversity as one approach to grounding explorations of superdiversity in the practices of migrants living in cities. The aim of this chapter is to fuel discussions about the need to conceptually develop superdiversity and the difficulties associated with this task, as well as to establish how empirical analysis later in this thesis might contribute to overcoming those difficulties.

The (academic) use of superdiversity

Since Vertovec published his article ‘Super-diversity and its implications’ in 2007, the term ‘super-diversity’ has received significant attention. There have been major conferences on the topic⁷ and large research budgets have been granted to projects with the term in their title.⁸ In August 2012, Ethnic and Racial Studies listed Vertovec’s article as its most read and its second most cited with a total of 83 citations. This is no minor feat given that the article which was listed as most cited (Portes et al. 1999) had been published some eight years previously. Reviewing those papers citing the Vertovec article and focusing on the paragraph where the citation was made as well as on those text sections that referenced the term ‘super[-]diversity’, I could discern four types of papers: (1) those using the term solely as

⁷ see: <http://livingindiversity.eu/> ; <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/events/forthcoming/ethnography-diversity-urban-space-conference/>; http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/UDRW/images/items/even_28227_412412001.pdf; and forthcoming: <https://www.jyu.fi/en/congress/superdiversity> [all accessed: 12/10/2012].

⁸ Two such projects are: <http://www.geog.leeds.ac.uk/projects/livedifference/>; <http://www.cies.iscte.pt/en/projectos/ficha.jsp?pkid=431> [all accessed: 12/10/2012].

a catch-phrase without any definition or otherwise making clear why they used it over a more general notion of diversity (15 per cent); (2) those that used the term to denote heightened ethnic diversity (38 per cent); (3) those that made reference to it emphasising the need to recognise the multidimensionality of diversity (41 per cent); and finally (4) just four papers (6 per cent) which actively engaged with the ideas outlined in Vertovec's paper and operationalised them by *simultaneously* looking at different aspects of diversification (Knowles 2012; Sepulveda et al. 2011; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Dahinden 2009).⁹ I do not want to do injustice to the first two sets of papers, which mostly present very insightful analysis. However, I do want to suggest that six years after first being introduced as a concept, superdiversity has been referred to by many, but actively operationalised by only relatively few authors.

Even amongst the four papers that in my view operationalise superdiversity in a way that accounts for multidimensional differences and their simultaneous impacts, there are significant variances in how the papers draw on the superdiversity notion. Knowles first sees superdiversity as a 'descriptor of UK society' (2012: 1) and then engages in a compelling analysis of Nigerian London through one hyper-visible and one invisible church. She critiques superdiversity for not paying sufficient attention to spatialities but remedies that critique by showing how the many layers of migration-related diversification can be read through the spatiality of the city and through the journeys people undertake in the city. I think her most compelling argument for my own analysis is that superdiversity is not always immediately visible, but that often scratching at the surface already reveals multiple layers of differentiation.

Sepulveda, Syrett and Lyon focus their empirical operationalisation on a 'contextualised analysis of new migrant enterprise activity within London' (2011: 475). They compile an extensive array of evidence documenting a) how new migrant entrepreneurs face common problems but are also highly differentiated in terms of their different statuses and experiences and b) that this results in a perpetually changing new migrant entrepreneur landscape in the city. What is intriguing about their analysis is how they interweave the impacts of a diversified diversity with recognising the specific challenges faced by migrants from smaller origin populations in entering London's economic playing field.

⁹ These percentages are based on 66 papers published between 2007 and 2012. There was a fifth kind of paper which cited Vertovec (2007) but did not use the word 'superdiversity' (17 papers). The papers are only those listed on the Ethnic and Racial Studies website as citing Vertovec (2007). Clearly it is not a complete list of publications citing the article. The full list of articles and how they were sorted is provided in Appendix 1.

Creese and Blackledge (2010) take their analysis beyond the context of London and investigate linguistic practices of young Bengali speakers in Birmingham. Linguistics is an area of research where the superdiversity notion seems to be particularly eagerly adopted (Blommaert and Rampton 2012) and Creese and Blackledge (2010) conclude from their analysis that a superdiversity lens by 'putting language under the microscope but also in context [can uncover] at least some of Bakhtin's thousands of living dialogic threads' (2010: 570) and make them accessible for researchers' interpretations. With their analysis they particularly emphasise the importance of history and geography as influencing individual language practices and the need to disentangle the impacts of the multiple variables linked to this. Although language does not feature heavily in my own analysis, the intricateness of the interrelation of multiple variables is also central (see below).

Dahinden (2009) in her paper sees superdiversity more as a 'condition' that shapes social relations in the small Swiss city of Neuchâtel. Yet in the operationalisation of her study of transnational links emanating from the city, she does implement a de-nationalised design that takes a number of aspects linked to superdiversity into account. Thus, she distinguishes between different non-ethnically defined ideal types of local residents and discusses the different forms of transnationalisms they practice. I thus see her study as a thought provoking operationalisation of superdiversity, as her findings suggest that, despite the complexity of multiple variables, ethnicity and nationality still have a place in understanding the different transnationalisms she identifies.¹⁰

To a degree the different uses and divergent operationalisation of the term superdiversity can be explained by briefly reviewing the original article that introduced it.¹¹ Vertovec commences his paper by emphasising that: '[i]n the last decade the proliferation and mutually conditioning effects of additional variables shows that it is not enough to see diversity in terms of ethnicity' (Vertovec 2007: 1025). The additional factors he points to are (1) immigration statuses (2) labour market experiences (3) age and gender profiles (4) patterns of spatial distribution and (5) local area responses to new migrants (Vertovec 2007: 1025). This interplay of factors is what he terms *super-diversity*. These aspects are not new

¹⁰ In another paper, not yet included in the citation list in August 2012, Dahinden (2013) moves this analysis to understanding local social links. This study has compelling resonances with my own analysis. I will make reference to in Chapter 8.

¹¹ I acknowledge that the term superdiversity has been used elsewhere and that it is possible that this word combination has been used to refer to either similar or completely different ideas. The focus here is exclusively on Vertovec's conceptualisation of the term.

in research on the social consequences of international migration, but they are rarely afforded simultaneous attention.

Those assertions are then empirically substantiated in the article by looking at the case of the United Kingdom and specifically focusing on London to demonstrate how there has been a proliferation of possible trajectories in all of these kinds of diversity, primarily caused by new/recent migration patterns and policy responses to those patterns (or the lack thereof). Drawing on a range of data sources Vertovec shows how diverse London's population is. Here he focuses extensively on 'ethnicity-related' aspects spanning country of origin, language use and religious differentiation while the experiences and positionings of migrants with regard to rights and responsibilities, migratory pathways followed and transnational links maintained, are discussed somewhat more briefly. This is clearly a reflection of available data but the imbalance in empirical material might explain why so many articles pick up the notion to refer to an increased diversity of (ethnic) backgrounds, rather than acknowledging the multidimensionality of other interrelated aspects which Vertovec also documents.

A space for small numbers

Even though the superdiversity notion clearly implies a multidimensional appreciation of processes of diversification, it ought to be recognised that the now often-cited ethnic diversification of diversity already constitutes a shift in thinking about the social implications of migration. This move stands in contrast with a significant share of the earlier literature on migration and cities which primarily was focused on larger migrant groups (e.g. Alexander 2000; Dench et al. 2006; Smith and Eade 2008; Fong and Ooka 2006; Haan 2005; Berns McGown 1999b; Myles and Hou 2004; Preston et al. 2006). Most commonly, those migrants are defined by their ethnic origin, are highly visible and/or are perceived as impacting the host societies as quasi-consolidated groups, both in the popular imagination and in academic opinion. This preoccupation with an understanding of migrants in urban areas as composed of neatly separable groups, whose members can be given support and funding based on the size of the group and their resulting ability to mobilise, has dominated, and to a degree still is dominating, the policy discourse on questions regarding the 'management' of migration-related diversity. Yet it stands in opposition to theoretical advances that repeatedly emphasise the need to move beyond conceptions of groups as bounded and to recognise degrees of 'groupness' (here importantly the contributions of Brubaker 2002; Brubaker 2003 are seminal and picked up for central discussion in Chapter 6 of this thesis).

Accounts that emphasise boundary-making processes and their relevance for social interactions are also important (e.g Barth 1969; Wimmer 2008; Dahinden 2013).

The first step is recognising ethnic diversification in terms of those migrants with origins in places that usually are associated with the statistical category 'other', which should be seen as an important shift in the debate. This implies recognition of a social landscape altered - if only in part - by international migration that no longer resembles the post-second-world-war patterns that understandably were at the centre of migration scholars' attention in the previous decades (King 2002) but which also ought to be treated with caution to avoid the tendency to homogenize these different migration streams (DeBock under review).

A focus on small groups in studying superdiversity – or in other words a focus on those migrants usually counted as 'other', thus gains in relevance both as a way to theoretically understand the importance of groupness and group size, and in empirically contributing studies on migrants from those 'other' origins. However, with regard to the multidimensionality of differentiations there is more to superdiversity, as the next section explores.

Debating superdiversity

Generally Vertovec's notion of superdiversity has been adopted with little critical discussion – after all, suggesting that things are more complex is appealing in a research climate where uncertainties and difficulties with classifications of any kind have become standard parlance (for a very assertive position on this: Fanshawe and Srisakandarajah 2010). Simultaneously overemphasising hybridity and fleetingness is met with varied experiences and practices of living amongst and being part of that social complexity (cf. Calhoun 2003 articulating this argument with reference to ethnic groups). One of the few critical readings of the notion I have come across is articulated by Anthias, who in referring to the notion of superdiversity, points out that:

It is important to note, however, that diversity in society exists at multiple levels and not only in terms of minority ethnic or migrant groups, and therefore the recognition of differentiated and complex migrant statuses and locations is only one facet of social "diversity". Clearly, diversity and social solidarity are not incompatible. But of course all hinges on this slippery, and I believe unsatisfactory, concept of diversity that elides so much together and speaks with so many tongues. (Anthias 2012: 105)

Anthias' reading implies two points that deserve further attention: firstly that the meaning of diversity in relation to superdiversity is underexplored (superdiversity thus speaks too many tongues). Secondly, the notion of superdiversity is overly migration focused (it does not speak enough tongues, or neglects some).

Vertovec's description of the notion of superdiversity indeed centres around migration and its assumed transformative role in social constellations. This does give the concept focus but also opens it to critiques. Suggesting that previous research is overly ethnicity-focused and then pursuing a research agenda that is strongly framed by the impacts of migration can be a point of contention. This however depends on how that migration focus is conceptualised. Next I want to discuss both points of critique and bring a third related but more practical concern into my discussion - whether the notion of superdiversity is pitched too broadly to allow for empirical research. I argue that all three points of potential criticism – the lack of a definition of diversity, the centrality of migration and the otherwise unbounded ethos of the notion – have to be taken seriously; but that if researchers adopting a superdiversity lens are clear about their own positioning and how they use the notion, this does not pose a serious problem for the notion's continued relevance.

The meaning of diversity, the scope of superdiversity and its migration bias

The notion of superdiversity is obviously tightly bound up with the idea of diversity. It is therefore surprising that Vertovec's original article does not attempt to delimit what diversity means in relation to superdiversity. The different uses and meanings of diversity had already proliferated at the time the term superdiversity came into usage (cf. Squires 2006). Even if for practical purposes we here disregard the many popular appropriations of the term, the academic use of diversity and understandings of what is at stake in studying it are quite varied.¹² Scholars conceptually discuss ideas about social differentiation in a number of ways including through the prism of pluralism (Connolly 2007; Grillo 2004), heterogeneity (Faist 2010) or social complexity (Hylland Eriksen 2007; Hannerz 1992). All of these debates can be linked to the analysis of diversity and consequently there are a number of ways of thinking about it. The term diversity defies definition, or in other words, it always demands qualification. One can argue that this ambiguity makes it difficult to study diversity. An alternative argumentation would be that the multiple meanings and academic uses of diversity offer different entry points to the debate.

¹² One database of different views can be found in the mpi mmg Diversity Interviews: <http://www.mmg.mpg.de/en/special-output/interviews/> [accessed: 01/09/12].

It is important to point out that by invoking the term diversity we do not necessarily always mean the same thing. In delimiting superdiversity Vertovec refers to specific, more or less migration-related aspects¹³, which he shows have become more, or at least differently, diverse in recent times. An abundance of other aspects can be framed either as part of one of those Vertovec points to¹⁴, or potentially as separate ones that ought to be considered when studying superdiversity.¹⁵ The bottom line is that the current conceptualisation of superdiversity allows for incorporating further aspects into analysis than those originally named. This means that there is always the pressing question: is the scope of what superdiversity refers to operationalisable in empirical research, or is the notion riddled with the difficulty of trying to address too much and as a result not able to address anything in particular? In intersectionality research, this is referred to as the 'etcetera' problem (cf. Villa 2011) or the black-boxing effect (cf. Lykke 2011). Taking the arguments made in this very similar area of research into account suggests that limiting what is 'in' superdiversity would not make the concept more precise or useful for future research. Instead it would avoid recognising the rhizomatic interconnections of aspects that are relevant in different contexts (Lykke 2011: 211-2).¹⁶

Both the difficulty with the ambiguity of what diversity stands for and the (in principle) boundless scope of what is 'in' superdiversity – what comprises a superdiversity lens – can be addressed by clearly distinguishing between superdiversity as a social scientific concept, superdiversity as a set of interrelated variables/aspects (things in the world, if you will) and superdiversity as a social context. These 'variables' can only be meaningful if we can show that they describe difference in a way that has – or at least is presumed to have – some social implications. I want to add to this that aspects of superdiversity should be understood in a broad sense and that the variables of differentiation may and should go beyond exploring the heterogeneity of static categories. This 'presence' of multiple axes of differentiation implies that we can speak of differently constituted contexts of superdiversity, where

¹³ Including migration, labour market and legal status trajectories, etcetera.

¹⁴ For example currently ideas such as 'migration trajectory' are under-theorised and the dimensions that constitute these trajectories will only be teased out through investigating what all might constitute a 'migration trajectory' (cf. Chapter 6).

¹⁵ For example in my research time, both in the sense of 'time since migration' and in the sense of free time individuals can devote to maintaining their personal social networks, emerged as an important aspect that had to be taken into consideration in studying the post-migration socialising patterns of migrants. An even better example that would make for a wonderful research focus would be the role of churn – the constant movement in and out of a city. This is important as people do not just move to cities but also leave them, which has a tremendous impact on the social patterns individuals living in these cities can maintain and how they maintain them.

¹⁶ Lykke draws on Deleuze and Guattari (2011) and points out: 'rhizomatics as an analytical practice means following theoretical lines of flight, and in so doing accepting non-hierarchical connections between heterogeneous and multiple phenomena touching each other in unexpected ways' (2011: 211).

meaningful (cf. Wallman 1983) axes of difference interrelate, coexist and play out in processes of diversification. If we accept this distinction, the main aim of superdiversity research would be to describe the specificity of different superdiverse contexts and how the superdiversity variables are simultaneously at play in these contexts with implications for a variety of actors, institutions and the localities which are the arenas of these contexts.

With this I want to emphasise that superdiversity may not be a good explanandum or even a social phenomenon to explore in and of itself. Although it could be framed as such, and many studies using the term do so, I contend that its conceptual attraction lies in its call to rethink the impacts of migration (contemporary and historical) and the constantly changing social configurations that accompany it. I want to emphasise this latter point as it implies that the scope of superdiversity is difficult to confine to the impacts of migration alone. This is an important theme that requires researchers to recognise the continually changing nature of superdiverse contexts. This in turn implies that the superdiversity concept has to alert researchers to think about not only diversified migration patterns, but that pre- and post-migration experiences and practices are conditioned by moving out of and into already diverse (cf. Heil forthcoming), and importantly differently and continually changing diverse contexts.

Superdiversity as a social scientific concept is then maybe best thought of as a malleable social scientific concept, as a conception (Sartori 1984) or as a fuzzy concept (Ragin and Pennings 2005), that is never quite complete and where we constantly attribute different degrees of relevance to different aspects, but which continuously challenges researchers to rethink what they know about the impacts of migration on social phenomena more generally.¹⁷ Thus understood, its worth lies in bringing together different debates not only at the juncture between migration studies and ethnic and racial studies but also in broader areas of research.

This change in thinking is manifest in the way some scholars link superdiversity to paradigmatic shifts (Blommaert and Rampton 2012; Phillimore 2011). It is clear that the 'diversity turn', as distinct from the 'migration/minority turn' (cf. Vertovec 2011), is posing different and new questions that have a broad applicability going beyond migration, in addition to going beyond an ethno-focal agenda. Boris Nieswand (2011) refers to this as a wider trend in migration research by pointing to the decentralisation of migration studies.

¹⁷ See: Blommaert and Rampton (2012) and Krause et al. (2012) for two references where the superdiversity ideas are used in relation to linguistic and medical diversity respectively.

He identifies multiple concepts that have a significant impact on the way migrants and minorities more generally are perceived, not as the object of study, but as a sociological or ethnographic starting point for exploring social order (or the order in chaos) more generally. This is particularly expressed in theoretical debates that call on migration researchers to move beyond various ‘-isms’ identified as beleaguering migration research such as methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003) and groupism (Brubaker 2002).

Linking this to the practical difficulty of including a breadth of aspects in a single research project, it is then important to recognise that the manifold axes of differentiation are a necessary starting point to develop a shift in thinking about (more or less migration-related) diversity that is not from the start constrained to project certain relevancies or saliences.¹⁸ In general this requires a capacity to think differently about difference, a process that necessitates the active and reflexive engagement of researchers with their research interest and questions (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Still it is not an easy task to include multiple axes of differentiation in applied empirical research. Decisions have to be made about which axes to focus on and how to avoid presuming the salience of one axis over another. However, if we are clear about the differences between superdiversity as a malleable concept and the multitude of variables that play into it, it is possible to pay attention to multiple axes of differentiation simultaneously. Yet it is necessary to recognise that the ultimate choice of focus is linked to both what the researcher deems to be important in exploring specific superdiverse contexts and how and if the researcher is able to operationalise data collection in a way that actually does shed light on those axes of differentiation to be analysed simultaneously. For example in this project I focus primarily on migration, labour market and legal status trajectories as within my research design these proved as most insightful in shedding new light on patterns of sociality and because it was feasible to collect this data in sufficient detail.

This then brings us back to the most articulate point of critique I initially introduced - the migration focus of superdiversity. I have tried to diffuse the argument that a focus on the implications of international migration necessarily steers superdiversity research into a particular pathway of appreciating social complexity. Indeed the centrality of migration is helpful in discerning that superdiversity is not about ‘diversity squared’ but about

¹⁸ Just to be clear, focusing this research on migration-related aspects of superdiversity does not imply that it is more salient or relevant (cf. Devons and Gluckman 1964).

understanding processes and patterns of diversification and their implications – some inevitably linked to migration. Further, because superdiversity calls researchers to focus on the multidimensionality of differentiation processes, migration will only ever be a starting point, as changing migration patterns do not exist in a vacuum but interact with other processes of social change. This means that researchers invoking superdiversity always have to consider aspects beyond a migration remit. To be clear, my argument is not that studies adopting a superdiversity lens can achieve a holistic understanding of social complexity — they almost certainly cannot. Yet migration as a starting point does not, in and of itself, limit the usefulness of the concept and its potential as a tool for thinking through complex social configurations.

But is there anything new?

I now briefly want to pick up one further point of debate: If the notion of superdiversity is employed to describe a social phenomenon, as it often is, the underlying assumption is that there is something ‘new’ about it. However, in the preceding section, I have argued that by making the triadic distinction between superdiversity as a malleable concept, interrelated variables and social context, it is possible to avoid discussing whether there is something new about the ‘superness’ of diversity. Vertovec suggests that what is new is the conjunctive attention paid to different migration-related aspects, but approaches such as intersectionality, which look at multiple aspects of diversity as simultaneously intersecting, have a similar objective. How then can we carve out a particular niche for superdiversity as a concept and thinking tool? Empirically, we know that migration patterns have changed, especially with reference to flows – the constant coming and going of people.¹⁹ Yet we still know little about the social implications of this. Despite the subtext of speaking about ‘new’ diversities, the seminal superdiversity article clearly suggests that it is through empirical research that we will be able to distinguish whether there is in fact something *different* about ‘new’ (sic. recent) diversity as opposed to ‘old’ diversity in the historical sense. Old diversity might be just as diverse as new diversity if we examine it through a superdiversity lens (DeBock under review).

Certainly there is something new about bringing the specific aspects Vertovec suggests as relevant (migration, labour market and legal trajectories, gender and age patterns, differential responses to migrants by the resident population) together in conjunctive

¹⁹ To explore these changes visit: <http://media.mmg.mpg.de/> [accessed: 07/11/2012]. See also a recent interview with Bela Hovy, Chief Migration Section, United Nations Population Division: <http://player.vimeo.com/video/61250264> [accessed: 25/04/2013].

analysis, particularly because all of these aspects are not strictly categorical but focused on trajectories and patterns which change over time (for individuals and in the social context) and because the concept encourages the analysis of diversification rather than static notions of diversity (Meissner and Vertovec under review). Further, there is an idea of the current experience of diversity superseding (if only in awareness of it) that which was there before (Meissner and Vertovec under review).

As suggested earlier, in thinking about ways to advance conceptual work on superdiversity, we can learn from debates within intersectionality research. After all the notion of paying simultaneous attention to ‘multiple axes of differentiation’ (Vertovec 2007: 1049) is not that different from bringing together ‘axes of social division’ (Yuval-Davis 2006: 202). Yet, does the crux of the matter lie here? Differentiation in the superdiversity conception is not necessarily framed as social division. Yet once we think about superdiversity as going beyond an enumeration of different trajectories and consider its link to power, politics and policy, patterns of horizontal differentiation might be first investigated before developing a more nuanced understanding of vertical differentiations as similarly multidimensional and intermeshed with horizontal ones. This is particularly clear in the way the superdiversity notion is operationalised, for example in Philimore’s work which has a clear focus on changing social policy in light of superdiversity (e.g. Phillimore under review, 2011). Yet given the many streams of intersectionality research it is difficult to deny that some of the basic premises of both lines of inquiry are similar even though the focus of this inquiry is likely to be different.²⁰ What else then is novel about superdiversity? I argue next that the most important aspect that is ‘new’ – or that at least offers the ground for further conceptual development and opens the scope for using the notion to drive innovative research – is that the term emerged at a crucial moment in thinking about the impacts of migration and social scientific reasoning more generally.

Situating superdiversity

In trying to locate the emergence of a notion of superdiversity, it has to be recognised that the idea was not only developed at a time when in the UK and elsewhere migration-related diversity was celebrated on the basis of the multiple different origins of migrants (see also Chapter 5), but also at a juncture where research was still strongly involved in looking at the

²⁰ One of the primary concerns of intersectionality research from its inception has been gender and later sexuality. These themes mostly play a central role in this area of research. Whereas gender is clearly not ‘outside’ of superdiversity thus far gender has not been used as a starting point of superdiversity investigations as importantly it would first be one amongst multiple factors of investigation.

impacts of post-second-world-war migrations, and dominated by a community focus arising from debates on the multicultural society and community cohesion (Wetherell 2007; Toye 2007; Rodríguez-García 2010; Reitz et al. 2009; Hickman et al. 2008; Flint and Robinson 2008). Since then a shift has taken place where studies increasingly focus on migrants from other backgrounds than those whose migration is often framed as post-colonial, for example the extensive literature on recent migrants from Eastern Europe to London or of Bangladeshis to Toronto (e.g. Ryan et al. 2008; and Murdie and Ghosh 2010 respectively) or by focusing research on a particular migration stream such as international student migration (King 2002). Additionally the decentralisation of migration studies referred to above has made researchers critically aware of some of the common underlying assumptions in much of the earlier migration literature.

Recognising the importance of the ordinary and commonplace

Another trend which coincided with the recognition of an ethnically diversified diversity and the need to reconceptualise migration research was that researchers have increasingly been moving away from seeing the newly recognised ethnic diversity as exceptional and in their studies have identified that by and large, practices of living with ethnic diversity have actually become normal in the everyday lives of their research subjects. Migration-related diversity, in other words, is frequently dealt with as ordinary, commonplace or unexceptional (e.g. Wessendorf 2010; Wise and Velayutham 2009; Glazer 2003; Amin 2012). Not intending to sideline those instances when this ordinariness erupts and tensions between different actors or groups are framed along ethnic lines (cf. Wimmer 2004b), understanding those social constellations where this everydayness of difference prevails has become an increasingly interesting field of study.

Superdiversity, in other words, emerged at a juncture where old concepts such as integration or assimilation as quasi-linear processes of migrant incorporation into the host society had lost their explanatory power in terms of post-migration settlement (and moving on) practices. Similarly, the 'ethnic communities' focus that tried to explain social patterns primarily based on where migrants (or their ancestors) originated had also started to be questioned. In this sense we might perceive superdiversity as a post-multicultural term, although an extensive discussion of this is not offered here (cf. Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). These trends created the space to identify patterns of difference that are not necessarily primarily marked by perceived inequalities but where the simultaneity of the multiple axes of differentiation results in positively (or ambivalently) perceived social

relations. To once more make a link to the intersectionality debate, the outcomes of incorporating superdiversity into our thinking about the impacts of migration remain to be seen in the work that is 'done by those doing the doing' (Kosnick 2011: 132, quoting Crenshaw). I present the analysis in this thesis with those insights as an important backdrop.

Moving towards complexity

The trends in migration and ethnic and racial studies described above coincided with a broader shift in vogue concerning the philosophy of social science. An increasing number of scholars are adopting a complexity approach to understanding the social, which implies that social scientists have to rethink the certainties their research can produce and to question notions of linear causality (De Landa 2006). My intention in referring to this shift is not to hoist the flag of superdiversity on this island of practice (cf. Purcell 2003), the topography of which is strongly influenced by the ideas of Deleuze and Guattari (2011) and ideas about the sensitivity of social outcomes to initial conditions as they are explored in chaos theory – for instance the 'butterfly effect' (cf. Prigogine and Stengers 1997: 30-1). Indeed there are important theoretical questions regarding this shift relating especially to the question of conceptualising 'differential and multiple forms of power' (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2012: 6) and individual agency that demand investigation (Brenner et al. 2011). Instead, by referring to these notions I want to emphasise that understanding the contingency of complex social constellations without assuming their permanency, and seeing a worth in understanding social patterns rather than foregrounding causalities, has become a relevant part of social science research.

This also implies a need for novel approaches to studying social phenomena more generally, and in the case of my study makes it necessary to question some of the basic assumptions underlying previous research on patterns of sociality. One does not have to adopt an ontological position that rests on assemblages to recognise that research increasingly has to be able to be operationalised in a way that appreciates complex interlinkages and, importantly, contingencies. As Connolly (2007) emphasises with reference to pluralism, it is important to recognise the centrality of emergence and becoming to advance thinking through complicated social constellations. I argue that superdiversity certainly points researchers in this direction.

Vertovec's (2009) conceptual triad for studying diversity is helpful here. It points to *configurations* (measurable diversity and its changes), *encounters* (how diversity is experienced in social interactions) and *representations* (how diversity is described), and how

the three interlink, as crucial baselines for studies aimed at developing diversity research. While studies can be focused on any of these three aspects, researchers always have to keep the other two in mind. In this framework Vertovec identifies superdiversity as a configuration of diversity but, as my analysis in this thesis will show, looking into these configurations will always also imply recognising its contingent interplay with encounters and representations of diversity. Indeed, here superdiversity is used as a lens to analyse encounters of diversity in order to understand its configurations. Further to develop the conceptual potential of superdiversity, it is inevitable that researchers adopt novel and innovative approaches to its study, because the empirical difficulty of including and investigating multiple axes of differentiation persists regardless of how theoretically refined the underlying conception of superdiversity is.

The relationality of diversity or relational diversity

Glick Schiller and Çağlar comment that:

The sources of 'superdiversity' [...] lie mainly in the proliferation of migrants of different ethnic origins, rather than in the actual practices of migrants which contribute to the heterogeneity of the city. (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009: 185)

This interpretation confines the potential contribution of superdiversity research to analysing 'ethnic diversification' and prohibits taking advantage of the broader analytical possibilities discussed in the first part of this chapter. In fact, if we recall my distinction between superdiversity as a fuzzy concept, set of variables and context, then it is plausible that employing a superdiversity lens can aid in studying simultaneous and multidimensionally scaled differentiations through the ways they are *practiced* in contexts of superdiversity. To a degree the position of Glick Schiller and Çağlar is linked to a particular understanding of diversification which results in categorically countable patterns of differentiation, countable because each individual is different. What I want to emphasise with my analysis in this thesis is that it is necessary to rethink this interpretation and to start thinking of diversity as relational. This makes enumerating differences somewhat more difficult, but not impossible, as it requires estimating patterns rather than categories.

Glick Schiller and Çağlar's interpretation however serves as a needed reminder that practices are a central aspect of understanding differential and shifting saliences of configurations of superdiversity. Recalling Vertovec's conceptual triad of configurations, encounters and representations as necessary components in any study of diversity, exploring the link

between superdiversity as a configuration and superdiversity as part of everyday encounters of diversity is of particular importance in developing such a relational conception of diversity. Operationalising this conceptual link through looking at variables and contexts of superdiversity is one central aim and contribution of this thesis.

One approach to studying practices is through social interactions and social networks.²¹ As Mitchell already pointed out in 1974 adopting a network approach which focuses its attention on social interactions can help 'representing regularities in field data which might otherwise escape attention' (Mitchell 1974: 279). With reference to understanding urban patterns, Epstein cogently points out that:

[T]he dominant characteristics [of cities] – high population density, ethnic heterogeneity, increasing social and economic differentiation and a high degree of occupational and residential mobility – are more likely to foster the impression of a society inchoate and incoherent, where the haphazard is more conspicuous than the regular and all is in a state of flux. (Epstein 1971: 77)

He emphasises shortly after that 'despite the apparent confusion of the urban scene [it is not] a mere aggregation of individuals nor disorganised rabble' (Epstein 1971: 79). He then continues his analysis of the urban social system of the central African town of Ndola through the social relations of one focal respondent. It is this muddle of urban social situations, and the possibility of describing their patterns and contingent regularities despite their otherwise intangible and multidimensionally framed differentiations, that makes studying superdiversity through individual networks particularly appealing.

Both Mitchell and Epstein are seminal figures of the Manchester School of Anthropology which is frequently attributed with having significantly contributed to the development of social network analysis in the discipline of anthropology. Yet the notion of social networks and its usefulness in understanding both social actions and social patterns is an interdisciplinary field which has both mushroomed in recent years and still stands somewhat side-lined next to mainstream social scientific research. Importantly, empirically focusing on networks moves away from conventional survey-based descriptions of social patterns which enumerate the characteristics of individuals, and instead focuses on how those patterns can

²¹ Another argument might be that practices are enshrined in the interactions not only of individuals but also of things or more transcendental entities. The aim of this thesis is not to engage in a 'post-humanist account' (cf. Amin 2008; Latour et al. 2012), my focus remains with the interactions of people and the social patterns arising from those. I do however acknowledge that this perspective would add further interesting dimensions; but I also recognise that it would go beyond the articulated scope of this thesis.

be measured through relations including the qualities of and different ways of describing relations between individuals (Freeman 2004: 1).

The empirical analysis in the following chapters does not fully adopt a network approach as it is still interested in differentiating attributes and trajectories of individuals rather than exclusively focusing on describing the types of relations different individuals maintain. My argument, however, is that to 'map' attributional patterns of diversity requires an understanding of whether differences are present or absent in social relations, how they thus become part of social practices and how we can explain those relationally framed patterns of diversity, rather than those that can be gleaned by enumerating differences person by person.

I draw heavily on the network literature in developing this notion of *relational diversity*. Early social network research was composed of on the one hand anthropological studies of kinship and community (e.g. Barnes 1954; Mitchell 1971), and on the other hand it dealt with experimentally exploring group dynamics (e.g. Moreno and Jennings 1938). In migration studies, social network arguments are frequently drawn on to explain different opportunities and constraints migrants face prior to, during, and following their migration. Within this broad field, social networks have been invoked to explain so-called 'migration networks' (Massey et al. 1993; Bauer et al. 2000; Haug 2008); proactive intra-group support systems (Engebrigtsen 2007; Williams 2006); neighbourhood relations (Bridge 2002), the acculturation of migrants (Esser 2001; Schütze 2006; Ganter 2003), social capital accumulation (Portes 1998; Sanders and Nee 1996; Jacobs and Tillie 2004), and mobility patterns (Kesselring 2006; Urry 2003). Additionally, transnational social networks have continuously gained attention and have inspired a wealth of studies, often pointing to social networks as part of economic processes, information exchange and social support which takes place across national borders (e.g. Vertovec 2001; Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Tilly 2007; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). This list does not exhaust the different aspects of migration in which social networks are believed to play a role, and clearly networks cannot always be assumed to explain social processes and migration decisions (Collyer 2005). The list simply serves as an indication of the breadth of studies attributing significant outcomes to the role of migrants' social networks and complements other studies mentioned throughout this thesis.

Two inferences can be drawn from this literature. Firstly, social networks are dynamic with regard to both their temporal and spatial manifestations. Thus, adopting a social network

approach draws those dynamics into the centre of the analysis and provides a tool for operationalising their study (Marin and Wellman 2010). Secondly, the above mentioned literature suggests that social networks carry utility for individual actors. Whilst this is a common argument particularly advanced in the social capital literature, it needs qualifying. The social network or relational perspective is set apart from 'conventional' research by seeing causality of social outcomes in the positions individual actors occupy in a given network. This does not imply that networks in themselves imbue individuals with opportunities but that actors can realise these depending on their network position, and may also find that their network position is associated with social constraints. The aim of this study is less to engage with the continued debate over social capital and the utility of networks; instead I am interested in how multi-layered attribute differences as they are present in personal networks and in practices of groupness stand in relation to urban diversification processes. This requires recognising precisely that differentiations as we find them between people and socially linked groups of people are not one-dimensional but multidimensional.

Social network analysts remain divided between scholars who insist that a social network perspective is defined by a structural approach (e.g. Freeman 2004; Wellman and Berkowitz 1988), and those who argue that social networks allow for a theoretical stance that is able to engage with the exploration of an interplay of structure and agency surpassing a dichotomous understanding of both (Emirbayer 1997; Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994; Emirbayer and Mische 1998; Mizruchi 1994; de Federico de la Rua 2007). This latter position builds on a conception of agency that is theoretically influenced by symbolic interactionism but also particularly stresses the temporalities of human action, its situatedness, as it is at once engaged with its past, present and future, and is 'intrinsically social and relational' (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 973). This is an important caveat in the theoretical scope of the relational approach and emphasises that even if it is assumed that the structure of social relations determines the content of those relations (Mizruchi 1994: 330), these structures are not necessarily self-perpetuating, but are creatively reconstructed and amended by actors. As Brettell (2000) argues, a social network approach brings the migrant decision-maker back into the focus of analysis. My research project is positioned in relation to these theoretical considerations in order to help advance the understanding of individual post-migration social networks and how they can aid a relational understanding of diversity. In other words, if a social network perspective is combined with the superdiversity variables outlined above as simultaneously present individual attributes and if we assume that similar and different

attributes criss-cross within networks, then we can use existing social network concepts, theories and analysis techniques to map the configuration of relational diversity to make sense of the perpetually emergent patterns that can thus be identified.

In a sense a relational approach thus entails a triangulation of theoretical perspectives (Flick 2004: 181) allowing for structural but also actor focused explanations which should be particularly suited to comprehending the complexities inherent in my subject of study. One particular advantage of this triangulation of perspectives is that it takes context and subjectivities into account (Fuhse and Mützel 2011). This is crucial because an important dimension of my analysis is how socialising opportunities in superdiverse contexts play into shaping relational diversity. With reference to the urban studies literature this final theoretical interest in socialising opportunities is relevant in particular because of the continued salience of trying to 'tackl[e] the problems of social cohesion in a multicultural society by changing the patterns of contact between people from different backgrounds in everyday spaces such as workplaces [and] neighbourhoods' (Amin 2010: 2). In superdiverse contexts this narrative certainly needs to be critically evaluated as it demands that we ask whose patterns of contact are to be altered along which superdiversity aspect.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have established the conceptual and theoretical grounding of the empirical explorations presented in the following chapters. I have argued that the notion of 'superdiversity' implies an investigation of diversity that goes well beyond the nature of migration origins and trajectories. To probe the academic value of superdiversity, I have situated it within broader academic debates, suggesting that it is necessary to distinguish between superdiversity as a malleable social science concept – a set of variables that researchers conjunctively investigate – and superdiversity as a context where these variables play out in complex social patterns. This differentiation is of particular importance in facilitating the empirical operationalisation of superdiversity research without losing sight of its potential to add to on-going debates in the migration and ethnic and racial studies literature and beyond. As a lens superdiversity opens a space to discuss both the relevance of the everydayness of diversity and that migrants from many places live in relative proximity in urban areas; including those who have moved in relatively small numbers.

Further, I have argued that complexity is an integral aspect of superdiversity and that the notion is not, as some commentators have suggested, divorced from the diverse practices of

migrants living in cities. I have explained why a focus on social networks helps in developing a practice-focused analysis and that this focus shifts attention away from diversity as enumerated through differences between individuals, and instead emphasises the need to conceptualise diversity as relational. Although this theoretical discussion remained necessarily abstract its empirical operationalisation will show the amenability of a superdiversity lens to the use of novel approaches in conceptualising and studying the impacts of migration on the urban social fabric.

In the following chapters I outline the parameters of the specific empirical study that brings together the concerns articulated in the introduction and in this theoretical chapter. This starts in Chapter 3 with a discussion of the principles of research design and methodology, before moving in Chapter 4 to an account of how the fieldwork for this thesis was carried out.

Chapter 3

DELIMITING AND ACCESSING THE FIELD

Operationalising superdiversity with a small group focus

Beyond the theoretical debates outlined in the previous chapter, this thesis is also a methodological exploration, investigating one approach to operationalising the empirical study of superdiversity: namely thinking about it through social relations with the aim to explore the complexity inherent in what I described in the last chapter as relational diversity. In the introduction to the thesis I argued that a research focus on migrants usually subsumed under the statistical category 'other' fills an evident research gap and allows for a critical approach to previous conceptualisations of post-migration socialities.

My research interest, although based on a seemingly simple question – 'What networks do migrants with few co-migrants from the same origin form in exceptionally diverse cities?' – did pose significant methodological challenges associated to researching a small population and focusing on a topic that would not immediately be recognised as a social issue. The simple question I was asking was in practical terms not going to be an easy one to answer. It clearly required a novel and creative approach to designing the project. I first had to formulate more specific research questions and then develop a refined strategy for answering them. Much deliberation went into designing a project that could overcome anticipated difficulties, would take the theoretical debates discussed in the previous chapters into account and that would allow me to answer my initial 'simple' question, at least in a roundabout way, by enabling a discussion of superdiversity in terms of context, variables and malleable concept. The project was designed as an explorative study with the scope to amend my research strategy as I was 'sinking my teeth' into getting access to workable fieldsites.

In the following I first present the more specific research questions driving my data collection and analysis. I next iterate the logic behind applying those questions in a multi-sited research project. Thirdly, I explain how I developed this project around a 'fuzzy category' focus. Finally, I present sampling considerations in detail and explain how I gained access to workable fieldsites. In the next chapter I turn my attention to the specific research methods that were used to collect the data analysed in the subsequent chapters.

Getting specific – research questions

To empirically unlock some of the conceptual complexities I have made reference to, I devised a two-sited research design focusing on a small population that has rarely been studied in my research localities – Pacific people²² and New Zealand Māori. With this case study design in mind and to approximate the general interest of this research in understanding small group patterns of sociality in contexts of superdiversity, I focus on three broad lines of inquiry to be addressed in the subsequent chapters, each relating to patterns of sociality at different levels of analysis. Not presuming the salience of groupness amongst my research participants the first set of research questions asks:

How are different degrees of groupness practised amongst individuals who meet the characteristics of a little-defined but regionally focused fuzzy category?

Following from this, I also ask a related question: how does a focus on small group size help to explain those perpetually emergent social patterns?

These first two research questions are discussed in detail in Chapter 6. This involves commenting on the role of group size and its relevance in superdiverse contexts. As I pointed out in the introduction better understanding the relevance of group size remains an empirical problem. By making this the focus of Chapter 6, I am able to discuss this matter in detail and can identify a number of different processes at play that influence whether and how group size matters for my focus population in the two cities where I conducted research.

Having focused initially on those practices of groupness by individuals from a particular, if ‘fuzzy’ category, I move beyond an origin-focused discussion and focus more directly on a simultaneous and multidimensional analysis of superdiversity aspects. The question raised here aims at social configurations measurable within the personal social networks²³ of my respondents. Here I start making use of insights from the social network literature to make such a multidimensional analysis possible. Specifically, I engage measures describing categorical sameness in personal social networks. The question I pose is:

²² Throughout this thesis I use the term Pacific people which denotes the plurality of different ethnic backgrounds summarised under this term. However, since Pacific Islanders was used more frequently by respondents I use the two terms interchangeably.

²³ See Chapter 4 for a detailed explanation of how personal social network data was collected for this study.

How can personal social networks, despite the tendency for people to engage with others who are like them, be used to describe and better (visually) represent the multidimensionality of urban superdiversity?

This question is dealt with in detail in Chapter 7 and it allows commenting on how diversity can be found in similarity by showing the multidimensionality of migration related aspects that can be read in patterns of network homophily. This allows emphasising the relevance of complex patterns of relational diversity.

In Chapter 8 I turn to answering a final research question, which is aimed at understanding the patterns noticeable across the networks of my respondents and at how these can be made sense of. Thus my final research question is:

Given the complexity of difference and similarity patterns in personal networks, how can these patterns be made intelligible and help to move beyond an ethno-focal analysis of migrant networks and diversity more generally?

This question is relevant for my overall investigation as it allows moving beyond making statements about the social patterns identifiable being more complex. Instead answering this question makes it possible to develop a more differentiated but also critical rhetoric about post-migration patterns of sociality where the emphasis of analysis is not an ethno-focal one.

Answering these research questions facilitates the overall aim of developing a more nuanced understanding of sociality in superdiverse contexts. Importantly this includes conceptualising migration-related diversity not solely in categorical but also in relational and processual terms. To be able to operationalise this investigation it was necessary to identify suitable fieldwork locations, delineate a research population to focus on and decide how exactly to elicit sociality practices, opting for an explorative multi-sited and mixed methods approach. This process of refining my research strategy is outlined in the following sections and in the next chapter.

Two fieldsites: contrast over comparison and the relativity of smallness

In designing my study I decided to test my research questions in two cities that could easily be identified as superdiverse contexts, in the sense that the migration patterns into and out of them have resulted in a diverse and continuously changing resident population which is differentiated along a number of axes of migration-related variance. The aim of conducting fieldwork in two cities was not to distinguish between differently scaled cities (see: Glick

Schiller and Çağlar 2009) nor to 'rethink the list of the 'great' cities' (Roy 2009:820). Much more profanely, the use of a dual-sited research design enabled me to contrast findings across cities and to evaluate how well the methods worked in both locations. In some ways, at a small scale, I was aiming for a variation finding comparison that 'promises to help us make sense of social structures and processes that never recur in the same form' (Tilly 1984: 146). Additionally, with the undertone in much literature that socialising opportunities frame the sociality of migrants in cities (see Chapter 2) I wanted to better understand what constitutes socialising opportunities in contexts of superdiversity.

In both London and Toronto, based on published census statistics, my focal research population of Pacific people and New Zealand Māori was of a roughly similar (small) size (see Table 3.1 in the next section). At the same time there was good reason to predict that other superdiversity characteristics of my research population were likely to differ, given differential migration patterns into the cities and differential socialising opportunities in part resulting from those patterns and in part resulting from other contextual specificities (cf. Chapter 5).

More precisely, the study focuses on Greater London – the city which served as the exemplar of superdiversity (Vertovec 2007) and on the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) – an urban area that has one of the highest shares of foreign born residents in the global north (Brenton-Short and Price 2004). I discuss the specificity of the two cities as contexts of superdiversity in Chapter 5.

As stated, the intention behind implementing a two-city comparative design was to be able to identify mutually applicable patterns in the data, but also to facilitate identifying locally specific patterns of sociality. In other words, the logic of comparison for this project is located at the middle ground between a universalist approach - seeking only generalisable laws - and a culturalist approach - rejecting the possibility of identifying any generalisable patterns (De Vaus 2009). The focus on complexity and the exploratory nature of the proposed research project prohibited a formal comparative approach such as method of agreement or difference (Peters 1998). Such a strategy would have required too many assumptions about the equivalence of the two cities as well as the causal factors shaping the social networks of small migrant group members. Rather, the two-sited comparison is designed to strengthen conclusions made about the implications of superdiversity by contrasting and juxtaposing rather than directly comparing findings across different research contexts (see Marcus 1995: 102).

The two-sited design did imply spending less time in each fieldsite, a commonly quoted drawback of this type of research design (see Falzon 2009). This did impact my ability to amass the same thorough knowledge about each site which a more prolonged research stay might have facilitated. I conducted research in London between October 2009 and April 2010 and in Toronto from June to November 2010. Negotiating a field in a limited time span of six months in each city was a challenge but, as the analysis in Chapters 5 to 8 shows, the two-city design proved to be quite insightful not only because of the differences and similarities of superdiverse contexts (see Chapter 5) but also because the study populations identified in London and Toronto through a fuzzy category focus (see below) exposed the relativity of the numerical smallness of migrant cohorts. In London, the population was in fact much more cohesive or networked across national lines (see Figure 3.2 below). These active and sustained ties – absent in Toronto (see Figure 3.3 below) – also implied that the population I was able to observe in London was relatively larger in comparison to the population(s) I was able to identify in Toronto. This in turn enriches my analysis of the role of group size and practices of groupness (see particularly Chapter 6).

A fuzzy category research focus

There is a plethora of studies focusing on larger migrant groups and their socialising practices. The assumed cohesiveness of these larger groups is what, in part, has led to critiques of the predominance of both ethno-focality and in extension methodological nationalism in research on migration. There are a number of mostly recent studies that are less focused on larger migrant groups but that rather try to understand urban diversity through studying a particular neighbourhood (e.g. Sveinsson 2007; Watt 2006; Wessendorf 2010; Baumann 2006) or other multi-ethnic settings (e.g. Watson and Studdert 2006; Sveinsson et al. 2009). For my study I wanted to identify an alternative avenue to establishing a research population that neither focused on one national or ethnic group nor was framed as a neighbourhood study.

My approach made it possible to gain insights into sociality patterns of individuals from smaller, potentially spatially dispersed, and likely socio-economically and socio-culturally diverse, migrant cohorts. Beyond a locality or neighbourhood focus, Wimmer (2009: 262-5) suggests that in order to de-ethnicise research, studies should focus on individuals from diverse backgrounds, make use of class as a unit of analysis, or study institutional fields.

The approach taken for this study marries the second strategy (diverse individuals) suggested by Wimmer (see also Phillimore under review for sampling on the basis of difference) with the call issued by Brubaker to start research with a category. Brubaker contends that commencing research with categories 'invites us to focus on processes and relations rather than substances' (2003: 183). The intention in adopting such an approach was primarily theoretically reasoned and linked to the first of the project's research questions about practices of groupness. A fuzzy category is one that implies that different individuals can be counted into that category to different degrees. To still remain within the exploration of numerically smaller migrant cohort socialities, a category was chosen that resembled an intentionally fuzzy delineation of the research population.

Fuzzy here specifically means that at the outset of the research a category was chosen that relates to a global region of origin with relatively low numbers of migrants in both cities, yet not so low that identifying respondents would have been virtually impossible. Who would respond to this category and link to it through sustained social relations was, however, to be established as part of the fieldwork. The category with which I started my research was Pacific people, and I began by asking for migrants from the South Pacific region or 'Other Oceania', as UK census tables label this internally quite diverse population. This category was picked not least because it rarely if ever is used for analytical purposes in the two destination contexts but also remains virtually absent from the public debate.²⁴

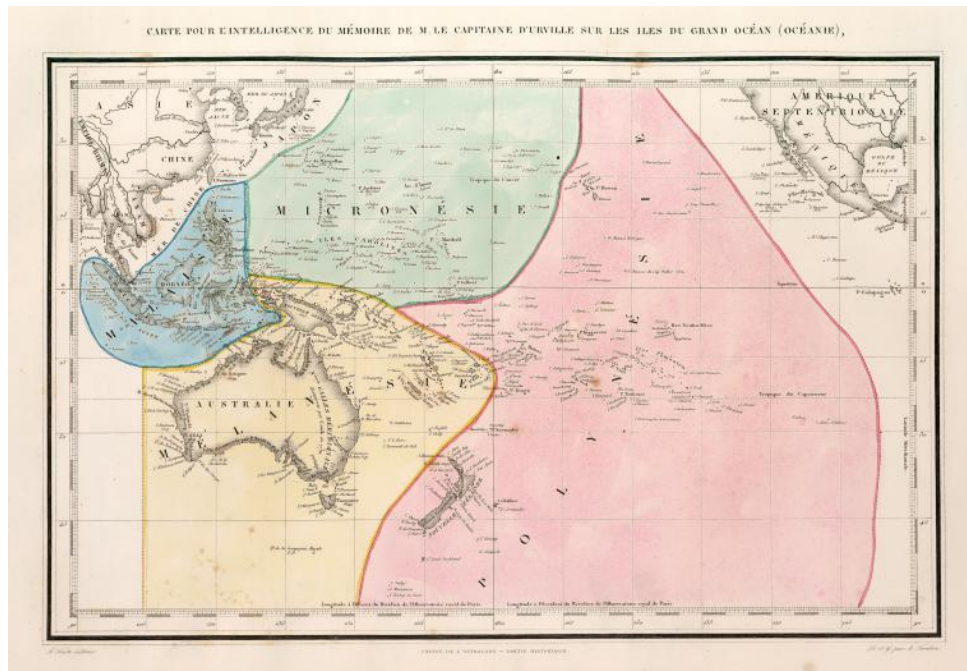
The Pacific Islands in the late nineteenth century were subdivided by the French Explorer J.S.C Dumont d'Urville (see Figure 3.1) into four areas: Malaysia, Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia, of which the latter three are still regarded as part of the South Pacific region²⁵ (D'Arcy 2003). D'Urville based this division on racial and cultural markers of the inhabitants in the different island groups. This has been strongly critiqued for building on outdated racialised stereotypes (Thomas 1989) and for not recognising the internal diversity within each region (Linnekin 1997). Although the population of the South Pacific Islands is extremely diverse, as a category, the terms Pacific Islanders or 'Tagata Pasifika' (Fleras and Spoonley 1999) do carry some significance, not least because of inter-regional migration as well as political and economic cooperation. As Fischer points out:

²⁴ In preparing my research one of the most pressing difficulties was identifying respondents. I will later talk about getting access to my research population but before I identified the first gatekeepers, my question 'do you happen to know any South Pacific Islanders living in London' was usually answered with comments like 'do you mean from the Caribbean' or with a simple 'from where?'

²⁵ The former is today mostly considered to be part of South East Asia.

[A]t the beginning of the twenty-first century, Pacific Islands remains a geographical, ethnic and cultural, but not a political label, though the region's 'reinvention' after the second world war has clearly brought it closer than ever before to a shared identity. (Fischer 2002: 260-1)

Figure 3.1 – Dumont d'Urville map of the South Pacific Region



Source: (Dumont d'Urville 1830)

In London the population of migrants with a country of origin in one of the South Pacific island nations (or 'Other Oceania'²⁶) in 2011 accounted for 2,108 individuals (Office of National Statistics 2012) which is a relative increase in numbers compared to the 2001 census when 1,700 migrants stated their country of birth to be in Other Oceania (Kyambi 2005: 171). The most detailed numbers differentiating countries of origin (for London only available for the 2001 but not yet the 2011 census) make it possible to identify Fiji as the most prominent country of birth in both London and Toronto, and that for London again the estimated total numbers diverge from those stated in more aggregated tables. This points to the difficulty of knowing reliable numbers of migrants usually grouped as 'other' (see Table 3.1). However,

²⁶ Countries included in the 'Other Oceania' category include: American Samoa, British Indian Ocean Territory, Cook Islands, Fiji, French Polynesia, Guam, Heard Island and McDonald Islands, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Caledonia, Niue, Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Pitcairn, Henderson, Ducie and Oeno Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, United States Minor Outlying Islands, Vanuatu, Wallis and Futuna (Office of National Statistics 2011).

even given those numbers, the fuzzy category focus of this research implies that official statistics would not be able to capture who else might be included in the research. This is not least because New Zealand-born Islanders or New Zealand Māori would not be counted as part of 'Other Oceania'. Why they were included in my fuzzy category I explain now.

Table 3.1– London and Toronto residents with a country of birth in 'Other Oceania'

Toronto Census Metropolitan Area	Inner and Outer London	
(source: 2006 census - 20% sample data. Table: 97-557-XWE2006007, source: Statistics Canada)	(source: 2001 census - subject to a country of birth threshold of ten or more people. Table: C0413, source: Office for National Statistics)	
Fiji	2,060	1,093
French Polynesia	20	0
Guam	10	0
Nauru	15	0
Palau	10	0
Papua New Guinea	35	273
Western Samoa	10	32
Solomon Islands	10	45
Tonga	25	50
Vanuatu	10	30
Polynesia	0	10
Kiribati	0	32
Total	2,205	1,565

In practice this fuzzy focus meant that respondents were not identified on the basis of necessarily originating from one of the Island nations but on the basis of responding to the category or sub-categories and labels such as Polynesian, Melanesian or Micronesian (discussed further in Chapter 6). The sample was thus also fuzzy as it included two UK-born but Island-raised respondents, four New Zealand-born or raised Pacific Islanders and one US-raised Tongan. Additionally, because the assumption was made that this fuzzy category focus would have to be malleable, my sample of respondents eventually also included New Zealand Māori, some of whom did readily subscribe to the initial category or its subcategories like Polynesian, and others of whom did not.

Initially New Zealand Māori²⁷ were not thought to be part of the focus population as their numbers were difficult to estimate²⁸ and because it was not clear whether there were

²⁷ There is a distinction between New Zealand Māori and Cook Island Māori, although both speak a similar language and many of my Cook Islander informants had lived in New Zealand for a longer period here when referring to Māoris I will mostly be referring to New Zealand Māori and will specify if a section is concerned with Cook Island Māoris instead.

²⁸ Early during fieldwork, one interlocutor when asked how many Māoris were living in London answered that there were in the order of 300. As I continued my research this remained the smallest number quoted, with some

sustained links between Māori and Islanders living in the cities. Through qualitative research in London – my first fieldsite – it quickly became apparent that a number of regular social links existed between some Islanders and some Māori which led me to include Māori as a sub-category in my research population. Here is where the ‘processes and relations’ aspect of starting research focused on a fuzzy category became most apparent.

Similarly, in Toronto I deliberated including Filipinos in my sample (cf. Toribio 2008; Rondilla 2002), even though this would have averted my initial small group focus more so than including New Zealand Māori due to the large proportion of Filipino migrants living in Toronto²⁹. Eventually it was established that although there were personal social ties between some of my respondents and Filipino migrants and that most Polynesian performance groups were organised by Filipino-Canadians, no consolidated social links existed. This somewhat grounded approach to identifying respondents in effect meant that the research population was not delineated *a priori*. This in part was done to creatively overcome the difficulty of not easily being able to access census or register-based sampling frames for migrants that fall into the ‘other’ category³⁰ although it is doubtful if a sampling frame would have made reaching a representative sample possible (see below).

A regional origin focus?

The initial regional focus (rather than trying to interview migrants from all origins with numerically small flows into the cities)³¹ was primarily practically driven. To commence

interlocutors estimating the number of migrants with Māori ancestry living in London as more than 5,000 individuals. One newspaper article published after my fieldwork even estimates the number at 8,000 although no indication is given of how that number is derived (Lambert 2012). In my opinion the best approximation of the numbers is derived if the available data for New Zealanders living in each city is put in relation to the proportion of New Zealanders identifying as Māori in New Zealand statistics. Approximately 1 in 7 New Zealanders is Māori (Bascand 2012). In 2001 27,494 New Zealanders were living in London (Finella 2006) which would make an estimate of just under 4,000 London residents with a Māori background feasible. This figure has to be appreciated with caution in the light of missing data on Māori migration patterns. A number of interlocutors reflected that while London might be an exception, generally, to paraphrase their accounts: ‘Māoris want to stay closer to home so they move to Australia’. Yet the mostly university educated interlocutors I encountered during my fieldwork in London certainly did not fit that mould, and I presume that changes in structural inequalities in New Zealand leading to rising numbers of Māoris graduating from New Zealand universities will also have had some impact on migration patterns. In Toronto 425 first-generation New Zealanders are listed according to the 2006 census (Statistics Canada 2007a). This would make an estimate of approximately 60 Māori feasible. I reflect on the relevance of the different size of the New Zealand population in London and Toronto in Chapter 6.

²⁹ In 2001 over 130,000 Filipino immigrants were resident in Toronto and the Philippines are amongst the top ten countries of origin (Statistics Canada 2010).

³⁰ Due to the small numbers, without the significant expenditure of ordering custom tables no exhaustive demographic information can be obtained for smaller migrant cohorts that could serve as a sampling frame.

³¹ One strategy for finding respondents for such a study might have been to hoist a sign at a central location like Victoria Station in London or Union Station in Toronto with all the country names for which the census suggested only small numbers lived in the city. The sign, or the researcher holding it, could have asked people whether they knew someone from those places and whether they could facilitate contact. Although in retrospect this would have certainly generated an interesting study in terms of observation alone, the uncertainty of the success of such a strategy for finding respondents and for ensuring that I could answer my research questions was deemed

research and find respondents, some criterion on the basis of which respondents could be identified had to be found and a regional focus ensured that I could still aim to identify a diverse sample with reference to other aspects of superdiversity. Through my specific regional focus my study also fills a research gap. Migration from the Pacific Islands is mainly discussed in the literature with reference to environmental migration (e.g. Burson 2010) or with a destination focus located in the Pacific Rim states (e.g. Hill 2010; Iredale et al. 2003; Macpherson 2004; Spickard 2002; Scott 2003; Voigt-Graf 2008; Bedford et al. 2000). At the time when I was commencing this research, there were to my knowledge no studies about the contemporary migration of Pacific people and New Zealand Māori to London or Toronto and only very few about migrations from that region going beyond the Pacific Rim.³²

I recognise that this framing of my study did impact on what respondents and interlocutors presumed to be the intentions of my research. In fact, it uncovered certain expectations of what I, as a researcher, 'ought' to be interested in, exposing an ethno-focal bias in the questions migrants expect to be asked. In spite of being very clear about researching 'smaller migrant groups in diverse cities to learn more about diversity' rather than having the competence to conduct a study of South Pacific culture, the impact of my regional focus was reflected in respondents frequently emphasising their Islanderness or Māoriness more than might be expected if they were approached as 'professional migrants' or through some other origin independent label incompatible with my small group focus.

This also constitutes one of the main drawbacks of a study design based on researching a fuzzily defined but origin-region-dependent population. In my analysis I thus pay close attention to the potential unintended feedback loops this might produce. Overall I contend that this caveat nonetheless adds to my analysis as for many respondents everyday sense-making did take place in their own comparisons of what it is like in the place of origin as opposed to what it is like in London/Toronto. As Wimmer argues, to move beyond ethno-focality does not require abandoning studies of migrants from particular origins, instead it demands 'avoid[ing] the Herderian fallacy of assuming communitarian closure, cultural difference, and shared identity [and instead] to ask [...] whether there is indeed community organization [and] ethnic closure in networking practices' (Wimmer 2009: 265). To which I

to be too impractical and realistically unfeasible given the short time available for fieldwork and the difficulties in assessing the potential risks involved (necessary for being admitted to do fieldwork by my university).

³² During my sustained period of conducting participant observation a few researchers did come through, most at Masters Level and most focused on trying to understand cultural practices as they were maintained in these 'unusual' destinations (for one more advanced level research project with Fijians in the UK commenced after I left my fieldsite see Hulkenberg 2010).

would add, that if there is such closure, the aim ought to be to better understand why and more importantly when this happens – or in other words to understand the fusions and fissions of these processes of closure and dissipation.

Focusing on migrants?

Regardless of how fuzzy my research population is, I was clear about wanting to interview people who had moved internationally.³³ This was not done to exclude non-migrants from my study – a frequent criticism of research focusing on the social practices of migrants often articulated as lacking a control group of non-migrants. Rather, having moved internationally was seen as a necessary delimiter. The questions my research asks are focused around post-migration sociality³⁴ and its expressions amongst those quite literally categorised as ‘other’.

Migration as an event implies (at least in principle) that people interviewed at some point had to establish new social contacts in the context of the city they moved to and thus they had to, in a superdiverse context, engage in practices of sociality however limited or extensive in scope. Through exploring the networks of my respondents it was possible to focus on migrants, while non-migrants (and migrants from elsewhere) also remained part of the research. Many respondents have non/elsewhere-migrant social contacts who also regularly participated in the same social events as those informants who fit my fuzzy group description. Thus this study is also about people who did not move internationally or who did so from different regional origins. The focus of the thesis does, however, remain with the sociality practices of my migrant interlocutors and respondents as to open up this focus would have implied a different study that would have gone beyond the possible scope of the project presented here.

Once the intention of focusing my research on two cities and therein on the patterns of sociality of individuals associating with a fuzzily defined category was established, I had to develop a strategy to practically implement this study. In the following section I reflect on gaining access to my ‘field’, focusing on issues related to sampling on the basis of a fuzzy category.

³³ I did encounter very few so-called second-generation Pacific Islanders and did, where possible, conduct informal interviews with them about their experiences of living in London/Toronto. However, I did not include them as potential respondents of my personal network interviews (see Chapter 4).

³⁴ This does not imply that studying post-migration socialities is confined to international migrants. See Petermann (2002) for one example of a study exploring post-migration socialising patterns of internal migrants in Germany.

Accessing the 'field' and sampling on the basis of a fuzzy category

With a lack of previous research to draw on, I knew very little about socialising patterns of Pacific migrants in London and Toronto prior to commencing my research. I had an idea of the spatial distribution of migrants from 'other Oceania' living in London (Kyambi 2005: 117) and the approximate numbers of Pacific migrants living in both cities (Table 3.1 above). In addition some work from Auckland (e.g. Bedford et al. 2000; Johnston et al. 2010) Melbourne (e.g. Lobo 2009; Voigt-Graf 2008) and Los Angeles (e.g. Scott 2003) could be drawn on, but the questions it asks mostly differed from mine and the analysis in it was frequently bound up with South Pacific migrants constituting large, albeit internally differentiated, 'communities' in those cities (cf. Macpherson 2004; Macpherson 2001 on the need to recognise internal group differentiations). Thus before commencing my research, I had to devise a strategy for accessing my fuzzily defined research population. In particular, as the intention was to conduct interviews with Pacific people, a sampling strategy needed to be devised with the aim of reaching a diverse sample of respondents.

As Hammersley and Atkinson point out 'negotiating access, data collection and analysis are not [...] distinct phases of the research process. They overlap significantly [and] much can be learned from the problems involved in making contact' (1995: 55). The following account of how I gained access to my fieldsites and identified a sample of respondents thus ought to be seen as also representing part of my data analysis.

Sampling 1.0 – the goal of representativeness

The fuzzy category focus of this research, the lack of a census or register-based sampling frame and the fact that my research population was small and potentially not very cohesive, posed significant methodological challenges in devising an access and sampling strategy for this research project. I took guidance from some of the literature on identifying and sampling hard-to-find populations in developing the initial strategy for accessing respondents (e.g. Singer 1999; Atkinson and Flint 2001; Heckathorn 1997; Salganik and Heckathorn 2004).

The main suggestion of this literature is to find a range of entry points to the field in order to identify a diverse set of initial respondents. To find these diverse entry points I spent a significant amount of time before and during fieldwork searching the internet to find profiles and websites of individuals who had moved to London and who might be able to provide information about finding suitable respondents, using keywords potentially associated to

my fuzzy research category. I later adopted the same research strategy in Toronto. In London I also contacted the High Commissions of those island nation states that had an official representation in the city, and those outside London. In Toronto I contacted the most proximate diplomatic missions (some located in the United States). In Toronto this latter strategy did not facilitate contacts with new respondents, whereas in the case of locally based representations in London it did. The literature then suggests using some derivative of a chain-referral or snowball sampling strategy (see: Biernacki and Waldorf 1981; Heckathorn 2002; Goodman 1961) to arrive at a diverse sample with characteristics that would eventually, after a sufficient number of 'waves' of referrals, approximate the population characteristics (Volz and Heckathorn 2008).

This type of respondent-driven sampling frequently relies on remunerating respondents for interview participation and/or referrals to additional respondents. This option was not available for the present project. It is difficult to estimate how such remunerations would have changed the success of chain referral or snowball sampling. Suffice it to say, that in the process of identifying respondents in both cities these sampling strategies were hampered, albeit by very different circumstances which I briefly outline in order to introduce the sample of respondents with whom interviews were conducted.

Sampling 2.0 – when snowballs boomerang

Table 3.2 indicates how I identified the 55 respondents who took part in the personal network interviews (this type of interview is explained in Chapter 4), 21 in Toronto and 34 in London. The table shows that the sampling strategy outlined above worked insofar as I identified my first set of respondents through a number of different social settings or world wide web search efforts. In every interview (and practically in every conversation I had during my fieldwork) my final question was always whether respondents or interlocutors³⁵ could point me to other individuals who would be able to participate in my study. Yet as Table 3.2 also clearly shows, the referral process rarely went beyond the first wave, making the assumption that my sample approached population characteristics unfeasible. This is why my sample of respondents remains an opportunity sample - albeit one that brings together the intended diverse sets of respondents I was hoping to reach.

³⁵ Throughout this thesis I will refer to 'respondents' where I talk about individuals who participated in the personal network interviews (see next chapter). Where I refer to 'informants' or 'interlocutors' this denotes individuals with whom I interacted as part of my research but who did not participate in those formalised interviews.

Table 3.2 – Different locales for identifying respondents and numbers of referrals

Identified through:	n	n referral (one removed)	referral (two removed)	referral (three removed)	Total N
London					
Maori Group	3				3
Polynesian Dance Group	5	3			8
Maori Language School	4	3			7
Online profile / website	2				2
Through gatekeeper*	1	1			2
Through High Commission	3	3			6
At 'likely' public event	2	3			5
Met on street	1				1
N London					34
Toronto					
Polynesian dance group	1	2	1		4
Online profile	2	1	2	2	7
Through private social event	3	2			5
Through gatekeeper*	2				2
At 'likely' public event	2	1			3
N Toronto					21
N Total					55

*(person not interviewed but identified through online profile/website/informants as someone who could identify further respondents)

Why the chain referral strategy was hampered in both cities is an interesting question to follow up for understanding the makeup of the sample and how the resultant data can be analysed. In London, when I tried to snowball from the initial set of respondents the interviewees became gatekeepers whom I asked to provide names and contact details for, or to at least facilitate contact with, other potential respondents.

The hoped-for number of elicited additional contacts per respondent was not achieved, and many respondents advanced, if any, only one or two new contacts, not all of whom I could win as additional respondents. Other than a reluctance to divulge contact details, this low rate was due to a single somewhat unexpected reason: many of the potential new contacts named were not new to me at all. Often they were individuals whom I had either already interviewed or approached for an interview as part of my participant observation. This becomes quite clear if we look at Figure 3.2 (a) and 3.2 (b). Figure 3.2 (a) shows all my London respondents, the colour of the circles (called nodes that each represent one respondent) indicating where they said they were originally from and lines (called edges) indicating a link between those respondents who named each other in the personal network

Figure 3.2 - London egos who (a) mentioned each other and (b) were observed at same event

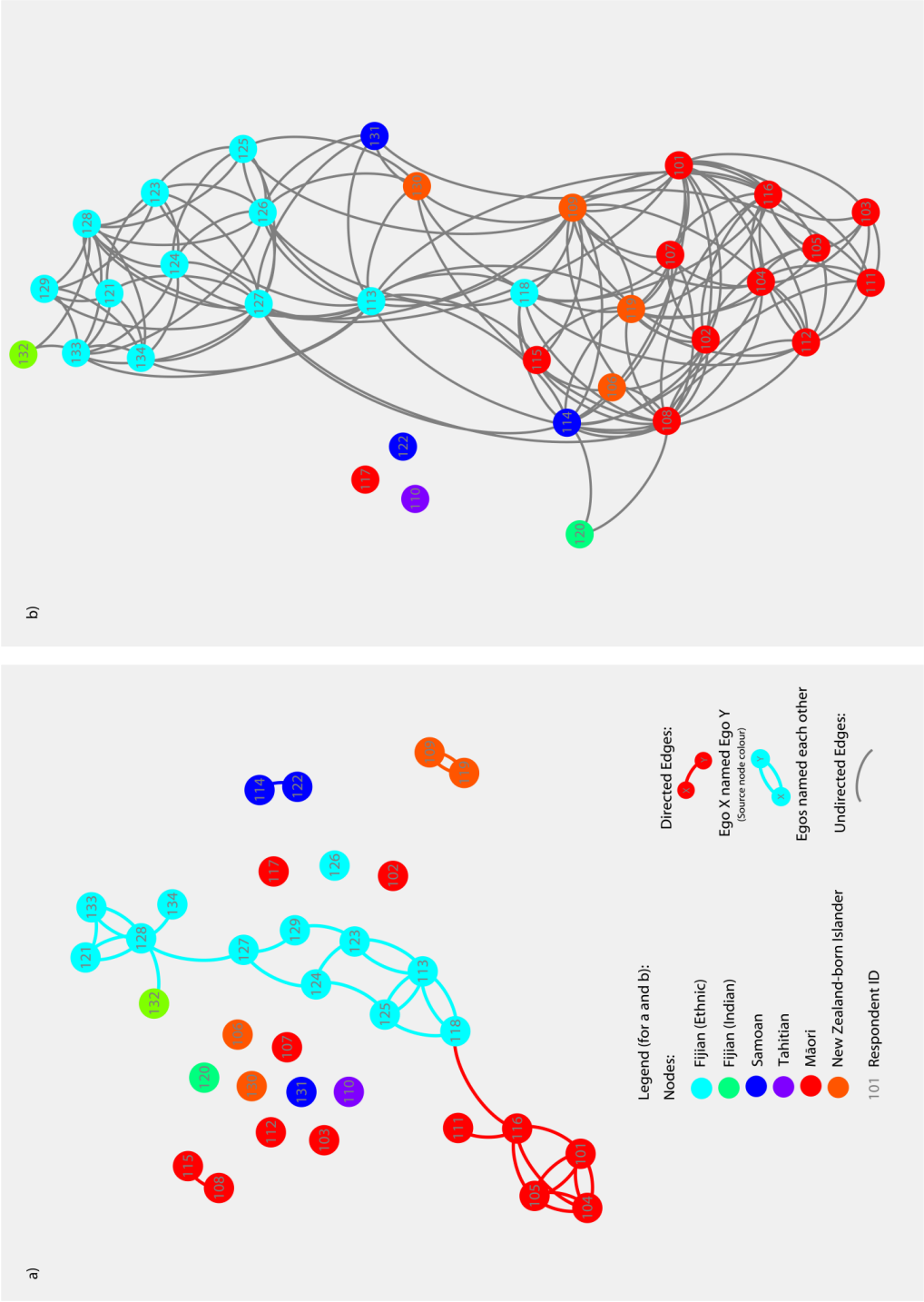
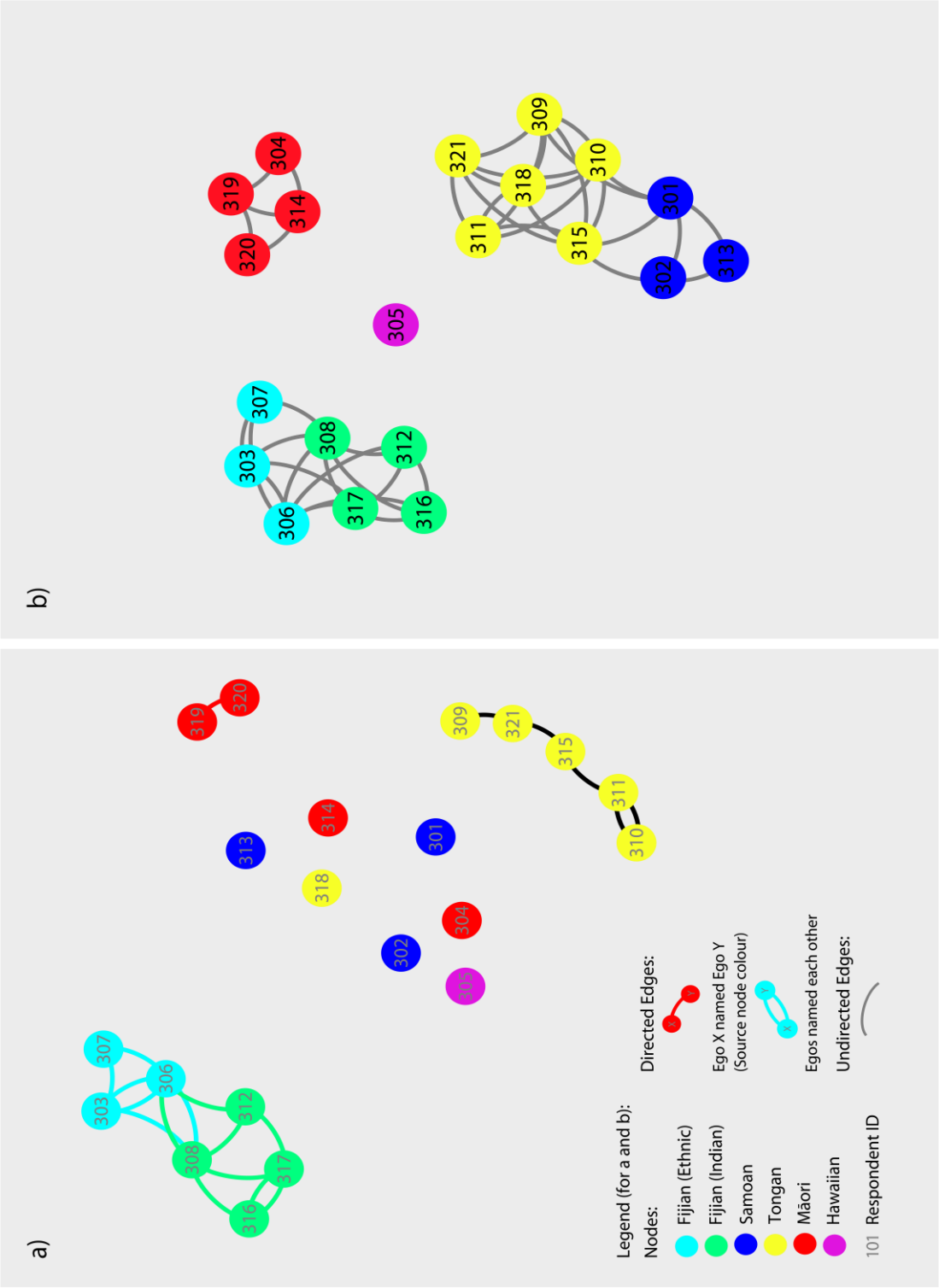


Figure 3.3 - Toronto egos who (a) mentioned each other and (b) were observed at same event



interview. This figure shows a connected, but not strongly connected, network. Figure 3.2 (b) shows whether I was able to observe the same individuals taking part in the same social events. This figure displays a much more connected network and explains, to a degree, why referred contacts would refer me back to people with whom I had already been in contact.³⁶

For Toronto, the same visualisation (Figure 3.3 (a) and (b)) of how connected my sample of respondents was shows quite a different picture of the prevalence of node-connecting edges. While some respondents named each other in the interviews, few additional links could be observed at social events. This is in large part owing to the fact that there were few social opportunities that might have attracted my respondents' participation. In fact, for a number of respondents participation in the project was motivated by the possibility that the researcher would facilitate contact with other Pacific Islanders living in Toronto (see Chapter 6). Yet, 'likely' events that I attended did not draw in recognisable³⁷ potential respondents whom I could have approached for an interview.

Figure 3.3 (b) then shows that I gained access to four almost distinct networks of people that could roughly be delineated along country-of-origin lines – Tongans and Samoans, Fijians and NZ Māori with only the Tongans and Samoans being linked via participation in a number of more private social events organised by Tongan interlocutors (weddings/funerals etc.). In other words people did not know others from more than one of these small networks. I dedicate Chapter 6 to exploring these divergent patterns between London and Toronto. With reference to sampling, this fragmentation of the population in Toronto had the same effect as the connectedness of the population in London. Although directly contacted respondents came from different sources and were generally able to put me in contact with other respondents (see Table 3.2 above), the expected number of chain referrals was not generated because referred respondents would point me back to people I had already interviewed, or at least asked for an interview, from within one of these clusters of respondents.

³⁶ In the graphs I distinguish between directed and undirected edges. Directed edges are those where for example respondent A named respondent B but respondent B did not name respondent A. In Figure 3.3 (b) and 3.4(b) all ties are undirected because both were observed to have a link between each other.

³⁷ For example through dress, language use or other obvious markers which I learned to recognise (albeit not in the same way as my interlocutors were able to identify them) as part of my fieldwork.

This effect was compounded by the fact that a number of potential respondents whom I approached for an interview declined to participate (or delayed it to the point where I had to exit the field)³⁸. Although I can only make a guess at why some respondents declined my invitation to participate in an interview, I suspect on the basis of my fieldwork that there are a range of reasons including being pressed for time, a general distrust in research and, to a degree, that my research was not aimed at a social issue respondents could readily identify with.³⁹ I was hoping to find more individuals willing to participate in my interviews, not least to make more general comments based on a representative sample but I also anticipated these difficulties and designed my methods accordingly to allow analysis even with smaller case numbers.

It has to be noted that the extensive connectedness between my respondents implied that some frequently used analytic techniques for personal network data were not feasible for my study as data would not have met the generally assumed independence of observations necessary for example in multi-level regression analysis. This did require a substantial shift in developing a strategy for analysing my data. Yet it also altered me to the usefulness of looking for patterns rather than causalities in my data and to find creative ways of representing those patterns. The visualisations presented in Chapter 7 help to make sense of those patterns and contribute a novel approach to analysing the type of data I collected.

A further note on the implications of the connectedness of my respondents is necessary. Wimmer is concerned that studies focusing on origin groups are bound to miss out on those people who are lost to the group – those people who do not maintain sustained links to people from the same background (Wimmer 2009: 265). Despite starting my search for respondents mostly within regularly organised social groups focused around the sharing of Māori or Pacific Island traditions, Figure 3.2 (b) shows that at least three of my London

³⁸ It is difficult to state the exact number of 'declined' interviews as some were approached once and then could not be contacted again or as stated deferred a concrete interview date multiple time. Those who clearly told me, that it was not their wish to participate accounted for two Fijians, one Samoan, and two Tongans in Toronto and two Papua New Guineans, two Tongans, one Fijian and three Māori in London.

³⁹ There is a strong code for conducting research in Māori communities referred to as Kaupapa Māori, aimed at decolonising research done with indigenous communities (see: Smith 2008 : a book I was pointed to by one of my early informants). At one occasion I was told not to make the mistakes Margaret Mead had made in sexualising and effectively orientalisising her Samoan subjects. I had no means of meeting those demands other than a good research ethic that was based on exactly not wanting to *other* my respondents based on their origin. Given my research focus though, it was difficult for me to go beyond upholding that ethic and carefully trying not to break social codes of conduct in my interactions as the topic of my research was unlikely to bend into a mould fitting Kaupapa Māori research. The strategy I adopted was thus to be very clear about what my research was about – small groups, social interactions and diversity. I did this even though it meant that some respondents who might have participated in a project under the guise of Kaupapa Māori would not take interest in taking part in my interviews.

respondents were 'almost' lost to the group (Respondent IDs 110, 117 and 122), even though contact to them was facilitated through another respondent, neither of these contacts named other respondents as part of their personal network, nor did I ever observe them even at the most widely attended events. To give an example, one of those respondents, who was born in Samoa but raised in New Zealand, clearly made reference to not much being into all the 'islander things'. In our semi-structured interview he first reflects on New Zealanders in particular being outspoken about their pride in where they come from and then, in talking about bringing up his son, he says:

I appreciate different languages and the ways people think because there is so many bad things and good things about the cultural stuff and I think probably that's why my son is not that bothered about the Islands. Cause I am not that bothered about it. I don't care about it, you know like when I see a program on TV about Samoa, I maybe like, come and watch this, that's where your grandparents have come from, but that's about it, I won't be drumming it into him you know like, this is the Samoan word for house. (Lua, 51, Interview: 23/03/2010)

This quote stands in contrast to other respondents whose kitchens and bathrooms were decorated with little signs indicating what each thing was called in Te reo Māori or some other Pacific language. In Toronto there was not really a group that my respondents could have been lost to, and one Hawaiian respondent was not at all linked to other participants. I recognise however, that in both cities some of the more removed contacts were those who eventually did not participate in my research.

The sample of respondents I was able to interview does meet the criterion of being quite diverse with reference to different demographic and superdiversity aspects. Although I will be providing more detailed information as part of Chapter 7, where I analyse the composition both of my sample of respondents and the social contacts they named as part of their interview, Table 3.3 is included here to demonstrate the diversity in my sample. The table also indicates that there is a notable difference of distribution of different characteristics, both within the cities but notably across them.

In London, respondents were generally younger, recent migrants. They had often moved to London with the intention of only staying for a limited length of time, a practice often called being on an overseas experience: indeed migrants often took London as their base to work, and from there to travel to other parts of the UK and Europe. This indicates that the different migration regimes regulating the inflow of migrants into the cities do result in differentiated

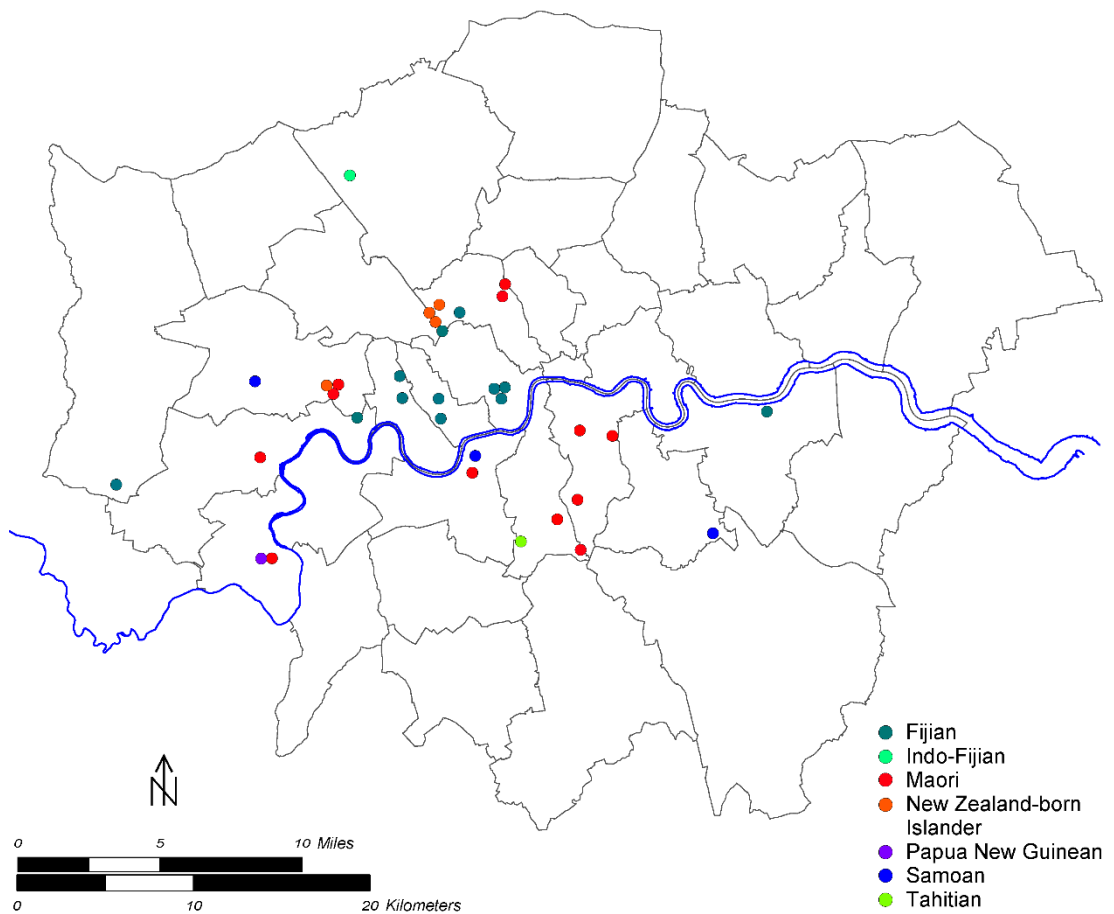
migrant cohorts in both cities. This also in part impacts on different stories of sociality as well as experiences of the cities' diversity over time (discussed in Chapter 5 as part of exploring the two cities as contexts of superdiversity). I take this difference in city samples into account in the following analysis when contrasting responses from interviewees in London and Toronto.

Table 3.3 – Category distribution across different superdiversity aspects

		London n=34	Toronto n=21	Total N=55
gender	female	41	43	42
	male	59	57	58
age	younger than 35	65	19	42
	younger than 55	32	52	42
	older than 56	3	29	16
legal status	temporary (visitor and student)	3	5	4
	stay and work (no citizenship)	65	24	44
	citizenship (or of spouse)	32	71	52
occupational role	mangers or professionals	21	10	15
	semi-professionals	59	62	60
	less skilled occupations	6	19	12
	unsalaried	15	10	12
education	high school	18	5	11
	vocational training	29	33	31
	university degree	53	14	34
residency	time in city < 3 years	50	14	32
	time in city > 3 years	50	86	68
independent migrant	moved alone	32	33	33
	move with someone	68	67	67
	(family or friend)			

Beyond those characteristics, my fuzzily defined group of potential respondents was indeed not to be pinned down to a particular neighbourhood, and respondents lived in areas across the two cities as Figure 3.4 and 3.5 clearly show.

Figure 3.4 – Spatial dispersion of respondents – London



For London, where quite recent data is available about the residential distribution of people from 'other Oceania', the cross-city dispersal of my respondents with some concentration in and around the Borough of Brent (shaded darkest in Figure 3.6) reflects the numbers those statistics suggest.

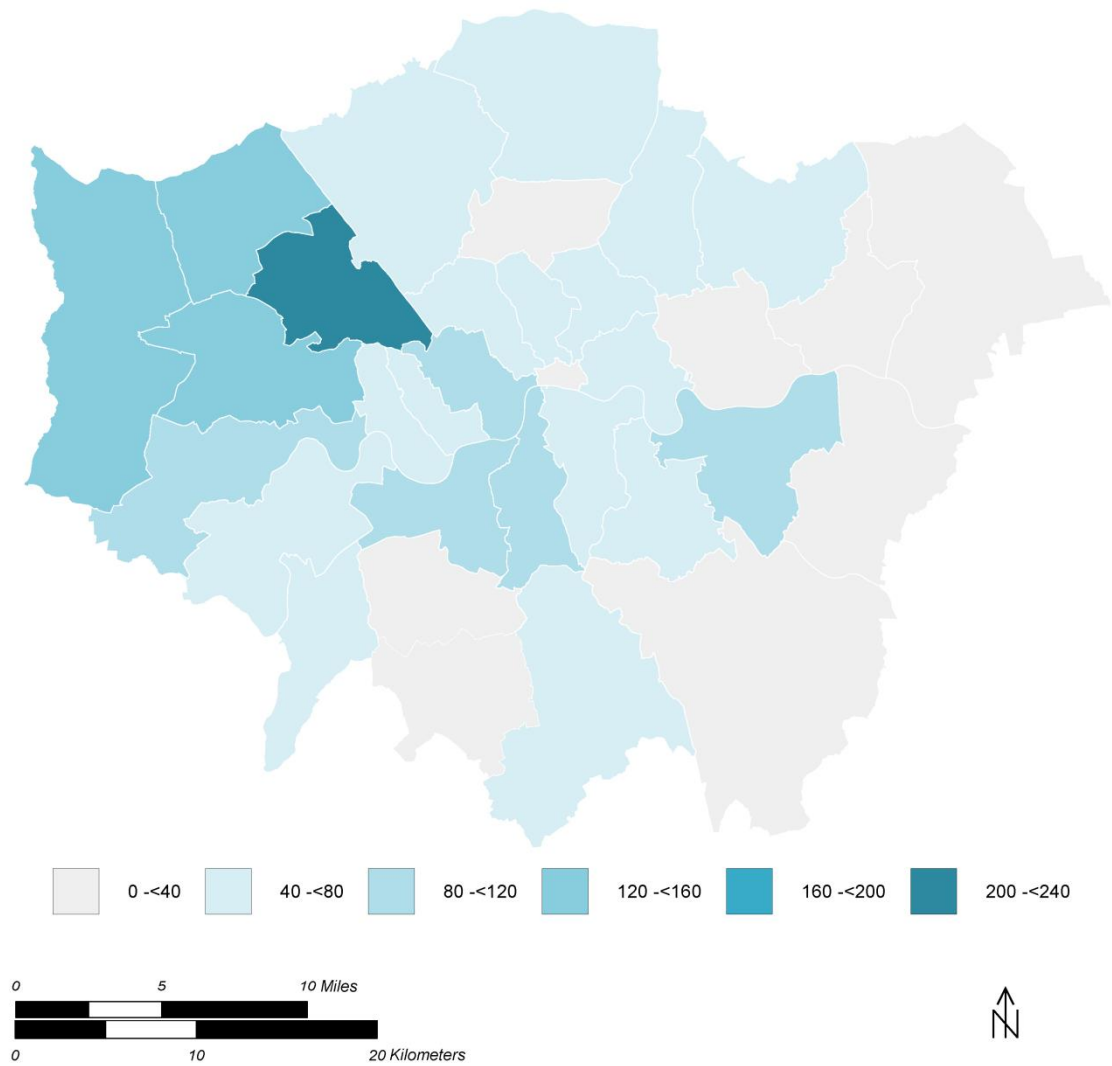
Figure 3.5 – Spatial dispersion of respondents - Toronto



Conclusion

In this chapter I have drawn the contours of the empirical material to be analysed in subsequent chapters by first specifying research questions commensurate with the scope of this work, secondly explaining the logic behind conducting this study as multi-sited, and thirdly clarifying why the delineation of the focus research population is based on a fuzzy category. In the last part of this chapter I reflected at length on my sampling strategy by way of explaining how I got access to my field in both London and Toronto, and gave some initial insights into the makeup of the sample of key respondents who participated in my main interviews. In the following chapter I fill in the details of these contours by explaining the methods used to elicit my data and the types of data which resulted.

Figure 3.6 – Number of individuals with a country of birth in 'other Oceania' (by London borough)



Source: Census 2011, Table QS203EW, ONS.

Chapter 4

DOING THE DEED

Combining the common with the novel

In designing a research project it is important to contemplate what combination of methods would be most suitable to answer the research questions. The exploratory approach and the focus on superdiversity, theoretically linked to complexity through practices of sociality and perceptions of being social in superdiverse contexts, required a creative combination of more traditional and more novel data collection techniques. As Silverman asserts: 'methods are techniques which take on a specific meaning according to the methodology in which they are used' (Silverman 2010: 122). Yet, as Hasselberg and I have argued elsewhere, conducting research is a process where envisaged fieldsites do not always correspond to accessible ones (Meissner and Hasselberg 2012). We further argued that recognising this is an important exercise which should be accounted for in practicing reflexivity in research (cf. Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

The analysis of my sampling strategy and how it played out in the field (see previous chapter) has already documented this disparity, showing that in order to conduct my research I needed to be perceptive as to what 'worked' in the field. This was facilitated by designing the study in a way that could accommodate anticipated challenges but also by accepting serendipity as part and parcel of data collection (Pieke 2000; Candea 2007). Acknowledging this enables a more reflective analysis in the subsequent chapters, where I adopt a strategy that approaches my data not with the aim of explaining correlations between network forms and social outcomes, but instead I explicitly centre attention on interpreting and visualising different patterns of sociality that help to discuss migration-related diversity in nuanced ways.

For these reasons it is important to relay in more detail how the principal methods used for this study were tailored to make this type of malleability of the research possible and clearly explain the types of data this strategy heralded. In this chapter I want to engage with that task. Firstly, I outline which data elicitation techniques were used and why I opted for a combination of qualitative and quantitative data collection. Secondly, I outline in more detail how I applied the two primary methods used in accordance with my theoretical interests, and how I dealt with practical constraints. I conclude the chapter by reflecting on ethical challenges and how they were dealt with.

Which methods and why

The three sets of research questions I posed in the previous chapter all focus on practices of sociality - on the one hand with reference to the observable degrees of groupness and on the other with reference to understanding and learning from patterns of sociality with reference to specific individual networks, and across my sample of respondents. Thus to answer my research questions I had to collect data that would provide the best possible information at these different but interlinked levels of analysis.

By referring to groupness I draw primarily on ideas presented by Brubaker who defines 'groupness' as 'a contextually fluctuating variable' (Brubaker 2002: 167). In speaking of groupness we need to recognise the interplay between internal and external definitions of the group (Jenkins 1994) however since the focus in this thesis is on practices and patterns of sociality the interest is less with modes of identification but primarily in understanding practices of groupness – instances when people interact with each other. Groupness in the way it is approached here and explored in more detail in Chapter 6 then is about when cats – 'a bunch of people alike in some respect, from someone's point of view' (White 2008: 4) – who engage more or less in social activities with others from the same cat. My first research question, about practices of groupness in contexts of superdiversity, then required identifying social spaces where groupness might or might not be practiced amongst in a first instance Pacific and Māori migrants living in London or Toronto, to then later extend the analysis to other aspects of superdiversity⁴⁰. With the intention of attending both Pacific-themed social events where one might expect a more prevalent display of groupness, and more open public events, *participant observation* was chosen as the most suitable approach to elicit relevant data but also to facilitate identifying and building trust with potential respondents (see also Meissner and Hasselberg 2012). In addition participant observation allowed me to take fieldnotes focused on better developing the idea of superdiversity as a social context.

The second and third questions relate more to the structural and categorical make up of individual networks within those contexts and to recognising the multidimensionality of superdiversity. In order to answer those questions more standardised data collection methods were necessary. Data for this analysis comes from *structured personal network*

⁴⁰ We might want to think of those cat-nets that take a multidimensionality of cats into account.

interviews that were complemented with *semi-structured interview* questions about respondents' perceptions of, and social experiences in, the city where they lived.

While participant observation is clearly a qualitative method of social investigation, the main interview instrument uses both standardised questions as commonly used in quantitative research, and more open-ended questions. This means that not only did the combination of participant observation with the interview instrument constitute a concurrent mixed-methods strategy (Creswell 2009: 14-5) but that the interview instrument itself ought to be understood as part of this mixing of methods in my research. Mixed-methods research always implies a degree of triangulation (Hewson 2006: 180) as data collected with the techniques of one method impact on understanding the use of and the data collected with the other methods. Because time in the field was limited most of this interrelating of different types of data occurred as part of my analysis. In addition to my two main research techniques I took advantage of one-off opportunities to conduct semi-structured interviews with key informants and others associated with Pacific and Māori migrants living in London and Toronto, but who either were not living in the cities or did not match my fuzzy category.

The mixing of both qualitatively and quantitatively collected data thus makes it possible to follow up my research questions at different levels of analysis relating to socialising contexts, group interactions and individual social networks.⁴¹ This allowed a more detailed understanding of the relevance and the meaning of the personal network information elicited. Because the research focus involves a nuanced understanding of superdiversity as a context, a set of variables and a malleable social scientific concept while focusing the research on smaller migrant groups, these methods had to be calibrated and adjusted to inquire into the multidimensionality of migration-related differences relevant to the notion of superdiversity. How exactly this was done is explained in the following sections.

Asking about networks and observing interactions

The aim of the following discussion is to describe in some detail the purpose and rationale behind specifically combining a customised personal network interview with participant observation as my two primary methods, and to explain the types of data these elicited. I will start with a more in-depth explanation of why and how the personal social network data was collected. This method provided the bulk of the data analysed in subsequent chapters (esp.

⁴¹ To be able to take into account the migration and settlement experiences of individual respondents I provide a detailed analysis of selected case studies in an Annex to the main text of this thesis.

Chapter 7 and 8). Personal network analysis is a research method that has only recently come into more widespread use in the migration studies literature and thus merits being explained in more detail. Further, I specifically tailored the personal network interview for this study which, in combination with the sample of respondents I was able to recruit, has ramifications for how the data can be analysed. This more in-depth section will be followed with a shorter one on the use of participant observation; a more commonly used research technique, including a short section recounting the use and relevance of self-reflexive fieldnotes.

Eliciting personal social networks and perceptions

To gather data about patterns of sociality the most straightforward approach was to ask people whom they interact with. A distinct field with its own methods of inquiry but one also increasingly associated with theorising the social as relational (Mische 2011), this is broadly referred to as social network analysis (SNA). Data for SNA can be collected in two ways: collecting details of 'total' or 'complete' networks or on ego-centric networks (Wasserman and Faust 1999: 29). The former type of data collection requires the researcher to first establish the boundaries of the network to be studied. A common example is a class of pupils in a school. While in this example the boundaries of who is in the network are clear, this was not a feasible or intended research approach for the present study.

One of the contentions of this thesis is that in studying diversity boundaries are rarely clear cut, and I could not – even with hindsight – assume that there is a bounded social network of Pacific and Māori migrants. Ego-centric data, a specific subset of which is known as personal network data, are more suitable for exploratory network analysis, and data collection can be undertaken even if the network boundaries are not pre-defined. While an ego-centric network is composed of all the ties one focal person – referred to as the ego (respondent) – has with other individuals called alters; a personal network more narrowly refers to the 'most active social ties, those who are socially 'close', those with whom an ego exchanges social support or those who fill a specific role' (Marin and Hampton 2007: 165). Personal network interviews are based on a conventional approach of identifying a sample from the population (see sampling strategy in Chapter 3) and they collect data that is relational (describing the relation between egos and alters) while also accommodating a larger role for conventional attribute-based data (Marsden 2005).

Personal network interviews commonly amass four types of data: (1) Data about the person that is interviewed (ego); (2) a list of names that ego recalls in response to so called name

generator (NG) questions (list of alters); (3) data about each alter on that list, both with reference to their attributes (gender, age etc.) and with reference to how the ego judges the relationship between herself and each alter; and finally (4) personal network interviews sometimes elicit connections between the different alters that the ego names.

Common personal network measures are homophily (the proportion of alters with the same attributes as ego), heterogeneity (the variety of attributes amongst alters), network size (the number of alters named), average strength of ties (usually measured through directly asking respondents to estimate how close they feel to their alters, or by differentiating between family and non-family relations), density (how tightly knit a network is), composition (distribution of attributes of alters), multiplexity (occurrence of multiple role relationships between ego and alters) and network range or how far-reaching the network is (Scott 2000; Degenne and Forsé 1999). Most of these measures are frequently linked to the ability of egos to access different resources, which in turn is associated with influential notions such as the strength of weak ties argument (Granovetter 1973; Granovetter 1983) or related debates about social capital (Portes 1998; Kazemipur 2008; Pichler and Wallace 2009). However, although this is one of the main themes in network-based studies of migrants (Fuhse and Mützel 2011: 1071) for this research homophily, the tendency of individuals to interact with people who are like themselves (McPherson et al. 2001), and associated measures will be a particular focus in order to understand the complex entanglements and configurations of superdiversity factors in my respondents' networks. In other words my primary interest lies in describing patterns of sociality as part of superdiversity. This reflects an important assumption underlying this research and bears repeating here: enumerating differences cannot provide a more nuanced understanding of diversity. Instead it is necessary to explore how these differences are enacted through social relations.

Borgatti and associates (2009) have identified a typology of dyadic relations – those ties between one ego and one alter – (see Figure 4.1) and have pointed out that much of SNA is concerned with identifying how these different ties impact on each other. The analysis in the following chapters (esp. 7 and 8) is mostly concerned with similarity ties (first column Figure 4.1) but comments on the other types where relevant. Personal network elicitation has recently seen a revival in social science research (Borgatti et al. 2009). These studies use this tool to gather data on a variety of issues and to analyse them from a network perspective. Notably, the work done by Lubbers and associates (Lubbers et al. 2007; Lubbers et al. 2010) on the ethnic identification of migrants in Spain is one example of how this research technique has been applied in the area of migration studies. They collected personal

network interviews with migrants from different backgrounds living in Catalunya. Interviewing migrants at multiple points in time they could subsequently use the data collected to understand how changes in personal networks are related to changes in ethnic identification. Although the outcomes of this study are very insightful, in a recent publication the concession is made that the design of their research was guided by the assumption of finding an ‘overall tendency toward larger integration’ (Lubbers et al. 2010: 103), which led them to ask less about the individual variation amongst the migrants surveyed. A superdiversity lens mitigates this assumption and underlines that the data collection for personal networks must go beyond estimating social identifications with ethnic categories as relevant migration-related aspects of differentiation.

Figure 4.1 – A typology of ties studied in social network analysis

Similarities			Social Relations				Interactions	Flows
Location	Membership	Attribute	Kinship	Other role	Affective	Cognitive	e.g., Sex with	e.g., Information
e.g., Same spatial and temporal space	e.g., Same clubs	e.g., Same gender	Mother of	Friend of	e.g., Likes	e.g., Knows	Talked to	Beliefs
	Same events	Same attitude	Sibling of	Boss of	Hates	Knows about	Advice to	Personnel
	etc.	etc.		Student of	etc.	Sees as happy	Helped	Resources
				Competitor of		etc.	Harmed	etc.
							etc.	

Source: (Borgatti et al. 2009)

There is always a trade-off, however, in conducting personal network interviews between risking too-lengthy interviews by asking about too many aspects and not asking about the ‘right’ breadth of aspects. Based on the multiple migration-related differences associated with the original conception of superdiversity, I designed my personal network interview to elicit this multiplicity of differences. However, I also had to make decisions regarding which aspects were to be deemed more important, and followed closely those aspects outlined in the original superdiversity article (Vertovec 2007) primarily focusing on migration experience, labour market and legal status differentiations and concurrences. Because I asked about the labour market positions of alters I did not also ask about their educational attainment as it was deemed that respondents would be more likely to know the type of work a contact was involved in than their educational history. This means that I am not able to make inferences about educational differences between egos and alters. This is recognised as a shortcoming of the interview design, but one that was necessary in light of asking about a breadth of other aspects. The tool designed for data collection in my study has five distinct parts that combine an online (or alternatively paper) questionnaire with a face-to-face interview. The details of how these data were elicited are important for

understanding the different types of data that became part of the analysis, and are next briefly outlined.

The ego questionnaire

Respondents were identified through participant observation, referral or, in one case, encountered on the street (see section on sampling in the previous chapter, particularly Table 3.2). They were initially asked to complete an online questionnaire. This questionnaire consisted of conventional survey questions elucidating the respondents' (egos') different attributes, with a specific focus on identifying superdiversity markers such as migration, labour market and legal status history. Further, the questionnaire elicited socio-demographic information and I also included some questions about egos' perceptions of the city and neighbourhood they lived in as well as standardised questions about how respondents judged their own socialising habits. The complete questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix 2. Not all the questions asked are included in the subsequent analysis, but opting for a wider range of questions did facilitate exploring novel aspects and going beyond commonly elicited attributes. Asking a greater variety of questions also facilitates the option of looking at a single case in more detail, a necessary caveat given the potential difficulties I anticipated with attracting a large and representative sample of respondents.

Asking these questions with the help of an online questionnaire was done to save face-to-face interview time, but also with the initial intention of eliciting this data for a larger sample than those interviewed. Despite 'wide' circulation through appropriate mailing lists and following advice on improving return rates for online questionnaires (see Bloch 2007; Maurer and Jandura 2009: 83-7; Pötschke 2009: 67-8) the number of completed questionnaires was not as high as anticipated.

Not previously knowing the general demographics or, importantly, computer literacy of my target population, I also provided the questionnaire in paper format to avoid systematic bias. While I interviewed a total of 34 respondents in London only 44 individuals completed the questionnaire and only three did so without being personally invited to participate. In Toronto where a 'wide' distribution was difficult because there were few networks through which to distribute the questionnaire⁴², respondents were all personally invited to participate

⁴² At the time of fieldwork the wide use of online social platforms such as Facebook was only starting to take hold. Over the past years I have noticed a sharp increase in the social media networking (rather than just setting up profiles) of respondents and interlocutors with whom I stayed in touch. However, even if these networks had been in place back in 2010, and given that my experience with 'cold-calling' potential respondents via their profiles was certainly not always successful, it is unlikely that such digital venues would be successful research

in the online survey of a total of 26 who completed it 21 also participated in my face-to-face interview. Because of these low return rates beyond my interview respondents, data are solely analysed for the questionnaires of face-to-face respondents.

The personal network interview

Eliciting personal network information by way of face-to-face interviews is much more time consuming than doing so through an extended online survey, but it has been shown that face-to-face interviews provide more comprehensive and reliable data (Matzat and Snijders 2010). Guidance in designing the face-to-face interview instrument was taken from other studies implementing the method (e.g. Hollstein 2006; Carrasco et al. 2007; Fischer 1991; Galaskiewicz and Wasserman 1993; Wellman 2007). Once questions about the ego have been asked these interviews generally include the three parts already noted: (1) name generator questions, (2) different name interpreter questions and (3) the elicitation of alter-alter relations. To improve comparability between the interviews but still allow for respondents to answer in more detail, I used a booklet listing the questions every respondent would answer (see Appendix 3.1 and 3.4) and a second booklet where respondents would note their standardised answers to those questions (see Appendix 3.6). For additional information, such as respondents elaborating on a specific social contact, the interviews were taped and transcribed for analysis. The interview partner was always asked to identify a place that would be suitable for the interview: the majority of interviews were conducted at respondents' homes but several were conducted in public places such as cafés or, indeed, one at the local gym.

Name generators (NGs)

Commonly personal network interviews commence with one or a set of questions that are designed to make respondents recall and note down the names of people they know – their personal social network. One widely used tool is the Fischer name generator (Fischer 1991) which consists of a list of questions aimed at identifying 'network members from a full variety of social contexts [...] as efficiently as possible' (Fischer 1991: 36). These questions can be altered according to the research context and different researchers have suggested different strategies for improving efficiency and recall accuracy (see Marsden 2005: 13 for an overview). Accuracy of the name lists generated is one of the major issues with name generator questions and these debates (Marin and Hampton 2007; Marin 2004; Straits 2000;

locations for the purposes of this study. Further, as Hirvi (2012) writes, cold-calling on online social platforms can have ethical implications, which were considered as part of this research.

McCarty et al. 1997; Fu 2005) were taken into account in devising the final eight questions I asked my respondents (reproduced in Appendix 3.1).

I asked respondents to note the names they recalled on separate sticky-notes, placing them into a prepared position in their response booklet. I simultaneously noted the names elicited on a separate sheet (see Appendix 3.2), also taking note if respondents named the same contact in response to multiple name generator questions. In this way a list of social contacts relevant to the respondent in areas of regular socialising (NG 1), sharing of important and personal information (NG 2 and 3), first contacts met in the city (NG 4) and work contacts (NG 6 and 7) as well as out-of-city contacts (NG 8) were elicited.⁴³

I allowed respondents to name as many contacts as they wanted to in response to different name generator questions⁴⁴ but only asked them to provide me with information about a maximum of 25 social contacts.⁴⁵ I built different 'qualifiers' into the name generator questions asking respondents to focus on social contacts relevant for them in the past six months (NG 1-3 and 5-7) or first two weeks in the city (NG 4) and on those living in London/Toronto (NG 1-3) or those who, despite not living in London/Toronto, still impacted on their day-to-day life in the city (NG 8). In total I elicited 993 names from 55 respondents, of which a significant number were named for more than one name generator, indicating the relevance of multiplex social relations – those social relations marked by more than one form of social link (see Table 4.1 and McPherson et al. 2001).

Name interpreter questions and designing an engaging interview

Once a list of names had been drawn up respondents were asked to relay a certain set of information about each person they named. In this section of the interview I included a number of proxy questions for superdiversity factors – specifically relating to migration trajectory, labour market position, legal status but also age, gender, religion⁴⁶ and ethnicity. I

⁴³ Name generator question five asked respondents to name other contacts whom they would consider to be part of their London/Toronto list but who had not come up because the questions asked did not prompt their name. Asking this 'other' question is a common strategy to facilitate the recall of names.

⁴⁴ There is some debate on whether it is more sensible to limit the number of names elicited to a specific number of social contacts. By leaving the number open I was able to differentiate how many people respondents named on average for each name generator. (See Table 4.1)

⁴⁵ For the 11 interviews where respondents named more than 25 social relations, a systematic approach to randomly excluding contacts from their list was devised, the specifics of which are noted in Appendix 2.3. Reducing contacts for whom data was elicited was done to avoid interview fatigue and to be better able to judge how long the interview would take before commencing it, as many respondents seemed to make their participation dependent on knowing how much of their time I would require.

⁴⁶ The religion question was asked emphasising that respondents should only identify the religion of their social contacts if they were absolutely certain about what denomination the alter followed, this resulted in a significantly higher number of 'unsure' responses which is why this category is despite its popular relevance is not included in the following analysis.

also asked about frequency of contact, type of relationship, time they had known each other, language use, where the alter lived and where the respondents met their social contacts. The latter question was included to get a sense of the specific types of socialising opportunities initiating the contact between egos and alters.

Table 4.1 – Alters named in response to different name generator questions

	NG01	NG02	NG03	NG04	NG05	NG06	NG07	NG08
	socialising	confidant (ego to alter)	confidant (alter to ego)	first 2 weeks	other city	work and social	help find work	out of town
n	329	172	216	178	112	120	76	204
% N	33.1	17.3	21.8	17.9	11.3	12.1	7.7	20.5
N=993								

Asking in different ways – implementing the name interpreter questions

A note on how the name interpreter questions were asked is necessary here. Through a piloting phase⁴⁷ the interview instrument was calibrated to efficiently elicit a large amount of data, to use clear categories and to keep people engaged in an interview where the same categories were asked for over and over again – albeit with reference to different people. One approach thus identified to facilitate continued engagement with the interview was on the one hand to keep changing the format of the interview by allowing respondents to elaborate on categories they attributed to their social contacts during the structured element, and on the other hand by asking in an open-response way where contacts lived and how they were met. These two questions were asked about two thirds of the way through the otherwise more structured part of the interview. In that part respondents placed their social contacts (written on the sticky-notes) in one of three concentric circles as an additional measure of how close respondents felt to the different alters they named (Hollstein and Pfeffer 2010; Kahn and Antonucci 1980, see Appendix 3.6 b). Simultaneously the respondent was asked, ‘Tell me a short story about each person including two main bits of information, where the person is currently living and how the two of you met?’

Respondents interacted with the interview instrument very differently. Some elaborated extensively on their social contacts, others briefly rushed through where their contacts lived

⁴⁷ The network interview was piloted with eight people before it was implemented with respondents. As mentioned above, I anticipated that identifying respondents would be difficult. Thus the piloting phase was conducted with graduate students at the University of Sussex and with two non-students I met during my early fieldwork, who were migrants but not from the Pacific, knew some individuals who had moved from the focus region and were happy to help with improving the final interview in light of their knowledge about different linguistic phrasings their social contacts from the Pacific used.

and how they met, despite interjections encouraging them to feel free to elaborate on their answers. There were two extreme types of interview: those where the respondents felt (and sometimes commented on feeling) as if they were in a 'school test' situation (despite the participatory and storytelling elements built into the interview), and those who were naturally engaged with the instrument using it as a cue to elaborate on their practices of sociality and what they mean to them in their day-to-day life. Most interviews were somewhere between these two extremes. This fact is included as a methodological reflection. People's different interaction with the interview instrument seemed to reflect different levels of openness towards the researcher and also attitudes towards talking about their own sociality. To some this was a noticeably important topic, to others it was not. Consequently, even though standard categories elicited were consistent, the overall volume of data that could be derived from each interview was not.

Eliciting alter-alter relations

The fourth part of the network survey asked respondents to identify which of the named alters knew each other. This part of the personal network interview is needed as it is the base on which some structural measures describing the network can be calculated, and because this makes possible more complex graphic representations of individual networks (see Annex) that show links not only to ego who by default all alters are connected to. I used a prepared matrix (see Appendix 3.7) and asked respondents to tell me how well their contacts knew each other on a scale of zero to three, with three indicating that the contacts knew each other very well and frequently interacted, and zero signifying that the alters, to the ego's knowledge, had never met.⁴⁸

Recognising limitations

While for the purpose of my study personal network interviews were deemed to be the most appropriate approach to eliciting the sociality patterns of individual migrants, the method is associated with a number of limitations. Primarily, these interviews can be very lengthy and repetitive. I have tried to sketch out the different measures implemented to overcome this shortcoming. A further solution would have been to use computer-assisted elicitation techniques for the interviews. This was, however, not done for the same reason that I used both online and paper questionnaires – not knowing much about the demographic

⁴⁸ During the pilot phase I decided to limit alter-alter relations asked about to a maximum of 16 social contacts, as people completing the grid found identifying and ranking the intensity of more social relations to be overly tedious and it was suggested that respondents might stop paying attention to the task at hand. Appendix 2.3 outlines the standard procedure for randomly reducing contacts.

composition of my focus population and their computer literacy, I decided to develop my face-to-face interview as a paper-based instrument. Now, with the significant recent improvements in tablet computer functionality, conceivably the same interview could have been implemented as a computer-assisted interview (e.g. with VennMaker see: Gamper et al. 2012) without requiring interviewee computer skills and, importantly, without potentially intimidating respondents. This would have significantly reduced the workload involved in digitising paper-based response booklets before I could commence data analysis with a variety of different software applications (primarily using PASW, R and Gephi).

Furthermore, social network questionnaires 'over-sample' social contacts who are frequently interacted with and require the ego to have some knowledge about the circumstances of the alters named. In essence they rely on second-hand information. In other words, analysing personal network interviews does not mean that one is analysing a network for which all the information was reasserted with each person included in the analysis. Rather, the attributes of alters are those that egos ascribe to them. While this can be seen as a drawback, socialising practices as seen from the perspective of the individual describing them to a degree ought to be understood through how that individual perceives them. Differences between ego and alter are ultimately only likely to matter if they are also recognised as such.⁴⁹

As Fuhse and Mützel (2011) argue, one drawback of eliciting data about personal social networks based on categorisations is that it leaves little room for better understanding the implications of different compositions of networks beyond describing the embeddedness of actors within their networks. Their call is to combine qualitative and quantitative data collection to arrive at a better understanding of 'the meaning networks have for the actors' (Fuhse and Mützel 2011: 1079) and, importantly, to address the conundrum of 'conceptualis[ing] networks not as stable structures, but as continuously created, reproduced, and modified in social processes' (Fuhse and Mützel 2011: 1078). Reasoning along those lines, was one of the main motivators for asking both structured and more open-ended questions as part of the personal network interviews but also for adding an additional set of open-ended questions at the end of those interviews (see Appendix 3.8). With those questions I tried to get respondents to talk more about their own understanding of their sociality patterns in relation to the city where they live. This mitigates another limitation of my research design: that within the scope of my research I was only able to interview

⁴⁹ Importantly, the option 'unsure' was always included in the set of possible responses.

respondents once. While this allows for a detailed snapshot of their personal social networks at that particular moment in time, in principle it prohibits investigating how their contacts changed over time and situationally. Frequently, respondents would make comments indicating that had I asked them at a different point in time their list of alters would have been a different one. More open-ended questions, and allowing my respondents to elaborate on their interview responses, enabled me to capture these reflections. Further, insights gained as part of my participant observer role greatly facilitated this combination of different angles in understanding the patterns of sociality recounted by my respondents.

Observing sociality – searching for respondents, finding interactions

I took the role of a 'participant-as-observer – who forms relationships and participates in activities but makes no secret of an intention to observe the event' (Cassell and Symon 2004: 154). This was facilitated by my position as an 'outsider' researcher (see also the next section) as I was frequently asked why I was attending events. Even with a constant churn of informants, especially at my London fieldsites, I was able to let people know my intentions, thus mostly avoiding the ethical concerns associated with concealed participant observation. In accordance with my sampling strategy (see previous chapter), my intention was to participate in as many and as varied events as possible, where I was likely to find Pacific and Māori migrants in social interactions. Although my primary incentive was to use participant observation to identify respondents and build trust and rapport, my use of this method went far beyond an access strategy. As the research unfolded I found myself participating in different social events throughout the six months of research in each city, collecting valuable fieldnotes with a focus on the practices of sociality my respondents and interlocutors engaged in.

The data collected through this method contributes to and informs my analysis, and sets a suitable complement to the data collected as part of the personal network interviews (see also Fleisher 2005). The fieldnotes collected, however, also functioned as a reminder that despite my theoretical determination to move beyond an ethnic lens, the 'cultural stuff' (see Barth 1969: 15) certainly did play an important role in my respondents' social practices. During the analysis phase of the personal network data I frequently consulted my fieldnotes to better understand responses to interview questions and to aggregate categories in a way that reflects how they were discussed at my fieldsites.

Before this I had to 'find' my field and choose appropriate locations for participant observation. As has repeatedly been established, the field is no longer easily found (Amit

2000; Passaro 1997; Gupta and Ferguson 1997). In migration studies, where the subject of study is inevitably mobile, scattered and/or fragmented, the notion of the field as a 'village site' has long had to be changed into something more flexible (e.g. Marcus 1995). Drawing on Amit, this raises the question: 'Where do we "hang out" when the processes which we are studying produce common social conditions [...] but not necessarily coterminous collectivities?' (Amit 2000: 15). One possibility is to carry out research in locations that the research population is expected to frequent at one point or another (Singer 1999). This now common strategy for constructing one's field (see Passaro 1997; Staring 2009; Empez 2009) was also adopted as part of the present study. Yet although the strategy remained the same, the fieldsites identified in London and Toronto certainly differed.

In each city I had to seek my field and sometimes redefine what counted as a suitable event or site for learning about the sociality patterns of smaller migrant groups, and about contexts of superdiversity more generally. I noted in the previous chapter that the logic behind designing this study as dual-sited was not to construct two directly comparable sites but to contrast two geographically distant but, to a degree, similar contexts of superdiversity (see also the following chapter). In terms of data from participant observation this revealed the social patterns that were present in one city but absent in the other. With reference to delineating fieldsites, this exercise was particularly interesting as there were sites I found in one city but not in the other.

Table 4.2 – Participant observation locales in order of frequency of attendance

London	Toronto
weekly Kapa Haka group (open to visitors)	weekly dance practice (only for registered dancers)
semi-weekly Polynesian dance group	church services
semi-weekly language school	social gatherings in peoples' homes
fundraising events (mainly australian attendees)	shopping outlets / food courts
general public events / sports events	family festivities
fundraising events (with mixed public)	public gatherings (e.g. in park)
pub, bar or night club	pub or bar
church services	general public events

In London open and semi-open public events with a strong focus on sharing Pacific Island and Māori culture were much more prominent, while in Toronto I frequently found my

fieldsite when being given a lift from a more private event to the nearest public transport or, in many cases to my home. In Table 4.2 I take stock of the different types of fieldsites I participated in to demonstrate how this process of finding them played out. In Chapter 5 and 6, I present this as a relevant point for further analysis, but here what Table 4.2 shows most clearly is that the social events I was able to attend in London were predominantly public and while those I attended in Toronto were more often private.

‘You remember Fran, the Pākehā girl that is doing her PhD’

The heading of this subsection is an extract from my fieldnotes and was said by one of my respondents when phoning another potential contact on my behalf to facilitate setting up an interview. Pākehā is the Māori word for white person or person of European decent. Being Pākehā, like most labels, can mean many different things (cf. King 2004, 1985). It can be a self-ascribed category or one used to imply that there are certain things the Pākehā⁵⁰ will not, or alternatively will, understand. As with so many labels it is often the way the word is said that conveys its situational connotation. In the context quoted here it was used simply as a descriptive term, as was the reference to my doing a PhD, and yet this short extract requires a further note on methods used as it also implied that ‘the Other’ was staring back at me as part of my research (Fechter 2005) and that I had to find ways of dealing with this, since my intention was not at all to conceptualise my research respondents as ‘other’ but rather as part of the superdiverse contexts I was trying to understand.

I recognised early on in my fieldwork that my research, and in particular participant observation, was also producing self-reflexive fieldnotes about a researcher interacting with a more or less linked group of individuals in two superdiverse cities. As I was building my own social relations across lines of difference – lines which were made to matter more or less in different situations, as the quote shows – my own positionality produced valuable ‘data’ about the very topic I was researching: building and maintaining social ties in a superdiverse context. I thus kept notes on navigating both cities and dropping in and out of fieldsites.

In this thesis I include reflections on this process as it enriches the primary data I collected but, first and foremost, as it helps to recognise the impact I had as an actor in my own study. Responsibility for reflexive engagement with the research process is not absolved by pointing out that the researcher is white, middle class, highly educated, young and female. Yet, emphasising the perceived impact these and other more personality-related traits had

⁵⁰ There are different ways of spelling this word, and obviously different words used in different Islands for example the Samoan version would be Palangi.

on my research, and recognising that throughout fieldwork I was making decisions about where to go, who to include in my study and how to approach people, is pertinent to understanding the data I collected. The analysis of those self-reflexive fieldnotes included in this thesis are thus meant to 'acknowledge[.] and accommodate[.] subjectivity, emotionality, and the researcher's influence on research, rather than hiding from these matters or assuming they don't exist' (Ellis et al. 2010: 3). It can thus be made clear that my positionality impacted on my research in at least two ways: on the one hand with reference to how I frame my own interpretations, and with reference to how I was perceived as a researcher amongst the people I was interviewing.

Concluding ethically – dealing with ethical challenges

In this chapter I have explored the specific ways in which I collected the data that is analysed and presented in the following chapters. I have also made reference to where, due to the exploratory nature of the work, I had to amend and refine my research strategy in response to the social processes I was observing in my two research locations. In many ways the process of data collection for this project, and how it panned out, already gives some insight into the sociality practices I was interested in studying. Before exploring the data in more detail in the subsequent chapters, I will close this chapter with a final reflection on how ethical considerations were made part of this research project and impacted on the data collected and analysed.

SNA entails a specific set of ethical considerations associated with the collection and analysis of this specific kind of data. Borgatti and Molina note one issue which was also pertinent for my research: they contend that within small organisations, and in my case a small group, it is difficult to guarantee respondents' anonymity (Borgatti and Molina 2005). As Kadushin puts it:

[S]ocial network data have one troublesome and distinctive attribute: the collection of names of either individuals or social units is not incidental to the research but is its very point. (Kadushin 2005: 141)

Both articles suggest that in network research there is a trade-off between the ability to guarantee respondents' anonymity – and, importantly, to get informed consent from those people included in the research by proxy – and being able to analyse network data at all. The researcher does have the ability to ensure that respondents' data is anonymised by replacing names with pseudonyms or ID numbers. Yet anonymising the data may not

actually prevent individuals from recognising themselves, or being recognised by others who know them well, in the final write-up of findings. I decided to face this issue head-on and before commencing an interview always talked respondents through an informed consent form (Appendix 4, see also Borgatti and Molina 2005 on importance of consent forms in network studies). In going through the form I emphasised that I would do my best to anonymise their data but that I could not guarantee that they, or people close to them, would not potentially recognise those whom I had interviewed.

Despite these ethical safeguards, the question remains whether it is ethical to ask respondents to name names. This question has been seriously considered and is usually countered with the argument that, because of its analytical potential, the contribution of SNA can outweigh ethical doubts (Kadushin 2005). Although I do not find that argument convincing, since after all most social science data includes information about people whose informed consent cannot be obtained directly, I did take this ethical concern seriously and did not push respondents to tell me the full names of their social contacts. A few respondents offered last names on a voluntary basis but most did not offer this information unsolicited. This means that I cannot link the networks of my respondents with full certainty, for individuals named who I did not interview. Participant observation did allow me to recognise the links between people, and to see that some people were named by multiple respondents, but the analysis of this had to remain at a qualitative level.

Beyond these SNA-specific concerns, other ethical guidelines informed the research practice for this study. Although the study I present can be described as sociological, it is best understood as a contribution to the interdisciplinary field of migration studies or maybe even more so to the emergent field of diversity studies⁵¹. While interdisciplinary research is often celebrated as offering new insights, guidelines on 'good research practice' usually come from within a given discipline. I therefore had to take guidelines for good practice from a number of sources. My research practice was informed by the ethical guidelines of the American Sociological Association (1999a), the Association of Social Anthropologists (1999b), the American Anthropological Association (1971) and the Social Research Association (2003) amongst other sources (cf. Salway et al. 2009). Taking these guidelines into account, I am able to say that I observed their most important point, which was to

⁵¹ See: <http://www.mmg.mpg.de/research/all-projects/the-routledge-international-handbook-of-diversity-studies/> [accessed: 27/06/2013].

ensure that to my knowledge no harm was done to either my respondents, interlocutors or the social contacts named as part of the interviews.

Chapter 5

A TALE OF TWO DIVERCITIES?

London and Toronto as superdiverse contexts

The term DiverCities has been coined to describe cities marked by diversity – in other words cities where diversity is a driving aspect of the social context. Although I could not pinpoint its precise origin, this play on words - and the increased use of it⁵² - is one further manifestation of the interest in and relevance of developing a critical understanding of processes of urban diversification. Having outlined the details of the types of data collected for this research in the previous chapters; in this chapter my main aim is to introduce the two cities, or more precisely metropolitan areas⁵³ that served as my fieldsites – Greater London and the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). The objective here is to present these two cities as two, more often as multiple and nested contexts of superdiversity.

Scholars who have previously carried out comparative research in London and Toronto tend to point to the differential opportunity structures available in the cities (e.g. Berns McGown 1999a; Hopkins 2006; Bashevkin 2006). For example Berns McGown, who researched the Somali community in both cities, argues that: 'Canadian political culture has been more successful and British political culture less so, in creating an environment of legitimacy and respect for immigrants and minorities' (1999a: 161). These differences can be substantiated by considering the diverging colonial pasts of the two cities, with different patterns of in-migration, the different spatial distribution of migrants living in these cities and the different labour market opportunities channelling migrants into complex scatterings of socio-economic backgrounds. Last but not least, although both have acquired a multiculturalist policy framework, its manifestations have certainly differed in the two countries and consequently the two city contexts (cf. Kymlicka 2003; and Reitz 2012 on why the Canadian case is distinctive).

If we were looking to see the two cities as different contexts there would be ample ground to identify them as such. Yet in both cities I also encountered significant similarities such as a certain everyday normality of ethnic difference, an ever-present mixing and mingling of

⁵² For example through large scale research projects such as the FP7 funded 'DIVERCITIES - Governing Urban Diversity: Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-diversified Cities': http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/543_en.html [accessed: 27/05/2013] or 'GLOBALDIVERCITIES' project: <http://www.mmg.mpg.de/?id=488> [accessed 27/05/2013].

⁵³ In this thesis I use the word city generally to denote the large metropolitan areas of the GTA and Greater London. If my intention is to refer to the central areas of London or Toronto I will clearly refer to them as 'the city of Toronto' and 'Inner London' (cf. Figure 5.1 and 5.2).

people from different backgrounds (more so in some areas less so in others) and an elaborate diversity of spaces that were more or less amenable to social interactions. In other words, in framing the two cities as superdiverse contexts it is necessary to recognise that they are both internally differentiated. Thus they constitute both multiple nested contexts of superdiversity *and* are two distinct contexts of superdiversity.

The chapter thus also queries, if and how London and Toronto can be appreciated as DiverCities in terms of offering social opportunities for engaging with diverse others. The broader aim is to clearly show how and why considering contexts of superdiversity needs to go beyond contemplating the variables that are associated with the notion. As I enter the empirical analysis of my chosen case studies and fieldsites, it is crucial to understand how London and Toronto offer an interesting contrast for studying the sociality patterns of migrants in the relatively small and fuzzy migrant cohorts my study focuses on. I commence this chapter with a theoretical elaboration of how ideas of the city as context link to recognising that superdiversity as a context differs from, but is also interlinked with, superdiversity as a set of variables. I then concentrate on four broad contextual aspects relevant for linking these contexts to my research population. The contextual parameters thus described are the backdrop against which the practices and patterns of sociality described in the following chapters ought to be understood.

The city as context and setting contextual parameters

London and Toronto have both experienced the influx of large numbers of foreign born nationals over the past decades. Both are 'migrant magnets' in so far as they attract a relatively higher share of migrants than other areas in the UK or Canada (Statistics Canada 2007b; Krausova and Vargas-Silva 2013). The census figures clearly suggest that those migrants also come from everywhere in the world, and that there is a significant share of the foreign born population who have migrated in smaller numbers if compared, for example, to the top ten origin countries. Although I could confine this analysis of London and Toronto to describing how changing migration patterns and importantly changes in the migration regimes have resulted in superdiverse population configurations, this information (if available) has mostly already been collated by other commentators (for London see particularly Vertovec 2007; but also Aspinall 2012; Nathan 2011; Sepulveda et al. 2011; Kyambi 2005; for Toronto see Fong 2006; Newbold 2011; Murdie and Ghosh 2010; Anisef and Lanphier 2003; Boudreau et al. 2009 especially Chapter 5; and, although not Toronto or London focused, Reitz et al. 2009; Reitz 1988).

Instead in exploring my two fieldsites as superdiverse contexts I want to slightly depart from this line of argument. The 'city as context' approach which drives this exploration emphasises 'the unique features of particular cities in understanding the effects of immigration and resulting cultural diversity.' (Foner 2007:1000; see also Brettell 2003a) and as I argue should also take concurrent aspects – the similarities of city contexts – into account. It ought to be clear by now that understanding London and Toronto as superdiverse contexts points beyond origin-based cultural diversity and incorporates other migration-related trajectories, and importantly more general aspects of diversification.

Mitchell (2001), in deliberating about how to delineate the urban context of a study, clearly asks researchers to distinguish between 'studies of behaviour or culture which happens to be located *in* the city as against studies of behaviour or culture which is characteristic *of* the city' (2001: 21-2, emphasis in original). He argues that if the former (the city as 'locus' rather than 'focus') is the intended practice then:

The process of establishing the contextual parameters encompassing the form of behaviour being examined demands an explicit specification of which features of *city circumstances* are relevant to the problem under review and a statement in general terms of the way in which these features constitute *constraints and opportunities* for people living within them. But the setting of contextual parameters [...] need be conducted at only a fairly general level. (Mitchell 2001: 22, emphasis added)

Although it is debatable whether the locus and focus are indeed as separable as suggested in this discussion, it is not the intention to present here what qualifies London or Toronto as superdiverse – this could easily constitute a study of its own for each city but would also stand in opposition to my theoretical argument that seeing superdiversity as a social phenomenon characterising a city is not as fruitful as invoking the notion for more general analytical purposes. Clearly in this study the cities are mostly a locus rather than a focus and a quite general setting of contextual parameters should suffice as the aim of this chapter.

'Under review' in this study are practices of sociality and the resultant patterns of sociality. Thus the contextual aspects relevant are those associated to better understanding those practices and patterns. As a first contextual aspect I want to discuss perceptions of migration-related diversity and how they are invoked in popular debates. Here I identify that migration-related diversity has become a trope focused primarily on the many places people come from but that those representations are already starting to fray at the edges. Despite

this fraying at the edges, at the time of my research, I was frequently told of ideas about who one ought to be social with in the city. Those articulations seem to still be engaged in older narratives of the impacts of migration on the city's social fabric, and the question emerges if newer debates will in the short or long term change those imaginaries of sociality. I then continue my analysis by contrasting this diversity trope of how migration diversifies cities with a discussion framed by broader superdiverse contextual parameters. I consider, migration, legal status and labour market trajectories in turn and how these also provide an important context for patterns of sociality. Finally I add two further aspects which I think are relevant as contextual parameters of superdiversity – perceptions of the city and its spatial diversity. By focusing the analysis on these aspects I am framing them as background information for my later analysis and am suggesting that superdiversity as context has to take into account a broader array of aspects than its enumerable configurations.

Diversity as context – the trope of the many places

While preparing for and later during my fieldwork, I noticed a quite distinct narrative of how migration is said to diversify the two cities where I conducted research. This could be gleaned from reading both public policy reports on diversity in the cities and generally following the way migration-related diversity was portrayed in the media. This narrative focused primarily on the idea that diversified international migration to a city equals more people from more places. Features of this often celebrated idea of diversity are the count of different ethnicities or languages spoken in the city, but also an emphasis on the share of foreign-born more abstractly aggregated in broader ethnic groups, or in terms of shares of black and minority ethnic groups (BME).

To find evidence that migration-related diversity is framed primarily under this banner, I did not have to dig too deep. On a webpage entitled 'Facts and figures publications – Diversity'⁵⁴, the Greater London Authority, lists eight publications, seven of which contain the word 'ethnic' or 'ethnicity'.⁵⁵ Similarly on the website of the City of Toronto, while the page

⁵⁴ <http://www.london.gov.uk/who-runs-london/mayor/publications/society/facts-and-figures/diversity> [accessed: 29/10/12]. Since the website was last accessed the entire 'facts and figures' section has been removed from the London.gov website. At this point it is not clear if this is because of updating this section of the website with 2011 census information or whether this is due to other reasons.

⁵⁵ The only exception being a publication entitled: '2001 Census Profiles: Black Caribbeans in London' which despite its specificity still remains within the trend of enumerating the Black Caribbeans living in London, but does differentiate age structure, household composition and economic activity amongst other factors. Another publication that moves somewhat beyond the enumeration of ethnic groups is entitled: 'Ethnic Migration Structures' and investigates migration patterns by ethnic group.

entitled 'Diversity'⁵⁶ commences with the statement: 'Diversity of race, religion and lifestyle help define and set Toronto apart from other world cities', it continues, 'Toronto is home to virtually all of the world's culture groups and it is the city where more than 100 languages and dialects are spoken.' The webpage then lists the five most numerous ethnic groups and the 15 most frequently spoken mother tongues in the Census Metropolitan Area⁵⁷, but makes no further reference to the other aspects of diversity mentioned previously.

In the city of Toronto a different use of diversity predates these representations. Since 1998, and following the amalgamation of six municipalities and the metro area of Toronto, the city's official slogan has been 'Diversity our strength'. One idea is that this slogan refers to the 'combined strength of the seven municipalities'⁵⁸. However, it has variously been portrayed as a reference to the ethnic and cultural diversity of Toronto (e.g. Allahwala 2008; University of Toronto 2013). Related to this, at the time of my fieldwork the popular website Torontoist.com which advertises the city's restaurants and cultural events went on a search for a new slogan for the city, allowing readers to submit slogans and then vote on the ten best contenders (Topping 2010b). Most – but importantly not all – new slogans hinted at Toronto's many cultures and languages.⁵⁹

Diversity gives cities a competitive edge as Florida (2004) has noted in describing the rise of the creative class. Although he refers to different aspects of diversity, this idea is also frequently invoked when diversity is referred to in relation to the impacts of migration. Then it is still primarily phrased in terms of numerous groups distinguished by their or their ancestors' places of origin. The long-lived urban legend that Toronto has officially been declared the most multicultural city in the world by the United Nations demonstrates that understanding, even though it has now been recognised that the city was never officially honoured with this title (Doucet 2004). Furthermore, the recent release of 2011 census data

⁵⁶ http://www.toronto.ca/quality_of_life/diversity.htm [accessed: 29/10/2012]. Since last being accessed the website has been updated and at the time of writing a section linked as 'diversity' in the subsection 'living in Toronto' refers the reader to a page entitled 'Toronto's racial diversity' whereas a general search for diversity on the website redirects to the Office of Equity, Diversity and Human Rights, and indicates a general shift towards a notion of diversity that includes migration-related diversity and aims to address it jointly with other aspects of diversity, namely gender, disability, sexuality and age, as well as creating a space for Native Peoples in the public image. Programs are then aimed at allowing equality of access and in reference to migration-related diversity, mainly focused on not under-utilising the skills migrants bring to the city.

⁵⁷ The census metropolitan area (CMA) is roughly concurrent with the administrative boundaries of the GTA (see later section on spatiality of the superdiverse contexts).

⁵⁸ <http://www.toronto.ca/protocol/coatofarms.htm> [accessed: 20/04/2013].

⁵⁹ The ten slogans and the percentage of the vote they won were: Fall in XO with TO (34%), Toronto. Forever Yonge (13%), Toronto Speaks Your Language (12%), Visit Toronto. See the World (11%), Tronto: The world in one city (11%), Toronto the Good (7%), Toronto: A world of Neighbourhoods (6%), A World of Difference (2%), Come in, we're open (1%), Toronto: Nations United (1%).(Topping 2010a)

on language use resulted in Toronto being dubbed the 'Capital of language diversity in Canada' (Minski 2012). Interestingly this claim is made on the basis that Toronto has the largest share of residents mostly speaking an immigrant language at home, rather than on the basis that Toronto is the city where the largest number of different languages are spoken.⁶⁰ Still this claim to maximum diversity in terms of language use is another example of how the word is invoked in relation to the impacts of migration. Headlines such as 'Toronto takes on London and New York in diversity game' (Spicer 2007), referring to the number of foreign-born living in the city, show how this 'race' for the largest and most differentiated foreign-born population is perceived as a global competitive advantage.

This competition over diversity of origins and languages was particularly pronounced in London at the time of my fieldwork because it was one of the cornerstones of the successful London bid for the 2012 Olympics. Although the bid was won in 2005, the idea that there would be a fan for every team was carried through to the games when emails and facebook updates circulated by respondents and interlocutors clearly showed that the teams were in fact being welcomed by their co-nationals living in the city. This links to how I first 'encountered' future informants being represented as part of the city's diversity.

When I was initially searching for Pacific people in London, I came across three artistic projects spurred by the Olympic bid (Sibelly 2005; Powell and Horne 2007; Svanderlik 2012) and later a fourth (The Photographers Gallery 2012), all trying to depict the many faces of London by collecting pictures of different London residents to visually capture 'the world in one city'. All included at least one portray of a future informant. Two of these projects claimed that their aim was to prove that London was the most multicultural city in the world (Sibelly 2005; Powell and Horne 2007). Each of these photo projects included at least one picture of a person of British, or more specifically English, heritage. One project which made 'every effort [...] to embrace a broad range of ethnic backgrounds' (Svanderlik 2012) also tried to represent visually some of the sub-cultures people brought to the city, as well as people with a wide range of ages. This latter twist in particular seems to clearly mark a fraying at the edges of the 'many places' notion of migration-related diversity. This is in tune

⁶⁰ With 163 different languages reported as being spoken at home Toronto, it still ranked third behind Edmonton (167 different languages reported) and Vancouver (179 different languages reported) (Minski 2012). Interestingly, that Toronto is the capital of language diversity in the sense described is not a new phenomenon as it already had a higher share of migrants speaking a non-official language at home according to the 2006 census (Hiebert 2009: 12).

with calls for more differentiated representation of people and, in consequence, diversity (Fanshawe and Sriskandarajah 2010).

This increased highlighting of other aspects of migration-related diversity goes beyond the vision of people from everywhere living together in relative proximity, i.e. the origin-based conception of community previously used to describe London and Toronto as multicultural cities. To date the conventional, many people from many places diversity idea is not usually framed as problematic. However, this portrayal of diverse city contexts is open to the criticism of being nothing more than old multicultural wine in new bottles (cf. Essed 2002). In other words, with its similarity in focusing on differences in origin it gives rise to the same concerns articulated by those commentators proclaiming a crisis of, and backlash against, multiculturalism (for an overview see Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010 but also; Vertovec 2010; Lentin and Titley 2011; Kymlicka 2010; and Ley 2005).

How is this linked to practices of sociality? In a number of my interviews in both London and Toronto I noticed that respondents made reference to particular ideas about who (outside their own origin group) they should befriend in London and in Toronto. In most cases, those imaginaries of who to be social with reflected older conceptions of migration-related diversity conceived of in terms of majority and minority populations. Rarely if ever did those ideas of who to be social with reflect the just described newer and emergent imaginaries of migration-related diversity. Ravi one of my Fijian respondents in London when looking at his 'network map' (see Appendix 3.6.b) proclaimed: 'Mind you, looking at this I can honestly say, I need to get more English friends' (Ravi, 32, London, Interview: 20/04/2010)⁶¹.

Similar imaginaries also prevailed in Toronto. An extreme case was one respondent, Tane (38, Toronto, Interview: 03/11/2010), whose social experience of moving to the city is best described as 'diversity shock'. When he first moved to the city his expectation was to socially engage with 'Canadians' but in fact he found that he and his family only met people from elsewhere. In his particular case he had moved into a flat owned by the extended family of a former neighbour in New Zealand (who himself had migrated to New Zealand from Eastern Europe). Through this social introduction, their contacts became those of their new hosts. This clearly was not in line with Tane's imagination of how one ought to experience living in Canada, and he and his family found this aspect of their first experiences in Toronto very disheartening. He commented that their social experience of the city only improved once

⁶¹ All names referring to respondents and informants are anonymised.

they had made contact with the local New Zealander group and found new social contacts (also including the desired Canadians) through this avenue.

The question should then be posed how the many places notion of diversity as a context will eventually impact on changing imaginaries of who to be social with in a diverse city. Let me re-emphasise that I am not primarily interested in critiquing representations of diversity based on the 'many origins' idea, since they do have a purpose and I contend that they mark a shift from earlier understandings of the impacts of migration on city populations (see Chapter 2). Instead, what I want to point out is that the quasi-one-dimensional understanding of diversity invoked by this representation results in diversity becoming a trope which does not reflect the fraying at the edges that is clearly evident. This offers the risk that while diversity is celebrated today, tomorrow it might be used as *the* (easy) explanation for social divisions,⁶² as its meaning could shift from emphasising the commonality of being different to the social divisions those differences purportedly cause.

This is why it is necessary to recognise these representations as an important context for my study, especially since the photo projects I used as an example for the reproduction of the 'many origins' trope (and in part as a contestation of it) were one of the very few instances where my focus population was explicitly framed as part of the wider diversity of the city.⁶³ This trend in Toronto found expression through the inclusion of Polynesian shows in some of the regular festivities celebrating Toronto's multiculturalism or diversity.⁶⁴

Although I contend that there is a link between a popular understanding of how migration diversifies cities and practices of sociality, clearly the trope just described limits an understanding of superdiversity as context. It is not readily able to recognise the many different ways in which migration diversifies cities and in the following I turn to an analysis of how a superdiversity lens sets a more nuanced context for understanding practices of sociality. This is done by describing processes of diversification in terms of migration, legal status and labour market trajectories. What the reflections in this section have already shown is that while London and Toronto differ in the way migration-related diversity is invoked, they also show significant convergences.

⁶² Or already today if one follows Putnam's (2000) analysis.

⁶³ I should qualify this statement: there are other - albeit rare - representations of my South Pacific Migrants in the news and elsewhere, but those are only linked to the diversity of the city if they relate to the 'many places' trope. (e.g. Lambert 2012)

⁶⁴ It has to be noted that in those performances the performers were frequently not from the South Pacific (see Chapter 6).

Superdiversity as context – there are many aspects of migration-related diversity

In developing an understanding of London and Toronto as superdiverse contexts it is important to focus on those aspects that are less frequently part of the rhetoric defining them as diverse contexts, but that are also used to describe processes of diversification beyond the notion of ‘many people from many places’ discussed in the previous section. The three I explore briefly here are: (1) migration trajectories (‘there are many people with many different migration stories’); (2) legal status trajectories (‘there are many people with many different legal statuses which change over time’); and (3) labour market experiences (‘there are many people who have moved and have many different jobs’).

There are many people with many different migration stories

The best indication that the foreign-born in both London and Toronto have had many different migration trajectories is to look at the historical development of the cities’ current population composition. This literature shows the localised and changing patterns of migration to and from both cities, and the specificity of the contexts under review. For example, regarding London, John Eade points out: ‘Contemporary London’s cultural diversity is the product of a global migration dominated by those from Britain’s former empire’ (Eade 2000: 180). This notion, while certainly applicable, also suggests a research focus on larger migration streams from some, but not all, former colonies. Most of my London respondents would fall within the category of being from former colonies or protectorates; however their migration trajectories are less bound up with post Second World War migrations or the dismantling of empire. Their migration is much more set within a current system of global migration that gives rise to people from many places moving to many destinations via various routes (Gamlen 2010). Yet it would be wrong to assume that their migration is pioneering, in the sense that before this shift there was no one from the Pacific region living in London (The Museum of London 2010) or that colonial history is not an influential aspect of the development of pan-pacific socialising patterns. This suggests that the changing nature of migration patterns is germane to the notion that there are ‘people from all over the place’ living in London, but that the notion goes beyond this. In Chapter 7, where I pick up this discussion of different trajectories in relation to my respondents, I refer to a number of different ways of describing migration trajectories: individual migration or moving with someone; moving elsewhere first, or not, and planning on staying or leaving. All of those aspects feed into an appreciation of the different migration trajectories that bring people to the city and lay the foundation for their social engagement in the city. It follows that

London's foreign-born population encompasses endless permutations of different trajectories of migration, both because people move in different ways and because migration patterns have changed over time.

Regarding Toronto, this argument that trajectories change over time can be pushed further. Harold Troper (2003) outlined the development of migration to the city and emphasised that the channels of migration have not always been evenly open to all (nor are they now) but that migration policy at the national and provincial level has had lasting impacts on the population composition of contemporary Toronto. Troper (2003) separated these migrations into pre- and post- Second World War migrations, the period of multiculturalism and the rise in refugee flows in the 1980's and 90's, all of which now converge in the city. Kristin Good emphasises the marked shift in the ethnic composition from primarily White British settlers to a much more ethnically diverse one (both in the city and its suburbs) starting in the 1980's (Good 2009). This stands in contrast to the image of Toronto as a city of ethnic neighbourhoods (cf. Hackworth and Rekers 2005; Qadeer 2004), which is now increasingly inaccurate as the 'indistinct' places in-between and beyond those neighbourhoods have become the destination of much migration to the city – including my interlocutors and respondents.

There are many ways of moving through legal statuses

An example from my fieldwork documents how history has also played a part in the complex configurations of London and Toronto's diversity with regard to legal status trajectories. I used current classifications from the Citizenship and Immigration Canada website⁶⁵ as broad questionnaire categories for respondents to choose the visa status under which they entered Canada. Respondents in Toronto would frequently choose the 'other' category or the 'visitor visa' option (42.9 per cent). During interviews it emerged that in most cases my respondents identified as 'landed immigrants', an older category which is no longer in (official) use. Newer terminology introduced after their move made little sense to my respondents. For my informants in London, however, who generally arrived more recently, choosing a category seemed to be easier. Yet a number of survey respondents (22.2 per cent) chose the 'other' option because their specific right to enter and stay in the UK was based on a more detailed clause that my general categories did not cover. One survey respondent who had arrived very recently even provided the answer 'Tier 5 Youth Mobility Scheme Visa' although he had

⁶⁵ <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/index.asp> [accessed 10/05/2010].

the option of choosing 'Work and Travel Visa', a lay term for a visa with similar conditions, and the way it was known before the new 'points' system came into effect.

This changing of relevant and available statuses is coupled with multiple different ways of moving from one status to another (cf. Bauböck 2012). I will explore this in more detail in Chapter 7 but to briefly document this point, in London many of my interlocutors initially came as Overseas Experience / Work and Travel migrants and the stories of how to move from this status, which limits their stay to two years, to another one, were frequently discussed. Those strategies and the possible trajectories I heard discussed included stays in Ireland, finding a job then returning to New Zealand and applying for a work visa, or simply overstaying – to name but a few options. Similarly, deciding to take up citizenship involved social interactions with others who had taken the necessary tests already. These discussions of possible trajectories emphasises that for individuals figuring out which of them to follow was indeed a social process as it involved inquiring with others about different options available and what their consequences would be for the individual.

In Toronto, as already noted, many of my respondents had come as 'landed immigrants', a process which was often described as arriving and then after a minimum of 5 years of residency eventually taking citizenship. However the trajectory was not always as clear. One of my respondents reflected at length on the fact that because she had lost her passport at the time of first filing for citizenship she then waited a further ten years before filing again, not because her passport was missing for ten years, but because she had decided to stay on a 'dependent' visa in the meantime. Additionally a few of my Indo-Fijian informants had come initially as refugees fleeing the political turmoil in the Islands following one of Fiji's numerous coups. Others who said that they came for the same reason arrived as landed immigrants or were sponsored by those already in Toronto.

The web of possible legal trajectories available and those used by my fuzzy focus population clearly differs between London and Toronto. In addition to possible ways of moving through statuses, the foreign-born population is also composed of those who came during different time periods and thus under different preconditions for moving through statuses. This indicates the relevance of migration regimes and their link to the multiplicity of status trajectories available and suggests that temporality of superdiversity contexts is clearly an important contextual aspect to keep in mind in the analysis of patterns of sociality.

There are many people who moved and had many different jobs

The example of different legal statuses shows that each city's diversity is strongly anchored in the multiplicity of opportunities to enter it and the historical developments which have brought people there. In a more contemporary way a similar process is at play with regard to labour market trajectories. I conducted fieldwork in London at the height of the financial crisis and the most prominent response for many – particularly New Zealand-born – interlocutors was to start looking for jobs away from London, back in New Zealand or in other destinations around the world. Frequently, respondents named social contacts who had left the city within the last six months because of the crisis.

Another example of a change in labour market trajectories involves Fijians, who were previously recruited directly by British officers stationed in the islands. Following the expulsion of Fiji from the Commonwealth due to concerns over the military rule of Colonel Bainimarama, such recruitment ended. However, Fijians could still join the British armed forces by coming to London for six months to take the required tests; some then financed the trip and participated in the enrolment process of subsequent waves of recruits, meaning that their staying on for longer was not as certain as with previous recruits and that they had to rely more intensely on their social links in the city than previous Fijian migrants joining the armed forces.

In Toronto, although the majority of my respondents were more settled and at a point in their career where change affected their labour market trajectory less, those respondents who had been in the city for a shorter period reported a difficult process of getting paperwork in order to commence work, getting qualifications recognised to enter specific work areas, and finding work in their desired field for both themselves and their spouse. This implied they were subject to very uncertain employment trajectories, and for one of my Toronto respondents this meant he decided to move back to New Zealand. However another younger respondent who had been able to find his desired position moved up within his company. His partner already being established occupationally in the city, the couple also did not have to be concerned about finding work commensurate with both their skill levels.

Those respondents who had been in the city for longer, although now more settled in their trajectories, did tell me they had had various different jobs, sometimes with the help of co-nationals in finding initial positions to establish themselves in their own occupational

trajectory, but sometimes the other way around, first going out to find their own job and later using social links and finding employment with a co-national.

These examples of migration, legal status and labour market trajectories clearly show how migration-related diversity implies different possible trajectories, linked to other social changes at particular times. This then contributes to the nature of population diversity and to its change over time. Those changes and the potential trajectories available to interlocutors clearly had an impact on sociality practices in the city and thus are relevant for understanding the superdiversity context of the city. Again, they show clear context specificities in London and Toronto but also point to the similarity of the diversification processes considered. Yet, as I pointed out in the introduction, in describing superdiversity as a context, in particular if the focus is on practices of sociality, it is necessary to look further than this. I next consider the role of the spatial diversity of the cities to further my argument about the concurrent differences and similarities of the superdiversity contexts under consideration. I close my elaborations on the city as context by briefly pointing to the multiplicity of perceptions of the city and how this can be thought of as a contextual aspect that impacts on individual sociality practices.

Spatiality of sociality – many different places make up the city

Siemiatycki and Isin point out:

Attempting to portray Toronto's demographic diversity first poses the inevitable dilemma of nomenclature. Synonymous with urban sprawl, multiple incarnations of Toronto presently exist. [...]. Toronto as a municipal government now refers to the [...] amalgamated city, providing a single mayor and council for the six previously federated municipalities of Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough, York, East York and Toronto. [...] The Greater Toronto Area (GTA), represents the Toronto city region as designated by the province of Ontario, taking in the 25 municipalities [...]. Lastly, there is the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA), which is largely, but not wholly overlapping with the GTA. Excluded from Toronto's CMA are Burlington to the west and five municipalities to the east, most notably Whitby and Oshawa. (1997: 75)

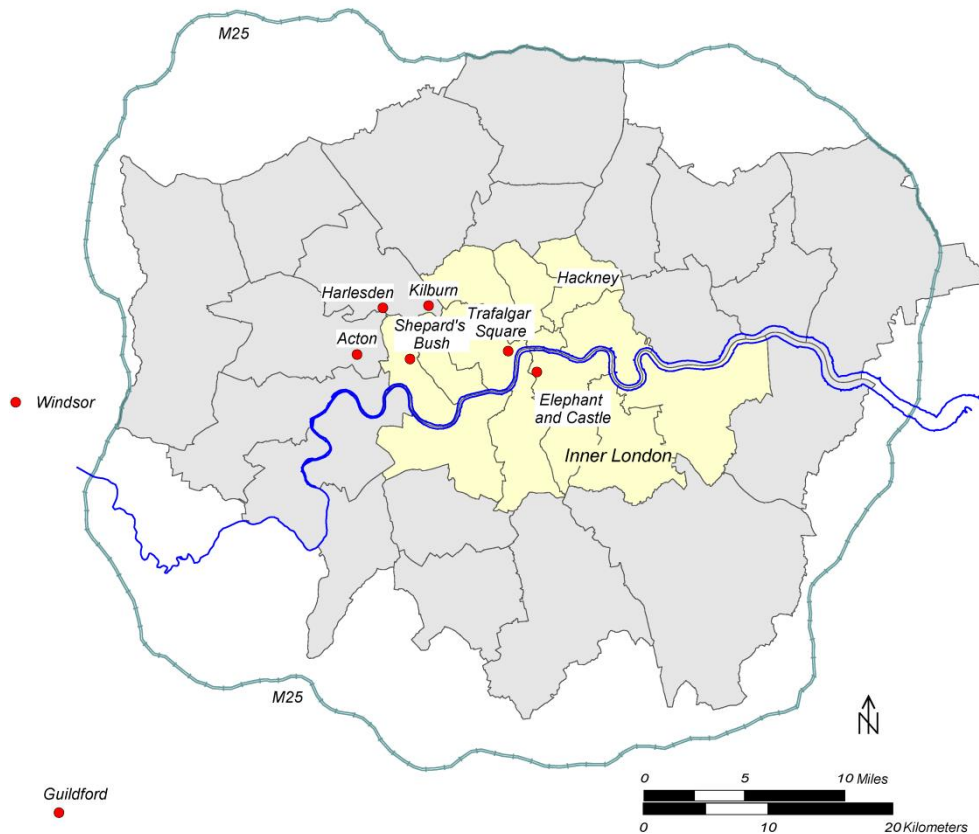
Similarly, London has a history of becoming Greater London in the configuration that it is now found on maps delineating the city's boundaries. This multiplicity of both cities in terms of nomenclature is also evident in the spatial diversity of the cities. This spatiality of the superdiverse contexts can be shown by way of clearly delineating the local geographic reach of my study.

The specific sites where I conducted fieldwork at events, visited respondents for interviews or just hung out were spread across the metropolitan areas. To get to the various localities in London where I conducted fieldwork, I had to move through much of its spatial terrain, and indeed beyond London to nearby Windsor (a town just west of London and the location of one of the army bases where a number of Fijian families linked to my respondents were living) and to Guildford (a town south of London with a nearby park that houses Hinemehi, a Māori wharehau (meeting house) which is the site of annual festivities and fundraisers). Nonetheless certain parts of London completely dropped off of my fieldwork map (see Figure 5.1). For example I hardly set foot in most of East London, bar Hackney, or the areas of Greater London closer to the M25, the circular motorway that roughly concurs with the city's administrative borders. These places are mentioned in some of the interviews but there was never an occasion when I physically ventured there to observe, participate in events with, or interview respondents.

In Toronto my fieldwork primarily took place in the cities of Brampton, Mississauga, and in the City of Toronto, and within the latter particularly in Etobicoke, Central Toronto and Scarborough. I occasionally crossed the 407 North highway and two of the events I attended were located in the towns of Pickering and Ajax in the GTA regional municipality of Durham (see Figure 5.2). Yet again, my fieldwork at times took me to places not strictly within the boundaries of the metropolitan area such as Kitchener or Hamilton (cities just west of the GTA where Islanders linked to my respondents in the city lived). Thus in both cases, in terms of networks, the cities under consideration could hardly be confined to their administrative boundaries (see also Chapter 7 on identifying a city sample). Additionally, while spatially I could claim that my fields were comprised of and went beyond the GTA and Greater London, this would be inaccurate because the actual sites where I conducted fieldwork were frequently limited to the confines of a living room or table inside a pub – and this was arguably also the case for the sociality practices of my informants.

Based on the interviews I conducted in respondents' homes (32 out of 55), different residential locations sometimes did and sometimes did not translate into noticeably different physical contexts. Some of the interviews conducted with respondents who lived close to each other seemed to be located in very distinct areas of town; whereas other respondents who lived far apart appeared to be living in the 'same kinds of' indistinct residential areas.

Figure 5.1– Greater London: place names mentioned in the text



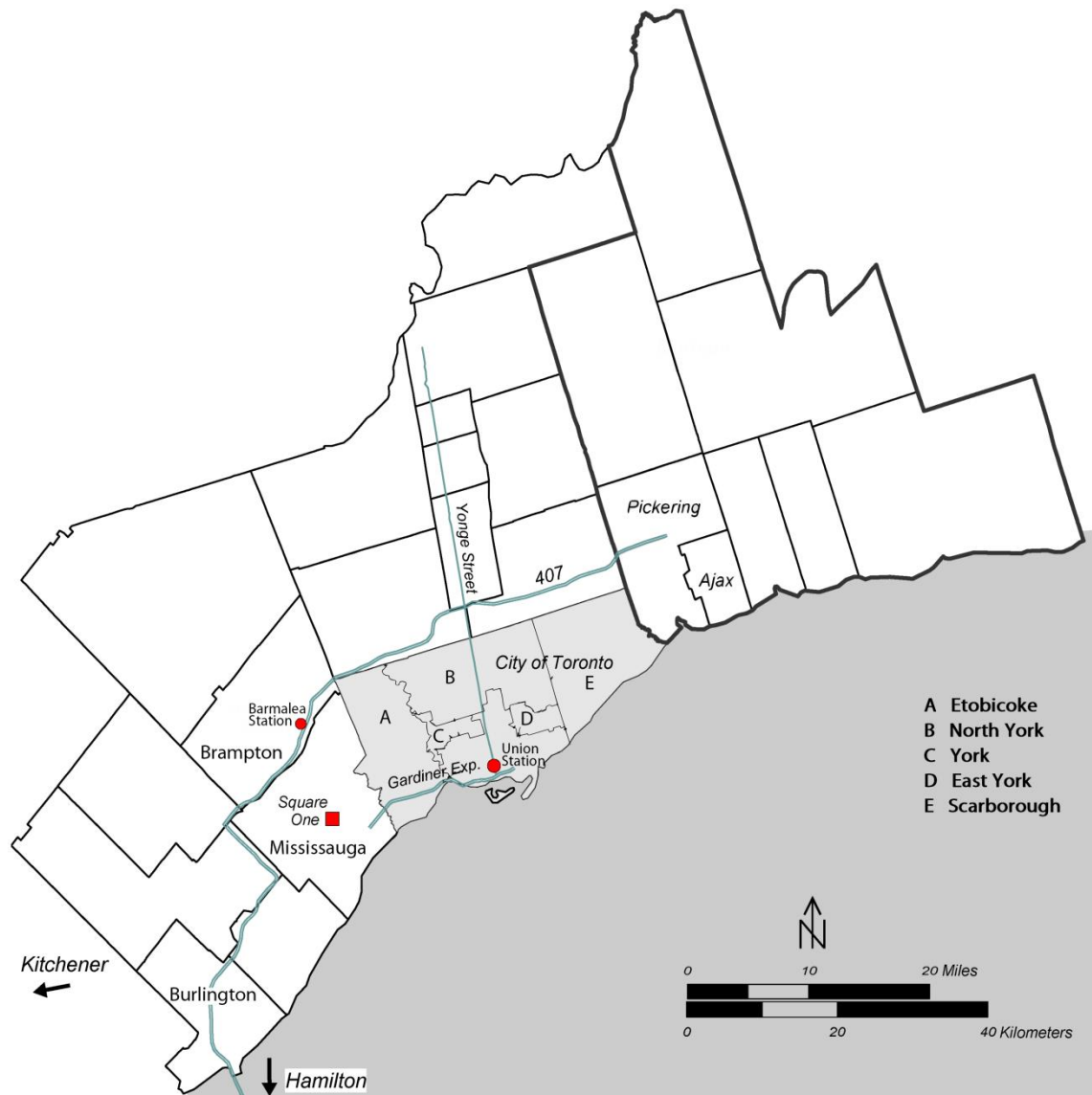
Moving about in the city made these spatial divergences most obvious. Getting on the tube in Kilburn⁶⁶ where I was based during my research in London and going to Elephant and Castle to meet a respondent, I felt as if I was emerging into a completely different city as the topography and visible sub-cultures could not have been more different.⁶⁷ The same applies if one gets on the bus at Union Station in ‘bustling’ downtown Toronto and gets off at Bramalea Station which is situated in the heart of industrial estates that border picket-fenced housing plots. The obvious differences in the physical makeup of these social spaces is substantial, and I am reflecting on it at length because it poses the important question of how to write about ‘Toronto’ or ‘London’ as two distinct superdiverse contexts. These spatial differentiations are in most cases not linked to discussions about the diversity of cities, but if the aim is to recognise the city as context, they clearly take on an important role, as they

⁶⁶ An area which has amicably been described by Massey (1994) although now signs commemorating the IRA are difficult to find and the local theatre is drawing in the nearby living arty crowd and if you turn the corner you find a dentist that advertises its services in multiple languages.

⁶⁷ In fact if I had continued the journey from Elephant and Castle and got out of the tube at Aldgate to go to Brick Lane or continued on from there to Epping in leafy suburban London or alternatively if one just took a five minute stroll from more ‘working class’ Kilburn High Street to Queens Park with its recently established collection of boutique shops this experience of journeying through different cities have continued *ad infinitum*.

complicate the assumption that each city can be described as a social context with a particular structure of socialising opportunities associated with it.

Figure 5.2 – Greater Toronto Area: place names mentioned in the text



Regarding spatial diversity, the issue at hand is that the cities in their geographic spread cover many different areas and are difficult to survey in any one study. In my own research, following the networks and social activities of my respondents and informants, I was not bound to a particular area of the city. This has made me acutely aware of the fact that I was only able to observe the tip of the iceberg regarding how differentiated each city is in this regard. The difficulty of grasping the city as a whole explains why few studies discuss cities in their entirety unless reference is made to that city as bound up in a global (economic

and/or political) system (e.g. Massey 2008; Alexander ; Sassen 2001; Rao 2007). Further it shows that it is important not to succumb to 'methodological cityism'⁶⁸ or to frame the city in terms of offering a specific set of social opportunities – which seems to be implied in some comparative work that focuses on finding differences but neglects the smaller-scale similarities between the cities.⁶⁹

Watson's (2006) work on spaces of diversity in London offers a good example for reference of how differentiated the city is, as it emphasises that there are many places and situations across the city where differences are negotiated. Similarly in Toronto a micro-example was given by the former Mayor of Toronto, David Miller (2010), who referred to an anecdote about a high rise building which in itself was an entire economic system, where one could do one's shopping, get a haircut, transfer money and do other day-to-day tasks without leaving the building. Although only two of my respondents in Toronto lived in a similar type of housing, this anecdote provides a glimpse of how spatial differences can intuitively be assumed to have an impact on patterns of sociality. Additionally it is recognised that both London and Toronto show internally very differentiated settlement patterns with distinct patterns of the concentration of migrants from different origins (Hiebert 2009; Poulsen et al. 2009). In Toronto, for example, none of my respondents lived in one of the acclaimed ethnic neighbourhoods, often portrayed as distinctive of the city (Qadeer 2004) although some had spent significant time living in and around Danforth East in an area known as Greektown. Instead my respondents mainly lived in the indistinct spaces between or beyond those branded areas of the city. As Hulchanski's (2007) analysis of Toronto proclaims, the city, if explored through income inequalities, is in fact 'three cities in one'. My respondents could also be found across those spatially manifested divides. A similar residential spread was also evident for my London respondents (see Maps in Chapter 3).

⁶⁸ Methodological cityism is a term recently coined to refer to: 'an overwhelming analytical and empirical focus on the traditional city to the exclusion of other aspects of contemporary urbanization processes' (Angelo and Wachsmuth 2013) and referenced in Brenner (2013: 99).

⁶⁹ To be clear, I am here not implying that previous literature has not considered those spatial aspects of being social in the city (e.g. Knowles 2012). My aim is simply to point out that these spatial differentiations are at least in part linked to migration-related diversifications and superdiversity as a context. Further, to my knowledge, these internal differences that cities in fact often have in common are frequently glossed over in comparative work.

Figure 5.3 – London field impressions



(a)



(b)



(c)

- (a) "Indistinct" neighbourhood
- (b) Outdoor netball game
- (c) Waitangi day celebrations Central London

Figure 5.4 – Toronto field impressions



(a)



(b)



(c)

- (a) Location of New Zealand themed pub
- (b) Toronto central business district
- (c) Barmalea station

This further supports my argument that neither city constitutes a distinct urban social context that can easily be delineated and solely through which the social interactions of my respondents can be explained and made sense of. To support my argumentation visually I have collated a number of pictures from my fieldwork in on the following pages to highlight the distinctiveness of different spaces within the same city.

Despite being similar in terms of their diverse spatiality, traversing the cities nonetheless marked clear differences between London and Toronto as the loci of social interactions. The most clearly articulated distinction was linked to the reachability of social spaces and was epitomised through each city's public transport system – which in London is quite extensive although frequently faulty, and in Toronto much less extensive, particularly if one's aim was to move between and not just within one of the city's regional municipalities. Consequently, in Toronto on numerous occasions I had to be given a lift from the nearest metro or bus stop to wherever my fieldwork was taking place. Riding in cars was a social and at the same time anti-social experience. I was able to talk to my respondents prior to interviews or to the event we were going to, but could not observe their interactions with others, unless a comment was made about the driving of a fellow road user. In London I was rarely in need of a lift and instead sometimes rode the tube together with a group of interlocutors to get from one social event to another, rubbing shoulders with individuals who otherwise would not have been tangential to my research. This was also reflected on in my interviews as the quality of the public transport and meeting and interacting with strangers within this social space was mentioned by a few respondents, in Toronto obviously only by those who did use this mode of transport on a regular basis.

This section has made reference to spatial differentiation as part and parcel of superdiverse contexts. I included this as relevant for my context because it most clearly demonstrates that if in the following I refer to London and Toronto, I am not referring to the cities in a reified (or representative) sense but rather recognise that each city contains multiple nested contexts of superdiversity. At the same time the example of the divergent connectivity between different areas of town, and the findings of previous comparative research in the two cities, does suggest there is also an argument for talking about London and Toronto as quite specific and distinct contexts, not least because of the different patterns of migration into and out of the city. This, coupled with the fact that at times the city spills over its territorial boundaries if looked at through social practices, clearly emphasises the spatial complexity that underlies the following analysis, and importantly also my argument (see Chapter 3) that the two-sited fieldwork approach is most suitable for contrasting, rather than directly

comparing, the social patterns analysed in the following chapters. Overall, despite those differences in the reachability of different areas in the two cities, one of the most prominent themes in my research was that individuals experienced their own urban context, resulting in a 'diversity of experiences' of the city (see Soysal 2001), a point I briefly explore in the following section.

There are many different ways of seeing the city

Danny Miller (Miller 2008) in an article about London writes that 'London is nowhere in particular' and that it is reinvented daily by the people who live there. Ravi, who I made reference to before made this very clear:

London, I think I would have taken a different route if it wasn't for the people that I know. That is it; you make London what you want it to be. It is how you want it to be, it is how you make it. (Ravi, 32, London, Interview: 20/04/2010)

This expression was embedded in a lengthy reflection about his perceptions of London and being social in the city. Within those reflections he talked about how his London has changed as he transitioned in his life cycle, first spending his time with the 'party crowd' and now being more settled, married and a recent father.⁷⁰ Although none of my respondents in Toronto spelled out as clearly their allegiance to the city as a space for them to seize, respondents did express that their perceptions of the city were by no means uniform.

Two views were quite prevalent. On the one hand respondents reflected on how Toronto has changed over the years, and that some areas which previously had a 'rural' character had now been built up so that while before they were living on the borderline of fields and farms, they now lived in a clearly suburban neighbourhood. One of my longer-term residents in London, who had already arrived in the city in 1969, similarly reflected at length about how the anti-racism regulations of the 1970s had completely changed social perceptions of him, and as a consequence his ability to socially engage with others in the city. This is an often-neglected but extraordinarily important point in talking about the sociality patterns of migrants in diverse cities. This point can be summarised by emphasising that my respondents moved into differently diverse cities and that the city as context changed over the years they were living there.

⁷⁰ See also Gardner (2009) on the propensity to move as part of the life course.

On the other hand there were also some interesting reflections on what it meant to move through the city – a point linked to the differentiated spatiality of the cities presented in the previous section. Going downtown in Toronto was associated with traffic jams, crime and shopping. Respondents in both cities quite clearly drew a line between bad, mediocre and good neighbourhoods, thus compartmentalising the city and their perceptions of it. A bad area was usually one where a shooting had been reported in the local news, or in the case of London often a stabbing, while a good area had parks and other social amenities deemed to be safe. This implied a process of learning to negotiate the city, avoiding certain areas and moving freely through others. It should be noted, though, that this negotiation was not always based on ‘do not go to the bad areas, only the good ones’, but some interlocutors negotiated these differences by simply accepting them as part of their London or Toronto. A few times my bus to the location of the Polynesian dance practice was diverted because of yet another violent incident.

Further, in both cities it was impressive how respondents would almost without fail describe the city to me by reflecting on their own place of origin. This, in part, can be attributed to my approaching them as informants from a particular place. The weight that was given to those parallels and differences, however, went beyond this ‘respondent selection’ explanation, especially since respondents could not expect me to actually know the place they used to explain the one we were in. This meant that every respondent framed their perception of the city based on their own perception of yet another place, a village, and island, a small city, Auckland, New Zealand all were points of reference. This makes it all too clear that there is not one view of how the city is diverse, but many different ones that may converge on some aspects while they drift apart on others.

The point where London and Toronto differed most was in how they were imagined. Those imaginaries and perceptions of the city clearly have an impact on sociality practices as they also impacted on how individuals spent their time. While London invokes images of the quintessential world city, Toronto’s ‘global identity’ has been much less clearly carved out. Within the Canadian context, although Toronto is the largest of the metropolitan areas in terms of population size, having reached the 6-million mark in 2011, and with its population steadily growing, it is – according to the stories I was told – not perceived as the most desirable place to live. Local patriotism is certainly strong and is often linked to the local hockey team, the Maple Leafs. Yet while my London respondents frequently seemed to judge the success of their migration in terms of having made it to, and then making do in London, for most of my Torontonians it was whether they advanced in perceived

social standing after their move that defined how content they were with their migration and living in the city. Being in Toronto was not an end in itself, not a manifestation of success.

In Toronto, a narrative that frequently resurfaced, in particular among those individuals resident in the city for longer, was one associated with working hard and long hours to make a better life possible for their children. In this narrative it did not matter where you were from or how many co-migrants had moved to the same city; much more important was how well your children had done. This was also noticeable in the narratives of shorter-term residents who were looking for occupational advancement as an indicator of the success of their migration (see also above section on different labour market trajectories). In London this narrative surfaced much less, as London was often seen as a temporary stop, and because having made it there was already framed as a success story which made you part of the cosmopolitan imaginary of the city (cf. Nava 2007). Clearly related decisions on how to spend ones time in the city are linked to the city as a context of sociality practices which are also linked to the migration experience of my informants.

Conclusion

The contextual parameters I have brought together in this chapter all imply that although my study focuses on a relatively small subpopulation, the trajectories and experiences of my research participants display convergences and differences across and within the cities. The superdiverse context of the city is presented here as always being in a process of becoming. This applies to representations of diversity, the cities' spatial differentiations and perceptions held about the city. Each is a contextual parameter with an impact on practices of sociality. Linked to my earlier theoretical argument about the need to distinguish between superdiversity as a malleable concept, a set of variables and as a context, my emphasis here has been on demonstrating that contexts of superdiversity are not easily pinned down for any city. I have also emphasised that contexts of superdiversity are broader than the variables that can feed into the analysis of multi-dimensional migration-related aspects of diversification.

As I indicated in the introduction to this chapter, setting these context parameters frames them as relevant for the analysis. The story I will be telling in the following chapters is thus not a tale of two (distinct) DiverCities. Instead I highlight the importance of recognising that a city's superdiverse context is dependent on and embedded in the historical emplacement

of diversification processes (through for example changing migration patterns, imaginaries of diversity or the connectivity of social spaces). Thus, in the following chapters I will, where relevant, refer back to these context specificities both in terms of those distinguishing Toronto from London and in terms of those that align the two superdiverse contexts. Through iterating my research questions in light of the described contexts, I will show how London and Toronto, because of their differences *and* similarities, show exceptionally interesting contexts of superdiversity for purposes of this analysis.

Chapter 6

'Often, Oceania seemed not one place but many – a universe of distant islands. But sometimes – like today, with Mr Lishi translating those words for me - it seemed like a small area, with a common language.' (Theroux 1992: 281)

Extract from 'The happy Isles of Oceania', a book suggested by a second generation Islander living in London 'to give me an idea of *what it is like in the islands*'.

SOCIALISING IN UNISON?

Practices of groupness, group size and pan-ethnic sociality

As outlined in the account of my sampling strategy (Chapter 3) I began my research by looking for people corresponding to a fuzzy category or its sub-categories. Yet I could not presume the existence of sustained social links between different Pacific Islanders and Māori (cf. Brettell 2003b). Still, in both London and Toronto distinct patterns of social group formation could be identified. Some of those patterns emerged along the fault lines of my fuzzy category. Interestingly, while in London this groupness was practised, in Toronto, at the time of my research, it remained mainly imagined – expressed through wanting to meet Pacific people of different backgrounds but not proactively initiating such contacts. These two divergent social patterns were visualised in Chapter 3 with my interviewees' co-participation networks. The contrast between the London and Toronto networks is telling: the London one (Figure 3.2.b) was tightly knit, regardless of which fuzzy sub-category individuals in the network could be ascribed to, and the Toronto one (Figure 3.3.b) was loose-knit with evident clusters corresponding mostly to different countries of origin. This suggests that practices of pan-Pacific groupness – as one pattern of sociality – diverged in both cities.

In this chapter, to explore those patterns, I discuss the first set of research questions posed in Chapter 3:

How are different degrees of groupness practised amongst individuals who meet the characteristics of a little-defined but regionally focused fuzzy category; and

How does a focus on small group size help to explain those perpetually emergent social patterns?

To answer those questions, I first clearly delineate what I mean by practices of groupness and why I here set up my discussion in relation to the literature on pan-ethnicity. I then explain why we might expect pan-Pacific social ties to emerge and to this end introduce the notion of *migrating labels*. With this I emphasise the relevance of non-local categorisations as impacting on sociality practices in the destination context. I then present ethnographic field data to explore practices of groupness amongst my informants and the social role of small group size.

This is the first of three chapters in which I aim to develop a relational understanding of diversity based on original empirical data. In addition to observation data I draw on data from my self-reflexive fieldnotes, experiences from a short field stint in New Zealand⁷¹, semi-structured interviews and on data obtained through a small gathering of some of my Toronto informants, which I organised shortly before leaving Toronto. As such, this chapter, is the most ethnographic in this thesis and engages most with what I was able to observe about patterns of sociality and about the interconnections amongst Pacific Islanders, Māori and people of other backgrounds.

As already noted, one of the issues motivating this research project is whether it matters that people from various places migrate in different numbers to the cities where they settle and what social processes and consequences this entails. This is why this chapter keeps a mostly ethno-focal analysis, even though the overall aim of this thesis is to move beyond this type of analysis. I do bring in other aspects of migration-related diversity in side arguments, but focusing on sociality practices of migrants based on origin makes it possible to comment more specifically on the social relevance of numerically small group sizes. This should more clearly ground the analysis in the following chapters where ethnic or ancestral⁷² background becomes only one of a multitude of migration-related aspects of diversification considered.

⁷¹ Between February and March 2011 I spent six weeks in the South Pacific, dividing my time between Tonga, Samoa and Fiji. Between those Island stays I spend five days in Auckland, seeking out some of the social areas my respondents had made reference to in their interviews.

⁷²References to ancestors rather than ethnicity were frequent amongst my respondents and interlocutors. If in the text I refer to pan-ethnicity this could also be thought of as pan-ancestral links. The focus on ancestral links was often used in light of multiple ethnic affiliations and seemed to imply a less stringent need to identify the multiple ethnic linages within the family.

Groupness as a pattern of sociality

In the previous chapter I have shown that the common migration-related diversity trope applied in London and Toronto simply enumerates the different backgrounds of the cities' residents. I argued that this cannot address the complexity of migration-related diversity evident in these cities. The trope perpetuates a group-based discourse where putatively bounded groups are identified through a common country of origin, language or other group marker. If the notion of the group, however, is appreciated as fleeting rather than bounded and as defined through its social practices (Brubaker 2006; Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Wimmer 2008), then practices of groupness such as the divergent ones in London and Toronto, are important facets of processes of diversification that clearly merit a more articulated place in the debate about the social implications of diversified international migration. From this perspective social interactions between people from the same country or region are not considered unusual or undesired, but are also not simply assumed - instead they become a subject of analysis (cf. Wimmer 2009).

As I already pointed out in Chapter 3, groupness as it was introduced by Brubaker is 'variable, not constant and cannot be presupposed' (Brubaker 2006: 4). Groupness is here understood as situationally practiced and I confine my analysis to observable patterns of sociality. It is thus necessary to be diligently clear about how groupness is operationalised for analytical purposes in this chapter. Jenkins shows the necessity to distinguish between a 'group [as] rooted in processes of internal definition while a category is externally defined' (1994: 200). Jenkins further points out that whether one refers to a group or category 'will depend on the balance struck between internal and external processes in that situation. It is a question of degree' (1994: 201). His criticism of research focused on questions of ethnic identity lies with the relative neglect of previous work to take into account the social relevance of categories in the analysis of ethnic identities.

A group can also be conceptualised through sustained social interactions between multiple individuals rather than through a focus on social identification. To put it very simply, there is more groupness if there is more social interaction and there is less groupness if social interactions are virtually absent. It is a question of degree also. Social interactions are certainly not unrelated to questions of individual identities, however, if we speak of groupness instead of trying to distinguish between group and category our empirical focus shifts from identifying social boundaries (perpetuated through internal and external definitions) to patterns of social interaction – the focus shifts to patterns of sociality.

This still requires taking external and internal frames – having an impact on practices of groupness – into account. As White points out, considering categories in network terms ‘brings out complexities in the possible meanings of a category’ (2008: 4), as it can either be linked completely to external or internal attribution, again most of the time this will be situationally shifting along a continuum of these two extremes – categories can be fuzzy and likely so can be practices of groupness.⁷³ Analysing groupness then clearly is done at the meso level rather than at the individual or macro level (Faist 1997).⁷⁴

Let me re-emphasise that if I use the word ‘group’ in this chapter it is primarily in reference to practices of groupness, and if someone is part of any one group is assumed to be situationally dependent. Categories, in turn, can be both fuzzy – as in the definition of my focus research population – and bounded and reifying, as in their use in official statistics and external categorisations. I will clearly differentiate between the two types of categories and to ease this I will use the word ‘label’ to refer to categorisations that are used by my respondents and interlocutors, but that do not necessarily suggest a clear delineation of who is included under any one label.

Pan-ethnic sociality – what’s in a phrase?

The notion of pan-ethnicity suggests that supra-national groupings emerge in destination societies on the basis of regional background, linguistic or other commonalities. Writers speak of a pan-ethnic group consciousness (Masuoka 2006), pan-ethnic political groups (Lopez and Espiritu 1990) and institutional pan-ethnicity (Okamoto 2006). I focus on pan-ethnicity here because this area of research somewhat, although not entirely, blurs the demarcating lines of diversity as measured by the enumeration of origin countries and ethnicities. On the one hand, with this notion the fuzziness of the categories is paramount and can be appreciated through recognising different and changing degrees of pan-groupness. This makes the notion amenable to my fuzzy category research focus. On the other hand, focusing on pan-ethnicity acknowledges that where people are from matters to them, and often impacts upon socialising habits they adopt (Calhoun 2003) – but it also

⁷³ In this sense groupness as it is used here is close to the notion of a catnet where the category and network practices are more or less in concurrence (White 2008; Tilly 1984) however, the notion of groupness is less abstract and is thus favoured in this analysis.

⁷⁴ I do not focus explicitly here on differential identifications of individuals with particular categories (fuzzy or not). On the one hand, I did not amass the kind of empirical data that would allow me to comment extensively on different individual identifications, and on the other hand when this issue of identity did emerge there would be no clear patterns where practices of groupness lined up with articulated identifications. Some informants, who strongly identified or indeed strongly rejected identifying with one category, however defined, often maintained ample social links beyond the group they identified with, or engaged in social interactions with people from the category they rejected, respectively.

avoids a discussion enshrined in methodological nationalism, as clear boundaries of relevance in terms of national origins are not presumed (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003).

Where I use the terms 'pan-Pacific' or 'pan-Pacifinness', it is in reference to social links maintained across the different origin groups in my study's fuzzy focal population. In the context of London and Toronto and with a focus on smaller migrant groups, the notion of groupness takes on a different meaning in comparison to Brubaker's analysis of groupness in the context of the Transylvanian town of Cluj (Brubaker 2002). In Cluj, two main putative groups share the same social context and the social situation is framed as one of ethnic conflict. In the context of London and Toronto, the sheer number of different small origin groups, and the fact that they are not generally framed as problematic or as in conflict, implies that local top-down definitions cannot be assumed to perpetuate assumptions about, and practices of groupness between, different subgroups in the sweeping 'other' category. For my case studies, unpicking the multiplexity of pan-groupness has to start with reviewing why one might expect pan-Pacific social contact to be relevant in two contexts where categories grouping Pacific Islanders and Māori are not actively imposed by official bodies. I turn to this task in the following part of this chapter and return to an analysis focused on group size and practices of pan-Pacific groupness in the contexts of London and Toronto in the second part of the chapter.

What's specific about the Pacific?

The debate around pan-ethnicity is particularly strong in the North American literature.⁷⁵ Prominent examples are Asian (e.g. Espiritu 1992) and Latino (e.g. Sommers 1991) pan-ethnicity but work has also been done on other pan-ethnic groupings (e.g. Abraham and Shryock 2000; Roediger and Barrett 2004).⁷⁶ There are two parallels in this literature. First, the emphasis is on explaining the joint efforts of settled migrants and their descendants across national and ethnic lines but within larger ethnic groupings. Second, this literature points to the down-side of pan-ethnic categories which gloss over the immense diversity of backgrounds included in each respective category. Different hypotheses have been put forward to explain the emergence of pan-ethnic activities. The most frequently cited is that

⁷⁵ Some of the questions dealt with under this heading would, in the European literature, be addressed in discussions about ethnicity more generally. Instead this chapter focuses on pan-ethnicity, as arguments about different group sizes are more clearly articulated in this literature.

⁷⁶ There is also an extensive literature on Pan-Africanism (for a recent review see Young 2010). While there are parallels to the literature just quoted it is differentiated by a focus on its origins in the specific political agenda and the devastating experience of the slave trade and colonialism, rather than a central focus on contemporary migrations.

categories are imposed on migrants through racial categorisations in the destination context. It is argued that those categorisations are picked up by the individuals on whom they are imposed in order to articulate shared demands. This also impacts on patterns of social interaction more generally, for example through residential concentration (Kim and White 2010).

As studies in the United States demonstrate,⁷⁷ many of the categories describing the pan-ethnic group are not relevant in the place of origin but are migrated into (e.g. Itzigsohn 2004 writing about Latina pan-ethnicity). In the case of Pacific Islanders and Māori living in London and Toronto, the setting is somewhat different because the Pacific category is not a relevant one in public and policy debates. In fact, when asked where they are from many of my respondents (in particular Pacific Islanders not from New Zealand) would add some geographic detail, like 'it is in the middle of the Pacific Ocean', in order for their conversation partner to have some idea of where in the world they are talking about. For example, a number of my Tongan interlocutors told me the anecdote that if you say you are from Tonga without specifying its geographic location one may be mistaken as being African, not because of phenotypical similarities, which were more frequently mentioned by interlocutors with a Melanesian background, but because the conversation partner mistakes Tonga for Togo, a West African country.

Pan-Pacific awareness expresses itself in desired or practiced pan-ethnic social relations. Rather than being imposed in the destination context this pan-Pacific awareness has migrated with my respondents. This statement introduces the first line of argument I want to pursue in this chapter: practices of pan-ethnic sociality and groupness have to be understood as part of a complex net of local, transnational and historical classifications which are then appropriated by individuals and from which social groupings emerge on the basis of common pan-ethnic markers. The literature aiming to explain the emergence, persistence and forms of pan-ethnic groups in this regard is limited because it focuses on a particular set of often politically active pan-ethnic groups. Focus in this literature has thus been on the role of top-down categorisations in the destination context, and how individuals and groups engage with these categories. An equivalent argument that takes only the origin context into account can be found in the migration-network literature (Massey et al. 1993; Bauer et al. ; Haug 2008) where the argument is made that interconnections result from

⁷⁷ Although arguably in both London and Toronto the use of pan-ethnic mobilising and identifications is much more limited than in the US context. Asian and Black as labels operate more clearly in the public discourse (cf. Hall 1993; Back et al. 2012).

particular migration streams. Yet this literature focuses on these links between bounded same-national, ethnic or local origin groups. This literature then neglects how pan-ethnic links can also result from these processes and how pan-ethnic awareness is also part of practices of groupness. To explain what is meant by this I want to look at the literature that suggests pan-Pacifinness as a relevant category grouping individuals. I will point to three aspects in turn: historical links, contemporary practices of categorising in the regional context of Oceania and grouping in the context of the United States.

Historical links

Links amongst different Pacific people have existed throughout the history of the Pacific Islands. Malinowski's (1972) Kula ring is well known and refers to only a fraction of the mobility between the many islands of the South Pacific stretching from Aotearoa⁷⁸ to Hawai'i. One of the key actors in London whom I asked about understanding the links between the different Islanders pointed me to the myths and stories which are handed down from one generation to the next that tell tales about the friendly and confrontational relations between the many places in the South Pacific (e.g. Gill 1984).⁷⁹ These myths 'migrated with' my respondents to London and Toronto or were learned there through links to the people with whom the stories had migrated. Expressed in dance and sometimes in actions or perceptions of other Islanders, these stories support the idea of a differentiated but related pan-Pacifinness. These historical interlinkages and how they are recalled are also reflected in the strong emphasis on ancestral links, which respondents would frequently recount to those of different island backgrounds (cf. Spickard 2002). These historical and ancestral links are a first indicator of an awareness of pan-Pacific links. This awareness may in turn translate into an increased likelihood of the formation of social ties between different Pacific Islanders and Māori.

Oceanic links

A second indicator comes from the literature that discusses pan-ethnicity of Pacific people in Oceania. The most frequently made argument here is that grouping different Pacific people for the purpose of analysis and for the production of national statistics is problematic because people from different island nations (and in fact different islands) may adhere to very different cultural practices and have different migration trajectories (Bedford 2009; Anae 1997). In addition, it is argued that if data is disaggregated into separate national-subgroups,

⁷⁸ Widely used Te Reo Māori word for New Zealand.

⁷⁹ Although she emphasised that this is a colonial account, this is the book she referred me to.

these different origin groups also face very different social and economic issues in their host society (Fleras and Spoonley 1999; Anae 1997). Labels such as Pasifika, Polynesian, Melanesian or Micronesian do however have a role in structuring the way a common striving for representation is expressed and in how socialising patterns are manifested (Bedford et al. 2000). They also affect how public policy in New Zealand groups migrants (Hill 2010).

An example from a field stint in Auckland, New Zealand in 2011 gives some context here. On a one-off visit to Otara Market in South Auckland, I noticed that the traders at the market were from a variety of island backgrounds (but also some of Asian and European decent), and that Māori crafts were sold next to foodstuff that in general resembled that from some of the market stalls I had just visited in Tonga and Samoa. Islanders from different island nations kept their separate music stalls, each playing different island tunes. As the rhythms of the different songs fused, from a short distance this social space seemed distinctly pan-Pacific.⁸⁰ This impression of a pan-Pacific social space continued as I spent the remainder of the day walking about the shopping street of nearby Otahuhu (Figure 6.1). Later that day, when sitting at the bus stop I almost immediately got into a conversation with a Niuean lady waiting for the same bus as me, and was ‘rubbing shoulders’ with Islanders from various different backgrounds when I eventually got on the bus – fittingly called the ‘Pacific Liner’. Although this scene is taken from a context where the residential concentration of Pacific Islanders and Māori is high (Grbic et al. 2010), this scene from Auckland already conveyed that the knowledge of pan-Pacific spaces and current discourses of links and rivalries between different Islanders move with my respondents to their new city of settlement and there translate into either imagined or practiced groupness.

It is important to point out that the kind of social spaces which could carry the general label Pacific are not part of day-to-day life in London or Toronto unless they are reproduced at a smaller scale for special events.⁸¹ In fact, in both Toronto and London when I asked non-Pacific Islanders and non-Māori whether they knew anyone from that area the most frequent answer was: ‘From where?’ Naming separate island nations rarely helped this confusion, unless my conversation partner was interested in rugby, a sport in which many South Pacific Island players excel.

⁸⁰ A more in-depth study would be needed to confirm this impression.

⁸¹ In contrast, those readers who have visited places such as the popular Brick Lane, or Southall - to name two random examples from the London context - or any of Toronto’s ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods are aware that for larger migrant groups living in the city such spaces are not uncommon.

Figure 6.1 – Pan-Pacific public space - Otahuhu Auckland



This shows that the categories and socialising patterns that have salience in the region of origin – many of my respondents had experienced at least a period in New Zealand or Australia or have close relatives living there – may move with my respondent; they are migrating social affinities. These affinities are not necessarily acted upon, but from the accounts of various respondents they do carry importance and influence patterns of sociality.

Both in London and Toronto I was told the story of someone going to the supermarket or being in some other public space and seeing another person who looked as if they were from the South Pacific. That person then was spoken to and following this initial conversation these Islanders became social contacts – not necessarily close ones, but the first social interaction was initiated purely based on a potentially similar place of origin as identified through looks, movements, accents and the use of particular words, or simply through a particular way of walking.⁸²

It seems fitting to quote Barth here, who once pointed out that:

⁸² I was once riding in a car with a group of Fijians when we passed a man simply walking on the pavement and everyone in the car agreed that this was a Tongan. When I asked how they knew just from seeing the man's back (it was not obvious to me, needless to say) they told me it was because of the way he walked.

[E]thnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristic of organising interaction between people (1969: 10)⁸³

The ascription in this case is to something that is not a *local* category instead it is a *migrating label*, and yet it has the same impact on socialising affinities or actions. With '*migrating labels*' I refer to those labels that are (a) subscribed to although they are not used in the local system of categorisations, (b) that are transmitted through the migration process and (c) that may translate into social affinities in the place of destination. In the same way as local categorisations and labels, these can impact on how one's place in the destination society is understood. It is important to emphasise that these labels do not have to be invoked by individuals but can be situationally appropriated.

This ties in with Vertovec's conceptual triad which I introduced in Chapter 2, in so far as the salience of pan-ethnic groupness is constituted not through ascriptions of outside categories and individually modified identifications with local categories alone, but also through the interplay of changing representations, configurations and encounters (Vertovec 2009). This interplay, I am suggesting, is to some degree influenced by a transnational understanding of categorisations and labelling, and of who is part of the pan-ethnic group elsewhere. It is thus part and parcel of the transnational social field (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004).

Pacific Islanders in Asian American studies

A third pointer to expecting pan-Pacific socialising comes from the field of 'Pacific Islander American Studies'.⁸⁴ As the debate on the 'Pacific Question' continues to be discussed by those scholars, Kauanui, having been asked to contribute a chapter on Native Hawaiians to an Asian American anthology, remarks:

[T]here is no recognition that Pacific Islanders *already* constitute a pan-ethnic group, one requiring a very different research and policy agenda. (2008: 124, emphasis in the original)

A clearer statement about the existence of pan-ethnic links between Pacific Islanders would be difficult to find. It should be noted that Kauanui does emphasise the importance of the very different ways in which Islanders from different backgrounds are linked to the US. Also referring to this debate, Spickard (2002) argues that Pacific Island migrants in the US are best

⁸³ However, we should recall Jenkins' (1994) distinction between category and group referred to earlier.

⁸⁴ This area of research has been burgeoning in recent years but in most Universities this area of research is still part of the Asian American Studies departments.

described as diasporic rather than as pan-ethnic and that in the American context he attributes a pan-ethnic identity only to those in the second generation who subscribe to this wider label (Spickard 2002). In London and Toronto a pan-ethnic identity was not necessarily very strong amongst my migrant respondents, as my subsequent exploration of migrating labels used in London and Toronto will show.⁸⁵ In individual conversations the emphasis was usually first on being Māori, Fijian, Tongan or whatever primary background to which an individual subscribed. Only after this was established did some also refer more generally to being from the Pacific region. This adds to why I emphasise a focus here on interaction patterns amongst my respondents, rather than trying to distinguish a specific pan-ethnic identity.

London and Toronto – the use of migrating labels

As just pointed out a pan-Pacific allegiance was usually only articulated by respondents after they affirmed their more local or national origin. Yet, pan-Pacific labels were not uncommon and I could observe a number of different labels to be in use. First and foremost, 'Polynesian' was an important label. I earlier identified the ambiguity of this term (Chapter 3), but the relevance of being Polynesian emerged frequently as the main link between Māori and other Polynesian Islanders. Although being of Polynesian ancestry may include both being Māori and being an Islander from one of the Polynesian island nations, the migrating label clearly sets the two groups apart. Hahana, one of my respondents, made this very clear in her comments to my questionnaire, stating that:

[I]n New Zealand, Polynesians are considered to be those born from the Islands, i.e. Samoa, Cook Islands etc. and Māori people do not consider themselves to be Polynesian but state themselves to be Māori. In all surveys etc. in New Zealand, and to the best of my knowledge, this is always clearly stated and the groups are always kept separate. (Hahana, 41, Questionnaire: 17/12/2009)⁸⁶

This statement supports the *migrating label* argument but also shows that these labels are interpreted and appropriated by individuals who may choose to emphasise them or not. Not every respondent decided to make this distinction as clearly. Indirectly the statement also highlights that Māori may see themselves as separate but also part of the 'New Zealander'

⁸⁵ Although I did talk to a few individuals who were second generation Islanders or NZ Māori, given that there is already few first generation respondents I spoke to too few second generation individuals to distinguish a different identification from first generation migrants.

⁸⁶ Please note that this quote is from Hahana's response to the question 'Do you have any further comments?' which I asked at the end of the questionnaire. This is why the unconventional shorthand i.e. and ect. are directly reproduced here.

category. While Māori is not a widely used category in the general debate in London, 'New Zealander' is because of the sizable New Zealander population residing and working in the city (Gamlen 2007). This was sometimes proclaimed with pride in comments about not needing to assert that New Zealanders are not the same as Australians. In Toronto there is a much smaller New Zealand-born population and the category 'New Zealander' is rarely encountered. The distinction between being a Māori or a New Zealander of some other descent is not as strongly articulated there, or as important for socialising practices.

Amongst those respondents engaged in the arts, the migrating label 'Pasifika' or 'Pacifica' – linking Māori, Fijian, Samoan, Cook Island and other Pacific artists – was used in London but not in Toronto. Another label used in both cities, albeit infrequently, was 'Melanesian'. All in all the most frequently used term seemed to be simply 'Islander', a label that distinguished the Island-background population from the Māori population. Similarly to the 'Polynesian' label, but also including Fijians and other Melanesians, this label while setting the two groups apart it also linked them through perceived shared commonalities such as food, humour, language and many other aspects as will become clear in the following presentation of ethnographic data.

To make the list even longer, another migrated and social interaction-framing label is the distinction between ethnic Fijian and Indo-Fijian or Fijian Indian, the former describing Fijians of Melanesian background and the latter Fijians of Indian ancestry. Both labels also worked in two directions as a marker connecting ethnic Fijians and Indo-Fijians, by extension linking Fijians generally through interactions (at less frequent events) to other Islanders and at other points setting them apart through specific events attended by Indo-Fijians but not ethnic Fijians. The Indo-Fijian label was more frequently used in Toronto where the larger part of the Fijian population is Indo-Fijian and where this label is then again subdivided in terms of Muslim and Hindu Fijians. Although I participated in one picnic that was attended primarily by Muslim Indo-Fijians, in many of the other social situations this differentiation did not seem to prevail too strongly, although different practices of alcohol and kava consumption⁸⁷ were commented on. In London, similarly, Indo-Fijians gather primarily at events organised by one leading Indo-Fijian social club (which is open to Fijians of all backgrounds and to non-Fijians) and which produces its own biannual newsletter updating

⁸⁷ Kava variously also called grog is a drink particularly popular in Fiji made from the ground up yaqona root. It is both a recreational drink but it is also often used in ceremonial activities.

members about news from the Islands and social events in London or further afield (cf. Voigt-Graf 2004).⁸⁸

Here it is necessary to briefly interject that *migrating labels* are not the only pan-group markers with an impact on social affinities. An abundance of pan-ethnic markers also function as links to other groups. Examples that cropped up during my fieldwork in London included the co-participation in Commonwealth events, the link between the Māori group and other Native Peoples and the affinities between Te Reo Māori speakers and Welsh speakers as two groups fighting to maintain their native languages. In Toronto one of my Māori respondents indicated that he had tried to build links with the local indigenous culture centre, but otherwise pan-group links were less pronounced.

In addition, and to recall the superdiversity debate, it can be argued that there are pan-group patterns of sociality that are based on, for example, a group's specific visa status. An example here are clubs and bars that cater specifically to the large number of young overseas experience migrants living in London. These establishments employ, and are frequented primarily by, a 'pan-ethnic-group' of Islanders, New Zealanders (including Māori), Australians and South Africans and Britons. One of my respondents who started his stay in London living in the staff quarters of one of these establishments made this very clear by naming social contacts originating almost exclusively from that social scene. The interlinkages are thus much more complicated than pan-Pacific socialising based on region of origin alone. In the following analysis, I will nonetheless focus primarily on pan-Pacific socialities because most of my participant observation work was conducted in social spaces that particularly highlighted the links between different Islanders and Māori.

To refocus my analysis on the role of group size, I will next briefly introduce one hypothesis about when pan-ethnic links form and when they do not that can be found in the pan-ethnicity literature. I explain why that hypothesis is problematic if smaller groups are considered, in order to emphasise that group size is a viable but insufficiently understood factor influencing patterns of sociality between different migrant groups who share some pan-ethnic marker. Thus in this section I pick up a second and a third line of argument – that understanding pan-Pacific patterns of sociality is linked to group size and that it is feasible to query the role of a minimum size threshold in predicting pan-ethnic practices of groupness,

⁸⁸ In London I cannot comment on whether there were separate social events for Muslim and Hindu Indo-Fijians. Religious views did emerge as one topic in the interview with my one London based Indo-Fijian interview partner, however this was not in relation to talking about Indo-Fijian Muslims.

but that at the same time the group size question always in essence remains a question of fusions and fissions – this latter argument suggesting that origin group size matters but that the way in which it matters has to be analysed based on a specific contextual understanding of its effects.

Pan-ethnicity and strength in numbers?

Although the debate about categories and how they empower and simultaneously misrepresent is most prevalent in the literature on pan-ethnicity, some hypotheses have been put forward to explain the emergence and persistence of pan-ethnic groupings that are linked to the question of group size. Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral probably most clearly articulate a common ‘pan-ethnic hypothesis’:

In those places in which one national group is hegemonic in terms of *numbers*, political, or economic power, that hegemonic group will tend to reject the pan-ethnic identity. On the other hand, situations in which there is no hegemonic group are more propitious for the rise of a pan-ethnic identity. (Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral 2000: 244, emphasis added)

If we follow this hypothesis, the emergence of pan-ethnic groupings is then more likely in contexts of superdiversity because (a) it is difficult for any one group to take a dominant position, and because (b) the many coexisting groups will search for strength in numbers. In principle this interpretation would suggest that the smaller the group the more likely an individual will be to engage in pan-ethnic activities, as it is assumed that they will strive for a balance of representation within the complex system that is needed to make the various voices within an ethnically diverse society heard.

To be clear, in the pan-ethnicity literature it is not assumed that this logic applies to all individuals. Most articles on pan-ethnicity concede that there are many individuals who do not subscribe to pan-ethnic categories and some who even actively contest them (e.g. Itzigsohn and Dore-Cabral 2000: 217). As I noted in Chapter 3, one result of my sampling strategy is that my respondents and interlocutors in large part did subscribe to a Pacific-related label, which may be a general one or a more specific national or ethnic one. In addition, with reference to their social contacts most of my respondents maintained at least some ethnic or pan-ethnic ties.⁸⁹ Thus non-identification should have little impact within my

⁸⁹ See the following chapter for a more in-depth analysis of the different characteristics of the personal social networks of my respondents.

sample, yet the logic that size (disregarding here imbalances in terms of political or economic power) is directly inverse to the likelihood of engaging in pan-ethnic social contacts, even assuming a general disposition to engage in such contact, still poses a paradox with reference to my two field sites. In both London and Toronto each singular national group counted in the statistics is numerically relatively small. Yet in Toronto being small in numbers did not result in practices of pan-Pacific group activities.

This suggests two things. On the one hand, if we assume an upper group size threshold similar to the one referred to in the hypothesis just quoted, then we also need to contemplate the role of a lower threshold, below which the argument about seeking strength in numbers does not hold. On the other hand the relative size of who can be counted into the fuzzy pan-ethnic category, and the available opportunities for practicing pan-Pacific groupness, may be more important than the relative size of any one national or ethnic group. There is purchase in both statements and these are the two lines of argument which I will deal with in the following presentation of empirical data. I will then then evaluate both points in the conclusion of this chapter.

Practices of pan-Pacific socialising

The task of descriptively demonstrating pan-Pacific sociality and different degrees of practiced groupness in both cities requires meticulous analysis. What is clear from the discussion so far is that in London pan-Pacific links could easily be observed, while in Toronto these were much more subtle and would best be described as desired rather than practiced. Yet, the distinct advantage of comparative participant observation is that it is possible to recognise those social patterns that are missing in one context but pronounced in the other (Meissner and Hasselberg 2012). I will first focus on London and describe my observations of pan-Pacific social interactions there. Then I will describe the situation in Toronto and how it differs from London. In both sections I will emphasise two aspects, the presence or absence of which was relevant in both cities: pan-Pacific social support networks and performed expressions of pan-Pacificity.

Turning London into Ranana

Ranana is the Te Reo Māori word for London. In the following I will recount how my respondents, especially those associated with the few but strong performing groups, carved out their social contacts in London – how they turned London into Ranana. It seems fitting to begin my account of London with an event at which I was not present, given that in my later

account of Toronto I will be referring to social relations that I could not regularly observe. This event resonated as important during my first months of fieldwork and it gives a good introduction to the use of certain terms that imply pan-Pacific sociality and differential degrees of groupness. Following this I will engage with a discussion of how pan-Pacificness was expressed and practiced through dance performance and language-learning groups.

Friends and family

During my first days of fieldwork in London I came across a notice for a fundraiser supporting the victims of the 2009 tsunami that hit the islands of Samoa and Tonga and devastated the southern shorelines of the Samoan Islands in particular. As I learned later, the fundraiser was regarded as a complete success. In excess of £4,000 was raised for this good cause and the event was a sell out that brought together Islanders, Māori and other New Zealanders from the city and from elsewhere in the UK. Lea, an informant active in promoting Pacific art in London described it as 'one of the largest gatherings of Polynesians I have seen for a while'⁹⁰. The rugby club where the event was held was filled to the brim with people, eating (roast pig, palusami and other typical delicacies), watching dance performances and then partying on to Island tunes while the tamariki⁹¹ (children) were free to roam around the grounds proudly declaring their 'Kiwiness'⁹² or what other "-ness" they had to proclaim. I had just commenced my fieldwork in London but this type of social gathering, where Islanders and Māori came together to fundraise was a repeated occurrence during my six months of fieldwork in the city⁹³ and most events proceeded in this or a similar way.

Reading the website announcement for this event which I had missed,⁹⁴ I noticed that the invitation for the event was addressed to 'friends and family'. The notion 'friends and family' serves as a good starting point to describe and better understand pan-Pacific networks in London. 'Friends and family' does not refer to an exclusive group. As a notion it suggests a bridge between people of different backgrounds who converge on an affinity with the Pacific, its people, its arts, its culture and its food.

⁹⁰ Untaped informal interview (Lea, 12/10/2009).

⁹¹ In these ethnographic accounts I will frequently use Māori words I learned during my fieldwork, as respondents and interlocutors would frequently also use a language where some key words from Māori or one of the other Island languages were substituted for English words.

⁹² The term 'Kiwi' is a colloquial term used to refer to New Zealanders, during my fieldwork it was predominantly used as a positive denominator more frequently used than 'New Zealander'.

⁹³ From descriptions it is clear that those events I attended never reached the same scale as the event I am here referring to.

⁹⁴ See Hasselberg & Meissner (2012) on the malleability of the field and the worries about inadvertently missing out on the 'right' events for fieldwork.

I learned that a definition of 'friends and family' amongst Islanders and Māori living in London should not start with who is or is not a member. Instead, the definition would have to begin with what is expected of its members. 'Friends and family' implies a commitment to what is best described as mutual support, primarily social support. The dual nature of the expression 'friends and family' suggests a core of people who are particularly active and engaged in these networks and who count as family, obviously not in a nuclear family or in a kinship sense, but purely based on merit and commitment. The first part of the term suggests that there is also a circle of people who might not be as engaged in regular activities but who still support and participate in shared events and through this are linked to the social group. The two 'types' of membership were fleeting and usually blurred as people moved in and out (in a literal as well figurative sense) being more or less actively engaged in facilitating social contact opportunities to other Islanders and Māori. Throughout my research a few individuals, however, remained key actors who were involved in most of the events going on.

Speaking to Lani, one of these key actors, about the fundraiser and her strong links to many Islanders in the city, I asked what would be the best way to get people to accept me enough⁹⁵ to take the time for an interview about their social contacts and about having moved to and living in London? Her answer was something along the lines of 'be genuine and show them that you care'.⁹⁶ In other words I should try to behave in a manner that would qualify me to be part of their circle of friends, or better still, family. Although orthographically the notion is not rooted in a Pacific language, in the way it was practiced in London, it was both a descriptive and a guiding term of the social interactions of those individuals who wanted to be within this loosely understood group and who were considered to be part of it by others.

During my fieldwork I learned about many concepts that functioned similarly - encouraging the maintenance of networks and social support. Most prevalent was the Māori term *whānau*, used to refer to a general notion of extended family.⁹⁷ In London the term *whānau* was primarily used by the Māori group to reference all of its members, but could also refer to smaller social units such as people living in the same dwelling.⁹⁸ On their website the Māori

⁹⁵ I had at that time learned that my status as a Pākehā/Palangi researcher, who was not explicitly following a kaupapa Maori approach, had, maybe rightly, caused some suspicion.

⁹⁶ Untaped informal interview (Lani, 39, Interview: 05/11/2009)

⁹⁷ This is not the place to explain the intricate and contested meanings of *whānau* (Moeke-Pickering 1996: 8-12).

⁹⁸ Although I here refer specifically to this Māori term, similar concepts also exist amongst other Pacific Islanders, although during my fieldwork references to *whānau* were most frequent.

group introduces itself as being whānau, and explains that this is based on three guiding principles: 'whānaungatanga (togetherness), manaakitanga (looking after one another/hospitality) and kōtahitanga (unity)⁹⁹. It is clear that all three principles point to guidelines for social interaction that frame the togetherness of the group and call on group members to adhere to these notions.

For participants who do not know the specific social norms of the group, learning these interaction patterns involves a steep learning curve.¹⁰⁰ Some very committed individuals without this previous knowledge managed to become part of the core whānau, while others dropped out when they did not find the desired acceptance within the group. This shows that the group is not exclusive, in the sense that it builds on the basis of a particular ethnic background but that its social support system depends on knowing the ins and outs, the do's and don'ts of participation. In more academic terms it is built on gaining or having tacit knowledge of norms of social interaction which then may translate into social capital (Bourdieu 2007) which is then potentially 'paid out' in the form of mutual social support. This tacit knowledge is expected to be paired with the learning of performance skills. At least once every practice I would hear the sentence: 'You have to know your kupu (words), actions and waiata (songs)'. Both performance and tacit skills may be learned in London or may come from New Zealand. Those members who can contribute previous knowledge and skills were able to quickly establish a crucial role as members of the whānau by having the ability to contribute disproportionately to the group through sharing their specific skills.

Knowing when to help, when to greet who and how,¹⁰¹ and especially knowing the more formally regulated code of conduct in ceremonial activities was rewarded with membership in a social support system that for many respondents made life in London much easier and explains the fairly high degree of groupness in terms of sustained participation amongst core whānau. In addition to providing the day-to-day social contacts vital for one's social wellbeing, in what some described as a 'cut-throat' city, being part of whānau also had the added benefit of (often free and /or 'first row') participation in big events¹⁰², trips around the UK and overseas with the performing group, advice on issues related to staying in or leaving the UK, or on finding cheap places to live. These are just a few examples of the benefits

⁹⁹ <http://www.ngatiranana.co.uk> [accessed: 12/03/2013].

¹⁰⁰ This includes those members of Māori ancestry who had not been brought up as Māori.

¹⁰¹ An aspect I never fully seemed to be able to 'get right' with my inhibition of kissing complete strangers on the cheek. I had to learn, however, that if someone is whānau they are not a complete stranger, even if I had never seen them before.

¹⁰² E.g. special services at St. Paul's Cathedral or the Queen's Garden Party.

associated with being part of whānau. It bears repeating though that, for most, this required a significant amount of time invested in whānau activities and frequently members who had actively participated would stop coming along to meetings and performances, some announcing their absence in terms of work or other commitments.

To give a concrete example of the extent of the social support system developed: the situation often arose that one of the group members was deemed to be in need of financial support. A collection of koha (donations) would ensure that, if the situation was dire, for example if a whānau member had to return to New Zealand to attend the tangi (farewell/funeral) of a close family member, they would be supported to do this. This could be in the form of donations but could also involve the help of members who were able to 'get a good deal' on flight tickets and the like. Similar networks operated amongst my Fijian respondents, although their networks were often more familial or church and sports group-based. At the time of my fieldwork these were less bound up with a central performance group. Donations collected during their events, however, were primarily dedicated to supporting schools back in Fiji or other group remittances. For the most part these systems of support existed and operated within each group (e.g. within the Fijian church groups or the Māori Kapa haka group) but as the Samoa tsunami fundraiser shows, in times of need these practices extend into the wider pan-Pacific networks, resulting in practiced pan-groupness. Thus, even if pan-Pacificness is not always practiced it is always a possibility. On a more regular basis the corporation between the Māori Kapa haka group, a Polynesian dance group and a Māori language learning group for children are good examples of how these links materialised and how pan-Pacificness was performed for the general public.

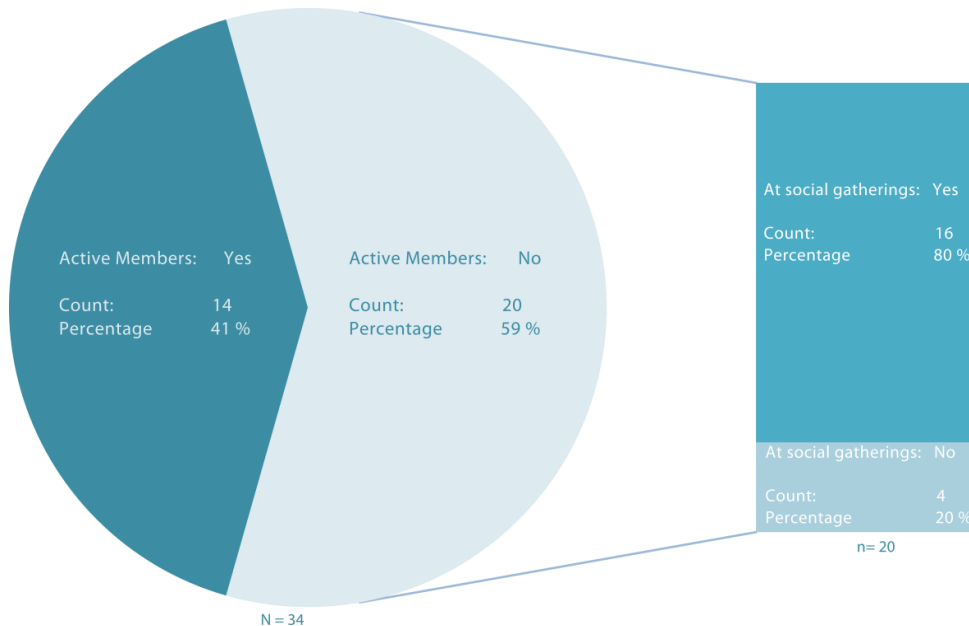
Performing Pacificness through Pacific ties

Performance groups were essential to the types of networks I managed to get access to. They are also clearly one of the reasons why network closure is strong amongst my respondents in London. Whilst many actively participated in these groups, most who were not active members still occasionally attended social events where one or the other of the groups was performing. This is shown in Figure 6.2.

I participated in a weekly Kapa haka group (Māori performance and cultural group), in the less regular but in principle also weekly Te Reo Māori School, and in a Polynesian dance group. Although I heard of other groups meeting less regularly, in my short fieldwork time I was not able to arrange regular participation in these. All three groups with whom I was able to do regular participant observation frequently performed either together or as stand-alone

acts at different public and private events. Additionally many of the members in one group also participated in the other two groups. The three groups are strongly interlinked and not necessarily marked by solely Māori or Polynesian members, as my own participation both at practices and performances attests.

Figure 6.2 – Proportion of active and auxiliary participation in social events



The Kapa Haka group had the largest stable membership and regularly attracted between 20 and 60 participants to the practice facilities at New Zealand house, the location of the New Zealand High Commission. Before every practice I emerged from the tube at Trafalgar Square and shortly after entered the sliding doors to New Zealand House. Because of the potential size of the gatherings, the foyer area is used for practices and participants must pass the two-story-high wooden carving next to the building's security desk to enter the area. Newcomers are greeted with a pōwhiri (official greeting ceremony), performed at the beginning of almost every other practice because visiting or new potential members regularly attended. This documents the strong churn of membership – there were always members moving away from London and new ones arriving in the city. This churn was particularly pronounced during the time of my fieldwork, which marked the height of the financial crisis. The frequent turnover more generally was due to the high degree of mobility of whānau members, who were frequently in the UK on time-limited visas. Reasons for attending club – as the group is most commonly called – were an interest in the Māori culture frequently motivated by a

future or past migration to New Zealand (for Non-Māori members), having been told about club by one's own whānau back in New Zealand, or seeking social contact with people from 'back home'. There is a 'club-kit' consisting of carpets and chairs to sit on, quite a few pois (an implement used in performances), a guitar case and a storage box filled with paper plates, plastic cups and things needed for the kai (food) that is shared routinely every practice. Membership in the group is not formalised but is based on regular participation and most practices are followed by a pānui (meeting to discuss matters concerning the performance group).

The Māori language school, although attended by a core of families, hardly ever reached over 30 participants, tamariki included, and on most occasions there were in the order of 8-15 people present. Participation was generally motivated by the desire to meet other parents from New Zealand. The participation of children was often seen as a positive aspect on the basis that children would not lack the skills their peers were learning as part of the national curriculum in New Zealand.¹⁰³ The school rooms are also located at New Zealand house, but in smaller rooms elsewhere in the building. These rooms served as a playground, a classroom and a place to have lunch before everyone packed up their tamariki and took off to the different corners of the city where they lived.

Usually the group's organising committee stayed behind to plan upcoming events and fundraising activities. For example during the time of my fieldwork efforts were made to go to Gallipoli in Turkey, the site of an important battle during World War One which today is remembered with ANZAC day¹⁰⁴ and is linked to an enormous pride in the Māori soldiers who fought in this battle. These fundraising events were often carried out in cooperation with both the adult Māori group and the Polynesian dance group.

In comparison to the other two groups, the Polynesian dance group did not have access to the facilities at the New Zealand High Commission but relied on the support of some of the Māori group members who were able to provide them with a practice space in their homes. A number of Māori but also Pacific Islanders were linked to an agency that placed them in otherwise unoccupied houses to ensure the maintenance of these often commercial properties and prevent squatters from occupying them. This meant that they had access to a nearly large enough space for practices and to store instruments. The temporary nature of

¹⁰³ This was expressed even by those respondents who generally did not expect to return in the near future.

¹⁰⁴ ANZAC – Australia and New Zealand Army Corps – ANZAC day is celebrated yearly on the 28th April in London with a dawn service in Hyde Park. It is an Australian and NZ holiday equivalent to Remembrance Day.

the housekeeping service meant that there was always uncertainty about when occupants or others who used the space would have to relocate elsewhere. During the six months I was in London this type of relocation did not happen, but I was told that both before and after my fieldwork this occurred, leaving the group without a practice space for some time.

Asked what she would do if there was no place to practice, the teacher told me that she could apply for funds but that the red tape involved in this was so extensive that she would not have the time to do this on top of her full-time job, being a mum and her various other day-to-day responsibilities. Her solution would more likely be to rent a space and distribute the cost amongst the group members, but she seemed confident that even if the group had to leave the current space they would be able to find another place somehow through their networks. Given that the group at its fewest consisted of three people, renting a space might not have been an option. Offering a space for practices was thus a clear sign of pan-Pacific (social) support reciprocated through joint performances.

The Polynesian group performed dances from the Cook Islands, Tahiti, Hawai'i and Samoa amongst others. Different Islanders were called upon to teach dances, and plans were made to bring in people to teach specific dances. These plans were often postponed, usually because of time constraints on the part of potential teachers. Investing time in a successful London career and an active engagement in such groups was a balancing act for many. The mutual learning of different Islanders from each others' skills was regardless a core element of the group and new dances learned often became part of the repertoire of performances even after their teachers had left. Documenting pan-Pacificness in the performance of different dances is an interesting and obvious aspect of a pan-Pacific awareness, which would merit further exploration, but cannot be expanded on in this thesis. At times, however, pan-Pacific performing did occasionally cause differences between individuals to surface where specific actions or correct procedures were in doubt. Generally however, pan-Pacific performances were regarded as a positive thing, both making shows more exciting for the audience and giving that audience a glimpse into the multifacetedness of Pacific Peoples' cultures and dances.

Many of the performances the three groups would do were 'freebees' in support of fundraising events such as for the Samoa tsunami victims. A number of other performances were more high-profile. While the pan-Pacific links were always evident in free performances they also played a significant role in this latter type of performance. Often performances would be procured through extended pan-Pacific networks, for example to perform at a

formal rugby dinner honouring a Pacific Island player or touring with the South Pacific rugby team through Europe. The Māori group gigs were also usually negotiated through the even more extensive New Zealand and Pacific networks. Club members regularly performed at New Zealand functions and at corporate events of New Zealand companies.

There are other networks that count on the maintenance of pan-Pacific networks for their membership and the attendance at their events, but that appear to meet less regularly. One event I attended brought together Islanders from Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, the Solomon Islands, Kiribati and Papua New Guinea, most not living in London but coming to the city for a get-together. Fijians who often had their own functions either at their own high commission or at the facilities of the army barracks, would still regularly be seen at the same sports events as many of the Polynesians and Māoris whom I met during my fieldwork. These regular encounters ensured that although contact between individuals might not happen as often as if they were part of one of the performing groups, it would still be regular enough to confirm that there are pan-Pacific networks in London. These are permeable enough to allow Islanders, Māori and people of other backgrounds to more or less actively participate in them. London could thus be Ranana but it was equally possible for Ranana to be London.

Toronto – ties gone by and the imaginary of pan-ethnic socialising

In Toronto the situation was quite different. I will begin my account here with a social get-together I initiated to bring together Islanders who mostly had had nothing to do with each other before. My aim is to explain why I refer to the pan-Pacific groupness here as desired but not practiced. In comparison to London, one might say that in Toronto pan-Pacificness is possible but is likely to occur less often. In the second part I will recount my experiences with those Polynesian dance groups I came across in Toronto, to facilitate a comparison to the London case of performing pan-Pacificness without existing Pacific ties.

Speaking and seeking friends and family, and rarely crossing Yonge Street

Whilst in London most of my respondents already knew each other, if not personally then through the networks of their acquaintances, in Toronto my respondents knew each other only if they were from the same national background. Pan-Pacific social relations were the exception rather than the rule.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, during my interviews and while participating in privately organised social events, respondents repeatedly asked me to facilitate contact between them and other Islanders – even if few believed that I would be able to find anyone

¹⁰⁵ Two of my Samoan respondents did know a few of the Tongans, and one also attended some of the same social events, but generally the networks were quite separate. Again it is helpful here to refer to Figure 3.3.(b).

other than the people they already knew. Most were surprised when I told them that I had spoken to other Islanders living in Toronto. At first I was reluctant to facilitate contact after all I wanted to ask my respondents about their usual social contacts, not those I might have created. After I had conducted all my interviews, I did facilitate contact. This also gave me the opportunity to organise a small get-together of respondents and informants. Two weeks before leaving Toronto I invited all of those respondents with whom I was still able to get in contact to a meet-and-greet. I also invited those I had had frequent contact with during my fieldwork and 'non-respondents' who had declined to take part in my interview, so that in total I had invited twenty-five individuals.

The get-together, for which I prepared snacks and provided tea, coffee and juice, was held at York University (YU) where I booked a room. The location of YU is not in central Toronto. Given that my respondents come from various suburbs, YU still seemed like a good location, adjacent to a major highway and accessible via public transport. Although I was able to reimburse parking and public transport costs not all respondents who had shown a keen interest in meeting other Islanders were able to or wanted to attend. In declining my invitation some named pre-Christmas social engagements, while others did not respond to my invitation at all. Eventually only five respondents and one of my closer informants attended, and three respondents brought family members. In total there were 11 people gathered in the room on the eighth floor of York Research Tower, which overlooks the city.

In accordance with what is described by Pacific people themselves as 'island time', or maybe simply as a result of Toronto traffic-jams, people arrived at very different times. While I was in the room with the first couple, who had arrived before the others, we looked out of the window at the city sprawling underneath us to the shores of Lake Ontario. They talked about how rarely they go 'down there' and that the last time they had been to see the quintessential landmark of Toronto – CN Tower – was when they last had visitors from Fiji quite some time ago. The self-contained nature of Toronto's suburbs meant that they rarely had a need to go downtown and much less cross Yonge Street, the central artery separating east from west Toronto. As the other respondents started to arrive the conversation started flowing, with few interjections on my part. My respondents were talking about Toronto, what they did for a living and about their specific migration stories of coming to live in Toronto ('of all places we could have gone to').

When everybody was present there was one Māori family, three Fijians who already knew each other before I commenced my fieldwork, and two Tongans who were related to each

other, a few degrees removed. Both Tongans came with one of their daughters. At one point the conversation turned to trying to establish links between the people present. It emerged that the Tongans had known the late mother of one of my other respondents, who was not able to attend that day. This was explained with pride, but also indicated that the links which had once existed were no longer practiced or actively pursued.

All of the Tongans present lived on Scarborough, on the eastern side of town, and the Fijians lived in Brampton and Mississauga to the north-west and west sides of Toronto's city centre.¹⁰⁶ Reference was made to a Pacific performance held at Exhibition Place adjacent to the downtown waterfront a few years back, and that two of the people present had attended it, although they had not met then. Everyone seemed to agree that this kind of event would be a reason for people to come together. Yet at a recent exhibition opening at the Science Museum, for which Māori representatives were flown to Toronto to hold an official pōwhiri,¹⁰⁷ I only met the Māori family but none of the other Islanders. News about these events simply did not travel, I surmised. Later I learned that a few of my interlocutors did know of the event but its being held at dawn had put them off from going.

The first to leave was the Māori family. The Islanders stayed on and shortly afterwards started discussing the topic of remittances. The Tongan experience was almost equivalent to that of the Fijians, with both feeling caught up in the responsibility to contribute to extended families back in the islands, while they perceived themselves as having to work much harder in Toronto to make a decent living. This was recounted with humour and we watched a YouTube clip one of my London respondents had pointed me to called: 'Collect call to Aunty Tala' by the New Zealand Performance Group Laughing Samoans.¹⁰⁸ Two of the Fijians knew the clip and everybody laughed heartily as they watched. Eventually everyone had to head off as they still had other social commitments that day.

Although the interest in meeting other Islanders was repeatedly voiced and presumably amongst those people present it was a keen interest, exchanging of contact details was more

¹⁰⁶ It is not clear why this spatial separation was evident, although a number of the Tongans were linked to a Tongan woman who passed away during the time of my fieldwork and who, according to their stories, had been the first Tongan in Toronto. She had initially settled in a home close to the area of Greektown which is located east of Yonge Street, and I was told that a few of the people who first stayed with her later moved to properties further east into the then still separate municipality of Scarborough. The Fijians frequently made reference to earlier migrants having settled in Burlington and Kitchener, the latter not inside the area of the GTA but both to the far west of the city centre. One of my Tongan respondents also living west of Yonge also started her stay in Kitchener. It is not clear, however, whether these early settlements can be used to explain the residential patterns of later migrants.

¹⁰⁷ In London this would most likely have been done by the resident Māori Group.

¹⁰⁸ See: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GMyXFIQzR18&feature=related> [accessed: 27/05/2013]

reluctant than enthusiastic and I was left with the feeling that while the meeting was appreciated it would not actually alter my field in the sense of creating new pan-Pacific social links. Although the discussion had brought out common issues, these were not issues on which support could be given to each other - or at least not to an extent that would justify the long distances to be covered to maintain contact. Seemingly those social contacts which my respondents needed at their specific life stage were already consolidated around their extended family and other friends living in closer proximity. Although the desire for a more active pan-Pacific community was repeatedly expressed at this get-together, it seemed that the practice of such ties was impracticable for individuals. This stands in contrast to two Samoan respondents whom I introduced to each other on another occasion and who became friends, meeting up regularly to chat about Samoa and about living in Toronto and who shared food brought back from trips to the islands.

Performing without ties

During my fieldwork in Toronto I attended performances of six different Polynesian themed dance groups operating in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). Only one was taught by someone with a South Pacific Island background, a second-generation part-Islander who had started learning the dances of Polynesia as a young girl and had picked up much of her knowledge about performance from her family and during a long stint in the United States where she was dancing professionally for a Polynesian dance company. She had recently started up her own dance group in Toronto, proudly proclaiming on her website that this was 'Toronto's only authentic Polynesian show'¹⁰⁹. The other Polynesian and Hawaiian Dance groups operating out of Toronto were all (bar one) led by Filipinos.¹¹⁰ In an informal phone interview one Filipina Kumu Hula (Hawaiian Dance Teacher) explained that in the Philippines through its colonial history and the large number of Filipino labour migrants to the islands of Hawai'i, Hula had become what ballet is to Europeans, a dance form young children – especially girls – are keen to learn. In a city with a sizeable Filipino community this explains why the majority of groups are Filipino-led. The marketability of dances from other parts of Polynesia might explain why most groups performed and taught a repertoire of dances from different islands. None of these Filipino teachers except one taught or knew of Pacific Peoples or Māori living in Toronto. This teacher knew a second-generation Tongan to whom she forwarded my question about facilitating contact. Later in my fieldwork I did talk to the Tongan family in

¹⁰⁹ <http://polynesiandream.com/> [accessed: 12/10/2012].

¹¹⁰ The one exception was a group taught by a Canadian woman from British Columbia.

question, though the contact was not facilitated through this dance teacher but through links I had established to other Tongans.

The rubric 'friends and family' was not a driving aspect explaining pan-Pacific social relations in Toronto. The only time I came across the use of the notion was on an invitation to the annual recital of one of the Filipino-run Hula groups. Observing the interactions of the audience and dancers¹¹¹ before and after the performance made me think of my participation in the annual Christmas concert of the London groups, with the only difference that at the event in Toronto I knew no one instead of almost everyone.

I only participated regularly in the Polynesian-led dance group.¹¹² On one occasion, together with one of my Polynesian contacts I went along to call on one of the Filipina dance teachers. While my participation in all the groups in London was free of charge, in Toronto Polynesian dance classes are all on a pay-per-lesson basis. Professional dancers get free lessons but can be contractually bound to perform. At least this was the practice in the Polynesian-led group. The teacher of that group, however, was kind enough to allow me to participate in lessons with performance dancers in lieu of payment. If I brought food to the practice, out of London habit, this was appreciated, although bringing cake caused some confusion as a healthy diet was part of getting ready for performances. During the summer there were only three or four performances, few in comparison to the London-based Polynesian dance group which performed at least every other weekend. It ought to be acknowledged that the Toronto group was still in its start-up phase of establishing a name for itself, and that it operated in a city with a higher degree of competition due to the larger number of groups that offer Polynesian dance shows. What was noticeable was that those gigs that were secured by and large did not depend on Pacific contacts. One of the birthday parties where the group performed was for a family of European descent who went to the same church as one of the dancers, and another charitable event was also not specifically Pacific-themed.

Finding suitable practice space was also problematic for this small dance troupe. The back yard, and on rainy days the teacher's living room, served as a practice space in those start out days. The neighbours never came by to complain but the amp boosting the drum songs always had to be kept somewhat hushed. Towards the end of my fieldwork and with a cold Toronto winter approaching the teacher was looking for alternative practice spaces and told

¹¹¹ Mainly young Filipina dancers but also a few of other Asian backgrounds, and fewer still of a potentially European descent.

¹¹² I did however attend public performances by the other groups.

me that she might take advantage of one offered by a local church.¹¹³ Overall the outlook of the group, which was not embedded in a larger network of pan-Pacific relations and support system, was primarily focused on being financially viable. The teacher invested significantly in authentic Island costumes for performances, drawing on her US contacts, amongst others, to obtain them.

As with the Polynesian dance group in London, performances included dances from various different islands (although all were taught by the one teacher). In addition the group performed a Māori number. Despite the teacher's emphasis on authenticity it was clear that the numbers practiced had to sell in the sense of being entertaining for a clientele that would be willing to pay for the show. In this group, but also with some of the Filipina groups, the effort to keep to Island roots was comparatively quite pronounced. On one occasion I met with Isabel, a Samoan respondent, at one of Toronto's annual street festivals in the downtown area to see a show by yet another Polynesian dance group. As we sat down on her Samoan lava-lava (sarong), which she said she always carried with her, the performers in front of us were clad in plastic grass skirts and coconut bras performing a Māori song. Having been sensitised to this art form in London where meticulous attention was paid to performing correctly and in accordance to Māori protocol,¹¹⁴ this performance was very different in comparison. I said to my respondent: 'I have never seen a Māori number performed in coconuts'; she smiled and said she had not either. The audience around us did not seem to be perturbed by the mixing of costume and performance style. Performed pan-Pacificness in Toronto is a good that has become part of the commercialisation of (pan)ethnicity (cf. Kobayashi 1993). Overall, it can be noted, there was no pan-Pacific social support system to speak of, and the social meaning attached to performing pan-Pacificness for the fuzzy pan-Pacific group which was so paramount in London was also not possible.

Discussion – group size and pan-ethnic socialising

What do the ethnographic accounts above tell us about the practices of different degrees of groupness amongst my fuzzy research population in London and Toronto? How can these accounts be used to better understand the role of small group size for the perpetually emergent patterns of sociality in superdiverse contexts?

¹¹³ Eventually after I left she rented a studio for practices which also coincided with her starting to give paid for dance lessons. I am not sure if the studio was the one offered through the church.

¹¹⁴ Although it was recognised that this was not necessarily about 'authenticity', discussions often ensued over whether to use modern or traditional costumes and there was certainly a recognition that Māori performances are living and changing cultural and artistic expression.

Earlier I argued that an origin-group-enumerating trope of diversity by no means addresses the complexity of migration related diversity in the two cities where I conducted my fieldwork. This is clearly due to a neglect of non-origin-dependent aspects of migration-related diversity, but the trope can already be criticised if the analysis focuses on how cities are differently interlinked through pan-ethnic and other pan-group networks. It is then possible to ask what is more salient and more defining of a diverse city: how many different places the people living in a city come from or how many people from how many places get together frequently, provide social support to each other and at times rally in unison to make their voice heard?

I commenced my analysis by asking why we might expect migrants from the various origin groups included in my fuzzy focus population to interlink socially. Using arguments from the pan-ethnicity literature, I argued that this literature is useful for my analysis as the notion of pan-ethnicity in principle maps nicely onto the fuzzy category notion underlying this research. However this literature has thus far neglected the relevance of the transnational social field and its role in fostering both an imaginary of links that ought to be maintained and its actualisation in different degrees of groupness.

By coining the notion of *migrating labels*, I point out both the individual interpretations and situational appropriations of those grouping labels that have migrated with my respondents and informants. I was also able to distinguish that the wish for social connections based on those labels is not necessarily enacted and that it does not determine degrees of practiced groupness. Instead, the ethnographic elaborations in the last section show that even in London where there is a constant potential for those links to be invoked, groupness is more or less prevalent at different times across the many cohorts of migrants who formed part of my study. This emphasises the emergent character of those links and serves as a first indicator of the complexity of the social interconnectedness of different origin groups living in the city.

With the main aim in this chapter of focusing on the role of group size, my ethnographic observations have clearly shown that in talking about the relevance of group size it is important to be clear about the reference points delineating the size of the group considered. On the one hand there is the number of co-migrants from the same country of

origin.¹¹⁵ As a bounded notion, and with the backdrop of the relevance given to this in enumerating the different migrant origins of city residents, the fact that according to the statistics some of my respondents were part of an island nation group of only a few dozen or fewer led me to question whether group size is important. Same-origin groups did make for relevant groupings in terms of social links maintained in both cities, although again the relevance of those links differed situationally. On the other hand, however, there is the size of the active pan-Pacific group, which may indeed be numerically larger and if invoked can facilitate socialising opportunities.

It is important to take this distinction - regarding points of reference for talking about group size - into account in exploring the two arguments I presented earlier, that a) group size matters in terms of practiced groupness, and that it is important to explore the role of a minimum size threshold; and b) that the group size problem remains a question of fusions and fissions.

Introducing the idea of a minimum threshold was motivated by the observation that social support networks in Toronto were not as developed as those in London. Although in both cities the Pacific Islander and Māori populations are relatively small in comparison to other migrant populations resident in the city, in Toronto, the accessible population, *ergo* the population active in maintaining networks open to anyone, is clearly less developed than in London. This suggests an important aspect of the small fuzzy group threshold. As I have noted, for Islanders of different backgrounds living in Toronto it is difficult to engage in pan-Pacific social activities as even finding out about each other's presence is a challenge. In contrast the Polynesian dance group in London that has members from similarly very small migrant cohorts is able to recruit from diverse pan-Pacific contacts because the links between Islanders are a constant possibility. This is the case not least because of the group's links to the somewhat larger Māori group. These links were crucial in procuring a (practice) space to continue offering a forum in which people could get together, and by extension allowing the group to perform pan-Pacificness to a wider public. In addition the relatively small Māori language school is able to attract people from a different demographic (parents with children) who primarily want to give their children the opportunity to develop Māori language skills.

¹¹⁵ This is obviously not the smallest unit of analysis in principle we could consider co-migrants from the same village to be a relevant group if their social interactions suggested this but no data was collected at this level and while it is important to keep this point in mind it is not relevant for the analysis here.

All performance and learning groups engage in pan-Pacific networks and are linked to the wider public through fundraising activities. These in turn make possible a number of diverse socialising opportunities in which individuals not active in one of the performance groups can partake. Because the pan-Pacific networks in London build on these foundations they can be quite open and changeable regarding who is considered and considers themselves to be part of a pan-Pacific social grouping – part of ‘friends and family’. This plays an important part in withstanding the churn of people moving in and out of the city, whereas previously maintained social contacts between different groups in Toronto have virtually vanished in the absence of such opportunities.

Exactly this possibility that the Māori, Polynesian and wider Pacific socialising opportunities were so fleeting and able to withstand the churn of more active participating members has meant that the Pacific and Māori pan-ethnic social opportunities are regular and open. Some people move in and out of these networks, others have their core social networks rooted in the performance groups throughout their stay in London.¹¹⁶

Links of this type were only referred to as having once existed in Toronto, and seemingly never to the extent I observed in London. As those former links have disappeared with people moving further from the city centre and with the lack of open events organised by and for a pan-Pacific group, fleeting and changing participation was not possible. Key actors driving such socialising opportunities were no longer – or maybe never – able to rally enough participants to create this type of fuzzy pan-Pacific groupness.

On the one hand this finding goes some way to explain why considering a lower size threshold of origin groups is important in understanding engagement in pan-Pacific socialising. It supports my first argument that group size matters and specifically that small group size matters. This lower size threshold however does not seem to link to any one small-origin group: instead the point of reference is much more the size of the fuzzy pan-ethnic group. This is especially so if contextual aspects (see Chapter 5) such as spatial separation further increase the ‘costs’ of initiating and maintaining pan-Pacific social links.

On the other hand this finding supports the notion that the size of the fuzzy pan-ethnic group may be even more effected by the fusions and fissions of groupness than the size of its smaller sub-units. Size is relativised by the potential size of the pan-ethnic group, and the

¹¹⁶ See also the analysis in Chapters 7 and 8.

degree of groupness that can be mobilised. The circles of who counts as part of the pan-ethnic group can be larger or smaller on a situational basis. Potential interlinkages with other regional groups then become relevant, as well as institutional support for maintaining pan-Pacific socialising opportunities.

The word 'potential' is key because there are no clear demarcating lines to any fuzzy pan-ethnic group. To take the case of London, wider pan-ethnic socialising could be seen between Pacific Islanders, Māori's and New Zealanders (and potentially Australians and even South Africans if links via particular legal trajectories are taken into account). Many of the social events I have referred to will have a Pacific corner with fundraising stalls, but the more general group of participants is by no means restricted to this social grouping. In addition the links to the New Zealand High Commission are very important in facilitating that the group can operate as openly as it does. The presence of High Commissions for a number of Pacific Islanders in London more generally meant a basis for pan-ethnic social contact as different high commissioners or their staff were key players in linking up their specific group of Islanders to the wider pan-Pacific group, for example through Commonwealth events.

In addition to these aspects, which were linked in part to London being the capital city and seat of government, rugby was also socially important in that it offered not only an additional legal status trajectory for migrating to London but also that games and practices brought players and fans together. My argument here is that pan-group size has to reach a threshold that is not solely based on concrete numerical size. We move closer to a superdiversity argument as it has to be considered that multiple aspects influence if affinities with the South Pacific result in practices of groupness.

The presence and possibility for different socialising opportunities plays an important part in the maintenance of sufficiently permeable and churn-resistant social groupings of smaller migrant cohort members. This means that we cannot neglect the city-specific contexts, and precisely those institutional structures that can increase the linking up of different groups, but that those opportunities are not created by available social spaces. Instead they often rely on key players who turn spaces into opportunities for social contact. This alters the impact of the relative smallness of any single national-origin group and means that the fuzziness of pan-ethnic group size is not only dependent on whether individuals' participation in particular events can be documented, but also how these events are made possible through an interplay of the efforts of key individuals, the number of people

interested in participating and the feasibility of offering different socialising opportunities. This combination is what in my fieldwork seemed to result in higher degrees of groupness.

Further, the size of the next nearest pan-ethnic social group also seemed relevant. It is important to note, however, that loyalties and support networks may be stronger amongst the smaller pan-ethnic groups if the overall structures facilitating the social contact in the first place are present. The lack of such support systems in Toronto meant that the performance and practice of pan-Pacific socialising was less focused on building social support networks and leaned more towards the commercialisation of a desired pan-Pacificness to a general public rather than to both the general public and a pan-Pacific group of 'friends and family'.

Conclusion

What my discussion underlines is that it is difficult to make any argument about the diversity of the city simply by enumerating the number of different places people come from, or even the number of different languages they speak. Social interactions connect and form patterns that result in complex and emergent configurations of social support and representations of pan-Pacificness. It would be absurd to argue, say, that less than twenty co-migrants with the same background will not stimulate pan-ethnic groupness whereas, say, twenty-one will, not least because of the fuzzy nature of the pan-ethnic groups that individuals may situationally ascribe to. As Simmel argues numbers do have an impact on the social form of the group, but when we talk about small numbers we always have to ask: 'how many grains of wheat make a heap' (1902: 33). This question is not resolved by knowing the number of grains. What is more important is to see how those grains are positioned and connected to other grains. By exploring the second line of argument – that the question of group size is in fact one of fusions and fissions – I have demonstrated that group size is paired with other aspects of the institutional potentiality of pan-Pacific sociality. To phrase this differently, the size of different groups is intensely bound up with the spatial reachability of others, and the socialising opportunities that migrants find available in the destination city. Only if these can withstand the churn of people¹¹⁷ is it possible to speak of the continuously present possibility of patterns of pan-ethnic sociality, which underlies those fusions and fissions of groupness in superdiverse contexts.

¹¹⁷ Churn can be due to, for example, onward migration or changes in individual socialising habits.

In the next chapter I will move away from the analytical focus on ancestral background used in this chapter. Keeping in mind the complexity already explored, I will focus on the personal social networks of the individuals who live in such differently superdiverse contexts, and emphasise the role of the different migration-related characteristics that come together within those personal networks.

Chapter 7

'It looks so simple from a distance...

The way lives touch, touch and spring apart, the pulse synaptic local, but its stretch electric – as when cities lose themselves in velvet under winking planes, binding black hostilities with golden chains.'

Anne Stevenson (Poems 1955-2004)

A poem discovered while riding the London Tube after a long day of observing people interact. (13/12/2009)

DIVERSITY IN SIMILARITY

The potentiality of diversity and the diversity of similarity

In the previous chapter, I provided a relatively basic analysis of the role of similarities of ancestral origin in social interactions amongst individuals from numerically small migrant groups. This analysis had a twist in that it centred on the relevance of moving from one region, where assumptions about certain cross-group social links based on ancestry are part of the public and policy debate, to other regions where those debates are not relevant in the everyday. While what I termed *migrating labels* show an effect in terms of desired sociality, the effect they have on practiced groupness differs depending on the context of social opportunity at destination. The chapter argued that the size of the socially active pan-ethnic group is an important aspect of this social opportunity context for numerically smaller migrant groups and has an impact on whether imagined social ties are also (situationally) actively practised. While this analysis, by keeping the fusions and fissions of sociality in mind, did showcase significant complexity in the formation of the social groupings observed during my fieldwork, we need to ask how we can move beyond what is still an ethno-focal analysis to appreciate the wider relational complexity which is arguably part of considering multidimensional forms of migration-related differentiations. How can we bring additional variables of superdiversity into our analysis without *a priori* attributing particular salience to any one aspect?

If, as I am suggesting in this thesis, there is an analytical link between sociality practices and urban diversity in general, then diversity can be understood as relational in terms of the opportunities and constraints of meeting people in superdiverse contexts (discussed in Chapters 5 and 6), but also in terms of how personal network constellations can be seen as an indicator of the interconnectedness of multidimensional differences in the city. This latter aspect is discussed in more detail in the following chapters. Taking that perspective means moving from the group(ness) level of analysis followed in the previous chapter to one focusing on the diversity in the composition of individual personal networks. To link the two one might ask: 'Are the networks as diverse as the city (and its social opportunity contexts)?'

Despite superdiverse contexts in principle allowing for the intermingling of diverse people, there is no reason why personal networks should be as diverse as the city. This is so, even if for numerically small groups there is a disproportionately large group of 'others' – however that otherness is defined – to socialise with. This is due to structural constraints that prohibit or at least make the interaction of some individuals with others less likely, but also due to a tendency for people to interact with others who are like them. In the network literature this latter aspect is called the homophily principle. This notion is one of the most documented findings from that literature (for an overview see McPherson et al. 2001) and in this chapter I will use this assumption of being disproportionately the same as one's social contacts to make the argument that regardless of this sameness or, more appropriately, similarity,¹¹⁸ we can find incredible variation if the analysis is moved from considering aspects of superdiversity separately to considering them simultaneously. Through this analysis it is possible to show, as the heading of this chapter suggests, diversity in similarity. With the analysis in this chapter I will address the second main research question posed in Chapter 3:

How can personal social networks, despite the tendency for people to engage with others who are like them, be used to describe and better (visually) represent the multidimensionality of urban superdiversity?

In the first section of the chapter I use descriptive analysis of questionnaire responses to explore the potential for relational diversity amongst my sample of respondents. I focus on the three aspects of superdiversity already considered in Chapter 5: migration, legal status and labour market trajectories. By potential for relational diversity I mean to emphasise, that

¹¹⁸ Similarity is more appropriate because in most cases categories used for analysis can be subdivided into subcategories as the initial descriptive analysis will show, thus at times individuals might be identified as being the same as their social contacts but if more differentiated categories were used this sameness would actually only signify similarity.

an analysis of how differentiated my respondents are in terms of several superdiversity variables does not automatically imply relational diversity. Even if my respondents and the social contacts they named show a potential for diversity on those variables, in the sense that we can identify respondents and social contacts as a diverse sample of individuals, it is only through analysing the composition of my respondents' personal networks – their personal patterns of sociality – that we can establish if this potential is translated into relational diversity. After illustrating this potential amongst my respondents, I explain why the remainder of my analysis is based on city-focused social networks and how the overall sample of social contacts was made to match this focus. Finally, again using descriptive data analysis, this time gathered as part of the face-to-face interviews, the potential for diversity amongst that sample of city-focused social contacts is explored.

In the second section of this chapter I investigate whether the potential for diversity established in the first section translates into diversity or similarity patterns in the networks. I first introduce the measures used for the analysis of those patterns. I use two simple measures, one called predicted homophily which measures whether there are a disproportionate number of same-category social contacts in each personal network. The second measure I discuss is the index of qualitative variation, which in turn describes the variation of categories within each personal network. I then contrast the results of these two measures to show the importance of not only looking for similarity but also variation of differences. In the final part of the chapter I use a novel way of visualising my data about network homophily to demonstrate that a multidimensional analysis of superdiversity makes it possible to recognise diversity in similarity patterns.

Potentially diverse networks

In this section I explore how much variation there is in terms of superdiversity variables amongst my respondents and amongst the people they named as their social contacts. This section is thus not *per se* about diversity in personal networks, but about how there is the potential for it based on the cross-cutting, changing and multi-layered attributes of the individuals who are part of the personal networks. In the survey questionnaire I asked a number of questions that were designed to highlight migration trajectories and changes in respondents' legal and labour market trajectories over time. Those trajectories are explored below, and show the potential for diversity across my sample of respondents.

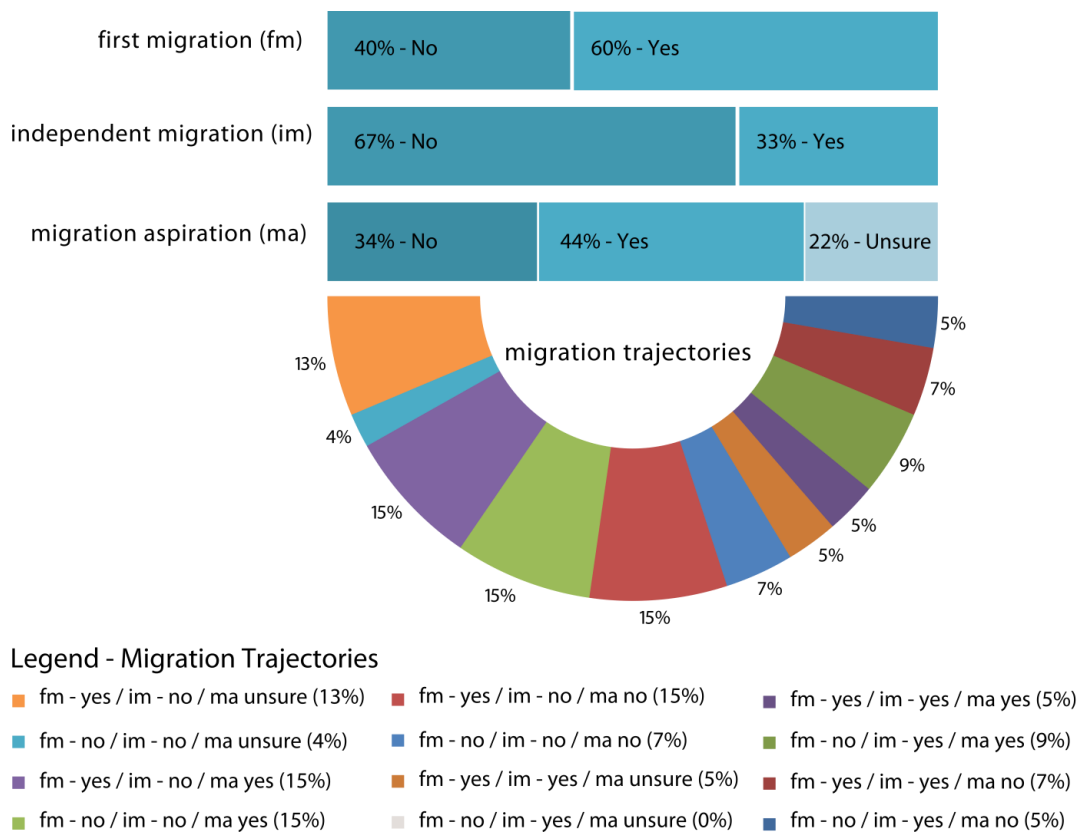
Migration trajectories

What the term 'migration trajectories' entails has not yet been sufficiently addressed in the literature, and there is no set number of factors according to which the trajectory of one individual differs from that of another. What is clear is that migration trajectories in terms of social practices are linked to aspects that go beyond individuals moving from A to C via B, or not. I focus here on three factors in particular, although I am aware that other aspects might be considered central to a person's migration trajectory. The aspects I analyse are: (1) whether this was an individual's first international migration, which in Figure 7.1 below is denoted with the abbreviation 'fm'; (2) whether the respondent migrated alone (independent migration - im); and (3) whether respondents indicated that they see themselves migrating again in the next ten years (migration aspiration - ma). I asked about all three aspects in my questionnaire and created dichotomous variables that indicate whether these applied or not. For predicting a future move I also included a category of 'undecided' for respondents who indicated that they were not sure 'where in the world they see themselves living in ten years'.¹¹⁹ To emphasise the internal diversity within the migration trajectories, I then included the answers of my 55 respondents in both London and Toronto in a cross-tabulation to show the multiplicity of trajectories that can be identified on the basis of these three variables. The results from that cross-tabulation are visually represented in Figure 7.1.

The figure shows that while the single variable visualisations (bar charts) might suggest a straightforward pattern, where a higher proportion of my sample migrated for the first time (60 per cent), moved accompanied by family or friends (67 per cent) and have future migration aspirations (44 per cent) there are in fact three category combinations that emerge most frequently amongst my respondents (gauge diagram). These three combinations, each accounting for 15 per cent of the entire sample, are: (1) having migrated for the first time, not having moved alone and not having future migration aspirations; (2) having migrated before, not having migrated alone and aspiring to migrate again; and (3) having migrated for the first time, not having migrated alone and having future migration aspirations.

¹¹⁹ I am not making the assumption that the intention to move or not is predictive of future international migrations. However the assumption is made, based on observations and stories told, that the aspiration to move or not, or being uncertain about this prospect, does have an impact on the social engagement in the city where respondents now live.

Figure 7.1 – Crossover between three aspects of the migration trajectory



This indicates that my small sample of respondents used a number of different migration trajectories and that once categories are overlaid in one table identifying any one trend is difficult. What this implies is that a number of different factors play into how social aspirations can be actualised in the superdiverse contexts at destination. Clearly a person who has moved with family or friends is commencing their social engagement in a city in a different way to someone who has to find their footing on their own. Similarly, having experience of establishing oneself in a different context is relevant for social engagement as are perceptions about the temporariness of one's stay. By recognising the multifactness of these simultaneous aspects of the migration trajectory, we can also recognise the part they play in on-going diversification processes. My sample lacks one possible combination of categories: none of my respondents indicated they were unsure about a future move, had migrated alone and had had previous migration experience. Conceivably, if the sample was larger there might be a few experienced and lone migrants who would not be certain about whether another international move lay ahead.

Legal status trajectories

The multiplicity of possible legal status trajectories and how they become a contextual parameter in describing the emergent superdiverse contexts of London and Toronto has been discussed in Chapter 5. There I emphasised the importance of the dual process of the impact of changing migration regimes and people moving through statuses in light of those regime changes. The former implies that access to, and the terminology for, possible legal status trajectories changes over time; whereas the latter suggests that individuals living in a city move through their statuses under sequentially different conditions. I argued that these possibilities and constraints are part of the contextual parameters for this study because changing status matters for patterns of sociality in a way that goes beyond considering whether an individual's current status limits their potential interactions with others (cf. Chimienti and van Liempt 2011).

In terms of numbers, in my sample of respondents, differential individual trajectories can be identified. For the following analysis I have aggregated different legal statuses in very general terms to avoid ambiguity in terms of comparability, but also in terms of the different levels of abstraction at which respondents were able to identify their own and their social contacts' legal statuses. The four categories summarising the different statuses are (1) people with a work and residence permit; (2) people who hold citizenship or who are married to a citizen of their country of residence; (3) people who hold a visitor and student-type visa; and (4) those identified as being without a recognised legal status in relation to the country of residence. This aggregation is based on how legal status, if it came up in discussions, was talked about during my fieldwork. Having a pink passport in London¹²⁰ or 'the citizenship' in Canada was frequently associated with more stability but also at times with freedom of movement and the possibility of returning without administrative hassles. This sets this second set of categories apart from statuses that were not associated with citizenship. Being on a visitor or student visa - the third category - could be seen as a step towards moving into one of the other categories but was referred to as a much more temporary or specific purpose-based stay. Plainly, being without a status in relation to the host country had certain social limitations associated with it, as individuals had to work the system to continue their stay in the city. Within my sample of respondents no one falls into this last category, however a few people named social contacts that they thought were out of status. If we take the three applicable categories and compare movement between them

¹²⁰ Mostly contrasted with the dark blue colour of, for example, the New Zealand Passport.

from first arrival to the time of the completion of the questionnaire, we already see a number of different trajectories (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 – Moving through visa categories

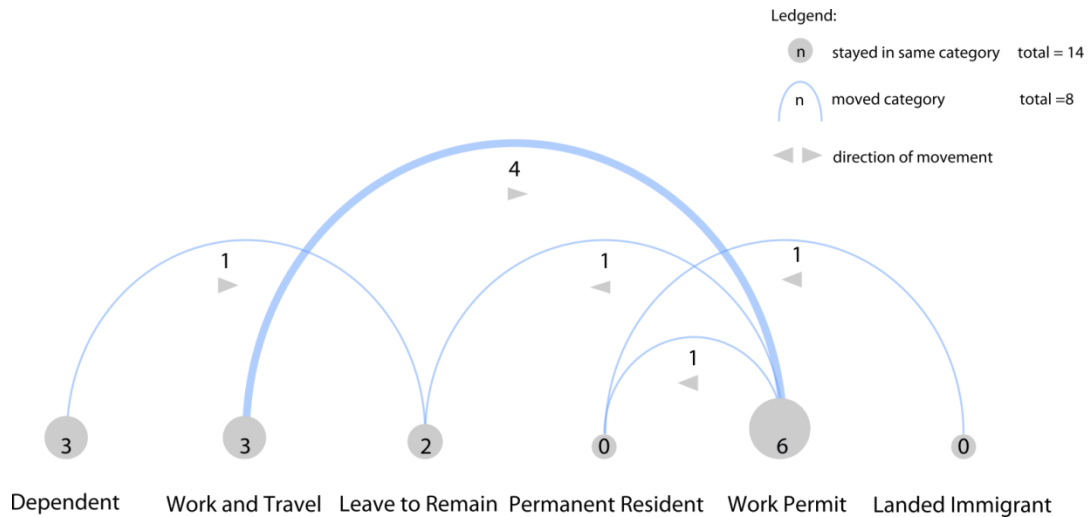
		Visa at time of questionnaire			totals
		right to stay and work	citizenship (of spouse)	visitor/student	
Visa at arrival	right to stay and work	22	10	0	32
	citizenship (of spouse)	2	9	0	11
	visitor/student	3	7	2	12
totals		27	26	2	55

Although no one moved to a visitor or student visa, there was movement between all the other categories. This includes two respondents who indicated having come on a visa associated with their spouse's citizenship and who later moved on to indefinite leave to remain and to what the second respondent identified as a military visa (both grouped in the work and stay category). The largest number of respondents who remained within one of the three categories are those whose work and stay were not associated with a citizenship category (n=22). Within this category we can still identify that individuals moved between statuses. By disaggregating responses we see a number of different trajectories. Figure 7.2 shows this visually with the help of an arc diagram.

The diagram shows that of those twenty-two respondents, fourteen chose the same category in response to both the question 'what visa did you first hold?' and 'what visa do you hold now?' We also see that those 14 are distributed across four separate categories. Of the remaining eight, four have moved from a 'work and holiday'-type visa to a more long term work permit (UK respondents). There is also one respondent each who has moved from a work permit to leave to remain (UK) or from work permit to permanent resident status (Canada) respectively. Finally there were another two trajectories: from arriving first as a landed immigrant to obtaining permanent resident status (Canada), and moving from a dependent visa to leave to remain (UK). These movements between statuses illustrate the differential trajectories my respondents experienced in terms of their legal statuses, and how these trajectories depend on local regulations and the types of statuses they allow. Overall, this supports the superdiversity argument that we should pay closer attention to how these

status changes also impact on patterns of sociality in the city, which thus far has rarely been considered in the literature (cf. Bauböck 2012).

Figure 7.2 – Migration trajectories within right to stay and work category



Labour market trajectories

To give a final briefer example of the diversity of status trajectories, labour market experiences can also differ substantially. Table 7.2 shows the different areas of work my respondents were engaged in based on the Standard Occupational Classification 2000 (SOC 2000).¹²¹ The table shows that the majority of my respondents worked in skilled occupations (61 per cent) but that there is a spread of other occupational groups as well.

Focusing exclusively on post-migration occupational mobility, many of my respondents moved jobs during their stay in London or Toronto. Contrasting the two questions 'What was your job after arrival in the city?' and 'What is your current job?' helps identify different trajectories of occupational mobility patterns. Of the 52 respondents who answered both questions, the majority (42.3 per cent, $n=22$) stayed in the same occupational group but a substantive proportion were upwardly mobile (34.6 per cent, $n=18$) while some respondents moved into a lower occupational group (23.1 per cent, $n=12$). Of those 22 who stayed in the same occupational category half (50 per cent, $n=11$) indicated that they had been promoted in their current job, adding to their personal post-migration occupational trajectory. It

¹²¹ For documentation about the SOC 2000 see Office of National Statistics (2000) - at the time of designing the questionnaire the 2010 version of this classification system was not yet released and the older 2000 version is used for that reason.

follows that in terms of labour market trajectories, due to the multiplicity of areas of work and the direction of labour market mobility, overlapping and changing categorisations are almost unique to different individuals.

Table 7.2 – Number and percentage of respondents in different occupations

SOC 2000 Category	Frequency	Percent	Grouped as
Managers and Senior Officials	2	4%	Highly Skilled
Professional Occupations	7	13%	
Associate Professional and Technical Occupation	18	33%	Skilled
Administrative and Secretarial Occupations	8	15%	
Skilled Trades Occupations	7	13%	
Personal Service Occupations	2	4%	Semi-Skilled
Sales and Customer Service Occupations	1	2%	
Process, Plant and Machine Operatives	0	0%	
Elementary Occupations	3	5%	
Stay at home mum/dad	3	5%	Unsalaries
Student	2	4%	
Retired	1	2%	
Unemployed	1	2%	
Total N	55	100%	

Distinguishing ‘city-focused networks’

The descriptive exploration of status trajectories amongst my respondents has shown in some detail that there is indeed migration-related diversity amongst my respondents, and that this is the case even before other more commonly used categories of diversity are considered. However, to be able to talk about personal networks and their patterns of diversity, the potential for diversity among the named social contacts is equally important. To analyse this potential I focus exclusively on local social contacts. There are two reasons for this focus in the following analysis. One is theoretically driven: the primary interest of this thesis is to understand local patterns of sociality; the argument is that the city brings together large numbers of people in relative proximity, some of whom have moved and others who have not, and that this is a central asset of sociality in superdiverse contexts.¹²² The other reason is that some of the superdiversity variables relevant to the following

¹²² This decision is also linked to debates about the impact of proximity on the formation of social relations (cf. Rivera et al. 2010; Mok et al. 2010).

analysis are only available for those people whom respondents identified as having been or being resident in the city.¹²³

To distinguish 'city contacts' (cf. Fischer 1991) in principle it should be possible to focus simply on the sample of social contacts named in response to the first seven name generator questions.¹²⁴ However, not all the contacts named in response to those seven questions were resident in the city at the time of the interview. Some respondents provided local information for social contacts who had recently moved away from, or were living near, Greater London or the GTA, and in some cases respondents even named social contacts who had recently passed away. 'Thinking about the past six months and thinking about the people who you know in London/Toronto' thus did not necessarily limit the contacts elicited to city residents. This, to a degree, reflects the difficulty of studying cities as strictly geographically bounded territories (cf. Brenner 1998). The city contact sample used for the following analysis is thus not based on residence at the time of the interview but instead on whether respondents identified their social contacts as having lived in London for some time, and on whether they were able to identify the full range of aspects of superdiversity asked about in the interview, which often would not have been the case for deceased contacts or those contacts no longer actively maintained or no longer in London.¹²⁵

This results in a still sizable sample of 652 social contacts maintained by the 55 respondents in London and Toronto. Those local social networks are by no means uniform, but differ in size and other compositional features. Table 7.3 offers a summary of a number of these compositional characteristics based on 54 of these networks. One London respondent whose local social network consisted of only one person is excluded from the analysis, because the measures to be evaluated in the following analysis can only vary if respondents named more than one contact. In total this individual named only five contacts, with four out-of-town contacts (all but one, his out-of-town accountant, were transnational contacts). Yet his personal story offers rich information which explains why he chose to name only one locally based social contact. His case is therefore returned to in more detail in an Annex to

¹²³ For social contacts not resident in the UK or Canada the migration and visa status questions were omitted. The question 'How long has this person lived in London/Toronto?' was only asked for contacts '*currently*' living in London/Toronto but not contacts identified as not living in the city.

¹²⁴ Social relations elicited with name generator question eight, which asked about out-of-town contacts, the majority of transnational social contacts, are not analysed in depth in this thesis and instead are only referred to descriptively at appropriate points. This goes somewhat against the grain of current research on migrant networks which emphasises the importance of transnational links between localities (e.g. Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009), but this data on transnational ties will be analysed in more depth in future work.

¹²⁵ Please note responses indicating that ego was not sure about one of the superdiversity aspects for a social contact are considered as a valid response.

this thesis, where I present individual case analysis, to give more depth to the abstract analysis offered in this and the following chapter.

As Table 7.3 shows the remaining 54 networks are composed of a minimum of four and a maximum of 24 local social contacts with an average network size of 12 contacts. On average 50 per cent were named in response to the first name generator question (NG 1), which asked about regular socialising. Roughly a third and a quarter of contacts were named in response to the name generator question asking about whether alters were confidants or confiders, respectively (NG 2 and 3). Name generator questions 6 and 7 linked to the work life of a respondent on average elicited 23 per cent per cent of the names. To recap, the share of social contacts named in response to the different name generators does not add up to 100 per cent because names could be mentioned multiple times - on average respondents named 37 per cent of their local social contacts more than once. All of these average values, however, differ substantially in terms of individual personal networks. In fact for every name generator question there was at least one respondent who did not recall a single name in response to it. The maximum number of names recalled per name generator however differ, as the range between minimum and maximum shares shown in Table 7.3 documents.

In terms of types of relationships between egos and alters, we can see a similar variation between individual networks. However, on average the majority of contacts (64 per cent) are close friends or friends of the ego, and just over 20 per cent are close or distant family relations. The remaining relationships were identified as acquaintances, work contacts or other social relations.¹²⁶ Further communication and frequency of meeting face to face varied both in terms of individual networks and across the sample: on average respondents met 65 per cent of their named social contacts regularly but at least every other week, while for 35 per cent of social contacts meeting frequency was less regular (a similar pattern applies to communicating at a distance). Additionally there is variation in terms of how long the ego has known each alter: on average most contacts have been known by the ego for over 10 years and only 12.5 per cent were met in the past year. Here the difference between individual egos is particularly interesting, as for at least one social network included in the analysis almost all social contacts named (82 per cent) were recently acquired. This is obviously affected by how long the respondent has lived in the city, and underlines the notion that migration is an event that is associated with the formation of new social ties.

¹²⁶ Examples of other social relations named were sports coach, priest, flatmate and landlord.


















Table 7.3 – Variation in network composition

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
network size	4	24	12
	Minimum %	Maximum %	Mean %
Share of			
(1) alters named for:			
NG 1 - Regular social contacts	0.0	100.0	50.3
NG 2 - People trusted	0.0	100.0	26.5
NG 3 - Trusting people	0.0	75.0	29.3
NG 4 - First 2 weeks	0.0	53.3	18.4
NG 5 - Others	0.0	58.8	12.7
NG 6 - Work and social	0.0	50.0	13.0
NG 7 - Helped find work	0.0	33.3	10.2
(2) Alters named more than once	0.0	100.0	37.3
(3) Types of relationship			
Close friend or friend	4.5	100.0	64.1
Aquaintance or work	0.0	55.6	12.4
Close family relations	0.0	50.0	9.8
Distant family relations	0.0	62.5	11.6
Other	0.0	26.3	2.1
(4) Time known alters			
One year or less	0.0	81.8	12.4
Three years or less	0.0	90.5	21.9
Ten years or less	0.0	100.0	26.6
More than ten years	0.0	100.0	39.0
(5) Meeting face to face			
At least every other week	25.0	100.0	65.3
At least every other month	0.0	75.0	24.3
Less frequently	0.0	66.7	10.4
(6) Communicate (not face to face)			
At least every other week	10.0	100.0	68.4
At least every other month	0.0	58.3	20.3
Less frequently	0.0	66.7	11.3
			N= 54

Of the four networks where more than 50 per cent of social contacts had been forged in the last year, three were those of London respondents and only one belonged to a Toronto respondent. Of these four, three had lived in their respective city for only a short time. One had been in London for more than 3 years but still named contacts who had recently moved to the city. This last respondent's network composition puts emphasis on the social

importance of migrant churn – the moving in and out of the city. For this respondent many of her former social contacts had left the city and she forged new ties with people who had arrived relatively recently. Churn which was much more prevalent amongst my interlocutors in London, as I pointed out in the previous chapter.

Table 7.4 – Potential for diversity amongst London and Toronto social contacts

		n	%	
Migrant	No	199	30.6	
	Yes	433	66.5	
	unsure	19	2.9	
Time lived in city	less than 3 years	93	14.3	
	4-10 years	209	32.1	
	more than 10 years	325	49.9	
	unsure	24	3.7	
Visa Status	Right to work and stay	155	23.8	
	Citizenship (of spouse)	438	67.3	
	Visitor or student	4	0.6	
	Out of status	8	1.2	
	unsure	46	7.6	
Job Status	Highly Skilled	166	25.5	
	Skilled	246	37.8	
	Semi-Skilled	106	16.3	
	Unsalariated	114	17.5	
	unsure	19	2.9	
		N =	651	

The potential for diversity amongst social contacts

Beyond the compositional differences of the city-focused networks, individual social contacts differed in terms of the attributes mentioned during interviews. To identify potential for diversity amongst the sample of respondents along comparable lines, a few variables similar to those already discussed are listed in Table 7.4. Respondents were asked about the time that their contact had lived in the city, whether a contact was born and raised outside the country of residence (both considered here as aspects related to the migration pattern of social contacts) as well as about visa category and occupational status.

Overall Table 7.4 shows that there is some variation in the distribution of contacts across the different categories, although the higher occurrence of some categories (see bar charts in Table 7.4) can also easily be distinguished. In other words, while the potential for the networks to be diverse based on categorical variation is evident amongst respondents *and* their social contacts, it is less explicit amongst the sample of social contacts.

Final note – the potential for diversity

In this section, which has explored the potential for the networks to be diverse – in their complexity maybe as diverse as the cities – I have focused my analysis on factors associated with my respondents having moved into the cities. However, I deliberately did not focus on ethnic diversity in the sample of social contacts. This was done to show how migration-related diversity can be described without focusing on a single-track understanding of it. As I have argued, while it is necessary not to focus exclusively on a singly defined understanding of migration-related diversity, people's ethnic background still remains an important issue which sometimes impacts on socialising practices. Further its central role in the literature on post-migration social networks (e.g. Lubbers et al. 2007; Lubbers et al. 2010; Esser 2001; Esser and Friedrichs 1990; Sanders 2002; Rogers and Vertovec 1995; Mollica et al. 2003; Martinovic et al. 2009; Ganter 2003) supports the value of including an ethnicity measure (and, in accordance with the previous chapter, a pan-ethnicity measure) in the following discussion. Also included are other aspects that have been linked in the literature to the forging of same-category social ties as well as to the wider interpretation of superdiversity (age and gender patterns as well as life-course stages).¹²⁷ In the following section which will

¹²⁷ Again I refer to McPherson et. al. (2001) for an overview of the homophily literature and to articles referred to in the following section for common variables assessed in that literature. In general it can be argued that the three most frequently explored aspects in terms of status homophily (for definition, see below) are gender, age and racial homophily, where racial homophily in particular is frequently linked to social disintegration. Life-

test whether the potential to be diverse, as just described, is translated to the relational level, I will thus include ethnicity as well as these other characteristics associated with influencing patterns of sociality.

The how (or not) of diverse networks – homophily and variation

To recapitulate, the personal network of each respondent is made up of the ego (the respondent), his or her alters (the social contacts named by respondents), and the connections between them (edges/ties). In an ego-centric network the ego by default knows all alters. Each ego and alter pair have a dyadic relationship, and the unit of analysis in the following is neither egos nor alters (as it was in the previous section) but the networks that are composed of those dyads.¹²⁸ The analysis thus moves to being relational, albeit still descriptive.¹²⁹ The following analysis draws on the network concept of homophily and on the index of qualitative variation (IQV). The aim here is to illustrate whether and how the networks are diverse. Both measures will first be introduced before being applied in the analysis of personal network data.

Homophily

Homophily refers to the tendency for an individual to have social contacts with others who are like themselves. The opposite of homophily is heterophily – the tendency to have social contacts with others who are different from oneself. As already emphasised, homophily is one of the most established principles in network research (McPherson et al. 2001).

McPherson and colleagues (2001: 419), drawing on Lazarsfeld and Merton (Berger et al. 1954), differentiate between status homophily and value homophily. As noted above, the focus in the following will be on status homophily – the similarity according to reported characteristics. Value homophily – for example mutual liking – could not be determined in my interviews. In many research articles status homophily measures are used as an independent variable for individual social outcomes and are built into more comprehensive explanatory models. I am not interested here in any causal relationship but only in describing the networks based on ego and alter attributes in order to distinguish whether

course characteristics are less frequently explored in the homophily literature but do feature in it. In the original superdiversity article (Vertovec 2007) this is not explicitly framed as an aspect of superdiversity, but it is included here because fieldwork suggested that this aspect, in combination with different age and gender patterns in migrant cohorts, is relevant for sociality patterns (cf. Gardner 2009).

¹²⁸ To be clear, a dyad refers to two nodes (here ego and one alter) linked through a social tie.

¹²⁹ In principle, alters may also know each other: I have collected information on these social relations as well but will only briefly make reference to this aspect in the analysis presented in the Annex to this thesis.

there are clear patterns of similarity, or whether disentangling the diversity of the networks is as complex as disentangling the diversity of each city (see Chapter 5).

It has been noted that homophily is more prevalent in homogenous social settings than heterogeneous ones (McPherson and Smith-Lovin 1987; see also Blau 1977, esp. 79-80 for the argument that 'increasing heterogeneity increases the probability of intergroup relations') and that patterns of homophily differ, for example between men and women (Ibarra 1992). Further, transitivity in social relations - the fact that if A knows B and B knows C it is also likely that A knows C - has been linked to homophily patterns through the argument that these make transitivity more likely (Louch 2000). In the case of personal social networks with their focus on closer social relations, this would also suggest that finding homophily in those transitive relations is more likely. Additionally, it is generally assumed that homophilous social relations indicate stronger social ties (Granovetter 1983: 210). Thus, despite variations in homophily patterns, we can assume homophily to be more present in social networks than heterophily. While the first point in particular suggests that in superdiverse contexts, which are heterogeneous, homophily should be less pronounced, finding patterns of similarity in personal networks would not necessarily be exceptional.

The measure of homophily which is used in this chapter is called predicted homophily (Borgatti et al. 2002). To calculate predicted homophily egos are compared with all their alters on a specific variable and those ties between ego and alter on which the ego is in the same category as that alter are counted and divided by the total number of ties in each network:

$$h = \frac{ST}{AT}$$

Where h is used as shorthand for predicted homophily, ST signifies the number of same category ties and AT refers to total number of ties in the personal network for which predicted homophily is calculated. To give an example, if a female ego named 10 alters ($AT = 10$), of whom six are also female ($ST = 6$), the predicted homophily for the ego on this variable would be six divided by 10, or $h = 0.6$.

For a variable with only two possible categories it is fairly easy to estimate whether the network of an ego is showing homophilous or heterophilous tendencies. Assuming that

each category is equally distributed within the population, a value above 0.5 would suggest that the network is showing homophilous tendencies and one below 0.5 can be classified as heterophilous. The example score of 0.6 suggests a tendency toward homophily in the network of the respondent, albeit with a small margin.

The assumption that different category labels are distributed equally across the population, however, is problematic. While for the example of gender it is possible to show that the population composition is roughly in accordance with a 50/50 distribution in both London (London data store 2012) and Toronto (Statistics Canada 2012), it is a more complicated assumption regarding other variables. How this problem is addressed will be explained in the presentation of the data below.

Index of qualitative variation (IQV)

The index of qualitative variation is a standardised Blau Index (*BI*) which calculates the variance of categories within a group (Blau 1977). As each network constitutes a group made up of alters associated with one of the egos, the IQV makes it possible to compare how much variation of categories occurs in each network. The Blau Index is calculated as:

$$BI = 1 - \sum p_i^2$$

where p_i is the proportion of group members in the i -th category. Because the theoretical maximum of the Blau Index depends on the number of categories in each variable, the IQV standardises its results by setting the *BI* in relation to the number of categories. The IQV can be expressed as:

$$IQV = \frac{K}{K-1} (1 - \sum p_i^2)$$

where K is the number of categories, while the term in the parenthesis represents the Blau index. The IQV takes a value between 0 and 1. A value of 0 suggests the least possible degree of variation of categories – all group members are in the same category. A value of 1 suggests that all possible categories are equally present – the highest possible degree of variation (Healey 1996: 88-91). The category ‘unsure’, used by respondents when uncertain about which concrete category they should attribute to the respective social contact, is included in the following as a separate category in estimating the value of K .

Why two different measures?

Wimmer and Lewis (2010) note that it is important to distinguish between tendencies toward homophily and network heterogeneity and homogeneity, which are the actual variation in specific characteristics within one specific network. Their argument in terms of racial homophily is that if transitivity is disregarded and racial homophily is seen as the only explanatory factor, its relevance is likely overstated in examining the emergence of patterns of racial similarity in networks (cf. Kossinets and Watts 2009). However, with reference to post-migration social networks, both measures have rarely been contrasted. Generally there is a focus on homophily or variation to assess either the prevalence of same-ethnicity ties (or the lack of ties to host-society members) or on the distribution of different categories in networks without much concern about the role of diversity within the population. This is due to the frequent research focus on concerns over the social segregation/integration of migrants from the wider population, where the reference category is often the purportedly homogenous long-term population.

In the introduction to this thesis I argued for paying more attention to the fact that in superdiverse contexts the assumption of population homogeneity is difficult to maintain. By including both measures I want to emphasise here, in line with Wimmer and Lewis (2010), that if a homophily measure is applied it should be with the recognition that while we might expect that networks with some tendency for homophily should be less varied, this does not have to be the case – in other words the relationship between IQV and predicted homophily is certainly not a directly inverse one.

This is important because despite apparent network homophily the remainder of the network contacts who are not the same as the ego may be from a variety of backgrounds. Equally, a very heterophilous network may be very homogenous if all the social contacts of that individual are the same category even though ego is different from them. Contact theory, for example, shows that more frequent interaction leads to reduced barriers between in and out-groups, but there is no consensus on how much interaction is needed (Hewstone 2009). This means that it would be problematic to assume that measured network homophily necessarily hinders such a reduction of barriers, as a person might mainly interact with people who are like them but might also have a highly varied set of remaining social contacts. Vice versa, a network marked by heterophily may well be homogenous in terms of variation. Showcasing this interplay of different values will allow clarifying that the focus on same-type contacts can overstate the relevance of homophily in diverse contexts, especially

if it is recognised that homophily is a common network attribute rather than an exceptional one.

To be clear, in the following analysis I will speak of homophily / homophilous (and heterophily / heterophilous) when referring to the comparison of dyads in each network, and use the terms homogeneity / homogenous (and heterogeneity / heterogeneous) in reference to the overall variation of characteristics in each personal network. For the personal networks analysed it is generally most suitable to speak of tendencies, as social networks are not likely to be complete in the sense that my respondents actually named everyone they knew. Further, one aspect which is important for the interpretation of both IQV and predicted homophily is that the networks have different sizes – that egos named different numbers of social contacts. Theoretically, if a person names 10 people, the possibility of variance amongst them is higher than if the respondent only named 4 people who could vary across different categories. To some extent both measures account for the different network sizes, but they cannot take into account whether the results would be different if every ego had named the same number of contacts. This aspect should be kept in mind and will be included in the interpretation of the interplay between predicted homophily and IQV.

Further, it should be noted that as with most variables used for statistical analysis the estimation of predicted homophily and IQV is strongly determined by the attribute categories defined for each variable. The categories used are aggregates from responses to the face-to-face interviews and the questionnaire. When multiple responses were grouped together this was done based on insights gained during the interviews and participant observation, as was explained for the case of visa status aggregation in the previous section. The next section will describe the different aspects on which homophily and qualitative variation are measured, and will then present results and interpretations.

The variables of similarity and variation

Up to this point I have argued in favour of a simultaneous evaluation of different superdiversity variables. To account for this I commence my analysis here with 10 variables on which we might expect egos to be in the same status category as their alters. How exactly the variables are defined is summarised in table 7.5, which also provides frequencies of the attribute categories amongst both egos and alters. The table is subdivided into the six

Table 7.5 – Variables included in the analysis

superdiversity aspect	Variable Names	Categoies in Variable	n Egos	n Alters
Migration	Migrant	yes	54	433
		no	na	199
		unsure	na	19
	Time in City	less than 3 years	20	93
		3 to 10 years	13	209
		more than 10 years	21	325
		unsure	na	24
Legal Status	Visa category	right to work and stay	27	155
		citizenship (of spouse)	25	438
		visitor or student	2	4
		out of status	na	8
		unsure	na	46
Labour Market	Occupational Group	highly skilled	8	166
		skilled	33	246
		semi-skilled	6	106
		unsalaried	7	114
		unsure	na	19
Ethnicity	Ethnic Background	Pacific Islands (PI)	39	238
		New Zealand Māori	15	73
		New Zealand other	na	45
		host country	na	137
		other	na	158
	Pan-ethnic Background	PI or New Zealand Māori	54	311
		New Zealand other	na	45
		host country	na	137
		other	na	158
Gender & Age	Gender	female	23	318
		male	31	333
	Age	under 25	4	50
		25-35	22	262
		36-45	14	147
		46-55	7	87
		56-65	3	62
		over 65	4	38
		unsure	na	5
Life Course	Marital Status	Married	28	309
		Steady Relationship (Cohabiting)	9	124
		Single	14	150
		Divorced / Separated/ Widowed	3	52
		unsure	na	16
	Parent	yes	37	273
		no	17	366
		unsure	na	12

aspects of superdiversity which can be read from the data I collected: (1) migration patterns, (2) legal statuses, (3) labour market positions, (4) ethnicity, (5) age and gender patterns and finally (6) life course patterns.

Being a parent and marital status are included as crude indicators of different life stages which can have an impact on socialising patterns (cf. Schaeffer 2010). There are two measures of ethnicity: ethnicity and pan-ethnicity. As noted, this is done in light of the explorations of pan-Pacific social contacts offered in the previous chapter. To create the pan-ethnicity variable, Pacific Islanders and New Zealand Maori are included in one category. It should be noted that respondents were asked to name their own ethnic background in the questionnaire and the 'family background' question in the ego-network interview elicited family background of contacts. Even though it was elicited, mixed background is not considered here in order not to over-complicate the analysis; rather, the background included in the analysis is the one named first by respondents. It should be noted that social contacts identified as 'ethnic' – as having a non-host-country family background – are not necessarily also migrants. In fact 41.8 per cent of those social contacts identified as non-migrants (n=199) were also named as having a family background elsewhere than the country of residence.

To give some structure to the following presentation of the data I first comment on predicted homophily scores and subsequently IQV scores. Thereafter I discuss how they interact and what this tells us about the diversity of the networks. Finally I use the data to visually show diversity in similarity patterns, which shows that the diversity of the networks can be understood to be similar to that of the city through their common denominator – complexity.

Predicted homophily

Before considering how homophilous the sample of personal networks is across the 10 variables included in this analysis, we need to recall that the homophily scores of different variables cannot be directly compared because different numbers of categories in each variable make it difficult to determine at what cut-off value the network ought to be described as homophilous – i.e. as having more contacts of the same category than by chance – or not. In principle, estimating if a network ought to be classified as heterophilous or homophilous on a particular variable has to be seen in relation to the baseline homophily (McPherson et al. 2001: 419) which depends to the distribution of the respective categories

in the population.¹³⁰ This could be elicited by determining the extent to which a specific category is representative of the population. With this information networks can be defined as being homophilous if an ego's contacts are like the ego to a proportion greater than the proportion at which that category is present in the population. This, however, requires defining the reference population. We could use available data for the population of the GTA and Greater London, but for a number of the variables included, in particular visa category and time lived in the city, this would not be possible since statistics are not available.

Additionally, because my sample of respondents itself is quite diverse and the objective of this chapter is to give a general overview and to talk about the average composition of networks in my sample rather than to look at specific individual networks¹³¹, it is not possible to determine one specific cut-off value for all networks. The assumption is nevertheless made that all categories are evenly distributed. Networks are homophilous if the proportion of same category contacts exceeds a cut-off value which corresponds to one divided by the number of categories in the variable considered.¹³² To give an example, a homophily score based on a dichotomous variable would be considered to be homophilous if the score exceeds 0.5, whereas a homophily score based on a three-category variable would be considered to be homophilous if its value exceeds 0.33. These cut-off values, together with the measured homophily range, mean and median of the 54 networks included in the analysis, is represented in Table 7.6, and the mean values across the networks and the respective cut-off points are plotted with the bar chart in Figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3 shows that with an assumption of those cut-off values, homophily is a paramount identifier across the networks and across the variables. Even if a cruder value of 0.5 (indicating that half of the social contacts are the same as ego) is applied, 6 of the 10 tested variables return a mean homophily score that indicates the presence of homophily. The highest mean value is recorded for gender and the lowest for occupational group. This suggests that overall egos named a higher proportion of same-sex ties than different sex ties, whereas overall they did not name a high proportion of contacts in the same occupational

¹³⁰ McPherson et al. distinguish this from inbreeding homophily which is homophily 'measured as explicitly over and above the opportunity set' (2001: 419) and conceptually related to more contextual aspects than those considered at the population level. Both play a role in interpreting the patterns to be presented here.

¹³¹ If this was done proportions would have to be looked at in reference to the category that describes a specific ego.

¹³² Here the 'unsure' category is not considered in estimating those cut-off values in order to use a more conservative measure and thus avoid overstating the relevance of homophily. It is assumed that ego and alter were not in the same category and ego was unsure about which category to attribute to one of their alters.

group. Overall there is a greater tendency amongst my respondents to have same-category alters for those variables that have higher homophily scores (migrant, time in city, visa category, gender, marital status, and parent), and that that tendency is smaller for those variables with lower scores (occupational group, ethnic and pan-ethnic background, and age). However, it is important to note, that there is considerable variation between the personal networks of different individuals as is apparent from the range between minimum and maximum values recorded in Table 7.6.

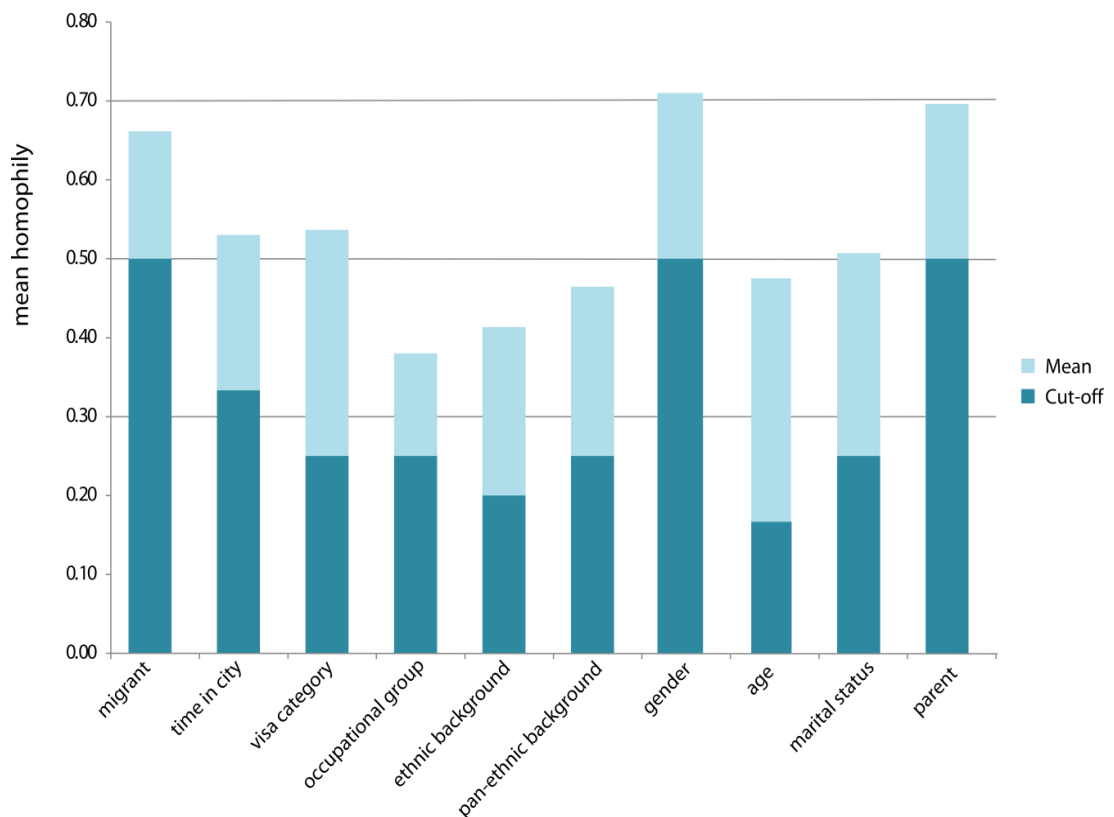
Table 7.6 – Homophily across the 54 networks

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	Cut-off	Difference cut-off to mean	n homophilous	n heterophilous
migrant	0	1	0.66	0.70	0.50	-0.16	41	13
time in city	0	1	0.53	0.51	0.33	-0.20	33	21
visa category	0	1	0.54	0.56	0.25	-0.29	40	14
occupational group	0	0.9	0.38	0.35	0.25	-0.13	37	17
ethnic background	0	1	0.41	0.50	0.20	-0.21	39	15
pan-ethnic background	0	1	0.46	0.50	0.25	-0.21	42	12
gender	0.25	1	0.71	0.71	0.50	-0.21	46	8
age	0	1	0.48	0.44	0.17	-0.31	47	7
marital status	0	1	0.51	0.54	0.25	-0.26	43	11
parent	0.3	1	0.70	0.69	0.50	-0.20	43	11

N=54

Although for all variables a much larger number (approx. 76 per cent) of respondents show homophily in choosing their social contacts – not all do on all variables considered; clearly there are different patterns of homophily across the networks. A relatively even spread of this variation is indicated by median values that are close to mean values. In sum, Table 7.6 shows that homophily is by no means the exception amongst my respondents and that it is a measurable factor across the different variables, not only with regard to ethnicity. This, in addition to the homophily literature cited above, suggests that the presence of homophily in choosing social contacts is a fairly ordinary sociality pattern, even in contexts of superdiversity. Importantly, this is also the case in relation to aspects of diversification: based on my analysis, migration-related diversity such as time in city and legal status homophily can also be linked to patterns of sociality. With the exception of one very recent study (Dahinden 2013), the literature has, thus far, rarely evidenced or even acknowledged the influence of those superdiversity aspects on patterns of sociality.

Figure 7.3 – Mean homophily values



Index of qualitative variation

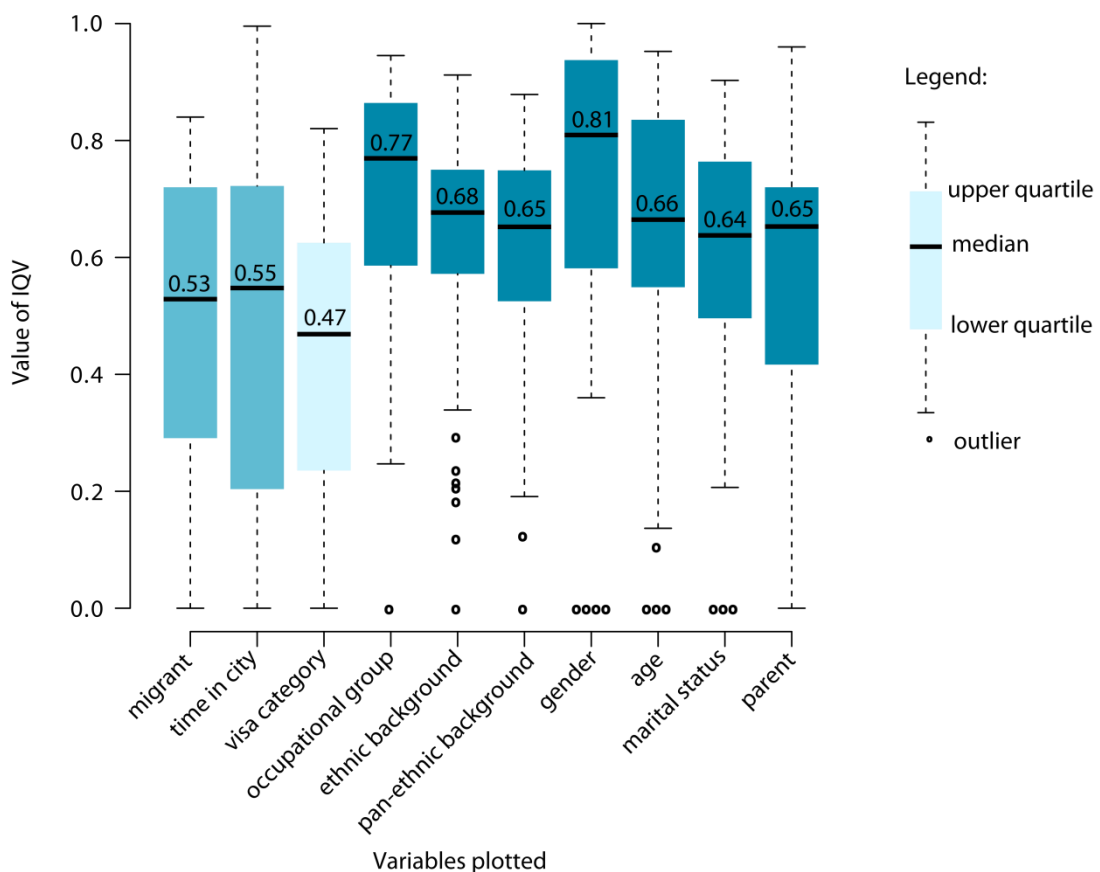
The distribution of the IQV can be represented well with the help of a boxplot which highlights the median, upper and lower quartiles but also shows outliers.¹³³ Since the IQV is a standardised index it is possible to plot the different variables in the same graph. Figure 7.4 shows how values differ both across networks (the span of each plot) and across the different variables (the divergent median values and differently shaped boxes and whiskers of the plots). The highest median (0.81) is recorded for gender (mean 0.70) and the lowest (0.47) for visa status (mean 0.42).

That gender is both registering relatively high values for homophily and qualitative variation may seem surprising. Yet what this pattern suggests is that despite the prevalence of same-gender ties, the majority of respondents still named both men and women in response to my name generators, some even in equal numbers (IQV = 1). This is why it is possible that overall we note relatively high homophily and relatively high variation on this variable. This

¹³³ Outliers are those cases that take a value more than one and a half times lower or higher than the rest of the sample.

finding in itself is thus not surprising, but what is interesting for this and for the other variables is that the values vary strongly across the respondents' networks. To use the example of gender again, while some respondents' networks have an IQV score of one ($n=2$) – indicating an equal number of same-gender and different-gender ties – there are also four networks that consist of only same-sex alters (outliers in the respective boxplot). For the example of visa status, the lower median IQV value suggest that overall there is less variation in the networks on this measure, meaning that respondents more frequently named alters from just one visa category. The sample of 54 personal networks considered here consists of 10 networks that are marked by no variation on visa status and have an IQV of 0. This can be attributed in part to how the different statuses were grouped (see above), but despite the broad grouping of categories there are 44 networks displaying different levels of variation, with IQV values ranging from 0.13 to 0.82.

Figure 7.4 – Boxplots for IQV distribution



Box colours:

- variable below 0.5 median variation threshold
- variable just above 0.5 threshold
- higher variation variable (median > 0.6)

If an arbitrary 0.5 median threshold is used to distinguish between high-variation and low-variation variables, we can see that out of the ten variables tested, nine can be described as high-variation. Out of those nine, two are just above the threshold.¹³⁴ This generally high qualitative variation suggests that the potential for relational diversity is translated into actual diversity, albeit not for all respondents' networks nor for all of the variables.

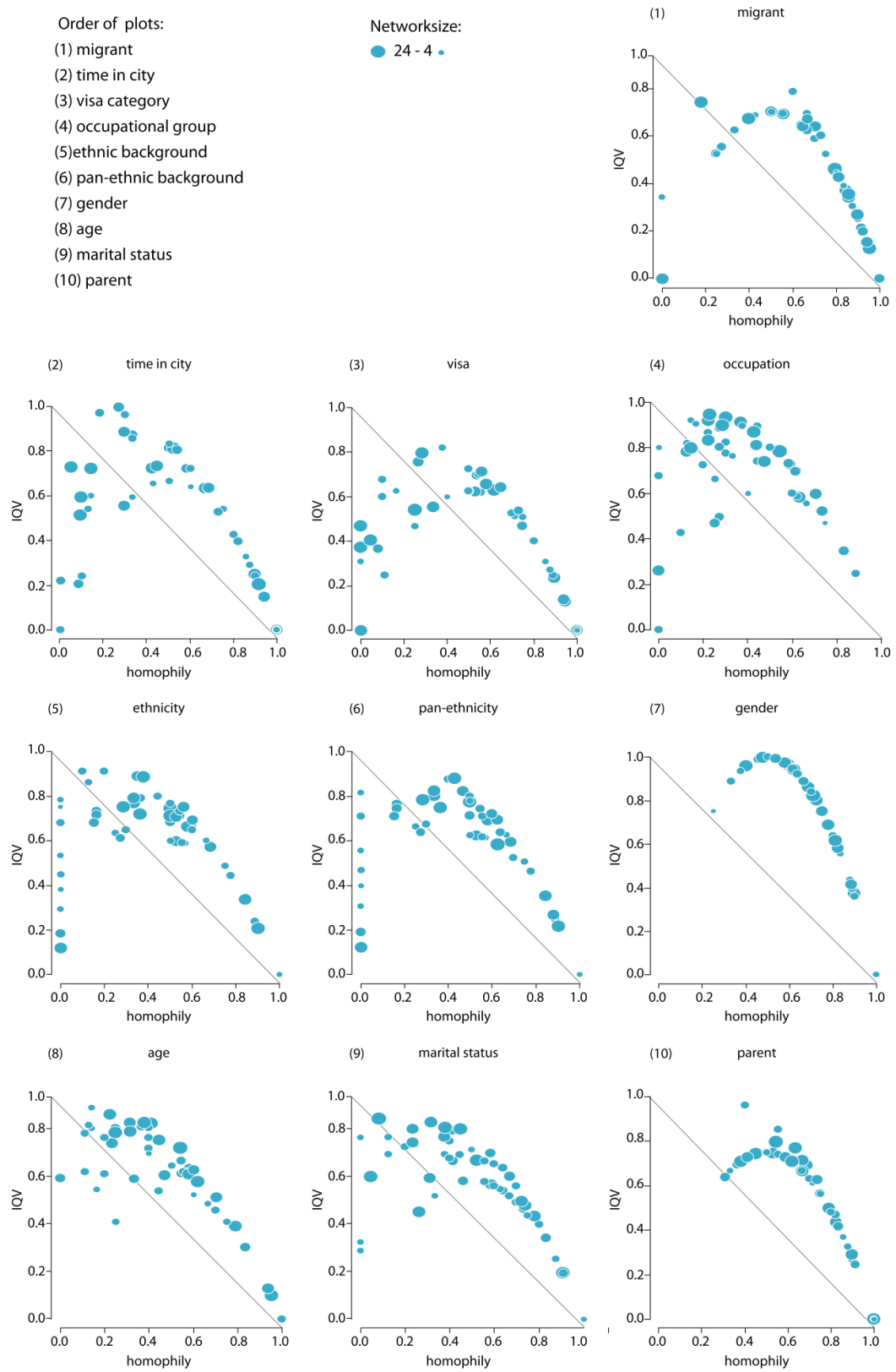
Comparing IQV and predicted homophily

To compare the outcomes of predicted homophily and IQV, Figure 7.5 presents the relationship between predicted homophily and IQV using scatterplots. If homophily is directly inverse to qualitative variation, which is what one might expect intuitively under the assumption that the most diverse networks by variation would also be the least homophilous ones, then the values for homophily should also be directly inverse to those describing the qualitative variation my respondents' networks', i.e. the values should be ordered along the diagonal line visible in each scatterplot. However, this is not the case. If we recall how the variation in each network is calculated, the relationship between qualitative variation and predicted homophily is actually a curvilinear one.

The general pattern we observe across the different variables is that variation is higher in those networks that have a homophily score of approximately 0.5 (half the contacts named are the same as the ego and the other half is not) and that then, as expected, the IQV declines as homophily increases. This pattern is most clearly visible for gender homophily and those variables based on fewer categories in which the ego and alter may vary (migrant and parent). For the other variables it is also visible but the pattern is more scattered. If we take the example of visa category, we can see that while there are a number of networks that score zero on homophily - in other words there are multiple respondents who only named alters who are on a different visa category - their networks differ in terms of the variation of categories. One network is plotted with a zero score on homophily and IQV, i.e. this one person only named people with same visa category (citizens) which was different from his own status (right to stay and work). This shows that his network is both heterophilous and not diverse in terms of variation. In comparison there are other networks where the egos named only alters who were different from themselves, but they did name alters with different visa statuses (as the higher than zero IQV value suggests). In addition the

¹³⁴ This is also reflected in the differential colour shading of the plots.

Figure 7.5 – The Relationship between predicted homophily and IQV



scatterplots show that there is no apparent relationship between network size and IQV or predicted homophily scores. The radius of the circles is scaled in reference to the network size (cf. Yau 2011), but there are smaller and larger networks inhabiting similar IQV and predicted homophily values.

Using two scores thus shows that a relatively high degree of sameness does not always imply a correspondingly low degree of variation. It is thus worthwhile to think about both measures of variation and of homophily in addressing the question of whether the networks are as diverse as the city in terms of their complexity.

Diversity in similarity – multidimensional homophily

A point that I have repeatedly emphasised in this chapter has been the overlap of different categories and how this is an important aspect of the complexity of relational diversity. Before concluding I therefore want to draw attention to how this overlap, which differentiates the networks, can be represented visually by drawing on homophily scores only but keeping the relationship between homophily and IQV in mind. The rather fuzzy patterns and the large range of outcomes for the different networks suggests that individual networks have different homophily patterns. Those patterns can be described as *multi-dimensional homophily*, as they show differentiation along a number of different axes. This is rarely considered, but what could be expected is that some networks are more homophilous on one variable and less so on another, and that there might be patterns that distinguish different networks. For example it would be reasonable to expect that respondents naming primarily same-occupation contacts (assuming an ethnically diverse work environment) would have more ethnically diverse networks. These types of patterns can only be identified if homophily scores are plotted by network and variable, as done in Figure 7.6 with the help of a 'heat map'. This is a type of visualisation that thus far, to my knowledge, has not been used for the purpose of looking for concurrent patterns in multidimensional forms of migration-related difference.

To explain how to read the graphic, each column represents one network and the squares in each row represent one of the variables. The shading of each square depends on the measure of homophily for that network (column) on the respective variable (row). Darker squares indicate network homophily and lighter squares indicate network heterophily. The rows of respondents' networks are sorted according to the value on the first variable, which

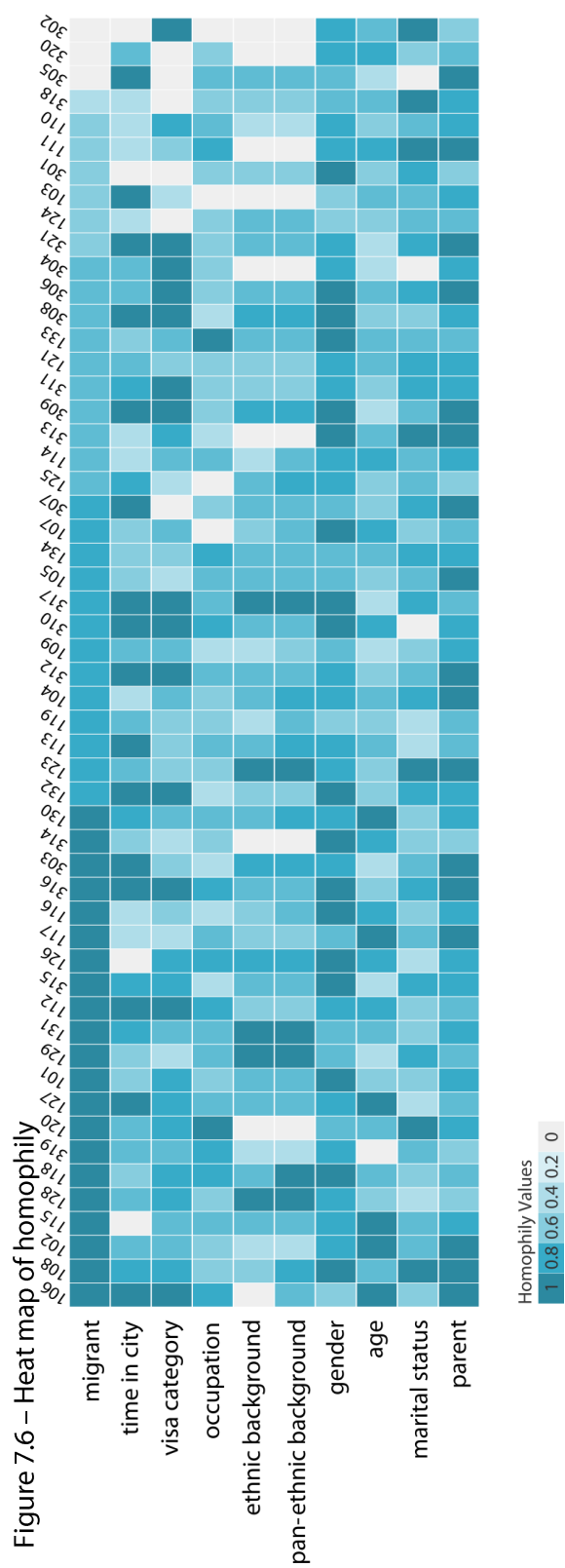
for this analysis is homophily with respect to whether respondents named other migrants, with the highest score on the left and the lowest score on the right.¹³⁵

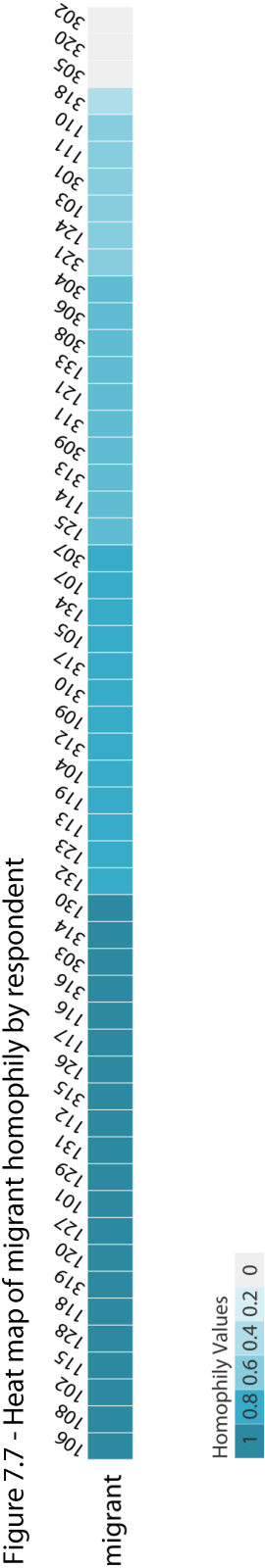
What this graphic emphasises is that amongst my respondents there are no clear 'homophily typologies'. It shows, for example, that it is not possible to assume that if an ego named only other migrant social contacts that these would then also be from the same ethnic background. Each column and thus each network has a very distinct ordering of the extent to which social contacts are the same across the different variables as the respondent who named them. While it can be argued that because the sample size is small the identification of clear patterns might not be feasible, this still suggests that the number of patterns to consider even in a larger sample with a higher degree of convergence would be quite high.

Figure 7.6 shows that by drawing on network measures it is possible to explain the complexity of the network patterns in an abstract way which incorporates categorisations, not by enumerating different 'groups' living in a superdiverse context but by considering how these categorisations are interlinked in individual networks. In addition the visualisation makes it possible to consider these interlinkages with reference to multiple aspects of superdiversity simultaneously. This complexity would be even more evident if the dissolution and creation of social ties and differentiation in terms of trajectories was also considered. In this vein it is possible to move to a different conception of urban diversity as relational rather than categorical, or in a descriptive sense, as an assemblage of difference with multiple saliences and continually changing patterns. Recalling the link claimed earlier between city and network diversity, it is then possible to argue that although the diversity of the cities is clearly of a different order from the diversity of networks, they have a degree of complexity in common which would be difficult to establish with a single track and category-focused understanding of diversity. To emphasise this point such a single-track understanding is visualised in Figure 7.7, which shows the first row from Figure 7.6.

The difference between these two graphics is telling and supports the idea that a simultaneous focus on multiple superdiversity factors is possible, and that neglecting this may

¹³⁵ An 'interactive' version of this heat map is available at: <http://socdiv.mmg.mpg.de/>. This website allows ordering this pattern by either of the included homophily variables. Doing so can generate interesting questions such as noting that those individuals with only same ethnic ties mostly have otherwise quite differentiated networks.





mean missing the interesting questions which can be asked based on Figure 7.6 but not Figure 7.7. For instance, how can these different patterns be disentangled to identify new ways of talking about post-migration social networks that move beyond a language focused on ethnicity – a question to be addressed in the following chapter.

Conclusion

The research question addressed in this chapter has been whether, despite the tendency for individuals to interact with people who are like them, it is possible to identify diversity within network similarity patterns. To answer this question the analysis in this chapter first explored the potential for diversity amongst my interviewees and amongst their social contacts.

Given this potential and the theoretical assumption that more heterogeneous contexts also foster more heterogeneous social relations in terms of how ego and alter compare on a number of different social categories, it was nonetheless shown that within my sample of respondents homophily is a prevalent tendency across the superdiversity variables included in the analysis.

I then presented and contrasted the similarity patterns with the variation within the personal networks, as measured with the help of the index of qualitative variation. This allowed me to clearly make the argument that while tendencies toward homophily seem to be a common feature of the personal networks of my respondents, it is important in analysing those patterns of similarity to keep in mind that apparent similarity does not necessarily imply non-diverse networks. In other words, knowing more people who are in the same category than one would by chance expect, is not in contradiction to one's network having been composed in a superdiverse context.

By visualising the homophily patterns with the help of a heat map, I then additionally emphasised the relevance of the multidimensionality of similarity patterns in terms of the multiple variables included in the analysis. This, I have suggested, challenges us to consider more differentiated ways of talking about post-migration sociality if the aim is to better understand the interconnectedness of migration-related differentiations in the cities. Questions about urban social integration then would have to go beyond considering if migrants only know migrants. With this task in mind, in the next chapter I will disentangle

the diversity of similarity patterns documented in this chapter with the help of fuzzy cluster analysis.

The analysis in this chapter has affirmed that the notion of superdiversity is particularly helpful in formulating new ways of recognising diversity in the personal social networks of migrants. Further, I was able to visually present how we might conceive of diversity as relational rather than categorical. To offer a final remark in terms of the proposed link between city and network diversity: The complexity of attribute diversity in the personal networks of my interview partners presented here has not provided a direct link to the diversity of the city. In a round-about way, however, the analysis does offer that link. If the superdiverse context of the city is a fertile one for the presence of a multiplicity of changing categorisations, and if that is the context in which social relations are formed, then the obvious link is that the context offers the opportunity for the networks to be as diverse (despite their sameness) as they are.

Chapter 8

DISENTANGLING MULTIDIMENSIONAL HOMOPHILY?

Finding alternative ways of describing migrant networks

The heat map shown in the previous chapter illustrates that each interviewee has a different profile of similarity to or difference from their social contacts. I referred to these patterns as *multidimensional homophily* and argued that this versatility calls us to investigate multi-layered rather than single-variable homophily if the aim is to distinguish differentiated patterns of sociality in superdiverse contexts. While the previous chapter discussed this multi-dimensionality, it stopped short of developing an analytical strategy to decipher the complexity the heat map displayed. The aim of this final empirical chapter is to address this shortcoming. The question I will answer here is how these complex patterns can be ordered in an analytically meaningful way, and how such an ordering can aid a more general discussion of sociality patterns in superdiverse contexts. Critically, the chapter evaluates the usefulness of focusing on multi-dimensional homophily as an aspect of urban superdiversity. This should contribute to answering the third and final main research question articulated in Chapter 3:

Given the complexity of difference and similarity patterns in personal networks, how can these patterns be made intelligible and help to move beyond an ethno-focal analysis of migrant networks and migration-related diversity more generally?

In Chapter 2, I referred to the need to build a capacity to think about difference differently in research focusing on migrants. In this chapter I seek to contribute to this exercise using exploratory empirical analysis. As I outlined in chapter two ‘understanding difference differently’ means studying migration-related diversity without neglecting the multiple places from which people come. It implies developing ways in which this can be appreciated without assuming *a priori* that origin multiplicity is the most distinctive and salient aspect to be considered. In addition, I argued that ‘thinking difference differently’ requires an extension of analysis beyond categories to a consideration of trajectories, and to how differences related to migration are interconnected and become salient in superdiverse contexts.

This chapter is composed of three substantive parts. In the first I present fuzzy cluster analysis as a suitable strategy for an exploratory disentangling of the complexity of *multidimensional homophily*. In the second I present the results of such a fuzzy cluster analysis and describe the clusters identified, and how they shed light on the different sociality patterns of migrants from my sample. In the third part I estimate how the fuzziness of the clusters identified makes it possible to reintroduce complexity by considering the

partial membership of individuals in each cluster and by looking at the different distributions of personal networks from the two cities across those clusters.

Clustering homophily

How can the individual similarity profiles of my respondents be ordered in a way that promotes an analytical appreciation of multidimensional homophily? More specifically, given the efforts devoted to investigating social outcomes in relation to single-aspect sameness (e.g. ethnic homophily), how does investigating the multi-layered similarity between individuals and their social contacts help with developing a non-, or at least less, ethno-focal analysis of socialising patterns in superdiverse contexts? In this chapter I conduct a cluster analysis as one possible way of approaching this task. The intention behind using this type of analysis is to derive analytical groupings on the basis of the homophily data presented in the previous chapter. In the following I will briefly explain the basic principles of cluster analysis and why I decided to use a fuzzy clustering method. Next I will review the variables included in the analysis. Finally, I will present the four clusters identified: (1) *city-cohort networks*, (2) *long-term-resident networks*, (3) *superdiverse networks* and (4) *migrant-peer networks*.

Cluster analysis – the basics

Cluster analysis refers to a group of analytical techniques devised to sort data into groups (for an introduction to cluster analysis see for example Kaufman and Rousseeuw 2005; Babuska 2009). The aim of all clustering techniques is to identify clusters of cases or variables that are similar to each other. Basic statistical techniques do not allow identifying how similar cases are if multiple dimensions of differentiation are taken into account. The algorithms underlying a cluster analysis help overcome this difficulty, by determining how close data points are to each other if plotted in a multidimensional space. This makes this type of analysis useful for the present task as it can identify the most similar homophily patterns without foregrounding the role of any particular superdiversity variable. Analytically, this presents an advantage over, for example, comparing respondents with many same-ethnicity contacts to those with few same-ethnicity contacts.

On the one hand, cluster analysis is well suited to identifying whether there are patterns of homophily across the multiple aspects considered. On the other hand, given the emphasis in this thesis on the complexity of socialising processes, it seems counterintuitive to further

reduce the data's complexity by ordering cases into crisp clusters.¹³⁶ In comparison to other clustering techniques, fuzzy cluster analysis does not demand that each case be sorted into a distinct cluster, but instead involves calculating the degree to which each case is a member in each cluster. In an applied sense, a fuzzy cluster analysis produces a membership matrix in which each case is assigned a membership coefficient for each cluster. Expressed in percentages, these must add up to 100 per cent for each case (Höppner 2000).¹³⁷ Thus it is possible to define cases as being more or less in one or another cluster. This maintains a degree of complexity in the output, making it possible to find patterns in the data; but to also recognise that these patterns do not apply evenly across all cases. There are few examples of similar studies trying to identify alternative ways of describing migrant networks that take multiple migration-related aspects of differentiation into account. One recent study (Dahinden 2013), focused on patterns of sociality between migrants and established residents in the Swiss city of Neuchâtel, however, does provide a similar analysis and I will return to it in the conclusion of this chapter.

Fuzzy cluster analysis with superdiversity homophily indexes – The variables

I will only comment briefly on the variables used for the cluster analysis, as they are explored in depth in the previous chapter. To recall, the homophily index used there measures how often respondents identified themselves in the same category as their social contacts.¹³⁸ In other words it measures proportionally how often they are the same as, or depending on the definition of categories, similar to their social contacts. Cases ordered by cluster analysis are consequently based on information describing the categorical composition of personal networks rather than individual respondents or dyadic relationships. Homophily data is preferred over qualitative variation data, which also describes network composition but with other assumptions about differentiation in the network (see Chapter 7), because they provide a clearer clustering pattern.

¹³⁶ Frequently also called hard clusters, referring to the cluster solution before the fuzziness of the clusters is taken into consideration. I use the term 'crisp cluster' in this chapter in line with fuzzy-set analysis terminology. (Smithson and Verkuilen 2006: 7)

¹³⁷ For example for a two-cluster solution, individual A can be sorted mainly into cluster 1 (e.g. 80 per cent) but also to a degree into cluster 2 (20 per cent).

¹³⁸ The index ranges from 0 to 1. A value of 1 indicates complete homophily on a given characteristic – that the respondent's social contacts are all the same. A value of 0 suggests that all the contacts are in a different category.

Table 8.1 – Overview of variables included in the cluster analysis

variables included	sample mean	standard deviation	minimum	maximum	categories
migrant	0.66	0.27	0	1	yes / no / unsure
time in city	0.53	0.34	0	1	less than 3 years / 3 to 10 years / more than 10 years / unsure
visa	0.54	0.34	0	1	right to work and stay / citizenship (of spouse) / visitor or student / out of status / unsure
occupation	0.38	0.22	0	0.89	highly skilled / skilled / semi-skilled / unsalaried / unsure
ethnicity	0.41	0.28	0	1	Pacific Islands (PI) / New other / host country / other
gender	0.71	0.17	0.25	1	female / male
age	0.48	0.26	0	1	under 25 / 25-35 / 36-45 / 46-55 / 56-65 / over 65 / unsure
parent	0.70	0.20	0.31	1	yes / no / unsure

N=54

As before, 54 of the 55 networks elicited are included in the analysis. I concentrate on relaying the results of the final fuzzy cluster analysis; to clearly document the analytical decisions made prior to running the final analysis, in addition to footnotes provided at

appropriate points throughout this chapter, Appendix 5 outlines in detail how the data was prepared for the analysis. The eight homophily indices included are listed in Table 8.1.¹³⁹

To facilitate comparison between the sample and the clusters (see figures and tables in the following section), Table 8.1 also recapitulates the categories in which respondents can differ from their social contacts, the sample's mean homophily, the standard deviation from the mean as well as minimum and maximum values. Conducting a cluster analysis with index values has the advantage that all the variables included in the analysis are measured on the same scale and it is not necessary to weight or standardise the values to account for differences in measurements. It is thus possible to move straight to the results of the fuzzy cluster analysis.

Four fuzzy clusters

A four-cluster solution was identified as most suitable for the sample data.¹⁴⁰ Two strategies were used to distinguish the extent to which the clusters differ and to assess which aspects

¹³⁹ Prior to conducting a cluster analysis it is useful to probe the variables to be combined in the analysis, as it is not conducive to include too many variables (Brosius 2006: 645) if a clear clustering is the objective. Therefore, the analysis here does not include all 10 aspects discussed in the previous chapter. It was necessary to exclude two homophily indexes from the cluster analysis. The first homophily index excluded is pan-ethnic sameness, as it obviously highly correlates with ethnic sameness and to a degree measures the same aspect of diversity. I also excluded marital status as it correlated with parent homophily. Parent was chosen over marital status as it more clearly marks a life-stage variable, and because being a parent was a more pronounced sociality structuring characteristic during my field observations. The remaining eight variables are included in the analysis as they are deemed to represent a variety of different superdiversity aspects. It should be noted here that while the cluster analysis does identify a pattern in the multidimensional homophily data, however, the pattern is not a clear cut one. This is due in part to including correlating variables. These are listed in Appendix 5. Notably gender homophily is highly correlated with visa status homophily ($p=0.001$), but even though the two correlate, no direct link between these two variables could be established. For example the gender of contacts (before the calculation of the homophily index) does not correlate with the specific visa status of those contacts, and there seems to be no plausible reason why egos should name social contacts that are both the same or a different gender and correspondingly have the same or different visa status. However, gender sameness was also the one variable with the lowest variance, meaning that the degree of being the same gender as one's social contacts was relatively equal across most networks. The correlation between the two might be an artefact of the data, however, and due to the small sample of networks. Similarly visa status sameness correlates highly ($p=0.003$) with having spent the same amount of time in the city. This is a more plausible link, as if both ego and alter have lived in the city the same amount of time they are likely to be eligible for a particular set of visa statuses and thus more likely to be the same or correspondingly different on that variable. Both variables are nonetheless included in the analysis as they are seen as important in estimating multidimensional homophily patterns in terms of superdiversity. This indicates above all that the following analysis should be considered to be exploratory. Furthermore, to a degree these correlations also explain why the data does not cluster strongly with an average silhouette value of 0.28 (see Appendix, cf. Rousseeuw 1987).

¹⁴⁰ The data for the analysis were prepared in PAWS following the instructions in Müller et al. (1999). After initially estimating the appropriate number of clusters to focus on by conducting a hierarchical cluster analysis which suggested that within a range of 3-8 clusters either a 5, 4 or 3 cluster solution would be appropriate, the data were exported to R as PASW does not have a function that returns fuzzy clustering results. Using the function 'fanny' from the cluster package (Maechler et al. 2012) and by comparing the silhouette index generated with this function it was estimated that a four cluster solution would be the best fit for the data. For the final estimation the fuzzy function was carried out with a relatively low membership exponent (also called a 'fuzzyfication factor') of 1.5. The distance measure used is squared Euclidean distance, which makes this estimation equivalent to a fuzzy c-means estimation. A four cluster solution was further preferred over a 3 or 5 cluster solution as the results for a four cluster solution could most clearly be interpreted.

most determine the distinctiveness of each cluster. First, variables with relatively small standard deviations from the mean in each cluster were identified in order to propose one key variable for each cluster. Second, and more in line with a multidimensional analysis, the cluster medians were explored and the cluster means compared to those of the sample to describe how the clusters differ from the entire sample across all the homophily variables.

The common denominator – lowest standard deviation

A comparatively low standard deviation for one homophily index means that networks sorted into a cluster have similar values on that homophily variable – their deviation from the mean is small (they cluster close around a set range of values) and we can assume that those variables with a comparatively small standard deviation from the cluster mean are most descriptive of a cluster. However, the initial potential for smaller or larger values depends on the composition of the entire sample so that only by looking at how the sample compares to the clusters is it possible to establish the relevance of comparatively low standard deviation values in the clusters. Figure 8.1 shows bar diagrams for all of the eight variables included in the cluster analysis, comparing cluster-specific standard deviations to the sample-specific ones. The figure shows, for example, that there is little deviation in terms of gender between the clusters – this is because, as was noted in the previous chapter, there is a bias towards naming same-gender social relations across the whole sample.

Figure 8.1 highlights one variable for each cluster where the data pattern suggests that the standard deviation of that variable is particularly low if compared to both the sample and the other cluster standard deviations.¹⁴¹ This suggests that if we want to identify one key homophily variable for each cluster, based on standard deviations from the cluster mean, then the variables for clusters 1 to 4 respectively would be age (0.16), visa category (0.09), time in city (0.16) and migrant (0.15). These values compare to an average standard deviation across the sample and variables of 0.26.

¹⁴¹ To identify this pattern, I first looked for the cluster with the smallest standard deviation from the cluster mean on the particular variable. To avoid identifying values with a standard deviation only slightly different from that from the sample mean, those smallest values were then compared to the sample standard deviation and are only highlighted in Figure 8.1 if their value was smaller than two thirds of that sample mean. Choosing a two-thirds threshold made it possible to identify one key variable for each cluster.

Figure 8.1 – Standard deviations of homophily variables in four clusters and the sample



For Cluster 1 the relatively low standard deviation of the age variable suggests that the majority of networks sorted into this cluster have a similar homophily score for this variable. Yet, given a cluster mean of 0.3 and a range between 0 and 0.58, most networks sorted into this cluster are marked by relative age *heterophily*, meaning that respondents whose networks were sorted into this cluster mostly named social contacts from a *different* age category than their own. For Cluster 2 with visa category as the key variable, the opposite pattern can be seen, with the very small range of homophily values - between 0.73 and 1 - and a mean of 0.9 suggesting that networks sorted into this cluster are composed of social contacts who were overwhelmingly in the same visa category as the ego who named them. For Cluster 3, time in city has been identified as the key variable and the trend is again in the direction of heterophily. Time-in-city homophily values of networks sorted into this cluster range from 0 to 0.42, and the cluster mean is 0.13 with an even smaller cluster median (0.08). This suggests that in this cluster we find networks of egos who have mostly lived in the city for a longer or shorter time than the alters they named. Finally the key variable identified for Cluster 4 – migrant - suggests that in this cluster networks are grouped together that tend to be more homophilous in terms of their share of migrants (mean: 0.79; median: 0.85).

This already shows that different sociality patterns can be identified across the clusters and within the sample of networks included in the analysis. Identifying these key variables based on homophily for each cluster demonstrates that different aspects of superdiversity play into these patterns of sociality. It should be emphasised that patterns are not necessarily clustered only around the prevalence of sameness in terms of categories but also around difference. However, the strategy of identifying key variables neglects the fact that the cluster analysis is based on multi-dimensional homophily and heterophily patterns, and therefore a more thorough investigation of multiple aspects simultaneously, and how they differ, is necessary in order to be able to interpret and describe the clusters. This is important because for the interpretation of the cluster compositions key variables alone would be insufficient. I thus in the next section pay closer attention to how clusters differ in terms of homophily or heterophily tendencies, using the sample as a reference population and looking at the eight superdiversity variables conjunctively. Through this analysis different patterns will become visible and it will be possible to describe the clusters qualitatively in terms of their multiple superdiversity aspects.

A spectrum of factors – sample averages and cluster averages

A first task in looking at how the clusters differ across the homophily variables included in the analysis is to look at the range of values for each variable in each cluster. The ranges between the minimum and maximum values are noted in Table 8.2.¹⁴² For some aspects of superdiversity these ranges can still differ quite significantly¹⁴³ and it is difficult to identify cluster-specific patterns. A clearer pattern can be read from the mean and median values. The arithmetic mean, which returns the average homophily value for a specific variable and cluster, is generally slightly below or above the value of the median, which returns the most central value from the range. The median can be considered a more robust measure for describing the central tendency of values for a cluster, as it is not affected by networks that should be considered outliers in terms of the respective variable but that were ordered into the cluster because overall the network is still close to the other networks in the cluster.

Table 8.2 – Cluster-specific range of homophily values

variables included	minimum and maximum								range			
	CL 1		CL 2		CL 3		CL 4		CL 1	CL 2	CL 3	CL 4
	min	max	min	max	min	max	min	max				
migrant	0.00	0.95	0.40	1.00	0.00	0.83	0.56	1.00	0.95	0.60	0.83	0.44
time in city	0.30	1.00	0.43	1.00	0.00	0.42	0.00	0.69	0.70	0.57	0.42	0.69
visa	0.00	0.62	0.73	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.05	0.75	0.62	0.27	1.00	0.70
occupation	0.00	0.62	0.13	0.75	0.00	0.63	0.00	0.89	0.62	0.63	0.63	0.89
ethnicity	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.89	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.75	1.00	0.89	0.50	0.75
gender	0.33	0.80	0.25	1.00	0.40	1.00	0.48	1.00	0.47	0.75	0.60	0.52
age	0.00	0.58	0.11	1.00	0.25	0.79	0.40	1.00	0.58	0.89	0.54	0.60
parent	0.31	1.00	0.50	1.00	0.33	0.88	0.41	1.00	0.69	0.50	0.54	0.59

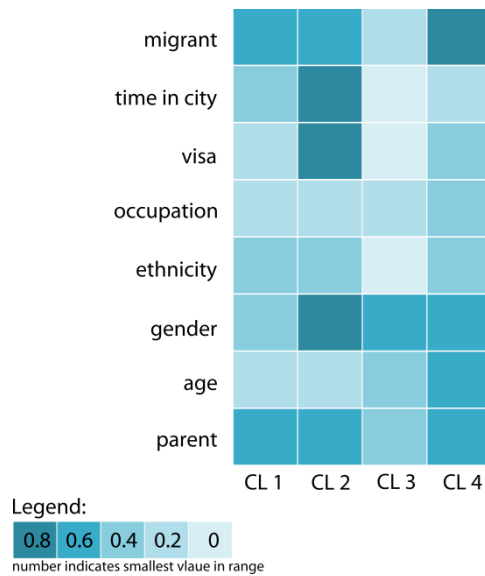
N = 54

As the exploration of key variables in the last section has indicated, a median or mean closer to zero suggests heterophilous tendencies, whereas a value closer to one suggests homophilous tendencies, and those medians or means closer to a 0.5 value can be interpreted as suggesting that roughly half of the social contacts named were in the same category as the ego. With this in mind we can construct a cluster-specific heat map on the basis of the median values for each variable and each cluster (see Figure 8.2).

¹⁴² In addition Table 1 in Appendix 5 gives a detailed overview of different descriptive statistics that can be used to recognise different patterns in the data distribution between the clusters.

¹⁴³ For example in cluster one for the variable migrant networks sorted into this cluster in the most extreme cases have a homophily score of 0 (a network where ego named no other migrants) and 0.95 (a network where ego named almost exclusively other migrants).

Figure 8.2 – Heat map of homophily profile of clusters (based on cluster medians)



This heat map suggests that there are indeed different patterns between the clusters. From the visualisation it can, for example, be seen that clusters 2 and 4 are generally shaded darker, suggesting more variables with homophilous tendencies while Cluster 1 and 3 are generally shaded in lighter colours suggesting that the medians in those clusters tend to be more marked by heterophilous tendencies, or roughly equal shares of same and different ties. Further, it is shown that occupational status in terms of cluster medians is similarly shaded across the clusters and that all are mainly composed of networks with a higher, or close to equal, share of social contacts in a different occupational status group.

These patterns should however be explored in relation to the sample. Here it is useful to refer to the cluster and sample mean to acknowledge that an outlier in the cluster does not necessarily have to be an outlier in the sample. This comparison of cluster and sample means can then be used as a proxy to identify if cases sorted into a particular cluster are on average relatively more or less homophilous. This is particularly important if we recall that estimating if a network ought to be classified as heterophilous or homophilous on a particular variable depends on the baseline homophily which refers to the distribution of the respective categories in the population. It is not assumed that the sample average corresponds to a population average (however that population is defined)¹⁴⁴ but comparing

¹⁴⁴ For example, the population may be all New Zealand Māori and Pacific Islanders living in Toronto and London, but as I have explored in Chapter 3 my sample is unlikely to be representative of that population, nor is there detailed enough data about this population to address all the aspects considered in this analysis.

cluster compositions to the sample composition provides a benchmark for describing the clusters in relative terms.

Table 8.3 – Comparing cluster and sample means

	S	CL 1	CL 2	CL 3	CL 4		S - CL 1	S - CL 2	S - CL 3	S - CL 4
migrant	0.66	0.69	0.70	0.27	0.80		-0.03	-0.04	0.39	-0.13
time in city	0.53	0.66	0.86	0.14	0.26		-0.13	-0.33	0.39	0.27
visa	0.54	0.29	0.91	0.27	0.53		0.25	-0.37	0.27	0.01
occupation	0.38	0.32	0.39	0.34	0.45		0.06	-0.01	0.04	-0.07
ethnicity	0.41	0.52	0.46	0.16	0.39		-0.10	-0.05	0.25	0.02
gender	0.71	0.59	0.77	0.72	0.76		0.12	-0.06	-0.01	-0.05
age	0.48	0.32	0.41	0.49	0.68		0.15	0.06	-0.02	-0.21
parent	0.70	0.68	0.77	0.54	0.72		0.01	-0.07	0.15	-0.02
N / Sum of differences	54	15	16	8	15	/	0.34	-0.87	1.46	-0.19

S = sample and CL = cluster

very heterophilous

heterophilous

very homophilous

homophilous

The data in Table 8.3 can then be used to develop an exploratory typology by identifying in which direction and by how much each cluster differs from the sample in terms of each homophilous aspect. To simplify interpretation of Table 8.3 the corresponding Figure 8.3 is a schematic representation of the table which sorts the differences into five categories:

- (1) 'very heterophilous' - positive differences from the sample mean equal to or greater than 0.25
- (2) 'heterophilous' – positive differences from the sample mean between 0.1 and 0.24
- (3) 'average' - differences from the sample mean between -0.09 and 0.09
- (4) 'homophilous' – negative differences from the sample mean between -0.1 and -0.24
- (5) 'very homophilous'- negative differences from the sample mean equal to or less than - 0.25.

The values chosen for this ordering are arbitrary but reflect that in each cluster there is at least one variable that is identified as very homophilous or very heterophilous in comparison to the sample.

Figure 8.3 – Comparing cluster and sample means: schematic representation

	very homophilous ≤ -0.25	homophilous ≤ -0.1	average -0.09 to 0.09	heterophilous ≥ 0.1	very heterophilous ≥ 0.25	cluster name
CL 1		time in city ethnicity	migrant parent occupation	gender age	visa	city-cohort networks
CL 2	visa time in city		parent gender ethnicity migrant occupation age			long-term-resident networks
CL 3			age gender occupation	parent	ethnicity visa migrant time in city	superdiverse networks
CL 4		age migrant	occupation gender parent visa ethnicity		time in city	migrant-peer networks

Broadly speaking, Figure 8.3 shows that the key variables identified through the standard deviation and highlighted in bold are amongst those factors identified as either homophilous/heterophilous or very homophilous/heterophilous, but that other variables also differ from the sample mean to the same or a more pronounced degree and thus ought to be taken into consideration in recognising different similarity and difference patterns.

Importantly, the ‘time lived in the city’ and the visa status variables, two non-ethno-focal superdiversity variables related to migration but not necessarily to where migrants have come from, play an important role across most clusters and are relevant for distinguishing different patterns of sociality. It should here be noted that in the literature, time of residence has been dealt with especially with reference to theories of assimilation (Gordon 1985; cf. Cwerner 2001 for an alternative analysis of ‘the times of migration’); however, as has been emphasised throughout this thesis, the essentialist assumptions about the host society that underlie much of this literature and its ethno-focality make it difficult to apply those lines of argument in superdiverse contexts (cf. Alba and Nee 2003). Notably aspects frequently discussed with reference to (post-migration) friendship choices, such as ethnicity, having migrant friends and gender (cf. McPherson et al. 2001; Rivera et al. 2010) only suggest higher or lower homophily than the sample for one or two clusters.

Interestingly, Figure 8.3 also suggests that the cluster analysis in relative terms, with the sample as the reference population, again shows that heterophilous social ties are relevant for interpreting the cluster solution. Given a previous focus in the literature on migrants being the same as their social contacts this calls for two questions: If sameness should not be accorded sole attention, how can the clusters best be described to develop an exploratory typology that offers alternative ways of viewing patterns of sociality in the networks of migrants? Is it important that, in relative terms, some networks are composed of more ties between people who are different in some aspects but not others? I turn to the task articulated in the first question in the next section where I try to explain why, based on the analysis up to this point, I have isolated certain sociality patterns: *city-cohort networks*, *long-term-resident networks*, *superdiverse networks* and *migrant-peer networks*.

Naming the clusters

Taking insights about how the cluster means differ from the sample means and combining them with those about the lowest standard deviation in each cluster, we can describe the clusters as follows:

Cluster 1 – city-cohort networks

A first intuition in reviewing the patterns evident in this cluster was, that it might be characterised as ‘ethnic networks’. It is the only cluster that seems to suggest the prominent notion of migrants engaging in ethnically relatively homogenous social circles. This is indicated by the relative homophily on the ethnicity variable not found in the other clusters. However, even though Cluster 1, which is composed of 15 networks, brings together the three networks with the highest network homophily in the sample in terms of ethnicity, it also includes one network composed only of other ethnic social contacts, and the remaining networks display a range of different tendencies toward same-category ties on this variable. Upon closer investigation, the patterns seen did not line up with the popularised notion of an ethnic (personal) network where it is suggested that individuals mainly associate with people of the same background, especially shortly after arriving, using primarily ethnicised support networks (cf. Alba 1978; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). For example respondents whose networks are sorted into Cluster 1 all, except one, indicated that English was the first language used at home despite the fact that for the majority it was not their mother tongue.¹⁴⁵ The one respondent who did not identify English as the first language at home,

¹⁴⁵ In the entire sample the first language used at home was primarily stated as being English although 6 respondents did chose a different language as the first language spoken at home.

listed three languages as mainly being spoken in her household: English, the language of her partner and Te Reo Māori.

Respondents whose networks we find in Cluster 1 had lived in their city for a varying length of time (40 per cent for more than 10 years and the remainder for a shorter time period). They named social contacts who had lived in the city for a similar length of time and the share of international migrants exceeds 50 per cent for 13 of the 15 networks sorted into this cluster. Even though the data for the sample suggests that it is more likely that respondents have the same visa status as their contacts if they also lived in the city for a similar length of time, in Cluster 1 this trend is not reproduced. Respondents named mostly other visa status contacts. We can thus presume that their visa status trajectory is a different one from those of their contacts. This combination of characteristics is why I call this cluster city-cohort networks rather than ethnic networks. It can be noted that all but two of the networks sorted into this cluster are those of non-citizens.

In interpreting the composition of the cluster, age, which was identified as the key variable in terms of standard deviation, only plays a marginal role. Yet it is relevant as, to summarise: the city-cohort networks are marked by a relative heterophily in terms of visa status, gender *and age*. This suggests, that the networks to which migrants in this cluster have access, are relatively differentiated even though some patterns of being the same as ones social contacts prevail, in particular time lived in the city. Four Toronto and eleven London networks were sorted into this cluster. Out of the four clusters it is the least clustered, meaning that it has the highest share of networks that also have a relatively high membership in at least one of the other clusters. (These latter patterns are explained in more detail in the following section).

Cluster 2 – long-term-resident networks

Networks sorted into this cluster are referred to as long term resident networks. The majority of respondents whose networks were sorted into this cluster indicated being citizens (81.3 per cent or 13 out of 16) and have lived in their city of residence for a relatively long time (75 per cent for longer than 10 years). Given these longer residence periods it is not surprising that the median age (48) of respondents whose networks we find in this cluster is notably higher (by 12 years) than the median age in the sample. This cluster has by far the largest negative sum of differences between sample and cluster means, suggesting that across the variables considered, on average networks sorted into this cluster were more homophilous than the sample, even if only by a small margin for some variables. The only exception here

is age. On average networks in this cluster have a higher share of social contacts of a different age group than the ego who named them, but the difference from the sample is small and not as explicit as it is for Cluster 1.

The key variable of visa status registers as very homophilous, suggesting that those citizen migrants sorted into the cluster mainly named other citizens as their social contacts. In addition, in this cluster the relationship between visa status and time lived in the city does clearly prevail as networks were also primarily composed of social contacts who had lived in the city for the same length of time. However this does not imply that these mostly longer term residents exchanged their migrant acquaintances over the years for non-migrant ones. The distribution of naming other migrants as social contacts is similar to that noted for Cluster 1, with 14 respondents stating that at least half of their social contacts had also migrated internationally, and only two referring to a larger share of autochthonous social contacts. In terms of shares of London and Toronto networks, Cluster 2 included five London and eleven Toronto networks, and the cluster has a clearer membership pattern than Cluster 1.

Cluster 3 – superdiverse (spousal) networks

Cluster 3 is the smallest of the identified clusters (n=8). Four of the respondents whose networks were sorted into the cluster were relatively recent migrants with two having been in their city for less than a year and the other two having lived there for a maximum of three years. The other four had lived in the city for up to 10 years (3) or more than 10 years (1). Networks in Cluster 3 are composed of the types of networks I was, at least to a degree, expecting to find in cities such as London and Toronto. These networks seem to defy the principle of homophily across most superdiversity variables. The cluster averages suggest that respondents were frequently different from their social contacts. Remembering the relationship between homophily measures and IQVs (see Chapter 7), in the case of those eight networks this also means that they have more diverse networks with reference to qualitative variation.

Particularly in this cluster, networks are likely to be heterophilous with reference not only to how long respondents and their social contacts have lived in the city, the key variable in terms of standard deviation, but also with reference to visa status differences, ethnicity and having non-migrant social contacts. In addition to being superdiverse in terms of being mostly heterophilous in comparison to the sample, these networks are – all except one – those of respondents who moved to the city to join a spouse who had already lived there

prior to their move and who had established social links there. The one network sorted into the cluster where the respondent did not come to the city to join his spouse, is that of a respondent who came to join his mother, and she too had already lived in London for a number of years. There are different patterns of cluster membership between networks sorted into this cluster, and one network in particular could almost equally be part of Cluster 4, but the cluster is still better defined than Cluster 1 (see silhouette plot in Appendix 5). In total three London and five Toronto networks were sorted into this cluster.

Cluster 4 – migrant-peer networks

The final cluster is composed of 15 networks with only one forged in Toronto. The cluster is composed of an average sameness pattern that similarly to Cluster 2 tends towards being more homophilous than the sample, with the exception that networks sorted into this cluster display a relative heterophily in terms of how long egos and their alters have lived in the city. While for Cluster 2 we noted that respondents on average were older but had social ties to people from different age groups, respondents whose networks were sorted into Cluster 4 are on average younger (80 per cent were younger than 35 with a median age of 33) and had more social ties to others from the same age category.

Generally on all of the superdiversity variables that might identify a peer group type network structure (age, gender and parent), networks in this cluster score on average amongst the highest out of the four clusters. Furthermore, while the distribution of the type of occupational status groups in Cluster 4 is not notably different from the other clusters, the level of education of respondents is generally higher with 60 per cent (9 out of 15) having completed an undergraduate (4) or postgraduate (5) education and a further 20 per cent having some type of vocational training.¹⁴⁶

The key variable identified for this cluster – migrant – is noted as being more homophilous than the sample, and the cluster mean (0.8) suggests that this is the cluster with the highest proportion of migrants in the networks. All networks can be identified as being composed of more social contacts who have migrated internationally than those who have not (9 of the 15 networks have migrant share of over 80 per cent per network). It is interesting to note that although the share of same-ethnicity ties is on average close to that in the sample, it is much

¹⁴⁶ For the other three clusters the share of respondents with a post-high school education comprised 80 per cent, 50 per cent and 62 per cent for Clusters 1, 2, and 3 respectively. Although this means that in Cluster 1 we find the same share of respondents with a post-high school education as in Cluster 4, a higher share in Cluster 1 were in the vocational training category (40 per cent) while in Cluster 4 we can note that more post-high school educated respondents have attained a university degree (60 per cent as compared to 40 per cent in Cluster 1).

lower than the average share of migrants with only one network being composed of more than 60 per cent same-ethnicity ties. Overall the cluster is less fuzzy than for example Cluster 1 and membership in the cluster is relatively high.

This ordering into different clusters gives a novel perspective on how to potentially understand different patterns of multidimensional homophily. It also supports the idea that a differentiated understanding of these social patterns is necessary as less researched variables better describe the clusters, and thus seem to be more or equally descriptive than 'the usual suspects' of ethnic, gender and age homophily. The clusters could function as a starting point to generate new questions about what these social patterns imply. Obvious questions include: Is there a social cleft in terms of different legal status groups or between so-called new and long term migrants? Also, do people with superdiverse spousal networks fare better than those with more homophilous networks across the variables? The literature would suggest that they do, but my observations suggest that it depends on how 'faring better'¹⁴⁷ is defined, and that it is not clear how to interpret the relevance of being relatively more heterophilous on many, as opposed to some, aspects of superdiversity. Additionally, as has already been explored in describing the clusters, individual networks have different degrees of membership in the clusters and it is helpful to look at what these differential membership patterns may imply. It is important to emphasise that the 'fuzzy typology' of sociality patterns just presented only describes to a degree any one of the networks included in the analysis. Nonetheless, it should help to better understand single cases without making place of origin or a dichotomous distinction between migrant or non-migrant the starting point of analysis.¹⁴⁸

Fuzzy clusters and cross-cluster patterns

Table 8.4 presents the detailed membership matrix returned by the cluster analysis. This relays the membership coefficients that identify the degree to which a network is a member of each of the clusters. The rows in each quarter of the table refer to networks identified by a unique Ego ID, and rows are sorted in order of the highest membership coefficient. As noted before, the coefficients listed in the separate columns add up to 1 (or 100 per cent) for each

¹⁴⁷ As I explored in Chapter 5 different perceptions of Toronto and London also seemed to imply a different narrative of judging the success of one's migration and interpreting one's position within the social setting of each city. Clearly 'faring better' would have been described differently by different respondents.

¹⁴⁸ Compare Annex.

Table 8.4 - Membership matrix resulting from fuzzy c-means cluster analysis

Ego ID					London / Toronto					Ego ID					London / Toronto				
CL 1					CL 2					CL 3					CL 4				
Cluster one	113	0.74	0.10	0.05	0.11	0.10	0.08	0.13	0.10	0.05	0.11	0.10	0.08	0.13	0.10	0.05	0.11	0.10	0.08
	307	0.70	0.08	0.13	0.10	0.08	0.13	0.10	0.10	0.05	0.11	0.10	0.08	0.13	0.10	0.05	0.11	0.10	0.08
	125	0.62	0.10	0.17	0.11	0.10	0.17	0.11	0.11	0.05	0.11	0.10	0.17	0.11	0.11	0.05	0.11	0.10	0.17
	105	0.56	0.02	0.28	0.14	0.02	0.28	0.14	0.14	0.05	0.11	0.02	0.28	0.14	0.14	0.05	0.11	0.02	0.28
	119	0.55	0.06	0.23	0.17	0.06	0.23	0.17	0.17	0.05	0.11	0.06	0.23	0.17	0.17	0.05	0.11	0.06	0.23
	109	0.52	0.15	0.16	0.16	0.15	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.05	0.11	0.15	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.05	0.11	0.15	0.16
	129	0.50	0.08	0.18	0.24	0.08	0.18	0.24	0.24	0.05	0.11	0.08	0.18	0.24	0.24	0.05	0.11	0.08	0.18
	303	0.50	0.35	0.06	0.09	0.35	0.06	0.09	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.35	0.06	0.09	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.35	0.06
	121	0.46	0.02	0.38	0.14	0.02	0.38	0.14	0.14	0.05	0.11	0.02	0.38	0.14	0.14	0.05	0.11	0.02	0.38
	123	0.45	0.24	0.07	0.23	0.24	0.07	0.23	0.23	0.05	0.11	0.45	0.24	0.07	0.23	0.23	0.05	0.11	0.45
	131	0.44	0.26	0.04	0.26	0.44	0.26	0.04	0.26	0.05	0.11	0.44	0.26	0.04	0.26	0.05	0.11	0.44	0.26
	103	0.41	0.14	0.32	0.13	0.41	0.14	0.32	0.13	0.05	0.11	0.41	0.14	0.32	0.13	0.05	0.11	0.41	0.14
Cluster two	128	0.41	0.23	0.07	0.29	0.41	0.23	0.07	0.29	0.05	0.11	0.41	0.23	0.07	0.29	0.05	0.11	0.41	0.23
	319	0.40	0.19	0.16	0.25	0.40	0.19	0.16	0.25	0.05	0.11	0.40	0.19	0.16	0.25	0.05	0.11	0.40	0.19
	305	0.39	0.15	0.35	0.11	0.39	0.15	0.35	0.11	0.05	0.11	0.39	0.15	0.35	0.11	0.05	0.11	0.39	0.15
	304	0.22	0.28	0.02	0.28	0.22	0.28	0.02	0.28	0.05	0.11	0.22	0.28	0.02	0.28	0.05	0.11	0.22	0.28
	106	0.25	0.35	0.03	0.39	0.25	0.35	0.03	0.39	0.05	0.11	0.25	0.35	0.03	0.39	0.05	0.11	0.25	0.35
	127	0.23	0.39	0.05	0.32	0.23	0.39	0.05	0.32	0.05	0.11	0.23	0.39	0.05	0.32	0.05	0.11	0.23	0.39
	108	0.22	0.49	0.03	0.26	0.22	0.49	0.03	0.26	0.05	0.11	0.22	0.49	0.03	0.26	0.05	0.11	0.22	0.49
	112	0.18	0.51	0.05	0.27	0.18	0.51	0.05	0.27	0.05	0.11	0.18	0.51	0.05	0.27	0.05	0.11	0.18	0.51
	306	0.14	0.52	0.07	0.27	0.14	0.52	0.07	0.27	0.05	0.11	0.14	0.52	0.07	0.27	0.05	0.11	0.14	0.52
	315	0.15	0.76	0.02	0.07	0.15	0.76	0.02	0.07	0.05	0.11	0.15	0.76	0.02	0.07	0.05	0.11	0.15	0.76
	310	0.08	0.81	0.02	0.09	0.08	0.81	0.02	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.08	0.81	0.02	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.08	0.81
	311	0.09	0.82	0.03	0.07	0.09	0.82	0.03	0.07	0.05	0.11	0.09	0.82	0.03	0.07	0.05	0.11	0.09	0.82
Cluster three	318	0.04	0.01	0.92	0.03	0.04	0.01	0.92	0.03	0.05	0.11	0.04	0.01	0.92	0.03	0.05	0.11	0.04	0.01
	301	0.06	0.01	0.87	0.06	0.06	0.01	0.87	0.06	0.05	0.11	0.06	0.01	0.87	0.06	0.05	0.11	0.06	0.01
	111	0.08	0.02	0.77	0.13	0.08	0.02	0.77	0.13	0.05	0.11	0.08	0.02	0.77	0.13	0.05	0.11	0.08	0.02
	320	0.11	0.03	0.77	0.09	0.11	0.03	0.77	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.11	0.03	0.77	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.11	0.03
	124	0.16	0.02	0.73	0.09	0.16	0.02	0.73	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.16	0.02	0.73	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.16	0.02
	110	0.14	0.10	0.49	0.27	0.14	0.10	0.49	0.27	0.05	0.11	0.14	0.10	0.49	0.27	0.05	0.11	0.14	0.10
	302	0.15	0.14	0.44	0.26	0.15	0.14	0.44	0.26	0.05	0.11	0.15	0.14	0.44	0.26	0.05	0.11	0.15	0.14
	314	0.22	0.05	0.37	0.36	0.22	0.05	0.37	0.36	0.05	0.11	0.22	0.05	0.37	0.36	0.05	0.11	0.22	0.05
	104	0.12	0.02	0.06	0.79	0.12	0.02	0.06	0.79	0.05	0.11	0.12	0.02	0.06	0.79	0.05	0.11	0.12	0.02
	115	0.10	0.04	0.09	0.77	0.10	0.04	0.09	0.77	0.05	0.11	0.10	0.04	0.09	0.77	0.05	0.11	0.10	0.04
	101	0.13	0.08	0.03	0.76	0.13	0.08	0.03	0.76	0.05	0.11	0.13	0.08	0.03	0.76	0.05	0.11	0.13	0.08
	126	0.12	0.09	0.09	0.71	0.12	0.09	0.09	0.71	0.05	0.11	0.12	0.09	0.09	0.71	0.05	0.11	0.12	0.09
Cluster four	118	0.16	0.09	0.07	0.69	0.16	0.09	0.07	0.69	0.05	0.11	0.16	0.09	0.07	0.69	0.05	0.11	0.16	0.09
	114	0.08	0.02	0.23	0.68	0.08	0.02	0.23	0.68	0.05	0.11	0.08	0.02	0.23	0.68	0.05	0.11	0.08	0.02
	102	0.23	0.06	0.07	0.64	0.23	0.06	0.07	0.64	0.05	0.11	0.23	0.06	0.07	0.64	0.05	0.11	0.23	0.06
	116	0.17	0.02	0.23	0.58	0.17	0.02	0.23	0.58	0.05	0.11	0.17	0.02	0.23	0.58	0.05	0.11	0.17	0.02
	107	0.18	0.05	0.21	0.56	0.18	0.05	0.21	0.56	0.05	0.11	0.18	0.05	0.21	0.56	0.05	0.11	0.18	0.05
	130	0.27	0.13	0.05	0.54	0.27	0.13	0.05	0.54	0.05	0.11	0.27	0.13	0.05	0.54	0.05	0.11	0.27	0.13
	133	0.20	0.10	0.16	0.54	0.20	0.10	0.16	0.54	0.05	0.11	0.20	0.10	0.16	0.54	0.05	0.11	0.20	0.10
	120	0.24	0.19	0.11	0.46	0.24	0.19	0.11	0.46	0.05	0.11	0.24	0.19	0.11	0.46	0.05	0.11	0.24	0.19
	313	0.15	0.11	0.29	0.45	0.15	0.11	0.29	0.45	0.05	0.11	0.15	0.11	0.29	0.45	0.05	0.11	0.15	0.11
	134	0.32	0.04	0.20	0.44	0.32	0.04	0.20	0.44	0.05	0.11	0.32	0.04	0.20	0.44	0.05	0.11	0.32	0.04
	117	0.25	0.04	0.29	0.42	0.25	0.04	0.29	0.42	0.05	0.11	0.25	0.04	0.29	0.42	0.05	0.11	0.25	0.04
	105	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.11	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.11	0.03	0.03

network. The membership matrix makes possible two observations about the ordering of the networks into clusters, which have already been suggested in the cluster descriptions: (1) partial membership in clusters means a non-negligible overlap between clusters, and (2) London and Toronto networks are not evenly distributed across the four clusters. Both aspects are now briefly discussed.

Partial membership in clusters

The first pattern that can be seen in the membership matrix (Table 8.4) relates to the partial membership of networks in each cluster. This is indicated by the distribution of the membership coefficients. These show that ordering networks into crisp clusters alone would conceal significant information about the overlap of clusters. For example, if we assume that a network is relatively well placed in a cluster if its membership in that cluster is above 50 per cent (or it has a membership coefficient of 0.5 and above), then for the sample of networks considered, 18 (33 per cent of the sample) are less well-suited to their closest crisp cluster and overlap considerably with other clusters (those membership coefficients highlighted in grey in Table 8.4). This pattern also differs across clusters. Cluster 1 has a particularly high share of these cluster-overlapping networks (47 per cent), Cluster 3 has a slightly lower share of those networks (38 per cent) and Clusters 2 and 4 have a 25 per cent and 27 per cent share of cluster-overlapping networks respectively.¹⁴⁹ The case with the lowest membership in Cluster 1 identified with Ego ID 305 can be used as an example of this overlap of membership in different clusters. This ego's network is mostly similar to other networks in Cluster 1 (39 per cent), however she also has a network similar to those in Cluster 3 (35 per cent) and with a membership coefficient of 0.11, her network has the least membership (or in other words, is furthest away from the centre of or most dissimilar from networks) in Cluster 4 and is only slightly closer to Cluster 2 (membership coefficient: 0.15). Thus if we describe her network, we could do so in terms of a city-cohort network homophily profile, but also in terms of a superdiverse (spousal) network.

This suggests that although a four-cluster solution is the best fit for this data, substantial overlap between clusters has to be expected. This in turn makes it less advisable to use the identified clusters as a hard and fast typology of sociality patterns in superdiverse contexts. A more suitable approach for interpreting the patterns identified is then to appreciate them

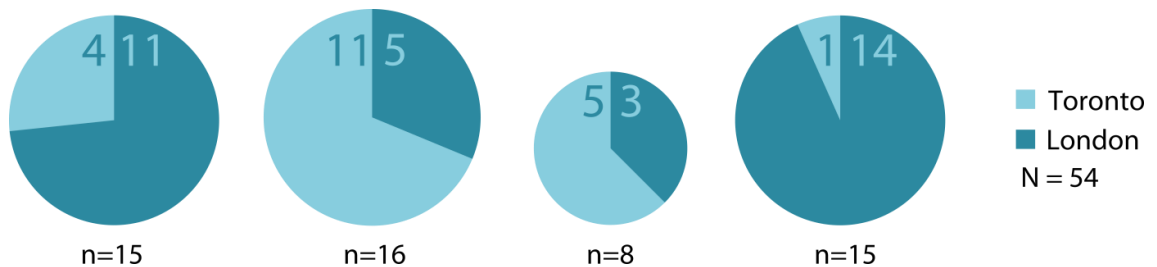
¹⁴⁹ These different membership patterns also correspond with cluster-specific silhouette information reproduced in Appendix 5.

as a tool both for generating research questions that might not be as apparent if a single aspect of superdiversity was considered and to facilitate thinking through possible patterns of sociality that can emerge in superdiverse contexts. Recognising fuzziness, then, does not mean we should treat patterns as consistently salient or necessarily clear cut, which is in line with appreciating the complexity of the configurations investigated. Only then can the clusters and their descriptions be understood as a tool to start thinking differently about difference.

London and Toronto networks across the clusters

The final column in each cluster membership matrix identifies whether rows refer to a network of a respondent resident in London or Toronto. While the Toronto networks account for a little fewer than 40 per cent of the sample, Cluster 4 includes only one Toronto network (7 per cent share in the cluster). The opposite extremes are Clusters 2 and 3 with 69 per cent and 63 per cent Toronto networks respectively. For Cluster 1 the share of Toronto networks is 27 per cent. This uneven distribution of Toronto and consequently also London networks across the clusters is visually represented in Figure 8.4.

Figure 8.4 – Distribution of London and Toronto networks in the clusters



This distribution shows a clear divergence between London and Toronto in how homophily patterns differ across the variables and networks included in the analysis. There are two possible explanations for this: first, the pattern might be associated with the available socialising opportunities in each city. In light of elaborations in Chapter 6 on city-specific practices of pan-ethnicity this seems to be feasible. However, making swift conclusions about the prominent role of social opportunity structures is unwise, not least because the aspects most descriptive of the clusters are rarely associated with same-ethnicity ties, and also because of the contextual complexity of both cities as identified in Chapter 5.

Second, the differential sorting of London and Toronto networks into four clusters could also be due to differences between the two city samples. In fact, both explanations are probably

relevant. Regarding the latter reason, the long-term-resident networks cluster serves as good example. As I have pointed out in Chapter 3, the Toronto sample is composed of a migrant cohort that is on average older and also had a longer residence period in the city than my London respondents. If, as I am suggesting in the description of the clusters, this is associated with quite a specific pattern of sociality it is not surprising that we find the highest share of Toronto networks in the long-term-resident cluster.

Recognising that both the compositions of the samples and the social opportunity contexts in the two cities are likely relevant is important for the analysis of the data. For example it highlights one of the superdiversity arguments regarding how diversity must be understood as being shaped by the temporality and changing patterns of migration and settlement. This analysis, then, suggests we pay more attention to the local temporalities of diversity as significant for patterns of sociality in superdiverse contexts.

Conclusion

The analysis presented in this chapter identified different ways of talking about the sociality practices of migrants in superdiverse contexts by focusing on similarity and difference patterns in personal networks. The analysis is based on the networks of the specific sample of interviewees who participated in this study and can thus only be thought of as an exploratory investigation of such patterns. Through a fuzzy c-means cluster analysis four clusters of homophily patterns were identified. The cluster composition was investigated by identifying how both homophily profiles and the characteristics of the respondents whose networks were sorted into the cluster differ between the clusters. This was done to give descriptive names to the patterns identified. Through this analysis I distinguished clusters which I call: *city-cohort*, *long-term-resident*, *superdiverse* and *migrant-peer* sociality patterns.

This followed the analysis in the previous chapter where patterns of homophily were emphasised as being ordinary amongst this sample, but also probably ordinary in a more general sense as previous research into the likelihood of choosing same-type social relations suggests. In a way which is novel compared to most previous research into what is peculiar about the networks of migrants, these patterns were investigated with a number of variables linked to superdiversity rather than focusing solely on the proportion of migrants or same-ethnicity social contacts in the networks. The analysis suggests that some of the 'usual suspects', such as gender and ethnicity, were less distinctive between the clusters than other

aspects included in the analysis. Age differences, another 'usual suspect', did seem to have an impact on how closely data points aligned in different clusters and it should be emphasised that in comparison to the sample, visa, and time in the city did crystallise within the interplay of variables as relevant for describing all four clusters of socialising patterns. Thus those two aspects, conceptualised as linked to migration-related diversity but less so to the origin specificity of my sample, played an important role in interpreting the results of the cluster analysis. Meanwhile the third aspect from this group of non-ethno-focal aspects focused on in this thesis, occupational sameness, played almost no role in the network patterns analysed.

In conclusion it is interesting to compare the results offered by the cluster analysis presented above to those of Dahinden (2013), who also includes aspects such as mobility patterns and type of migration conjunctively in her analysis of sameness and difference patterns in the social networks of migrant and autochthonous residents living in the Swiss city of Neuchâtel. Based on a more extensive dataset and focusing on identifying emergent social boundaries in the city, the study places greater focus on social capital in addition to homophily patterns than my analysis. Despite these analytical differences and although she uses a different inductive approach, Dahinden also identifies four social groupings, and these are along some similar fault lines to those identified by the cluster analysis in this chapter.

Dahinden distinguishes her four 'clusters' in terms of the immobile, highly mobile, established guestworkers and recently arrived outsiders as a typology of patterns of boundary-making in Neuchâtel. While Dahinden's typology maps onto migration patterns in terms of particular regions of origin, which she cogently explains by pointing out that 'admission policies rely always on a kind of "ethno-national sorting" of potential migrants' (Dahinden 2013: 58), there are some parallels between the patterns she identifies based on a stratified sample of a city's population and those identified here within a sample of respondents resident in two cities and originating (in small numbers) from the same global region. For example, the relevance attributed in my analysis to when respondents moved into the city is clearly reflected in Dahinden's typology, as is the role of differential legal statuses. She also recognises the importance of understanding the interplay between various factors as shaping the social boundaries she identifies. The within-origin group differentiation identified in the present analysis then strengthens the argument in favour of recognising the fuzziness of the four clusters found here.

The analysis in the empirical chapters of this thesis has moved through different levels of analysis and I have carved out the complexities of an analysis of post-migration sociality patterns focused through a superdiversity lens. In the following conclusion I bring together the empirical, conceptual and methodological discussions presented in this thesis.

Chapter 9

CONCLUDING SOCIALISING WITH DIVERSITY

The overarching aim of this thesis has been to explore the link between international migration and urban diversity. Using a superdiversity lens, the research focused on the social networks of Pacific people and NZ Māori living in London and Toronto. Starting with the question 'What networks do migrants with few co-migrants from the same origin form in exceptionally diverse cities?', the thesis has presented a thorough analysis offering conceptual, methodological and empirical insights that engage with the current literature in migration and ethnic and racial studies.

A better understanding of how international migration changes cities is pertinent for a better theorisation of the diversification processes involved. Yet, this debate is often framed in terms of the number of origin groups living in relative proximity in urban centres, and by debates about communities forming along those origin lines. Clearly the diversification processes associated with migration go beyond origins; not least as attempts to regulate the flows of migration into cities impact on population diversity in terms of people's differentiated migration, legal status and occupational trajectories. This is a central tenet of the superdiversity lens – diversification processes happen along a number of different dimensions simultaneously (Vertovec 2007) and they have a history, layering old and new configurations of diversity (Meissner and Vertovec under review).

In this thesis, I have argued that it is helpful to move one step further by recognising that patterns of diversification can usefully be studied in a relational way. In other words, the patterns of difference and similarity that constitute diversity are inscribed in patterns of sociality. These are marked by complexity and they are in a perpetual state of becoming. At the outset of this thesis I defined patterns of sociality as those social configurations that can be used as a proxy to describe diversity in a more nuanced and, importantly, relational way. I also pointed out, that despite its focus on origins the current way of talking about urban diversity has opened a space for smaller groups in the debate on migration-related diversifications. This in turn calls for a more rigorous investigation of whether it matters for those patterns of sociality surrounding the fact that many migrants from many origins move into cities in smaller numbers. This puts into perspective older narratives of migrants coming into cities in large 'waves'. Furthermore, a small group focus circumnavigates some assumptions about the relevance of understanding post-migration networks primarily in terms of origins. By focusing my analysis on the social networks of Pacific people and New Zealand Māori living in London and Toronto, I have been able to offer an empirical analysis

that takes the small group caveat *and* the inclusion of multidimensional migration-related diversifications into account.

This conclusion recapitulates but also reflects critically on the presented material, by first summarising my empirical findings and then evaluating them in light of the methodological and conceptual discussions that preceded my empirical analysis. I will show: how I have answered my research questions, what key overarching themes arise from the analysis, why it is necessary to stress the exploratory nature of this research, how the research design might be improved, and finally how the findings from the thesis suggest further avenues of research.

Summary of key empirical findings

The question posed at the start of this research can be rephrased in terms of whether small group size matters for social interactions in diverse cities. By employing a superdiversity lens in my research, my analysis went beyond this question: indeed in Chapter 3 I outlined three relevant lines of inquiry.

The first set of research questions is most closely focused on the role of small group size. It asks how groupness is practiced amongst a fuzzily defined population where relatively few migrants from the same origin live in the same city. Further, I asked whether it would be possible to estimate the role of group size by investigating those practices of groupness. Groupness in this thesis refers to observable social interactions across and within origin groups from the Pacific region. I addressed these questions most specifically in Chapter 6 which, by drawing on insights from the literature on pan-ethnicity, articulated three ideas relevant to those questions. First, the chapter documented why we might expect social links between individuals who are part of the fuzzy group category that is the subject of my research. Second, I discussed the relevance of a minimum group size threshold for explaining the presence and absence of practiced groupness. Finally, I pointed out that exploring the role of group size is itself a problem of fusions and fissions because pan-group links are relevant for estimating how opportunity contexts facilitate the situational practices of pan-Pacific groupness.

To document the first idea, I introduced the notion of *migrating labels* as a way to explain why; in the contexts of London and Toronto; there are expectations of pan-Pacific social links amongst research participants. Those expectations were expressed despite a lack of local top-down definitions, perpetuating ideas about how individuals from the many smaller

migrant groups living in the city might socially align with other migrants. By *migrating labels* I denoted non-local labels that migrated with my informants and that may translate into social affinities in the place of destination. This desire for pan-Pacific links found expression in active pan-Pacific support networks in London; in Toronto it mostly remained imagined and few pan-Pacific social links were practiced in that city at the time of my research.

I documented this by referring to the different pan-Pacific labels used in the two cities and through an extensive exploration of qualitative data gathered as part of my participant observation. Those latter accounts were also used to substantiate the second and third ideas presented in the chapter. Previous pan-ethnicity literature has tended to point to large group size as countering pan-ethnic links. I argued that there is also a lower size threshold which ought to be considered. Beneath that threshold, arguments about seeking strength in numbers – assumed to play a part in pan-ethnic social patterns – do not hold. This was shown most pertinently with the field data from Toronto where – despite the fact that each origin group that was part of my fuzzy research population was small in numbers – practices of groupness mostly remained confined to same origin but not pan-Pacific ties. In other words, while *migrating labels* grouping Pacific people and NZ Māori were spoken about, they did not result in practiced groupness.

However, this argument has to be seen in relation to the third idea I articulated in response to the first set of research questions. Based on the comparison of London and Toronto, I was able to show that the question of group size is in fact about fusions and fissions. Despite origin groups being similarly small in numbers in both cities considered, in London the presence of a relatively larger New Zealand Māori and more generally a very large New Zealand-born population, but also of official links between different high commissions and other contextual facets of London (Chapter 5) facilitated the active maintenance of links between New Zealand Māori and various Island-born individuals. Thus in discussing the role of group size in patterns of sociality, it is important to recognise a number of factors that have an impact on how the smallness of the group translates into practiced groupness. I specifically emphasised the importance of opportunities for social interactions being sufficiently permeable to offset the effects of people moving in and out of the city and of individuals participating more or less in social practices of groupness at different points in time. This means that the interplay of efforts by key individuals, the number of people interested in participating in social activities and the feasibility of ‘creating’ social opportunities are relevant for the degree of groupness practiced.

Conditions for those types of social opportunities can depend on whether a smaller origin group is linked to a larger one in the city. Those opportunities are difficult to preconceive as a situational character of practiced groupness prevails. This then recognises the fusions and fissions of group size in a practiced, rather than enumerating, sense. How diverse the city is, should then not be estimated in terms of how many different origin groups live there but in terms of how individuals from those categorical groups are interlinked in the city. In Chapter 6, I hinted at the fact that this also applies to other forms of migration-related differentiations which in turn encourages us to explore individual patterns of sociality through a superdiversity lens. In this thesis I have approached this task by making reference to the social network principle of homophily – the tendency to know people who are like oneself is greater than by chance. This suggests that in principle we should expect relational similarity rather than relational diversity.

Thus the second line of inquiry introduced in Chapter 3 poses a research question that asked – taking the homophily principle as a starting assumption – whether it is possible to find diversity in similarity. Here I moved towards operationalising the simultaneous analysis of multiple migration-related aspects. I commenced the chapter by demonstrating how amongst my sample of respondents there is a clear diversity of migration, legal status and labour market trajectories. Because this diversity was also evident amongst the sample of people named by my respondents as personal social contacts it was possible to recognise the potential for relational diversity in my data. To show how this relational diversity is patterned, I continued the analysis by calculating both homophily values and qualitative variation for each respondent's personal network according to ten aspects of superdiversity.

I was able to show that, on the one hand, homophily tendencies are not confined to similarity of origin but are also evident for other migration-related aspects. On the other hand, I clearly demonstrated that having mostly contacts that are different in a given category does not always imply that an individual's network is particularly diverse. Having taken this aspect into consideration, I visualised the multidimensional homophily configurations of all respondents in a heat map. This clearly pictured that each of my respondents showed a different multidimensional homophily configuration. Thus clearly there is diversity in similarity.

Multidimensional homophily configurations can be used as a way to talk about patterns of sociality in contexts of diversity. Reproducing the heat map based on a single aspect clearly indicated that much of the complexity is lost if single aspects are considered in turn. The

emphasis on the simultaneous inclusion of different aspects thus provides novel ways of describing the composition of post-migration networks by taking multiple superdiversity variables into account. While answering the second main research question – about whether there is diversity in similarity – clearly emphasised the need to move away from a focus on racial homophily, as the most relevant aspect in describing post-migration networks, it did not provide an alternative to this rhetoric. This is why the third line of inquiry explored the question whether it is possible to disentangle the complexity of those patterns, so as to find alternative ways of talking about configurations of post-migration networks and diversity.

This third main research questions was addressed in the final empirical chapter – Chapter 8. There I used fuzzy cluster analysis to differentiate groups of respondents with similar multidimensional homophily configurations. I identified four clusters which I called the *city-cohort*, *long-term resident*, *superdiverse* and *migrant-peer networks*. Each points to the different relevance of different aspects in describing the configuration of migrant networks. With the help of these clusters it is possible to somewhat disentangle the complexity of the multidimensional homophily configurations presented in Chapter 7. I indicated that discussing the patterns of the post-migration networks of my respondents through the clusters poses novel questions about the relevance of the linkages between migration-related differences within social networks – such as potential social distances between long-term and more recent migrants. In particular, finding alternative ways of discussing post-migration networks in this or a similar way encourages us to question some of the social imaginaries linked to who one ought to be social with in a diverse city. Here, importantly, both *migrating labels* and imaginaries about fostering links to host-country nationals, as described in Chapter 5 as a contextual aspect of this analysis, seem too one dimensional. Analysis informed by superdiversity would certainly move away from classifying post-migration networks primarily in terms of whether migrants know other migrants or not.

Through the use of a fuzzy rather than crisp cluster analysis I could still point to complexity behind the described clusters. This is possible through describing the different degrees to which any one network configuration actually meets the average pattern of its cluster. Further, the cluster analysis also suggested that some cluster patterns are more prevalent in London (especially *migrant-peer networks*) and others more so in Toronto (especially *long-term resident networks*). I proposed that the imbalance of finding particular multidimensional homophily configurations in the different cities was likely due to both the quite specific characteristics of each city's sample, in turn at least to a degree reflecting different patterns of moving into the two cities, and the specific superdiversity contexts of each.

How can the empirical findings, presented in this thesis, be linked to the more methodological and conceptual debates and the contexts where I conducted fieldwork? I reflect on this in the following section.

Critically linking empirical findings to theory and methods

The summary of empirical explorations above contributes a number of novel insights for discussing urban diversity through a focus on relational diversity, small group size and superdiversity – the three main themes that emerge from my analysis. It also indicates how each of my research questions has been answered. The results of the empirical investigation arose from the difficult task of operationalising the research in practical terms, linked to a thorough engagement with theoretical debates. Both have to be considered in a critical review of those findings, and importantly in delineating the theoretical and empirical relevance of this study, and demonstrating how it suggests further lines of research.

Methodological innovation – operationalising (and advancing) superdiversity

Superdiversity functioned as a theoretical lens at the start of this research, but given the novelty of the notion one challenge has been to operationalise it empirically. How can the complexities of superdiversity be clearly articulated and made sense of? If the implications of superdiversity are a question of empirical research, as suggested by Vertovec (2007), it is necessary to be clear about what the notion implies and how it is invoked. Noting its frequent and ‘diverse’ uses in the literature (Chapter 2), I argued that in using a superdiversity lens it is necessary to clearly distinguish between at least three different forms of superdiversity: (1) As a malleable social scientific concept – this appreciates that the notion is subject to continued change because it describes social conditions which are also subject to shifting saliences of differentiation; (2) as a set of variables – these go beyond questions of migrant origins and incorporate other (migration-related) aspects of differentiation; and (3) superdiversity as a context – this recognises that different local contexts have been subject to different forms of diversification which imply both context specificity and recognising parallels between contexts of superdiversity (Chapter 5).

This distinction heavily influenced how the study at hand was operationalised, as it both favoured looking at my research questions in two separate research contexts, and helped me to be clear about the fact that certainly not all aspects of migration-related differentiation were made part of the empirical research. There are only so many questions a researcher can ask her respondents, and focusing my research in this way showed that a more extensive

exploration of patterns of sociality would have gone beyond the scope of this research; and that any attempt at holistically portraying those patterns is unfeasible. This suggests that future research ought to be very diligent about why and how it uses a superdiversity lens. This in turn would strengthen the possible theoretical contributions that can be procured under its umbrella.

Clearly all three uses of superdiversity - as malleable concept, set of variables and context - are linked. Yet, methodologically, recognising that superdiversity is not simply something out there which can in some uniform way be described as a social phenomenon (although it may well help to describe more general social phenomena) encouraged me to approach the question of small group size in relative terms. I could not assume I would find a Pacific community in either London or Toronto. My empirical findings might suggest that at least in London there is a social configuration resembling what is commonly called a community (Tilly 1984: 29). Yet, by approaching my research population through a fuzzy category analysis, I was also able to show that those social configurations were marked by processes of fusions and fissions emphasising not only that it is important to ask whether the ethnic group is a relevant social category (Wimmer 2009: 265) but also encouraging the question of when and why it is so.

This in turn made it possible to move somewhat closer to addressing a challenge that continues to be discussed in the migration literature. This concerns the call to move beyond an ethnic lens (e.g. Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009; Glick Schiller et al. 2006). On the one hand there is the recognition that where people are from matters (situationally) for their social engagement in the places they move to (Calhoun 2003); on the other hand there are a myriad of other aspects that differentiate migrants from each other and from the non-migrant population. Clearly, in trying to understand patterns of sociality, moving beyond an ethnic lens should not imply forgetting about the relevance of people being from many places. My respondents frequently imagined and made sense of the places they were in in terms of the places whence they have come.

As I have argued in Chapter 3, approaching people for research on the basis of where they are from, methodologically requires us to recognise that this aspect will likely be a central one in the accounts of how individuals socially engage in the city, even in those accounts where an individual rejects social affinities on the basis of origin. Taking a fuzzy category as a starting point clearly foregrounds recognising this interplay rather than positioning oneself on either side of the fence.

Although post-migration social networks have been studied through both formal network attributes and through the observation of social interactions, the combination of these two approaches to gathering data about patterns of sociality have not been brought together as frequently in migration studies, nor have they been framed as a tool for analysing migration-related diversity. I believe that my empirical findings suggest that there is merit in doing so, and that future research might additionally be interested in a more developed analysis of how patterns observed and identified through structured interviews align with people's interpretation of diversity and forging social ties in superdiverse contexts (Dahinden 2013 already does this to an extent; also cf. Fuhse 2012). The empirical findings presented above do show the relevance of combining the two methods for a more nuanced discussion of the social interactions of migrants in their destination cities and beyond.

The question of networks going beyond city limits has been underlined in this thesis, but in discussing primarily city-focused networks it has also been side-lined. Through the notion of *migrating labels* the relevance of acting within a transnational social field (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004) was recognised. Mostly excluding transnational social links from my analysis of sociality patterns was based on the decision to focus on local patterns of sociality. This thesis is thus somewhat going against the trend in migration studies that emphasises the relevance of transnational links. The intention however, was not to disregard the importance of cross-border links (e.g. Dahinden 2009). Here again there is potential for future research. 'Do patterns of sociality move?' might be an interesting question to explore through a combined transnationalism and superdiversity lens.

In spite of the empirical contributions I have made by describing sociality patterns amongst New Zealand Māori and Pacific Islanders living in London and Toronto, it has to be recognised that, for reasons discussed in Chapter 3, the people I interviewed are not a representative sample of Pacific People and NZ Māori living in London and Toronto. They are those within that population who were accessible and who consented to being interviewed. The analysis especially in Chapters 7 and 8 should thus not be seen as a definitive overview of how diverse the Pacific population in the two cities is, but should instead be appreciated as an analysis of how potential diversity can be described beyond a focus on ethnic differentiation. Thus, although I cannot make a claim to statistical representativeness, by carefully outlining patterns of similarity and difference in the social networks of my respondents, I have been able to contribute to the question of how to make superdiversity accessible for empirical research.

In estimating the potential for diversity amongst the sample of city-focused social contacts, it must further be noted that the range of data elicited about social contacts – crucial for the calculations underlying the presented multidimensional homophily configurations – could not be as exhaustive as the data presented about respondents' different migration, legal status and labour market trajectories. All the systematically collected information about social contacts was obtained through respondents, and it was unfeasible to expect them to know as much about their contacts as about themselves. I therefore decided not to ask for retrospective information about social contacts. Furthermore, because the interviews were conducted at a single time, those changes could not otherwise be recorded. Here a repeat interview or a longitudinal design might have facilitated collecting that type of trajectory data (cf. Lubbers et al. 2010). However, not only would this type of study design have gone beyond the scope of this research, but contacts named in a second interview would at least in part be different individuals, limiting the ability to distinguish trajectories for named social contacts. Certainly this type of design would have added a further layer of complexity, which with more time and project scope would have added to this analysis, but in order to make the arguments about diversity in similarity presented in Chapter 7 and disentangled in Chapter 8, the cross-sectional data I gathered was sufficient.

Moreover, I had to make a number of decisions regarding how to focus my analysis. Some interesting aspects such as the multiplicity arising from different role relationships between individuals had to be neglected, but would certainly have added to the effort to understand diversity as relational. Wimmer particularly calls attention to distinguishing familial and non-family links (Wimmer 2004a). The study did have to rely on a relatively small sample of respondents who additionally were sometimes connected through mutual social links. A larger dataset not as strongly affected by the links between respondents (allowing for an assumption of independence of observations) might have facilitated a more refined and standard analysis of the data. It would have potentially allowed me to present much clearer patterns as well; however, in a single-researcher project this would have probably been at the expense of being able to see the individuals behind the patterns (see esp. Chapter 6 and Annex).

The process of disentangling data that is not clear-cut is one of the main challenges of research employing a superdiversity lens. One of the most pertinent empirical contributions of this thesis is that it provides four alternative ways of describing post-migration networks, taking into account the multidimensionality of superdiversity, relational diversity and consequently patterns of sociality. The method used to derive those patterns, however, is

very sensitive to changes in the data; it requires a thorough knowledge on part of the researcher of what is in essence quite 'messy' data. Here my relatively small sample size and additional data from participant observation helped to confidently make sense of the identified clusters. Those reflections do reemphasise, however, that the empirical results presented are exploratory and should be treated as such.

Thinking differently about difference – towards a (contextual) relational diversity

In Chapter 1, I noted that the aims of this thesis were both ambitious and limited. Limited, as I just pointed out, because the scope of this study could ever only remain exploratory. Ambitious because the analysis was to pave new ground in terms of thinking through the complexities of how migration diversifies cities. This research did not address a social issue. Certainly migration related-diversity could be portrayed as a problem (and it sometimes is: e.g Putnam 2000), however, I consciously chose not to approach my research in this way. Instead, I followed ideas about the relevance of understanding the social conditions under which migration-related diversity becomes a fact of everyday life.

This was clearly facilitated by choosing to interview migrants who have moved to London and Toronto in relatively small numbers, who have previously received relatively little public or academic attention, who were mostly migrants arriving via formal channels and who were working in areas where their work was needed (including less skilled and highly skilled positions). Although a number of my informants and respondents had social circles dominated by people from the same origin, none were living parallel lives (partly due to the sticky question of 'Parallel to what?' and partly because diversity was just one aspect of people's everyday routines). More so than Toronto, one can fashion London as *Ranana* but *Ranana* after all is still London and Toronto remains Toronto – both with their many nested and changing contexts of superdiversity.

An increased academic recognition of the everydayness of diversity coincided with the emergence of superdiversity (Chapter 2). Understanding this everydayness is thus one aspect that encouraged by the use of a superdiversity lens (Wessendorf 2010) and it operated as a 'silent' backdrop to my study. To be clear, I did not want to paint a picture of social circumstances that were free of tensions. My sample of respondents was diverse in many ways, including their positionings within a socially stratified London and Toronto. Yet by not making this a central concern, I could focus on trying to map patterns of sociality through recording observations, visualising complex patterns and analysing those patterns with the aim of disentangling them. Focusing more on the 'So what?' of the identified

patters would certainly be a fruitful line of inquiry that takes power, politics and policy in superdiverse contexts more centrally into account.

In Chapter 2 I made the claim that superdiversity encourages researchers to start thinking differently about difference. In this thesis that task was approached by both trying to develop a strategy for describing diversity as multidimensional, and by suggesting that it is necessary to recognise that diversity is relational. Moving beyond categories and their multiplicity in describing diversity was, for me, a logical consequence of taking the ideas presented in the original superdiversity article (Vertovec 2007) seriously and in recognising that diversity is lived and practiced as well as being a manifestation of multidimensional differences. Clearly this resulted in a focus of this analysis on social interactions and networks. While this study contributes one approach to operationalising superdiversity research, I should emphasise that future research will certainly find other ways of empirically operationalising the notion. My approach has clearly shown the relevance of sociality patterns as one way to appreciate the ever-shifting configurations of migration-related diversity and how they stand in relation to representations and encounters of diversity (Vertovec 2009).

Those configurations, as my empirical material documents, are influenced both by opportunities for social interactions and by the layering of multidimensional aspects of differentiation. This is in essence what I was trying to emphasise in my theoretical explorations, by linking the notion of superdiversity to ideas about complexity. Focusing research on a snapshot of otherwise shifting patterns may be just as empirically and theoretically challenging as trying to determine linear causalities. With the analysis presented here and the empirical insights generated from it, this advantage of a complexity focus has become clear. Reflecting on how the social configurations we are trying to explain are patterned can be a very fruitful exercise as it paves the way to change the ethno-focal rhetoric with which post-migration networks are discussed, and by extension to move in practice towards a relational understanding of migration-related diversity.

Multidimensionality does not have to lead to the conclusion that 'things are more complex'. Instead we can take a step further and discuss how that complexity can be made the subject of research (Hylland Eriksen 2007: 1059). Describing the patterns, as was done in this thesis, through a combination of observation data, visualising patterns and trying to disentangle them through the use of cluster analysis, does not presume the permanency of the patterns

identified. Instead it recognises that in studying the link between international migration and urban diversity, assumptions about initial conditions are difficult to determine – an important aspect of complexity thinking – and focusing on patterns instead allowed for a critical reading of how migration and diversity are linked. Here in particular the use of data visualisation may help to make the analysis more accessible. In particular the interactive version¹⁵⁰ of the heat map allows other researchers to further explore the patterns I have described, and to generate novel research questions based on them.

As I have repeatedly emphasised, specifically by devoting a separate chapter to exploring how London and Toronto are two DiverCities (Chapter 5), the patterns identified in the empirical chapters have to be seen in relation to contextual factors. A general trend is to frame dual sited research in terms of identifying differences of context. However as I emphasised, a comparative approach should also take similarities into account. This underlines that the city is not the new unit of analysis replacing the nation state in a container model of society (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003). This approach shifts the emphasis away from – but does not neglect – the differences between the cities. Clearly, not least because the patterns of sociality – both those observed and those described with the help of multidimensional homophily configurations – differed in their prevalence in the two cities, there is a case for focusing more on why this is so.

I have emphasised that for Pacific Islanders and New Zealand Māori, patterns and conditions of migration to both cities are quite different. This means that the two samples of informants I worked with were substantially different. However the difference in the prevalence of patterns is also linked to the social opportunity contexts of each city. I tried to make this point particularly clear in my empirical analysis in Chapter 6. I did not, however, take the step of linking this to similar or different social policies in both places. On the one hand this was done because disentangling when, which policies had an impact on the micro-social constellation looked at in this thesis, would constitute a study of its own and because my data indicated that creating social links was rarely the direct result of social policies. Even though a number of people met through institutions such as their childrens' schools, the majority met either through other social contacts or in more private social settings which were likely unaffected by those social policy aimed at fostering social links between city inhabitants(cf. Annex and Amin 2010). This does bring into question in how far it is possible

¹⁵⁰ See: <http://socdiv.mmg.mpg.de/>

to purposely alter social relations in contexts of superdiversity through policy. However this again could be the topic of another dissertation.

Does size matter? Reflecting on the implications of the research

Having situated my empirical findings in terms of my theoretical and methodological considerations, in this final section I will very briefly present a thought experiment necessary to address the proverbial 'elephant(s) in the room': How would the arguments presented in this thesis have differed if I had chosen to focus the research on a category referring to a fuzzy but large group? How would they have differed if the contexts described were not as (ethnically) diverse (in a perceived or empirical sense), and how are the arguments presented urban ones? Clearly these consecutive and necessarily short elaborations are not based on empirical data, but addressing them hypothetically will point to further lines of research that can help develop superdiversity as a malleable concept, a relational perspective on diversity and an understanding of the relevance of migrants moving in different numbers from A to B sometimes via C, D or even E.

First, *migrating labels* should not in principle be dependent on the number of people moving from a certain destination to another one. However, as I discussed in reference to previous pan-ethnicity literature, if local systems of categorisation are adopted, then the effect of *migrating labels* might well be lessened. Second, it is also important that the fuzzy category focused on in this research refers to migrants from places that have relatively few inhabitants; the role of few migrants from a more populous place might again be different.

Third, people moving in small numbers also implies that it will be less likely that social spaces are created that cater mostly to a particular group of people and are easily recognisable through signs, retail outlets or other institutions (Chapter 6). Somewhere in North West London, if your eye is practiced and your ears listen at the right moment, there might be a 'Little Polynesia' to be found, but certainly this does not resemble the Pacific social spaces in cities like Auckland.

Fourth, in terms of multidimensional homophily configurations, it is difficult to determine how much moving in larger numbers would alter identifiable patterns. The link I made at the end of Chapter 8 to Dahinden's study on the networks inhabitants of Neuchâtel (Dahinden 2013) suggests that there might be an overlap of patterns identified within my small group and those that can be identified by researching larger groups. However, it is difficult to estimate potential differences as depending on the various places people come from and the

migration trajectories they follow people do tend to find different opportunities for moving to and socialising in cities like London and Toronto. As I pointed out in Chapter 6 linking to a larger group can mean that fusions and fission of groupness do not lead to links completely disappearing. Overall I would suspect that regardless of how large or small the number of co-migrants in the city is, individuals and their multidimensional homophily configurations will differ. Whether there are recognisable differences in patterns based on group size, however, remains a question for empirical research. Considering the idea of baseline homophily, the likelihood of migrants from larger groups socially linking to those from smaller ones is reduced (Wimmer 2004a: 16). My own initial difficulties with finding and building networks with potential respondents made this quite clear.

In this thesis, diversity as a context was assumed to have a particular effect on the patterns of sociality I could empirically research. In essence I have relied on the argument that proximity is a relevant factor in people's meeting and engaging in day to day social relations (e.g. Mok et al. 2010). The prevalence of migration-related diversity as part of the superdiverse context was assumed to be at least partially relevant for the sociality patterns discussed. Based on a number of Pacific events I attended outside London, but also on those attended by Pacific migrants living elsewhere in the UK and Europe who came to London to meet there, I would tend to defend this assumption.

First because, *migrating labels* were also relevant for those migrants living in places where there was virtually no one from the same origin as they encouraged their participation in these distant events. This is one way in which their multidimensional homophily profile would likely differ from those of my city respondents. Even though they engage in same-ethnic ties this is done at a distance. Second, considering how this impacts on their local networks, we might assume a higher share of non-migrants in their local networks, thus potentially same or different lengths of stay and so on. Given that most of the Pacific Islanders whom I met living outside of London and Toronto (excluding those working for the British armed forces) had joined a spouse who had previously lived in that area, we could also assume that this facilitates contact to other local residents. Yet how exactly the patterns play out if migration-related diversification is not as prevalent is again difficult to estimate. In most cases processes of diversification will still be relevant albeit to a different degree. It would then be very much a question of context specificity that would allow making hypothesis about how a less diverse context differs from more diverse ones in terms of socialising opportunities and patterns of sociality.

This latter paragraph links to the final question posed above: 'Are the explorations I presented particularly urban?'. In a sense 'yes', and in a sense 'no'. 'Yes' because the proximity of difference in most cases, I contend, is particular to the urban context. 'Yes' because some of the contextual aspects I have identified as relevant, also pertain to the urban landscape and to social engagement with this landscape and its nested superdiversities. 'No' because social relations are forged everywhere, and in most places migration also diversifies areas that would not be considered urban. 'No' because some of the contextual aspects I have discussed may well apply in non-urban areas: people certainly move to those areas with and via different legal statuses as well, for example. However here the question should probably be: 'How are we to distinguish the urban setting from the non-urban one?'. In a small city where everyone knows your face if not your name, clearly other social pressures prevail than in a large city that affords at least a certain degree of anonymity.

In conclusion, this thesis has addressed three key overarching themes: a conceptual and methodological development of superdiversity, querying the question of small group size and developing a relational understanding of diversity. In this final chapter, I have demonstrated how the research presented in this thesis was able to answer the research questions that originated it. I have pointed to a range of different research gaps that need to be filled in order to develop both a better understanding of the implications of superdiversity and of migrants moving in different numbers from different places to different places. I have suggested that there is some potential for reframing the debate about diversity in relational terms, and can here stress, that relational diversity is clearly not confined to questions of migration-related diversity. With this research, I have pointedly explored migration-related diversity and the social complexity it entails. I have offered one approach to operationalising research in a way that makes this complexity accessible for critical reflection. To advance this line of thinking there is an evident need for more research aimed at sharpening, methodologically and conceptually, the notion of superdiversity, ideas about relational diversity and the study of small migrant groups.

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ANNEX

THE INDIVIDUALS IN THE PATTERN

From clusters to individual sociality practices

The assumption that ‘like attracts like’ or that ‘birds of a feather flock together’ has, in this thesis, been complicated by showing that there are many different feathers all playing a part in how similarity and difference in patterns of sociality can be described with reference to migration and diversity. The analytical approach taken especially in Chapter 7 and 8 provides a novel way of talking differently about difference, and it offers an alternative vantage point for thinking about migrant sociality by taking multiple migration-related aspects of superdiversity into account. The analysis in practical terms offers an exploratory typology of different configurations of similarity and difference patterns in a quite specific sample of migrant networks, those of Pacific people and New Zealand Māori living in London and Toronto. While the arguments made in the thesis are sufficiently substantiated, the analysis in those latter chapters remains relatively abstract. What individual trajectories might explain the different network configurations identified in Chapter 8? This annex is included in this thesis to introduce some of the individual stories behind the patterns of sociality described in terms of *city-cohort*, *long-term resident*, *superdiverse* and *migrant-peer* networks.

In the following I focus on two case studies from each cluster to describe the trajectories of individuals that might explain why their personal network was sorted into its respective cluster. This annex adds to the analysis as it allows reflecting on how different individual trajectories may in fact result in similar network compositions. This is in line with the complexity thinking I aimed to link to the notion of superdiversity (Chapter 2). This annex takes advantage of the research design of this study by linking the multidimensional homophily patterns with both information about individual migration and, where relevant, other trajectories and with the structural composition of the individual networks. This latter aspect helps demonstrate that while multidimensional homophily patterns can go some way towards disentangling the complexity of relational diversity, to better grasp patterns of sociality it is necessary to re-entangle those crisp patterns and appreciate that difference and similarity in practical terms are interlinked through personal networks in divergent ways.

I can thus extend on the arguments made in this thesis and clearly show that in using multidimensional homophily configurations to describe patterns of sociality, it is necessary to recognise that each alter is further linked to other individuals. Those network structures clearly are relevant to how interlinked migration-related difference is in the city. The aim of this Annex is not theoretically further embedding the discussion but simply to appreciate

how by focusing on individual cases it is possible to expose the constant tension of social scientific analysis, where generalisations such as the cluster patterns identified are confronted with individual patterns bound to simultaneously diverge and converge with the general trend. The case studies then emphasise overlap and fuzziness, and should help to more clearly explain how to interpret the patterns identified in relation to the individuals whose networks were sorted into - or indeed were sorted somewhere in between - the *city-cohort*, *long-term resident*, *superdiverse* or *migrant-peer* network 'types'.

Choosing cases for analysis

To recapitulate the characteristics of the clusters, the *city-cohort* cluster comprises personal networks where the ego and alters have mostly lived in the city for the same amount of time but who otherwise are fairly different. It can be assumed that the ego followed a different trajectory in the superdiverse context in comparison to alters, as is particularly clear given the relatively high share of contacts with different visa statuses. This distinguishes the cohort cluster from the *long-term resident* cluster. While networks sorted into the long-term resident cluster are also predominantly composed of social contacts who have lived in the city for a similar length of time (mostly for longer than 10 years) long-term resident networks are generally composed of more same-category ties across the superdiversity variables included in the analysis. Although contacts' legal status trajectories might have differed from that of the ego (no data was collected on the specifics of the trajectory) in contrast to the city-cohort cluster, at the time of the interview egos with networks in Cluster 2 mostly had friends with a similar legal status. For the *migrant-peer networks* (Cluster 4) the same length of time in the city is less relevant, but similarly to the long-term-resident networks, networks in this cluster are also quite homophilous across the variables included in the analysis. This in turn compares to the *superdiverse* networks which, in relative terms, defy the notion of homophily and are composed of individuals mostly differing from egos across a number of superdiversity variables.

To explain these patterns in terms of the individuals whose networks were sorted into the different clusters a selection of cases had to be made. In order to give sufficient attention to each case presented and to account for both the differential membership of networks in their respective clusters, and further for differences in the prevalence of socialising patterns in London and Toronto noted in the Chapter 8, I choose one case from London and one from Toronto from each cluster. In addition I further varied the cases chosen in terms of their

membership coefficients in the clusters as well as in terms of a few other demographic aspects, as Table A1.1 documents.

Table A1.1 – Parameters for choosing case studies

cluster	cluster membership		gender	origin		age	
	crisp cluster	across clusters		same/different	countries	groups	difference
CL 1: city-cohort (Luana and Vatu)	both ~ 70%	similar	both	same	Fijian	46-55 and 36-45	15 years
CL 2: long-term-resident (Amelika and Ted)	92% and 51%	different	both	different	Maori(L) Tongan (T)	46-55 and 26-35	18 years
CL 3: superdiverse (Taika and Rynal)	both ~ 75%	similar	male	different	Fijian(L) Maori(T)	under 25 and 26-35	8 years
CL 4: migrant-peer (Hiri and Alofa)	both~ 50%	similar	female	different	Maori(L) Samoan (T)	both 26-35	0 years

For Cluster 1 (*city-cohort networks*) I include the two cases with the highest membership in this cluster, Luana and Vatu. Luana is female and lives in Toronto and Vatu is male and lives in London. For Cluster 2 (*long-term resident networks*) I focus on one network with a relatively high membership in the cluster (Amelika), and on a second network with a notable membership in both clusters three and one (Ted). Amelika is female and lives in Toronto. Ted is male and lives in London. For Cluster 3 (*superdiverse networks*) I focus on the networks of two male respondents Taika (Toronto) and Rynal (London), both with a relatively high membership in their main cluster, but who were still chosen from the middle of the distribution of membership coefficients for this cluster. Both have roughly the same distribution of their remaining membership coefficients across the other clusters. For the final cluster (*migrant-peer networks*) I chose two cases with a similar but relatively low membership in their main cluster, and with similar membership across the remaining clusters. Both are female: Hiri lives in London while Alofa lives in Toronto.

The typology presented in Chapter 8 is helpful in differentiating socialising patterns – but as I have emphasised, it should not be used to essentialise those identified patterns. Choosing cases on the basis of different cluster memberships makes the fuzzy classification behind the four types of network configurations paramount. By choosing different ‘combinations’ of cases matching a cluster more or less well, I can additionally refer to different trajectories leading to similar or different patterns.

In addition to these eight case studies I will also briefly present Lua’s story. Lua’s network was excluded from the analysis in Chapter 7 and 8 because he only named one local contact, but as indicated his case is nonetheless relevant for illustrating both methodological caveats

of this study and to explain how the story behind ‘the network of one’ is relevant in terms of his specific practices of sociality. Attempting to introduce nine case studies in depth would go beyond the scope of this annex. I therefore focus my discussion of the cases on three aspects: the specificity of moving to the city through various trajectories, the specificity of contexts where social contacts have been met and finally on how those contexts are relevant for the patterns of (close friend) relationships between alters.

Case studies

Luana (307) and Vatu (113)¹⁵¹

Both Luana’s and Vatu’s network meet most of the descriptive characteristics of the city-cohort networks. Their individual networks only diverge slightly from the cluster averages. They have the highest membership in their cluster, yet as stated in the previous chapter, Cluster 1 is the least well defined and for each about 30 per cent of their cluster membership is distributed relatively evenly across the other clusters. They both mostly named social contacts who have lived in the city for the same amount of time (82 and 92 per cent for Luana and Vatu respectively) with the majority of contacts named having moved internationally (64 and 79 per cent respectively) and about half of their contacts are also Pacific Islanders (55 and 50 per cent respectively). For Vatu this share does include one Samoan and one Tongan contact, and additionally he has a number of Māori friends, while for Luana all same-ethnic friends originate from Fiji. Both Luana and Vatu did not have citizenship but had permission to stay and to work. Luana had a resident permit and Vatu indefinite leave to remain. While Luana only named contacts who were Canadian citizens; Vatu named some who were also still on a stay-and-work visa (25 per cent) with the remainder mostly citizens. He has one close friend whom he identified as being out of status.

Luana, who is 53, sees herself returning to Fiji upon her retirement, although she does not predict that she will return any earlier. Vatu (38) has no plans to leave the UK within the next ten years and does not think that if he moved internationally again that it would be back to Fiji. In his entire time in the UK, since 1992, he has not once gone back to Fiji. Luana, on the other hand, travels back whenever possible but on average every other year. Further, in terms of their migration trajectories, Vatu moved to London to join his mother who had already been working in the city for a few years. Vatu’s migration trajectory is marked by

¹⁵¹ The numbers refer to the Ego IDs and help identify cases in the membership matrix (see Figure 8.4 in Chapter 8).

mobility, and in explaining his particular movement pattern he makes reference to other contacts with a trajectory marked by a similar mobility. In his questionnaire he only referred to a single two-year stay in Australia and pointed out that his place of birth was Suva, yet in the interview when I asked whether one of his Samoan contacts was New Zealand-born or from the islands he explained:

'Pretty much the same as me, cause [I] was brought up in Australia, then went back [to Fiji], then went to New Zealand for a couple of months and then came back over here, so it is pretty much all over the place really, pretty much some of these boys it's like that as well.' (Vatu, 38, Interview: 05/03/2010)

Luana moved together with her spouse and children directly from Fiji in 1995. They chose Toronto as their destination as her sisters-in-law had already settled in the city. Luana's three children moved with them and were still living with her. Vatu has two children born in London but both lived with their respective mothers. Their migration trajectories thus show overlap, but also significant differences, and yet both have a similar city-cohort type network.

In terms of the key variable of age, Vatu named just over half of his social contacts as being in the same age group (54 per cent) while Luana only identified 36 per cent of her contacts as being around the same age. Luana is thus closer to the cluster average on this variable than Vatu.¹⁵² Vatu's network is also more gendered than the cluster average, as he mostly named male social contacts (71 per cent) while Luana named male and female contacts in almost equal numbers. Both Luana and Vatu had worked in clerical positions before moving and changed jobs both upon moving to their respective cities, and during their time living there. Luana first worked in quality control and later moved to a job in production scheduling. Vatu's labour market trajectory in the UK involved first a stint in the Army and later a number of different jobs. He now mainly works for an events company which he describes as 'an antipodean company with a Scottish boss' emphasising that most of his co-workers are either from New Zealand or the Pacific Islands. This is also the reason he states for the high share of Pacific Islanders in his social network.

¹⁵² However, here it can be noted that the multi-dimensional homophily compositions used for this analysis heavily depend on the defined categories. Luana who at 53 is close to the next-highest age category (55-64) and named a number of contacts from that category. We may suspect that she would have been in the same age category as her contacts had the parameters been defined differently (for example if 50 – 59 years of age was the category used). This bears mentioning but it should also be emphasised that this change in categorising age affects other cases proportionally. Categories were used in interviewing rather than exact age to account for respondents potentially not knowing the exact age of a social contact but being able to account for their age in terms of its range.

Work is a social context that both Luana and Vatu identified as relevant for meeting the people they named in response to my name generators.¹⁵³ However, for both the social context 'work' had a different impact on their multidimensional homophily composition. Luana named her Fijian social contacts as deriving exclusively (except for her family relations) from Fijian social gatherings while Vatu, as mentioned, attributed some to his work-related activities. Luana's family connection in Toronto was not the direct link through which the couple got introduced to other Fijians living in the city. In her interview speaking about one of her social contacts she points out: 'he is the one *that found us* [me and my husband] and then he introduced us to the other Fijians' (Luana, 53, Interview: 14/08/2010, emphasis added). He *found* them when her husband went to a soccer game with his brother-in-law and met another Fijian there who invited them to a barbecue at yet another person's house. It was through this initial event that all of her Fijian contacts were introduced to her network. She now sometimes hosts similar barbecues at her house. Conversation at those I was invited to, centred on Fiji and generally convivial joking, and there was frequent language switching, with things discussed in Fijian and others in English, or sometimes a mix of both.

The social contacts Luana named from work were from her current and previous employment and were of varied backgrounds. She told me that she usually engages socially with them at their respective houses. Luana lived in Brampton but most of her social contacts, Fijian and work ones, lived in Mississauga. Getting there required driving, but she was used to this as she also worked in Mississauga. In total Luana named 11 local social contacts (and two out-of town contacts, both family living in New Zealand and Fiji).

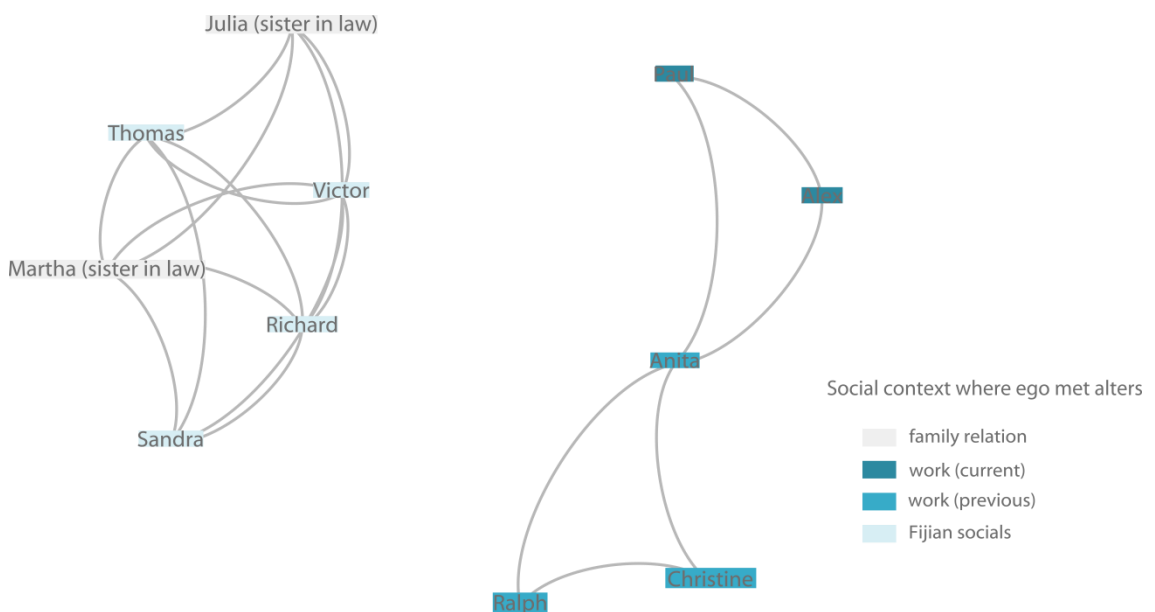
In contrast Vatu was one of few respondents who named more than 25 social contacts, 39 in total. None of Vatu's contacts were identified by him as out-of-town contacts, although there were some who did not have their usual residence in London, but with whom he regularly met in London (cf. Chapter 7 on identifying a city-contact sample). He drew the social contacts he named from three further opportunity contexts or circumstances: family relations, playing rugby and day-to-day interactions such as going to the doctor's office. His social contacts lived in different parts of town and his preferred mode of transport was his car. When I accompanied him to a couple of events in town, he made reference to knowing

¹⁵³ The frequent relevance of work as a social opportunity context should not be overemphasised, as work as a social context was specifically built into two of my name generator questions. Yet at the same time it has to be recognised that my respondents frequently named social contacts met at work before those work specific questions had been asked suggesting that dyadic relationships between egos and alters who know each other from work are often multiplex (fulfil multiple social functions).

certain areas better than others, as he had spent time living primarily in south London. At the time of the interview he was living in North West London where he knew his local area – Kilburn and Swiss Cottage – where a number of his social contacts were concentrated, but was less familiar with nearby areas where another group of my primarily Māori informants were living.

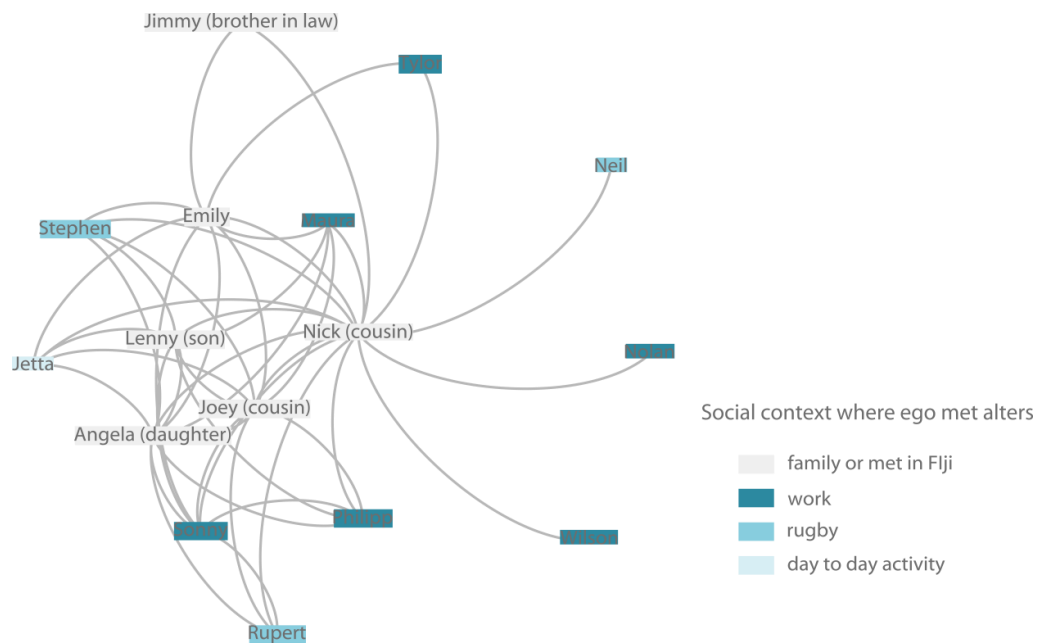
While for Luana the two social opportunity contexts she shares with Vatu imply two separate sets of social circles (see Figure A1.1) for Vatu's network contacts are more intensely connected and it can be noted that Luana's and Vatu's networks differ in this regard, despite the overlap in their stories and their multidimensional homophily configuration. For Vatu, based on the random sample of 16 contacts for which this information was elicited,¹⁵⁴ we can observe that he perceives his network, despite its size, to be very connected and he names a number of his contacts as being close friends with each other. In fact all his contacts are in some way linked through close friendships (albeit some at a number of degrees removed). Only three contacts were linked to his network via a single close friendship tie while all other contacts have at least two close friends from within Vatu's circle of social relations (see Figure A1.2).

Figure A1.1 – Luana's network map (close friend ties)



¹⁵⁴ See Appendix 3.3.

Figure A1.2 – Vatu's network map (close friend ties)



Beyond focusing on close friendships, it can be noted that both identify a number of their social contacts as acquainted to different degrees. That Vatu's network is more cohesive (more linked) remains noticeable but not as clearly. Out of the possible 55 undirected social ties¹⁵⁵ that could materialise in Luana's local network, she identifies 33 per cent (18 ties) as those between people who do not know each other at all (inactive ties), 22 per cent (12 ties) are between alters who have met only once or twice, and nine per cent (5 ties) are those of acquaintances who meet sporadically and would not share important information with each other. The remaining 36 per cent of her ties are those visualised in Figure A1.1, between people she identified as good friends. While for Vatu the share of good friend ties is not actually that much higher (38 per cent) he only identified 25 per cent of all possible undirected ties in his network ($n=120$) as inactive ('individuals have not met at all' - 30 ties) while the remaining ties are dyadic relationships between acquaintances (29 per cent - 35 ties) and between people who have met once or twice (8 per cent - 10 ties). These different levels of connectedness relate to the types of context in which Luana's and Vatu's social contacts may meet. I know from observation and speaking to a few of the people Vatu named that the frequent festivities open to visitors enable his contacts to meet and forge

¹⁵⁵ In a network of 11 people each person can in principle be connected to each other person except themselves (if the number of contacts is denoted with nc then the number of possible ties would be $n(directed)=(nc/nc)-nc$). This means that between each two contacts there can be two different values of ties, these would be referred to as directed ties. Since only undirected ties were measured, it is assumed that the ties between two people are valued the same and that the total number of undirected ties is $n(undirected)=n(directed)/2$.

social relations independently of him. In contrast, Luana mostly referred to socialising with her contacts in private social settings which rarely happened to converge.

This shows that in addition to the complexity in their networks in terms of their multidimensional homophily configuration, both have networks that link people from different social opportunity contexts in different ways, contributing to the overall pattern of sociality we can identify for both. Introducing this additional layer of complexity then supports the idea that if we understand diversity as relational, additional factors arising from those social practices and contexts are important to how difference and similarity is interlinked within the city.

As the brief description of Luana's and Vatu's different trajectories shows for these two the social opportunity context from which they draw social contacts are less city-specific (both draw most contacts from similar contexts: family relations, work and Fijian socials) but at the same time the way these consolidate in patterns of sociality is influenced by city-specific social opportunity contexts.

Ted (112) and Amelika (307)

Amelika's network was sorted into the long-term-resident cluster at 81 per cent, and mostly resembles the average cluster composition. Only in terms of age, gender and occupation is her network more homophilous than the cluster average. This configuration is still in line with the description of this cluster as generally being defined by a more homophilous than heterophilous multidimensional homophily pattern. For Ted's network, which is less clearly sorted into the long-term-resident cluster (51 per cent), the pattern merges less with the cluster average and is slightly more homophilous in terms of age, occupation and being a migrant but slightly less in terms of ethnicity and being a parent. How then do their stories link to the overall cluster composition?

Amelika came from Tonga directly to Toronto to join a relative in the city. She had a high school education on arrival and although she planned to continue her education in Toronto she never did. Some 30 years after she first started living in the city her English was fluent in a distinctly Torontonians way, where fluency always appeared to be judged by whether people are able to communicate with each other rather than on the basis of correct grammar.

She is in her early 50s and has four grown children. Her network interview is clearly focused on the central role that at least two of her children still play in her day-to-day life – one still lives with her. In naming contacts Amelika was very assertive, and did not contemplate for long which names to put down. Regardless she only named a total of seven contacts with one non-local contact (a relative living in the United States). Regarding the attributes of visa status and time in the city, all of her contacts are in the same category as Amelika, epitomising the trend for these patterns to converge over time (in her case and for a number of others in this cluster this was because the social relations named were those to other citizens). In addition her network is strongly gendered: 83 per cent of the social contacts she names are female (5 out of 6). Further, the majority of her contacts (67 per cent, 4 out of 6) are also migrants, in a similar job category and parents. This latter pattern describes all of her social contacts with the exception of her two named children. As such her network squarely fits into the high levels of homophily tendencies observed for cases sorted into this cluster.

The lowest homophily value in Amelika's network is recorded for being the same ethnic background but this tendency is still somewhat 'overestimated'. Her two named children are counted as same ethnic contacts although being of mixed descent they might be counted as either same or different ethnic contacts.¹⁵⁶ In fact there is only one other 'full' Tongan in her network. While Amelika met all of her other friends at the drop in centre¹⁵⁷ where her babysitter duties frequently get her talking with other babysitters, Amelika was introduced to her Tongan friend through her family relations in Toronto.

The story of their meeting is an important one that was recounted by many respondents in both London and Toronto. Amelika states in her interview that her now 'close friend' was 'looking for other Tongans in Toronto' (Amelika, 52, Interview: 29/08/2010), this was some months if not over a year after she had moved to the city. What connects this story to others is that for many, same-origin country contacts were not sought directly after arrival but only after some time in the city. Individuals, mostly disheartened by the pace and anonymity of the city, start to miss 'home', or sometimes simply no longer want to be urged by transnational social relations to introduce themselves to other same-origin individuals in the city. Contact details at this point are usually provided by social relations still living in their country of origin. This is an important story that links to the fact that many of the smaller origin groups now living in superdiverse contexts also originate from relatively small places

¹⁵⁶ See Chapter 7 about intentionally coding the ethnic homophily variable to over-represent same-ethnicity ties.

¹⁵⁷ See: <http://www.children.gov.on.ca/htdocs/English/topics/earlychildhood/oeyc/index.aspx> [accessed: 30/01/2013] for a definition of drop-in centre also called 'Early Years Centre'.

were obtaining information about others who have moved to the same place, so I was told, is still practiced by word of mouth.

Ted's story poses quite a contrast to that of Amelika and shows how a very different trajectory can also result in a network being mostly (but not as fully) in line with the long-term-resident cluster. Ted (34), his wife and their toddler lived north of Central London in the borough of Islington. Ted and his wife moved to London in 2004; his is one of the shorter length-of-stay networks sorted into this cluster. He travelled on his own British passport and his wife on a spousal visa. Ted's mother is Māori but his father, as he phrased it, is 'from up north' a colloquial way of referring to the North of England. The couple's prerogative for leaving New Zealand was to 'just sort of see the world and live over here' (Ted, 34, Interview: 12/02/2010). His network is dominated by social contacts whom he met prior to moving which also explains why his network shows similarly high or even higher homophily values compared to the cluster average. Only three of his London contacts did not 'move with' Ted but were acquainted in London. He met one of them at work, another through playing touch rugby, and the third was introduced to him by one of the contacts who moved with him. Although he was quite active with the Kōhanga Te Reo school the only contact he named from that part of his London life was the woman he met at the touch rugby club.

Ted's network is not as suited to the long-term-resident cluster as Amelika's but in terms of having lived in the city for the same amount of time and having mostly the same visa status he does converge with the cluster pattern. It is interesting to note how this multi-dimensional homophily pattern can be explained. His moving with his network is obviously relevant. In the interview he refers to how his social contacts left New Zealand one by one after completing their schooling, explaining why they have lived in London for a similar length of time. While this was a pattern evident in some other interviews, for many it implied that at first they moved with social contacts from New Zealand but that those contacts eventually returned home and they then had to seek new social contacts in the city. In terms of Ted's network this moving back did not happen, potentially because he and his social contacts mostly had a similar goal for their migration and held dual passports, giving them the opportunity to stay longer without having to contemplate strategies for renewing their visa status.

Commenting on his friends' ambition to come to London, Ted points out that:

'[T]hey have come to make a life here, not to make money but just to really live. I mean apart from Julia we are all not highly successful, we are all surviving and just living.'

What he emphasises here is that their working in skilled but not highly skilled jobs is part of their lifestyle and migration trajectory and not being highly successful is thus no reason for returning or moving elsewhere (cf. Chapter 5 on different expectations of migrating to London as compared to Toronto).

Explaining why most of his contacts are migrants but still travel on a UK passport, it is interesting to note how Ted explains that there is variation within this category of sameness:

'Well they hold British passports, I mean Peter was born here [but grew up in NZ], Jack is a definite 'cause he is English, Ben's parents [are English], he was born in NZ but he holds the same passport so we both have UK passports, and Julia got hers by marriage' (Ted, 34, Interview: 12/02/2010).

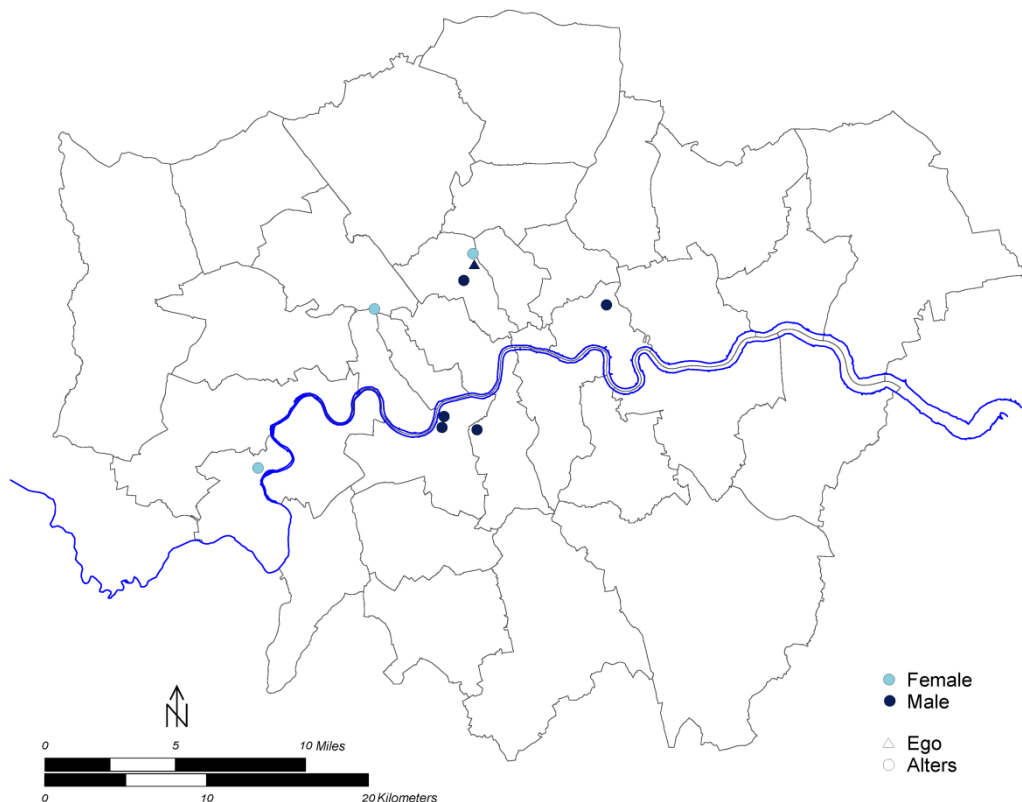
I have highlighted the importance of having a 'pink' passport¹⁵⁸ in Chapter 7. Here it shows why Ted's network is in line with the long-term-resident network pattern, even though his story is quite different from Luana's. The perpetual potential for mobility his particular status allows is probably also why Ted is not sure if he and his family will leave London in the next 10 years.

One further issue regarding Ted's network development is interesting, although he essentially 'moved with' his network; his social contacts are quite spread out in different areas of London (see Figure A1.3). In the interview he does mention that some of the contacts have 'flatted' together (lived in the same flat) before but as they have all stayed in the city for a few years and have settled into their different relationships, they have found different neighbourhoods to live in. This settling into different relationships also explains why Ted's network diverges in part from the long-term-resident cluster as some of his contacts have not (yet) commenced having their own families in the city, explaining the higher share of non-parents in his network. The higher heterophily in terms of ethnicity, on the other hand, can be explained in terms of difference moving with Ted, as prior to moving he already maintained ties to people of non-Māori descent.

¹⁵⁸ The NZ passport is a dark navy blue or black while the British passport is a burgundy pinkish colour.

Exploring Ted's and Amelika's network side by side through the prism of the long-term-resident cluster opens an interesting perspective on differences and parallels in their networks. It clearly foregrounds that different trajectories may nonetheless result in similar patterns of sociality, and that in assessing the relevance of the identified clusters it is necessary to be alert to those trajectories and how they might shape the patterns identified. Unsurprisingly both identify a high share of close friendships between their social contacts. Amelika identifies 87 per cent of the possible social links between her contacts as close friend ties (see Figure A1.4) The remaining 13 per cent (2 ties) she identifies as acquaintance ties, meaning that all ties in her network are active – i.e. we find complete closure.

Figure A1.3 – The local distribution of Ted's social contacts



There is much less closure in Ted's network. While he identifies 50 per cent of the possible undirected ties in his network as close friendships (a higher share than found in either Vatu's or Luana's network) he also describes 43 per cent of the ties as not active (alters have not met each other) suggesting a different structural network composition if compared to Amelika's network. Notably the three contacts Ted met in London are less linked to those contacts who moved with him to London, even after acquaintance ties are taken into consideration (see Figure A1.5).

Figure A1.4 - Amelika's network map (close friend and acquaintance ties)

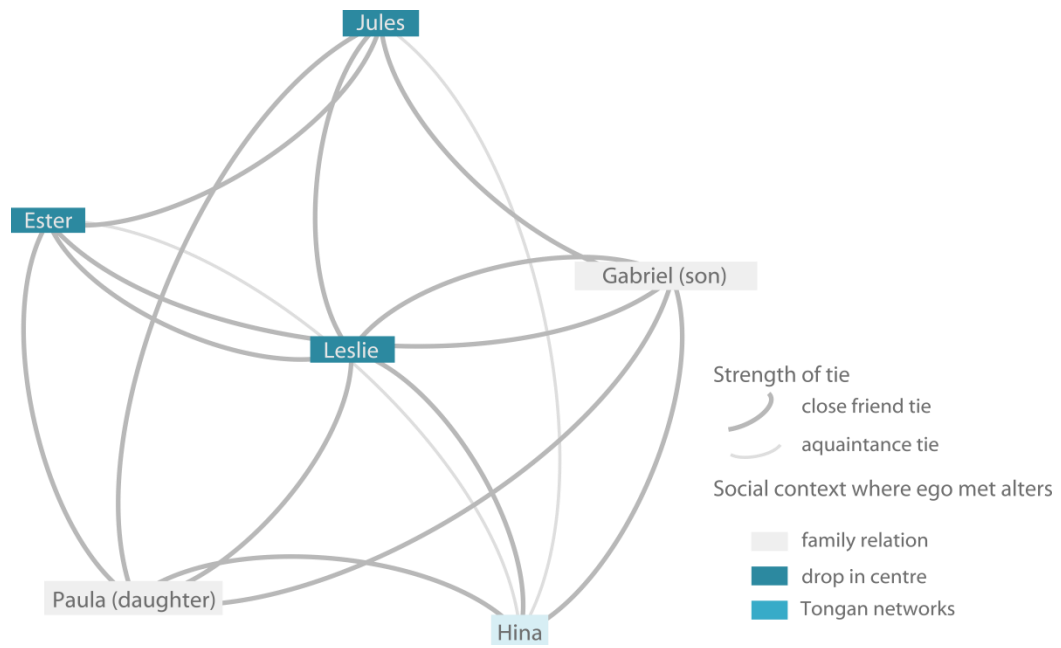
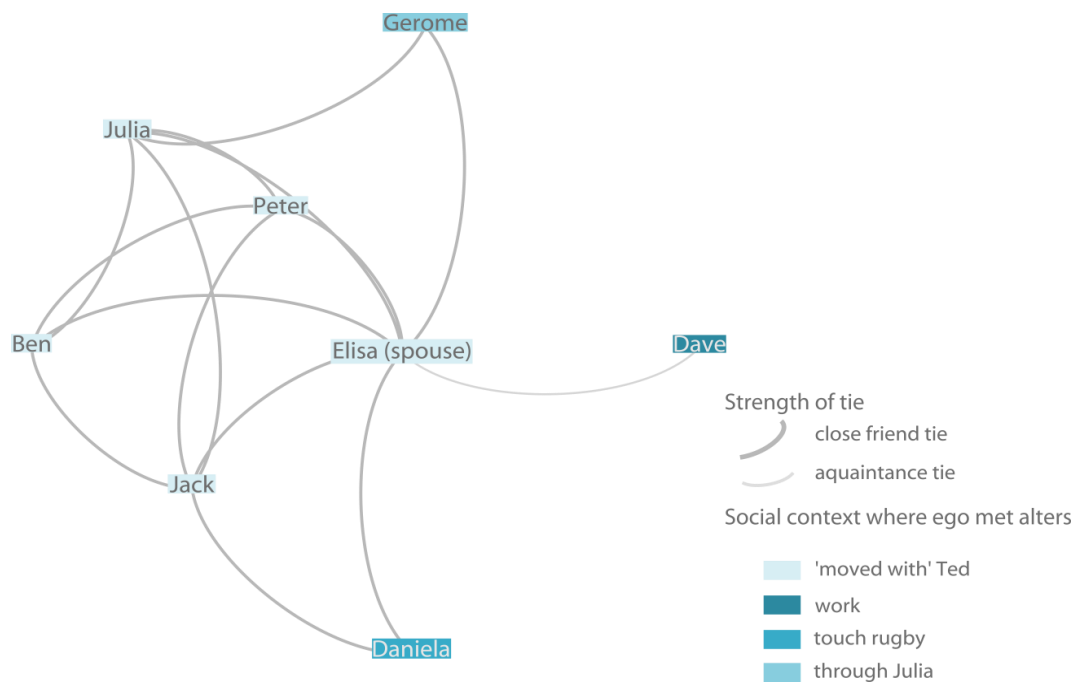


Figure A1.5 – Ted's network map (close friend and acquaintance ties)



Taika (320) and Rynal (124)

Taika (32) and Rynal (24) have a similar membership coefficient for their main cluster, which I dubbed the superdiverse network cluster (77 and 73 per cent respectively). They have been chosen from the middle of the distribution of different cluster memberships.¹⁵⁹ Again their individual multidimensional homophily pattern diverges from the cluster but in terms of what defines this cluster - heterophily tendencies across multiple variables – albeit in different ways.

Taika's network shows a bias towards others in the same age group (79 per cent) and he names more male contacts (68 per cent). Yet Taika differs from all his contacts in terms of being a migrant (none of his contacts are migrants), ethnicity and visa status. Regarding the latter, his IQV on this variable is 0, suggesting that while he is different from his contacts they are all in the same category, citizens in this case.

Taika's network is strongly impacted by social contacts procured through his partner and through work. All of his work contacts whom he identified spending time with outside of work are those with whom he plays sports. With fewer opportunities to play rugby in Toronto than in London, he has started playing Ultimate Frisbee and Hockey, both of which he spoke passionately about. He works in a similar job and company to the one Vatu described as 'antipodean' but while I was told about a few (Indo-)Fijian dominated workplaces during my interviews in Toronto, a pan-Pacific-staffed company was something I was never told about and I doubt exists in Toronto. The other major factor shaping Taika's network composition was his fiancée, Lana, whom he came to join in Toronto in 2005 after the couple had lived in New Zealand for a few years. He actually points out for one of his non-work social contacts that 'he is the only one in here that I did not meet through Lana' (Taika, 32, Interview: 13/11/2010), this contact was met because he was a neighbour and although he still shows up in Taika's local network he and his spouse (Sarah) had left Toronto for Montreal shortly before our interview. For the most part the remainder of his network is composed of family members of his partner and her friends from University. The latter group somewhat explains the relatively high degree of age homophily in his network. The couple met in New Zealand.

As a significant event in the formation of his social circles in Toronto, Taika names a trip to Canada in 2004, a year before he actually decided to relocate to Toronto. He then travelled

¹⁵⁹ Maximum membership 92 per cent, minimum 37 per cent.

to Canada to attend the wedding of a close friend of his partner and in the run-up to the wedding had very intense social contact with many of her university friends, and subsequently met her family members at a cottage retreat (a key social context mentioned by a few other respondents in Toronto). It is then clear that the high degrees of difference noticeable in his network are mostly attributable to high degrees of difference in his fiancée's social circle.¹⁶⁰ Lana was raised in a suburb of Toronto north of the 407 highway, which Taika describes as 'the boonies' in comparison to their very central location just a few streetcar stops away from Yonge Street. Taika does sometimes attend a regular meeting of New Zealanders in one of Toronto's New-Zealand-themed pubs¹⁶¹ but he did not refer to people from this group in response to my name generator questions.

From meeting Rynal and based on his accounts from the interview, he, like Taika, is a very sociable person, indeed both in their questionnaire identified themselves as frequently interacting with people they do not know. He talked about his different social circles from work, the studies he was undertaking and from the Fijian events in which he was increasingly becoming an active member during the time of my fieldwork. In response to my name generator questions he named contacts from both his work and his Fijian social engagements.

Rynal's highest degree of similarity relates to having same-ethnicity friends: 50 per cent of his contacts are of Pacific background. At the other end of the spectrum of homophily values, he was different from all of his contacts in terms of visa status. The IQV his network scores on the visa status variable takes a middle value suggesting that there is variation but not maximum variation of visa statuses, as he chose to identify his contacts as either having citizenship status (15 out of 20 contacts) or made use of the 'unsure' category.

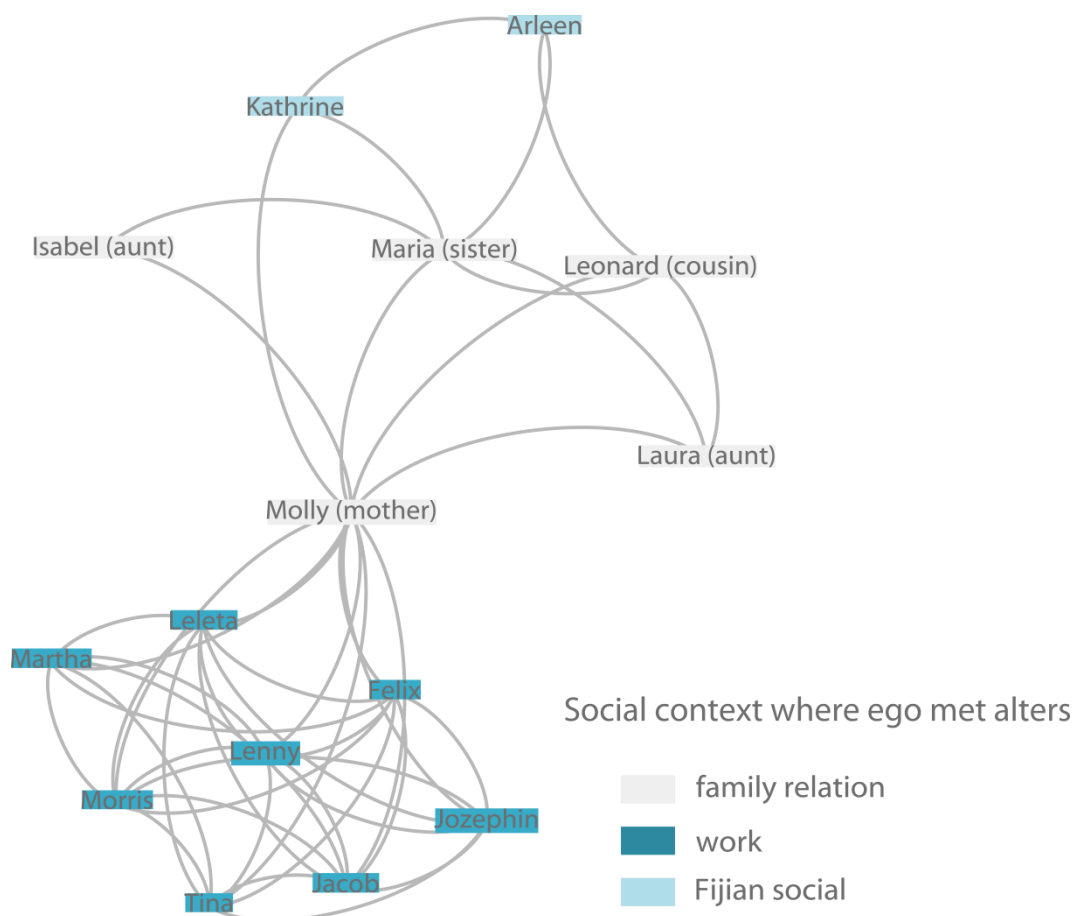
Rynal is the one case sorted into the cluster who did not join a partner as part of his migration trajectory. He moved with a sibling to join their mother, who had lived in the city for some time. Recalling some of the previously mentioned migration trajectories it can be noted that joining relatives already living in the city is not a precondition for being sorted into this cluster. Yet as was already noted for Taika, this circumstance can have a notable impact on the composition of personal social networks. Rynal at first stayed with his mother

¹⁶⁰ However in comparison to Rynal's network and those of others sorted into the superdiverse networks cluster, the IQVs for Taika's network are relatively low - suggesting that the variation indicated by his homophily patterns is actually not as pronounced as it is for these other contacts.

¹⁶¹ I referred to this group in relation to another Māori living in Toronto, who before joining this group had a social experience in Toronto which I described as 'diversity shock' (see Chapter 5).

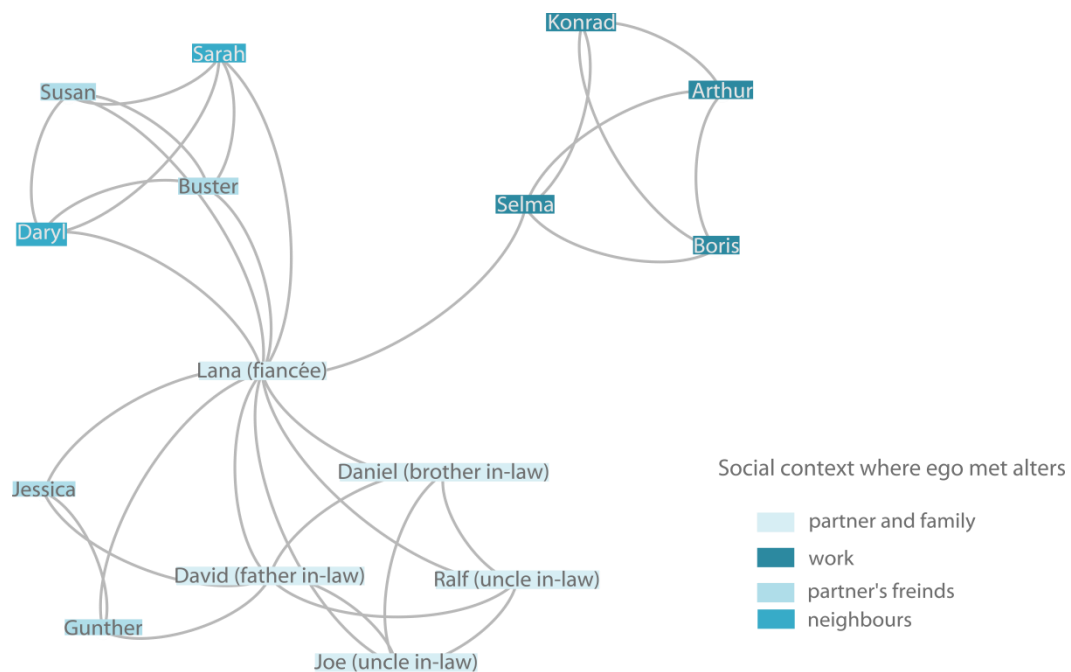
but eventually he moved to a hostel-type accommodation, an experience that Rynal does not like recalling because there he did not feel safe, and was reluctant to form social relations in this socially threatening context. Both he and his sister have since moved to West London and feel much more comfortable in their new area. Rynal's mother helped him find employment in the hospitality industry. This influenced his social contacts, as he met a number of colleagues who were in a similar age group and had a similarly distorted schedule that comes with working in bars and nightclubs. He thus forged close ties to a number of his work colleagues. This was compounded by the fact that they also had an interest in travelling in Europe and Rynal happily recounted having gone on trips to a few destinations in mainland Europe with them. Additionally, through his mother and more generally other family relations already living in the city he was introduced to other Fijians in London and beyond the closer contacts of his mother forged ties in this social realm of his London life. Most notably those contacts contribute to his network being differentiated in terms of age and other occupational statuses.

Figure A1.6 – Rynal's network map (close friend ties)



For Rynal then it is the different contexts from which he draws his contacts and the different aspects of how he fashions his London that best explain the relevance of difference in his network. His mother facilitated access to many of those meeting contexts, but Rynal actively developed his own links after arriving in the city. His mother does remain central in his network in terms of connecting two notable clusters of close friends – his work and Fijian circles (See Figure A1.6). Of those, his circle of work friends is clearly much more cohesive than his Fijian one. Similarly in Taika's network we see that his fiancée is the connecting link between his different social circles, which are also roughly separated along the lines of spousal and work friends (see Figure A1.7).

Figure A1.7 – Taika's network map (close friend ties)



Hiri (116) and Alofa (313)

With Hiri (33) and Alofa (33) I chose two individuals for closer analysis not because their networks fit the cluster description well: to the contrary, their networks are both not clearly sorted into the migrant-peer cluster (58 and 45 per cent cluster membership respectively). Alofa's was the only Toronto network sorted into this cluster. Hiri's network was chosen to be analysed alongside Alofa's because both could also, at least partially, be described in terms of the superdiverse cluster (23 and 29 per cent respectively). The divergence of their network composition from the migrant-peer cluster is quite clear for both networks, although it is more pronounced for Alofa. Choosing these two cases, however, makes it possible to demonstrate how the migrant-peer cluster description can help discuss their

networks' multidimensional homophily composition and at the same time it leaves scope to emphasise the fuzziness of the clusters identified.

Hiri's local contacts have mainly migrated internationally (86 per cent) and are also female (81 per cent) two aspects where her network is more homophilous than the cluster but in line with how the cluster has been described as migrant- and peer-focused. Additionally her network is roughly in line with the cluster average with reference to age, parental status and ethnic homophily. Her personal network is more heterophilous in terms of visa status and time lived in the city and occupational group, supporting the idea that her network may also be thought of as superdiverse.

For Alofa's network it is more difficult to align her multidimensional homophily composition with that of the migrant-peer cluster. Yet she names only female contacts and only people who are parents. Over half (57 per cent) of her social contacts have moved internationally and are in the same age category as herself. Thus it is still possible to see why her network can mostly be described as a migrant-peer network. At the same time there is a relatively higher share of individuals who are different from her in terms of ethnicity and employment status which in turn supports the networks fuzzy membership in the superdiverse cluster.

Alofa moved to Toronto in the mid 1990's together with her husband who originates from the Toronto area.¹⁶² She named a total of 9 contacts with two out-of-town contacts (her mother-in-law living elsewhere in Canada, and her brother who is living in Europe). In contrast to most of the respondents with networks sorted into the superdiverse cluster, she did not name social contacts she had met through her husband. Instead the social opportunity contexts within which she met her contacts can be summarised as: at church (n=3), at activities with her children (n=2), through her previous work (n=1) and through playing sports (n=1). Ethnicity is one of the themes Alofa repeatedly brought up in her network interview. In light of previous discussions in this thesis relating to the relevance of social imaginaries and social interactions it is interesting to comment briefly on this before exploring the more structural composition of Hiri's and Alofa's networks.

A number of Alofa's social contacts are Filipinas, three of whom she has met at church and one of whom she met at the park where she takes her children to play. Alofa is Catholic and

¹⁶² It is interesting to note here that all of the Samoans I was able to contact in Toronto followed the same migration trajectory (4). All moved with a spouse who had grown up in or close to Toronto but went to the Islands either for development or missionary work.

when she started participating in her local church group after Mass she was at first met with apprehension by a group of Filipinas whom she now counts as close friends (Erena, Sylvia and Crystal). Alofa eventually figured out, with the help of Erena, that they thought she was from the Philippines and they deemed her to be 'snobbish' because she would not talk to them in Tagalog. Through a humorous comment inquiring about the weather in the Philippines she eventually broke the ice and was able to let her friends know that she was in fact not a Filipina and did not speak Tagalog.

In talking about meeting her fourth Filipina friend, Juana, she recounted a similar but in its nuances different story. Juana at first avoided her, even though they had met repeatedly when taking their children to the park. When they eventually did get to talk one of the first questions asked was whether Alofa was from the Philippines. Again once it was established that she was not, the initial trepidation ceased. Juana had wanted to avoid making friends with yet another Filipina. Both episodes are an example of how imaginaries of whom one ought to make friends with matter not only in terms of my respondents and their social habits but obviously also in terms of those people they meet socially.

Hiri (33) named one of the largest local networks (28 local contacts).¹⁶³ Additionally she identified an unusually high number of contacts (21) as 'not living in London but still influencing her day-to-day life in London'.¹⁶⁴ Most of these contacts reside in New Zealand. Hiri was actively involved in the London Māori language school; and less regularly she attended the Māori Kapa Haka group. Despite this involvement she only named 38 per cent of local contacts who are also Māori. Hiri's social contacts also stem from a variety of circumstances. While she was introduced to a few of her contacts through her husband, she also named social contacts whom she met at the playgroup and school her daughter attends, through her participation in the Māori groups, and through her work (current and previous). Thus the contexts within which Hiri and Alofa had the opportunity to meet their social contacts converge substantially.

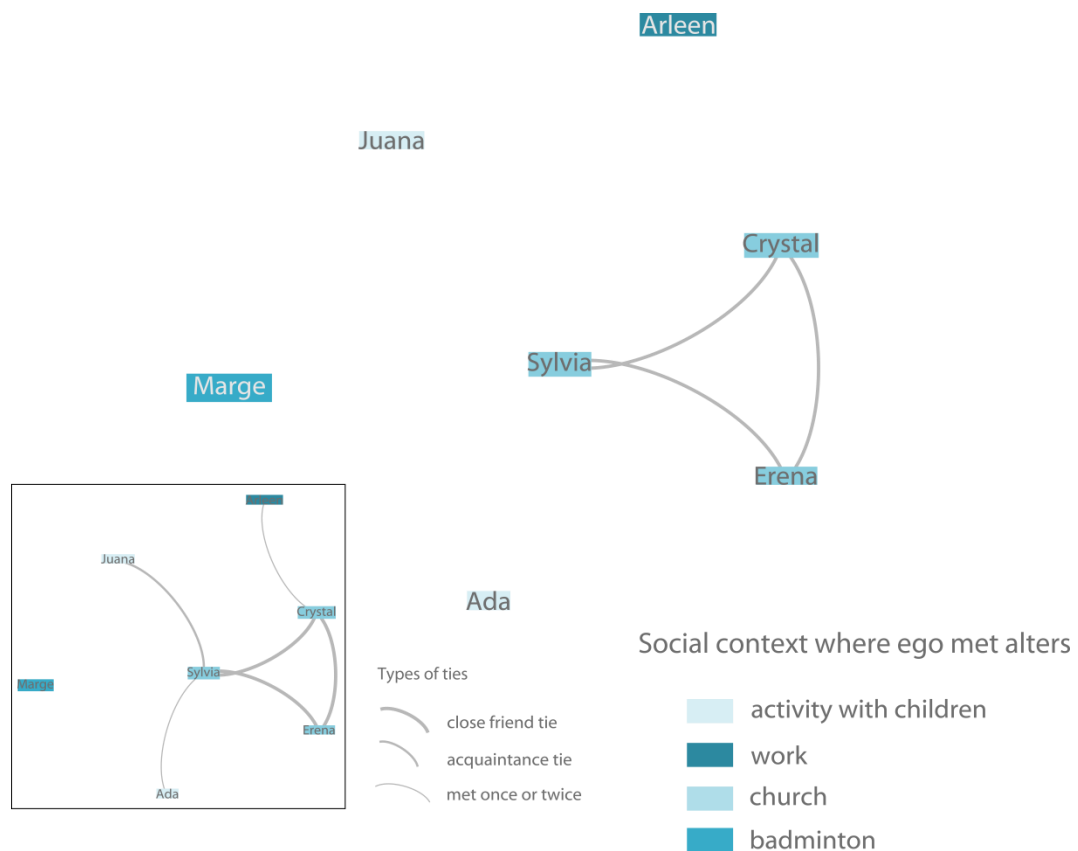
Hiri has a daughter who moved with her to London when she came to join her partner in 2007. Hiri and her partner both are of mixed Māori and European descent. The couple met in New Zealand through mutual friends. Her partner had already been in London for some time when she decided to join him. While Hiri named her husband and daughter as part of

¹⁶³ Information about Hiri's local network is based on 21 contacts for which information was elicited (See Appendix 3.3 about random exclusion of cases to save interview time).

¹⁶⁴ Name Generator 8.

the interview, Alofa did not, even though she emphasised in ordering her social contacts in the concentric circles that her family is closest to her by placing her two out of town contacts in the centre most circle. Hiri's husband and daughter take a central position both in her concentric circles and in her network structure. They are the alters with most links to other alters. Yet neither her daughter nor her husband are linked to all of her contacts, and before acquaintance-type relationships are considered we can identify a number of clusters of social relations in the sample of 12 contacts for which relational data was elicited.¹⁶⁵ This explains why despite her large network Hiri indicates meeting most of her contacts frequently but at least every other week. In their questionnaires both Hiri and Alofa indicated that they divided their time between different groups of people, and this is reflected in the structural composition of their social networks (Figure A1.8 and A1.9).

Figure A1.8 – Alofa's network map (close friend ties – inset: all types of ties)

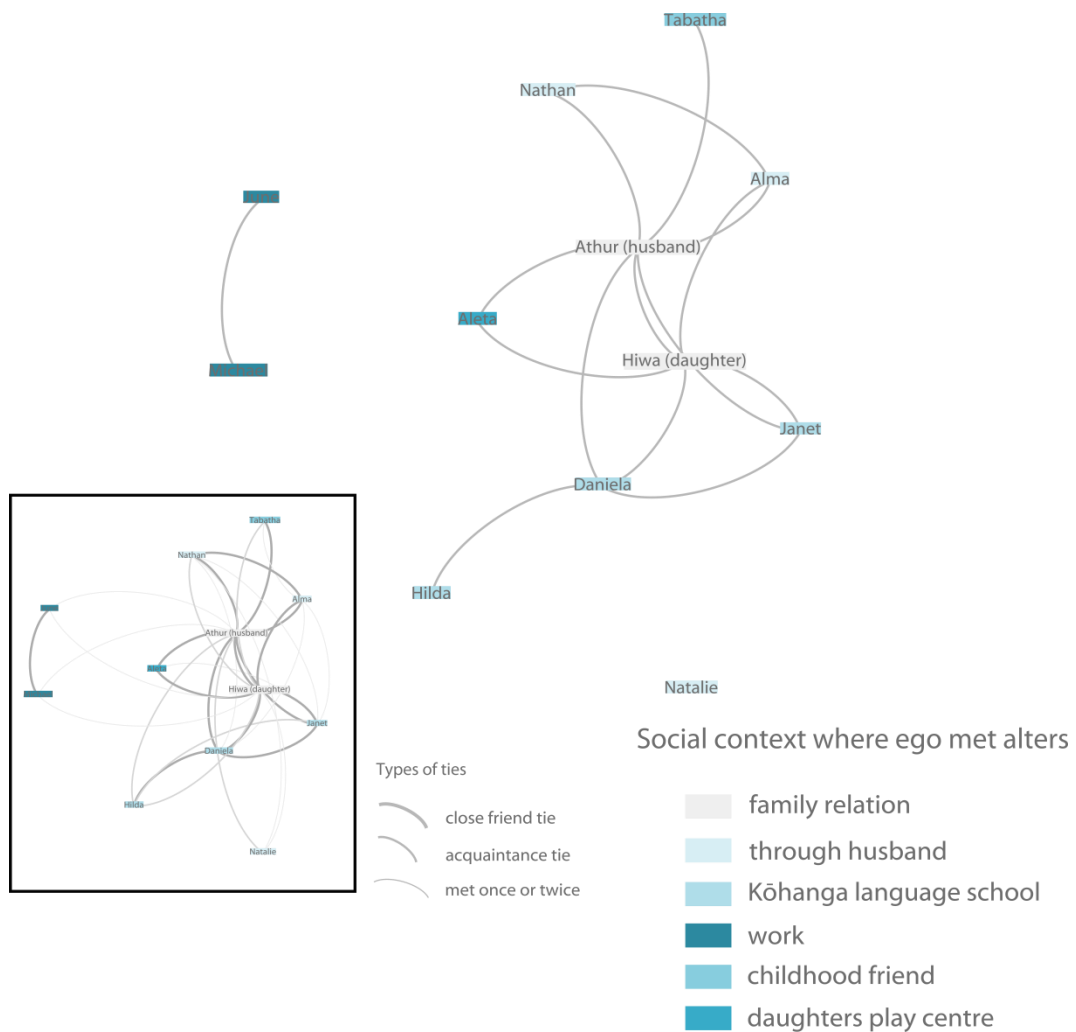


In terms of close friendships, Alofa indicated that only her church contacts were close friends with each other, the remaining contacts she names were not connected to others. Alofa identified some less strong links between her alters, but not many (see inset Figure A1.8).

¹⁶⁵ The remaining four contacts from her connection sheet were out-of-town contacts.

Hiri's network structure also suggests that her social contacts cluster in terms of the context in which she has met them. This, however, is mitigated if we take less close ties into account as then we find that her contacts, by and large, are linked at least through having met once or twice (still 50 per cent of possible social ties are inactive). Thus we do not only deal here with two networks that somewhat sit uneasily with the description of their main cluster, but also need to take into account that the two networks again display a different structure of linking difference and similarity.

Figure A1.9 – Hiri's network map (close friend ties - inset: all types of ties)



The Lone Ranger – Lua

Lua's is the one network that was not included in the cluster estimation because including it would have reduced the level of certainty at which cases were sorted into the different

clusters, and because his homophily values can only take the value of 0 or 1 as he only named one local social contact, his wife. Why is his local network composed of just one person? First of all, Lua did not lead a socially isolated life. In the semi-structured part of our interview he did speak about a few other London-based people who he knew and was in contact with regularly, albeit not daily or even weekly. He decided not to include them in response to my name generator questions even though I suggested to him that he could still add them to his list. There are three factors that might explain why he felt compelled to name only a very small network. The first is a methodological question: different people judge their social contacts differently. While one respondent may have felt that a contact they see intermittently had to be included in their network, others, and most obviously Lua, only named contacts that were really very present in their day-to-day lives. This is also a part of how individuals understand and talk about their socialising practices differently (cf. Chapter 4).

The second and third explanations are more focused on the specific circumstances under which Lua is maintaining his social ties. Firstly, his network is strongly family focused (his parents and brother were named as transnational contacts). In the semi-structured interview he did point out that this family focus was not as strong when he arrived in London. Then he had a group of mainly Samoan friends with whom he played rugby, but many of those contacts have left the city and the few that remain, Lua only met occasionally. The second explanation lies with time constraints. Lua worked two jobs and the interview I was able to arrange with him was between finishing his shift at his first job and starting the evening shift at his second. He pointed out that at the end of the week he doesn't really feel like interacting with many more people than those who are closest to him, his wife and his son, of whom he only included his wife in the structured part of his interview.

As such Lua is a very good case to demonstrate first that the composition of personal social networks over time take on different structures and consequently also different homophily compositions. Second, that maintaining social ties both requires the opportunity for the tie to be formed in the first place, which has been discussed extensively in terms of the other cases presented, but also requires the time and desire of both people to maintain this tie. Some people are more skilled at managing their time to forge diverse links than others, and individual preferences definitely play a role in why some of the networks I have looked at more closely are structured in the way they are.

Conclusion

This annex has presented 9 case studies of individuals and their social networks through the lens of the multidimensional homophily clusters their networks were sorted into. It highlights a number of important points that need to be considered in conceptualising relational diversity. On the one hand the individual network compositions and the stories that were used to explain those compositions are quite specific to each individual. On the other hand, I have tried to present the cases in a way that also recognises overlap in the social relevance of the clusters identified and their general descriptions. This supports the argument that we can talk about complex patterns of sociality and see them as an integral part of relational diversity without being overwhelmed by the complexity inherent in researching diversity.

This annex thus adds further depth to the analysis presented in this thesis and allows reflecting on the implications of discussing diversity and post-migration networks from innovative vantage points. Further, the case studies shed light on how the individual stories stand in relation to the uneven distribution of London and Toronto cases across the clusters. I argued in the Chapter 8 that this is likely due to a combination of the specific samples of respondents whom I was able to interview in the two cities but also due to the city-specific social opportunity contexts and how they are used by individuals. The cases presented here seem to support this argument. This implies that it is ever more important to be alert to the fact that the differential patterns of moving into cities, which played an important part in the composition of the samples of respondents I was able to interview in both cities, also play an important part in social patterns of relational diversity. By visually representing the social ties between alters with the help of a network map for each of the exemplary cases, I could clearly show that in using multidimensional homophily configurations to describe patterns of sociality, it is necessary to recognise that each alter is further linked to other individuals. Those network structures clearly are relevant to how interlinked migration-related difference is in the city.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 – LIST OF REVIEWED SUPERDIVERSITY ARTICLES

First Author	Other Authors	Year	Title	Publication	Super-Diversity Use
John Clayton		2012	Living the multicultural city: acceptance, belonging and young identities in the city of Leicester, England	Ethnic and Racial Studies 35:9	catch-phrase
Patrick Simon		2012	Collecting ethnic statistics in Europe: a review	Ethnic and Racial Studies 35:8	NA
Nektaria Palaiologou	Daniel Faas	2012	How ‘intercultural’ is education in Greece? Insights from policymakers and educators	Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education 42:4	Ethnic Diversity
Zana Vathi	Russell King	2012	‘Have you got the British?’: narratives of migration and settlement among Albanian-origin immigrants in London	Ethnic and Racial Studies	Ethnic Diversity
Caroline Knowles		2012	Nigerian London: re-mapping space and ethnicity in superdiverse cities	Ethnic and Racial Studies	Using Super-Diversity

Philippe Hambye	Mary Richards	2012	The paradoxical visions of multilingualism in education: the ideological dimension of discourses on multilingualism in Belgium and Canada	International Journal of Multilingualism 9:2	Ethnic Diversity
Nasar Meer	Tariq Modood	2012	How does Interculturalism Contrast with Multiculturalism?	Journal of Intercultural Studies 33:2	Ethnic Diversity
Miri Song		2012	Making sense of 'mixture': states and the classification of 'mixed' people	Ethnic and Racial Studies 35:4	Ethnic Diversity
Clare Rishbeth	Mark Powell	2012	Place Attachment and Memory: Landscapes of Belonging as Experienced Post-migration	Landscape Research	Ethnic Diversity
Jean Conteh		2012	Families, pupils and teachers learning together in a multilingual British city	Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development 33:1	More nuanced
Carol Reid	Arathi Sriprakash	2012	The possibility of cosmopolitan learning: reflecting on future directions for diversity teacher education in Australia	Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education 40:1	More nuanced
Steven R. Holloway	Richard Wright & Mark Ellis	2012	The Racially Fragmented City? Neighborhood Racial Segregation and Diversity Jointly Considered	The Professional Geographer 64:1	More nuanced

Wasył Cajkler	Bernadette Hall	2012	Languages in primary classrooms: a study of new teacher capability and practice	Language Awareness 21:1-2	Ethnic Diversity
Marco Antonsich		2012	Exploring the Demands of Assimilation among White Ethnic Majorities in Western Europe	Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 38:1	Ethnic Diversity
Andrey Rosowsky		2012	Faith phonics and identity: reading in faith complementary schools	Literacy :	catch-phrase
Floya Anthias		2012	Transnational Mobilities, Migration Research and Intersectionality	Nordic Journal of Migration Research 2:2	more nuanced
Claire Dwyer	David Gilbert & Bindi Shah	2012	Faith and suburbia: secularisation modernity and the changing geographies of religion in London's suburbs	Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers :	catch-phrase
Hannah Bradby		2012	Race, ethnicity and health: The costs and benefits of conceptualising racism and ethnicity	Social Science & Medicine :	More nuanced

Mark Powell	CLARE RISHBETH	2012	FLEXIBILITY IN PLACE AND MEANINGS OF PLACE BY FIRST GENERATION MIGRANTS	Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie 103:1	More nuanced
Val Colic-Peisker	Karen Farquharson	2011	Introduction: A New Era in Australian Multiculturalism? The Need for Critical Interrogation	Journal of Intercultural Studies 32:6	catch-phrase
Rainer Bauböck		2011	Temporary migrants	partial citizenship and hypermigration	Ethnic Diversity
Umut Erel		2011	Complex belongings: Racialization and migration in a small English city	Ethnic and Racial Studies 34:12	More nuanced
Mariana Craciun		2011	Moral bricolage and immigrant identification: The case of Romanian Americans	Ethnic and Racial Studies	NA
Ranu Basu		2011	Multiculturalism Through Multilingualism in Schools: Emerging Places of "Integration" in Toronto	Annals of the Association of American Geographers 101:6	Ethnic Diversity

Katie Wright		2011	Constructing Migrant Wellbeing: An Exploration of Life Satisfaction Amongst Peruvian Migrants in London	Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 37:9	Ethnic Diversity
Zana Vathi	Russell King	2011	Return Visits of the Young Albanian Second Generation in Europe: Contrasting Themes and Comparative Host-Country Perspectives	Mobilities 6:4	More nuanced
Gunther Dietz		2011	A doubly reflexive ethnographic methodology for the study of religious diversity in education	British Journal of Religious Education	Ethnic Diversity
Umut Erel		2011	Reframing migrant mothers as citizens	Citizenship Studies 15:6-7	Ethnic Diversity
Leandro Sepulveda	Stephen Syrett & Fergus Lyon	2011	Population superdiversity and new migrant enterprise: The case of London	Entrepreneurship & Regional Development 23:7-8	Using Super-Diversity
Garbi Schmidt		2011	Understanding and Approaching Muslim Visibilities: Lessons Learned from a Fieldwork-based Study of Muslims in Copenhagen	Ethnic and Racial Studies 34:7	NA
Gemma Catney	Nissa Finney & Liz Twigg	2011	Diversity and the Complexities of Ethnic Integration in the UK: Guest Editors' Introduction	Journal of Intercultural Studies 32:2	More nuanced

Gertrud Hüwelmeier		2011	Socialist cosmopolitanism meets global Pentecostalism: charismatic Christianity among Vietnamese migrants after the fall of the Berlin Wall	Ethnic and Racial Studies 34:3	More nuanced
Joana Duarte		2011	Migrants' educational success through innovation: The case of the Hamburg bilingual schools	International Review of Education :	NA
Ann-Dorte Christensen	Sune Qvotrup Jensen	2011	Roots and Routes	Nordic Journal of Migration Research 1:3	More nuanced
K Svenberg	C Skott & M Lepp	2011	Ambiguous Expectations and Reduced Confidence: Experience of Somali Refugees Encountering Swedish Health Care	Journal of Refugee Studies 24:4	NA
Jane Wills		2011	The geography of community and political organisation in London today	Political Geography :	More nuanced
A R van Ewijk		2011	Diversity within Police Forces in Europe: A Case for the Comprehensive View	Policing :	NA
P J Aspinall		2011	The utility and validity for public health of ethnicity categorization in the 1991, 2001 and 2011 British Censuses	Public Health 125:10	Ethnic Diversity
Jenny Phillimore		2011	Refugees, Acculturation Strategies, Stress and Integration	Journal of Social Policy 40:03	Ethnic Diversity

Peter Auer	Celia Roberts	2011	Introduction — John Gumperz and the indexicality of language	Text & Talk - An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language	catch-phrase
Margaret W	Walton-Roberts	2011	Immigration the University and the Welcoming Second Tier City	Journal of International Migration and Integration	More nuanced
Jonathan Newton	Ewa Kusmierczyk	2011	Teaching Second Languages for the Workplace	Annual Review of Applied Linguistics 31:	NA
Peter J Aspinall	Ferhana Hashem	2011	Responding to minority ethnic groups' language support needs in Britain	Equality Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal 30:2	Ethnic Diversity
Anne R van Ewijk		2011	Diversity and diversity policy: diving into fundamental differences	Journal of Organizational Change Management 24:5	NA

Dominic Joannou	Mina Fernando & Carol Harrison-Read & Nisha Wickramasinghe	2011	Impacting on diversity in practice in an outer London borough	Ethnicity and Inequalities in Health and Social Care 4:2	NA
Elizabeth Mavroudi		2010	Nationalism	the Nation and Migration: Searching for Purity and Diversity	NA
Melissa Butcher		2010	Navigating 'New' Delhi: Moving Between Difference and Belonging in a Globalising City	Journal of Intercultural Studies 31:5	NA
Anne-Meike Fechter	Katie Walsh	2010	Examining 'Expatriate' Continuities: Postcolonial Approaches to Mobile Professionals	Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 36:8	more nuanced
Miri Song		2010	What happens after segmented assimilation? An exploration of intermarriage and 'mixed race' young people in Britain	Ethnic and Racial Studies 33:7	catch-phrase

Cathy McIlwaine		2010	Migrant machismos: exploring gender ideologies and practices among Latin American migrants in London from a multi-scalar perspective Machismos migrantes: exploración de las ideologías y prácticas de género entre inmigrantes latinoamericanos en Londres desde una perspectiva multiescalar	Gender	more nuanced
Tüzin Baycan-Levent		2010	Diversity and Creativity as Seedbeds for Urban and Regional Dynamics	European Planning Studies 18:4	more nuanced
Sumi Hollingworth	Katya Williams	2010	Multicultural Mixing or Middle-class Reproduction? The White Middle Classes in London Comprehensive Schools	Space and Polity 14:1	Ethnic Diversity
Michele Lobo		2010	Interethnic Understanding and Belonging in Suburban Melbourne	Urban Policy and Research 28:1	NA
Antoine Pécoud		2010	What is ethnic in an ethnic economy?	International Review of Sociology 20:1	More nuanced
D. A. Coleman	S. Dubuc	2010	The fertility of ethnic minorities in the UK, 1960s–2006	Population Studies 64:1	Ethnic Diversity
Angela Creese	Adrian Blackledge	2010	Towards a sociolinguistics of superdiversity	Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft 13:4	Using Super-Diversity

Ingrid Gogolin		2010	Stichwort: Mehrsprachigkeit	Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft 13:4	More nuanced
Mark Falcous	Michael L Silk	2010	Olympic Bidding: Multicultural Nationalism, Terror and the Epistemological Violence of 'Making Britain Proud'	Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism 10:2	More nuanced
Heaven Crawley		2010	Moving Beyond Ethnicity: The Socio- Economic Status and Living Conditions of Immigrant Children in the UK	Child Indicators Research 3:4	Ethnic Diversity
PATRICIA LANDOLT	LUIN GOLDRING	2010	Political cultures and transnational social fields: Chileans	Colombians and Canadian activists in Toronto	Ethnic Diversity
Dan Rodríguez- García		2010	Beyond Assimilation and Multiculturalism: A Critical Review of the Debate on Managing Diversity	Journal of International Migration and Integration / Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale 11:3	Ethnic Diversity

Gareth Millington		2010	Racism class ethos and place: the value of context in narratives about asylum-seekers	The Sociological Review 58:3	NA
KATIE WRIGHT		2010	'It's a Limited Kind of Happiness': Barriers to Achieving Human Well-being among Peruvian Migrants in London and Madrid	Bulletin of Latin American Research 29:3	Ethnic Diversity
Miri Song		2010	Does 'race' matter? A study of 'mixed race' siblings' identifications	The Sociological Review 58:2	catch-phrase
Jenny Phillimore	Lisa Goodson	2010	Failing to Adapt: Institutional Barriers to RCOs Engagement in Transformation of Social Welfare	Social Policy and Society 9:02	catch-phrase
Celia Roberts		2010	Language Socialization in the Workplace	Annual Review of Applied Linguistics 30:	Ethnic Diversity
Steven Vertovec		2010	Towards post-multiculturalism? Changing communities conditions and contexts of diversity	International Social Science Journal 61:199	more nuanced

Kavita Datta	Cathy McIlwaine & Joanna Herbert & Yara Evans & Jon May & Jane Wills	2009	Men on the move: narratives of migration and work among low-paid migrant men in LondonLes hommes qui bougent: les narrations de la migration et le travail parmi des hommes migrants des bas salaires en LondresHombres avanzado: narrativos de migración y trabajo entre hombres migrantes mal renumerado en Londres	Social & Cultural Geography 10:8	More nuanced
Ceri Peach		2009	Slippery Segregation: Discovering or Manufacturing Ghettos?	Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 35:9	Ethnic Diversity
Janine Dahinden		2009	Are we all transnationals now? Network transnationalism and transnational subjectivity: the differing impacts of globalization on the inhabitants of a small Swiss city	Ethnic and Racial Studies 32:8	Using Super-Diversity
Patricia Landolt	Luin Goldring	2009	Immigrant political socialization as bridging and boundary work: mapping the multi- layered incorporation of Latin American immigrants in Toronto	Ethnic and Racial Studies 32:7	More nuanced
Anita Harris		2009	Shifting the boundaries of cultural spaces: young people and everyday multiculturalism	Social Identities 15:2	More nuanced
Dr Miri Song		2009	Is Inter marriage a Good Indicator of Integration?	Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 35:2	Ethnic Diversity

Nina Glick Schiller	Ayşe Çağlar	2009	Towards a Comparative Theory of Locality in Migration Studies: Migrant Incorporation and City Scale	Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 35:2	More nuanced
Sarah Salway	Peter Allmark & Ruth Barley & Gina Higginbottom & Kate Gerrish & George H. Ellison	2009	Social research for a multiethnic population: do the research ethics and standards guidelines of UK Learned Societies address this challenge?	Twenty-First Century Society 4:1	NA
Thomas Faist		2009	Diversity – a new mode of incorporation?	Ethnic and Racial Studies 32:1	More nuanced
Marcello Bertotti	Faye Adams-Eaton & Kevin Sheridan & Adrian Renton	2009	Key barriers to community cohesion: views from residents of 20 London deprived neighbourhoods	GeoJournal :	catch-phrase
Andreas Wimmer		2009	Herder's Heritage and the Boundary-Making Approach: Studying Ethnicity in Immigrant Societies	Sociological Theory 27:3	More nuanced
Mark Cooney		2009	Ethnic conflict without ethnic groups: a study in pure sociology ¹	The British Journal of Sociology 60:3	NA
Ludi Simpson	Nissa Finney	2009	Ethnic ghettos in Britain: a fact or a myth?	Significance 6:2	More nuanced
Louise Waite		2009	A Place and Space for a Critical Geography of Precarity?	Geography Compass 3:1	catch-phrase

Peter Geoghegan		2008	Multiculturalism and sectarianism in post-agreement Northern Ireland	Scottish Geographical Journal 124:2-3	NA
Nissa Finney	Vaughan Robinson	2008	Local press dispersal and community in the construction of asylum debates / La presse locale la dispersion et la communauté dans la structuration des débats concernant les asiles	Social & Cultural Geography 9:4	NA

APPENDIX 2 – THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Introductory Text:^{166 167 168}

Hello and welcome to my Questionnaire!

First of all, thank you for signing up to complete my questionnaire. This should be fun and easy to do.

Generally my research is about Pacific People living in London and Toronto.

With this questionnaire I am trying to get a more developed picture of your everyday life in London and about your experience of moving here.

Background

The academic literature on Pacific People moving abroad is relatively sparse if their chosen destination is beyond the Pacific Rim. In carrying out this study I want to explore the links Pacific People build in these more 'unlikely' destinations.

In this study, which is supported through a scholarship from the Max Planck Institute for the Study of religious and ethnic diversity in Göttingen, Germany, I would like to produce both statistical and more in-depth interview data on the day to day lives of Pacific People in London and Toronto.

I hope that this data will help me to understand better how migrants live their lives in very diverse cities.

The findings will be used to write the thesis for my doctorate in Migration Studies at the University of Sussex. Parts of this work may be published in academic books and journals.

Are you eligible to participate in this study?

If you are between the ages of 18 – 65, are living in London now, have lived in the Pacific Region for a long period in your life before and if you consider yourself to be Polynesian, Melanesian or Micronesian, you are eligible to participate in this survey.

How this is going to work?

This questionnaire involves questions about you and your life. There are questions about the places you have lived, your occupation and your life in London. All of these questions will allow me to look at the different experiences of living in London.

¹⁶⁶ The platform used to distribute the questionnaire was lime survey (www.limesurvey.org). Once people agreed to complete the questionnaire I emailed them a personalised token to access the questionnaire, all precautions were taken to increase the response rate and avoid incomplete questionnaires, such as sending reminder emails and formally introducing the study at the start of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was also distributed through available email newsletters and could be accessed via my own website (www.sussex.ac.uk/Users/fm77).

¹⁶⁷ In designing the questionnaire Janine Dahinden very kindly allowed me to consult the questionnaire she designed for a similar study in the city of Neuchâtel. Although the final list of questions asked in my questionnaire differ this questionnaire did provide a source of inspiration for this study as do her the later published findings from that study quoted at different points in this thesis. (e.g. Dahinden 2011).

¹⁶⁸ The questionnaire reproduced here is the UK version, it was only slightly altered for the Toronto version (primarily the legal status categories respondents could choose from which I referred to in the main text).

Rights, Confidentiality and Data Protection

If a question makes you feel uneasy, you are not obliged to answer. You can stop the questionnaire at any time.

I guarantee that the information you provide me with will be kept confidential.

All information that may identify you will be anonymised and in addition I will do everything I can to safeguard all the data provided.

Especially, I will not hand on any of the information to any third party (This means the only people who will see the information are myself and if necessary my academic advisors and collaborators).

Should you have any questions about the questionnaire or my research project, please contact me and I will be happy to answer them.

My Email: meissner@mmg.mpg.de

My phone number: 07540 1978 24.

If you agree to participate in this research please fill in this survey and return it to me in the provided envelope.

Many Thanks,

Fran Meissner

Questions: Migration Trajectory 1

- 1 Where are you originally from?

 (Please name the country where you spend most of your childhood and youth)
- 2 If someone asks you 'Where are you from?' what is your most common answer?
- 3 In which year did you first leave the country where you spend most of your childhood and youth to live or work in another country?
- 4 Was the UK the first country you moved to?

 Please choose only one of the following:

 No | Yes | I'd rather not say
- 5 If you think about all the places you have lived for longer than 6 months, can you list all the countries you have lived with the dates you lived there?

 Example: Canada, Oct 04 to Jan 05

 Please also list the UK and the dates you have lived here in this list.

6	<p>Have you lived in the UK at more than one time in your life?</p> <p>Please choose only one of the following:</p> <p>No (cont. With Question 9) Yes I'd rather not say</p>
7	<p>When you travelled to the UK to live or work here for the very first time was that on your own or with family or friends? Please choose only one of the following:</p> <p>Alone Together with my family Together with my partner Together with friend(s) Other (please specify) I'd rather not say</p>
8	<p>For your current stay, when you travelled to the UK to live or work here was that on your own or with family or friends?</p> <p>Please choose only one of the following:</p> <p>Alone Together with my family Together with my partner Together with friend(s) Other (please specify) I'd rather not say</p>

Questions: Legal Status Trajectory

9	<p>Drawing on the list below which best describes the type of visa you used to travel to the UK? (If you have lived in the UK more than once I would like to know the visa you used to travel to the UK for your current stay.) Please choose only one of the following:</p> <p>As the spouse of British Citizen Visitor visa Work visa Own British Passport I did not have an official visa permit to enter the UK Student visa European Union citizenship / visa Work and travel visa other (please specify) I don't know I'd rather not say</p>
10	<p>Are you still in the UK on the same status?</p> <p>Please choose only one of the following:</p> <p>No Yes (continue with Question 13) I'd rather not say</p>
11	<p>What best describes your current visa status? Please choose only one of the following:</p> <p>For categories see question 10</p>

Questions: Migration Trajectory 2

- | | |
|----|---|
| 12 | <p>Have you taken a course or studied outside of the country where you spend most of your childhood and youth? Please choose only one of the following:</p> <p>Yes No (continue with Question 15) I'd rather not say</p> |
| 13 | <p>What kind of course did you take? Please choose all that apply:</p> <p>Part of my high school education All of high school Part of my undergraduate degree All of my undergraduate degree Some postgraduate course(s) A full postgraduate programme Other (please specify) I'd rather not say</p> |
| 14 | <p>Do you still have close family members living in the country where you spend most of your childhood and youth? Please choose only one of the following:</p> <p>No Yes I'd rather not say</p> |
| 15 | <p>Do you own any property or other significant assets in the country where you spend most of your childhood and youth?</p> <p>Please choose only one of the following:</p> <p>No Yes I'd rather not say</p> |
| 16 | <p>Since you have come to the UK (for your current stay) on average how often have you gone back to the country where you spend most of your childhood and youth?</p> <p>Please choose only one of the following:</p> <p>more than once a year once a year every other year less than every two years I have not gone back at all other (please specify) I'd rather not say</p> |
| 17 | <p>Where in the world do you see yourself living...</p> <p>Please choose all that apply and provide a comment:</p> <p>a) ... in 5 years from now?</p> <p>b) ... in 10 years from now?</p> |

18	<p>During the time that you have lived in London, have you ever used any specific services offered for migrants by your local authority or a voluntary organisation? (This could be seeking advice on residency status, legal advice, language support or something similar.) Please choose only one of the following:</p> <p>No (continue to Question 20) Yes Don't know I'd rather not answer</p>
19	<p>What specific service(s) did you use?</p>
20	<p>Rate how much you agree with the following statement:</p> <p>'I can influence local political decision making on issues that directly impact on my life in London.'</p> <p>Strongly disagree Disagree Slightly disagree Undecided Slightly agree Agree Strongly agree</p>
21	<p>Since moving to the UK, how long have you lived.....</p> <p>a)... in London?</p> <p>Never Less than 1 month 1-6 months 6-12 months 1-3 years 4 – 5 years 6 – 15 years 15 + years</p> <p>b).... in the UK?</p> <p>Never Less than 1 month 1-6 months 6-12 months 1-3 years 4 – 5 years 6 – 15 years 15 + years</p>
22	<p>Given the below list of reasons for moving to London, can you tell me which were most important to you?</p> <p>Place an 'x' along the line that shows how important each of these reasons was for you.</p> <p>List: Employment opportunities Family already living in London Friends already living in London London seemed an exciting place to live Other Reason (please specify on line below)</p>
23	<p>Where in London do you live?</p>
24	<p>Why did you choose to move to this specific area of London?</p> <p>Please choose all that apply:</p>

It was easy finding a place to live in this area

It is close to my family here

It is close to my friends who live in London

I like the area

Renting/buying a home was relatively affordable

It is close to my place of work

Because of good transport links

Other (please specify) _____

25 How strongly do you feel at home in London?

Very strongly | Fairly strongly | Not very strongly | Not strongly at all | I don't know

26 Who ...

a) ... were you living with when you first moved to London

By myself | With my family | With friends I knew before moving | With people I did not know before | With both friends and family | With my partner | As a Lodger | Other (please specify) _____

b) ... are you living with now?

By myself | With my family | With friends I knew before moving | With people I did not know before | With both friends and family | With my partner | As a Lodger | Other (please specify) _____

27 If you think back to the first few days of living in London, which three words best describe your first impression of other people living in London?

If you want to write more than 3 words feel free to do so.

This question is referring to the first time you ever moved to London to live or work here.

28 If your impression of fellow Londoners has changed, which three words would you use to describe your impression of Londoners now?

If you want to use more than 3 words feel free to do so.

- 29 Can you rate how much you like living in ...
- a) ... the area of London where you live?
- b) ... London in general?
- 30 What are the reasons you feel this way about...
- ...living in your area of London?
- ...living in London in general?

Questions: Self-reported sociality

- 31 In an average week how frequently do you interact with people you don't know?
- 7 point scale between very frequently and not at all.
- 32 Which Best describes how you spend your leisure time outside of your home (outside of the place where you are currently living)?
- I spend most of my leisure time by myself
- I spend most of it with one or two people, who are usually the same people
- I spend most of it with one or two people., who change from day to day
- I spend most of it with a single group of people
- I divide my time among different groups of people
- I'd rather not answer
- 33 Please rate the following statements by writing the number that best describes how much you agree with the statement in the square next to the statement.
- a) In general I consider myself a very happy person
- b) In comparison to my peers I consider myself less happy
- c) Some people are generally happy. They enjoy life regardless of what is going on, getting the most out of everything. To what extent do you agree that this characterisation describes you?

d) Some people are generally not very happy. Although they are not depressed, they never seem as happy as they might be. To what extent do you agree that this characterisation describes you?

1 = strongly agree | 2 = Agree | 3 = Somewhat Agree | 4 = neither Agree nor Disagree |

5 = Somewhat Disagree | 6 = Disagree | 7 = Strongly Disagree

Questions: Labour market trajectory

34 What ...

a) ...is main job

b) ...second job (if applicable)**

c) ...was your Job before moving to the UK*?

d) ...was your first Job after arriving in the UK*?

* both refer to your current stay in the UK (if applicable).

**Use the second column only if you held more than one job at the same time.

If you had more than two jobs at the same time, type multiple job titles into to second column.

35 Thinking about your current (or most recent job) in the UK:

How would you describe the interaction between you and your colleagues? If you are/were working more than one job think about your main job..

Please choose only one of the following:

There is hardly any interaction | There is only limited interaction | There is some interaction | There is frequent interaction | The interaction between colleagues is very frequent, occasionally we go out together after work | I'd rather not answer

36 How long have you been working in your current main job?

If you are currently not working think about your most recent job.

less than 3 months | less than 1 year | 1 - 4 years | more than 5 years | I'd rather not answer

37 Have you ever been promoted in your current job?

If you are currently not working think about your most recent job.

No | Yes | I'd rather not say

38 How did you first hear about your current job/most recent job?

Please choose only one of the following:

I saw an ad in the paper/internet/job centre...

An acquaintance told me about it

A friend told me about it

I applied although they were not advertising

I'd rather not answer

Other (please specify) _____

Questions: Participation in Associations

39 Do you attend church or other religious services?

Please choose only one of the following:

At least once a week/ Every other week / At least once a month / At least four times a year / I only go for special events* / I never attend / I'd rather not answer

* For example: Weddings, Funerals, Christmas, Baptisms

40 Would you say that you are religious?

Please choose only one of the following:

No (continue with Question 38) | Yes | I'd rather not say

42 If you have a particular religion or faith can you specify which confession you follow?

43 Do you participate or are you a member of any other association or club?

Sports Group | Cultural Group | Local community Group | Political Group | Some other Group/Club

At least once a week | Every other week | At least once a month | At least four times a year | I only go for special events* | I never attend (but I am a member) | I am not a member | I'd rather not answer

* like the annual club dinner

44 Can you please name the clubs and associations you attend*?

*This is just to give me a more precise idea of what types of associations and clubs you attend.

Questions: General Demographic Information

45 Are you male or female?

Female | Male

46 What is your marital status?

Please choose only one of the following:

Married | Single | Widowed | Divorced / Separated | In a steady relationship | Other (please specify) _____

47 If you are married or in a steady relationship, how would you describe your partner's ethnic background?

For example: Asian, Samoan, Maori, White British, White Other, Mixed (specify in brackets)

48 How many Children do you have?

If you have no children please write '0' and continue with Question 50.

49 Where were your children born?

Please choose only one of the following:

All in the country where you spend most of your childhood and youth | All in the UK | In both places | At least one of them was born in different country other than the UK or the country where you spend most of your childhood and youth | Other (please specify) _____

- 50 How many of your children are living with you?
- 51 What is your highest level of education?
- Please choose only one of the following:
- No formal education | Primary Education | Some High School Education | Graduated from High School | Trade/Technical/Vocational Training | Completed Undergraduate Degree | Completed Postgraduate Degree | I'd rather not answer
- 52 Which languages do you speak?
- Fluent: You can use the language fluently, accurately and appropriately / Intermediate: You can deal with most day to day situations / Basic: You can deal with very limited day-to-day activities
- Mother tongue | Fluent | Intermediate: | Basic
- 53 Which language do you use most with the people you are currently living with? (List in order of frequency)
- 54 What is your year of birth?
- 55 What is your place of birth?
- 56 Which country issued your passport?
- Tick more than one if you have passports from more than one country.
- Australia | Cook Islands | Fiji | Federated States of Micronesia | Kiribati | Marshall Islands | Nauru | New Zealand | Niue | Palau | Papua New Guinea | Samoa | Solomon Islands | Tonga | Tuvalu | United States | United Kingdom | Vanuatu | I'd rather not answer | Other (please specify) _____
- 57 How would you describe your own ethnic background?
- For example: Fijian, Indo-Fijian, Samoan, Maori, White, Mixed (please specify in brackets)

Questions: Interview Contact Information

On the basis of this survey I would like to interview you in person about your day to day life in London and to 'map' your London social contacts with you.

58 Would you agree to participate in a follow up interview conducted by me?

Yes | No (continue to Question 59)

59 Please indicate which would be the best way of contacting you to arrange a time and place for this interview.

Telephone | Mobile | Email | Other

|Please note, I will not record you contact information in the survey data but only use it to arrange this one interview.

60 If I should get in touch with you on a specific day or at a particular time of the day, just add a comment in the box below.

61 If you have any comments about this questionnaire or about the study in general, please use the space provided below.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP!

APPENDIX 3 – THE INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

1) Name generator (NG) questions

NG 1

THINKING ABOUT THE PEOPLE YOU KNOW IN LONDON/TORONTO AND WHO YOU MEET WITH IN LONDON/TORONTO

If you think about the past six months, who are the people in London/Toronto you like to spend your leisure time with? This could be going to the cinema, doing sports, meeting up for a meal or something similar.

NG 2

STILL THINKING ABOUT THE PEOPLE YOU KNOW IN LONDON/ TORONTO

Again thinking about the last six months, is there anybody who comes to mind that you have gone to, to discuss some private issue, like relationship problems, financial decisions or something else that is close to your heart that you would not have gone to just anyone to discuss it with?

NG 3

STILL THINKING ABOUT THE PEOPLE YOU KNOW IN LONDON / TORONTO

If you think of the past six months, has there been anyone who came to you, to discuss something with you that you felt was close to their heart and that they would not have gone to anyone to discuss it with?

NG 4

FIRST TWO WEEKS IN LONDON / TORONTO

Thinking back to your first two weeks of living in Toronto (when you arrived here for your current stay) who were the people most important to you in these first couple of weeks of settling down in Toronto?

NG 5

ANYONE ELSE IN LONDON / TORONTO

Looking at the list of people you have written down so far. Is there anyone else who you know in Toronto who you would like to add to the list because they are important to you in some way that I did not cover in my questions so far?

NG 6

THINKING ABOUT THE PEOPLE YOU WORK WITH (OR WHO YOU WORKED WITH IN YOUR LAST JOB IN THE UK / CANADA) (Skip for never employed in Canada)

From the people you work with who do you spend time with outside of work? This would go beyond going together for a drink after work.

NG 7

THINKING ABOUT THE TIME YOU WERE LAST LOOKING FOR A NEW JOB

Who were the people who helped you find and/or get that job? This could be anyone who pointed out a job vacancy, who you discussed your job search with, who helped you by putting in a good word with your employer or who helped you in some other way to get this job?

NG 8

THINKING ABOUT THE PEOPLE WHO ARE IMPORTANT TO YOU BUT WHO DON'T LIVE IN LONDON / TORONTO

Can you think of anyone, who nonetheless is important to you in a way that impacts on your day to day life in London / Toronto?

2) Sample Multiplexity Chart

Figure A2.1 – Sample multiplexity chart

TR	NN	Name	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8
F		1 Name Contact 1		1						
CF		2 Name Contact 2		2	3			1		
F		3 Name Contact 3			1					
F/W		4 Name Contact 4			2					
0		5 [REDACTED]				1				
0		6 [REDACTED]				2				
0		7 [REDACTED]					1			
F/W		8 [REDACTED]					2			
F		9 [REDACTED]					3			
F		10 [REDACTED]					4			
F		11 [REDACTED]					5			
F		12 [REDACTED]					6			
CF		13 [REDACTED]					7			
F/W		14 [REDACTED]							1	
F		15 [REDACTED]					8			
F/W		16 [REDACTED]					9			
F/W		17 Name Contact 17					10			
		18								
		19								
		20								
		21								
		22								
		23								
		24								
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		29								
		30								
		31								
		32								
		33								
		34								
		35								
		36								
		37								
		38								
		39								

3) Process of Reducing number of alteri asked about

1. Chose first two contacts named for each Name Generator that respondent named individuals for except for Name Generator 8
2. For Name Generator 8 chose the first and third contact
3. Complete list to account for 25 (16 for connection sheet) contacts in the order they were named only adding the sixth and ninth named for out of town contacts (if applicable)

4) Standardised Questions and Responses

1. How long have you known this person:

Less than one month | Less than 6 months | 6 months to 1 year | Less than 3 years | Less than 10 years | More than 10 years

2. Gender

Female / Male

3. Based on these categories, what does _____ do for a living?

(Please do ask me if you are unsure what the most appropriate category for a specific job is)

Managers and senior officials | Professional occupations | Associate professional and technical work | Administrative and secretarial occupations | Skilled trades occupations | Personal service occupations | Sales and customer service occupations | Process, plant and machine operatives | Elementary occupations | Stay at home Mum or Dad | Currently not working | Retired | Student | Not sure

4. Language (if you speak more than one Language)

We speak only in English | We speak in English and another language | We speak only in another language

5. Children (let me know if you are not sure if the person has children or not)

No children | One child | Two children | Three or more children

6. How often, on average, do you meet _____ in person?

Everyday | At least once a week | At least every other week | At least once a month | At least every other month | At least once a year | Less than once a year | Never

7. How often, average, are you in contact with _____? (Phone/Skype/email...)

Everyday | At least once a week | At least every other week | At least once a month | At least every other month | At least once a year | Less than once a year | Never

8. Age

Younger than 18 | 18 -24 | 25 -35 | 36 – 45 | 46 – 55 | 56 – 65 | Older than 65

9. Marital Status:

Married | In a steady relationship (cohabiting) | Separated or Widowed | Single | Other (please specify) | Don't Know | Divorced

10. Do you know how long (person's name) has lived in London / Toronto? (only if applicable)

11. Thinking about your contacts that are currently living in Toronto:

Less than half a year | Less than one year | One to three Years | More than three Years | More than 15 | I have no idea how long

12. Has (person's name) moved to the UK / Canada?

(Thinking about those contacts also living in UK / Canada)

Yes | No | Don't Know | Other (please specify)

13. Do you know with what visa they are in Canada? (If applicable)

Possible Answers for UK (based on categories available on UK BA website at time of commencing fieldwork)

Visitor | Student Visa | Work Visa* | UK citizen or spouse of UK citizen | EU citizen or spouse of EU citizen | UK ancestry or indefinite leave to remain | Refugee or Asylum Seeker. | Don't think on official visa | Don't know

Possible Answers for Canada (based on categories available on Immigration and Citizenship Canada website at start of fieldwork)

Visitor | Student Visa | Work Visa | Canadian Citizen or Spouse of Canadian Citizen | Family Sponsorship | Business Visa | Refugee or Asylum Seeker | Don't think on official visa | Other (please specify) | Don't know

14. Given these categories how would you describe where (contact's name) family is from? This would usually be asked as what is their ethnic background?

You can write down multiple letters if ethnic background is mixed.

Canada (or UK) | United States | South Pacific Islands (Let me know which Island Nation) | NZ Maori | New Zealand (Other) | Australia..... | Africa | Europe | Middle East | South America | Central or East Asian | South Asian | Caribbean | More specific → feel free to tell me in more detail

15. Religion

Is (contact's name)?

If you know the specific denomination I'd be interested to know. Please only answer if you are sure about the denomination.

I really don't know | Catholic | Protestant | Pentecostal | Muslim | Hindu, Buddhist or Sikh | Jewish | Spiritual Believes | Atheist | Not Religious | Other (please specify)

16. Open ended Questions

WHEN PLACING THE NAMES ON YOUR CONTACT MAP, CAN YOU TELL ME A VERY SHORT STORY ABOUT EACH PERSON THAT INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING BITS OF INFORMATION:

Where did you first meet (contact's name)?

Where in London / Where in the world does (contact's name) live at the moment?



6) Sample Connection Matrix

Figure A2.4 – Sample connection matrix

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Name	Name 1	Name 2	...													
1	Name 1															
2	Name 2	3														
3	...	1	0													
4		3	1	1												
5		3	1	0	1											
6		3	3	1	1	1										
7		2	0	0	1	0	3									
8		2	3	0	1	0	3	3								
9		3	0	0	2	0	2	0	0							
10		3	1	1	3	3	3	0	1	3						
11		3	1	1	1	3	1	0	0	1	3					
12		3	1	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	3	3				
13		3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0			
14		0	0	0	0	0	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	3		
15		3	1	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	
16		3	0	0	0	0					7	1				

7) Questions commonly asked for the semi-structured Interview part (the number of questions asked depended on the time the individual had available)

- Looking at your network why do you think there is so many / so few Pacific People in your network? (asked during first interviews and later substituted with the following question set as the question was answered in a defensive manner by those asked)
- If you were to tel your story of coming to London / Toronto, how would you tell it?
- How has your London / Toronto changed in the years since you have been here?
- How easy was it to meet people when you first arrived and how easy is it now?
- What do you like best about London / Toronto?
- Are there any instances you recall that stand out when you met someone in the city and it made / ruined your day?

APPENDIX 4 – INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Informed Consent Form

To be signed by face to face interview respondents

To ensure that you are aware of the background and purpose of this study I would like you to have a look at the following information about my study (I will give you a copy for your information):

Principal Investigator: Franziska Meissner

Who is affiliated to: Sussex Centre for Migration Research and Max Planck Institute (Religious and Ethnic Diversity)

Please take the time read the information sheet I have provided which gives you details about the background, aims and stages of my research.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study and Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Your participation in this study should not involve any physical risk or emotional risk to you, other than what you would encounter in daily life. Participation in this study is voluntary and you are free to not answer any question or withdraw from the interview at any time.

Although you will not receive any personal benefits from participating in this study, you may be pleased to find out that I intend to feed the findings of this research back to the community, through talks, publications and by keeping respondents up to date with the progress of my research.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private. In all publications or presentations based on the collected data I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you as a participant in the study or the identity of the contacts you name. All research records will be stored securely and only the principal investigator and her academic advisors and collaborators will have access to the records.

Questions and Contacts:

Please ask me any questions you have about the research now. If you have questions later, I encourage you to contact me either by email: meissner@mmg.mpg.de or phone *

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than myself, please feel free to contact my academic supervisors:

Prof Steven Vertovec: vertovec@mmg.mpg.de or Prof Richard Black: r.black@sussex.ac.uk.

You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

Please Tick the Box:

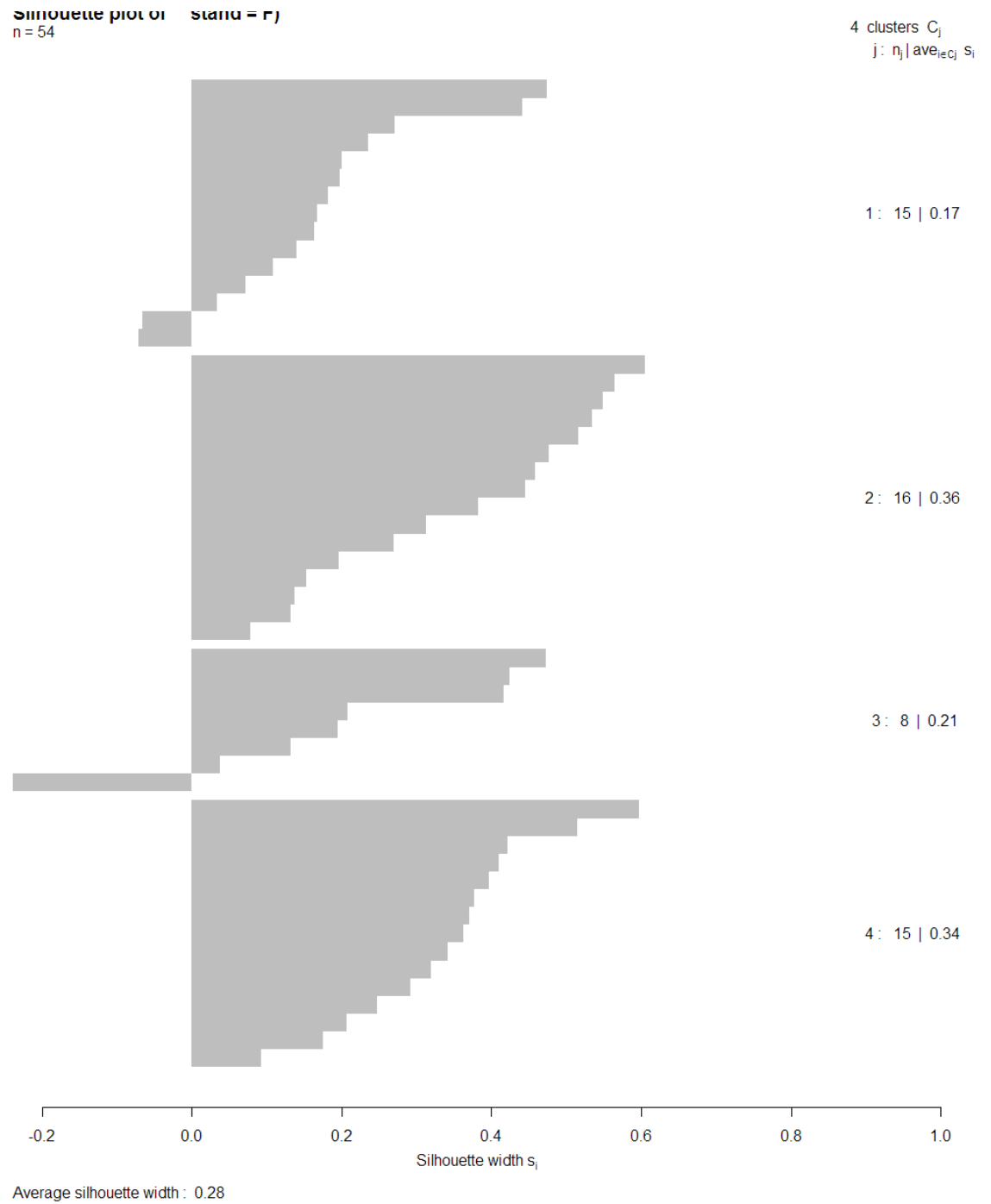
☐ I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Initials and Date: _____

APPENDIX 5 - PREPARATION OF DATA FOR FUZZY CLUSTER ANALYSIS

1. Decide on variables to be included in the analysis
 - a. Remove variables measuring similar aspects (pan-ethnicity and marital status)
 - b. Include remaining variables in bivariate correlation
 - i. Two correlations at a 0.01 level (Spearman correlations)
 1. Time in city and Visa category: 0.397** (two tailed significance=0.003)
 2. Visa category and gender: 0.437** (two-tailed significance = 0.001)
 - ii. Four correlations at a 0.05 level (Spearman correlations)
 1. Migrant and Occupational Status: 0.309* (two-tailed significance= 0.023)
 2. Time in city and ethnicity: 0.284* (two-tailed significance= 0.037)
 3. Time in city and age: -0.299 (two-tailed significance= 0.028)
 4. Occupational status and migrant: 0.309 (two-tailed significance=0.023)
 - c. Consider the implications of disregarding the correlations between variables included
2. Conduct a hierarchical cluster analysis to estimate the most suitable number of clusters:
Cluster Solutions with relatively large coefficient gaps: 3/4/5
3. Export data to R for fuzzy cluster analysis
4. Decide on best cluster solution based on best interpretability of results
 - a. Both 4-cluster and 5-cluster solution provide a solution with a silhouette plot value that suggests that there is some pattern in the data, but that the pattern is not particularly strong
 - b. However the 4-cluster solution offers a better option for analysis as clusters are more evenly spread in terms of size (only one cluster is notably smaller) and fewer cases are recorded as misclassified (silhouette plot see Figure 1 below)

Figure A2.5 – Silhouette plot for final cluster analysis



5. Commence the analysis of the 4-cluster solution as described in Chapter 8

Table A2.1 – Overview table of central tendency measures for the clusters

included variables	cluster mean				standard deviation			
	CL 1	CL 2	CL 3	CL 4	CL 1	CL 2	CL 3	CL 4
migrant	0.69	0.70	0.27	0.80	0.25	0.20	0.26	0.15
time in city	0.66	0.86	0.14	0.26	0.23	0.19	0.16	0.20
visa	0.29	0.91	0.27	0.53	0.21	0.09	0.39	0.20
occupation	0.32	0.39	0.34	0.45	0.19	0.21	0.20	0.27
ethnicity	0.52	0.46	0.16	0.39	0.32	0.25	0.20	0.22
gender	0.59	0.77	0.72	0.76	0.14	0.17	0.18	0.16
age	0.32	0.41	0.49	0.68	0.16	0.30	0.20	0.18
parent	0.68	0.77	0.54	0.72	0.24	0.15	0.20	0.16
	cluster median				range			
	CL 1	CL 2	CL 3	CL 4	CL 1	CL 2	CL 3	CL 4
migrant	0.75	0.69	0.25	0.86	0.95	0.60	0.83	0.44
time in city	0.60	0.92	0.09	0.27	0.70	0.57	0.42	0.69
visa	0.33	0.92	0.08	0.56	0.62	0.27	1.00	0.70
occupation	0.38	0.29	0.32	0.44	0.62	0.63	0.63	0.89
ethnicity	0.55	0.50	0.08	0.44	1.00	0.89	0.50	0.75
gender	0.60	0.82	0.75	0.80	0.47	0.75	0.60	0.52
age	0.36	0.31	0.50	0.62	0.58	0.89	0.54	0.60
parent	0.67	0.73	0.49	0.70	0.69	0.50	0.54	0.59