



Univerza v Ljubljani
Fakulteta *za socialno delo*

Špela Breceljnik

Transnational lives of young professionals: an opportunity for social work

Master's thesis

Mentor: Doc. dr. Irena Šumi

Lisbon, 2017

Master's thesis data

Name and surname: Špela Brečeljnik

Title: Transnational lives of young professionals - an opportunity for social work

Location: Lisbon, Portugal **Year:** 2017

Number of pages: 95 **Number of appendices:** 1 **Number of tables:** 2

Mentor: Doc. dr. Irena Šumi

Abstract

In this thesis I attempt to provide some insight into lives of young professionals on the move. Since 1980s labour markets were made increasingly more flexible, institutions of social security were dismantled and education was subjected to the needs of the labour market, which resulted in an accumulation of insecurity for the future generations. Borrowing Standing's profile of precariat - an emerging social class most affected by the consequences of neoliberalism as a common denominator of their life insecurity - I explore the role migration has played in their lives and the capacity it has to alleviate some of their struggles. Despite the fact that transnationalism depends heavily on technological advancements and is as a theory embedded into the global capitalist system it is still a decent attempt to move beyond nationalist terminology when describing movements between different spaces and activities of individuals connecting them.

In the empirical part of this research consisting of several semi-structured interviews and a focus group I delve into topics such as the difference between home and sense of belonging, maintaining contact with several "social fields", gender and migration, origin-related stereotypes and the effects they've had on their lives, family and migration, skills and lessons learned, lack of political participation among young people, health, pension and social (in)security, work in the past, present and future, the role of formal education in their work life and thoughts on universal basic income as a way of reducing inequality. Social work can play an important role in the future of all young professionals by increasing the presence of social workers in companies, by creating a network of socially conscious enterprises using their profit to reverse some of the consequences of neoliberalism and by easing the struggles of post-migration transitional period.

My interviewees do not necessarily identify with people based on common national origin or age; they form new relationships based on common personal interests, values, language skills and opinions on important issues (gender equality, care for the environment, LGBT rights, women's rights, migrant rights, animal rights etc). They favour short-term work to long-term work and low-paying fulfilling work over high-paying mind narrowing work although they do not identify through their work anymore, they use it merely as a way to procure means to pursue other interests. They rely on personal savings for health and pension security but often use them to

alleviate the insecurity of a present work situation. Fast-changing environment is discouraging them from any long-term planning, their youth was prolonged into their late 20s and the awareness that most of them will live long enough to experience old age hasn't sunk in yet. They are influenced by neoliberal mentality in the course of their upbringing and formal education, raised to be selfish and independent but they could be persuaded into action if the proposals were new, progressive and flexible enough to accommodate their need for self-fulfilment.

Keywords: transnationalism, neoliberalism, precariat, young professionals, social security, work

Abstrakt

V tej magistrski nalogi sem poskušala bralcem ponuditi vpogled v življenja mladih strokovnjakov v gibanju. Fleksibilizacija trgov dela, oslabitev institucij socialne varnosti in podrejanje izobraževalnih ustanov potrebam trga dela so rezultirali v akumulaciji življenjske negotovosti in nepredvidljivosti za bodoče generacije. Kot skupni imenovallec življenjskih okoliščin s katerimi se soočajo mladi strokovnjaki moje raziskave sem si izposodila Standingov prekariat, zanimala pa me je tudi vloga migracij v njihovih življenjih oz. kapaciteta migracij za lajšanje stisk, ki iz te negotovosti izvirajo. Kljub temu, da je teorija transnacionalizma močno odvisna od tehnološkega napredka in vpeta v globalni kapitalizem je še vedno dostojni poskus presega nacionalistične terminologije pri opisovanju gibanja med različnimi prostori in aktivnosti posameznikov, ki te prostore povezujejo.

V empiričnem delu te raziskave, ki je vseboval več pol-strukturiranih intervjujev in eno fokusno skupino sem se z svojimi vprašanci poglobila v teme kot so razlika med domom in občutkom pripadnosti, ohranjanje stikov z "več socialnimi polji", spol in migracije, izvorni stereotipi in vpliv, ki ga imajo na njihova življenja, družina in migracije, pridobljene veščine in naučene življenjske lekcije, pomanjkanje politične participacije med mladimi, zdravstvena, pokojninska in socialna (ne)varnost, delo v preteklosti, sedanjosti in prihodnosti, vloga in pomen formalne izobrazbe za njihovo zaposlitev in misli o univerzalnem bazičnem dohodku kot eni od strategij za zmanjšanje neenakosti. Socialno delo lahko igra pomembno vlogo v prihodnosti vseh mladih strokovnjakov z povečanjem prisotnosti socialnih delavcev v delovnem okolju, z ustvarjanjem mreže socialno ozaveščenih podjetij, ki bi svoj profit porabila za reverziranje posledic neoliberalizma in z lajšanjem stisk, ki izhajajo iz post-migracijskega tranzicijskega obdobja.

Moji vprašanci se ne nujno identificirajo z ljudmi iste starosti ali nacionalnega izvora temveč sklepajo nove odnose na podlagi skupnih interesov, vrednot, jezikovnih zmožnosti in mnenj o njim pomembnih zadevah (enakost med spoloma, skrb za okolje, pravice LGBT skupnosti, pravice žensk, migrantov in živali etc). Raje imajo kratkoročno kot dolgoročno delo ter nizko plačano izpopolnjujoče delo kot visoko plačano monotono delo vendar delo kot tako ni več pomemben del njihove identitete, razumejo ga instrumentalno, kot način pridobivanja sredstev s katerimi lahko sledijo drugim osebnim interesom. Na področju zdravstvene in pokojninske varnosti se zanašajo na osebne prihranke, ki jih pogosto porabijo za lajšanje negotovosti trenutne delovne situacije. Hitro spreminjujoče se okolje jim preprečuje kakršnokoli dolgoročno načrtovanje, njihova mladost se je podaljšala v pozna dvajseta leta in zavedanje, da jih bo večina doživela starost se še ni usedlo v njihovo zavest. Neo-liberalistična mentaliteta je vplivala nanje tekom odraščanja in formalne izobrazbe, ki sta jih oba želela oblikovati v neodvisne sebičneže vendar bi se jih z novimi, progresivnimi predlogi, ki bi bili pripravljeni vključiti njihovo željo po samoizpopolnjevanju dalo prepričati v akcijo.

Ključne besede: transnacionalizem, neoliberalizem, prekariat, mladi strokovnjaki, socialna varnost, delo

Index

Master's thesis data	0
Abstract	1
Abstrakt	3
Index	4
Part I	7
Culture, ethnicity, identity	7
Culture and ethnicity	7
Identities and culture	8
Transnationalism	9
Transnationalism as a (re)construction of place or locality	10
Transnationalism as a social morphology	11
Family	12
Transnational habitus	13
Gender	14
Transnationalism as the movement of capital	15
Transnationalism as a mode of cultural reproduction	15
Transnational as a site for political engagement	16
Transnational social formations (communities)	17
Diaspora as a type of consciousness	18
Transnational experience	19
Part II	22
Brief history of globalisation	22
The precariat	23
On youth unemployment in EU	24
Methodology	25
Researching transnationalism	25
Researching transnationalism in Lisbon, Portugal	25
Methodology used	27
Statistical data on interviewees	29
Table no. 1: Data collected during individual interviews	30
Table no. 2: Data collected during the focus group	31
Results and discussion	32
Transnational lives	32
On home	33
On sense of belonging	34
On keeping in touch	35
On contact with co-nationals while abroad	37
On implications of where the person is from	39
On feeling welcome	43
On getting in contact with the locals	45
	4

On getting registered	46
Migration and family	47
On living separately	50
On interviewees' influence on their families	51
On skills and lessons acquired	53
On being bi/multilingual	55
On gender	57
Transnational social security	59
On health	59
On security in old age	60
On social assistance	60
On settling down and raising children	61
Transnational work	62
On new forms of labour	62
On the state of job market in their respective fields	63
On ways of finding a job	64
On agencies	64
On working conditions	64
Internships	65
Permanent or temporary?	65
On connection between work and education	66
On attitudes towards work	66
Progress	67
On workplace of the future	67
Political and economic solutions	67
On political participation	67
On revolt of precariat	70
On universal basic income	71
On reversing the consequences of neoliberal mentality	72
On the role of social work	74
Conclusion	77
Imagining possible solutions	82
A change in mentality	87
References and sources	89
Appendices	92
Appendix no. 1: A list of all questions asked during the empirical part of this research.	92
Interviews	92
Focus group	93

Part I

Culture, ethnicity and identity are three terms, commonly found in studies about transnationalism, used to describe (relations of) different groups of people living in any given society. I have summarized the meanings of these three terms used throughout this thesis according to Šumi (2000) and Vrečer, eds. (2009). Furthermore, I will define transnationalism and how it affects the world at large according to Vertovec (several works). I will conclude this introduction with describing today's position of the precariat - an emerging heterogeneous social class whose existence is a result of political and economic processes which have taken place since 1980s according to Standing (2014, 2016). These key works will form the basis of my empirical research, the participants of which were all affected by the transformative forces described below.

Culture, ethnicity, identity

Culture and ethnicity

The term culture has been used to describe how humans differentiate from animals, how human groups differentiate among themselves with regards to continuity over longer periods of time, and finally to describe the wide spectrum of human social behaviour and its repertoire of cultural practices (Šumi, 2000). We know people do not participate within each culture equally; they do not have the same level of knowledge or understanding of it but instead function on the basis of common ideology that is protected by political power, ensuring everyone understands the boundaries of their groups in roughly the same way. A nation functions similarly; it gives its members a sense of unity and a sense of belonging through ideology - and as a result, they will continue to think and function as a collective, without ever having met all the other members of the nation (Šumi, 2000).

Ethnicity was in the past described as something involuntary and unchangeable, decided by history and continuity through time taken as "fate". The first reference to such a notion is biblical - "Can the Ethiopian change his skin or leopard his spots?" (Orlando Patterson in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 563). We are not really aware of ourselves until we come into contact with others that are not like us, and once we do, it is the differences between us and them that give us the most information about ourselves. Ethnicity is essentially the *mutual perception* of cultural differences, based on the shared myth of origin and *management* of social action based on those differences. The space where ethnicity takes place defines the boundaries of each group, personified in its members who are interacting among themselves and with others, creating in the process collective meaning and purpose. Here lies the reason why, despite linguistic and religious similarities of groups in the Balkan region, a violent conflict ensued: differences are often produced from similarities. Social action

based on such impassable differences can be everything from discrimination, to genocide, apartheid or even enslavement, etc (Šumi, 2000).

The boundaries of each group are established through the interaction of its members with others; they are constantly being re-negotiated, torn down or reinforced and are in no way completely fixed. One group can, over time, merge with another and abandon some of its own practices or create new ones with another group. An ethnic group in this sense is an informal group of people within a given society, bounded by their common interests and social institutions such as kinship or religion through which it differentiates itself from other groups within the same society. These binding group characteristics are a result of processes conditioned by time, space and often local economy; their salience can vary and so can the number of members. It is actually a political and economic phenomenon and not a cultural one, considering that the alliances formed within each group can be useful in a number of political contexts. If an ethnic group becomes formalized we are no longer talking about ethnicity but about national or international politics. However, that is not to say that nations are simply formalized ethnic groups as nationalist ideology would have you believe. Both are fairly recent phenomena - the terms ethnic group and ethnic conflict were coined to replace the words tribe and race (relations) although all of these terms are still used for "othering". The difference between culture and ethnicity is in those cultural differences that are perceived as impassable, irreconcilable and true since forever, springing from a deep well of history and thus deemed unchangeable. A cultural group becomes an ethnic group only in relation to other groups and ethnicity is the effect that this contact has on both groups with regard to the awareness of the differences in each of their cultural repertoires, and consequently on social action informed by that awareness (Šumi, 2000).

Identities and culture

The term identity has had, and still has, several meanings. We could be talking about our innermost feelings in relation to ourselves, the world or other people in our life or the numerous documents we use on a daily basis to identify ourselves to formal institutions. It could mean the way we separate or distinguish ourselves in the presence of other people and, at the same time, it could signify how we are similar to them (Vrečer, 2009: 55-57). The term "national identity" was coined after the fall of various communist regimes, when the newly established countries needed to bind their citizenry to the new political body by defining who did not belong in it (Vrečer, 2009: 55-57) "Identities are the names we give to different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past" (Hall in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 302) in a given time and space. We should think of identity "as a "production" which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside representation" (Hall in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 299). Identity is, according to Thrift (1997, in Butcher, 2009) "polyphonic, that is, plural working in many discursive registers, many spaces, many times". Because "identities cannot be understood as solid, anchored, and narrowly placed", Dolby and Cornbleth (2001, in: Butcher, 2009) prefer to use the term "moment", which "underscores our recognition that both social identities and transnationalism are varying, sometimes

fleeting, conjunctions of time and space" (Terada, 2001, in: Butcher, 2009). Another commonly used term is "cultural identity" and we can think of it :

- a) As one shared culture, a "collective true self". [...] This oneness is the truth, the essence. This is still a common way of marginalized groups self-representation due to the destruction of their own histories by colonialism but the author suggests this is not as much a re-discovery as it is a production of a new identity through re-telling the past (Hall in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 300).
- b) As a limited way to describe a shared experience before we include all the differences that constitute who we are or who we will become. Identity is therefore an interplay between difference and continuity. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories but are undergoing constant transformation, are subjected to power and do not have a final resolution (Hall in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 302).

"The culture concept grew out of mostly German romantic ideas regarding distinctive characteristics of peoples rooted in national territories" (Kearney in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 530). Anthropology has so far relied on a system of classification based on unitary identities which are either/or categories, obeying the binary logic in which one either is or is not a distinct member of a category such as a nation or a firm. How will the social science classify individuals and their identities if they are being constituted by globalized and transnational environments like transnational communities, informal economies, border areas etc. (Kearney in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 531)? Through the increasing global transmission of information and images and the diffusion of cultural traits, we are moving on from binary models of identification to more non-unitary ones in which the transnational person shares overlapping decentered identities (Kearney in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 530).

Transnationalism

The term "trans-national" was first used in the context of organisations and relations between non-government bodies (e.g. multinational companies) as opposed to "inter-national" which applied mostly to governmental relations. It already assumed the existence of the nation-state system whose boundaries are being crossed by transnational activity. In this thesis I will use the term "International" when referring to activities and programmes of nation-states and "multinational" when referring to large-scale institutions like corporations and religions who operate in multiple countries. The term "transnational" will be used when referring to activities initiated and sustained by actors unaffiliated with any institution, group or network of individuals across borders (Portes 2001, in: Vertovec, 2009: 29).

When I write about the nation-state, the "nation" refers to the territorial, social and cultural aspects of the members of the national communities concerned, while the "state" refers to the administrative, ideological and political apparatus guarding national borders, arbitrating citizenship and being responsible for domestic and

foreign policy.

The nation is so deeply implicated in the texture of everyday life [...] that it becomes difficult to remember that it is only one, relatively recent, historically contingent form of organising space in the world (Akhil Gupta in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 503). The difference between transnational and global lies in transnational having to be anchored in two or more nation-states while global is decentered from any nation-state and takes place in the global space; it is less institutionalised and less intentional (Kearney in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 521).

The theory of transnationalism is heavily dependent on the way we currently organise space and the effects/meanings that this type of organisation has on individuals moving between different spaces. It does not necessarily assume that a nation or a country is a natural social and political form in the modern world. It takes it into account because it has consequences for human migration but, just as a researcher is never completely separate from his or her research, neither can nationalism be completely taken out of the equation. Transnationalism is also imbedded into global capitalism which distributes access to resources and influences reasons for migration. The main contribution of this theory is to shed light on all the different ways in which the countries of immigration are "including" (also assimilating, integrating, incorporating etc.) the newcomers into their seemingly homogenous societies and how much these ways are embedded into the nationalist ideology. Transnationalism attempts to use concepts that are beyond nationalist terminology such as "social field" and "transnational community" (defined below). According to Vertovec many of us are now transnational, whether we move or not. We are slowly moving towards a future of *super-diverse* cities where configurations of co-present "ethnicities", cultures, languages and religions [...] overlap with or entail multidimensional complexities with respect to other variables such as gender, class, legal status and human capital (Hiebert, Rath, Vertovec, 2014). Such cities already exist (e.g. New York City) but they are for now more of an exception than the rule. The terrorist attacks and large numbers of refugees coming through Europe since 2015 have had a destabilizing effect on European politics; the popularity of the far-right political parties has increased, some inner borders closed and separatist movements such as "Brexit" have emerged. It seems as though borders are solidifying instead of dissolving and that nationalism is very much alive with fear for the future swaying even those who are moderate in their nationalist beliefs. However, before these events occurred, there was a good chance that we would become increasingly interrelated with the national governments making more and more space for unified European legislation. The closing of inner borders has mainly affected those who do not yet have European citizenship as current European nationals are already scattered all over the union, whether registered or not. The European Union might not be a part of the future for ?us? but there is a good chance that a certain level of openness will remain.

Vertovec (2009) talks about various types of transnationalism:

Transnationalism as a (re)construction of place or locality

The processes of identity, border and order construction are mutually self-constituting. Identity of the people according to Schiffauer et al,

is believed to be contiguous with the territory, demarcated by a border. Within the border, laws underpin a specific social and political order or system; this social order [...] both draws upon and reinforces the sense of collective identity (2003, in: Vertovec, 2009: 87).

Globalisation compounds identities, ignores borders and over-rules orders. If frequent changes in location are possible then "lasting identitive commitments" (Vertovec, 2009: 87) are unnecessary. Identities can be partial, intermittent and reversible and it is for that reason that order no longer depends on the loyalty stemming from an immutable national identity for which we do not yet have an alternative (Vertovec, 2009: 87). Migrant transnationalism is not solely responsible for the challenges that the nation state system is facing today but it does raise issues concerning civic order and cohesiveness of "host" societies (Vertovec, 2009: 88). When the politicians withhold rights, voice and welfare access to immigrants they are creating a multi-tiered sense of membership that undermines the efforts to maintain a firm collective identity and, consequently, order. Agirdag et al,

found a lower level of European identification amongst non-European immigrant children and postulated that a perceived lack of welcome to immigrants [...] was being internalised by the children, particularly when "European identity" was being formulated in racial or ethnic terms (2012, in: Healy, Richardson, 2016).

It was globalisation (mediated by migration, technology advancement, commerce, finances, tourism etc.) that caused deterritorialization of production, consumption, communities, politics and identities from local places (Kearney in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 525) which allowed "hyperspaces" (environments detached from any local reference) to be built - airports, franchise restaurants, production sites etc (Kearney in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 526). As a result, the borders (geographic and cultural spaces) and boundaries (legal spatial delimitations of nations) do not coincide anymore, if they ever did (Kearney in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 540).

"The nationalist project was to make space and identity coincide" but transnationalism has changed people's attitudes regarding space by a) positioning certain actors in more than one country and b) through erosion of distinction between spatial and virtual communities (Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: xxii). That is why

[...] "local" is [understood in this thesis as] a fluid and relational space. Often, it is referred to as a community, a village, a town, or even a city. At other times, however, local is defined as all subglobal forms of social organisation. (Anderson, 1991; Cheng, 2004; Ferguson, 1995; Wiley, 2004 in Lin, Song, Ball-Rokeach, 2010).

Transnationalism as a social morphology

People who migrate from their country of origin and settle in a new country are no longer considered uprooted, expected to abandon all of their previous patterns and painstakingly learn a new culture and language. These transmigrants build social fields linking the two countries together by maintaining familial, economic, social, organisational, religious and political relations whilst living in two (or more) countries

simultaneously (Schiller, G. et al, in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 25). [...] Levitt and Schiller (2004) defined *social field* in the context of transnational migration as

a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organised, and transformed (p. 1009 in: Lam, Warriner, 2012). It is based on a theory according to which any social space is a structured space of positions where people's relations to each other are determined by the relative distribution of capital/resources, and transnational social fields are no different - some of the forms of capital required for migration are distributed unequally and their acquisition influences position and movement (Lam, Warriner, 2012). Another term to look at here is social capital defined by James Coleman (1988, in: Vertovec, 2009: 36) as the capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader social structures. So it is not the resources themselves that are considered social capital, it is the individual's ability to mobilise them on demand; it is a property drawn from a person's web of relationships, maintained by visits, communication through phones and computers, marriage, participation in events and membership in associations (Boyd, 1989: 641, in: Vertovec, 2009: 38). Social capital can consist of weak or strong ties, accumulated through education, employment and personal interests, frequently used for information, support and career-related opportunities (Chua et al., 2008; Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 1999; Seibert et al., 2001 in Levy, Peiperl, Bouquet, 2013).

The structural relationships between people have turned into transnational networks where, through globalisation-enabled means, new connections between people are established and old ones are reinforced (Vertovec, 2009: 5). Due to technological advancements, (mainly in communication and transport) members of these communities no longer need to live in close proximity to each other in order to maintain the sense of solidarity and common repertoire of symbolic or collective representations (Bofulin, 2011). The explosion of interpersonal interactions across territorial boundaries provides the energy that drives transformative efforts of civil society networks (Koehn, Rosenau, 2002: 106, in: Vertovec, 2009: 28).

Family

Changes in family life due to transnationalism are visible in residential arrangements, budget management and intergenerational cultural reproduction. But it also affects parenting and childhood. Parenting from afar can cause emotional distress, issues of abandonment, financial pressures and difficult negotiations with caregivers who fill in for the parents. Separation can occur due to many reasons; according to "global care chain" workers (often women) will leave their children to go care for other people's children in attempt to ensure a better future for their own (Hochschild, 2000; Zaviršek, 2009). Similarly there is the situation where a family member migrates for the purpose of work and to raise the living standards for his core or extended family. Another common situation is that of the so called "parachute kids" who are sent to western schools in order to gain admission to one of the universities and thus be in a better position for the rest of the family to join them and obtain residency permits (Vertovec, 2009: 61-64). Separation is not always involuntary; sometimes the

educational, work or personal interests of all the family members cannot be delivered within one country and families will find their own unique ways in which they coordinate family life.

It is not a given that the transnational orientation will be passed down from parents to children but these values, knowledge and skills are a social capital that could be activated later in life if the circumstances demand it (Levitt, 2004). Some children of migrants may participate regularly in cultural, economic, or political activities within social networks that span national borders; others may not participate directly but are involved with the flow of economic resources, ideas, images and contact with people from far away.

Norms of transnational life involve circuits of transnational obligations and interests that often affect life's economic aspects. Transnational social patterns condition people's expectations of work, migration, household development and individual life course potential. They condition moral obligations such as disseminating information among friends and family, engaging in reciprocal exchange and enlisting in mutual support, their institutional structures such as organisation and participation in religious communities and hometown organisations and their relations to their state by fashioning practices to manipulate it, contest it or avoid it altogether. Carmen Voigt-Graf observed that

the type of regularity of transnational flow depends primarily on what happens within the extended family rather than on the economic or political situation in the home or host country (2002, in: Vertovec, 2009: 74). It involves tactics for collective upward mobility (e.g. marriage) but these norms do not ensure social cohesion; in fact, sometimes they become the cause of tensions and fragmentation within families if the migrating part fails to send remittances or wishes to pursue his or her own individual goals.

Transnational habitus

When socialization and family life takes place between two or more settings, it means that the building of *habitus* will be that much more complex. The practices, outlooks and points of reference from one context mix, conflict, merge or compete with those from other contexts (Vertovec, 2009: 61-64).

Drawing from Bourdieu's concept of habitus, Guarnizo (1997, in: Lam, Warriner, 2012) suggested the term transnational habitus to describe people's tendencies for certain types of social action that stems from their social positioning and experiences across countries. It

accounts for the similarity in the transnational habitus of migrants from the same social grouping (class, gender, generation) and the generation of transnational practices adjusted to specific situations (Guarnizo, 1997: 311, in: Lam, Warriner, 2012). It is a way of understanding how a person's outlooks and values are transnationally constructed. It refers to a personal and internalised repertoire of cultural dispositions, perceptions or points of reference that are neither fully conscious nor nonconscious, but guide our personal goals and interactions. Its

power comes more from habits than learned rules and regulations which ensures its durability (Vertovec, 2009: 66). It is an abstract intangible concept which manifests itself in individual narratives, daily practices and social institutions (Vertovec, 2009: 66).

To think of transnationalism through habitus gives us an idea of how varied a person's repertoire of values and potential (re)actions can be. Migrants often develop new forms of habitus to cope with cultural differences. These include skills, information and abilities that are characteristic of individuals who move between cultures with ease. This is often associated with cosmopolitanism which is meant here as a skill to manoeuvre between different socio-cultural spaces and their subjective meanings.

Gender

The authors use a spatial term "geographies" to convey that "gender operates simultaneously on multiple spatial and social scales (e.g., the body, the family, the state) across transnational terrains" (Pessar, Mahler, 2003). They call them "geographic scales". They use another term, "social location" to refer to a person's position within "interconnected power hierarchies" created by historical, political, economic, geographic, family-based and other dividing factors. People are generally born in social locations with certain (dis)advantages caused by factors such as class, race, sexuality, ethnicity (in terms of being perceived as essentially different and being affected by various forms of management of that perception), nationality and gender. These social locations are fluid and tend to shift over time but they affect access to resources/mobility across transnational spaces and people's ability to act as transformers of these same spaces. The situation in which a person's social status or access to resources in his or her respective society are influenced by two or more personal circumstances simultaneously was described as *intersectionality* by Crenshaw (1991). As an example she describes how the plight of black women was ignored by the civil rights movement, which focused on black men and feminist movements which focused on white women. Being a black woman meant being excluded on the basis of gender and race simultaneously, thus creating a new form of exclusion which often goes unnoticed by policy makers and judicial authorities. Transnational migrants are moving through spaces where their personal circumstances have various meanings; gender is merely one of the circumstances which, in combination with other factors, influences their position in a society of immigration.

"Transnational families demonstrate how culturally constructed concepts of gender operate within and between diverse settings" (Vertovec, 2009: 64). Robert Smith's research (2006) in Mexican American families in New York provided a multifaceted portrait of the impact of growing up in a transnational social field of family and kin network. His research showed how the young people in these families actively negotiated ideas and practices of gender, including competing notions of masculinity and femininity, as they interacted with and related to family and community members in New York City and Ticuani, their hometown in Mexico. This research illustrated

how gender disposition, as a form of cultural capital that serves to position the self in family life and other domains of social relationships, is developed and negotiated in an interconnected social field that crossed national borders (Lam, Warriner, 2012).

Irrespective of the cultural background, women's social status generally improves through migration due to access to employment and a certain degree of control over resources while men's social status worsens - hence men are more likely to desire to return home in order to regain their status and privileges (Itzigsohn, Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005: 897, in: Vertovec, 2009: 65). In other situations, the gender roles remain the same or are even strengthened by migration because the disadvantaged position of women in the private sphere is simply reproduced and joined by a perceived threat to the cultural notions of her feminine virtue. Sometimes the fact that the primary breadwinner in the family is a woman and not a man does not bring about any changes regarding gender roles. For example, when a Filipino woman became the financial provider and the father stayed at home to look after the children, these same children simply learned that the role of the father is to discipline and the role of the mother is to nurture (Salazar Parreñas, 2005, in: Vertovec, 2009: 65).

Transnationalism as the movement of capital

The amount of money that migrants send home in a form of remittances is in excess of 450 billion \$ worldwide (IFAD, 2015)¹. According to the World Bank's report², the country that received remittances which constituted the highest percentage of national GDP is Nepal with 32.2%, followed closely by Liberia and Tajikistan. The rapid increase in migration has influenced growth in the sector of telecommunication, air transportation and private money sending. Countries of emigration have developed enterprises marketing to people in the, offering travel agencies, cyber cafes and companies specialising in shipping abroad (Vertovec, 2009: 102).

But money traffic does not only go one way. The strategy is often one of spreading assets, especially if one of the contexts is not stable for whatever reason. Some communities found themselves dispersed due to forced migration while others have done so deliberately. These activities are cumulative in character, economically, politically, socially or culturally. Remittances need not be only fiscal in nature; the two or more social fields that are connected by one person who is migrating will unavoidably be affected by the migrant's input of new information, values and ideas and those can be equally transformative as financial ones.

Transnationalism as a mode of cultural reproduction

Transnationalism is often associated with a fluidity of constructed styles, social

¹ Data on the amount of remittances worldwide: <https://www.ifad.org/topic/overview/tags/remittances>

² Data on the percentage of remittances in national GDPs by World Bank, 2015:
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS>

institutions and everyday practices. These are often described in terms of syncretism (merging), creolisation, bricolage (something constructed or created from a variety of different things), cultural translation and hybridity. Fashion, music, film and visual arts are areas in which these processes are most often observed. Among transnational young people, facets of culture and identity are often consciously selected, syncretised and elaborated from more than one heritage (Vertovec, 2009: 7). Key tools for cultural reproduction of persons living in diasporas are global media and communications (Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: xx). In the electronic media, the politics of desire and imagination are always in competition with the politics of heritage and nostalgia. Private enterprise encourages the former (what could be), nation-states to thrive on the latter (what is or was) (Vertovec, Cohen eds. 1999: 487).

Transnational as a site for political engagement

Trans-migrants challenge the nation state ideals of belonging by living in a country in which they do not claim citizenship, but claim citizenship in a country in which they do not live. They may claim membership in multiple polities in which they may be residents, part-time residents or absentees. Dual/multiple citizenship might be a way for trans-migrants to politically participate in all the places of their involvement if they so desire, but nation-states have long been concerned with the possible ramifications of split political loyalties including, but not limited to, a perceived security threat from "enemies within", hindered integration process and violation of equality by granting a wider range of rights to some individuals but not others (Vertovec, 2009: 92). Hansen and Weil (2002 in Vertovec, 2009: 92) respond to these arguments by pointing out that simultaneous loyalties are entirely possible (the European Union is one such example), the security threat exists even if the option of dual citizenship does not, integration is actually furthered by dual citizenship and the additional rights granted are usually not significantly greater- and even if they are, so are the obligations.

Technology enlarged the space in which certain issues and plights of transnational communities can be addressed and made the mobilisation of support, enhancement of participation and lobbying somewhat easier (Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: xxiii). An example of such transnational political activity is international NGOs, platforms lobbying against human rights abuses or environmental disasters.

There are several ways in which nationals abroad can influence homeland politics. Often political parties address the broader boundaries of the imagined nation, defining its borders socially instead of geographically and, in doing so, create a deterritorialized nation state. In 1990 Croatians abroad partially financed the election campaign of Franjo Tudjman and, as a reward, obtained 12 seats in the parliament - more than any other officially recognized minority (Vertovec, 2009: 95). The immigrants themselves can organise rallies to lobby the home government (Chinese, North Korean, Persian activists) and/or create political projects in exile (e.g. Lenin, Gandhi, Imam Khomeini etc.) A more indirect but still political participation would be

monetary contributions to civic or charity projects which force local governments to take the wishes of the migrants into account, even though generally not to a satisfying extent (Vertovec, 2009: 94).

John F. Stack, Jr. writes that being a part of a cultural group³ as a subjective positioning of self, distinguishes between group members and outsiders and is an effective means for group mobilization. This could explain the motivation behind one identifying as a member of a cultural group - it becomes a starting point for expressing demands for power and status within a political system. These groups often span across the borders of national countries and even though they cannot challenge the state with their militaristic capabilities, they can challenge its legitimacy (John F. Stack, Jr. in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 628-629). An example of such a challenge is the Kurdish population who lost its own sovereign nation-state in 1925 when it was divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Terrorism is an unfortunate consequence of the technological advancements that have enabled the empowerment of transnational networks with a persisting desire to achieve the ultimate status of a formalised cultural group. With limited resources, terrorist activities are a cheap and effective tactic for articulating demands in front of a global audience (John F. Stack, Jr. in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 631). Transnational linkages supply these groups with the vital resources necessary to carry on their struggles: information, money, weapons and moral support.

Transnational social formations (communities)

Rudolph (1997, in: Vertovec, 2009: 145) points out that religious communities are one of the oldest transnationals - Sufi orders, Catholic missionaries and Buddhist monks who carried their messages across great distances, hand in hand with colonialists and other conquerors, have set the way for the development of global religious traditions.

Today diasporas are one of the interesting examples of transnational communities mainly due to their endurance against the pressures of assimilation posed by nation-state building processes.

They are [...] a testimony to the inherent fragility of the links between people, polity and territory and to the negotiability of the relationship between people and place (Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 484). As a particularly adaptive form of social organisation they pre-date the nation-state and will probably succeed it. The "identity" of the diasporic persons is less focused on common territory than on memory or, more accurately, on the social dynamics of remembrance and commemoration (Paul Gilroy in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 293). The reproduction of this common memory depends on its micro transfer between friends and family and is a result of an interplay between memory (what was) and desire (what could be) over time. Naturally, among members of the same diaspora this collective

³ The original term used was ethnicity and since it didn't quite capture the meaning of ethnicity that I wrote about at the beginning of this thesis I chose to replace it with the term cultural group. The same replacements was made in the rest of the summary of his thesis.

memory has many trajectories and its archaeology is somewhat fractured (Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 485). Whether a diaspora will endure and become a political actor within the host country depends on its members and their cumulative individual or collective decision (Gabriel Sheffer in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 417).

The term "diaspora" was originally used for Jewish displacement from their pre-antique homeland, but is now used, interchangeably, as a collective term describing a) the process of becoming scattered, b) the community living abroad and c) the space in which this community lives. Often the term is used to describe practically any population which is considered "deterritorialized" or "transnational" - that is, a population which has originated in a land other than where it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe (Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: xvi). We can no longer (and we never really could) talk about diasporas as a phenomenon with stable points of origin, clear and final destinations and coherent group identities (Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 484).

Diaspora as a type of consciousness

It is a contemporary kind of awareness within transnational communities marked by a dual/paradoxical nature which is constituted by experiences of discrimination in the host society and identification with the historical heritage from the society of origin. While some identify with one society more than the other, the majority seem to maintain several identities simultaneously. "Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference" (Schiller, Basch, Blanc-Szanton, 1992: 11, in: Vertovec, 2009: 6). This production of "hybrid identities" is commonplace among diasporic youth whose primary socialisation has taken place between two cultural fields. People born in a transnational community of any kind negotiate their way through the two or more cultural spaces in which they have been brought up.

Another kind of diaspora consciousness is religious. In the context of religious pluralism, believers are tempted to question their own beliefs and practices when having to rationalise or justify them to believers of other faiths. They live in a place where their religion is simply one of many and can no longer be taken for granted. It is the contrast between oneself and the rest of society that stimulates a mode of religious change through heightened self-awareness (Vertovec, 2009: 140). This contact provides grounds for religious transformation that might be exported to other countries where this religion is practiced, or for the spreading of one religion among the rest of the population (Ninian Smart in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 421-422). Especially with major religions, the local differences are disappearing to make way for the homogenised, essentialised, transnational version that fosters a more global religious identity (Vertovec, 2009: 148). Religion is disaggregating from local culture, boiling down to its fundamentals in an attempt to adapt to different cultural spaces in which it is practiced (Williams, 1984: 191, in: Vertovec, 2009: 150). According to Schiffauer (1999, in: Vertovec, 2009: 150) the attempts by young people to distinguish what is truly the core of their faith when it is separated from national or

regional specifics is what prompts them to join so-called "fundamentalist" movements.

Transnational studies can resurrect methodological nationalism of a new type and become a form of transnational methodological nationalism. Scholars have tended to bring their ethno-gaze into their theories of society, as if everyone is always and necessarily constrained by some form of culturally based and ultimately territorially linked identity (Schiller, 2005). It is important to mention that *transnational social formations (communities)* are not only diasporas; transnational relations exist among multinational businesses, revolutionary movements, non-governmental organisations, trade unions, scientific networks and religious organisations (Vertovec, 2009: 28). We could also count worldwide terrorist networks, transnational organised crime, transnational policing activities, transnational "capitalist" class - corporate executives, state bureaucrats, professionals and other elites, domestic workers, sex workers, tourism, pilgrimages, exchange students, au pairs, transcontinental families, international aid bureaucracies, international voluntary organisations and even backpacking interrail-passholders. It is among these transnational social formations where globalisation occurs as a personal experience of many people (Vertovec, 2009: 30).

Transnational experience

There are at least three different ways to experience transnationalism. a) The person migrates and is perhaps sending remittances b) The person's family migrates and he or she is receiving remittances or c) The person has not migrated, is not receiving any remittances but lives in an area influenced by migration. [...] transnationalism is not a phenomenon that is "out there." Rather, it involves transformations in the very texture of everyday life "in here" (Charney, Kiong, Yeoh 2003, in: Lin, Song, Ball-Rokeach, 2010). According to Portes, It is experienced and realised by the

growing number of persons who live dual [or multiple] lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders (Portes, 1999: 217, in: Lin, Song, Ball-Rokeach, 2010). By "dual or multiple" lives they do not mean that a person has multiple personalities but merely that the social field in which the person currently resides influences his or her activities.

Transnational migrants arrive in their new country of residence with certain practices and concepts constructed at home [...] then they engage in complex activities across national borders that create, shape and potentially transform [...] them (Schiller et al. in: Vertovec, Cohen eds. 1999: 26). Even though our identities are never fixed and depend heavily on a wide range of ever changing factors like time, space and social context, we can still assume that migration will have some sort of effect on the person's sense of self, his/her value system, worldview, range of so called "cosmopolitan" skills or some other characteristic. According to most theories these changes are seen to be generated in and constructed through, a kind of internal (self-attributed) and external (other-ascribed) dialectic conditioned within

specific social worlds (Koehn and Rosenau 2002: 112 in Vertovec, 2009: 77).

The migration itself calls for a re-examination of one's sense of self. Firstly, simply because the migrant now has more of a need to verbalise aspects of himself/herself that used to be self-explanatory, secondly, in the presence of a contrast one's own conception of self and the world becomes more explicit and tangible and thirdly, the migrant must now establish new relationships. Butcher (2009) argues that relationships - "human ties established in the repetition of social practices and reflective of particular shared values" - are linked with identity. Transnational movement involves a re-evaluation of one's own identity, contact with difference, a disruption of familiar cultural frames of reference and establishing new relationship networks. One can overcome the discomfort of trying to establish a new relationship network by adjusting his/her own identity understanding and performance or by searching for the points of the old networks in the new ones.

Apart from that, the migrant population is predominantly proletarian in their placement within the host country's labour force, even if the migrants have different class origin or educational background. This positioning is hegemonically constructed by the dominant class of the host country. The relationship between the dominant and the dominated is constantly re-enacted and confirmed until it is internalised by both sides and deemed perfectly legitimate. The newcomers internalise their position in the host country by having to constantly identify themselves (Schiller et al. in: Vertovec, Cohen eds. 1999: 39). It is the repetitive reaction of the local population with regards to their origin that will give them the most information about their positioning within that country.

One of the formal tools that facilitates this process is the procedure of obtaining a regular residency status -

a cultural process of subject-ification in the Foucauldian sense of self-making and being-made by power relations that produce consent through schemes of surveillance, discipline, control and administration (Aihwa Ong in: Vertovec, Cohen eds. 1999: 112). It is a hegemonically (top down) established set of criteria of belonging within a certain national territory. The self-making part is actually the subjects' ability or willingness to submit to these power relations and attend to various regulatory regimes in state agency and civil society (like church groups or NGOs - a more informal way of instilling the proper normative behaviour in newcomers; cf. Aihwa Ong, in: Vertovec, Cohen eds. 1999: 113). The mentioned criteria of belonging constitutes the perceived or actual differences in cultural repertoires and the individual's ability to pull himself/herself forward "by his/her own shoelaces". In the context of Portugal, the Golden Visa is one of the ways in which one can, to a certain extent, avoid the disciplining by the state when applying for residency. It is targeted at "third country" nationals (according to Eurofound, these are nationals of countries that are not a part of EU but the term is often misunderstood as "third-world countries") and its holders are entitled to live and work in Portugal by residing there at least 7 days in the first year and 14 days in subsequent years. They are exempt from having to acquire visas for other countries in the Schengen area, they are entitled to family reunification and eventually also to permanent residency (SEF on Golden Visas). The visa is acquired by investing large

sums of money into the country, directed either at research, business, arts or at refurbishing national heritage.

Sometimes one finds that the hegemonically constructed positions in both countries are unbalanced and can choose to emphasise one more than the other(s) if that puts the person in a more favourable position. According to Patterson, we all have several group allegiances, and culture (allegiance to a group with a particular language, inhabiting particular space and using a particular social repertoire) is merely one of them. One can have several cultural allegiances, together with class, religion, family, race (a group of people with similar physical features) which can overlap, coincide or conflict with each other (Orlando Patterson in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 562). According to Patterson, the goal of coordinating your allegiances is to maximise your economic and social status and minimise survival risks in the place of residence (Orlando Patterson in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 562).

One can become transnational without ever moving anywhere through living in close proximity to a transnational community. The proximity to groups in larger cities with whom we do not share common history influences us, first through our clothing and eating habits and sometimes to the extent where we adopt their rituals, belief systems and lifestyles. In multicultural societies⁴, points of contact between different groups of people are for e.g. local businesses or cultural/religious centres, exercise related facilities, music and dance festivals, major public holiday celebrations etc. The practices that are not "native" to our immediate environment have also undergone transformations while migrating. Often they were adapted to and simplified for their new environment, thus making them more easily acceptable by the host society and also easier to maintain where circumstances for proper practice were unsuitable. After a few generations, the practices themselves might develop several trajectories distancing themselves from the source even more. One such example is the complex "fabric of Hinduism" (Smart, 1999: 424, in Vertovec, 2009: 135) out of which only certain "threads" have made it to the West.

Of all the different types of transnational experience, those who live in an area affected by migration without receiving any fiscal remittances suffer most from uneven distribution of migration's rewards considering that their immediate environment has now become used to a lifestyle that they cannot sustain (Levitt, 2004). Fiscal remittances can have broad effects on the receiving economy. On one hand they improve the standard of living for those who receive it and for their employees; they grant access to education and health services (if they are even available), enable acquisition of productive goods (goods that will later generate more income, e.g. land) and provide people with more leverage against exploitative local employers. On the other hand they displace local jobs and incomes, induce consumption spending on foreign imports, cause inflation in real-estate and food markets, create disparity and envy between recipients and non-recipients and establish a culture of economic dependency (Vertovec, 2009: 104).

⁴ Meaning societies where people with several different cultural traditions inhabit the same area (e.g. city) even though they might still be separated within and have limited interaction with each other.

Part II

Brief history of globalisation

Standing (2014) in his book *Precariat Charter: From Denizens to Citizens* explains numerous parallel political and economic processes that have created the current state of the world. I will summarize some of the most crucial points of those developments that I believe are tantamount to understanding the situation in which the *precariat* has found itself today.

Labour instability is essential for global capitalism where a constant supply of flexible labour force is required. In 1980, at the very beginning of globalism, labour markets were made more flexible, social security institutions were dismantled and education was subjected to the needs of the labour market. The neoliberal project meant subjecting as many things as possible to market forces; privatising public services and dismantling collective organisations and properties. Education was commodified to the extent where its most important aspect became credentialism. It became the promise of a good job in the future and the content of it became secondary to the prestige of holding a certain degree/certificate. The workforce became global; workers that were willing to work for far less (due to different living standards or mass unemployment) became available and production migrated to developing countries where it took advantage of the cheap labour force (Standing, 2014). Service industry remained in the developed world because it required a more expensive workforce but for those with lower or medium levels of education, this shift meant losing employment. In the developing world, even with all the newly established production sites, the employed could not rise above the poverty line on account of exploitative working conditions. The wages in Western countries were also declining because workers' bargaining rights were weakened and also because of technological advancements that rendered many jobs obsolete. The only social stratum for which income was actually rising were capital owners.

Raw production materials, production and risk are localised in developing countries, planning, technology and profits are localised in the developed countries. The biggest inequalities are establishing themselves in the countries of former Soviet bloc, Latin America and Africa (Leskošek, 2015).

In return for the rights lost (not so cheap after all) loans were made available to those whose wages stagnated which gave the illusion that consumption was the same or higher as before, whilst the personal debt increased. All of these factors combined resulted in increased unemployment, poverty and homelessness that relied on a much weaker welfare system, workfare regime and an accumulation of insecurity for future generations.

Poverty and homelessness are often addressed through various programmes of reducing unemployment. The logic of it is that poverty is a consequence of

unemployment and in order to rise above it one needs to become employed. Now we know this is not necessarily the case because there are many people living in poverty regardless of whether they are employed or not. In order to decrease unemployment, the states have resorted to further reducing the rights of workers and creating even more flexible forms of employment. Workers find themselves more and more dependent on capital owners and market forces (Leskošek, 2012).

When the loans could not be paid off and the banking system essentially broke down (2007-08), those same loan-takers were forced to pay for the recapitalisation of banks through taxes. Increased public debt meant more cuts in public spending while recapitalisation went to private pockets thus resulting in a vicious cycle of increasing inequality between the rich and the poor and the disappearance of the middle class. To justify the ensuing austerity measures, governments created a myth that large national debt reduces economic growth. This was disproved shortly afterwards but it also raised the question asked by much of the precariat - when has the economic growth become the number one priority and who really profits from it? According to Standing (2014) "the precariat should be sceptical about growth, seeing the downside in terms of social externalities, ecological destruction and loss of the commons." Another strategy of Western countries used when tackling recession was to attract foreign investment by decreasing tax rates for multinational companies and further decreasing workers' rights. Tax cuts were given to those whose income was already high on account of the rentier economy, in the belief they would use these resources to reinvest and create more jobs. It is a trickle-down theory that is present to this day but there is nothing keeping the multinationals from pocketing that money or using it to further their own capitalist agenda (Standing, 2014).

The precariat

The precariat is essentially the social class that is most affected by these developments and whose main common denominator is insecurity of work, housing, social (in)security and life in general. Standing (2014) describes three varieties of precariat:

1. People coming from working class communities and families who in the past had skill, status and respect. They are relatively uneducated, more likely to blame "others" for their plight and often support cutting social benefits even when it affects them.
2. The second variety consists of traditional denizens – migrants, Roma, ethnic minorities, asylum seekers in limbo, all those with the least secure rights anywhere. It also includes some of the disabled and a growing number of ex-convicts. They could potentially be encouraged to take action.
3. However, there is a third, rapidly growing group. It consists of the educated, plunged into a precariat existence after being promised the opposite; a bright career of personal development and satisfaction. Most are in their twenties and thirties. They are not doing what they set out to do, and they have little prospect of doing so (Standing, 2014). They often accept jobs for which they

are overqualified thus occupying positions more appropriate for the skills in the first group.

On youth unemployment in EU

In March 2017, 3.883 million young persons (under 25) were unemployed in the EU28, of whom 2.727 million were in the euro area. In March 2017, the youth unemployment rate was 17.2 % in the EU28 and 19.4 % in the Euro area, compared with 19.1 % and 21.3 % respectively in March 2016. (European commission on unemployment statistics up to March 2017). The official youth unemployment rate has decreased but statistics do not take into account all the work that is done in order to procure paid work, in relation to work outside of working hours, the numerous ways in which an individual can be officially employed without receiving even the basic income, or the governmental programs created to battle unemployment rate by offering "work experience" in exchange for a small symbolic nominal payment without counting voluntary work, unpaid internships, trial periods, people who have exhausted their unemployment benefits, people who have not applied for them and of course, people who do illicit work. The unemployed according to the European Commission are:

persons aged 15-74 who were without work during the reference week, but who are currently available for work and were either actively seeking work in the past four weeks or had already found a job to start within the next three months. (European Commission on unemployment statistics up to March 2017)

It is safe to assume that the numbers are coming from the local employment agencies and who is to say that the work they will do in the next three months is not going to be one of the forms listed above? The statistics here do not help us much in getting a clear picture of youth unemployment in EU28 today.

On account of political, economic, environmental and social developments sparked by globalisation or global capitalism, the concept of youth has changed as well. Young people are increasingly economically dependent on their families or caregivers and become economically independent much later than previous generations, even though they are forced to make decisions about their future very early. They are expected to adapt to the new situation quickly and their success mainly depends on their social capital (e.g. connections) which is becoming a crucial form of support. A common strategy to delay entering the precarious job market is to continue with education, but higher education by no means automatically leads to a better position in the job market (Leskošek, 2009). In fact, it can have quite the opposite effect, rendering the person overqualified for most jobs available. In countries where the level of education has to be reflected in salary, that can be more of an obstacle than an advantage.

Methodology

Researching transnationalism

Migration in the late 19th and early 20th century had very similar characteristics as migration today. It is difficult to separate the "old" transnationalism from the "new" because there was a shift in focus from looking at how migrants adapted to a new environment to looking at their relationship with the place they left behind. Transnational activity was there but the researchers were not paying attention to it. Migrants can now maintain contact with people more easily and more often via communication devices or in person. It is easier to follow local events, which also means they are directly affected by them and can become politically engaged. There are countries now which are wholly reliant on remittances coming from abroad either because they provide livelihood for many citizens or funds for larger re-building projects (Vertovec, 2009: 17).

Not all migrants are trans-migrants; types and intensities at which they engage in transnational activities differ greatly (Vertovec, 2009: 19). To say that their involvement in transnational activities depends on the geographical proximity of the two or more countries in question would be somewhat contradictory taking into account the power of technological advancements in facilitating transnational relations in the first place (Bofulin, 2011). However, it definitely influences specific forms of transnational involvement such as travelling and being able to maintain close relationships with family or loved ones. As far as historical and cultural (e.g. linguistic) connections between two or more countries go, we can observe some of the steadier migration flows between colonies and "the old continent" which might provide the transmigrant with a better infrastructure. The impact of transnational infrastructure on migrants can vary according to family and kinship organisation, people smuggling routes, communication network, financial arrangements, legislative frameworks and economic interdependencies (Vertovec, 2009: 19).

Transnationalism as a theory has often been criticised for not being able to pinpoint precisely all the nuances of transnational involvement. I understand my interviewees' experiences as transnational if they also understand them as such. I look for their conscious awareness that their lives are unfolding in more than one social field. Of course, for the purpose of this research, I have interviewed people who have more than two such involvements in order to provide relevant information from what I consider to be unique cases..

Researching transnationalism in Lisbon, Portugal

I chose Lisbon as a location for my research because it is a smaller European city

which is packed with diversity, old and new (Vertovec, 2005). The old diversity is a result of the Portuguese empire which was the first and one of the longest in history - today Portuguese is still the official language in Brazil, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Macau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe.

The new diversity consists mainly of: people still migrating from former African, Latin American and Asian colonies, from other EU Member States and Eastern Europe. There are a considerable number of Chinese and Russians and also other investors who acquired the Golden Visa (According to Pordata - Base de dados Portugal Contemporâneo: Foreign population with legal resident status: total and by certain nationalities.) The new diversity also consists of individuals whose history shows their ancestors migrated from Europe 5 or 6 generations ago and these people are now claiming citizenship based on *jure sanguinis*. The requirement is to have an ancestor in the second degree of direct line, i.e. grandparents, but only if they acquired citizenship which is only obtained by residing in Portugal for a period of time (Portuguese nationality act 37/81).

The city is attractive to young professionals due to the lower cost of living, proximity to the sea and beaches, surfing spots, vibrant social life and multiple possibilities to find a temporary job without speaking Portuguese. Lisbon has become a startup hub, attracting young bilingual or multilingual professionals who either work remotely or profit from low-rent office spaces. There are several multinationals that are continuously recruiting speakers of various languages to work in translation or customer support. Portugal is also a common destination for retirees or people acquiring land for organic farming. Simultaneously, it is experiencing a 3.9 emigration rate, with university graduates migrating to other European countries (Pordata - Base de dados Portugal Contemporâneo: Gross emigration rate) because the living standard is decreasing for the locals who cannot afford to pay the prices set for wealthier foreigners receiving income from the outside. We can think of it as a kind of gentrification on a wider geographical scale.

Portugal is also a point of intersection for religions with the vast majority still being Roman Catholic but with a strong presence of other Christian denominations, followed by Protestant, Orthodox, Muslim, Jewish, Hindu and Buddhists (Statistics Portugal: Resident population with 15 and more years old (No.) by Place of residence (at the date of Census 2011) and Religion; Decennial.) On account of such diversity, religious shops have on offer everything from voodoo props and Buddhist statues, to new age religions and occultism and the places for practising religion or spirituality are similarly diverse. Everything from mosques, synagogues, Buddhist and Hindu temples, so called "new age" centres like ashrams or wicca organisations, Hare Krishna centres and other places in nature imprinted with significance in modern pagan rituals. The street space is shared by Evangelicals inviting passers-by to bible study, group prayers or miracle witnessing, by young men standing at the entrance to metro stations, offering to solve your problems with astrology, crystals, shamanic rituals or reiki treatments, by Jehovah's witnesses going from door to door spreading their doctrine and members of the church of scientology selling books translated into Mandarin Chinese and Arabic to accommodate the linguistically diverse population around them.

Diversity is further visible through all the different cuisines that are on offer, through grocery shops where one can buy Asian, Indian, Brazilian, Bulgarian, Russian and other ingredients. Collins argues that culinary consumption represents an effort to recreate familiarity of everyday life before migration. Such familiarity is, then, not necessarily about "group loyalties" (Gabaccia 1998 Gabaccia, D.R. 1998 in Collins, 2008) or connecting with home (Bell and Valentine 1997 Bell, D. and Valentine, G. 1997 in Collins, 2008) but can also be an example of the importance of practical know how, familiar sensations and sociality in feelings of belonging and attachment in everyday lives (1997: 109 in Collins, 2008).

All of those spaces are mixed with traditional portuguese *tascas* (restaurants) and *pastelerias* (bakery/cafes) seemingly connected but also separate. [...], public spaces are not neutral. They are filled with signs, symbols and markers that are variously "read" by socially positioned and culturally distinct people. Consequently, "public spaces mean completely different things for different groups" (Lownsbrough and Beunderman 2007: 19 in Vertovec eds., 2015) and it is according to those meanings that decisions about entering a space are made.

Methodology used

The research done for the thesis is *qualitative* on account of the type of data that was collected - lengthy, detailed descriptions of experiences and views, provided in their own way, using their own words. It is also *exploratory*, in that it seeks to bring to light the more intimate aspects of the uptake of migrants' situation. The data collected is insufficient to make generalisations about the migrant population at large but it does provide insight into transnational living of a particular group of young transnational professionals.

Methods used were *semi-structured interviews, a focus group and a questionnaire with open-ended questions*. Interviews were semi-structured because of the numerous topics I wanted to cover with my interviewees, some of which did not apply to everyone. The list of questions evolved over time as more relevant topics came to light and as I became more aware of all the possible alternatives in each topic discussed. The focus group was a way to bring into sharper light a shorter list of topics that were highlighted in the first round of interviews but were not discussed at length there. It enabled my interviewees to bounce ideas off each other, to share more sensitive and personal information, and for me to benefit from this exchange. Subsequently, I used the questionnaire to gather data from one participant who was unable to attend the focus group meeting.

My interviewees are all between the ages of 20 and 40, they all hold citizenship of a European Union Member State, or citizenship of a former Portuguese colony; in one case both. Both these conditions were decided on according to the historical and geographical aspects of where the research took place and who I was likely to meet. My primary focus was young professionals from EU Member States due to the fact

that we all share the right (but not necessarily the ability) to cross borders at will (at least for now). I added the second selection condition because of the historically established migratory flows that have undoubtedly shaped the local population.

The majority of my interviewees have a higher education degree, ranging from B.A.s to Ph.D.s in various fields; several of them hold dual citizenships, they have resided from between two to nine different locations and are bilingual or multilingual. In the second round I also collected information on their parents' ages, gender, education, occupation, employment and marital status, type of family they grew up in and how they position the household in which they grew up in in terms of class. All except one agreed to be represented in this research with their first name. The gathered information is in the table below.

The interviews took place either in my apartment over snacks or in a local bar/café over drinks which were provided by me in order to create a modicum of incentive for participation, especially for those interviewees I had not previously met. These occasions were from half an hour to 2.5 hours in duration, individual or in pairs, always recorded using Audacity and later transcribed using various tools such as Speechnotes or Google docs voice typing. Some of my interviewees I had previously met and socialised with, others I found through Facebook groups created for contacting and exchanging information among foreigners in Lisbon. The focus group was organised with those interviewees who were available and willing to participate again using Facebook messenger for coordination. It took place in my apartment and lasted for about 4 hours. The interviews were all conducted in the month of February 2017 and the focus group at the end of April 2017. The full list of questions asked can be seen in the appendix. The final number of participants in the first round of interviewing was 13, and in the second, 5.

Once all the data were transcribed, I marked some of the excerpts to be used for citation and paraphrased the remainder, ensuring I was taking into account the differences in opinion and experience, but at the same time, representing the views of the majority. I was all the while leaning towards answers that were repeated with two or more interviewees unless the experience was unique. The direct quotes from the interviews are marked with the interviewees' first name and age.

Statistical data on interviewees

Name	Age	Finished education	Nationality/ citizenship	Place of birth	Places of living	Languages spoken
Egidio	25	Secondary education, unfinished degree in music	Brazilian	Tucuruí, Pará state, Brazil	Brazil: Terezina, João Pessoa, Curitiba; Portugal: Lisbon	Portuguese, English
Edyta	39	University degree in translation	Polish	Katowice, Poland	Poland: Krakow; UK: London, Portugal: Lisbon	Polish, Danish, English
C	31	P.h.D. in chemical engineering	Brazilian, Italian	São Paulo, Brazil	Brazil: Florianopolis; UK: Manchester; Spain, Portugal: Lisbon	Portuguese, English
Hannah	29	University degree in film	British	Netherlands	Holland, Denmark, England, Switzerland, Singapore, the US: Indiana; Kenya, Canada, Portugal: Lisbon	English
Walter	29	University degree in literature	Swiss, Italian	Switzerland	Italy: Bologna; England, France, Germany, Portugal: Lisbon	French, Italian, English
Martina	29	University degree in International relations	Czech	Czech Republic	France, Kenya, Portugal: Lisbon	Czech, French, English
Maarten	37	Secondary education, unfinished	Belgian	Belgium	Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Morocco,	French, Dutch, German, English

		degree in sports			Tunisia, Dominican republic, Portugal: Lisbon	
Hillevi	27	Secondary education, finishing a university degree in anthropology	Spanish, Swedish	Spain	Sweden, Australia, the US, Portugal: Lisbon	Spanish, Swedish, English
Miia	34	University degree in translation	Swedish, Finnish	Sweden: Stockholm	Finland, UK, France, Belgium, Australia, the US, Luxembourg, Portugal: Lisbon	Swedish, Finnish, English, French
Chris	27	University degree in French and German	American, Portuguese (since 2016)	US: North Carolina	Portugal: Lisbon	English, Portuguese, German, Italian, French
George	29	University degree in economics and politics	British	UK: Watford	Canada, Australia, Brazil, Finland, Portugal: Lisbon	English, Portuguese
Chantal	40	University degree in business studies	Dutch	Surinam	The Netherlands, England, Ireland; Dublin, Belgium, Portugal: Lisbon	Surinamese, Dutch, English
Valeria	28	University degree in psychology of intercultural relations	Italian	Italy: Turin	Spain, Portugal	Italian, English, Spanish

Table no. 1: Data collected during individual interviews

	Egidio, 25	Edyta, 39	Walter, 29	Miia, 34	Chantal, 40
Parent n. 1	Male, 56 Tertiary - Bachelor's degree University administration, full time	Male, 63 Tertiary - Master's degree or higher Food technologist, self-employed	Male, 66 Higher/technical education Travel agent, retired	Female, 61 Tertiary - Master's degree or higher Computer programmer, full time	Female, 69 Higher/technical education Social worker, retired
Parent n. 2	Female, 55 Tertiary - Master's degree Hospital management, full time	Female, 63 Higher/technical education Accountant, retired	Female, 66 Secondary education Travel agent, retired	Male, 63 Secondary education Technical repairer, full time	Male, 79 Tertiary - Bachelor's degree Lecturer, retired
Identified their household as...	Lower class	Middle class	Middle class	Middle class	Middle class
Family	Grew up with both biological parents, still married.	Grew up with both biological parents, still married	Grew up with both biological parents, still married.	Grew up with both biological parents, divorced since 18 years of age	Grew up with both biological parents, still married

Table no. 2: Data collected during the focus group

Results and discussion

The results are presented according to the topics they refer to, drawing from both stages of empirical research.

Transnational lives

To start with, what are the primary reasons for moving the first time, and subsequently?

- Moving means more possibilities to develop one's career. In the society of origin those options are either limited from the start or exhausted after a certain period of time
- Boredom with one's own surroundings, the need for change, for something new and exciting, to explore
- The need to break the pattern, to not follow the familiar and predictable path laid down by parents or societal expectations, to liberate oneself from family
- For educational purposes, not necessarily because of lack of adequate options in one's immediate surroundings but also because the options elsewhere are combined with other benefits of living abroad

"Lifestyle migration" is a social phenomenon that encompasses the movement and resettlement of relatively materially privileged populations whose migration is optional, voluntary and driven by "cultural imaginings of destinations and mobilities" (Benson and Osbaldiston 2014: 2-3 in: Benson, 2015). Lifestyle migrants are affluent individuals who are moving to places that, for different reasons, offer a better quality of life, usually in contrast with life before migration. The "quality of life" in this sense is not limited to officially recognised indicators e.g. the standard of living, satisfaction with employment prospects, environment, politics etc., it is entirely subjective (Benson, 2015). Another important aspect of lifestyle migrants is their political privilege to move between countries with ease, setting them apart from those who are able to merely pursue lifestyles. The terms "home" and "belonging" are intrinsic to the significance that mobility has in their lives and are not tied to notions of residence and return (Benson, 2015).

With regards to privilege, the difference in meaning and usage of the words "migrant" and "expat" comes up during our focus group. It is the opinion of some of my interviewees that including expats into the group of migrants would misrepresent the struggles that migrants face pre- or post-migration. They further differentiate between immigrants, refugees and expats according to their ability to move freely across national borders, whether their migration is a necessity or a voluntary decision, and according to the level of their education or access to high-paying jobs. Holding certain passports makes a noticeable difference in one's ability to migrate but that being said, perhaps the need to differentiate between the terms is actually a

need to distance oneself from the negative connotations of being a migrant.⁵

Van Hear described global movements as "mixed migratory flows" (2009, in: Vertovec eds., 2015): "[in which] there is a combination of "voluntary" and "forced", internal and international, undocumented and legal (under a variety of channels), skilled and unskilled, conflict displaced, environmentally induced, political asylum seeking, trader, student, temporary and "circular" and permanent migrants. For many individuals, furthermore, there is a great overlap in these categories by way of their own motivations and experiences of movement."

In this thesis the terms "migration" and "migrant" are used as umbrella terms encompassing all these different experiences, motivations and circumstances of moving or being on the move. Differentiating between them is prudent only when trying to shed light on a particular type of hardship or privilege. We have to understand better where human rights need to be protected more and in what ways they are being violated or to point out how a certain privilege affects one's status in a transnational social field. However, as said before, these categories often overlap to the extent where it is impossible to really categorise anyone's experience of migration into clear, distinct and completely separate categories.

On home

The interviewees describe home in several different ways but only one of them connects the word home to a specific geographical location. It seems that for this particular group of interviewees, home is first and foremost a feeling made manifest through certain places or people (e.g. a family home, a childhood friend).

I think home normally means Stockholm but it does not mean that I do not feel at home wherever I live. I really make myself at home quite fast as long as I have a place to stay. But then going back to Stockholm is really like going back to my safe harbour. My parents are there, my sister, my family. Also I have some really close friends that I grew up with, I've known them my whole life [...]. I know I will find them there and if I need to recharge [...]. (Miia, 34)

They carry this feeling with them as they move and are constantly re-building it in new environments. The feeling of home was equated with comfort, familiarity, safety and refuge from the outside world; a place that resonates with one's personality and where one can be himself/herself. A person can have several sources of the feeling of home simultaneously that can persist or resolve themselves over time.

Have you ever felt at home before?

Yes, in a village where I grew up where my father still lives in Spain. I grew up there and my father and mother were there, when we were living there it felt like home, then my father moved out and mother moved out, in the beginning it was just me and my brother staying there, then he moved also. (Hillevi, 27)

⁵ An article in the Guardian from 2015 even presented a view that the term "expat" which literally means "out of fatherland" is reserved strictly for white people working abroad while others are consistently referred to as immigrants regardless of their social status or skill level (Koutonin, 2015).

On sense of belonging

[...] people do not usually choose where they live or where they were born as where they feel at home. And some people move abroad and go somewhere where they just feel so much better than they were before. (Chris, 27)

When I moved to Canada I quickly felt like I belonged where I was living. It fitted me personally a lot better, with things that I liked and things that I wanted to do and the kind of life I wanted to lead. (Hannah, 29)

[...] belonging is more specific, it's included in home but it's not everything. There are lots of belongings that make a home. For example, I like nature, good weather, the food, it's affordable, [...]. In England [...] I didn't like the things they had to do there and there are fewer things to do, so for me, it was almost nothing. I found two or three places and they really fit my personality [...]. The people that I met there I do not feel the need to...They do not care for me, they just care to have a good life and I care about people. (C, 31)

Similarly to the feeling of home, the sense of belonging is not fixed. It can change e.g. if one moves from one place to another and remains there for a longer period of time. It can be divided among many places and is constantly reinventing itself as the person moves and connects with more interests and parts of themselves.

So I came to the Netherlands in my teenage years, I could say that most of my more important decisions and experiences are in the Netherlands. First boyfriend, going out, jobs...[...] Actually in the beginning I was pretty much focused on everything Surinamese but after a certain period, I think 19 or 20 years of age I was focused on the Netherlands and Europe. (Chantal, 40)

In every place I find a piece of myself [...], I do not belong to one place because when I am in one place I miss something which is in another place. (Martina, 29)

Transnational migrants often compare the most recent place of immigration to either the previous one or their first place of residence, before they abandon those evaluations and concentrate on the place where they currently live.

Now I've been in Portugal for 2 years, in the first year I was still focused on Ireland a bit, comparing things [...], even though Ireland has some bad weather I still missed it, when I see Irish pubs or people I still love it but I'm not looking back anymore, I have to look forward and concentrate on where I am. Now I definitely feel at home here and I notice that when I'm in the Netherlands and there is something about Portugal or I hear the language I immediately pay attention. (Chantal, 40)

I noticed a sort of restlessness among my interviewees; several of them describe settling down or staying in one place as "feeling/being stuck". Both of the statements quoted here came from two of my interviewees that are quantitatively most affected by migration; their family members have either moved frequently in the past or are still moving, they currently reside in several different countries and their relationships with core or extended family members were and still are conducted mainly long-distance and intermittently which has been the case for a few years prior to this interview. I suggest that this restlessness is caused either by searching for a place in which the person will have optimal combination of different "belongings" (e.g. activities that are in their interest), by trying to discover what these belongings are, implying the need to get to know oneself or even by the need to find people with

whom they would feel they belong. As example, interviewee (G) described situations when he settled down for a certain amount of time on account of finding a romantic partner but as soon as the relationship ended he continued to move.

[...] that's the thing that frightens me about being in one place, you become static. When I'm travelling I'm constantly learning [...] when I'm at home it's not like that. For someone that is creative, this is incredibly powerful. (Hannah, 29)

But I do not know where I belong, I'm trying to figure it out and because of that I move a lot. I normally do not stay more than 9 months in a place and then I get bored and I want to go somewhere else. (Hillevi, 27)

On keeping in touch

The stretching of relationships as a result of transnational mobility impacts on the subjective understanding and performance of identity as adaptation to new cultural contexts takes place. Former everyday practices, values and relationships on which previous understandings of the self and the collective were based are challenged (Butcher, 2009) and this is just one of the reasons why keeping in touch can prove difficult. Either the time difference makes it difficult to have regular and direct contact and/or physical visits are challenging due to long distances. There can be too many people one has to keep in touch with and sometimes those who are more stationary have trouble adjusting to irregular contact with the person moving around. Interviewees keep in touch with people and places in varying degrees, forms or frequencies and use a wide range of tools to do it. They mention Facebook, WhatsApp, Viber, emails, phone calls, physical visits and even letters. The form of the contact will often depend on how close they are with the person they are contacting.

But then also I try to use the phone more nowadays, it depends on if we are talking about close relationships or like more superficial ones but for the closer ones I try to call them more because it's important for me and for them. (Miia, 34)

With people through social media and then with my family by writing letters. If there is an anniversary or Christmas I try to be there or I will try to write a letter. (Walter, 29)

Due to many different forms of keeping in touch one does not need to regularly report on all the events of one's life to everyone individually in order for the people in one's social network to feel as though they are still part of it. Social Media tools such as Facebook, keep everyone updated on the events of one's life easily and quickly. In one case the family is scattered between several different countries so they resorted to a family WhatsApp group through which they follow each other's lives and coordinate family reunions.

I have lots of nieces and nephews, I get a post every day from them, [...] it's a really good reason for us to be always connected because no one wants to miss out on the fun things that happen. (shows a photo of her nephew stealing The Economist at the age of 2 together with a tiny espresso cup). (Hannah, 29)

Contacts can be personal or professional but the relationships will often be

intermittent and it is crucial for that to be acceptable in order for the contact to stay active. If that is the case, a person can maintain a wide social network that can be mobilised or revived at any time in the future.

[...] sometimes it's like...oh well this was fantastic, good luck with everything, good luck with your projects and I know that maybe if in the future I need somebody who knows what they know or their competences I would get in touch with them. [...] I guess I stay in touch in a way but my situation does not suit everyone. But I also have a lot of friends, if you look at it that way, I have a really really broad network from all of these countries and it's impossible to stay in touch with everyone. It takes too much time, [...]. (Miia, 34)

[...] key to relationships is still opened even if you are far away from people. When I move away for a while I have this knowledge that when I see them it will be fine. (Hannah, 29)

Keeping in touch with closer friends or family members is crucial during times when the interviewee needs support because something sad or stressful has happened or perhaps he or she is feeling lonely. Such events often act as a catalyst for a longer, more meaningful and deeper conversation with someone who lives far away. But interviewees emphasise the importance of living and making friendships where they currently are, among other reasons, to speed up the process of feeling at home in a new place.

I have to have those four or five strong people that I know are here and I can share things that interest me so we can have discussions but also if I have a problem or I need an advice or I need you to listen to me for an hour because I'm feeling bad. (Walter, 29)

You have to live in the place, it's ok to call your mother or your friends, but do not do it every day, try to live your life here and it's easier to feel home. (Maarten, 37)

One of the questions I posed to my interviewees was how does online communication compare to face-to-face interaction and I have received varying responses. For some, it is very close to face-to-face conversation, the multiple tools we have now to see each other and engage in common activities across long distances are making it possible to recreate the feeling of physical closeness. These interviewees describe their interaction through tools such as Skype, Facebook video chat or FaceTime to be "just like hanging out".

When I was living in Brazil I had one of my friends from university, like once or twice a week we would do a video chess game. We would set up a video, have our chess boards on the table, have some fancy beer and just play chess and talk for like an hour. (George, 29)

For others it was the exact opposite; online interaction was considered to be the best possible option we have at the moment but was just a substitute for "the real thing". It can temporarily minimise the distance but some have reverted back to more traditional forms of long-distance communication such as phone calls or letters because they consider them to be more personal and requiring more commitment.

I think that is why I started calling more because a good phone call...the other day I talked to one of my friends for an hour and 20 minutes and I didn't even notice (laughter), [...] it was just like hanging out on a normal day. (Miia, 34)

Online communication also has the power to facilitate relationships that otherwise

would not take place or would be much more difficult to bear. Something about a screen and a keyboard working together as an intermediary makes it easier to communicate because of the time that one has to decide what is best to reply.

With my sister it gets better because face-to-face we are always fighting, With my father we write, like how are you, good, ok. But face to face we do not really speak to each other properly. (Hillevi, 27)

The connection with a place where one has lived for a certain period of time can also persist long after the person has moved away. It depends on how long the person was living there, how much they were a part of the local community, what sort of experiences they had there, in what period of their life they were living there etc. It is often a form of adversity that serves as a reminder.

I was really upset by what is going on right now in the states because I think I lived in that kind of bible-belly region...I feel connected to what is happening because I feel I was affected by that kind of attitude when I lived there. (Hannah, 29)

I think I feel connected to countries that have a problem, whenever something goes wrong in a country that I spent time in... I do not think about it until something f***** up⁶ happens and then I feel awful. [...] now when I hear anything about Kenya then I start thinking about all the people that I met in Kenya. (Hannah, 29)

On contact with co-nationals while abroad

The interviewees hold different views on contacting other co-nationals when abroad. The first group lists numerous situations where they actively avoid it, either on the street or in social media. Changing the country of residence also means changing the people in close proximity. Often this is true with interviewees who hold a somewhat negative attitude towards their country of origin or people living in it. When meeting a fellow co-national abroad they perceive themselves as different from him or her. As we will see later in this document, all of my interviewees have been perceived in a positive or negative way by strangers they encountered based on national stereotypes. It is my suggestion that they perceive their co-nationals similarly to how they are perceived by others, meaning they internalised this "national identity" to some extent and want to actively differentiate themselves from it.

[...] for me, the idea of changing environment or country is to change the environment or country so I'm not going to seek the company of Polish people. (Edyta, 39)

I didn't feel like I belong culturally in Brazil, I do appreciate some things there but I do not feel that close to Brazilian culture so it does not make sense for me to do this here in Portugal. (Egidio, 25)

Sometimes I'm a little weary of the people from UK travelling, it depends on some factors but if they are in a big group and they are young I might actively avoid them. (laughter) [...] I feel that what they want from traveling or being somewhere else is not necessarily the same thing I do. (Hannah, 29)

⁶ Profanities are partially obscured in this thesis. The true meaning of the word may still be understood if one is familiar with commonly used swear words in English language or through searching for the full phrase on the internet.

When interviewees did get in touch with their fellow co-nationals it was usually for a specific purpose; everything from looking for a particular piece of information, to looking for work, to speak to someone with whom they have a mutual understanding of cultural differences, to meet people or when it was mutually beneficial, when they needed each other due to having different but complementary sets of skills.

Yeah nowadays I actually do. I didn't used to, it used to be the other way around and I tried to not get in touch with them because I had this idea that I want to be speaking in English or French or whatever I was learning. So that is one of the networks I use to meet new people. (Miia, 34)

If I need something regarding bureaucracy or experience with some issues which are connected to my country then yes. (Martina, 29)

Yeah my flatmate is American. I didn't seek him out, I usually try to avoid contact with Americans, [...]. [...] I could see him when he first came here that he was having a very difficult moment, he was very unhappy. I knew that I could communicate with him when other people could not so I reached out to him and we became friends. [...] we came to an agreement where I would move in with him, since I could speak Portuguese I could deal with talking to people, deal with problems, deal with money transactions and then I would have my room and I would not pay expenses. [...] at the beginning I was not interested in getting to know him just because of the common background. (Chris, 27)

I'm pretty fluent in Portuguese so my experience is that here, and especially in Brazil you would just get a lot of American or British tourists coming over and they'd be thinking like hey man, you speak Portuguese, can you help us buy some drugs, can you help us find a prostitute or something? (George, 29)

In one case one of the interviewees (Valeria, 28) was living in Portugal completely submerged in a "national bubble", to an extent where she barely had any contact with the local population. Italy and Portugal have a strong emigration-immigration connection that goes both ways but is perhaps stronger in Lisbon where the Italian community is fairly self-sufficient in terms of socialising and networking. If we look at orientation as a scale consisting of everything between a street/neighbourhood to global space, this particular interviewee is very nationally oriented when abroad. Within Italy she positions herself as being from Turin which also has a profound meaning for her.

[...] we are like mushrooms, we are everywhere. My boyfriend is Italian so he works in an Italian place for the Italian market so all his friends are from Italy and they do not speak any other language. When we go out I am usually with Italians. (Valeria, 28)

Language is the main factor when interviewees look for company in countries of immigration. It is far more likely for them to establish social connections with people that speak the same language and even more so if they share the same culture. It makes it possible for the conversation to flow more freely and reduces the number of misunderstandings. For some this will mean finding other co-nationals but for speakers of international languages (e.g. English, Spanish, Portuguese or French) it will mean having more options. Another thing is how approachable they were in terms of looking or not looking for friends.

[...] I already have good French, Belgian and Italian friends because it's easier to get them but I will not make it intentional by looking for a Facebook page "Italians in Lisbon". (Walter, 29)

I would not seek out British people but if I'm travelling and there are people speaking English it's not about being British it's about people speaking in English. You feel more comfortable because you can just talk really easily so you end up gravitating towards these people. (Hannah, 29)

Now here, it's easier to make contact with someone that is new also and does not have friends because the Portuguese already have friends and their work and their schedules are full, meanwhile people who are in my situation they do want to hang out and they do want to find someone, find a friend or a family. (Hillevi, 27)

On implications of where the person is from

Often enough when one is abroad the most common question being asked is where are you from? As interviewee George, 29 suggested this question is often used to build a bridge with a person we're meeting for the first time because it is a conversation topic that is always available.

Oh where are you from? Oh you're from Watford? How close to London is that? Oh so basically you're from London? London's great. What do you like about London? Where in London should I go on holiday? London, London, London. I guess when you first meet anybody you'll pick any random topic to create a bridge. (George, 29)

Some of the interviewees did not have a clear answer to that question because they had moved more than once in their childhood but had to come up with a location due to how frequently they were asked the question. The answer in that case would also vary on how much the person in front of them knew about their place(s) of origin. For example, if the questioner knew the area then the explanation would be more detailed, if not, it would be more regional (e.g. Sao Paulo or Brazil). In this research I have considered migration within and outside of one's country of origin because some countries are large enough to accommodate the kind of variety that would otherwise only be found beyond borders.

When people ask where in Brazil I cannot answer that with a straight answer because I moved 3 times in all the places were very different from each other so I just say that I'm from all over Brazil.[...] it depends on the level of information that you feel the person is expecting. By now I have a few possible answers, it was very confusing to decide what should I say, what really sums it up, what does it really mean. (Egidio, 25)

(Has lived in 6 different countries as a child) If I'm totally honest I would not know what to say to where I'm from. I would say London because I lived there the longest in general. (Hannah, 29)

The answer can also vary if the person has strong origin connections to two or more places and believes they should be represented equally. In one of the paragraphs below, the emphasis was on expressing "loyalty" to both sides. It is my belief that she mentioned her connection to the Netherlands in order to provide a stronger orientation point or even to legitimise herself through the positive national stereotypes while she mentions Surinam to avoid being seen as an impostor of some sort in front of people who are "originally" and therefore "truly" Dutch and are able to recognise her as a member of Surinamese minority. In the second example, the interviewee chooses to present himself as an American even though he holds

Portuguese citizenship and speaks fluent Portuguese while speaking to someone who has the ability to know he was not born or raised in Portugal for the same reason.

It depends, sometimes I say I'm Dutch but then I see them look and I also feel like I am betraying mine because I am born and raised in Surinam...I'd say I'm Surinamese but most of the time they do not know so I always explain and then I always say but...I lived in the Netherlands. Because it feels like loyalty to both sides. (Chantal, 40)

If an American asks me or if someone who is not Portuguese asks me where I'm from I always say Portugal. If it's someone who speaks Portuguese and knows then I usually say I'm American. (Chris, 27)

Interviewees understand the question "where are you from?" as "where were you born or raised" or "what is your nationality?". In comparison to "home" and "sense of belonging", being from somewhere is usually related to a concrete geographical unit such as a continent, region, country, city, village or neighbourhood. We do not choose it ourselves and yet it has a huge impact on our lives and on how we are perceived by other people.

I mean sure when you're meeting someone for the first time it's important to know when you were born or where you live, I mean this is important information. [But] I feel like people's conceptions of who we are, are so focused on nationality that I personally do not believe it. I do not feel American or Portuguese [...]. (Chris, 27)

Knowing where someone was born or more importantly, where they were raised, somehow narrows down the multitude of possibilities of what we can expect from them. Our immediate assumptions are, of course, conditioned by our culture, experience and positioning in the world and might be entirely inaccurate or inadequate for the person in front of us. However, they give us a feeling that we know or understand something about them which makes them slightly more predictable. Not knowing anything at all about something is unbearable so we fill this void with whatever information is available and then we hold on to it. Our need to understand our environment depends on this "knowledge". Sometimes positioning of oneself to another person with regards to one's origin has positive consequences because that country of origin is highly regarded around the world and people's perception of citizens of that country is favourable. Two such strong examples among my interviewees were British and Swiss nationalities.

When I moved to Canada I ended up going into a different way with it because they are anglophiles [and] my English accent naturally got stronger (laughter) because I got much better tips in the coffee shop. And I kept getting jobs for saying yes, I am English. (Hannah, 29)

[...] I think for people with British accents everything is just so much easier...[If you speak with a British accent in a lot of places people immediately assume that you are very sophisticated, very worldly, very adept and intelligent and it just opens up a lot of doors. It's almost universally positive. (George, 29)

[...] my Swiss passport is so huge advantage in life, everything is easier when you're Swiss and everyone is thinking that is the best country ever that we are the best people. (Walter, 29)

The majority of my interviewees however had negative experiences in connection to

how their origin is perceived in the world. Everything from eastern European stereotypes...

Like Polish girls and Polish men, men being very good workers and drinking a lot and Polish girls being very approachable, it's a euphemism of course. But I do not think I got that here, it happened in England and in Copenhagen, basically in Western Europe. (Edyta, 39)

You know East Europe, rough people, drinking a lot, women are very...how to say, very free? (Martina, 29)

...to stereotypes about Brazilian men.

With relationships. Like a girl would say you're cheating, I cannot trust you [...]. They do not trust you like a regular person, like a regular European [...]. [Also] poverty, corruption, danger, the top three I think. Depends on who you're talking to, if you're talking to a 22 year old then you will talk about football right away, if you're talking to someone older then the bad part. (C, 31)

Some interviewees choose to use the opportunity provided by the question "Where are you from?" to present themselves in a more favourable light by mentioning only one of the two nationalities. Often enough the hegemonically constructed positioning of the two nationalities they hold is imbalanced and the trans-migrant uses this to his/her advantage. Any one of our allegiances can be manipulated, obscured or ultimately abandoned (Orlando Patterson in: Vertovec, Cohen, eds. 1999: 562) which means they are more an issue of perception and current location than a fixed personal characteristic.

I do like to say I'm Swedish and I put it in my CV because I think it's known that the Northern countries in Europe work really good, I try to use it. (Hillevi, 27)

[...] when I was younger it was not always a good thing, sometimes I would say I was from Finland because there are these stereotypes about blond Swedish women. I think it's from the 70s or something, when I was in my 20s in Great Britain and partially France also people would think I want to have sex, that I do not have any boundaries...(Miia, 34)

The thing with languages that are spoken on more than one continent, as it is in the case of English, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch etc., the accent one learns together with the language will have the same impact on how the speaker is perceived, as it would have on the native speaker with that same accent. Stereotypes can therefore influence a perception of someone even indirectly which speaks about their salience.

[...]The only problems I have is when I speak Portuguese because I speak it with a heavy Brazilian accent, a lot of people here I guess have a dismissive attitude towards Brazilians and so they will look at me for a little bit and ask if I'm Brazilian and I'll go no actually, I'm from England and then oh British ok! Harry Potter, the Queen, James Bond. Ok my friend, come here [...] (George, 29)

These stereotypes can influence the perception people form of the interviewees and provide a frame which they are not so keen to let go of later. This has probably a lot to do with the way national identities are constructed. The carriers of these stereotypes would probably develop a deeper sense of belonging if they were allowed to be themselves and that is more likely to happen where people have a more in depth knowledge of their country of origin or if they have met more people

who originate from that country before and had a positive experience with them.

People think you are a Brazilian they say, oh you're not Brazilian, you do not behave like a Brazilian and at the same time I am more like them but they do not like that. [...] some people are going to like that you are not like this and someone will not like it. Depends on the age but for me most of the time people were disappointed. In England people were expecting from me to be like this, in Spain as well and in Lisbon a little bit less so maybe that is why I feel more comfortable here. [...] They let you talk and behave and then they talk to you like a regular person. (C, 31)

There are certain physical or linguistic features that serve as giveaways of where we might be from when we do not get the chance to explain it ourselves, and these features will have different meanings as we move around the world. An example is interviewee Chantal, 40 who is recognised as Angolan because her skin colour in Portuguese context means that she is likely to be from one of the African countries that were formerly Portuguese colonies. In Lisbon, some of the interviewees are recognised as not being from there by the colour of their hair and eyes while others are completely inconspicuous to the locals.

For Portuguese standards I'm blonde. They obviously noticed that I'm not from here, that I'm not from Spain or from Italy, not from the south. (Edyta, 39)

I say I'm Spanish, they say you do not look Spanish. And then I say my mother is Swedish. They do not say it everywhere but here in Portugal they are doing it a lot. Telling me, I would say you are from North of Europe. (Hillevi, 27)

"Much of coexistence in diverse spaces requires putting into practice ways of living in close proximity that can at once be tense and positive, spontaneous and premeditated through larger processes. These forms of coexistence form the majority of everyday life that is led in close proximity with mostly personally unknown others but whom we have sufficient categorical knowledge, through our tools of social organization." (Vertovec eds., 2015) Vertovec, (eds., 2015) situates "familiar stranger" between knowing that humans have a limited capacity for recognition amidst all the diversity found today in public spaces and between knowing that it is possible to expand one's own sphere of identifications and social relations. The familiar stranger is the person we meet in urban settings based on categorical knowledge but without the personal one. We develop this categorical knowledge through our interaction with familiar strangers over time and we have probably also inherited some from others in our society. It is crucial in facilitating social interaction because it gives one the feeling of predictability and is not limited to migrants, but also includes long-term residents. This concept hints at many ways in which we can relate to others without having any intimate knowledge of them. There are plenty of opportunities to have a civil, hospitable and cooperative interaction with others that do not mean having to like them personally.

And I like the behaviour of nationalities, you cannot generalize somebody but there are typical things that the Germans do or the Russians do. Because I work in tourism I quite easily know how to talk to somebody. I can say this to him and I can't say that to them...A few days ago I organized a tour and there was one guy who joined and he talked to me in Dutch but he looked Indian so I asked him where are you from? Sometimes I am jealous of someone who has a name and a look that do not connect...I always think it's intriguing. (Maarten, 37)

I had a colleague in Teleperformance company, her parents are from Congo or something,

but they used to work for the UN and she lived a long time in China so she speaks Chinese but she looks like me! [And] there was one black girl, like me but everything about her was Dutch. Her way of thinking, everything. And I remember asking her where is she from, and she mentioned this village in the Netherlands. I was intrigued and fascinated and in the end we found out that she was adopted as a baby from Haiti but really raised by Dutch parents. (Chantal, 40)

On feeling welcome

A separation is made between feeling welcome by the government or society. They are not necessarily linked since the opinions regarding migration have become so divided and official political stances so extreme. This research is limited to people who hold either a citizenship of a EU Member State or one of the ex Portuguese colonies. It is worth noting that sometimes a person born in a former colony holds dual citizenship due to ancestors who have migrated from Europe in 19th or 20th century and Portugal still favours *jure sanguinis* over all other ways of obtaining citizenship. According to Egidio, 25, without being entitled to that extra citizenship, traveling between the two might be slightly easier but establishing oneself in Europe with a permanent legal status certainly is not. What is easier in comparison to other migrants is the ability to speak the language and having an inconspicuous physical appearance.

There is reason to believe that the process of obtaining a more permanent legal status in the country of immigration influences whether the person feels at home there or not.

Not sure, I think now Lisbon looks like it (home) but because of the visa issues and public services I'm still in doubt about it but yes Lisbon is the closest thing now. (Egidio, 25)

But I felt especially welcome in Canada, they were ridiculous. I remember going to the immigration interview with my ex-boyfriend, it was meant to be a reasonably serious interview [and] the immigration officer was like your name is (a funny sounding irish name)?! So adorable! Our immigration interview took like 5 minutes and the whole time it was her going on and on about how fun that name was. (Hannah, 29)

How the interviewees are received by the society in Portugal or other societies in which they have lived in the past depends on several personal circumstances such as gender, linguistic abilities, country of origin (and its global reputation), skin colour or social class together with local understanding and interpretation of those circumstances - positive or negative.

I always felt really welcome because I am male, I'm white and rich. It's really easy to meet somebody and have a drink and know that the other person does not expect anything else than having a drink with you. They will invite you home and help you travel and discover the country, he will give you books to read and music to listen to to...people trust you. (Walter, 29)

[...] the thing that has made me feel uncomfortable [is feeling] like I cannot do everything myself and that is always in cultures that are more patriarchal. (Hannah, 29)

Another thing is the degree which the interviewees feel accepted by their society of immigration or the closeness/distance at which they are kept on account of not being

"from" there (born there). Interviewee Chris, 27, has acquired citizenship, learned the language to fluency and learned a good portion of the local history and traditions yet still describes himself as "not one of them". In the second and third case the interviewee's husband and the interviewee herself migrated in his/her childhood, spent most of his/her life in the country of immigration but are perceived as foreigners partially on account of their physical features and partially on account of the origin of their parents.

I definitely do not feel welcome on a completely local level. I think that when you just come to visit and you maybe know a couple of words or phrases they say oh that's so nice, you speak some of our language, that's so cute. Then when you actually have the citizenship and you do dominate the language rather well and you know the culture, their history and things they are a bit wary of it. [...] I still notice that they do not consider me as one of them and that's fine. (Chris, 27)

[...] in Sweden a lot of people who have their families from the north, for hundreds of years back, they are blond and blue-eyed and now not all Swedes are blond and blue-eyed and those who are not...like my husband he's very proud of being an Iranian (his family came to Sweden when he was around 6 years old) but he could also be in the situation where people would ask him where is he *really* from? (Miia, 34)

[...] in the Netherlands I feel more Surinamese and abroad I feel more Dutch in a way. [...] outside of the Netherlands because I'm working for the Dutch market but also speaking the language people always approach me with Dutch subjects and I feel like I do not have to defend that I'm not Dutch, people accept you as Dutch whereas in the Netherlands it would be like yeah but your parents come from Surinam. (Chantal, 40)

This idea of being born somewhere else and therefore having a profound and exclusive connection is the reason why the image of a foreigner as an outsider who originates elsewhere is so persistent. The person is often considered a migrant even if he or she was born in the country of his/her parents' immigration (e.g. we often hear second or third generation migrants). These experiences talk about the rigidness of the boundaries of national groups that remain semi-closed even when one is granted full political membership of a country. These are good examples of the difference between a citizenship and nationality - two terms often used interchangeably. The former is simply membership in a political entity, but the latter seemingly binds one's identity to a territory and to the history of that territory, as if the destinies of people residing in it knit together. It is easy to see how someone who is perceived as having a different destiny with another group of people would be a disturbance in this ideology.

In Ireland I had a colleague with Nigerian parents but she was born and raised in Ireland and she always said she's Irish and I realised of course, it's not for me to say who is or is not Irish. She's never been to Nigeria, [...]. (Chantal, 40)

Time is at play also in situations when someone is re-entering their society of origin after a long period of time living abroad. They might feel like a foreigner due to having changed/adjusted some of their habits and customs or ways of doing/thinking while abroad.

I do understand also that my mother went back to Sweden because her family was there but at the same time I know that when she got there it was hard for her, after 20 years to go back to Sweden. She said, here everyone you have to book like an appointment for 2 weeks before if you

want to meet them. It's not like in Spain when you can just invite someone to grab a coffee. And she said here everyone is married and I'm the weird one...(Hillevi, 27)

Interviewees list two ways of handling the feeling of being foreign, a) to move to a location where everyone is relatively foreign (urban centres) and b) to embrace your own foreignness and use it to your advantage. The latter requires one to have the kind of origin that is highly regarded around the world or at least in the country of immigration.

[...] when I was in the Netherlands it was very much like...ok you have a Dutch passport but still you know you're not from here. And after I moved from the Netherlands I've been to places where almost everybody is a foreigner, like in London there is no British (laughter) and in Dublin, because I work for multinationals there is always people from everywhere. So I like that environment when you're not a minority, [...]. (Chantal, 40)

I like to be the stranger. I think it's interesting. When I'm in Belgium I do not feel a stranger anymore, it's boring, I'm just one of the guys who walks around [...] .because also I like to look at people and analyse...maybe I prefer to do it somewhere where nobody knows me. (Maarten, 37)

Other reasons why interviewees have been moving to urban centres are:

- Because it is easier to find specialised jobs that are mostly concentrated there. Living outside of urban centres is an option if there is the possibility of working remotely.
- There is a more foreigner-friendly infrastructure, e.g. more people speak English.
- Cultural activities, concerts, festivals are more difficult to find in rural areas.

On getting in contact with the locals

They are all aware of the role their own approach and behaviour had to do with the success of this interaction. They emphasise the importance of being open-minded, friendly, sociable and to facilitate the contact by joining a free-time activity, working, studying or living with locals. As we could observe in the section of "Contact with co-nationals" one can easily close oneself off from all these opportunities for meaningful interaction. Furthermore, they express the importance of learning the local culture, traditions, customs and respecting the local agenda. Since this study took place in Lisbon (Portugal) I was trying to find out whether my interviewees were in contact with the locals and what was the extent of that contact. By "locals" this time I mean Portuguese nationals.

Interviewee Chris, 27, has trouble interacting with the locals in social situations and in the workplace and observes differences in priorities, ways of introducing someone and communicating with superiors.

Well I think most people I've spoken to, who have lived here and are foreigners I think It's almost unanimously agreed on that it's not easy to get in touch with the locals here. And I would agree. It took me, for example, until I travelled the entire country practically and reached Portuguese fluency to such a level that I could talk to people about their country, their traditions and their past and that's the main way. The concept of family here is very very strong, so strong that the person here will chose their family over spending time with you. If you're at a party with them they will not approach

you, you should approach them. They usually pretend you're not there. This is of course unless someone introduces you. It happens to me frequently that if I'm in the street with a friend and that friend knows a Portuguese person and then they talk and I'm not introduced to anyone, I'm just standing there, my existence does not matter. I would say in work environment they are very passive aggressive. I think communication here is really bad in general, it's quite at a primitive level. Everywhere I've been there is a lot of misinformation, they make it difficult to approach them and to penetrate their mindframe. (Chris, 27)

Another interviewee also has unsuccessful interactions with the locals and has adopted a negative opinion about them as a consequence.

I do not interact with Portuguese people so I cannot really say. I think Portuguese people are rude but it does not depend on the fact that I am not from Portugal. In the metro when you touch them by accident they get all annoyed and then if you say sorry they become nice and say oh do not worry. (Valeria, 28)

When positive emotions are generated in social interaction, this creates stronger ties. Negative emotions of frustration and confusion created by cultural difference generate weaker ties. Time and familiarity can resolve some of these issues (Lawler, 2001 in Butcher, 2009) but in the case of the previous two interviewees, their interaction resulted in the reassertion of their identity of comfort through othering and reclaiming difference while at the same time, not being aware of how their own cultural practices are guiding their perception of this interaction (Butcher, 2009)

The two interviewees (Egidio, 25, and C, 31) who come from an ex-Portuguese colony clearly have an advantage on account of being able to understand what goes on in their environment. Other interviewees experience not knowing the language as an obstacle at different levels; for some it is not a problem at all when random passers-by take the time to communicate what is needed using other tools such as gestures or bits of other languages. Others feel like they are not as welcome on account of being perceived as tourists. But several interviewees agree on the importance of learning the local language and the benefits they gain doing so.

I would like to get established here because Poland does not feel so secure to me anymore, to have some money here, not to have all my assets in that place that is so unstable right now. But it's not going to happen soon because I do not speak the language, one letter from the tax office would kill me (laughter). (Edyta, 39)

Knowing the language gives you access to places and enables you to speak to people that you otherwise would not be able to speak with. (Martina, 29)

[...] it's different when you're able to speak with someone in their language, you get their view of things and they can't express that, even if they speak English perfectly, it's just different in their language. So that's been the most valuable skill that I've obtained. (Chris, 27)

On getting registered

While registering as a national of a country that is not in the EU often is not an option, for those who are emigrating from another EU country, registering with the authorities can be a matter of a calculated decision. For some of the interviewees

this means comparing different tax/social security systems and deciding the most optimal course of action. The decision is also made by considering where they feel their assets are safer. Portugal remains a country where a person can live for longer periods of time completely undetected since work is often illicit and renting a room or a flat is more often than not done without a contract.

I was planning to do it but then I did some research and financially it probably will not work out. I do not get paid every month, I get these big lumps of money when I finish the book. Financially it works better than being self-employed because you have copyright on the translation so I only pay 18% of tax on 50% of my income. And then I pay health insurance every month, it's like 80 euros so it's still a lot but I can deduct it from my annual tax declaration. I would like to establish myself here, pay taxes here but still work for Polish companies. But right now financially this is the best situation for me with really low taxes. (Edyta, 39)

No. Maybe it's a requirement for my university but since I worked for 2 years in Italy and I lost my job I am getting money there from social security. So I am not really here, I am in Italy. I would need it also for the doctor, I do not have anything here..(Valeria, 28)

No I've never done this. It's just because I'm still not certain if I will stay here and to change every time it's not good. So all my money is in Belgium and also at the moment the insurance and health care is one of the best in the world [...]. If I really have the feeling that I could stay here and maybe start my life living here then I will do it, eventually, [...] imagine if my money was in Greece? (Maarten, 37)

When they do get registered it is often for very practical reasons, e.g. to be able to use the local health security system, to be able to open a bank account or to open a business. In two cases, the attempt to become established in another EU Member State was motivated by fairly recent political developments in Europe.

No. I'm planning to. As a EU citizen I have to register after a few months. I think it depends on what your plan is as well, I am a freelance translator, I have a company in Sweden that I work for, [...] but I might want to start a company here and for that I need to be registered. [...] I guess I do not see any non-benefits with being registered here. [...] it's easier for me, I will be a part of the system. So I guess it depends on where you are in your life, [...] I need to think about my pension at this age [...]. (Miia, 34)

[...] Finland was the smallest place I was at but I've got family there as well so it was not like a spontaneous decision. Part of me wanted to go there for example because after Brexit I was worried about my rights as an EU citizen and since I have my family there I thought if I lived there it will be easier to get a passport but unfortunately it's not [...] (George, 29)

Migration and family

Interviewees describe several migration related family histories that unfolded in different parts of the world, under various political regimes. These migrations were (as much as that was possible at the time) calculated decisions made in hope there would be more opportunities somewhere else and they paint a picture of how common migration has always been.

It must have been at the beginning of the seventies, my dad was 14, when his mother [...] a widow, married a Polish guy who was a Danish citizen. Communist Regime [...] didn't want people to leave so they could only take one kid (of the three), so they took the youngest one which is my aunt

who lives in Denmark now. The sister of the grandmother took care of the other two kids. [...] my dad didn't see his mom for 10 years. [He] was essentially an orphan, he hated this aunt so he didn't want to live with her. So when his mother moved to Denmark [...] he lived in an institution essentially. I think it really did bad things to his idea of family like closeness and looking after people [...]. (Edyta, 39)

Both sides of my family came from Italy in 1910. [...] They went straight to São Paulo's the countryside because there was some lands. Before or after the first war they wanted to bring more Europeans to Brazil so I think there was some marketing in Italy, Poland and Germany [...]. They were poor so they went there, they were working for other people, my grandfather was a carpenter and my grandmother was working as a housemaid for people who had money and crops. [...] they still live there but now it's a city before it was a farm. (C, 31)

In the 50s and 60s from my mother's side they all moved to the Netherlands and from my father's, he's from French Guiana, they are all in France and some also in Canada. So my mom in the 60s she already came to the Netherlands to study and then she went back and married my dad. So beginning of the 90s my mom went to the Netherlands because she had the connections with work and study, she did social work actually. [...] she went [there] so we could study basically, that was the main reason. In Surinam you can study but it's not recognized everywhere. It was a smart move. So we came after and my dad went after his retirement. Now they are back to Surinam, they went back in 2012 [...]. (Chantal, 40)

Having a history of migration in one's family has proved to be an important factor in my interviewees' lives and futures. It influences everything from their education opportunities, to relationships with their parents and other family members to the access they had to certain goods if they were growing up in a restrictive political regime etc. Furthermore, it influences and forms their professional decisions, the way they evaluate their current place of residence or the way they feel in the place where they grew up, the way they perceive their own futures with regards to staying there or leaving and most importantly their possibilities for acquiring other citizenships through their parents/ancestors. The latter turned out to be a major advantage for some, because it enables them to avoid a lengthy and expensive visa acquiring process plus grant them access to scholarships and EU exchange programmes to which they otherwise would not be entitled.

[...] in the eighties my friends from primary school they would get those packages from Germany. I was the only one that got those goods from Denmark so I was aware of the fact that Lego bricks were made in Denmark, I knew that Hans Christian Andersen was Danish, I knew that there was a country called Denmark. (Edyta, 39)

When I decided to learn Danish I was already in Denmark a few times, [...] I knew I could stay in touch with the language and the country is quite rich so I kinda suspected that there would be scholarships and there were. (Edyta, 39)

Maybe I do not feel Brazilian because of that, they had their own street, like a neighborhood just with migrants [...] I never felt integrated, [...] I understood the things from the media and everything but I would not say that I was a typical Brazilian since I was a kid. (C, 31)

Especially two of my interviewees (Hannah, 29 and Hillevi, 27) moved several times in their childhood and both mentioned already in the section "on sense of belonging" in relation to "restlessness". Interviewee Hillevi, 27, moved 6 times before she was old enough to decide for herself whether she wanted to stay somewhere or not. Even though as an adult she expresses gratitude to her parents for all the opportunities she was given, she describes family tensions, struggles with acquiring language and struggles with body image due to various standards of beauty she has encountered

as a teenager.

Me and my brothers were all pissed off with it. My oldest brother went through a really bad period when they wanted us to move to Switzerland, [...] one of my earliest memories was of him acting up and drinking all the booze from their liquor cabinet. [...] I could not pick up French and it became a frightening thing. I went to French school and I did not know what was going on [...] so I ended up going to an International School. When I moved to Singapore I was the fattest kid in Singapore so I had to wear men's extra large clothes from the men's shops. And then I moved from Singapore directly to Indiana which is the fattest place in the world so suddenly I was very skinny. (Hannah, 29)

With frequent migrations in childhood, children change friends regularly and make new friendships often, which could result in increased social skills.

I think I'm very adaptable, though I am not necessarily the most sociable person I made friends reasonably quickly compared to other people. I personally know from experience you do not just lose community, if people like you, you can walk back in anytime you want. I had lots of anxiety about losing my friends, getting distant from people and it does not really work that way. (Hannah, 29)

It could also result in a sort of permanent "uprootedness" for which there could be more than one explanation - not being able to develop a long-term meaningful connection to any place in their childhood is merely one of them (Jack, 2008). I propose that this interviewee has become so good at changing social circles and environments, that moving has become a comfortable exit strategy from uncomfortable life situations.

So yeah the moving was difficult, having to change friends, having to start again... I think that's why now I'm like if anything goes wrong I'm just going to move. (Hannah, 29)

Another interesting example is presented by interviewee Hillevi, 27, whose parents were born and raised in different places (Cuba and Sweden) but she grew up in Spain, a country that was not a society of origin for either of her parents. She describes how that affected her childhood activities.

What I do for Christmas or birthdays is basically what my mother did when she was small. I do not know what my father did or his family, I do not know if they have any *costumbres* (customs)...What I like to do is more what my mum has done with us. Sewing, cooking, more workshops, hand crafts at home. Swedish people do that a lot because it's colder and darker so you spend more time at home [...]. Our birthday was always really special, really different from all the other kid's. (Hillevi, 27)

Because her mother was the one who was the primary caregiver on account of her father's frequent absences she positions herself, in terms of what we can describe as culture (ways of thinking and doing) somewhere between Spain and Sweden but the division focuses on two distinct areas of her life. She refers to her working habits as more "Swedish" and her social life as more "Spanish".

[...] I consider how I grew up was with Swedish values. My mother gave us the base education.⁷ I do have their values and I do like how the society works, I think it's great but I'm used to the Spanish way of life, going out to the bars, meeting people [...] I think it's about how do you meet

⁷ The word "educación" in Spanish refers to upbringing and it does not mean they were home-schooled.

people and how do you interact with people, I am used to the Spanish way. But maybe in my basic values I am more Swedish. [...] it's just that, I do like to go out in bars and... I do not understand it. For example at work, when I work I do my best, I do not try to not work and get paid for it. I feel like Spanish are more like that, we always try to get the easy and the cheap and always taking the back door. (Hillevi, 27)

She describes her sister to be quite the opposite, having more of what she calls the "Spanish character" and yet feels better in Sweden while the interviewee considers herself as having more Swedish values and feeling better in Spain.

Spanish character is my sister and she moved first to Sweden and wanted to stay there. She has a strong temper and a strong personality...she was always feeling better there. Maybe because I never found really friends there and the weather...I tried to move to Sweden once again later [...] and it didn't work out in the end. (Hillevi, 27)

It seems as if being in contact with two different sets of values and ways of thinking and acting provides this interviewee with two repertoires that she breaks down to individual elements and creates her own combination. This serves as an example of transnational habitus. The habitus of migrant transnationalism, or the different sources of it, are complementary and do not usually cause any identity conflicts as is commonly believed. Each is providing what the other(s) cannot, and they are merely different sources of empowerment.

My personality is not the Swedish kind of personality. I do have Swedish friends, really good friends but it's harder to get good friends there [...]. I mean if you get a good friend in Sweden they will be for life, but they are colder and in Spain we are more... it's harder to get in. Meanwhile in Spain you can have a thousand friends but no one is your real friend. [...] it does not go very deep. (Hillevi, 27)

On living separately

The situations that the interviewees present are often involving short term or long term separations in their living arrangements, sometimes only one of the family members is absent while the rest are living together. Other times the family is split in half or almost all the members of the core or extended family live in different places. They describe situations in which work, education and personal interests of all the family members could not be contained in a single country. They find their own unique ways in which they coordinate family life. Living separately means being looked after by family friends, having difficulty maintaining connections with siblings or parents, living far away from the parent with whom one has a stronger bond or developing a stronger bond with people who stayed but nevertheless, missing out on quality time together.

[...] I ended up going to a boarding school (in England), not because my parents wanted me to or because I really wanted to but they were getting anxious about how often we were moving and also the school options in the US were too crazy and my dad's company paid for it so...[...]. They were in Indiana for a good few more years while I was in boarding school and then they went to Belgium [...]. We had really good friends in Indiana [...] and their daughter went to the same boarding school [so] if one of the parents was there they were kind of looking after us both. (Hannah, 29)

I did the last year of highschool in Sweden, we tried it out for one year and I really didn't like it

so much so I came back next year to Spain but my mother and my sister live in Sweden since then. My father is still in Spain. And my brother lives in San Francisco right now. I think I'm the one who is trying more to have contact with the family, my brother is not affected so much by the family being separated. My sister has been affected a lot and I think that she is very self-sufficient, she was always playing alone and talking alone. I think with my father it's kind of the same, we have our fights but it's always me who comes back and always tries to spend more time with him. I think my sister appreciates it as well but she has a difficult personality. Of course she wants it...her personality is probably like that because she was very affected. She was the youngest when they separated and the whole family got split. (Hillevi, 27)

It was good and bad. I think the bad part is in the family life, we missed a lot of time together because I was 13 when my mom went to the Netherlands so between 13 and 16 we were not together and then at 19 I went to live on my own. We are very close, I had a really good youth in Surinam. I am closer to my father's side of the family. Maybe because I grew up with them more, my mother's side of the family was more in Europe. So a lot of cousins from my mother's side I really got to know when we came to the Netherlands and I was a bit older. (Chantal, 40)

On top of that, some observed their connection to extended family as being almost fictional; they know they exist but they have not had the chance to develop deeper and meaningful relationships with several family members because they have always lived far away and they only would see them occasionally for short periods of time. The struggles of maintaining connections established in these kinds of situations when family members do not live in close proximity over a longer period of time go beyond the limitations of technology. The opportunities for family reunions are scarce.

All my mother's family, the family I feel is more my family is in Sweden and I was raised in Spain. They have always been far away. If I think of my best memories from when I was small they are all in Sweden with my cousins. [...] only his mum (her father's) lives in Spain and then I have an uncle but we didn't really see him so much, and then my aunt, she lives in Peru, my uncle now lives in Dubai. Many of his cousins are in Miami, [...] [...] we try to get together but it's not easy because if one feels good in one place and another in another. (Hillevi, 27)

I kind of feel like I do not have a family, of course they are there, they exist but I do not have that connection with them. It's not the same as when you see your friends with huge families and they get together every birthday, I am lucky if I am with any of my parents or siblings on my birthday. [...] my brother married this summer and we were all together. It was actually the first time in my life that I see my Spanish and my Swedish family together, and not everyone was there. It's always hard, everyone is somewhere different. (Hillevi, 27)

On interviewees' influence on their families

We talked about the influence the interviewees' migration has on their family members' lives. There is a difference between those interviewees whose families still live in their country of origin and between the families that are frequently moving or living scattered in their own countries of immigration. The difference is mostly visible in how much the interviewee's family agree with his/her migration and how they deal with the separation. In the case of our recently mentioned interviewees Hillevi, 27, and Hannah, 29 who both come from families very affected by frequent migration their own desire to move did not come as much of a surprise but was still influenced by the fact that their parents are getting older and physical proximity to them is becoming more important.

I think my family is really on board with it until it crosses a continent. They are really fine with me, moving around, having fun, coming to live here in Lisbon. But me considering to move back to North America pisses my mother off. I know she feels like she can't say anything and she can't really because she did it to us but at the same time they are annoyed about it and I feel guilty and it's definitely something that puts me off. (Hannah, 29)

They are used to it I think. I am a little worried for my father because the day my grandmother dies he is going to be so lonely. My siblings do not go there so much, [...]. I lived with my father for more years, he re-married and [...] when he asks me to go there and spend time with the family, I'm always OK, it's your wife but I do not feel her like my mum [...]. So for me it's my father and my grandma [...]. (Hillevi, 27)

This is an issue that is brought up by other interviewees as well; they have indicated that reconciliation between their needs and their parents' or extended family's needs is something to consider when making decisions about migrating. This is one of the points where transnationalism among my interviewees differs from standard literature in which family is said to inform the transmigrants' decisions about migration to a much higher extent. These interviewees are making their decisions about moving autonomously but they are limiting them voluntarily to be close to their parents as they are becoming older.

My parents were very sad and my grandparents as well, that I am leaving and that I will live far away. They would like me to be at home. That's all. I'm going back in two months, then I'm going to stay there. (Martina, 29)

[...] now my parents are getting older and I think it's harder for them. And it's harder for me too, I wish more that I could be there for them and they need me more, not physically yet but mentally...and yes for me and my sister it's been hard, we're very close and she's had some tough years and of course it makes it harder. (Miia, 34)

The interviewee's migration also affects siblings and nieces and nephews especially if they are close to the interviewee. If the age gap between siblings is greater and the older sibling moves away early in the younger sibling's life they may not really know each other.

[...] my sister is the only one with kids. I'm very close to them, I'm the auntie who always comes from abroad and brings presents. But then they cry everytime when I leave because when I'm there it's always fun and intense. And I feel like such a bad aunt but then they get over it quick. My sister always cooks something nice for them after. (laughter) (Chantal, 40)

Some of my interviewees' families or parents are reluctant to accept that their children want to live abroad but they have in most cases accepted it over time knowing that their sons/daughters are happier this way. Parents of interviewee Walter, 29, have trouble understanding his decision because he would be moving from a country where social, health and employment security is still quite high in comparison to European average to move to a country where that is not the case. This serves as an example of a lifestyle migrant, moving to a country he subjectively perceives as having a better quality of life despite the official indicators telling otherwise.

At the beginning, it was okay for them because they travelled a lot. But after a while, [...] first of all my brother moved to Belgium, [...] and then I said okay I am going to Italy [...]. [That] was really

really hard especially for my mother because first of all, we were abroad, two kids leaving the house. [And] we are in Switzerland, we can find a job, we can have money, we can have a house and we are going to countries where we have a lot of unemployment, [...]. But after a while, they realised [...] we were much happier living abroad and for young people in Europe now it's impossible to make long-term plans [...]. [...] so they say okay, we do not agree we, think you are making it more difficult but we can't tell you what is the right thing to do because your challenges and your issues are really different from our generation's so you have to find the solutions. (Walter, 29)

At the beginning, especially for my mother it was difficult, she thought I was running away or something but after two years it was normal. she saw that I was happy with the way I lived. And now every time when I say I will go there she starts looking for flights...and my brothers also. (Maarten, 37)

Interviewee Edyta, 39, describes how moving against her parents wishes means she has to look for support elsewhere when something goes wrong in her life. Maintaining a happy face in front of her family is sending them a message that the decision to move is worth the struggles of living separately.

She calls me on Skype every day and she's like...what have you been doing...and this is so annoying because she's like...you look sad and I'm like...no, no I'm all smiles. You left because you wanted to be happy, why are you not happy? If I'm having a bad time I will tell them that I have a deadline and I can't talk. (Edyta, 39)

The next few excerpts describe various forms of social remittances that parents are receiving from their migrating children. Either a reason to travel, knowledge about lives of other young people, knowledge about different ways of being/doing/thinking or a wider perspective on the world at large.

She's unhappy that I'm far away but she knows that I'm happier and better off here than there. I grew up in a very conservative background, town, area [and] I think I have been able to make some kind of impression on her regarding some of my perspectives and beliefs that I've managed to do or managed to understand or get a better idea of since moving here. In particular things like racism, [...]. She lives in an old person's house so she feels a bit strange with the black women who are also there but she says that she plays games with them sometimes [...]. (Chris, 27)

They are really interested in understanding how young people are living in Europe. So yes they have the benefits that me and my brother live in other countries and they learn a lot of things. (Walter, 29)

They changed a lot, they used to be quite ignorant and they didn't know many things about different countries because they didn't travel themselves. And now my mum after 10 years, [...] she went to India. And she didn't feel like it was something strange. And their opinion on immigrants changed also, they are very opened to foreigners. (Martina, 29)

This is the second point at which transnational experience of my interviewees differs from standard literature. None of my interviewees are (at least not to my knowledge) sending fiscal remittances home; their decision to move is not motivated by the desire to increase the family's living standard in fact they still sometimes receive fiscal support from their family members.

On skills and lessons acquired

The changes taking places post migration will affect individual and collective

identities of the migrant in question. It is often said that transnational actors need to manage multiple identities simultaneously (Koehn and Rosenau 2002: 112 in Vertovec, 2009: 77) but this is not a skill limited only to transnational lives. If we think of identities in connection to the different social roles we have in our respective societies, maintaining different versions of oneself and switching between them constantly is a familiar experience. The component of migration may increase the variety of those social roles but it does not mean that experiences generated through migration do not have lasting effects. Migration is merely one of the possible influencing factors that contribute to one's own personal development.

Under skills, they list understanding of different points of view and personalities of other people and the ability to see 'the bigger picture' of issues that were previously interpreted to them locally.

The most important one is the ability to understand different points of view and personalities because even inside Brazil for each region the behaviour and interaction are very different. So is political opinion, opinions about gender or international relations. South America is special in this way because people do not have interaction with people from other countries and in other languages so they have a very different attitude towards that. There is a big difference between that attitude inside the country and the one when you move, you can understand more why things happen and why people act in a certain way because basically, you get a bigger picture. And it's very valuable for professional life, for example in job interviews. (Egidio, 25)

They report that their communication skills have improved, either by becoming fluent in one or several foreign languages (the implications of which I listed in the section 'On being multilingual') or through personal developments such as becoming more self-confident, assertive, independent, self-reliant or decisive through overcoming certain fears, learning what is really important in life and learning how to be alone.

Languages...I speak French, Dutch, German and English but when I hear Turkish people talk I can analyse what they are saying. (Maarten, 37)

Better communication skills. I used to be quite awkward in social situations, I used to be an introvert and had mental problems. Anxious...and since I started travelling alone I got rid of these problems. I do not feel so afraid to go to social events or how I will look like and what the people will think about me [...]. I can be alone, I can manage a lot of things alone and when I have a problem I know that somehow it will be solved. (Martina, 29)

I became more self-confident. The first time I moved to London I was 20, Poland was not part of the EU, it was a hundred percent illegal and this was the first time I was abroad on my own. So this was really a big step for me, I didn't have a cell phone, I didn't have a bank account, I felt like I was really on my own and I stayed there for three months and I managed. It was not glamorous life but you know, when you do it...then I did it again and again [...]. (Edyta, 39)

They emphasise how much they have learned about themselves, who they are, what they want or need and why, what their strengths are, their weaknesses and what the uncomfortable parts of themselves are that they need to face. They have become more adaptable; they have learned about their resilience or they developed it in times of trouble.

I became more interested in the people, the culture, the things that I like, things that I do not like I know the reason why I do not like them and I can present arguments for both sides. [...] I learned how to balance and try to see what's actually going on or what is important. [...] I do not care

about the personal belongings that much, now I just need my clothes and my computer and I'm fine. I am more genuine with who I am, I have a better idea of who I am. [...] (C, 31)

I think I'm very adaptable, though I am not necessarily the most sociable person I made friends reasonably quickly compared to other people. I personally know from experience you do not just lose community, if people like you, you can walk back in anytime you want. I had lots of anxiety about losing my friends, getting distant from people and it does not really work that way. (Hannah, 29)

I learned that I'm stronger than I was thinking. I will not take a job because I will not have another one or this house because I will not have another one. I do not have to meet those people because I do not meet a lot of people. Now I know it's not like this, I know that if I can't have this job it will be something else and I will be able because I'm stronger to find the energy to find another job. To find out things that suit me. The travelling really gives you the skills and understanding of what you want. (Walter, 29)

Some of the life lessons they have acquired were learning that it is possible to establish yourself in a new place, start over, meet new friends, find new places and feel at home even without being 'from' there. That leaving one's comfort zone is beneficial because it opens the doors for new previously unthought-of possibilities and that sometimes one needs to simply face his/her fears and hope for the best. That people can stay in one's life even across long distances but it will take some extra effort to keep it that way. That the way any person understands the world is conditioned by their own context and it is useful to keep that in mind for one's own point of view or the one of other people. And last but not least, society is not made only of people who look in a certain way, at least not anymore (if it ever did).

[...] when I moved there (to Krakow) I didn't have any friends, I just moved there because I had a job there. So when you establish yourself in a new place you can see that this is actually possible. You left some friends behind but then you make new friends and you can find new places that are just like the old ones but different. If you never left your comfort zone you just do not know that it's not really that's scary. (Edyta, 39)

On being bi/multilingual

Nine of my interviewees are multilingual which means that besides their native languages they speak at least two more languages. They have learned these extra languages either for work, education, because it is the language of their parents, their partner or simply out of personal interests. "[...] These bilingual skills or the ability to move across languages and cultures constitute a highly valuable asset when combined with other professional qualifications in a globalising and transnational economy." (Lam, Warriner, 2012). The family, the school, and the place of work constitute some of the social fields that an individual may move through and where their cultural capital takes on different values depending on its recognition and utility in these fields (Lam, Warriner, 2012). "[...] Fürstenau (2005, in: Lam, Warriner, 2012) studied the strategies used by young people of immigrant backgrounds to position themselves in the transnational fields of education and the labour market. Based on an interview study with 27 young people from Portuguese immigrant families in Hamburg, Germany, who had completed secondary schooling and were planning a school-to-work transition or further education, Fürstenau found that the young people were informed about educational and career options in Portugal

through their family and social networks and were able to describe the relative advantages of vocational paths in Germany and Portugal in planning their careers.” They consider their fluency as an asset when they pursue work that requires travelling across the two countries. Fürstenau also notes that the transnational orientations of these young people need to be understood within the frame of the condition of the German labour market and limitations in social mobility of minorities, including the young people's status as legal citizens in the European Union which facilitates their transnational mobility (Lam, Warriner, 2012).

They describe how speaking in the languages they have mastered changes their behaviour (e.g. gesticulating) and tone of voice (e.g. softer, harsher). Even though interviewee Chantal, 40 below describes these changes to be changes in personality and ‘character’ I would still classify this as simply behavioural changes that occur due to characteristics of every individual language, or due to the contexts in which they are used.

[...] I sometimes I notice that in a different language I gesticulate and behave differently. I'm not the same person. In French I try to behave more like the French, I try not to be so rude, more polite, more social. When I try to speak Swahili it's more about efficiency, how to make sentences quicker, not to be polite but just communicate the message and get close to people. (Martina, 29)

Yes it's a totally different personality. A friend of mine also said that when I speak Dutch I have a different character. They say that when I speak Dutch I am softer, in English I can be very formal, especially in my writing and I say excuse me too much. When I speak Surinamese, and I do not do that too often, it's only with my cousins as a joke, I feel very active, I gesticulate a lot. I express myself best in Dutch. (Chantal, 40)

They describe how their languages became specific for a certain part of life (e.g. work, education, personal communication), for a specific person, or for a specific emotion.

In Spanish. I have been living the longest in Spain and with all my friends I speak Spanish, with my father, with my siblings I speak Spanish and sometimes my mother speaks Swedish to me and I answer in Spanish, or I am speaking in Swedish and I say a word in Spanish. (Hillevi, 27)

In Portugal I speak in English and sometimes in England I would speak Portuguese, in Spain it was Portinhol and sometimes English so there's this kind of mix. But in general when I speak Portuguese it's not natural anymore and English is my professional language so want it or not I feel more mature speaking in English always and Portuguese for me is the language that I make fun in. Portuguese is like a slang and English is like a profession and I do not have my own language. (C, 31)

If I am in Italy I will speak Italian but if I'm getting really angry I will speak French. Sometimes when I'm writing in French but I want to express something specific I will use Italian or English. When I'm speaking to myself about what I have to do depending on what I am thinking I will say it in a specific language. [And] my voice is not the same, [...] when I'm speaking French I'm more sweet, I gesticulate more in Italian. (Walter, 29)

Interviewee Miia, 34 describes why she thinks these changes occur and I would like to build on that by suggesting that self-expression in a certain language improves if a person's personality matches the worldview inherent to that language. If there is a resonance between the two a person can find a powerful tool for self-expression in a language that is not his/her mother tongue.

[...] every language has a way of looking at the world and we will adapt to that way when we speak the language. But you need to master it for that. I express myself best in Swedish, both Finnish and Swedish are my mother-tongues but I'm better in Swedish because I did my university studies partly in Swedish and I grew up there and I know the whole spectrum of the language. (Miia, 34)

German is probably the only language I learned that I liked and have consistently liked the entire time. I feel like when I can communicate in German I just have a completely different perspective on the world and what that means, the language itself leads to it. It has so many beautiful expressions and words for situations and feelings and specific things that you can't express in other languages. [...] I feel like they have a culture which is open for debate and they are opened to discuss things and they are not inflammatory⁸ about it. So I feel very comfortable in German culture, with German language and any time I am able to communicate with that in my mind I completely change. (Chris, 27)

My interviewees use their languages as part of a repertoire of ways to express themselves, picking the one that is most suitable at the moment of speaking. They might know their mother-tongue most thoroughly due to speaking it from birth but it does not follow that the mother-tongue is the best tool for self-expression.

I liked French when I started learning it but my interaction with French people in French was usually so negative, I stopped enjoying it so after a while French just became a hassle, it became an unpleasant experience. I can't be bothered with French anymore.

On gender

The question I was asking my interviewees was 'Has your gender played a role in your migration?' I received answers in connection to their own gender and their own migration as well as their associations on the connection between gender and migration. We can see in previous sections how some stereotypes attached to a person's nationality are gendered (about Brazilian men and Eastern European women), about how their feeling of being welcomed into society can be influenced by their gender and what that gender represents in the society in question.

The first group responded by describing how they were perceived where they had lived so far with regards to their self-ascribed gender. My male interviewees describe themselves as either being in a position of obvious privilege or they do not find their gender to be an issue at all. Interviewee Maarten, 37, describes how working in Dominican Republic as a man was more difficult for him than for his female colleagues because he was perceived as competition to the local men while working in Arab countries was the exact opposite. Female interviewees have differentiating views on this topic, it was the view of two of my interviewees that gender can be understood instrumentally, it is what it means for one's own environment and only one of the aspects that define how we are perceived. Only one interviewee describes the perception of her in terms of her gender improving with migration.

I think for a man in Europe is exactly the same. I think when you are a man in Europe you do not really ask that question, it just goes automatically. Obviously, it's harder to be a woman in Italy than in Switzerland [...]. (Walter, 29)

⁸ To be inflammatory about something means that something excited anger within you.

I felt that in London I was more gender neutral, I was being treated more neutral and I feel that here in Portugal and in Poland there is a bit of that macho culture, well Poland it's not so much macho it's more misogyny. (Edyta, 39)

I do not think my gender has been an influencing factor in my migration because that is my decision but yeah of course if I go somewhere I am judged upon how I look, who I am, my gender, my age, all of that so...of course it has played a role in how I've been...not received, because it's not like a generalization but it's more about what has happened to me, the situations I've found myself in. (Miia, 34)

The second cluster of responses discusses the gender-sexuality connection and how much of a distance there is between what is socially acceptable in various places. One example presents how a person can go from living in a very restricted, environment to a place that she perceived as almost too free. Migration provides opportunities for getting to know the spectrum between the two which could widen one's own perspective on a variety of gender-sexuality related issues.

[...] the places where I felt very aware of being a woman [in] places like South America or Morocco [...] I needed to act in a way that was not particularly natural or things that I would naturally do without thinking would end up not being a good idea. Like talking to a guy on the streets would mean that I ended up being followed by them [...]. One of the places that was like the opposite of that was Canada [where] almost a majority of my friends I'd say was polyamorous. [...] I'm still not sure how that works, coming from a very liberal place and a liberal group of friends it was still something that was alien to me at that time. It surprised me because I thought I was pretty open-minded. (Hannah, 29)

I was with 4 Italian guys and one woman and the woman was talking about the fact that she is bisexual so all the men were going wow, that's nice [...] it was exciting for them. I said okay I'm bisexual too. And those four men were looking at me oh you are disgusting. [...] it was really disappointing to me to see that people who look really normal and interesting if you are going deeper are just dirt. (Walter, 29)

The third topic raised in this section is how they dealt with unfavourable gender roles when they encountered them on the way. By coincidence, both of the interviewees who responded to this question lived in Kenya for 6 months though not at the same time. One describes how dangerous it is for women living there because of the 'women want to be raped' ideology and how that affected her relationships with male colleagues. The other describes how the local understanding of her gender did not affect her because she felt like it did not apply to her. She managed to distance herself from it and simply look at it from an instrumental point of view, e.g. if she needed to get something done, she would take the restrictions into consideration and find another way.

So we were having this workshop and we were talking about sexual assault and the boys were like girls ask for it. In Kenya, girls want to be raped. So I said can I see hands in the group from people who believe that women ask for sexual assault? And all of my Kenyan female friends put their hands up [...]. She got up and said [...] You do not get to do anything that you're invited to, it's not that it's your fault it's just that we live day to day in a society that believes this so it is kind of your fault because you know those rules and anything that you do that is not like that is an invite. (Hannah, 29)

And Kenya, for example, I made good friends with one of my colleagues who I was working with a lot and we were good friends but then just before we left he was like are you going to f*** me? (laughter) And we continued being friends but his interpretation of my behaviour which to me it was completely platonic and professional was flirtatious. Because in his culture women and men do not

get to be friends we do not get to drink a beer together and do the stuff that we've been doing. So all the time these things come up. (Hannah, 29)

And the fourth topic was with regards to their families and how they perceive migration according to the gender of their children. Two of the female interviewees responded to the question describing how wary their families were about them migrating alone as single women.

For instance, when I first started to go abroad, my family was worried because I was a woman, alone, with no family and my father is almost 80, it's a different generation. So it was more about his expectations of a woman, that you should get married and have kids. At the beginning I heard it from my family but now they accept that I do what I do. And now it's from random people that are my age and I understand...(Chantal, 40)

[...] my father always said be careful where you go and meanwhile I never heard him say that to my brother. And for example last year I got a scholarship to go to Mexico and in the end I didn't go because they were saying it's really dangerous [...]. I do not mind to get robbed but the rape thing is scary and I think in that way gender is meaningful. You have to be more careful. (Hillevi, 27)

Transnational social security

On account of the privatisation of social services there is little hope for any type of social income for precariat. Because of labour flexibilisation fewer workers manage to pay full contributions for social security which will affect them in the long run but it also affects the recipients of these benefits in the present time. The states have reduced eligibility for them which has led to means-testing and taking the social assistance into consideration as an earning which can later on be returned through taxes. The social benefit cuts are often said to be aiming only at those who are supposedly cheating the system but affect everybody. They target the precariat - migrants who take advantage of the system, the young who are lazy and entitled, disabled who are faking it, welfare queens in mansions, squatters, recipients who have children to collect benefits, low-wage workers on strike etc (Standing, 2014).

On health

Most of my interviewees are insured with one of the national health systems at the time of the focus group, either with the country of origin through European health card or with the country of immigration through work. They are unsure about which services they could receive free of charge with EHIC and which hospital they should go to if something happens. Payment is often required even when using the card because it is common practice to be refunded by home health security institution upon return or because one needs to fly home urgently if the illness is more serious. The card is meant to provide health security during short term travel to other countries not for long-term stays but appeared, in the case of my interviewees, to be the middle way. "The EHIC covers any necessary medical care or treatment which can't be postponed until you've returned from your visit to another EU country." (FAQs - Health cover for temporary stays on Your Europe website under 'Health'). In

the case of living in Portugal unregistered there is no option of joining a local insurance scheme.

For interviewee, Egidio, 25, the public health system is not an option even though he is working with a regular full-time working contract because he has yet to obtain his visa in his country of immigration. But he would not use it anyway, due to the perceived lack of quality of medical care and long waiting lines. He has in the past been completely uninsured for up to a year through any private or public means and was lacking sufficient funds to cover his medical bills in private hospitals should the need have arisen. Currently his primary strategy is personal savings even though his work contract entitles him to use the national health insurance scheme.

On security in old age

The main strategy of all interviewees was to have personal savings. They all express the view that the world and security systems are changing fast and that makes it nearly impossible to predict what will happen when they reach old age. There is a consensus that current pension systems will disappear by then and the taxes they are paying now (if they can't avoid it) are not going to benefit them when they reach the age of retirement, they are merely supporting people who are already retired. Often young people start working later because of lengthy higher education programmes and will be older than their parents when they fulfil the criteria for a full pension. In addition the pension value will continue to drop because the number of people over the age of 65 is growing. In some cases it is possible to opt out from paying the pension tax or get employment with a relative or a friend for e.g. 5h/week solely for the purpose of staying within the system and paying no pension tax while the main source of income is black work or unregistered freelancing.

They express the desire to work until they are physically not able to do so; the current retirement age means nothing if the pension connected to it will no longer exist. Apart from personal savings they plan to use the real-estate they will inherit from their parents or other family members and sell it or turn it into a private home for the elderly, living together with other people in similar situations which will reduce their own cost of living. They mention making an investment that will generate enough income for them to live in old age (e.g. real-estate) or starting a business.

Accumulating personal savings for old age is difficult because they need them to protect themselves from the uncertainties of their current work situations. While discussing different pension systems we discovered that some of them work similarly to a savings account. The person paying the pension tax will eventually receive the same amount of money as was paid into the system. That can happen at the age of retirement which is still imposed by the government or in some other cases - if one gets fired, if one stays unemployed for a certain number of months/years or before one migrates out of the country and signs out as a tax resident. Some of my interviewees have already 'cashed in' those savings before they moved.

On social assistance

Applying for social assistance means “queuing, form-filling, providing extensive documentation, frequent reporting for interviews, answering tricky questions, and so on.” (Standing, 2014). If someone does obtain a low-paying and at best a temporary job or in some cases even an ‘unpaid work experience’ in exchange for a symbolic nominal sum, he or she would be required to re-start the entire process after it is over. Not taking the position makes them look like ‘scroungers’ (Standing, 2014). whilst remaining on social assistance might increase their tax rate in the future. Welfare has been created for proletariat and has now turned into workfare making people jump through hoops to prove they are deserving of state provided assistance.

Interviewee Edyta, 39, applied for unemployment benefit in a form of a governmental programme which provided aid to people who wanted to transition from being regularly employed into self-employment. The recipient would receive a one-time ‘lump’ of money for which they had to present receipts. The amount of money could not be changed so Edyta, 39, received almost three times the amount she actually needed and therefore had to buy more items than she actually needed. At the same time, there were other applicants who needed expensive software to start their own business and could not cover it with that same amount of money. In order to obtain this benefit she had to remain unemployed for 6 months while meeting with her employment advisor on a monthly basis and actively search for work. She had the right to refuse work that was not compatible with her education and remain unemployed for long enough to receive the benefit. She was also sent to a course designed to inform her about maintaining her own business which she found useful.

Others have received state provided assistance either automatically or they never even tried applying. The example above shows us how some forms of assistance designed to battle unemployment are not flexible enough to have any real impact. They are designed poorly and cannot be used to their optimum potential.

On settling down and raising children

Similarly to their plans for social security in old age, the interviewees express the view that it is too difficult to predict what will happen to any of the currently stable countries and were therefore reluctant to name the country where they would consider settling down. They are better able to describe the characteristics of the place - they mention nature and culture, suitable weather conditions, high levels of equality and developed child care systems. The option of going back to their countries of origin depends on how these countries develop in the next 50 years. They also have environmental concerns (Brazil) and concerns with escalating social problems (Italy).

Edyta, 39, Walter, 29, and Chantal, 40, say they do not want to have children and probably will not want to have them in the future, because moving around is

incompatible with having children, because it is difficult to find a partner who is willing to remain on the move despite having children and because it is stressful for the children to move frequently during their childhood. Edyta, 39 and Chantal, 40 also express the view that they would be afraid of having their own children because of all the dangers they would be exposed to in today's world. But they are open to the adoption of an older child or caring for friends' or relatives' children which would enable them to maintain this lifestyle. As with relationships, the desire to be able to move without restriction is a priority.

Transnational work

The work regime that predominated for most of the twentieth century consisted of people working for a certain number of hours a day at a fixed workplace, perhaps working five days a week with two days off. Life followed a pattern where school education was followed by forty to fifty years in jobs, which was then followed by retirement (Standing, 2016). Labour flexibilisation gave rise to multiple ways of being underemployed or basically unemployed without that appearing on the national statistics. We now have unpaid internships, "employees on zero-hours contracts who have no labour and no income, permanent temporaries who stay in the same job for years, independent contractors who are dependent on a single employer, dependent contractors who are wage workers in disguise, crowd-work done online by huge numbers of isolated individuals, and so on" (Standing, 2014).

Members of precariat have a lack of access to non-wage perks, such as paid vacations, medical leave, company pensions etc. They are no longer eligible for non-wage benefits because they rarely work full-time and they are not eligible for state benefits because they have been significantly reduced. Regarding working hours, precariat does not work in fixed blocks of time; instead the working time is split into small pieces that, in the end, accumulate into a very fragmented but lengthy working day. They are expected to be available at all times, sometimes their contracts require them to be on standby for which they do not get paid and others need to "network constantly, wait, queue, retrain, fill in forms, do a little of this, a little of that. It all goes with the precariatized mind, a feeling of having too much to do at almost all times. It is corrosive, leaving people fatigued, stressed, frustrated and incapable of coherent action." (Standing, 2014). Social mobility has also declined, thus the way to progress in a certain profession is often unclear.

On new forms of labour

"The labour process is being transformed in several ways simultaneously, with the technological disruption of traditional occupations, new labour regulations undermining professions, globalising labour transactions and competition, and the emergence of digital 'tasking' platforms" (Standing, 2016). Digital 'tasking' platforms such as Uber, Taskrabbit, Airbnb and many others claim to be a part of a new 'sharing economy' by increasing utilisation of underused assets but they are rentiers,

labour brokers who charge the taskers up to 20% fee for utilising their technology to get in touch with potential customers. They have even commodified tasks that have previously been considered private, e.g. queuing in line, on demand shopping and cleaning up which means that technological advancement has not affected the number of types of jobs available as much as previously thought (Standing, 2016).

Crowdwork platforms such as the Australian Freelancer.com allow companies to break down their projects to small short-term tasks then hire and 'fire' hundreds or thousands of workers in a day or a week while the platform charges a 10% fee on all transactions. They offer professional services such as counselling, accountancy, legal research, medical diagnoses and design, undermining these professions because the services lack quality control. Designated 'requesters' post jobs available for what amounts to a global, on-demand, 24/7 labour force. Armed with a computer or a smartphone, people can bid online for tasks advertised by requesters, who name the tasks, the maximum price and the deadline for completion. Remuneration is very low, taking advantage of the extreme flexibility of home-based workers. Requesters can decide on whom to give contracts and can then decide whether to accept or reject tasks done. Rejected tasks are not paid. Since people living in countries with different living standards are competing for the same jobs the wages earned through these platforms are lowering (Standing, 2014).

These platforms also insist that taskers are not employees, but independent contractors, which excludes them from labour policy protection. They often own their own tools of production (e.g. a car, toolbox) and they are not directly supervised. They have to cover the costs of health or social security, maintenance of their tools, transport to work and insurance for accidents. But they are often not as free in creating their job conditions as these platforms claim they are. Uber for example, uses the customer reviews as means of control; drivers need to maintain a certain level of positive reviews in order to continue working with the company, even though the reviews are not always directly related to services provided. They are required to respond to at least 80% of pages or they can be disciplined by only being paged at a time when taxi rates are low. They depend on the labour broker to work and sometimes need to wear a shirt with a company logo but are not employees. Between pluses and minuses of being employed and self-employed, the taskers are getting the worst of both worlds.

On the state of job market in their respective fields

Several interviewees express concern over job applicants who are at the beginning of their career path and in desperate need of experience, forcing them to accept low-paying jobs, reducing the rates for everyone else working in the same field. It is very difficult to reach the level at which you can refuse such offers, because working as a freelancer is often very unstable and sometimes there is no other choice. Access to high-paying clients is carefully guarded by the fortunate few. They also describe the inability of clients to assess the quality of their work and translate that into payment; clients prefer services that are cheap rather than services that are of high quality.

They are aware of the fact that their job prospects depend on the supply and demand of the services they provide. This is particularly apparent with regards to their language skills; speakers of certain languages (we mentioned Dutch, German and Scandinavian languages) are highly sought after and they are frequently hired to work in all sorts of fields, regardless of their education background or lack thereof. Working in translation as a non-native speaker means one is constantly competing with the native speakers of that language and often enough, the fact that one is not a native speaker will automatically lead to closed doors, without any possibility of proving that their mastery of the language is more than adequate. They have all noticed a supply of labour force that is willing to work for far less and have already experienced the lowering of their own rates. They keep their backup options in mind knowing that a favourable position in the market today does not guarantee the same position tomorrow. Strangely enough, they imagine their backup options to be more permanent. Their skills are relatively internationally recognised and sometimes legitimised by the passport they hold.

On ways of finding a job

As a common strategy to finding work, they all describe sending an incredible number of emails everywhere they could think of working in order to increase their chances of getting a job and to be able to choose between several options. They often get in contact with employers through LinkedIn. Edyta, 39, is hired based on the samples she translates and she has never met any of her employers in person; they only communicate via email.

Finding a job often entails going to a job interview and Chantal, 40, describes one lengthy and nerve-wrecking job application process involving 5 interviews; with HR, with the hiring manager, with the country manager in the Netherlands, with the director and with the client. The job was working for an insurance company insuring the Dutch Royal Family. She has a strategy of circumventing the lengthy application process by choosing companies with high employee fluctuation because they are often desperate for new workers and are not so concerned with the quality of their labour force (e.g. outsourced call centres). Most interviewees agree that 2 interviews are still acceptable but knowing upfront there will be more deters them from applying for the position.

On agencies

The two they mention were Manpower and Adecco. They are not always aware they would be working through an agency when they apply for a position. In the vast variety of positions they have no paid sick or vacation days, often the agencies take a certain percentage (up to 30%) of their salaries every month and the jobs are of varying lengths - from 2 weeks to 3 months. The agencies are reluctant to let go of their employees should the company want to hire them directly and usually agree with the company on a certain period of time (around 6 months) during which they will still be receiving the percentage of their employer's salary. The interviewees

describe this as 'ransom money'. For this reason some companies stop using agencies to find employees. It is in the opinion of the interviewees that these agencies justify their own existence by monopolising access to short-term jobs.

On working conditions

Interviewees had, in the past, worked under a vast variety of different contracts and working conditions. Occasionally, they were lucky enough to get a permanent contract with full benefits; other times they have done illicit work, short term contracts with agencies, they have been or still are self-employed or they have freelanced. Some of these less stable forms of employment have put them in risky situations, Edyta, 39, and Chantal, 40, describe working in a nightclub, being afraid of raids or getting fired without notice because the establishment closed down overnight. Short term contracts with agencies have turned their CVs into a red flag for future employers on account of lacking consistency in their field of work and having nothing but short term jobs listed. Egidio, 25 describes how he has been recruited by a company overseas preying on immigrants who are not allowed to work until they receive their permanent residence visa (a process which can take over 2 years). They hired him illegally under false pretences (promising a contract and help with visa requirements) and owed him two months salary after the company closed down. In exchange he got to keep his work laptop which he later had to sell while looking for another job.

Internships

Quite a few of my interviewees have experience with internships; in order to find one they send a vast amount of emails everywhere they could think of. Their working conditions vary; everything from part-time/full time/overtime working hours to being unpaid or paid half a normal salary. Interviewee Miia, 34, mentioned a summer unpaid full time internship for the European Commission which she described as a learning experience. It is unnerving that an institution so integral to the functioning of European Union takes advantage of young graduates while simultaneously pushing policies designed to solve their unemployment.

Others describe the work to be lacking any real learning opportunities or responsibilities, so called "scut work" and they are expected to be grateful for the opportunity. Chantal, 40, describes an internship that was a requirement for her studies, it was unpaid and the working week was 40 hours long. She sometimes got free concert tickets as a bonus but she had to take up a loan in order to finance her living costs during that time.

My interviewees have undertaken several different student work possibilities to cover their tuition fees and costs of living. When their higher educational programmes were not for free they have paid for them out of their own savings or with scholarships (Walter, 29 received a scholarship for his Ph.D. on account of his high grades and early application). They have all received parental support well into their 20s; in

some cases parents would help with the cost of the first move.

Permanent or temporary?

Most interviewees gravitate towards temporary employment options, explaining it leaves them with more time to travel, it enables them to take on projects they find more interesting and it enables them to decide on their own working schedule. They raise the issue of efficiency in the workplace when their working schedule is decided by their superiors, explaining that sometimes several of those hours spent in the office are unproductive and yet their presence is required. There is a push-pull attitude towards permanent employment; in times when the stress of temporary employment becomes too overwhelming, a more permanent form of employment is welcomed. But then within 5 years (or usually far less), the thought of working in the same place, doing the same thing indefinitely becomes suffocating and they want to go back to more temporary forms of employment, regardless of what their employers do to keep them. They described their longest jobs lasting anything from 2 months to 2 years at the most.

With regards to working in Lisbon they consider themselves to be in a better position in the job market than the Portuguese-born on account of having more experience than their peers, while their rights regarding work do not differ from the local labour force. They did notice, however, that in the Portuguese organisations, there is a preference to hire Portuguese nationals for positions of higher responsibility or positions that require direct access to money or sensitive information.

On connection between work and education

Three of the interviewees (Edyta, 39, Walter, 29 and Miia, 34) are working in the field in which they have been educated and the remainder are working in a field close to that. Working abroad seems to make this gap wider; their education applies to their work in a wider sense (e.g. Chantal, 40, says, I studied business and it is all business). Two of them (Edyta, 39 and Walter, 29) would like to continue working in their respective fields while the other three who participated in the focus group (Egidio, 25, Chantal, 40 and Miia, 34) would/might like to change their careers completely. Interviewees say they would consider pursuing more education, either for the purpose of changing careers or because they need to formalise their skills in order for the employers to consider them as viable candidates.

Egidio, 25 describes how, in the past, he was expelled from a university music programme on account of corruption and another student was admitted instead through personal connections with administration. He turned to IT because it was a profitable option. Another (Chantal, 40) describes how she went into business school for the promises of financial security and to not disappoint her parents. Three of the other participants are pursuing their dream jobs but face obstacles in connection to their job markets.

On attitudes towards work

Chantal, 40 expresses that the quality of work depends more on how she feels when she is doing it than her salary. She has in the past quit jobs that were high-paying but the working atmosphere was not pleasant. She spends a considerable amount of time doing voluntary work which she finds more fulfilling than her job. My interviewees define work instrumentally as something they do in order to be able to spend periods of time not working and dedicating their time to hobbies, travelling or other interests. They prefer to do something they like doing even it means receiving a lower salary.

A distinctive characteristic of precariat is its detachment from labour as something self-defining; work is understood instrumentally as a tool to get money and pursue other personal goals. At the same time, they wish to establish a meaningful right to work and they are less likely to undertake or stay in positions that are unfulfilling, unchallenging, dull or mentally narrowing (Standing, 2014).

Progress

Interviewees describe progress in qualitative and quantitative ways. Quantitative ways by increasing their salaries which require them to branch out into other fields for which they have not studied, become a sort of "jack of all trades" and diversify the sources of their income. They also mentioned obtaining more credentials that would substitute the missing degrees. When progress was described in a qualitative way it meant doing more meaningful work that is inspired by one's personal interests or concretely, to translate better literature (Edyta, 39) or to fulfil the life-long ambition of becoming a professor (Walter, 29). In their respective fields, there is no clear path to progression; one detached from subjective interpretation of the word so they evaluate the numerous short term jobs according to skills they can gain with them or according to how fast they can alleviate their financial struggles.

On workplace of the future

They imagine the workplace of the future to have a better work/life balance;, depending on the profession there would be fewer working days in a week with higher efficiency, and for freelancing jobs there would be a possibility of remote work and flexible hours because people are more productive in different parts of the day.

Political and economic solutions

On political participation

My interviewees consider the current political systems to be "*damaged*" in various degrees, less so when moving towards the north and Scandinavia, an area considered to have a more functional political system. European politics is seen as a bubble, completely disconnected from the population or reality. They perceive politicians as cynical and untrustworthy. Being heard and achieving positive change in the world of politics today seems inaccessible to them, the politicians are unapproachable and they cannot identify with them personally. The parts of the system or people in the system that need to be changed/replaced are unaffected by voting therefore voting is perceived as an ineffective method to become politically engaged; it does not have the impact they were told it will have. Participation in elections has meant voting for the lesser evil between two final candidates who have in most cases been in politics for decades, supporting a slightly different agenda, or voting for a party that does not have a chance of winning but is new in political sphere and represents a progressive stance in comparison to the old political elite. They have observed the similarity between the actions of leftist and rightist parties with the only difference between them being their propaganda. The fact that people such as Donald Trump can even get elected makes them question whether democracy actually works as a political system or it is now just a tool abused by populist politicians.

[...] In my opinion political history of England and I guess the EU tells me that it does not really matter, there is a path it's heading on and nothing ever changes ever. Even with Brexit I'm still fairly confident that nothing will actually change. (George, 29)

As for Portuguese politics I feel like it's a losing story either way you go. I mean there have been so many corruption scandals here, people who exported millions of euros, using them for themselves, sometimes they didn't go to jail, they've even been elected to office again or they did go to jail and now they are in the political office again, I mean it is truly a disaster here politically so I do not believe that my vote means much here. (Chris, 27)

Profits used to come from labour and now they are coming from owning production resources. The concentration of wealth in only a few pairs of hands has commodified politicians who have an interest in satisfying the rentiers. In US alone, 90% of the media is controlled by 6 corporations. Plutocracy can now buy political influence and sway any elections in their favour which has made the political parties almost indistinguishable in their policies and rhetoric. The result is disengaged citizenry who considers political participation to be a cynical game and voting something not worth joining. Political campaigns have moved to social media playing on people's emotions and spreading distorted or just plain incorrect "truths" that linger for a long time after they have been disproved. The election of Donald Trump is a symbol of "widespread disillusionment with conventional politics" (Standing 2016).

Political (non-)participation among these few interviewees was done in different forms, at different levels and for different reasons. Some of the forms that were mentioned were following global events, voting, writing to one's MP (Member of Parliament who is elected by the public to represent its interests in the House of

Commons) and getting involved with issues that are based on one's principles and not on the country of residence. The issues they feel strongly about are gender equality, women's rights, migrant and minority rights, protection of the environment and climate change.

The reason why these interviewees follow global events is to make life decisions (e.g. where to move next, where to raise children), to make investments, to become more of a part of society in which they live and to keep up with their language skills by reading the news in those languages.

Yeah I'm always following, I'm trying to get informed about politics and economy or cultural events. It's a part of life in the place where you are and it's important, if you do not get informed if you do not try to know what is happening it's the same thing to be in Berlin or in Buenos Aires. (Walter, 29)

With regards to voting specifically, in the case of Belgium and Switzerland voting is mandatory but in Switzerland one of the conditions for it is residency, so interviewee Walter, 29, now participates in his country of immigration where he also holds a citizenship. Interviewee Maarten, 37, has passed his right to vote to his mother. For the rest of my interviewees, their participation in elections varies; some have participated in the past but have now lost all confidence in this particular method of political participation, they generally believe that things will never change and therefore their votes are meaningless.

I voted in Brazil and in Italy. [...] I lost faith years ago and when I have an opportunity I tell people the same, they should lose faith and do their things by themselves or at least take this kind of people out as soon as possible. I never lived in Italy but I voted there because in that time I was reading about the history of Italy and I knew the region of my grandfather so I wanted to know what was going on there. And then I was an undergrad and I was a little bit more hippie and I just wanted to vote for the left party [...] I had an idea that in Italy things would work because it's Europe, I said that in Brazil there was no way, it's shitty and it will not change. (C, 31)

Some occasionally engage during high-stake elections or referendums regarding issues they feel strongly about or issues they are affected by personally, but one interviewee (Edyta, 39) described how not living in her country of origin and at the same time not being from the country of immigration makes her feel very distanced from politics in both places. With regards to participation in their countries of immigration the majority feel as though they lack the knowledge to make such decisions, especially because they are unsure of how long they will stay. Long-term residence is of vital importance for local political participation of this group of young migrants. They expressed willingness to participate in the future if they settle down somewhere for longer or if they want to start a family - then they might get involved with issues that affect them or their children (e.g. education). But this is still a very basic level of political engagement, more a strategy of "dodging bullets" than actually building for a better future. So we went on to explore what would need to change in order for them to really get personally engaged.

They consider the citizen's movements (we mentioned 5-star movement in Italy and Podemos in Spain) to be a better way to become politically engaged because they try to bridge the gap between the disconnected politics and population. It is easier to identify with the movements because they give people the opportunity to directly

politically participate with demonstrations. The movements grow from the bottom up, and the leaders are often regular people who let themselves be known personally by other participants. They emphasise the importance of trusting the political figure you support. Mostly they identify with the leftist political agenda but were against liberalism.

According to Standing (2016) it is in the interest of the plutocracy and populist politicians for the precariat not to vote and many in the precariat have become cynical, convinced that nothing can be done. But he does not think we are in a "post-democratic" or "post-political" age, he calls for the creation of new progressive political parties representing precariat and its interests. He calls for revolt.

On revolt of precariat

Precariat must achieve “a sense of unity around commonly held beliefs; a sustainable understanding of the flaws, inequities and unsustainability of existing arrangements; and a reasonably clear vision of feasible goals” (Standing, 2016). They need to find an appropriate form of organisation and ways of organising that would not simply dissipate social and political energies and serve only to let off steam as protests commonly do. They need to overcome 3 struggles that have defined every other march forward.

- Struggle for recognition: they must create a strong social identity that would create the basis for collective action
- Struggle for representation: they need to find a voice in institutions of the state circumventing the refusal to be represented in commodified politics because what is rejected is the neo-liberalism, not the institutions themselves
- Struggle for redistribution: the precariat “is concerned about the inequalities that impede its liberation, related to the five key assets of today’s tertiary market society. Security, control of working time, access to and control of the commons, return of the moral education in schools and redistribution of financial capital” (Standing, 2014).

Standing (2016) sees the future in sharing rental profits and in workers co-owning the companies they work for. In reforming the labour market into a real free market, wages are determined by bargaining and according to perceived value of products/services to the buyer and seller. Policies are formed according to 5 principles of social justice:

- *Security difference principle* (John Rawls 1971) - a policy is socially just only if it improves the security of the most insecure groups in society.
- *Paternalism test principle* - a policy is socially just if it does not impose control on some groups that are not imposed on the most free groups in society.
- *“Rights-not-Charity Principle*. A policy is socially just if it strengthens *rights* and does not increase the discretionary and unaccountable power of those dealing with citizens. Charity is welcome, but it must be marginal.”
- *“Dignified Work Principle*. A policy is socially just if it promotes the capacity to

pursue work that is dignifying and rewarding in other ways.”

- “*Ecological Constraint Principle*. A policy is socially just only if it does not impose ecologically damaging externalities” (Standing, 2014).

Standing (2014) considers the Occupy Wall Street in US, Arab Spring in North Africa, the 5 star movement and Sinistra, Ecologia, Liberta (SEL) in Italy, Podemos in Spain, Syriza in Greece, Alternativet in Denmark, Razem in Poland and Left bloc in Portugal to be forerunners of the incipient movement of precariat but not yet the real deal because the solutions they were proposing were not addressing the problems in a new way, they merely expressed the wish to go back to “the good old days”.

On universal basic income

The idea is that every individual would be entitled to a basic income that would enable them to pursue other life goals. It should cover basic material needs but not provide full security, it should be paid in cash on a regular basis and based on one condition - the obligation to vote and attending one public political meeting per year (Standing, 2016). Standing (2014) uses a “veil of ignorance” to explain moral justification for UBI, the imaginative tool for distributing resources based on not knowing the position one holds in it upfront. According to Standing (2014) It would improve the position of the most vulnerable groups in society, it would not impose control on anyone more than on the others, it would not discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving of social assistance, it would enable people to pursue dignified work and empower them to decline work with undignifying working conditions and finally, it would increase the value of professions that are not directly profitable but still crucial in any given society. Some of the most common concerns in relation to UBI were listed also by my interviewees.

- It is unaffordable
- It is utopian
- It would cause inflation
- It would reduce pressure of searching for a long-term employment
- It would induce idleness
- It would induce immigration to countries where it would be established

All but one participant thought that UBI is not the solution to the inequality plaguing the world today. They propose a variety of different solutions that would address the issue more adequately. Raising personal income, lowering cost of living, controlling rents and building more social flats. Walter, 29, describes how they already voted on a proposal vastly similar to UBI 2 years ago in Switzerland when they wanted to give 2000€/month to everyone above 18 years of age but he claims this is not enough money to live there and he voted against it. The arguments presented in favour of the proposal were that the automatisisation is replacing certain low-skill jobs and the welfare is slowly disappearing. In his opinion a better way to go is to fight against automatisisation, to increase welfare spending and tax the richest people.

It is the predominant opinion of the interviewees that UBI is unrealistic because the

fact that we need to provide the bare minimum for ourselves is the driving force of people seeking employment and without that, there will be groups of people who will not contribute back into the system - they will take advantage of it. They listed situations they heard of in the past about families receiving more money from welfare than their own family with two full-time employed individuals. This is not surprising considering that such rhetoric has consistently been used by politicians since the 80s to reduce public spending in social security and money having to be deserved or acquired with an honest day of work. They also predicted a rise in idleness and consumption of recreational drugs.

Interviewee Walter, 29, weighs in with a comparison of how much national income is lost due to the grey economy and how much money is lost through the minority that is actually taking advantage of the system to establish that such minority poses no serious risk. Also that despite his previous concerns, UBI would not result in an increase of idleness in the long run; people would eventually start producing something because they are rarely satisfied with only the bare minimum. They might begin producing things that are not highly valued in our current neo-liberal ideology, such as art or cultural content.

But some of their concerns are valid, they list two conditions under which UBI would make sense: a) if all the dirty, degrading and dangerous jobs are automatised because with UBI nobody would want to perform them and b) if the society in which UBI was established has a similar level of education throughout in order for the members to be able to find meaningful work that is not made obsolete by automation. Egidio, 25, describes that in countries such as Brazil, the education gap is so wide that more than half of the population would be unable to find new productive work right away; they would need to gain more skills and sometimes even the basic level of education to participate in such society. Of course some of them are forced into these situations by poverty and I suppose it is possible that after a few years, a percentage of the lowest social class would be able to find new work but there would definitely be a transitional period.

Standing (2014) has dispelled some of the concerns regarding UBI. He claims the states could afford UBI by redirecting the funds that are now used for means-tested social assistance, funds from tax breaks and taxes from workers entering the labour market from gray economy. UBI is considered utopian because it is never been tried before and it would not cause inflation because there would be no new money entering the circulation. He considers the imperative of having a long-term employment to be a consequence of Lutheran work ethic and claims that people would not be satisfied very long with only a basic income. As far as migration is concerned he proposes a 2 year long restriction of entitlement to UBI unless there is an agreement between the two countries.

On that last note I can add that with such restrictions some of the past global inequalities would be reproduced. It is far more likely that UBI would first be established in the West than anywhere else, thus giving people more incentive to protect what is "theirs" against the "others". Instead of a generic solution that is supposed to fix a wide range of complex problems potentially reproducing some of

the inequalities or even creating new ones, what is needed is a change in mentality.

On reversing the consequences of neoliberal mentality

Neoliberalism has consequences on the way we see the world and other people in it. It contributes to the disintegration of values such as compassion, empathy and solidarity that are replaced by individualism, competitiveness, meritocracy and commodification. Social empathy is weakened by inequalities so fewer can imagine themselves in the position of others. Elite, salariat and core workers have no exposure to the insecurities of the precariat, they have little empathy with it so they can be easily persuaded to support policies that target it. The drive for competitiveness encourages crime, opportunism and cheating which, when left unchecked, even in the face of hard evidence gave the impression that this is in fact desirable behaviour - one that will lead the person to the lifestyle he or she desires (Standing, 2014).

My interviewees all agree they see themselves as individuals or part of a generation of individuals. They feel they were raised to be independent from other people or from other sources of help and to be more egoistic. They are aware of the fact that we are all interdependent but they also observe that we are all selfish. They still form connections to other people but these connections are based on a common interest or belief (e.g. religion, personal circumstance, political point of view) or people you have common experience with rather than simply being born in the same year or in the same part of the world. Being a member of a group is a choice, not a consequence of factors we cannot influence.

Education that is available and accessible and the quality of it will influence how a society manages to live together. Edyta, 39, presents an example from Denmark where children from the rich and the poor were going to the same schools before private education developed. Receiving the same education is crucial for the people to have the same understanding of the world around them. It is a welcome shift from the nationalist divisions and it is speaking volumes about the effect that communicative technology has on the world at large, enabling people to relate to each other across distances through aspects of self that are unrelated with where they were born but rather with who they chose to be.

In terms of size, they observe smaller communities are easier to handle but were in the past restricting to new members if they did not meet the ethnic/religious/racial criteria or had any other personal circumstance based on which they were excluded. That is one of the reasons why bigger cities where the person is more anonymous and therefore free became such an attractive form of living. Interviewees say that we have destroyed the notion of community with the capitalist system where we are all competing with each other and other people have become a threat to us, a danger. We have also ruined the public places where people could meet and interact, we buy our food in supermarkets or order it online to avoid having to talk to anybody. They agree that smaller forms of social organisation like a village or a neighbourhood have higher potential of fostering the kinds of connectedness and solidarity that has been

lost due to capitalism but they now need to become more inclusive and accommodate more points of view or ways of living than ever before in order to be successful. We also need to reinstate/reconstruct the commons, like public gardens or the local newspaper.

Standing (2016) describes how neoliberalist mentality affected the commons that are now being turned into sources of rental income. He lists spatial, social, civil, cultural and intellectual commons that are of a paramount importance to the precariat. The reason they are called commons is because they were built/created by donations and taxes of previous generations and/or exist in nature. Spatial commons refer to common land, public spaces like forests, lakes, islands, green urban spaces etc. that are being sold off to private owners and utilised to generate income for one person instead of being beneficial to all. Social commons such as facilities covering the services of the disappearing welfare state or roads and public transportation are all being commodified. One of the commons crucial to democracy is the mass media that is being used to mould public opinion according to the interests of the elite. "The health of democracy depends on the scope for debate based on truthful information" (Standing, 2016). An intellectual common affected by neo-liberalisation is education turned into a commodity with which one becomes competitive in the job market. Privatisation of the commons was presented as a way to cut public debt, Standing (2016) describes how Greece was forced to start selling islands as a condition of its bailout in 2015. These islands were spatial commons from which future generations are now deprived.

My interviewees also consider that with frequent migration one might not even want to be a part of the local community and become engaged with the local agendas, stories and histories. This requires a more long-term stay.

On the role of social work

Interviewees do not have a very clear idea about the wide scope of skills that social workers have which might have influenced their suggestions about the role that social work can play in the process of moving and transitioning. This might also be due to social work differing greatly among their countries of origin and residence or due to the fact that they have limited personal experience with social workers. They would not necessarily classify all the suggestions I listed under the social worker's potential job description.

The first thing they mention is the need for accurate and updated information about several areas of life in the country of immigration that would be available in a language they understand. Often enough the information they find online is not updated; it is fragmented and contradictory. Some of these areas are health system, transport system, looking for accommodation, getting registered, paying taxes, local laws and regulations, the differences in ways of living or ways of doing things - a sort of crash course in cultural differences that can inhibit communication with local population (communication at work, greeting people with a handshake or kisses,

planning common activities in advance or being spontaneous and showing up at someone's door). Furthermore, they would require help with opening a bank account and getting registered. Some might require advocacy when experiencing racism or discrimination while looking for accommodation, work or acquiring visa and aid with reporting these violations to authorities. In addition to that, some form of monitoring would be useful to make sure that the migrants can exercise the rights they have according to the law and making migrant exploitation more visible to the public. Last but not least, community-building would encourage interaction and understanding between locals and newcomers and demystify the "stranger".

They have also described some of the disadvantages of frequent migration that were difficult to deal with even though their migration and struggles associated with it were self-inflicted. Frequent migration influenced their job prospects because employers found them to be unreliable candidates for career-building jobs. It influences their relationships with other people either because they lose touch, because they have experienced envy from those who do not have a fully comprehensive understanding of how their lives work or because they want to leave and their romantic partner wants to stay. Sometimes they migrated to countries where their employment security is much lower than in their home countries. They have experienced loneliness, the stress of having to build everything from scratch many times and the stress of not being able to be there for their family and friends when something went wrong.

Yeah loads, professionally it's not great to build up a solid career because employers are like...you seem to move a lot. It's easy to lose touch with people I guess, you lose some of your really deep deep deep connections and friendships with certain people. But that could be just a consequence of growing older rather than moving around a lot. (George, 29)

The only real disadvantage is that earning money here is very difficult, worker's rights and worker's compensation are miserable, at least here in Portugal. I honestly earned more money working in a coffee shop in South Carolina than I've ever earned working anywhere here. It's a much different economy, people do not have contracts, they get paid below minimum wage, they use recibos verdes⁹, it's miserable, [...]. (Chris, 27)

I can mention how hard it is to have a normal relationship with a partner being like this. If you find someone that likes to travel or move around also is good but it's really hard, [...] who is to say both want to move in the same place at the same time [...]. I can say my last boyfriend was amazing in so many ways but if I do not feel at home there, if I do not feel good in Spain I will not stay there for you. (Hillevi, 27)

The effect of moving on romantic relationships is further explored in the focus group. There are several ways in which moving does or does not affect one's ability to have and maintain a long-term romantic relationship. In order for the relationship not to be affected by moving the couple in question needs to come to an agreement about when and where to move. They need to coordinate job prospects, linguistic abilities, family obligations, required distance from family, each individual's needs and wants regarding climate and free-time activities available in the potential countries of immigration. It is also possible If one person is willing to put their own agenda aside

⁹ A form of self-employment where a person gets paid for the services by issuing receipts to employers and has to cover his own social security contributions.

and follow their partner, work remotely or be financially provided for.

If such a decision cannot be made that presents the couple with a choice, either they will end the relationship or continue it long-distance. According to interviewees, long-distance relationships are more manageable if there is the possibility of frequent visitations and if the period during which the relationships will be conducted in this way is known upfront. The frequent visitations enable the couple to maintain the feeling of connectedness. The longer and the stronger the relationship and the shorter the long-distance period, the higher the possibility for the relationship to continue despite frequent separations.

The decision to move can be taken after a particularly difficult break-up as a way to jumpstart one's life and make the transition into single life somewhat easier by changing the environment and distracting oneself with all the change that comes with migration. Moving can affect the person's decision to go into a long-term relationship or their potential partner's perception of how serious the relationship if it is already clear that one of the people involved will move in a year's time.

They also agree that the personal desire or need to move will often be a priority over the need to have a relationship with another person. And moving around sometimes means that having a relationship with someone with similar cultural background was a rare occurrence.

Conclusion

The young professionals I talked to are moving to countries where they can explore their personal interests or where they can advance their professional lives. They are all in a relatively privileged position either because they hold the kind of passport that opens a lot of doors or because they possess a widely applicable range of skills (e.g. translation, tourism or IT). IT is interesting in the field of transnationalism because it is generally globally in English and the possibilities of remote work in both, IT and translation are endless which means that work and moving can be completely unrelated.

Home and sense of belonging are often connected to people or special places who/which inspire these feelings. Neither feelings are fixed; they change with time and experience. Sense of belonging has more to do with one's personality traits and personal interests while the feeling of home has more to do with familiarity, safety and security. Healy, Richardson (2016) discuss several types of belonging. Some ways in which we can belong are more exclusionary, such as citizenship in countries that do not tolerate dual or multiple citizenships or categories imposed on us such as age, class, or cultural background (Guibernau 2013, in: Healy, Richardson, 2016). Other times we can belong in different ways, to different things at the same time. It can be an emotional attachment to a place that was built up through everyday practices and experiences. It can also include a more social component when it depends on whether one is welcomed or rejected by a community (Buonfino and Thomson 2007, in: Healy, Richardson, 2016). We can build our sense of belonging on activities we share with other like-minded people (Fletcher 1993 in: Healy, Richardson, 2016). "The way we dress, the symbols we choose to make use of, can be an outward sign of our belonging and form part of our personal identity [...]" (Fletcher 1993, in: Healy, Richardson, 2016). Because migration is now more accessible (in frequency and distance) self-discovery can be done in a much wider arena with a greater potential for diverse experience.

My interviewees do not necessarily identify with people based on common national origin or age; they form new relationships based on common personal interests, values, opinions on important issues, and language skills. Maintaining relationships across long distances requires tools (Skype, Facebook, Viber, Whatsapp, emails, phone calls, letters, physical visits etc.), commitment from both parts to keep the relationship alive and acceptance of the fact that the person needs to make friends in the country of residence which requires time and effort, rendering the long-distance relationships to be conducted intermittently. These contacts from before have a grounding effect in a new unfamiliar place and serve as a support network in times of stress or loneliness when the depth of the relationship is more important than the person's proximity. The tools used will depend on the depth of the relationship. Social media is often used for acquaintances and professional contacts while emails, phone/Skype calls, letters and physical visits are more commonly used in maintaining contact with closer friends, family and romantic partners. It is the extremely negative or extremely positive moments that serve as a catalyst for a

longer and deeper conversation with someone living far away. The geographical proximity between the two countries is important in transnationalism, despite the development of communication technology, because it enables the person to make physical visits more often which is especially important in maintaining romantic relationships. But according to this group of interviewees, the desire to maintain a romantic relationship is secondary to the desire to move.

The immigrants internalise their hegemonically constructed position in the country of immigration by being subjected to stereotypes in relation to their country of origin. Most of my interviewees actively avoid their co-nationals and perceive themselves as essentially different from them in an attempt to distance themselves from that positioning, while those interviewees who hold 2 nationalities or citizenships would frequently omit the one with negative connotations. Other factors influencing how they are welcomed in various societies of immigration include gender, age, social status, physical appearance, name etc. How we are seen by others will essentially be a configuration of all these personal circumstances and the reason we even pass judgement on strangers is to be able to coexist with them, to relate to them without having any intimate knowledge about them.

Since we live in a world divided into nation-states it is not surprising that nationality held primacy over citizenship among my interviewees. In front of nationals who have the knowledge to recognize them as *impostors* they would identify themselves through their country of origin even if they hold citizenship in the country of immigration. Throughout the empirical part of this research they have all presented themselves using their nationality with the verb *to be* (e.g. I am British, I am Brazilian etc.) but I think they only meant to describe some of the specificities of the environment that partially shaped them, not to express the destiny they share with other co-nationals. *To be* British will have several different meanings in the global space and among British nationals in configuration with other influencing personal circumstances which shaped their personal experience which is why their hegemonically constructed positioning changes with migration.

The interviewees seem to have a clear idea of what is necessary to facilitate contact with the local population and have listed several strategies used to do so but within this admittedly small sample, most of my interviewees do not develop meaningful relationships with Portuguese nationals. They have more success in societies where they spoke the local language or where the locals are predominantly fluent in at least one foreign language they knew. In Portugal, English fluency is between low and moderate, depending on the social circles or professional environments. Another reason why the contact does not take place is because my interviewees frequent different spaces to the locals in their everyday lives. All but one resided in Portugal prior to the interview from between a few months to 2 years, a relatively short period of time, where immigrants more often frequent places that are easier to find because they are positioned in the old city centres, popular streets, near parks and main squares or because they have the infrastructure specifically designed for foreigners (e.g. restaurants with menus in various languages, poetry/film/stand-up nights in English). The contact at this stage usually happens with locals who are consciously seeking the company in a place frequented by foreigners before they take their new

friends to some of the places that are more difficult to find. Yet another issue is availability for making new connections; events organised for those who are explicitly seeking to make new friendships are not frequented by those who already have a number of friends on account of living somewhere for a longer period of time. Avoiding the locals can also be a choice if one has had several unsuccessful interactions with them or perceives their mentality and lifestyle to be incompatible with his or hers. In such cases 'othering' and reclaiming difference take over to homogenise the local population based on those negative experiences but that can resolve itself over time. All in all, as we said before, there is no reason why my interviewees would even seek the company of locals just because they are locals; this idea is a consequence of assimilationist mentality, the same as the imperative to learn the local language. They are much more likely to base their relationships on things they have in common with people they encounter and learning the local language (even though it has obvious practical benefits) is only as important as it is needed. I consider the language to be a tool of communication not a tool for re-socialisation.

Family history of migration influences my interviewees lives immensely but it is not a necessity for the person to make such a lifestyle choice. I have only briefly touched on the topic of frequent migration in childhood and such experiences should be the subject of further research. Gordon Jack (2008) invites us to think about it in terms of children's (in)ability to form attachments to places. Long-term residence can strengthen the feeling of belonging to a place, facilitate deep social ties with people who live close by, provide enough time for imprinting places with personal meanings. Of course the quality and intensity of experiences are more important than duration so the latter is not a condition for a meaningful connection to one place (Tuan, 1977; Rowles 1983 in: Jack, 2008). "Connection between places and identity is such that people's country of origin; the region, city, town, estate or village in which they grew up; the house(s) in which they lived; the schools they attended; the shops they visited; and the "special" places where they played with their friends or had their first kiss can become meaningful components of one's identity [...]" (Jack, 2008). Place is understood here at different scales, everything from a part of a house or garden, to the streets, shops or other landmarks in the neighbourhood/town/city, to the countryside, region or nation (Jack, 2008). "The relatively limited amount of research that has examined the place attachments of children with different characteristics in a range of circumstances indicates that those who experience repeated moves tend to display a sense of rootlessness and a fragmented identity [...]" (Coles 1970 in: Jack, 2008).

Living separately influences the way family relationships develop or the way they do not develop with extended family members because they live far away. One thing is for sure, my interviewees' families in general have much less of a role in their decisions about migration than in traditional literature on transnationalism, often enough they are merely spectators to it but the interviewees themselves took the fact that their parents are getting older and physical proximity might become more important into consideration. This coincides with the fact that European societies are, with a few regional exceptions, predominantly individualistic ever since the industrial revolution separated the core and extended family and since neo-liberalism created

the conditions in which one's personal life project is of utmost importance.

With regards to the lessons learned or skills acquired, most of them report becoming stronger, somewhat wiser and with an increased awareness of who they are with regards to their strengths and weaknesses. Considering the fact that their lives are often perceived to be more glamorous than they really are by their family and friends and considering the fact that their decision to move was voluntary and the struggles related to it were self-inflicted, talking about the negative aspects of such a lifestyle does not come easily to them. In some cases they are hiding issues from their family members and seek support elsewhere.

My interviewees describe experiences typical for Standing's precariat (2014, 2016) whose futures are insecure and unpredictable. Their health security is mainly relying on savings or EHIC (European Health Insurance Card) which is not meant to be used for longer stays abroad. The public health system was, at least in the case of Portugal, perceived as of low quality so they would prefer to rely on savings and receive treatment from private institutions. With EHIC one often still requires savings either to pay for the treatment directly or to pay for the flight home in case the illness is serious. Those who are residing in Portugal unregistered have no other option but to use the card since they are not eligible for any other medical insurance scheme. Very few had their insurance covered by their employer in the past or present time.

Their employment situation consists of a few permanent but mostly short-term contracts either through freelancing or agencies, low-paid online work, unregistered work and unpaid internships. There is a push-pull dynamic when it comes to permanent vs. short term work; short term projects have many advantages but when the stress of risk and uncertainty becomes overwhelming, a longer contract is welcomed. When their work turns into a mind-narrowing routine they start searching for more short-term opportunities again. Agencies and internships are two particularly exploitative forms of work, in the case of the former, companies pay the agencies 'ransom money' if they wanted to hire them directly and in the case of the latter, they would be working full-time for free and were expected to be grateful for it. In neither cases do they have paid sick days or vacations; one of the interviewees had to take up a loan to do a 6 month long internship. Their salaries in various fields are already affected by the entrance of a cheaper global workforce into the labour markets but they all prefer to be employed doing work they like with lower pay than work they hate with higher pay. Work is no longer an integral part of one's identity, it is simply a way to procure funds to engage in personal interests and even then it needs to be fulfilling or meaningful. They imagine the workplace of the future to have a better work/life balance with fewer working days, higher efficiency and the right to set one's own working schedule.

For security in old age they mostly intend to rely on savings, convinced the current pension systems will disappear when they reach old age. None of them has begun to accumulate the savings yet because they need them to alleviate the uncertainty of current working situations. Precariat will most likely witness the transition from government imposed pension schemes to individual saving programmes. With the working situation being what it is, it is possible they will have to work long into their

old age and with young people being encouraged to 'live free/hard/fast or die young' the awareness that most of them will probably live until they reach old age and are unable to work has not really sunk in yet. These pension systems were protecting us from the reality we are unable to imagine so early in life, they're slowly crumbling because the demographics are changing and in order to preserve them until we come up with an alternative we need the young migrant workforce to help us provide for those who are already retired. The suggestion to turn the inherited real-estate into a sort of private home for the elderly where they themselves could eventually live and share life costs with other tenants was an interesting way to mobilise underused assets. The idea could catch on if the banks would agree to rent the empty repossessed properties for a nominal fee to those who are willing and able to transform them into elderly-friendly living spaces. The population of those over 65 in Europe is increasing while the homes for the elderly are overpriced, over-booked and 'overly-institutional'.

Political participation among my participants is dismal but is perceived as important to their future, society and the world in which they live. They notice a serious lack of viable options for political engagement that would actually produce results, their frequent migration makes them feel distanced from the politics of the country of origin while they do not feel like they have enough information to participate in the country of immigration whenever that is even a real possibility. They prefer bottom-up movements which provide an opportunity for direct participation and transparency as opposed to already established political parties consisting of old political elites, stagnating and even regressing in their rhetoric and policy. They emphasise the importance of being able to trust the political figures one supports and are no longer certain whether democracy is the right form of government if populist candidates like Donald Trump can win the election. They sometimes become engaged with issues they feel strongly about and are unrelated to national politics, such as gender equality, women's rights, migrant and minority rights, protection of the environment and climate change.

The idea of UBI is not accepted with much enthusiasm possibly because they have been raised within the frame of neo-liberal mentality within which such an idea surely seems rather utopian or they are rejecting it because it is partially a legacy of failed socialist regimes. Either way, the concerns they have are valid. In order for UBI to work the so called DDD jobs (dirty, dangerous and degrading) would all have to be automated, the level of education within each society would have to be more or less the same in order for them to all be able to pursue other professions and the rent would have to be controlled to accommodate those who cannot pay more than what they are receiving through UBI. Together with a 2 year long limitation to entitlement for newcomers that Standing (2014) suggested, establishing UBI might pacify existing inequalities but would eventually create new ones. Such is the nature of all policies that attempt to solve various problems with one generic solution.

Thinking back about the 'good old days' is futile, we can only look forward by creating a greater awareness of the mistakes made and the damage done through this senseless 'pursuit of happiness'. And social work could play a significant role in fostering a new kind of community, a sort of community 2.0 that would have the

necessary knowledge to accept people with a wider range of personal circumstances into their midst. Social work has great potential to become the intermediary between people and their environment, in their workplace or at home but not until it is underused or misused to accommodate the neo-liberal interests of the national states.

Imagining possible solutions

My proposal is multilayered in a way that it is trying to address issues related to precariat and issues related to precariat on the move. To start with the wider outline, we could form a network of organizations across Europe that would be completely independent from national or European funds but of course, would not be prohibited from applying for them. It is this dependency that often subjects the actual activities of an organisation to external regulation with regards to their duration and content. Because NGOs cannot run without outside financial help they resort to asking for donations or filling in lengthy application forms which requires enough working hours to be someone's full-time employment without a guarantee it will actually go through. We can achieve this independence by developing social entrepreneurship - the profit from a regular, profit-making company would be used to finance activities of organisations in the network. Just as Standing (2014) suggested, the future is in workers owning the companies they work for and in this case, the workers would be co-owning the company they work for and co-run their section of the network. Regular, already existing companies could choose to join the network and restructure their ownership scheme into one that turns the workers into equals or perhaps differentiates between them only based on experience or skill instead of gender, age or legal status. The main point of restructuring would be to dismantle the existing scheme in which directorial and managerial positions are valued above all else even if there is not really any valid explanation for that. Of course, the responsibility is sometimes greater but the workload is not and the perks are disproportionately better. The companies could be using the excess financial profit to support a cause of their choosing, one that is relevant and necessary in the environment of their work and develop projects around it. Some examples include having a group of legal advocates defending the rights of workers, rebuilding or reclaiming the commons of any kind and making them available to the public, giving low interest micro-loans to small businesses, creating campaigns to raise awareness about various social/environmental issues (but not for the purpose of advertising their product), sponsoring research, running a community walk-in centres hosting events, workshops, support groups, exhibitions, yard sales etc. This would give the workers a chance to engage in work that is meaningful for their community and allow them to use and develop some of their skills that are not used in their daily work. Of course the profit that would be used to finance these activities would have to be obtained in a responsible way - responsible to people, animals and environment. Such restructuring of companies would undoubtedly benefit from social work services within the company, creating personalised working plans for a better work/life balance, adjusting the premises to people with disabilities, making it possible for older workers to continue working as long as they want and making sure

that skills and experience are the only differentiating factors in profit distribution.

The network would come together online, on a platform designed to present the local projects and good practices to prospective companies who might join in the future and to pose as one common virtual space where the migrating young professionals could post and access information about their countries of immigration that is accurate, updated, concrete and available in several languages. The information would be provided by individuals "on the ground" and confirmed with the local institutions in question, with a channel to communicate all the changes and a channel for direct questions and answers one might have pre- or post-arrival in the country. The main advantage of having such a space is to empower individuals to take matters into their own hands by providing the right kind of information and enable them to feel in control more quickly, which would hopefully reduce the stress associated with the transitional period. The information "hub" would be created by potential users for potential users, similarly edited as Wikipedia but with a stricter screening for errors and a vigilant moderator.

The following areas of interest could be presented in various forms, including but not limited to google maps, example documents, instructional videos or other graphic presentation tools. The author of this thesis finds these tools to be more interactive and would like to avoid long texts written in legal jargon. A common mistake of national institutions' websites is the copying and pasting from formal legislation, the direct translation of legal terms which makes them completely unrecognisable in their original form and paraphrasing in order to give the reader the general idea but he or she still needs to look for details in the original language. Employees of such institutions often refer confused taxpayers to their website, insisting it contains all necessary information and perhaps it does, but if it is not comprehensibly presented, it does not make any difference.

- Local health system; what is the degree of privatisation, which documents are needed to use public or private health services, where to obtain them and where to sign up, what are some of the insurance schemes that are available and what is their cost/benefit comparison, where are these institutions located, what are the services that are not available in the country in question and what are some of the ways around it (e.g. birth control, abortion), prices, waiting lines, a list of general and specialized doctors who speak foreign languages etc. Availability of mental health services at different levels of urgency.
 - Under health system I include the mental health services available within or outside the frame of the local medical system. It could include a list of bilingual psychotherapists and the prices of their services, and a list of community counsellors/social workers available for a conversation.
- Social security system; what are the benefits one is entitled to (if any), where and how to obtain them, what are some of the reductions one can apply for (e.g. reduced kindergarten fee), child care and education system,

maternity/paternity leave, pension system, the coverage of sick days and vacations etc. Information about how are EU countries' systems connected, which rights can be obtained abroad even if coming from your own country, what are the sort of rights that all European permanent residents or citizens have and what are some of the retirement options with regards to available private/public care.

- Taxation system; what is the tax rate for social securities, for income tax, for selling or buying property, for inheritance, for owning a business, for being self-employed. How to fill out the forms and when (local fiscal calendar), where and how can one obtain a fiscal number. A list of affordable accountancy services would be helpful in really exceptional and complicated cases.
- Registering with the authorities; where and how and how much, applying for visa (real situation differs greatly from what is written in the application forms especially in terms of waiting periods), legal aid that is available and the prices of such services.
- How to open a bank account and where is best to do it; What is needed to obtain a loan, a credit card, an international card or a savings account and what are the standard interest rates. How to use online or mobile banking, how can one avoid paying too many fees from withdrawals or transfers, what to do if your card gets stolen, lost or stuck in another ATM machine.
- Where to find accommodation, what is the standard content of local contracts, what are the rights of tenants and landlords regarding eviction, unexpected visits, paying for damages, overnight guests, the practice regarding the length of contracts and the conditions under which one can rent an accommodation (sometimes a guarantee is needed if the person in question is young and does not have what is traditionally considered a stable job), what is a standard deposit and especially what can one do in case he or she has a dispute with the landlord or other tenants.
- Transportation system; how and where to obtain a monthly pass, where to purchase individual tickets, how does the price differ if it is purchased on the vehicle, at the ticket counter or in a magazine stand, how to switch between different transport providers in the same city, what to do if caught riding without a ticket and how to deal with fines in general, information about the local traffic, taxi services and cycling options. How to obtain a driver's licence or how to extend it, any local specificities about driving, highway tickets, parking in the city, car maintenance and repairs, gas stations and gas prices.
- General information regarding safety, how to call emergency services and what languages are they able to understand, what to do if robbed or attacked on the street or at home, by a familiar person or by a stranger and what are the police willing or able to do in such cases. Where is it safe to walk at night, what are the local consequences of being caught with various recreational

drugs and information about prohibition of public drinking (especially when only certain streets apply). Where are all the embassies and consulates and which countries do they cover. What dangers are a consequence of the local ecosystem, what to do if bitten or stung by a dangerous/poisonous animal and what are some of the areas where these creatures are encountered.

- Information about the local culture; the degree of closeness to or distance from other people at various stages of familiarity - one's superiors, neighbours, co workers, friends etc. Making professional or social arrangements, being direct or indirect in one's communication, gift giving, home visits, local celebrations, ways of greeting people, public behaviour restrictions, daily meal schedule, local cuisine, local climate, local religion(s), making small talk, tipping culture, standard opening and closing times and working days for businesses.
- Labour market; what are some of the professions that are in an advantageous position in the local labour market, which professions are in shortage, which professions require a national accreditation and which professions are opened to those who do not speak the local language. What is the standard working contract, what is allowed under the legislation in terms of working conditions, what is the average and the minimum salary, what are the conditions and ramifications of opening various types of businesses (limited liability or unlimited company, being self-employed, freelancing etc.) - relative to a field. What to do in case one experiences discrimination or harassment in a workplace or his or her worker's rights are being violated. Where to report such incidents and what is likely to happen in that case.
- How and where to obtain legal help for landlord-tenant disputes, for work-related harassment lawsuits and for everything else one might need assistance with that requires a licensed law practitioner.

Several attempts have been made at creating a platform with such multitude of information with websites such as Angloinfo, Expat exchange, Expat focus, Expat network, ExpatFinder, Expatriates.com, Future Expats forum, Just Landed etc. The information is often provided in lengthy forum entries dating a couple of years back, job boards are hijacked by various pyramid scheme promoters trying to attract new investors to work under them, the platforms promise to provide information on a wide variety of countries but have actually managed to collect them on only a few or they specialise on a specific nationality of expats, they often become advertising platforms for companies providing shipping services or help with obtaining visas for a fee or they sell a number of different "guides" that are way too general to be of any real use (e.g. guide on expat work). The project I am suggesting is utterly ambitious on account of the large amount of information that would need to be collected and presented on the platform, on account of the number of people that would have to be coordinated to get it done and on account of the speed with which the information can change. But it would also be a great opportunity to employ young professionals across EU and eventually even across the world that would benefit from being able to work remotely and set their own working schedule while moving around as they

please. And the task does not seem so daunting if we consider that there are already a few successful platforms offering services my interviewees and others in similar situation can benefit from and as later described, a few Youtube channels with more than fitting content. Platforms such as Meetup - a platform joining people with similar interests all around the world by giving them the option of organising a meeting in a pre-agreed place and time and Couchsurfing - a platform where one can find a free couch to sleep on when travelling abroad and also post events that are happening in that area.

The Youtube channel connected to the network would include videos on various projects that companies in the network have undertaken and vlogs with content related to areas of interest listed above. Since earnings on Youtube mainly depend on advertisements run before the start of each video, the companies in the network could partner with the network Youtube channel producers to advertise their product and enable the network to use these earnings to create more videos. It could also be used to share the knowledge of social workers on various topics that are relevant for members of the network or moving professionals. Everything from how to create your own toolkit for the days where you are feeling down, how to do stress management, how to organise your schedule and prioritise, how to organise daily routine for first time mothers, addressing certain fears of mothers, empowering those with eating disorders, how to talk to an older member of the family with dementia, knowledge on different mental health problems etc. The knowledge gathered in social work research rarely gets disseminated beyond the circles of various professionals and yet it would be useful for so many people in their everyday lives.

There are plenty of existing Youtube channels we could link with which provide the viewers with content relevant for social work. I would like to mention two such channels here, "The financial diet" is teaching people how to budget, how to save money, how to earn extra money on the side, how to plan big purchases, how to avoid loans, how to prepare for working life during the last years of college, how to compartmentalise work and personal life and not let work become the main point of one's sense of self, how to start saving for retirement and so on and so forth. The second one worth mentioning is "The school of life", a channel by Alain de Botton, a Swiss-born British author whose videos are related to a wide range of topics such as love and partnerships, happiness, friendship, loneliness, anxiety, depression and many others. He summarises some of the main works of philosophy in a comprehensible way by using every day life examples. Most philosophy books are deemed to be unreadable by the general society but they still contain valuable messages we can all benefit from in the process of developing our emotional intelligence and he has made it his life's work to bring them closer to us. Since Youtube channels have a comment section the subscribers could suggest the topics they are interested in.

Another way in which social work is underused is counselling and that might be on account of the fact that professions such as psychology, psychotherapy and psychiatry hold a certain monopoly over the therapeutic help. On account of long years of training and often high tuition fees the services are often expensive and therefore inaccessible, even if the help that would be provided is of high quality. But

there are plenty of ways in which a well thought out individual or group counselling session can help someone who is not in need of prescription medication or in-depth, lengthy psychoanalysis. My interviewees have experienced loneliness and there are plenty of posts in the travel-related blogosphere mentioning the disparaging effects the initial isolation in a new environment has on a person's well being. Here is only one such example:

When you sit there in a room with not a soul in town that you can call a friend or even an acquaintance, it is damn hard to not sink further and further into those dark thoughts. Dark thoughts have a tendency to breed more bad emotions. A feeling of loneliness can, if left unchecked, breed feelings of being a failure, inadequate, unwanted, etc (The Modern Nomad, June 20th 2015).

As Botton (2000) points out in his book, education has made us learned, not wise and most of us are still ill-equipped to deal with the challenges of life, regardless of how many years we spent in formal education institutions.

A change in mentality

It seems utopian and it is if we consider how aggressively business is conducted, with how much difficulty any progressive policy is passed and how many obstacles one has to go through to run a programme that is not making any financial profit. But that is just the point, the profit and so called economic growth can no longer be the priority, merely a tool used for other aims.

Economic growth measured by the rise of GDP is only benefiting those who are already rich on account of all those who are not; GDP, poverty and consequently social exclusion and inequalities are often rising together. The richest 62 people on the planet (53 of which are men) collectively own more than the entire bottom half of world's population (3.6 billion). Meritocracy is promoted to the "have nots" to place the responsibility for their life situation on their shoulders but in reality a big portion of the 1%'s wealth was not earned by merit, it was earned by being in the right place at the right time and then by doing everything in one's power to monopolise that position. Avoiding taxes by hoarding unthinkable obscene amounts of money in offshore accounts and considering the workers to be a cost of production is what is causing the squeezing of those who are already pretty much drained out (Dragos and Leskošek, 2017).

The change that needs to happen is primarily psychological; it would require us to let go of the illusion that money equals happiness. Certainly in some parts of the world, money means healthcare, education and safety as opposed to not having any of the three in any capacity and while that should not be ignored we must also mention that such a situation is sometimes a direct result of (or was at least exacerbated by) the effects of neoliberal policies. In Alain de Botton's *Consolations of philosophy* where he summarises some of the life lessons bestowed upon us by ancient philosophers it is explained that we desire certain expensive products because they pose as a solution for needs we do not understand. He uses an example of a person with a strong headache who wrongfully concludes that in order to alleviate the pain someone needs to drill a hole in his brain and let the pressure out. "At the heart of

Epicureanism is the thought that we are as bad at intuitively answering "What will make me happy?" as "What will make me healthy" (Botton, 2000)? This means that the first answer that comes to mind is usually faulty and we should rely on the knowledge of those who have thought about the matter more logically.

According to Epicurus, friendship, freedom, thought about main sources of anxiety, food, shelter and clothes are essential for happiness because without them, life is miserable regardless of one's financial situation. He came to this conclusion through a series of thought experiments, by looking for exceptions to the initial link between a desire and a product (e.g. if I have a villa but no friends, does it still make me happy?). "It is in the interest of commercial enterprises to skew the hierarchy of our needs" (Botton, 2000) and in order to draw us to purchasing certain items they create a link between a product and the neglected need. It may be a car that we are buying but it is freedom we are looking for, it may be a beverage we crave but it is friendship we need, and it may be yoga pants we are wearing but it is thought that we want. According to Epicurus, levels of consumption would be destroyed by greater self-awareness and appreciation of simplicity but at the same time he admits that it is this "discontent that has driven life steadily onward, out to the high seas..." (Button, 2000).

To lower financial inequality we need to start rewarding hard work, creativity and those products/services that add value to the entire society while at the same time discourage exploitation, nepotism and monopolisation (Dragos in Leskošek, 2017). I am not proposing an increase or a decrease in state control of the market forces since as we have seen, the states or the individuals in government are likely to be swayed by the promise of a large profit, and I am also not suggesting the kind of stifling equality that was promoted in socialist regimes. Instead, what I am suggesting is a shift in focus, from financial profits and material gains to all other types of profit, prioritising those that serve more than one person. Unfortunately this would also mean letting go of some of the comforts of globalism such as having access to goods produced or grown far away that are cheap in our countries of residence because the workers were exploited in the process. It would require us to look past what is easy and look for what is sustainable.

References and sources

- Alain de Botton (2000): *Consolations of philosophy*. Penguin books.
- Arlie R. Hochschild (2000): *Global care chains and emotional surplus value. On the edge: Globalization and the new Millennium*. Sage, p. 130-146.
- Daniel Hiebert, Jan Rath, Steven Vertovec (2014): *Urban markets and diversity: towards a research agenda*. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2015 Vol. 38, no. 1, p. 5–21
- Darja Zaviršek (2009): *Med krvjo in skrbjo : socialno starševstvo kot širitev koncepta starševstva v današnjem svetu*. *Revija Socialno delo*, vol.48, no. 1
- Fran Meissner, Steven Vertovec (2014): *Comparing super-diversity*. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2015 Vol. 38, no. 4, p. 541–555
- Guy Standing (2014): *A Precariat Charter: From denizens to citizens*. Bloomsbury
- Guy Standing (2016): *The corruption of capitalism - why rentiers thrive and work does not pay*. Biteback publishing.
- Irena Šumi (2000): *Kultura, etničnost, mejnost: Konstrukcije različnosti v antropološki presoji*. Založba ZRC SAZU.
- Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991): *Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics and violence against women of colour*. *Stanford law review*, vol. 43, no. 6, p. 1241-1299.
- Martina Bofulin (2011): *Migracije iz Ljudske republike Kitajske v Slovenijo* (doctoral thesis). Faculty of social sciences, University of Ljubljana.
- Michaela Benson (2015): *Lifestyle migration: from the state of the art to the future of the field*. *Dve domovini*, vol. 42
- Natalija Vrečer ed. (2009): *Multikulturne kompetence v izobraževanju odraslih*. Slovenian institute for adult education.
- Srečo Dragoš in Vesna Leskošek (2017): *Gospodarstvo za 1%*. Oxfamovo poročilo št. 210/*cf.
- Steven Vertovec (2009): *Transnationalism*. Routledge.
- Steven Vertovec ed. (2015): *Diversities Old and New: Migration and Socio-Spatial Patterns in New York, Singapore and Johannesburg*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Steven Vertovec, Robin Cohen, eds. (1999): *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Tony Giddens and Will Hutton eds. (2000): *Global care chains and emotional surplus value. On the edge: globalization and the new millennium*. Sage, p. 130-146
- Vesna Leskošek (2005): *Globalne neenakosti*. *Journal Socialno delo*, vol. 44, no. 4/5
- Vesna Leskošek (2009): *Zaposlitvene možnosti mladih*. *Revija Socialno delo*, vol. 48, no. 4
- Vesna Leskošek (2012): *Vpliv socialne države na (ne)odvisnost delavcev od tržnih pogojev zaposlovanja*. *Časopis za kritiko znanosti*, vol. 39, no. 247

Online sources:

- Pat Levitt (2004): *Transnational migrants: When “home” means more than one country*. Migration Information Source, October 1st. [Online] Available at: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/transnational-migrants-when-home-means-more-one-country> (February, 2nd 2017)
- Wan Shun Eva Lam, Doris S. Warriner (2012): *Transnationalism and Literacy: Investigating the Mobility of People, Languages, Texts, and Practices in Contexts of Migration*. *Reading research quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 2, p. 191-215. Wiley. Available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/doi/10.1002/RRQ.016/full> (May, 11th, 2017)
- Patricia R. Pessar, Sarah J. Mahler (2003): *Transnational Migration: Bringing Gender In*. *International migration review*, vol. 37, no. 3, p. 812-846. Wiley. Available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/doi/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2003.tb00159.x/full> (May, 11th, 2017)
- Gordon Jack (2008): *Place Matters: The Significance of Place Attachments for Children's Well-Being*. *British Journal of Social Work*, vol. 40, no. 3, p. 755-771. Oxford. Available at:

<https://academic-oup-com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/bjsw/article/40/3/755/1661955/Place-Matters-The-Significance-of-Place?searchresult=1> (May, 11th, 2017)

- Mary Healy, Mary Richardson (2016): Images and identity: Children constructing a sense of belonging to Europe. *European Education research Journal*, 1-15. Sage. Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/doi/pdf/10.1177/1474904116674015> (May, 11th, 2017)
- Nina Glick Schiller (2005): Transnational social fields and imperialism: Bringing a theory of power to Transnational Studies, vol. 5, no. 4, p. 439-461. Sage. Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/doi/pdf/10.1177/1463499605059231> (May, 11th, 2017)
- Orly Levy, Maury Peiperl, Cyril Bouquet (2013): Transnational social capital, A conceptualization and research instrument. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, vol. 13, no. 3, p. 319 - 338. Sage. Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/doi/full/10.1177/1470595813485940> (May, 11th, 2017)
- Francis Leo Collins (2008): Of kimchi and coffee: globalisation, transnationalism and familiarity in culinary consumption. *Social and cultural geography*, vol. 9, no. 2, p. 151-169. Taylor and Francis. Available at: <http://www-tandfonline-com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/doi/full/10.1080/14649360701856094> (May, 11th, 2017)
- Melike Peterson (2016): Living with difference in hyper-diverse areas: how important are encounters in semi-public spaces? *Social and cultural geography*, p. 1-19. Special no.: Negotiating Strange Encounters: Conceptualising Conversations across Difference. Taylor and Francis. Available at: <http://www-tandfonline-com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/doi/full/10.1080/14649365.2016.1210667> (May, 11th, 2017)
- Melissa Butcher (2009): Ties that Bind: The Strategic Use of Transnational Relationships in Demarcating Identity and Managing Difference. *Journal of Ethnic and migration studies*, vol. 37, no. 8, p. 1353-1371. Taylor and Francis. Available at: <http://www-tandfonline-com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/doi/full/10.1080/13691830903123153> (May, 11th, 2017)
- Mawuna Remarque Koutonin (2015): Why are white people expats when the rest of us are immigrants? *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/mar/13/white-people-expats-immigrants-migration> (May, 19th, 2017)
- Wan-Ying Lin, Hayeon Song, Sandra Ball-Rokeach (2010): Localizing the Global: Exploring the Transnational Ties That Bind in New Immigrant Communities. *Journal of communication*, Vol. 60, no. 2, p. 205-229. Wiley Available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/doi/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2010.01480.x/full> (May, 11th, 2017)

Statistics/documents:

- European Commission on unemployment statistics up to March 2017. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Unemployment_statistics (May 6th, 2017)
- Pordata - Base de dados Portugal Contemporâneo: Foreign population with legal resident status: total and by certain nationalities. Link: <http://www.pordata.pt/en/Portugal/Foreign+population+with+legal+resident+status+total+and+by+certain+nationalities-24> (May 2nd 2017)
- Pordata - Base de dados Portugal Contemporâneo: Gross emigration rate. Link: <http://www.pordata.pt/en/Europe/Gross+emigration+rate-1935> (May 2nd, 2017)
- Statistics Portugal: Resident population with 15 and more years old (No.) by Place of residence (at the date of Census 2011) and Religion; Decennial. Link: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006396&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2 (May 2nd, 2017)

Other sources:

- Eurofound - European foundation for the improvement of living and working conditions on the definition of 'third country nationals'. Available at: <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/industrial-relations-dictionary/third-country-nationals> (May 23rd, 2017)
- FAQs - Health cover for temporary stays. Available at: http://europa.eu/youreurope/citizens/health/unplanned-healthcare/temporary-stays/faq/index_en.htm (May 13th, 2017)
- Portuguese nationality act 37/81. Consolidated version, as amended by Organic Law 2/2006. Available at: [http://eudo-citizenship.eu/NationalDB/docs/POR%20Law%2037%2081%20as%20consolidated%20by%20Law%202%2006%20\(English\).pdf](http://eudo-citizenship.eu/NationalDB/docs/POR%20Law%2037%2081%20as%20consolidated%20by%20Law%202%2006%20(English).pdf) (May 20th, 2017)
- SEF on Golden Visas. Available at: http://www.sef.pt/portal/v10/en/asp/apoiocliente/detalheApoio.aspx?fromIndex=0&id_Linha=6269 (May 18th, 2017)
- The modern nomad (blog): Loneliness: <http://www.themodernnomad.com/loneliness/> (May 31st, 2017)

Appendices

Appendix no. 1: A list of all questions asked during the empirical part of this research.

Interviews

Can you tell me a little bit about yourself? (basic info about each informant: age, nationality, place of birth, place of living, education)
Where have you lived so far?

What does the word home mean to you?
Where is home for you (It doesn't have to be only one place) Why there?
Where do you belong? Is it the same as home?

Do you maintain connections with people you met in these places? How?
How does online interaction compare to face-to-face interaction for you when you're trying to stay in touch with people across long distances?

Do you actively seek out other (insert co-nationals)? Do you usually make friends with the locals or other long-term residents in the country where you live? What are some of the things that make this contact easier or more difficult?

What role has your gender played in your migration?

When someone asks you where are you from, how do you usually explain it?
Do you have trouble explaining where you're from? Why? Do you ever adapt this explanation to the person in front of you?
How do people react to where you say you are from? (When is the reaction positive and when is it negative)
Do you feel welcome here? How does that show?

(For EU nationals): Are you going to get registered here as a resident? Why yes/why not?
(for non-EU nationals): How has the process of obtaining a legal status here influenced how you feel here?

Has your family ever migrated? (inside or outside the country)
How did (frequent migrations) of your family affect you?
How does your migration affect your family?
If you were moving a lot with your parents as a child, how did that affect your childhood/life?
Parents from different places:
If your parents are from different countries/cultures, how did that affect your upbringing?

Have you got any skills that you developed through moving around?
What did you learn about yourself?
Are there any disadvantages to living like this for you?

Which languages do you speak?
Does speaking in a different language change you somehow? In what language do you express yourself best?
In which of the countries you participate politically? How?

Would you want to participate in other places as well, if you moved there for longer, if you could?
How? WHY?

Do you ever think about old age and pension?
Is there anything else you would like to mention that I didn't ask you yet?

Focus group

About your parents or guardians:

Age

Gender

Completed level of education:

- Elementary
- Secondary
- Higher/technical education
- Tertiary - bachelor's degree
- Tertiary - Master's degree or higher

Employment status:

- Employed part time/full time
- Self-employed
- Not working at the moment
- Retired
- In training
- Other: _____

Last or current occupation: _____

With regards to the society in which I grew up I would describe my household as:

- Lower class
- Middle class
- Upper class

- With guardians

My parents/guardians are:

- Married
- Divorced (since I was ____ years old)
- Unmarried but together
- Unmarried and no longer together (since I was ____)
- Deceased (since I was ____ and ____)
- Social parents: relatives/extended family members
- Other: _____

I grew up in a:

- Single parent household
- With both of my biological/social parents
- In a household with my parents and extended family

What was the motivation behind you moving the first time/subsequently?

Do you intentionally move to urban centres e.g. main cities, capitals? If so, why?

Has moving around and living in different countries affected your romantic relationships? And if so, when and in what way?

Have you ever been in a long distance relationship? How did it come to be? How did you manage it? Do you still maintain one?

Social and health security

- How do you manage your health security when you move?
- Do you arrange, or have arranged at home, any form of social/health protection plan?
- Do you invest in pension plans/funds?
- Do you envision a time when you will settle in one place? Would that be in your home country/country of your citizenship? Or somewhere else? Is there an ideal place where you want to live permanently?
- What are your plans for financial security in middle and old age?
- If you want to have kids, or think you will want them someday, do you actively think about where you want to raise them?

- Have you ever applied for a state benefit or social assistance of any kind? What was the process of obtaining it? Do you know what are the conditions for obtaining it in your home country/abroad?

Let's talk about work.

How do you see the state of the job market? How do you see your position/prospects in the job market?

Are you in search of a permanent employment, or do you prefer to take up more temporary jobs?

What are some of the ways in which you have gotten jobs in the past? How did you look for them and what was the application process like? (have you ever used an agency or a broker)

What kind of jobs did you have so far? (I am talking about the types of contracts and their characteristics, zero-hour contract, crowd labour)

Have you ever done an internship, how did you get it and what were the conditions of the work? Was it paid?

What is the connection between your job(s) and your education?

Since we're all migrants, have you ever had different rights than the local population with full citizenship with regards to work?

Does your work require a licence and what is the process of obtaining it?

Are your skills recognized internationally? Did you study/obtain degrees in different countries?

Do you have or had in the past any student or other loans to support yourself through education? Did you receive support from parents/family? Did you obtain a national/international stipend? Or would you look for one in the future?

Do you plan to pursue higher educational levels/degrees than you currently hold, or perhaps a specialisation certificate?

Would you like to work, temporarily or permanently, in jobs you are qualified for, or would you like to add/change your basic profession?

What are some of the ways in which you can progress in your work life?

Please describe your dream job? Does your education serve the purpose well?

How do you envision the workplace of the future? Less hours/day? Less days/week? Permanent contracts? Limited-time contracts?

What are your thoughts on growing income inequality, the dramatic loss of jobs in Europe, and the idea of UBI?

I've noticed that quite a few of you were fairly apolitical in your first interviews. What would have to change for you to participate more? Is political participation/engagement important? Can it change anything? What needs be changed?

Are there social and political issues, local, national, global, that you feel strongly about?

Do you see yourself primarily as an individual on his/her own path, or do you think of yourself as part of a generation, an age group?

How would you describe your political persuasions? Leftist, rightist? Progressive, conservative? Or something completely different?

Do you think that our modern lives are too fragmented? That humans should live in small-scale, closely knit communities? Or in some different basic organisational mode? How would you describe your dream social environment where you would like to live?

Since I am a social worker, I don't know what you imagine under social work but are there any challenges you encountered during your travels, or upon arriving to a new place of living, that social work could help you with? How would you rate the following options:

- aid with tax obligations
- visas obtainment
- explanation of local health and social system

- aid with finding a doctor/medical service or support
- aid with finding accommodation and communication with landlords
- aid with opening a business
- providing basic counselling
- basic mental health counselling
- help in building initial social networks
- help when encountering prejudice/racism/rejection/discrimination/chauvinism

Is there anything else you would like to mention?