6 Revisiting Migration through the Patterns of (Im)Mobility

In the preceding chapters, we have seen whether, and if yes, how often, when, for how long, why, and in which direction my respondents adjust their mobility practices. After initial migration, both Sandra and Anja are sedentary in their countries of arrival. They have developed an aversion toward mobility, which manifests itself in different ways. Other respondents, however, are more mobile. While Janusz constantly targets Poland as his favourite destination, Oscar additionally moved between Scotland and Poland by way of Montreal and plans to go to the United States soon, but both started to be mobile relatively late. And Malinka? She had already moved for the first time by the age of three. She has lived in Germany (Berlin), Poland and the United States, and has had shorter stays in Cuba, Argentina, and Spain. Compared to Malinka, Francis's "age of entry" into mobility at seven years is relatively late. During his life course, he has lived in different cities and provinces in Canada (Montreal, Victoria, Toronto) and in Kenya.

What the main characters of this book have experienced in their lives portrays the study's main contribution: the patterns of (im)mobility. As the title part III of the book suggests, the patterns show one possible way for us to make sense of movements. Movements embrace both migration and mobility, and how we make sense of them determines our understanding of these issues. I understand the patterns in a double sense: as empirical results and as a tool to revisit migration. In this chapter, I will first summarize and systematically evaluate each of the patterns of (im)mobility and demonstrate how I can utilize them to revisit migration by proposing a new reading of the theories in the field (ch. 6.1). I then discuss the empirical results more broadly in terms of their temporal, spatial, and social dimensions (ch. 6.2). Finally, I discuss the study's theoretical contribution and, ultimately, I highlight the fruitfulness of the "mobilities perspective" on migration (ch. 6.3).

As tools to revisit migration, the patterns of (im)mobility can also be used in different ways. Because they are constructed upon specific methodological and epistemological premises (biographical research, combination of migration and mobility studies) and, certainly, on a unique sample, they are not exhaustive. That is why I understand them as an invitation, for instance, to identify other, new, or differentiated patterns. For starters, one could examine a different sample representing a different form of migration, in different places of the world.

6.1 READING MIGRATION BETWEEN EXPERIENCES AND THEORIES

This section provides a systematic summary and evaluation of the patterns of (im)mobility, explicating how we can use them as tools to revisit migration. More specifically, I will point out what role the established theories in migrations studies, i.e., the "classical" and "new" approaches I presented in chapter one, play in the patterns themselves, and how these can guide our thoughts and reflections on migration beyond said approaches. The established theories all gain relevance in the patterns of (im)mobility. That is, in the biographical experiences of my respondents. Accordingly, I will propose a new reading of migration, one that connects the theories and the experiences in the field with one another, showing a possible way to use the patterns as tools.

Mobility as an Element of the Past: Sedentary Social Advancement and Assimilation

The pattern of immobility is the first type presented in part II of the book. It is the social phenomenon of *sedentariness after initial migration*, showing similarities to the concept of *assimilation.* The pattern corresponds with individuals and their families who have entered the country of arrival with a "one-way ticket" with the purpose of settling permanently ("immigration")—i.e., mobility as practiced in the past, either by the individual being interviewed, or by his or her antecedents. After immigration, they are generally lacking in mobility experiences, as in (temporally-restricted) internal or international relocations of their life center. While internal mobility is still more likely to occur—for instance, individuals enroll in a university located in another city than their hometown or change their place of employment from one city to another—international mobility is practiced to a lesser extent to the point of being almost absent. The immobility experience for the individual means having a clear geographical center of life,

located in the country of arrival. It often implies an aversion toward mobility, characterized by a lack of intention to move someplace else—either for good, or for a limited period of time; either to the individual's country of origin, or to any other country. Unambiguously, the intention is to remain in the country of arrival: it is the only geographical reference point to maintain everyday activities and to integrate into the "host society."

The respondents incorporate national (migration-specific) discourses while narrating their experience of settlement and integration. In other words, they appropriate theoretical approaches such as assimilation and multiculturalism, emphasizing the social pressure of integration they face. While all patterns underline that they do integrate into the "country of arrival" in one way or another, the pattern of immobility emphasizes an assimilationist way to do so.[1] For these respondents, being successfully integrated into the country of arrival means more than the minimum: fulfilling specific objective "integration criteria" like learning the language, finding a job, and participating in the society. Integration means achieving a good social position in the national system of social stratification. Their integration efforts must involve upward social mobility within their (regional) place of residency. This kind of integration demands or results in assimilationist behavioural patterns and social practices. Individual and structural conditions produce certain limitations and paradoxes that often find expression in the three social dimensions of the interviewee's life: language(s), networks, belonging/self-understanding. My study suggests the following constellations that promote the development of the pattern of immobility in one's life course: (1) flawless mastery of the official language(s), (2) few contacts with co-ethnics, and (3) affiliations with the country of arrival and a calculated distancing of one-

1 As in probably every study on migration, I am unable to avoid using the overloaded and politicized term of "integration." I have pointed out that the meaning of the term remains vague as it can be used in both an assimilationist way and a cultural pluralist/multicultural way. Whenever I do not indicate in which of these two ways I use the term, I use it in a *non-normative way*: I do not suppose that those labelled as "migrants" must distance or even give up their heritage culture in order to integrate, neither do I assume that integration should be their (one-sided) effort. I rather understand it as the mutual endeavour of a heterogeneous and open society, whose goal it should be to integrate all *factual* members so as to counteract inequalities and gaps in the social strata, wherein the status of "migration" is one of several other "markers of difference."

self from the "root culture."[2] These constellations show, conversely, how a particular theoretical strand—in this case: assimilation—gains empirical importance.

1) The Focus on Perfection

When it comes to language(s); individuals, who lack post-migration mobility experiences in their life courses, solely focus on the acquirement and the perfection of the (official) language(s) they encounter in the country of arrival. As a result, merely acquiring the language(s) is not enough. What they seek rather is a flawless mastery, i.e., speaking the language(s) without an accent so that others might not detect their "non-native" status based on their proficiency.[3]

Comparing German and Canadian-based discourses on language, I have found that the German-based interviewees are much stricter in their approach, probably because social expectations for "migrants" to master the language are much higher in assimilationist Germany than in multicultural/intercultural Canada. There, social advancement may arguably be possible without the flawless mastery of the official language(s), while it would be an exception in Germany. However, flawless language skills for the sake of advancing one's social position also involves avoiding or shedding (linguistic) "marginal high status signals" (Lamont/Lareau 1988) such as using colloquial or foreign vocabulary, in order to avoid being identified as belonging to a lower social milieu. An assimilationist stance becomes also apparent in the predominant use of the language(s) of the country of arrival, whether in public or in private spheres. The individuals do not use their heritage language voluntarily. When forced to do so, they do it *reluctantly*. The focus on perfection eventually leads to a neglect of the heritage language and other foreign languages, hindering mobility experiences to both the country of origin and other destinations.

Individuals who relocating their life center for a certain amount of time, often work or study as well as engage in daily social interactions and activities in

2 Theoretically, I can also imagine a contrasting constellation for the immobility pattern: (1) no knowledge of official language(s), (2) many/only contacts with co-ethnics, and (3) affiliations with "root culture" and a distancing from the culture and country of arrival. It would then describe the condition of "marginalization," (ch. 1.1) however, I could not observe it within my sample. Further research would be desirable in this respect.

3 For Polish-speaking persons, an accent is mostly marked by the pronunciation of a "rolling r," and many respondents made or make huge efforts to avoid this "mispronunciation," going so far as to attend phonetics classes.

this new location. Heritage or foreign language skills are, in many cases, a precondition for "going abroad," but sometimes individuals use the lack of it as a "driver for mobility" to learn new languages. Not so for the pattern of immobility, primarily because it is a distraction from the project of assimilationist integration and upward social mobility in the country of arrival. In these cases, upward social mobility does not aim at establishing an "international career" or to become part of an "elite," because that would imply foreign language skills and mobility, but rather to move from a low(er) (middle) class position to a (higher) middle class position. For the latter, language skills other than those of the official language(s) in the country of arrival are not necessarily required. Relocating ones' life center without having the language skills of the new place will often lead to a lowering of the social status, requiring the individuals to make new efforts to adapt to and advance in the new society—an unattractive outlook for those who already make an effort to climb the social ladder in their (first) country of arrival. In sum, knowledge of the heritage or foreign language(s) simplifies mobility while the lack of it often functions as a hindrance. Yet again, mastery of the official language(s) spoken in the country of arrival promotes processes of social advancement there.

2) Relationships with Co-Ethnics?—Only When It's Family!

The family structures found in the pattern of immobility most often contain a local embeddedness of the individuals' core family, i.e., family members who immigrated with the interviewees (e.g., parents, siblings), live in the country of arrival as well and are sedentary there themselves. Such a precondition simplifies continuous and close family relations. Certainly, almost all of my respondents have relatives in their country of origin and they visit them (regularly), without implying a change of the individuals' center of life. Mostly, they perceive holidaying in the country of origin as an obligation. It is not altogether surprising that the German-based interviewees travel to Poland more frequently than the Canadian-based ones. The geographical proximity between Germany, particularly Berlin, and Poland favours these visits; sometimes even in the form of commuting. Conversely, the geographical distance between Canada and Poland prevents such frequent visits: travelling from Canada to Poland is more expensive and more time consuming. My Canadian-based interviewees most often combine visits to Poland with holidays in other European countries. While German-based interviewees visit their relatives in Poland two or three times a year on average, Canadian-based ones travel to Poland every three or four years. On both sides of the Atlantic, I have observed that visits to Poland decrease in frequency the older

the respondents get—an issue that certainly has to do with the fact that their contacts there are restricted to family members only.

Conversely, individuals strongly engage in social relationships *on the spot* in the country of arrival with friends, partners or girl/boyfriends, and colleagues. They establish social networks and accumulate social capital, but usually not with other people of Polish heritage. Some respondents are simply not interested, while others state that "it just didn't happen." If my respondents did not refuse contact with co-ethnics outright, neither did they intentionally seek out such social relationships. Again, this is more striking for the German-based interviewees as they almost exclusively engage in social interactions with Germans. In Canada, the situation turns out to be different: interviewees establish contacts with co-ethnics much more often, particularly during their childhood as many of them are involved in activities organized by Polish associations. In schools, for instance, peer groups often form on grounds of nationality, making the Canadian-based interviewees "automatically" part of these groups. The older the respondents get, the more diversified their social relationships become and sometimes they do not maintain Polish contacts other than with their core families. This seems to be the result of contextual differences: while there is a lively Polish community in Canada, there are comparably low numbers of Polish organizations and get-togethers in Germany.

3) Affiliating with the Country of Arrival and Distancing Oneself from the "Root Culture"

The pattern of immobility is characterized by constellations of belonging constructed toward the country of arrival: the individuals clearly favour the culture and society of the country of arrival over their "root culture." Some construct their residence-affiliated belonging so as to reject their heritage culture, or at least to distance themselves from it. Affiliations with the country of arrival may become conflictual for some, which finds expression in the construction of a divergent self-understanding. It is—yet again—more pronounced in the German context. Individuals whose Polish background might be obvious because, for instance, they have a Polish name, are faced with the socially determined impossibility of being defined as *real* Germans. These individuals therefore both reluctantly incorporate their Polish background into their self-understanding and they practice transnational activities, albeit favouring the country of arrival. In Canada, it is much more socially accepted to see oneself as a Canadian when having a different ethnic background. It is, in fact, part of Canada's self-conception as a multicultural country.

Immobility: Geographical Mobility as a Barrier for Social Mobility

The pattern of (im)mobility, or the experience of post-migration sedentariness, combines integration processes with intentions of upward social mobility. In order to be socially perceived as "integrated," individuals set their focus on processes of social advancement. Such a focus prevents the emergence of opportunity structures for (geographical) mobility, and that is why the pattern is characterized by a low motility. While some of my respondents might make use of their "mobility capital" (Kaufmann et al. 2004), they typically do not. For others, it leads to the condition in which their personal and professional projects are not transferable to another setting without lowering their social status. They prefer to live a sedentary life in their country of arrival than to live with a lower social status in either their country of origin or another destination. Experiences of immobility in the life courses are thus accompanied by sedentary social practices, attitudes, and discourses that solely focus on the social context of the country of arrival: *sedentariness appears as the best condition and assimilation as the best strategy to reach the goal of (uni-local) upward social mobility*. Mobility only plays a role in the past and living an immobile life in the country of arrival is what happens when the individuals' assimilation project gains momentum. Using assimilation as a strategy, they want to complete their parents' initial "migration project" *successfully* so as to reassure them of their having made the right (life-changing) decision and to show their loyalty toward the family.

From the perspective of assimilation theory, these results typically correspond to the normative ideal. From a cultural pluralist point of view, however, they seem counter-intuitive. Certainly, scholars promoting the assimilation concept would be pleased about the pattern of immobility because it illustrates that ideas of assimilation are well founded. We should, however, be careful not to assume that assimilation is the "only," the "self-evident," or "natural" way of integrating into new contexts, and challenge the normativity of respective theoretical formulations, e.g., as do those of Gordon and Esser (ch. 1.1). In my work, I first used assimilation as a "category of practice" before using it as a "category of analysis." Such an approach confirms Berry's statement that individuals can choose how to integrate, which they—in fact—do, but not randomly. Those who practice assimilationist strategies perceive it as the most effective way to succeed in processes of social advancement in one particular social space, namely the "country of arrival." Sometimes they perceive assimilation as a duty, directed at them by the society they encounter, particularly in the German context, and sometimes they combine assimilative practices with multicultural ones. We can witness more (willing) multicultural practices in the mobile patterns, especially when my respondents express and appreciate their cultural heritage. The Canadi-

an-based interviewees simultaneously understand themselves and are perceived by others as "Canadians." This is not the case for German-based ones as they are reluctant to or *must not* use such a self-expression due to the German society's broad consensus of an assimilationist stance on integration policy. However, practicing multicultural integration does not mean that individuals do not face challenges of integration or that they do not sometimes put forth assimilationist practices in their everyday lives. What is remarkable is that *the discourses inherent in the biographical narratives of my respondents are nationally tainted, emphasizing the ideological power of politicized theoretical concepts and actual agendas of policy-making like assimilation, (integration), and multiculturalism*.

When we think about these approaches once again, we notice that these theories are not only abstract ideas; but that they have either been designed for or they have evolved as the political basis of state action. As such, all these approaches conceptualize the migratory movement *only* as a unidirectional geographical move from A to B; commonly known as "immigration." The migratory movement is perceived as a one-way street, reminding us of Simmel's figure of the *stranger* "who comes today and stays tomorrow." ([1908] 1950) While assuming a permanent settlement on the part of the migrants, the "classical" approaches reproduce a unitary vision of the modern (nation-)state (Favell 2014: 75, 84). They intensify—what I call—the "immobility-bias" in migration studies; the inherent assumption that migrants do not practice geographical movements other than only *one* border-crossing relocation of their center of life. Thus, I argue that the core structure of these approaches targets sedentariness in the country of arrival of "once immigrated migrants" without conceptualizing their (potential) "secondary movements." (Moret 2015) Consequently, Schrooten et al. argue that these "traditional accounts of migration have been found inadequate for understanding contemporary mobility processes." (2015: 4) I agree that these traditional accounts are not exhaustive and that their sedentary structure limits their explanatory value, yet all of these approaches—when contemplated in a differentiated manner—gain importance in the patterns of (im)mobility. The pattern of immobility, for instance, adheres to assimilation; and it also means that an (immobile) individual, who is based in a multicultural country, may put forward an assimilationist strategy to integrate while someone, who is based in a country with assimilationist policies and whose life course adheres to pattern of trans- or cosmobility, may very well develop and display a multicultural interpretation of integration. While the pattern of immobility suggests an assimilationist way of integrating, the other patterns clearly show multicultural integration as well as endeavours of multiple or *multi-local* integration into various geographical and societal spaces, as we are to see in the following sections.

Mobility as Bi-Locality: Mobile Paths of Integration and (Migrant) Transnationalism

The pattern of transmobility is the second type presented in part II of the book. Transmobility illustrates a form of migration other than "immigration." It is organized in the form of transnational mobility, which involves *recurrent relocations of the individuals' life center after initial migration mainly between the country of arrival and that of origin, and potentially also between other places of destination.* Mobility here is bi-local and it shares particularly strong links with the concept of *(migrant) transnationalism* as well as with the concept of *diaspora.* Contrary to the "classical" approaches in migration studies, the "new" ones conceptualize social reality beyond the borders of one nation-state, having thus a broadened spatial reach. However, they are not agendas of policy-making.

(Migrant) transnationalism deals with various kinds of border-crossing activities of migrants, while diasporas describe distinct communities, which were (forcedly) dispersed from their homelands, but whose members preserve their identities. Both concepts are related; a diaspora is often considered as one distinct form of a transnational community. Throughout all three patterns, my respondents engage in transnational activities: sometimes they practice them selectively (and reluctantly) while, at other times, they practice them comprehensively. Interestingly, their integration paths occur simultaneously to these activities (Levitt/Glick Schiller 2004) while both processes occur concurrently to mobility experiences, illustrating how crucial (migrant) transnationalism is for mobility, and vice versa.

Transnational mobility, as constructed in the pattern, brings about more than one geographical reference point in the lives of individuals. Combining the locations of the country of arrival and origin (and possibly others) with one another—by relocating between them—constitutes the individuals' life-world in the form of a transnational social space (Pries 2008, Faist 2006, o.a.), in which geographical movements happen between specific places, and not between random ones (Pries 2001b: 53). The directionality of the individuals' geographical movements is clear: the (classical) country of origin is the geographical destination, while—over time—the individuals may broaden their geographical scope to places other than their countr*ies* of origin. Transmobility therefore contains bi-local mobility flows and, as the circumstances require, multi-local ones. While the mobility experiences are restricted in duration, their length is not always determined *a priori*. Both the duration and the bi-or multi-directionality emerge out of an interplay between biographical circumstances and structural/contextual conditions, creating opportunity structures that consist of possibilities and re-

sponsibilities at specific points and places of time during the individuals' life course. The opportunity structures are linked to the individuals' educational and professional aspirations, and often combined with familial motives, and sometimes they constitute experiences of suffering, "cultural otherness," and attempts to integrate into multiple contexts. The following constellations of the social dimension are decisive for the development, maintenance, and shifting of the transmobile pattern: (1) fluency in (heritage and official) language(s), (2) transnationalization of relationships, and (3) identification with "root culture."

1) The Language—Mobility Nexus

The acquisition and mastery of (both) the official language(s) in the country of arrival and the heritage language is a precondition for gaining experiences of transnational mobility and bi-locality.[4] The role of the heritage language is particularly crucial as it enables mobility directed to my respondents' country of origin. Acquiring or using the heritage language is far from being a matter of course in "migrant families": some families attach a higher value on speaking the language(s) of the "country of arrival" fluently while others prefer to focus on maintaining the heritage language. A combination of both, however, can lead to bilingualism.

There are interesting differences between the socialization process in Germany and Canada: if maintaining the heritage language is a relevant topic in my respondents' families (in both countries it is not always the case), language education is distinct. In Germany, respondents predominantly speak Polish at home with their parents or siblings and, certainly, when they visit their relatives in Poland. In Canada, parents additionally send their children to Polish schools, in which they get a more formalized education, including reading and writing skills in Polish. In fact, the institution of the Polish school and the use of it is an expression of Canada's multiculturalism. Both ways, however, promote (migrant) transnationalism and/or transnational mobility, yet being able to read and to write in Polish makes it easier to study, work, and live there.

But there is more to it than that: not only is knowledge of the heritage language a precondition for relocating one's life center to the (classical) country of origin for a specific period of time, but—conversely—mobility directed there is central for improving those language skills. For multi-local mobility, the logic is similar: multilingualism promotes multi-local mobility and multi-local mobility

4 For another sample, the official language(s) in the country of arrival and the heritage language may be the same one, e.g., for French migrants in Quebec or British migrants in the rest of Canada.

promotes the solidification of language skills. By the same token, lacking either the heritage language or (one of) the official language(s) and attempting to acquire it often leads to experiences of suffering.

2) Transnationalizing Social Relationships

In terms of family and other social relationships, the pattern of transmobility is characterized by a "transnationalization of social relationships." Interestingly, transnational structures are often already established within the individuals' family networks as their family members (e.g., parents) are sometimes mobile, too. While most of my respondents have relatives in the (classical) country of origin, the ones who practice transnational mobility mobilize their family networks as "mobility capital" (Kaufmann et. al. 2004), relying on their help for putting into practice their mobility projects as they can provide, for example, support with administrative tasks, finding accommodation, and establishing social contacts.

Once the individuals have gained a mobility experience in the (classical) country of origin, they usually have established further (non-familial) social relationships there, which they can later use for further mobility experiences. They generally engage in social relationships in at least two different geographical spaces. Their relationships are characterized by a bi-local embeddedness of social interactions, although permanent face-to-face interactions cannot be taken for granted anymore. When practicing multi-local mobility, the individuals not only fall back on their relatives in Poland, but either on other (mobile) relatives currently residing in different geographical locations, other (non-familial) social relationship or they organize their mobility experiences within institutional frameworks, e.g., school years or semesters abroad, internships, etc.

3) Sensing the "Roots"

Dealing with two sets of cultural repertoires of norms and values becomes an integral part of my respondents' lives. In contrast with the other mobility patterns, the individuals' affiliation with the "root culture" is comparatively strong, without approving all cultural norms and values. Rather, a strong belonging can be constructed through a strong family bond or a strong identification with a (high) social status, while the relationship to the culture of the "country of arrival" may be strong, too. Transmobility is thus characterized by the individuals' feeling of belonging to both societies and cultures, leading to a dual, sometimes ambiguous, self-understanding. It indicates a localization of one's belonging in the heritage as well as in the residence cultures. Under the condition of high mobility, a sense of belonging may change due to the individuals' geographical and social context—a *contextual sense of belonging* in other words. It can go hand in hand

with boundary making, e.g., differentiating oneself from the others, and with experiences of "otherness" when being perceived as the "cultural other."

Transmobility: Strategic Selection of "Mobility Capital" and Attempts of Multiple Integration

The pattern describes the phenomenon in which the (classical) country of origin becomes the individuals' primary mobility destination. The above-mentioned constellations of the three social dimensions create opportunity structures, evolving into the transmobility pattern when, for instance, individuals use kinship and other social networks, their language skills, and cultural knowledge in order to put their mobility project into practice. Transmobility requires, or leads to, fairly high motility rates from individuals. They particularly mobilize those factors, capabilities, and constellations of social dimensions as "mobility capital" (Kaufmann et. al. 2004), which they can best transform in the society of their "root culture." Selecting "mobility capital" and accumulating it also means reducing the risk of lowering one's social status (too much) in the new geographical context because—as opposed to the pattern of immobility—it promotes the transferability of one's personal and professional projects into other contexts, above all in the country of origin.

Since border-crossing activities of migrants are at the center of the concept of (migrant) transnationalism, we could assume—if we reflect about it once again—that the concept necessarily implies geographical mobility of individuals, but this is not entirely the case as there is no uniform opinion amongst transnational scholars. Levitt, for instance, states that "movement is not a prerequisite for transnational activism." (2003: 179) Hers is a broad conception of transnationalism: transnational actors do not necessarily need to be migrants, who are neither necessary personally engaged in transnational activities, but who (at least) live within a transnational context (2003: 179, Levitt/Glick Schiller 2004, Levitt 2009). While such a broad idea includes a wide range of individuals and social phenomena, it also leads to analytical blur (Pries 2008: 227). If geographical mobility is not a defining feature of a perspective that is concerned with border-crossing activities of migrants, what then remains? I would say: sedentariness and the notion of "sedentary migrants."[5] When, for the sake of the argument, transnationalism is a sedentary notion, I wonder how it differs from other sedentary notions, say, multiculturalism. Many immigrants (and their descendants) follow multicultural practices (as opposed to assimilationist ones) like speaking their heritage languages and living in line with traditional values and

5 For a similar reading, see Dahinden 2010, and my review of her work in ch. 1.2.

norms in many ways. Indeed, they are often managing several cultural repertoires and sometimes they struggle, for instance, with their parents' expectations that they marry someone from their own religious community. If Levitt refers to such examples as transnational activities (2009), they qualify as multicultural ones as well, I argue.

However, others take geographical mobility into consideration when conceptualizing transnational phenomena. Within these literatures, mobility is based on different temporal and spatial frames. The geographical movements of "transnational migrants" can vary in their duration: some works include travel and holidaying as a characteristic of (migrant) transnationalism (Wessendorf 2013), others imply more enduring mobility of migrants relocating their center of life for a certain amount of time (Pries 2001b), and yet others include profession-bound extensive mobility of migrants which leads to multiple short-term stays abroad (Nowicka 2006b). Many of these (labour-inflected) mobility trajectories require and produce specific social conditions, which cannot be grasped by traditional concepts such as of em/immigration. In spatial terms, the approach implies bi-local, and sometimes multi-local, cross-border movements that migrants undertake after initial settlement. Scholars have particularly focused on processes of return, dual residence, and the circulation between two places (Moret 2015). Bi-local mobility is prevalent in transnational studies and the "country of origin" and the "country of arrival" play a significant role, but we need to keep in mind that these terms are themselves caught up in the dichotomous viewpoint of traditional migration theories that the transnational perspective criticizes (Palenga-Möllenbeck 2014).

Within the transmobility pattern, however, mobility between *only* the "country of arrival" and "the country of origin" is a phenomenon that is predominantly practiced in the German context. This, at least in part, is related to the geographical proximity between Germany and Poland. In the Canadian context, however, my respondents more often practice multi-local transmobility—that is, when individuals include further mobility destinations. Canadian–based interviewees usually have a good knowledge of English and/or French, two languages that would enable the interviewees to live and work in many places of the world, while the knowledge of German and Polish is restricted to only a few geographical spaces. That said, the proximity between Canada and the United States may also play a role as many multi-local transmobility experiences of my Canadian-based interviewees are directed toward the United States. Generally, transnational mobility and bi-locality are not always a voluntary action as they sometimes are the consequences of other peoples' choices. This becomes particularly appar-

ent in the early life courses of my respondents, for instance, when parents decide to relocate their children early in their life courses.

The pattern calls our attention to the fact that individuals are sometimes required to integrate into the "country of origin," which they or their families emigrated from. At the same time, they make sure to become (or remain) integrated in the "country of arrival." Integration, in this pattern, does not occur in the form of assimilation because efforts to integrate into two or more locations (*multi-local* integration) are only possible when individuals maintain and strategically combine different cultures as "multiculturalism" allows. In other words: assimilation is *theoretically* not possible as it requires "migrants" to give up one culture in favour of another, which conversely means that they cannot integrate into two or more societies with distinct cultures. Assimilation theory thus only allows for a culturally-restrictive form of *mono-local* integration. Reflecting on transmobility and integration triggers an intriguing thought: (migrant) transnationalism does not hinder "integration," it might even promote it, if we do not take *mono-local* integration for granted. In other words, border-crossing activities of migrants promote *multi-local* integration and facilitate subsequent attempts.

Not only (migrant) transnationalism, but the diaspora approach gains meaning in the pattern of transmobility (and cosmobility). In the literatures, "diaspora" is often used interchangeably with "transnationalism," even though both concepts reflect different genealogies. Diaspora is the older concept. It has often been used to describe religious or national communities living outside an (imagined) homeland. Transnationalism is rather new and used in both narrower and wider contexts. Diaspora is more politicized than "transnationalism" because the latter had not yet found entry into public debates to the same degree. The term "diaspora" is often used by national groups or governments to pursue agendas of nation-state-building or to control populations abroad, mobilizing group identities and political projects. Emigration countries currently use it to encourage financial investment and political loyalty of their expatriates (Faist 2010a: 10ff, see also Østergaard-Nielsen 2012: 109f, Goldring et al. 2003: 8). Scholars often consider a diaspora as one distinct form of a transnational community while not all transnational communities are automatically diasporas. What distinguishes the diasporic condition from transnational communities or other forms of international migration, is—according to King and Christou (2010)—the historical continuity across at least two generations. The concept refers to a multigenerational pattern: it is a social group formation of *longue durée* (Faist 2010a: 22, Cohen 2008). The time horizon is therefore significant not only when we want to understand whether, when, and how to use diaspora as opposed to transnationalism, but also with regard to mobility as "diaspora" stresses (various

kinds of) movements implied in the diasporic experience of generations, rather than post-migration mobilities. In this sense, the patterns of (im)mobility not only highlight the geographical dispersion of family members across different places of the world, but also the existence of mobility practices in the previous generations of my respondents. Such mobility practices may appear in the form of "circular migration" or "transnational motherhood." (Hondagneu-Sotela/Avila 1997) The concept of diaspora includes mobility that encompasses generations, whose geographic reach can be more extensive as members of a diaspora are often dispersed to more than one destination: there are members of the same diaspora in different places and they may, certainly, practice mobility, e.g., homecoming visits and return mobility (King/Christou 2010).

In sum, diaspora embraces the time horizon of at least two generations, emphasizing the continuity of mobility in a multi-generational temporal framework, while (migrant) transnationalism rather stresses different geographical movements in the post-migratory lives of individuals. That is why both "new" approaches are based on modest to high geographical mobility of migrants before and after initial settlement in the "country of arrival," even though the focus of both approaches was not to identify forms of mobility. As Schrooten et al. (2015) remind us, the "new" approaches therefore did not question the narrative of stasis and sedentarism.

Mobility as a Way of Life: Mobile Engagement with the World and Cosmopolitanism

The last type presented in part II of the book is the pattern of cosmobility. The pattern contains geographical movements to the most diverse destinations, showing striking similarities to the concept of *cosmopolitanism*. It is characterized *by recurrent relocations of the individuals' life center to geographical destinations other than the (classical) country of origin*. The mobility experiences are diverse in terms of geographical direction, duration, and the social dimensions under which they emerge in peoples' biographies. The open directionality is what distinguishes cosmobility from transmobility: my interviewees' geographical movements go beyond the geographic space of the (classical) country of origin (figure 1). Both the directionality and the duration of my respondents' mobility cannot be anticipated beforehand. Individuals tend to organize their cosmobility experiences within institutional frameworks, like school years or semesters abroad, and by changing their work places. It results from an interplay of one's educational, professional, and personal circumstances as well as the opportunity structures one encounters in specific situations in certain phases of the life

course. The pattern features a "homing-effect" towards the specific location in the "country of arrival," which constitutes the "home base." The "homing-effect" describes the continuous return to a specific biographically-relevant geographical location (the "home base") after mobility experiences in different places. Practicing this kind of mobility represents a way of life for my respondents.

The pattern comes close to the approach of cosmopolitanism, describing, on the one hand, the philosophical idea of a "world citizenship." On the other hand, it is an analytical perspective used in relation to migrants' practices and experiences, even though it did not derive from research on migration. The latter describes a specific mode of engaging with the world: aligning oneself with "the other," and thus displaying an openness toward divergent cultural experiences. We find "actually existing cosmopolitanism" (Robins 1998, Nowicka/Rovisco 2009a) inherent in the pattern of cosmobility and in the social practices of highly mobile respondents. Their mobility practices and orientations include various destinations; individuals act in the sense of being "global citizens" (Beck 2005, Nowicka/Rovisco 2009a) while repeatedly coming back to a "home base." They combine a distinct "home base" with various geographical reference points, (constantly) engaging in cultural multiplicity. Practicing cosmopolitan mobility during the life courses triggers a transformation process either towards more openness to divergent cultural experiences or an intensification of boundary-making processes, leading to painful experiences or/and to the development of plural identities and loyalities.

The continuous social practice of extensive mobility often functions as a strategy for escape, from unsatisfying biographical circumstances in the "home base" at a given point in time of the respondents' life trajectory, or a strategy to improve or combine their personal and professional endeavours. It is its own way of life. For the specific logic of this pattern, the following constellations of relevant social dimensions can—sociologically speaking—contribute to its emergence and maintenance in individual life courses: (1) knowledge of several (foreign) languages, (2) social relationships in multiple locations, and (3) contextual affiliations. Changes in these constellations may likely lead to changes in the pattern, too.

1) Languages: The More, the Better

Mastering several (foreign) languages promotes mobility experiences to different destinations because it facilitates—to a great extent—everyday activities in different geographical spaces. Certainly, having a knowledge of languages that are widely spoken (such as English, French, and Spanish) constitutes a higher "mobility capital" than those spoken in comparatively less places of the world (such

as German and Polish). Knowing several languages is a precondition for the pattern of cosmobility, yet the desire to acquire a new foreign language triggers cosmobile experiences, too. Individuals are open to learning new languages, but it mostly depends on the stage of their life cycle: when (still) pursuing one's educational pathway, "going abroad" in order to study and learn another language is likely, while it is rather difficult to reconcile a stay abroad for the sake of learning another language once one is integrated into the labour market or has children. The heritage language, however, is not important: cosmobility can be practiced whether or not one speaks the heritage language; it is neither a help nor a hindrance.

2) Leaving Behind and Coming Back: Relationships of Mobile People

The family structures mirrored in the pattern of cosmobility most often have a unique feature: complex mobility across generations is already a given in the individuals' family history. Those individuals are usually brought up in families in which other family members have practiced, or continue to practice, mobility. Therefore, parts of the core family are not necessarily living in the same geographical space, and mobility thus becomes a precondition for engaging in face-to-face interactions with family members. Sometimes, mobility occurs as a reaction to a family rupture such as the parents' separation or death. Establishing and maintaining other relationships under the condition of mobility requires a lot of effort, too. The individual "on the move" not only needs to establish new social relationships in whatever location s/he relocates to, but s/he also leaves behind other relationships already established in the "home base," and usually wants to maintain these relationships. Besides practicing face-to-face interactions in different locations, virtual interactions through the use of new technologies become crucial to maintaining social relationships as "significant others" are not always in the same geographical location. Cosmobility is therefore characterized by a multi-local embeddedness of social interactions. On the one hand, geographical dispersion of social contacts comes about as a result of the individuals' mobility practices. On the other hand, diasporic or transnational family structures also produce mobilities and they contribute to maintaining them. Individuals likely mobilize their family networks, and once they have gained social networks in other places, they can mobilize them as further "mobility capital" for the mobility experiences to follow. Conversely, the geographical distance created by extensive mobility practices often leads to a loss of social contacts and/or the dissolution of romantic relationships.

3) Contextualities, Regional Affiliations, and the Citizens of the World

The respondents construct a stronger sense of cultural belonging to their "country of arrival" while they develop a weaker sense of belonging to the (classical) country of origin and their "root culture." This latter is observably not an eligible destination and they place little importance on its specific cultural norms and values. The place in which the individuals (most) reside (i.e., the "country of arrival") induces the "homing-effect." In their narrations, they put forward a dual or ambiguous self-understanding, which most often develops into a *contextual self-understanding*. It is characterized by changing one's cultural belonging according to the geographical context one is currently in. Some, however, prefer to sidestep the ambiguity that comes from several cultural affiliations by either putting forth regional affiliations (e.g., "I'm a Berliner," or "I'm a Montrealer") or a *cosmopolitan self-understanding*. The latter describes the process in which individuals localize their "self" independently of any specific geographical location. In so doing, they understand themselves as a "citizen of the world," emphasizing their "place" to be everywhere, and at the same time, nowhere specific.

Cosmobility: Setting a Mobile Course in the Past and at Present

In sum, extensive mobility experiences to destinations other than that of the (classical) country of origin strongly depend upon the opportunity structures one encounters during certain stages of one's life trajectory. They are caused by family, partnerships, and professional opportunities or responsibilities, and nurtured by the cross-generational mobility of an individual's family members. The pattern is shaped by an individual's high motility: most biographical constellations promote occasions in the form of opportunities for, or the responsibility of, being mobile. It requires my respondents to deliberate whether and when to go abroad as it needs to match current conditions and constraints. Cosmobility consists of both positive as well as negative experiences, which are often related to the difficulties of leaving behind friends, partners, and family as well as difficulties of (re-)localization, either in the destination or the "home base." Respondents sometimes passively undergo relocations, as a result of the decisions made by others, and at other times, they actively undertake them. Cosmobile experiences can thus be self-initiated and externally initiated as well as admired or experienced as heteronomous.

What constitutes the main difference between the current research on cosmopolitanism in migration studies and the pattern of cosmobility, however, is that the mobility practices of my respondents are *not* embedded in globally-acting organizations such as the UN and NGOs or several economic enterprises.

In her empirical research, Nowicka (2006b) states that the "mobile professionals" in her sample are disembedded from the contexts of nation-states through their embeddedness in an international organization. This is, however, not at all the case for the pattern of cosmobility as it is grounded upon mobility practices that emerge out of my respondents' everyday experiences rather than their institutional embeddedness. Here, mobility is a way of life that does not simply focus on work and occupation. The context of the nation-state or the multi-national country is thus very present in my respondents' narratives. Further, the mobility experiences are not only (and sometimes not at all) linked to professional activities. More often, they are linked to educational ones. They emerge out of coinciding and interlocking opportunities or responsibilities that include, but go beyond, professional reasons. My respondents are thus not to be understood as expatriates.

Above all, cosmobility is—by far—the rarest pattern. It does not fit into the categories commonly used in migration studies, least of all in the "classical" approaches that tend to focus on processes of migrants' incorporation into the "country of arrival," implying sedentariness as their core structure. Therefore, "classical" approaches are not analytically fruitful for examining experiences such as cosmobility. Only when we shift away from the *conventional thinking about integration* (my footnote on p. 215) we might conceive of the "homing-effect" inherent in the cosmobile pattern as, say, a strategy to remain integrated in the "country of arrival," or, for that matter, the other country of the "accumulated origins." Cosmobility also goes beyond the (classical) transnational paradigm for the simple reason that it not only focusses on the "country of origin" as the mobility destination. The few highly contemporary works on migration and mobility, like the ideal types constructed by Moret (2015), do not grasp the logic of the pattern of cosmobility either. If Moret suggests "star-shaped" mobility, pendular movements, and secondary movements, which describe regular but short-term mobilities, the "mobile migrants" do not relocate their center of life and thus they do not shift their everyday activities to another place for a certain period of time. Cosmobility is also different from what Jeffery and Murison have called "onward migration" (2011) because cosmobility implies the "homing-effect" which guarantees the continuous return to the "home base." Therefore, the individuals do not continuously move on from one destination to another, but they entangle return with departure; immobility with mobility.

However, openness toward divergent cultural experiences—as a feature of the approach of cosmopolitanism—is assumed to be largely acquired through experience, most importantly through travel. Thus, cosmopolitanism when used in empirical works (on migration) much more clearly implies active, ongoing,

often highly mobile trajectories of individuals as opposed to works that use transnationalism or diaspora as their analytical lens. Such intensive mobility practices have been mostly situated within the context of expats or other mobile professionals. In these studies, the distinction between "migrants" and "mobiles" gets blurry. The individuals practice hypermobility after initial settlement into one "country of arrival," yet most of the time they are "abroad" for either longer or shorter stays. With that in mind, I argue that the core structure of the approach of cosmopolitanism most commonly targets experiences of hypermobility.

Table 4: Characteristics of the Pattern of (Im)Mobility

Main Characteristics	**IMMOBILITY**	**TRANSMOBILITY**	**COSMOBILITY**
	"Mobility as the Past"	*"Mobility as Bi-Locality"*	*"Mobility as a Way of Life"*
Spatial and Temporal Dimensions			
geographical movements	sedentariness in the country of arrival	recurrent relocations of the individuals' life center between the country of arrival and the country of origin (and other countries, too)	recurrent relocations of the individuals' life center to destinations other than the country of origin
geographical orientations	aversion toward mobility	bi-locality to multi-locality	open mobility
direction & duration	—	temporally-restricted duration mainly to country of origin	temporally-restricted duration to diverse destinations
life-center	country of arrival	more than one geographical reference point	"home base" and various geographical reference points: ("homing-effect")
Motility	low	high, especially towards the country of origin	very high
Social Dimensions			
language(s)	perfection of the official language(s) of the country of arrival, no sufficient knowledge of heritage language and foreign languages	mastery of the official language(s) of the country of arrival and the heritage language	proper knowledge of several foreign languages, including official language(s) of the country of arrival, knowledge of heritage language not required
family structures/social networks	predominantly local embeddedness of social networks, less contacts with co-ethnics	transnationalization of social relationships, bi-local embeddedness of social networks	multi-local embeddedness of social networks
belonging & self-understandings	distancing from "root culture," affiliating with country of arrival	ambiguous & contextual self-understanding, strong belongings to heritage culture and country of arrival	strong belonging to country of arrival, weak belonging to "root culture," contextual, regional, & cosmopolitan self-understanding

Source: Own elaboration

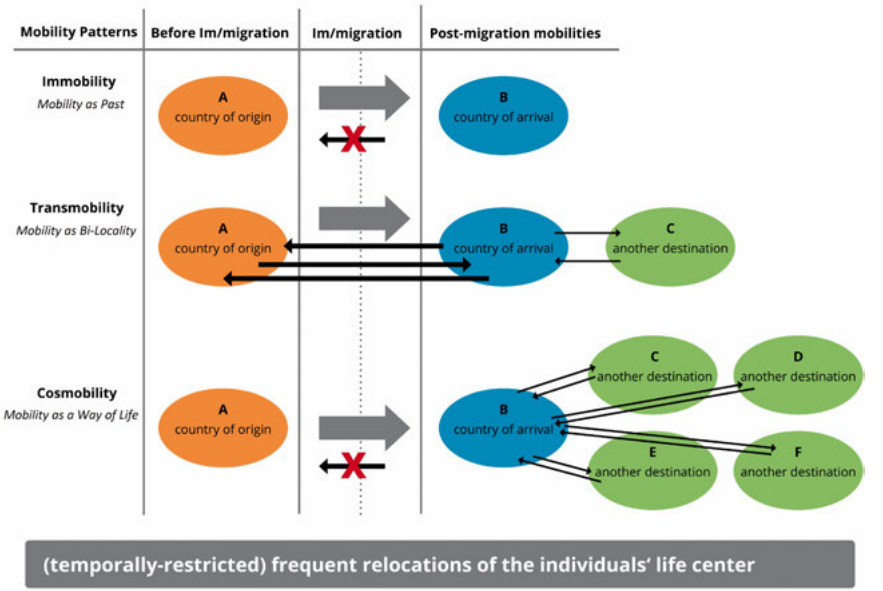
6.2 THE SPATIAL, TEMPORAL, AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF (IM)MOBILITY

The patterns of (im)mobility emphasize the duration and diversity of physical-geographical movements, their social implications, and how they become meaningful experiences within individual lives in a globalized world that seems to be increasingly "on the move." From a sociological perspective, these experiences—as we have seen—are not completely random but they follow their own logic and they both mirror and go beyond the established theories in migration studies. Analytically, the patterns are characterized by the spatial, temporal, and social dimensions. They are not only constitutive in the human experience of being in the world, but they also reflect and capture dynamics of mobility and, more importantly, they shed light on their construction and meanings in individual life courses. They are inherent in both (im)mobility dynamics and in peoples' lives, and by extension their biographies (ch. 2). That is also why they have been inherent all along in the preceding discussions and interpretative chapters of this book. The aim of this section, to that end, is to finally bring them to the fore and to emphasize their constituent role in the patterns of (im)mobility. With the help of figures and tables, I guide the reader through the empirical resume of the study.

Modalities of the Three Dimensions

The first result to be presented deals with the *spatial and temporal dimensions* of the patterns of (im)mobility (figure 1). While the temporal dimension emphasizes the time limitation and the frequency of (im)mobility experiences, the spatial dimension specifies the form of the physical-geographical movement, which implies the relocation of an individual's life center. To that end, the patterns describe the existence or absence of *temporally-restricted frequent relocations of an individual's life center*, occurring after initial migration from the "country of origin" (A) to the "country of arrival" (B). The temporal dimension thus suggests that mobility occurs frequently; it is restricted in time rather than resulting in a final or long-term settlement ("im/migration"). The spatial dimension, additionally, urges us to think of mobility when individuals practice their daily activities for a certain amount of time in a different geographical place, effectively excluding other mobilities such as commuting, short-term visits or holidays, though domestic commutes are sometimes a "side effect" in my respondents' life stories.

Figure 1: Result 1: Spatial and Temporal Dimensions of the Patterns of (Im)Mobility



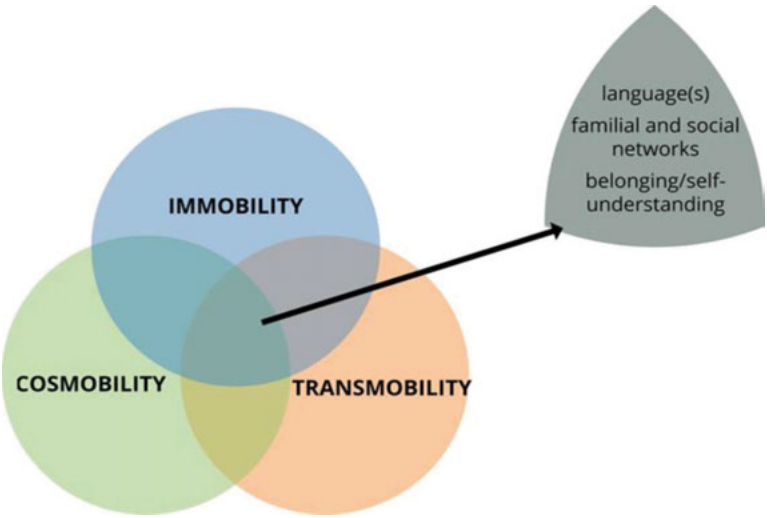
Source: Own elaboration

In spatial terms, figure 1 shows the diversity of geographical movements inherent in the patterns of (im)mobility. The spatial dimension is tripartite: geographical mobility flows after initial migration may be absent in a person's life course altogether (immobility) or mobility flows occur between B and A, and potentially between another destination C (transmobility), or more complex flows evolve between B, C, D, E, and F (cosmobility). The latter is subject to the "homing-effect," describing recurring return movements to the "home base" in the "country of arrival" (B) from mobility experiences in other places. At the same time, cosmobility stresses that even if mobility flows between the "country of origin" and the "country of arrival" are absent, it does not mean that post-migration mobilities are absent altogether.

I also paid special attention to the *social dimension* in the study to uncover the broad range of biographical constellations that constitute heterogeneous social realities and produce these different experiences of (im)mobility within mi-

gratory and transnational contexts. Through the social dimension, I can grasp why a specific pattern emerges in someone's life, and not in another one, and under which circumstances it may change. As indicated in former sections, their main biographical constellations come to the fore, promoting or hindering the development of (im)mobility experiences to a great extent: (1) the acquirement, use, and lack of *language(s)*, (2) *social networks* and *family structures*, (3) *belonging / boundary-making* and *self-understanding* (figure 2):

Figure 2: Result 2: Social Dimensions of the Patterns of (Im)Mobility



Own elaboration

Figure 2 illustrates both the patterns and their social dimensions. In reality, the patterns of (im)mobility overlap in the life courses of my respondents because we can only analytically distinguish them. Additionally, the social dimensions (language(s), networks, belonging/self-understanding) are not fixed for they can change over time in the course of one's life—and when they do, the mobility experience of an individual likely shifts from one pattern to another, too. The social dimension generally contributes to the discussion in mobility studies on the notion of "motility," targeting factors that define the potential to be mobile. In fact, the *biographical constellation of language(s)* in an individual's life is a crucial condition, determining whether, and if so when, someone might become mobile, and where to s/he directs his/her mobility. The *constellations of family structures* and *social networks* also play an important role, determining which pattern of (im)mobility gets through (phases of) one's trajectory. The notions of "mobility

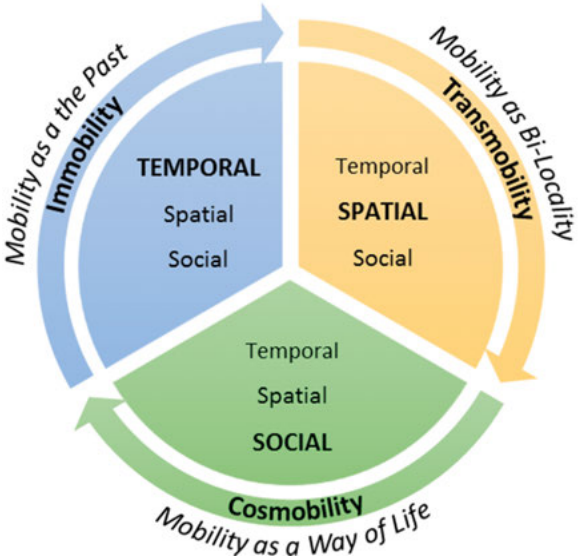
capital" (Kaufmann et. al. 2004) and "network capital" (Urry 2007) acknowledge the importance of social networks for mobility; yet, they say little about constellations of social networks hindering the emergence of mobility, and thus promoting immobility. Last but not least, the *constellations of belonging* or *boundary-making* are influenced by the social surroundings, contextual conditions, as well as personal experiences. Individuals cannot actively influence them as easily as they can, for instance, acquire another language or maintain ties to family members abroad because they are not determined by capabilities or effort. In sum, the social dimension sheds light on the following question: why does a specific pattern of (im)mobility prevail in (certain phases of) a trajectory or why does it shift in favour of another one?

The answer I can give, according to the results of my study, is that it depends on the specific biographical constellations of the aforementioned three social dimensions. In table 4 we can, for instance, see which specific constellations favour which patterns. The table is the output of my discussion on the systematic evaluation of the patterns (ch. 6.1). It presents their characteristics: on the one hand, it highlights features of the geographical movements, orientations, directions, and durations of the (im)mobility experiences, and on the other hand, it emphasizes the pattern-specific biographical constellations of language(s), family structures and social networks, as well as belonging and self-understanding (table 4).

The Analytical Circle of Sociological Dimensions

The sociological dimensions of (im)mobility embrace the temporal, spatial, and social level. From an analytical perspective, they allow us to understand and explain the patterns of (im)mobility. So far, we have come to see that the temporal dimension stresses the duration and frequency of mobility experiences, the spatial dimension focusses on their directionality, and the social dimension emphasizes crucial biographical constellations. Their modalities are typologically differentiated in the three patterns. Figure 3 shows how we are yet able to analytically close the circle of the patterns of (im)mobility according to the sociological dimensions.

Figure 3: Result 3: The Analytical Circle of the Patterns of (Im)Mobility



Source: Own elaboration

The illustration of the circle highlights, once again, that the social phenomenon of mobility is processual. The arrows, respectively, draw our attention to the fact that the patterns of (im)mobility can change in the course of one's life——so as we have seen in the narrations of Janusz, whose mobility experiences changed from immobility to cosmobility, and Malinka, whose experiences changed from transmobility to cosmobility. Crucial for determining the patterns are the sociological dimensions, which—as we can see in figure 3—are inherent in each of the patterns.

These dimensions are, however, not the only important categories to keep in mind: we can also sharpen the types according to their contents. I have proposed an understanding of the pattern of immobility as "mobility as the past" because when a mobility experience occurs in a person's life, it is a matter of "immigration" only. Sometimes it is the previous generation and not the individual in question who experienced the move. Mobility is neither part of their present, nor of their future; it is only part of the past. Transmobility, however, can be understood as "mobility as bi-locality," not least because the individuals' mobility flows occur mainly between two very specific locations, the "country of arrival" and the "country of origin." Lastly, I understand cosmobility as "mobility as a form of life." Mobility here is employed a strategy for dealing with the challenges of human life. If we develop the thought further and if we understand immo-

bility as "mobility of the past," transmobility as "mobility as bi-locality, and cosmobility as "mobility as a form of life," then the constitutive core of the immobility structure would be temporal, it would be spatial for transmobility, and social for the structure of cosmobility. To be clear, it is not just one of the three dimensions that differentiates one pattern from another, rather it is one dimension that can typologically sharpen the type. For this reason, I included all three sociological dimensions in each of the patterns in Figure 3, showing that immobility corresponds to the temporal, transmobility to the spatial, and cosmobility to the social dimension while being composed of all the other dimensions, too. In other words: the analytical circle of the patterns of (im)mobility closes as the three dimensions correspond to the tripartite of the patterns themselves. Figure 3 thus demonstrates the equivalent relations between the dimensions and the patterns, and simultaneously, it shows the coherence of the analytical distinction. Such results help us to understand and explain (in the Weberian sense) the patterns of (im)mobility, which, in turn, illustrate how (im)mobility is constructed in post-migrant, transnational lives.

6.3 THE CONTINUITY OF (IM)MOBILITY

Having presented the empirical resume, I now discuss the main insights generated by the patterns of (im)mobility in view of their theoretical contribution. I have proposed a new reading of the established approaches in migration studies and I have presented how we can use the patterns of (im)mobility as tools to revisit migration and to take our reflections beyond these very approaches (ch. 6.1). The aim of this section is to draw a theoretical resume from the patterns of (im)mobility, more concretely to present what I understand as the main theoretical contribution of the study and to discuss what the "mobilities perspective" can bring us when doing research on migration.

Reassessing Migration Theories

The migration literatures I have dealt with in this study include "classical" approaches, like assimilation, integration, multiculturalism, and "new" ones, like (migrant) transnationalism, diaspora, and cosmopolitanism. As tools, the patterns of (im)mobility help us to revisit these approaches from a "mobilities perspective", leading me to point out, for instance, that while the "classical" approaches are based on sedentariness, the "new" ones are based on various mobilities (ch. 6.1). From the latter, we can infer that migrants produce patterns of geographical

movements other than what is known as "immigration," or to put it differently, *the first relocation of their center of life*, because these approaches go beyond a uni-directional understanding of migratory movement. The "new" approaches have less of an "immobility bias": the inherent assumption in migration theories that migrants do not practice geographical movements other than only *one* border-crossing relocation of their center of life, or a "sedentary bias": the unquestioned assumption that migration is a bad thing (Castles 2010: 1568). To that end, the "new" approaches can be seen to convey migrant trajectories of modest, high, and hyper mobility "after migration," while the "classical" ones convey sedentariness.

In sum, I argue that the "new" and "classical" approaches in migration studies imply certain notions of (im)mobility, which are revealed through the patterns and which can be summarized in the following way:

(1) "CLASSICAL" APPROACHES IN MIGRATION RESEARCH:

a. assimilation;
b. integration, and
c. multiculturalism

None of these approaches is conceptualized upon any kind of post-migration mobility. Their core structure implies migrants' *sedentariness*.[6]

(2) "NEW" APPROACHES IN MIGRATION RESEARCH:

a. (migrant) transnationalism: implies various forms of post-migration mobility: mostly bi-local (and multi-local) transnational flows of movements.
b. diaspora: continuity of mobility in a multi-generational temporal framework.

The "new" approaches of (migrant) transnationalism and diaspora are therefore based on migrants' *modest to high mobility*.

(3)

c. cosmopolitanism: implies ongoing post-migration mobilities that can lead to extensive mobility.

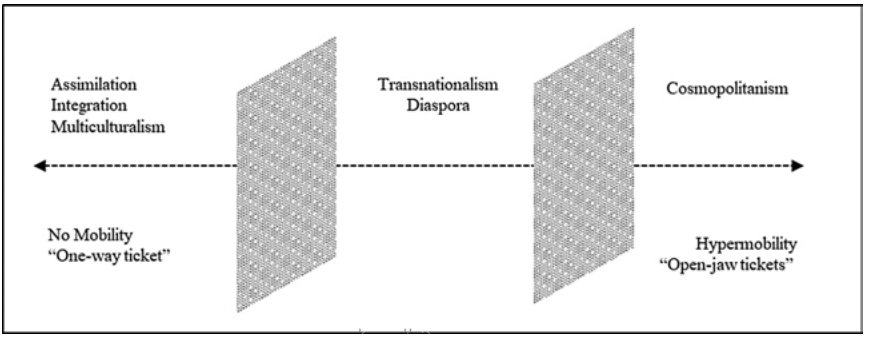
Its core structure most commonly targets experiences of *hypermobility*.

6 This may be the result of the interrelatedness of these theories with concepts of the "nation-state" or the "national society."

As indicated before, these notions of (im)mobility emerge out of the relationship between the patterns and the theoretical approaches in migration studies. When we look at these established literatures from the "mobilities perspective," not only can we identify the notions of (im)mobility, but we also see that the approaches do not speak to one another, even though they are coherent within their own frames. Each of these approaches deals with relevant aspects of migration phenomena and we can find plausible explanations for all these aspects in the different patterns of (im)mobility.

When we consider, however, what mobility studies teach us, we notice that migration literatures follow a different logic. Mobility studies promote a relational and constructivist understanding of mobilities, and, additionally, I have argued that mobilities are processual: they are always in the making, re-making and unmaking (ch. 1.3). The condition of (im)mobility continuously changes and that is why I think of it as a continuum (figure 4).

Figure 4: Reassessing Migration Theories According to the Continuum of (Im)Mobility



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 4 illustrates how the literatures in migration studies are positioned towards mobilities. At the bottom of the figure, we can see the continuum of (im)mobility, ranging from "no mobility" to "hypermobility," which I depict as gradual and qualitative. Looking at the theories from a "mobilities perspective" and adding their implicit notions of sedentariness (as in assimilation, integration, multiculturalism) or modest to high mobility (as in transnationalism and diaspora) or hypermobility (as in cosmopolitanism), we are yet to see, at the bottom of the figure, that they interrupt the continuum's logic. We are able to identify gaps between the theories and it becomes clear that they have a shortened perspective: through their inherent notions of (im)mobility, they are to be situated at specific

places that do not acknowledge the processual character of the phenomenon; that is, the fact that mobilities of individuals change, as do their accompanying assimilationist, multicultural, or transnational and cosmopolitan social practices. In sum, *approaches in migration studies, with their inherent notions of (im)mobility, interrupt the processual logic of the continuum of (im)mobility*. This theoretical insight provides us with a better understanding of the theoretical core of migration studies and the opportunity to reassess the literatures in migration studies by putting mobilities at its center.

The Contribution of the Study to Current Scholarly Debates

The patterns of (im)mobility are the core of this book and the main contribution of my study. They grew out of combining two separate but similar research traditions with one another and with a specific methodological approach to investigate phenomena of migration. The result is the "mobilities perspective." We may ask ourselves, why is the "mobilities perspective" on migration necessary? I see the contribution to current scholarly debates as twofold. First, it broadens the analytical perspectives offered by migration and mobility studies by exploring migration through a "mobilities perspective," thus bridging these established research agendas with one another. Shifting toward such a perspective is not to be understood as a shift away from migration research towards mobilities research, but it is rather an attempt to bring both scholarly traditions together because mobility and immobility are entangled in migration, and vice versa. Second, the "mobilities perspective" benefits from the epistemological and methodological fruitfulness of biographical research. Taking into account the life course of the individuals when examining (im)mobility experiences within migratory contexts enables us to capture "guises of migration"—even such patterns that do not fit into the categories commonly used in migration studies and which would have gone unnoticed without taking into consideration the individuals' life-path. The "mobilities perspective" is thus an epistemological tool that widens our outlook, revealing social dynamics and phenomena that would simply fall out of the analytical framework were we to adhere only to migration categories.

The patterns of (im)mobility are the best example. Only by applying the "mobilities perspective" to migration, they became sociologically visible and accessible. As ideal types, the patterns are results and tools. *As results*, they respond to the question I raised at the outset of the book: *How (geographically) mobile or immobile are "migrants" after initial migration and what social implications does this (im)mobility raise?* Based on biographical narratives, the *patterns of (im)mobility* suggest three sets of experiences of (im)mobility after

initial migration (*immobility, transmobility, and cosmobility)*, each showing different spatial, temporal, and social configurations. Biographical constellations such as *language(s), belonging/boundary-making, as well as family structures and personal networks* influence the *development, maintenance or shifting of each pattern in the life courses of individuals*.

As for results, the patterns are certainly only valid for the sample of this study; i.e., young adults of Polish heritage (currently) living in Germany and Canada. *As a tool*, the patterns of (im)mobility emphasize the relevance of the migration literatures reviewed in the experiences of my respondents because they can empirically confirm them, yet they criticize their incompatibility with the continuum of (im)mobility. Proposing a new reading of the established theories, the patterns construct an integrative perspective which is, I argue, indispensable for a fruitful study of migration phenomena that are sedentary, and at the same time, more mobile than ever. As demonstrated in the sections above, they are able to generate a comprehensive and differentiated understanding of the empiricism and theory of migration.

The patterns are a first step to reducing the methodological, conceptual, and empirical dualism between migration and mobility: they are advantageous because they emphasize shifts in patterns in the life courses of my respondents and changes in the individuals' social practices within the patterns themselves, i.e., they are constructed upon the logic of the life course, which mirrors the processual nature of human life itself. They further develop the state of the art and they make a step toward reducing the gap between both migration and mobility literatures: *Many studies in the field of migration operationalize one of the "classical" or "new" approaches as the only valid perspective or the only empirical truth, although one perspective—no matter which one—does not meet the complexity of empirical reality: the patterns of (im)mobility clearly illustrate that an "either-or" choice is too reductionist, instead they promote an "as-well-as" approach and thus they conciliate not only between the different (competing) approaches in migration literatures, but also between migration and mobility studies.*