GLOBAL DIVERSITIES

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SOCIALISING WITH DIVERSITY

Relational Diversity through a Superdiversity Lens

Fran Meissner

Global Diversities

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Over the past decade, the concept of 'diversity' has gained a leading place in academic thought, business practice, politics and public policy across the world. However, local conditions and meanings of 'diversity' are highly dissimilar and changing. For these reasons, deeper and more comparative understandings of pertinent concepts, processes and phenomena are in great demand. This series will examine multiple forms and configurations of diversity, how these have been conceived, imagined, and represented, how they have been or could be regulated or governed, how different processes of inter-ethnic or inter-religious encounter unfold, how conflicts arise and how political solutions are negotiated and practiced, and what truly convivial societies might actually look like. By comparatively examining a range of conditions, processes and cases revealing the contemporary meanings and dynamics of 'diversity', this series will be a key resource for students and professional social scientists. It will represent a landmark within a field that has become, and will continue to be, one of the foremost topics of global concern throughout the twenty-first century. Reflecting this multi-disciplinary field, the series will include works from Anthropology, Political Science, Sociology, Law, Geography and Religious Studies. While drawing on an international field of scholarship, the series will include works by current and former staff members, by visiting fellows and from events of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity. Relevant manuscripts submitted from outside the Max Planck Institute network will also be considered.

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For Amalia and Fritz

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction—Socialising with Diversity

Abstract Meissner commences her book by presenting social connectivities as central to urban migration-driven diversities. This focus moves away from the dominant view of diversity as little more than a compendium of ever more categories of difference. She embeds her discussion within research on superdiversity to move beyond origin specificities as the primary concern in analysing network patterns. Meissner also emphasises the importance of conducting research not only amongst migrants with large origin groups at destination but also those whose number of co-migrants is relatively small. Small migrant groups unsettle many of the common assumptions about ethnic networks that habitually drive quantitative explorations of migrant networks. This sets the scene for the remainder of the book and a brief summary of each chapter is offered.

Keywords Small migrant groups • Diversification of diversity • Migrant networks

Migration-driven diversities contribute to the dynamics of urban social landscapes. Social connections are forged and disbanded as people arrive and leave the city. The implications of this can no longer be thought about through models that assume large, mostly homogenous migration streams from few places to few places (Gamlen 2010; Vertovec 2007), nor can

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ideas about migration-driven diversities. We need to rethink and replace older models with those that help us address social complexities. These are most imminently evident where people from everywhere live in relative proximity. If it is assumed that diversity implies continuous negotiations of difference, rather than necessarily a homogenisation of differences, then the contemporary city is a central hub and locus of an abundance of processes of diversification. Can we make social connectivities a central concern in how we think about urban migration-driven diversities?

This book builds on original research conducted in London (UK) and Toronto (Canada) focused on the sociality practices of Pacific migrants and New Zealand Māori migrants. Both London and Toronto are 'cities of migration'—their social fabric is wrought with the implications of international movement and the different patterns of diversity this implies. Clearly both cities are home to people from virtually everywhere in the world—each city in its own way is a *world in one city*. This dominant way of describing diversity as a multiplicity of origin, cultural, and linguistic groups is only part of the story of talking about migration-driven *diversified* diversity. Focusing on variety too often neglects dynamic changes that go hand in hand with population turnover. Making strong headway the superdiversity notion challenges us to consider a multidimensionality of differentiations and to include aspects such as migration, legal status, and labour market trajectories in our analysis (Vertovec 2007). Centring research on social connectivities and trajectory-based differentiations removes some of the rigidity evident in enumerating difference through statically defined categories.

This raises many questions. Those that remain at the heart of this book link to ideas about post-migration networks maintained in cities. For example, in a city where a substantial proportion of the population is from somewhere else—who *should* one be social with? For Ravi, one of my respondents in London, the answer to this question seemed clear. Examining his 'network map'—the piece of paper on which he had just arranged the names of his social contacts—he said: 'Mind you, looking at this, I can honestly say, I need to get more English friends.'[1] Ravi, who is from Fiji, had been living in London for over ten years. He had named social contacts from more than six countries, including three different Pacific Island Nations, and three continents, contacts who worked in low and high-skilled occupations and who he was able to draw on for social support on various issues. Many of the individuals who I interviewed in the course of my research associated ideas about desirable post-migration

social networks with the necessity of forging contacts with English people or, in Toronto, with Canadians—with sometimes explicit assumptions about what it means to be Canadian or English. Given the active promotion of both cities as multicultural and as bringing people from everywhere together, I noted, that whilst taking pride in their cosmopolitan outlook, few respondents commented on this as an objective of their social engagement in the city. Rarely if ever were other migration-related differentiations deemed important. In other words, desirable networks were framed in terms of *socialising with diversity* in only a very narrow sense.

Exclamations such as Ravi's are unsurprising. They reveal deep-seated ideas about what matters for post-migration social engagements and how networks ought to be patterned in striving for social cohesion (cf. Dobbernack 2014). Static conceptions of categorical diversity and linear models of migrant integration, fuelling those ideas, need to be challenged as they do not leave enough room to consider and better understand the dynamics of diversity. If those ideas about the configurations of migration-driven diversity translate into policies, these often prescribe measures for generating social contacts between people who are culturally different (Amin 2002; Vermeulen 2007). We know from a plethora of research that positively altering the urban social fabric is not a simple task. Many factors play into how social interactions pan out amongst a diverse urban population. Indeed it can be noted how incredible it is that despite high levels of difference—by and large—most cities are not hot beds of violent social conflict (Magnusson 2011). Shifting away from static and unidimensional ideas about migration-driven diversity then opens a better lexicon for discussing and making sense of the social complexities and dynamics of diversity. One of the issues with diversity research remains that we lack different ways of describing, measuring, and simply talking about migration-driven diversity and its implications to fully move away from static and unifocal ideas.

It follows that while we live in an 'age of diversity' (Vertovec 2012:287) there is still ample scope for critically and empirically investigating its wider implications. The notion of superdiversity (Vertovec 2007) emphasises, as noted, the multidimensional ways in which migration diversifies (city) populations and it serves in this book as a starting point for exploring alternative ways of thinking about diversity that go beyond the enumeration of difference. If contexts of urban diversity are those that provide at least the potential for people of various backgrounds to socially engage—people who have moved to the city from various places, via different migration,

legal status, and labour market trajectories—then we need to better understand those multiplicities of difference in social patterns.

Diversity is too frequently talked about in terms of a proliferation of categories—as though it is possible to identify a clear taxonomy of differences that can be broken down to its constituent parts. The sum of those parts then becomes the most important characteristic of diversity. This neglects how those differences are relevant for patterns of sociality. Sociality describes those 'dynamic social processes in which any person is inevitably engaged' (Toren 2005:61–62). It refers to a 'relational matrix' (Strathern 2005:53)—a matrix onto which, using network analytic approaches, we can map categorical diversity—an approach which I develop in this book. This is done to operationalise *relational diversity*. Visually representing data in ways that show but also help grasp social complexities then becomes an important component in moving forward with understanding the dynamics of diversity (throughout this book you can use the QR Code reprinted at the end of this chapter in Fig. 1.2 to access detailed online versions of figures).

Social relations forged exemplify different configurations of similarity and difference between people, and the central argument of this book is that they can be used as a proxy to describe diversity in relational rather than just taxonomic terms—to feasibly see diversity as being more than the sum of its parts. Diversity can then usefully be thought about and measured by paying attention to patterns of sociality. In the course of this book it will become clear how I put this into practice by using novel combinations of data collection and analysis techniques. Patterns of sociality emerge from practices of being social—the practices of forging and maintaining social ties and groups. I demonstrate empirically that such an approach allows for a better or at least a more nuanced discussion of diversity. By analysing multidimensional differences in relational configurations, we can engage with a so far empirically neglected way of thinking about and measuring diversity as continuously emergent and dynamically anchored in changing urban social landscapes.

Empirical Focus of the Book

With this book I offer both a critical discussion and an empirical operationalisation of relational diversity through a superdiversity lens. I contend that patterns of sociality are best studied by eliciting information about social relations and seeking to find how configurations of difference

and similarity can be read in those social relations. During the fieldwork for this book I employed the still relatively novel technique—in the field of studying urban diversity at least—of collecting information by means of personal network interviews. I combined this with the more established research method of participant observation. Through this I am able to draw a differentiated picture of the social interactions and relations by simultaneously taking multiple differences into account. I do however primarily focus on how patterns of sociality can be gleaned from analysing quantitative personal network data. The book thus adds to studying the dynamics of diversity by using an analytical approach that continues to lag behind the more rapidly growing field of ethnographic accounts of superdiverse contexts (for some exceptions see: Aspinall 2012; Nathan 2011; Stringer and Martin 2014).

Specifically I provide an empirical analysis of the social networks of Pacific people and NZ Māori living in London and Toronto. Superdiversity stresses looking beyond simple ethnic explanations in the emergence of social patterns in cities. Superdiversity also shines a particular light on recognising smaller groups as part of diversity. How a regional origin focus was part of developing a concrete and innovative approach to account for both of these objectives is detailed in a later chapter. In more abstract terms, the remainder of this introduction explains why the small group focus of the empirical material is particularly well suited for recasting ideas about how we analyse post-migration networks.

Migrant Networks and a Small Group Focus

When I started the research for this book I had one central question: What networks do migrants with few co-migrants from the same origin forge in exceptionally diverse cities? The literature on post-migration networks seemed to exclusively focus on those moving in quite large numbers but some of the associated assumptions about sociality practices certainly could not equally hold for smaller groups. In other words my primary interest at the start of the project was to establish whether migrants who in numerous studies and policy documents were grouped together as 'other', due to the small numbers of people moving from the same origin to the same destination, could add in a significant way to research exploring patterns of sociality in cities marked by diversity. Individuals moving in numerically smaller numbers arguably face particular circumstances in terms of their sociality in highly diverse urban contexts. Would migrants from these

smaller groups seek out their few co-migrants from the same country or region of origin or would their social networks reflect the (super)diversity of the city? I hypothesised the latter but found that this question cannot be answered in terms of either/or. Once the complexities of superdiversity are recognised, both different propensities to seek co-migrants as social contacts and diversity within networks played an important part in explaining patterns of sociality.

There is often an implicit assumption in social science research that a focus on publicly debated and large-scale social phenomena is of particular importance in contributing to an evidence-based understanding of social processes and patterns. Typically the only time those present in small numbers take centre stage is when they are framed as a threat to social order (Appadurai 2006). That the social relevance of research has to be easily quantifable is not least perpetuated by funding structures. Theoretically, a largess bias creates blind spots in our empirical grasp of diversity dynamics. Smaller cohorts are clearly part of the diverse social landscapes we are interested in. To develop a better understanding of sociality practices and patterns, social relations between individuals taking place at the micro-scale are crucial for comprehending larger social phenomena. As Simmel already noted, even though some of those relations may be framed as 'apparently insignificant[, they] may profitably be subjected to investigation' (Simmel 1909:313).

Those 'apparently insignificant' relationships include those connections that migrants from small groups maintain in cities marked by diversity. Research about how migration transforms cities and how people living in cities interact has predominantly adopted the perceived social relevance argument. Those who moved in large numbers dominate our empirical evidence—quantitative survey-based studies in particular are hampered by a lack of sufficient data points about those who moved in smaller numbers. Across the board reasoning about a particular group focus often commences with the argument that the origin group of interest is one of the largest migrant groups living in a particular city—often the migrant cohort is amongst the top ten most numerous groups. This, it is argued, contributes to the importance of understanding the social and economic engagement of migrants from those origins in those cities.

If we think about this logic, we can spin it to present a number-crunching argument in favour of studying smaller groups. Taking the example of London we can note that in 2011 roughly 37 % of the population were foreign-born.[2] Focusing exclusively on the top ten most numerous origin groups would imply systematically excluding from the analysis 60 % of the foreign-born population and 22 % of the total city population—to set a benchmark the

largest origin group, people who moved from India, account for fewer than 9 % of the foreign-born population and 3.2 % of the total population.

If the focus was on the top 20 most numerous groups, this would still imply disregarding more than 41 % of the foreign-born population and 15 % of the total population. The argument against systematically excluding large shares of the population from our body of analysis certainly becomes less pressing once we move into 'really' small numbers. For example, those 145 (out of 250) stated distinct origin places that accounted for fewer than 2500 individuals in the 2011 census in total only comprised just under 2.5 % of the foreign-born and less than 1 % of the total population. Figure 1.1 makes the dimensions of those shares visible for both Toronto and London. We can note the 20 largest groups in Toronto compared to London make up a bigger share but those who have moved in smaller numbers still make up a substantial part of that population.

What is usually done is to group those who have come in smaller numbers in the statistical category 'other'. Given how much attention is paid to where larger migrant groups have come from and how internally diverse this 'other' category is, this seems to be wanting in terms of trying to understand the social complexities of living in a city with people of diverse

Fig. 1.1 Share of migrants in the top 20 most numerous origin groups compared to those origin groups with fewer migrants. To access this figure online: http://socdiv.mmg.mpg.de/index.php/figures-chapter-1/

origins and migration trajectories. The systematic neglect of small migrant groups is one argument in favour of contributing to studies focoused on small groups.

A second relevant argument is particularly applicable for discussing post-migration networks and how they have been studied. The predominant large group focus in this area of research has inscribed a number of nascent assumptions that are not as easily justified for migrants with fewer co-migrants. For example, the basic assumption that same origin networks will emerge. Brettell cautions:

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

Based on her research with Portuguese migrants in Toronto and Paris, Brettell argues that different city contexts will strongly influence whether increased social interactions of co-nationals develop. Even though she had already issued this caution some 22 years earlier (Brettell 1981) an overwhelming focus on post-migration networks in terms of ethnic communities prevails and can be challenged by introducing a superdiversity lens. In terms of group size, debates about ethnic enclaves frequently take a certain size and institutional completeness (cf. Breton 1964) of different ethnic groups in different cities for granted (e.g., Bashi 2007; Clark and Drinkwater 2002; Fong and Ooka 2002; Warman 2007). Similarly, studies that research ethnic residential segregation (e.g., Kim and White 2010; Murdie and Ghosh 2010; Myles and Hou 2004; Simpson 2007), which is frequently linked to the presence of group networks, require a particular group size to be able to detect clear patterns of segregation. A small group focus thus inherently questions some of those assumptions as the mechanisms for activating same origin networks are not necessarily driven by clearly identifiable ethnic spaces.

By foregrounding the relevance of a diversified diversity in terms of different origins, but also often in terms of different shares of migrant and non-migrant populations living in cities, a small group focus can challenge another commonly evoked link in migration studies, where post-migration networks are discussed in terms of degrees of social integration. Building on Granovetter (1973) social links to non-migrants are fre-

quently assumed to be weak ties which imbue migrants with the bridging social capital needed to be incorporated into society (Bommes 2011:250). Expressed in simplistic terms, this type of social analysis (e.g., Esser 2001; Ganter 2003) equates the share of non-migrant contacts with the success or failure of migrants to have integrated into a society. Underlying those types of research are ethnocentric positions and assumed linear processes of incorporation that disregard the effects of different origin groups interacting with each other. They are therefore difficult to defend in urban situations marked by a diversified diversity, both of origins but also of other aspects of migration-related diversification. As the statement by Ravi—who I referred to at the beginning of this chapter—shows, it is these unidimensional and relatively static ideas about migrant socialities that become salient in what is deemed important about being social. It is time to start discussing migrant networks through a superdiversity lens to see how this will shift the way we speak about socialities in contexts of migration-driven diversity.

A small group focus emphasises that 'social networks should be seen in relation to the demographic size of different ethnic-national groups because the statistical chances of relating with somebody from a large group are obviously higher than with a member of a small group or category' (Wimmer 2004:16). In the study where Wimmer emphasises this argument, he asks 'does ethnicity matter' and finds that a direct link between group size and variation in the social networks of different origin groups does not translate. Based on comparing the composition of the social networks of people living in three Swiss neighbourhoods who are of a Swiss, Turkish, or Italian background, he finds that indeed his respondents do disproportionally engage with others of the same background—indeed ethnic Swiss would be least likely to maintain social networks with migrants. Yet he also finds that those patterns are much more complex once other aspects such as 'profession, gender and other non-ethnic variables usually overlooked by the multiculturalist account of immigrant societies' (Wimmer 2004:28) are taken into consideration. A superdiversity lens emphasises such a broader engagement with understanding other more or less migration-related aspects in exploring patterns of diversity.

This book engages with such a wider understanding of migration-related diversity. The analysis this book offers remains exploratory but it insistently adds to questions of how and where the lexicon for discussing migration-related diversifications through a superdiversity lens can be expanded and analytically developed. The book is focused in its aims

and covers a cohesive range of issues innovating by developing research that can accommodate and make more accessible the social complexities of migration-driven diversity. I subdivided the analysis into four central chapters, each tackling a different aspect of, or approach to, researching relational diversity through a superdiversity lens.

Organisation of the Book

Exploring multidimensional patterns implies recognising and grasping the resultant social complexity. To avoid the axiomatic conclusion that 'things are more complex' (Hylland Eriksen 2007:1059) we need innovative approaches to researching and analysing those patterns. The approach taken in this book is to, where useful, visually represent those complexities and patterns of sociality[3] and to use pattern detection analysis as a data-driven way for finding new ways of talking about migrant networks and migration-related diversity. To be able to do this, I have to address a number of questions regarding the critical appropriation of superdiversity and its operationalisation. I devote two of the four central chapters to these tasks and present the empirical analysis of my specific case study in the remaining two chapters before drawing insights together in the concluding remarks.

Chapter 2 develops the theoretical underpinnings of the book. It fulfils the central task to critically engage with the superdiversity notion that was first introduced by Vertovec some ten years ago (Vertovec 2005). Those readers not familiar with the term and its uptake in the literature are here in detail introduced to what superdiversity is about. I argue that the notion of 'superdiversity' implies an investigation of diversity that goes well beyond the nature of migration origins and trajectories. I explain how superdiversity offers a useful and promising lens for changing dominant ways of thinking about migration-driven diversity. This kind of appropriation is only possible if we are very clear about how superdiversity is used, and I suggest that it is necessary to distinguish between superdiversity as a malleable social science concept—as sets of variables that researchers conjunctively investigate—and superdiversity as context where these variables play out in complex social patterns. Chapter 2 also defines and delineates relational diversity and why making it accessible is a needed and necessary progression from thinking about diversity in categorical terms.

Chapter 3 takes on practical challenges associated to implementing research through a superdiversity lens. Aspects discussed focus on (1) using a fuzzy category to identify a research population, (2) defining a

study's set of superdiversity variables, and (3) locating research in two fieldsites and broadening ideas about how this can support analysis. With this focus Chap. 3 encourages an active engagement with the research process in making sense of the data that is collected. Chapters 4 and 5 are focused on the empirical case study and putting the analytical promise of relational diversity studied through a superdiversity lens into practice.

Chapter 4 makes use of novel data visualisations to operationalise and make apparent what relational diversity might look like. I emphasise that categorical diversity in a given population does not necessarily translate into relational diversity. I draw on two easily understood network measures to demonstrate this. Visualisation supported representations of data can make complex patterns much more accessible, surpassing side-by-side analysis of difference and engaging with the multidimensionality a superdiversity lens calls for. Data visualisations are becoming an ever more important component of social scientific analysis (Yau 2011), and an increased use and incorporation of graphic data representations will enhance our visual data literacy and the possibilities for the active engagement of readers with the data that they are presented with. For studying diversity it is important to move beyond visual models that map migrants as static actors onto the urban space but to develop ideas of how else we can picture configurations of diversity. Mapping diversity can be done through abstract data representations that do not necessarily require commonly used geospatial maps. I here focus on multidimensional differences rather than limiting my analysis to showing the presence or absence of migrants in networks.

Chapter 4 then shows how we might approach understanding multidimensionally configured patterns of differentiations in migrant networks. It also shows that visual representations can help us to dig deeper into making sense of the complexities of urban migration-driven diversity. By mapping relational diversity, readers can engage with the data—get closer to it—and develop questions to 'test' their own assumptions about who ought to be social with who on which aspect of superdiversity and what types of patterns this might imply.

In Chap. 5 I then analyse the data represented by implementing a clustering algorithm. This is done to disentangle the complexity made visually accessible through the heatmap used in Chap. 4. Using a pattern detection approach that is capable of taking multidimensionality into account facilitates thinking about—based on the very specific case study of Pacific migrants living in London and Toronto—how we might change the vocabulary with which we talk about post-migration socialities. What are

Fig. 1.2 QR code to book website

the alternatives to identifying a network as ethnic or highly concentrated in terms of other migrants? Chapter 5 thus provides a data-driven analysis of what types of similarity patterns can be distinguished in the network data, and how the different groupings and patterns allow for a different rhetoric about individuals' post-migration networks and relational diversity. Four clusters of socialising patterns are identified which I call *city-cohort*, *long-term resident*, *superdiverse*, and *migrant-peer networks*. The clusters are discussed in light of how they can be interpreted towards a more nuanced discussion of individual post-migration networks and in an effort to move towards thinking about those networks in terms of *socialising with diversity* but about in a broader way than we might have done in the past. A brief concluding chapter will draw the themes and issues identified in the book together and comment on the implications of expanding strategies for thinking about relational diversity through a superdiversity lens (Fig. 1.2).

Notes

1. Ravi, 32, London, Interview: 20/04/2010—name changed.
2. 2011 Census Commissioned table CT0048 (ONS: http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/detailed-country-birth-2011-census-borough [accessed: 12/08/2015]).
3. To ensure that figures included in this book can be examined in detail, they have been uploaded to the website accompanying this book at: www.socdiv.mmg.mpg.de (use Fig. 1.2).

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CHAPTER 2

Exploring Superdiversity and Relational Diversity

Abstract A much needed critical examination of superdiversity is offered. Meissner develops this by imploring what the notion adds to research. It is important to be clear about how the notion is used. There is a need to differentiate between superdiversity as a tool for delineating sets of variables, as a social context, but also as a malleable social science concept. By emphasising simultaneity, emergent patterns, processes, and multidimensionality as central to using superdiversity as a lens for research, the notion is linked to debates about social complexities. This in the final section is used to introduce the notion of relational diversity as a basic concept that can help appreciate those complexities.

Keywords Relational diversity • Superdiversity • Complexity

This chapter traces and expands discussions in the superdiversity literature emphasising its specific call to move away from comfortable (ethno-focal) categories as the basis for describing migration-related diversity. Bringing multiple aspects into the analysis and understanding their different and shifting saliences are central components of engaging with the implications of international migration through a superdiversity lens (Meissner and Vertovec 2014). This means that we need to develop and engage with multidimensional conceptualisations of diversity. Doing so facilitates

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engaging with migration as decentralised rather than as exceptional. We have to accept contingencies and uncertainties that are a consequence of social complexities and find ways to account for them in our research. In practical terms this means that sociality patterns and how they might change merits a central space in exploring migration-driven diversity. This means that measuring the effects of diversity does not have to primarily be focused on a surplus generating narrative—it does not have to be about the question of whether more migration means more diversity advantage or adversity. Pattern analysis can make intricate and situationally configured aspects of migration-driven diversity more accessible for description and ultimately theorisation. We can thus move to a more critical engagement with the categories we invoke. To achieve this, one option—and the one I develop in this book—is to try to measure and make sense of relational diversity.

The premise of what I mean by relational diversity is simple; diversity can be described through the presence of more or less categories of difference. While diversity is rarely clearly defined, in the literature its taxonomic meaning—classifying distinct categories and counting their relative numbers—is the default operationalisation. Migration makes cities diverse because it introduces more categories to be counted with implications for devising relevant policy interventions. This common interpretation is analytically not the most satisfying, as it inevitably clings to static conceptions of diversity. Clearly difference is at the heart of diversity and clearly difference can be described by invoking categorical divergence (Glick Schiller and Schmidt 2015). However, difference comes to matter through processes of differentiation. A static notion of diversity disregards those processes and often means little more than variety.

If diversity is thought about in relational terms—for example, by investigating how a multiplicity of differences are distributed in networks—we can identify patterns that help us discuss varying and multidimensional saliences of diversity configurations rather than reverting to a side-by-side analysis of multiple migration-related differentiations. This can be done without succumbing to the tempting conclusion that our findings do little more than suggest that things are more complex. Relational patterns allow thinking about those complexities whilst considering the dynamics of temporal change and contextual configurations that they are subject to. In this chapter I build the foundations for this type of discussion that brings together complexity, superdiversity, and relational diversity. I commence with a thorough discussion of superdiversity starting with a

broad definition to move on to asking what in concrete terms is new about superdiversity and how criticisms levied against the term can be addressed. I emphasise that analytically superdiversity fosters innovative research if we move away from using it as a synonym for 'more diversity'. Instead I suggest distinguishing between sets of superdiversity variables, superdiverse contexts, and superdiversity as a social scientific concept. With this distinction applied, using a superdiversity lens means adopting the notion in at least one of these three capacities. By setting those basic foundations I can comment on how superdiversity fits with a more general turn in the social science literature towards complexity and concurrently with ideas about social networks as relevant units within the social configurations of diversity. This exposes an underlying question and contribution of this book: how countable migration-driven differences come to shape and configure patterns of relational diversity.

The Challenge of Superdiversity

Superdiversity in its broadest interpretation refers to a 'multidimensional perspective on diversity' (Vertovec 2007:1026). As a research lens the notion foregrounds social complexities and points to the concurrency of multiplex differentiations. The emphasis is on understanding this simultaneity as shaping processes of diversification. The notion is exceptionally appealing for researchers who are interested in the social and economic implications of international migration beyond an ethnic-lens. The superdiversity term was initially adopted in the academic literature with little critical discussion (Meissner 2014). In a research climate where uncertainties and difficulties with clear classifications remain rife, a neologism to describe and research migration-related diversity had and continues to have a welcome appeal. In such a climate overemphasising hybridity and fleetingness is always met with varied experiences and practices of living amongst and being part of everyday social complexities (cf. Calhoun 2003a).

The convolutedness of differentiations in contexts of diversity presents a tension and challenge for migration researchers: escaping the stalemate which left studies asserting that things were more complex but not actively developing strategies to analyse that complexity. The rapid spread of superdiversity in the migration and ethnic studies literature suggests that this call hit an analytical hotspot. Yet as with every new notion there is a need to 'try it on' and make it useful for both general debates and

very specific research projects. In other words adopting superdiversity still requires efforts of conceptual refinement and resolving practical issues of implementing and operationalising research.

Superdiversity, What Does It Add?

Superdiversity as a term has found a board uptake yet its introduction also went hand in hand with scepticism about whether the notion was adding anything new. The idea that superdiversity is nothing but a buzzword is spurred by two main lines of argument. One, if nothing is new about 'new' diversity no updated lens for its study is needed. Two, superdiversity is not significantly different from other long-standing multi-aspect perspectives such as intersectionality.

The first contention can be addressed by asking those interested in using a superdiversity lens to move beyond thinking about it as a synonym for 'more diversity'—or as a social phenomenon that is characteristic of cities home to many foreign-born residents. It is important to pay attention to the spread, speed, and scale of recent diversification processes (Meissner and Vertovec 2014; Phillimore 2014) yet this does not mean that it is the 'superness' of diversity that makes superdiversity distinctive as a useful and fresh notion for rethinking the implication of international migration. Instead it is important to recognise that superdiversity implies the challenge of bringing the specific aspects Vertovec suggests as relevant (including: migration, labour market and legal status trajectories, gender and age patterns, differential responses to migrants by the resident population) together in conjunctive analysis. The multidimensionality is thus not confined to long established categories of difference that remain ethno-focal. Many of the aspects of differentiation important in adopting a superdiversity lens are not strictly categorical but focused on trajectories. This inevitably implies non-linear change over time (for individuals and in the social context). Encouraged is the analysis of diversification and the introduction of new types of variables rather than expanding on static notions of diversity.

To address the second contention and thinking specifically about intersectionality perspectives it is clear that paying simultaneous attention to 'multiple axes of differentiation' (Vertovec 2007:1049) is not that different from bringing together multiple 'axes of social division' (Yuval-Davis 2006:202). Yet, does the crux lie here? Differentiation in the superdiversity conception is not necessarily framed as social division. The two

approaches thus do differ. Does this reduce the critical scope of superdiversity? Certainly not, once we think about it as going beyond an enumeration of different categories—beyond thinking about it in terms of more diversity—and once we consider its link to power, politics, and policy; patterns of horizontal differentiation can be investigated before developing a nuanced understanding of vertical differentiations as similarly multidimensional and intermeshed with horizontal ones. Given the breadth of intersectionality research we can probably agree that some basic premises are similar. Yet, it is also clear that, the focus and priorities of intersectionality research and superdiversity research have developed for different reasons.

The superdiversity term was coined not only at a time when in the UK and elsewhere migration-related diversity was celebrated on the basis of the multiple different origins of migrants—a celebration of what I have been referring to as a taxonomic and category based understanding of diversity—but also at a juncture where research was still strongly involved in looking at the impacts of post-Second World War migrations, dominated by a community focus arising from debates on the multicultural society and community cohesion (Flint and Robinson 2008; Hickman et al. 2008; Reitz et al. 2009; Rodríguez-García 2010; Toye 2007; Wetherell 2007). Since then a shift has taken place where studies increasingly focus on migrants from other backgrounds than those whose migration is often framed as post-colonial, for example, the extensive literature on recent migrants from Eastern Europe to London or of Bangladeshis to Toronto (Murdie and Ghosh 2010; Ryan et al. 2008). Additionally research has increasingly been focusing on particular migration streams such as international student migration (King 2002).

Another trend which coincided with the recognition of an ethnically diversified diversity and the need to reconceptualise migration research was that researchers have increasingly been moving away from seeing newly recognised ethnic diversity as exceptional. More and more studies have identified that by and large, practices of living with ethnic diversity have actually become normal in the everyday lives of many city dwellers. This is crucial for engaging with superdiversity as a context, as I will shortly discuss in more detail. Migration-related diversity is frequently dealt with as ordinary, commonplace, or unexceptional (e.g., Amin 2012; Glazer 2003; Wessendorf 2014; Wise and Velayutham 2009). Not intending to side-line those instances when this ordinariness erupts and tensions between different actors or groups are framed along ethnic lines

(cf. Wimmer 2004), understanding those social constellations where the everydayness of difference prevails has become an increasingly interesting field of study.

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

Debating Superdiversity

Discussing what is new about superdiversity suggests taking a step back from using the term as a synonym for 'more diversity'. Clearly then we can and should further debate superdiversity and how the term can be employed to its best effect. To be able to engage in such a debate it is helpful to look towards more concrete criticisms of the idea. One early reading of the notion by Anthias (2012) can usefully be developed here. In referring to superdiversity, she points out:

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

Anthias' reading implies two points that deserve further attention: firstly that the meaning of diversity in relation to superdiversity is underexplored

(superdiversity thus speaks too many tongues). Secondly, the notion of superdiversity is overly migration focused (it does not speak enough tongues, or neglects some). I here discuss both points and include a third related but more practical concern to link my discussion. This bridging concern is whether the notion of superdiversity is pitched too broadly to allow for sound empirical research. I argue that all three points of potential criticism—the lack of a definition of diversity, the centrality of migration, and the otherwise unbound ethos of the notion—have to be taken seriously but do not pose a problem for the notion's continued relevance and application—indeed they call for a critical adoption of superdiversity through empirical research.

Superdiversity and Diversity

By invoking the term diversity we do not necessarily mean the same thing. Even if, for practical purposes, we here disregard the many popular appropriations of diversity, we can find many different uses and meanings of the term (cf. Squires 2006). If we assume that diversity is tied up with patterns of differentiation, we can note that scholars discuss ideas about social differentiation in a number of ways including through the prism of pluralism (Connolly 2007; Grillo 2004), heterogeneity (Faist 2010), or social complexity (Hannerz 1992; Hylland Eriksen 2007). All of these debates can be linked to the analysis of diversity. All allow moving beyond a taxonomy based approach. Consequently there are a number of ways of thinking about it. We have to recognise that the term diversity defies definition, or in other words, it always demands qualification. One can argue that this ambiguity makes it difficult to engage in a coherent critical discussion about its implications. An alternative argumentation would be that the multiple meanings and academic frameworks that can be brought to the term offer different entry points to the debate.

In coining superdiversity, Vertovec (2007) made this ambiguity part of the term's analytical appeal. Instead of delineating a specific definition of diversity as a necessary starting point, he opted to introduce superdiversity by example. In discussing the relevance and meaning of superdiversity, Vertovec refers to specific, more or less migration-related aspects that include but are not confined to migration, labour market, and legal status trajectories. Drawing on the example of the UK and particularly focusing on London to describe what the notion refers to, Vertovec (2007) shows that not only the count of origin groups is relevant to migration-driven

diversity but also a number of other migration-related differentiations have come to shape urban diversity in socially relevant ways. The simultaneity and multidirectionality of those changes and stratifications is central to a concept of superdiversity and provides the handle for grasping the types of social mechanisms a superdiversity lens points to. The example based introduction of superdiversity imbues clarity but also allows for a broad uptake from multiple perspectives.

Superdiversity and the Burden of Multifacetedness

Superdiversity is then linked to migration and an abundance of aspects that can be framed as migration-related. Those aspects derive from the concerns Vertovec initially pointed to—migration trajectories, for example, are by definition a composite of actions taken in moving from destination to eventual origin. The aspects can also emerge from research using a superdiversity lens. Many researchers have started to focus on temporalities of superdiversity configurations as something that needs to be included in multidimensional appreciations—a point I briefly develop in Chap. 5 in presenting my own empirical analysis. The bottom line is that the current conceptualisation of superdiversity allows for incorporating further aspects into analysis. These require a relatively open conception of diversity to avoid confining explorations to categories of difference that have already been rigidly defined and that are overly rehearsed in the academic and policy canon on migration and diversity.

The breadth aimed for has not necessarily been part of the works referring to superdiversity. In fact, surveying how superdiversity was adopted in the five years following the publication of the original Ethnic and Racial Studies article, I was able to show (Meissner 2014) that in its initial adoption superdiversity served for many as little more than a buzzword. While quickly gaining momentum serious empirical applications remained rare and to this date we can note a lingering ethno-focality in many articles invoking superdiversity. More and more work does pay attention to multiple aspects of migration-related differentiations but conventional patterns of representing data and writing up findings result in different aspects being presented in side-by-side analysis rather than meeting the challenge of engaging with the simultaneity of multidimensional configurations of differentiation that a superdiversity lens points to.

Beyond the question of how to operationalise the central multidimensionality of superdiversity—a question that I will be returning to

throughout this book—the identified openness to many more aspects of differentiation demands the pressing question: when does the scope result in a diminished usefulness of the concept? In intersectionality research, this problem is referred to as the 'etcetera' problem or the black-boxing effect (Lykke 2011; Villa 2011). This suggests that limiting what is 'in' superdiversity would not make the concept more precise or useful for future research. Instead it would avoid recognising the rhizomatic interconnections of aspects that are relevant in different contexts (Lykke 2011:211–2). Critically engaging with superdiversity is then not necessarily hampered by the fact that it aims to account for a multiplicity of differences or the openness in delineating a specific diversity notion(s) that researchers have to ascribe to—the problem at hand may be one that is more closely tied to the fuzziness in what superdiversity ultimately refers to.

Sets of Variables, Context or Concept

Both the difficulty with the ambiguity of what diversity stands for and the (in principle) boundless scope of what is 'in' superdiversity—what has to be surveyed if a superdiversity lens is adopted—can be addressed by clearly distinguishing the ways in which superdiversity is used in a specific project: as a set of interrelated variables (things in the world, if you will); as a social context; and/or as a social scientific concept.

Superdiversity thought about as sets of variables is the most practical dimension of engaging superdiversity. Sets should be thought of as specific to a particular study and research question. Their delineation is a highly relevant aspect of the research design process but also has to be sensitive to differentiations that emerge as relevant during the research. In the next chapter I look at a number of difficulties in delineating superdiversity sets and how those difficulties can be addressed. The challenges that are most evident include: thinking of sets as composed of variables that cannot be measured by counting static categories and doing away with the ideal of a holistic set—superdiversity can challenge thinking in new ways about migration-driven diversity but it cannot surpass practical constraints to data collection and analysis. This is important for the difficulty of including a breadth of aspects in a single research project, it is important to recognise that the manifold axes of differentiation are a necessary starting point to develop a shift in thinking about (more or less migration-related) diversity—research then has to make sense of this multidimensionality. Speaking of superdiversity as sets of variables suggests that constellations

of differences rather than singular types of differences should stand at the outset of studies implementing a superdiversity lens. Superdiversity research is then not about understanding the impact of X on Y but more so on exploring emergent social patterns and the architecture of social differentiation in contexts highly altered by international migration.

The 'presence' of multiple axes of differentiation is important if superdiversity is thought about as a social context. Contexts of superdiversity are those within which meaningful (Wallman 1983) axes of difference interrelate, coexist, and play out in processes of diversification. While variables remain focused on taking stock of difference, thinking of superdiversity as context is more focused on the specificity and parallels of the interplay in local settings. If we accept this distinction between variables and context, the main aim of superdiversity research would be to describe the specificity of and find links between different superdiverse contexts and how sets of superdiversity variables are at play in these contexts with implications for a variety of actors, institutions, and the localities which are the arenas of these contexts. Diversified migration patterns, for example, require attention to contexts in so far that pre- and post-migration experiences and practices are conditioned by moving out of and into already diverse (Heil 2012), and importantly differently and continually changing diverse contexts. With this distinction I want to further emphasise that superdiversity as a notion goes far beyond describing a particular cross-sectional and location specific 'hyper-diversity'. Even if many studies frame it as such. Superdiversity's conceptual attraction lies in the call to rethink the impacts of migration and the constantly changing social configurations that accompany it.

This is where superdiversity at its most abstract level comes into play—superdiversity as a social scientific concept. As a concept superdiversity is best thought of as malleable, as a conception (Sartori 1984), or as a fuzzy concept (Ragin and Pennings 2005). This means as a concept the notion is never quite complete—it is a concept where we constantly attribute different degrees of relevance to different aspects, but which continuously challenges researchers to rethink what they know about the impacts of migration on social phenomena more generally.[1] Thus understood, the conceptual value of superdiversity lies in bringing together different debates at the juncture between migration studies and broader areas of research. I want to emphasise this latter point as it implies that the scope of superdiversity is difficult to confine to the impacts of migration alone.

Migration in Migration-Driven Diversity

That there is a conceptual dimension to superdiversity that looks to be spurring much analytical engagement is manifest in the way some scholars link superdiversity to paradigmatic shifts (Blommaert and Rampton 2012; Phillimore 2011). It is clear that the 'diversity turn', as distinct from the 'migration/minority turn' (Vertovec 2011), is posing different and new questions that have a broad applicability going beyond migration, in addition to going beyond an ethno-focal agenda. Nieswand (2014) refers to this as a wider trend in migration research by pointing to the decentralisation of migration studies. He identifies multiple concepts that have a significant impact on the way migrants and minorities more generally are perceived, not as the object of study, but as a sociological or ethnographic starting point for exploring social order (or the order in chaos) more generally. This is particularly expressed in theoretical debates that call on migration researchers to move beyond various '–isms' identified as beleaguering migration research such as methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003) and groupism (Brubaker 2002).

I have tried to diffuse the argument that a focus on the implications of international migration necessarily steers superdiversity research into a particular pathway of appreciating social complexity. Indeed the centrality of migration is helpful in discerning that superdiversity is not about 'diversity squared' but about understanding processes and patterns of diversification and their implications—untethering within this how they are linked to migration patterns and the dynamics of social connectivities. Further, because thinking about superdiversity calls researchers to focus on the multidimensionality of differentiation processes, migration will only ever be a starting point. Changing migration patterns do not exist in a vacuum but interact with other processes of social change. This is a relevant point for the adaptive properties of the types of complexities that have to be taken into account. This means that researchers invoking superdiversity always have to consider what lies beyond a migration remit. To be clear, my argument is not that studies adopting a superdiversity lens can achieve a holistic understanding of social complexity—they almost certainly cannot. Yet migration as a starting point does not, in and of itself, limit the usefulness of the concept and its potential as a tool for thinking through complex social configurations.

Superdiversity and Complexity

By emphasising simultaneity, emergent patterns, processes, and multidimensionality a superdiversity lens will always point to social configurations that cannot be summed up by simply adding up its constituent parts. This mirrors a notable shift in the social science literature towards analytical foci that move away from reductive strategies and towards social complexity. For example, uncritically recycling categories to identify one or a set of culprits explaining this or that social malaise or success story is a strategy increasingly in doubt—paying attention to superdiversity as critically developed sets of variables, for example, moves us towards considering aspects otherwise outside of our purview. A plug-and-play approach to analysing migration and its implications remains in operation but often leaves those interested in the topic without satisfactory answers.

An increasing number of researchers challenge ideas that forecast the ability to explain social processes through reductive linear explanations and instead turn to images and rhetoric offered by thinking through complex systems and their rhizomatic interconnections and scalable properties. In a complexity narrative hopes for clear answers are often replaced by pointing out that (social) scientists have to rethink the certainties their research can produce and question notions of linear causality (De Landa 2006). In urban studies recognising these types of perpetually unfinished but patterned complexities and drawing on ecological analogies to describe them is a central part of debates; in migration and diversity studies this turn has only recently started to gain momentum (e.g., Blommaert 2013). Strongly influenced by the writings of Deleuze et al. (2011) this line of thought is not least driven by ideas about the sensitivity of social outcomes to initial conditions (cf. Prigogine and Stengers 1997:30–1).

One problem with ethno-focal research, which a shift towards superdiversity and a focus on complexity clearly exposes, are prevalent assumptions about initial conditions of diversity, and reference points that serve for fixing debates on migration-driven diversity in terms of more or less diversity. If we start with relatively static categories it is possible to avoid critically reflecting on the assumed fixity of initial conditions. Clearly whether things are more diverse than they used to be depends of how this ‘more’ is measured and contextually anchored. Arguably if we engage with complexity by emphasising less static categories and drawing on more variable ideas about differentiations and processes of diversification, we quickly need to concede that determining any initial conditions is difficult

if not impossible. There is no primordial state of non-diversity and it is difficult to imagine such a state to take salience in the future. This is why it is also difficult to presume that diversity does things because there is more or less of it. A focus on diversification as a process instead demands a focus on how configurations of diversity come into being and dissipate. Such a processual standpoint remains exceptionally underexplored but becomes manageable through the tripartite distinction between sets of variables, contexts, and concept suggested in the previous section.

Complexity is not always employed in theoretically driven ways. It is one of those words researchers sometimes use without investing deeper thought into its conceptual dimensions. This warrants caution and challenges us to consider questions such as whether and how a shift towards complexity is able to address questions of 'differential and multiple forms of power' (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2012:6) or individual agency (Brenner et al. 2011). A focus on complexity in this chapter and the book more generally helps emphasise the worth in understanding social patterns rather than foregrounding causalities within the study of diversity. Exploring network patterns is one possible avenue to think about diversity in such a way. What does this mean for rethinking a category driven understandings of diversity?

Long-standing social science categories demand critical evaluation. This does not mean that we should lose sight of how categories are enmeshed in the social fabric of cities. Contrarily, it is taking account of the dual character of categories as socially changing and relatively stable entities within the social science enterprise (Brubaker 2003; Calhoun 2003b). A conceptual triad for studying diversity introduced by Vertovec (2009) is helpful here. It points to configurations (measurable diversity and its changes), encounters (how diversity is experienced in social interactions), and representations (how diversity is described), and how the three interlink. These are crucial baselines for studies aimed at developing diversity research. While studies can be focused on any of these three aspects, researchers always have to keep the other two in mind.

Commencing with complexity in employing a superdiversity lens underlines that superdiversity can be talked about as a configuration of diversity (Vertovec 2009). The adoption and development of the notion points us towards a broader analytical potential. By looking into configurations we will always also have to recognise the contingent interplay with encounters and representations of diversity. Using a superdiversity lens for highlighting multidimensionality in how differentiations come to matter

thus primes us to recognise that social landscapes are marked by emergent and complex contingencies. With this critical discussion of why superdiversity as a lens is suitable for moving beyond a taxonomic approach to studying diversity, we can see how this area of research has potential for engaging with social complexities and moving us towards paying attention to increasingly dynamic patterns. To do this in practical terms, as I have argued, it is important to qualify one's approach to diversity. I thus now commence with developing relational diversity as a particular starting point for capturing dynamic patterns and for rethinking some of the vocabulary that we use in describing migration-related diversity and specifically migrant networks.

Relational Diversity

To emphasise the points I have made in the previous sections let us examine a quote by Glick Schiller and Çağlar who comment that:

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

This interpretation confines the potential contribution of superdiversity research to analysing 'ethnic diversification' and prohibits taking advantage of the broader analytical possibilities discussed. In fact arguments presented so far point to studying multidimensional configurations of differentiations through the ways they are *practised*. To a degree the statement above is linked to a particular understanding of diversification which results in categorically countable patterns of differentiation, countable because individuals can be counted through categories (Fanshawe and Sriskandarajah 2010). What I want to emphasise with my analysis in this book is that it is necessary to expand this interpretation and to start thinking of diversity as relational. This makes enumerating differences somewhat more difficult, but not impossible. It certainly requires estimating social patterns rather than just categories.

Glick Schiller and Çağlar's interpretation serves as a needed reminder that practices are a central aspect of understanding differential and shifting saliences of configurations of diversity. One approach to studying practices is through social interactions and social networks. As Mitchell already pointed

out in 1974 adopting a network approach which focuses its attention on social interactions can help 'representing regularities in field data which might otherwise escape attention' (Mitchell 1974:279). With reference to understanding urban patterns, Epstein cogently points out that:

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

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

Both Mitchell and Epstein are seminal figures of the Manchester School of Anthropology which is frequently attributed with having significantly contributed to the development of social network analysis in the discipline of anthropology. Yet the notion of social networks and its usefulness in understanding both social actions and social patterns is an interdisciplinary field which has both mushroomed in recent years and still remains marginal next to mainstream social scientific research. Importantly, empirically focusing on networks moves away from conventional survey-based descriptions of social patterns which enumerate the characteristics of individuals, and instead focuses on how those patterns can be measured through relations including the form, qualities, and content of relations between individuals (Freeman 2004:1).

The empirical analysis in the following chapters confines itself to differentiating attributes and trajectories of individuals rather than also focusing on describing and measuring the types of relations maintained—it is encouraged though to see this as a possible and useful extension in thinking further the analytical potential of relational diversity. For the present analysis

it is however sufficient to engage with the dimension of attribute diversity not in and of itself but within social networks. My aim in developing relational diversity in a first instance is to 'map' difference patterns in networks. This requires an understanding of whether differences are present or absent in social relations, how they become part of social practices, and how this opens analytical possibilities for talking about relationally framed patterns of diversity. The contribution to be made is to empirically operationalise relational diversity through a superdiversity lens rather than to content with studying those patterns of diversity that can be gleaned by enumerating differences person by person. In extension the discussed superdiversity lens encourages going beyond single aspect explorations. Focusing on the multidimensionality of relational diversity also is not amenable to side-by-side analysis, thus requiring innovation in how patterns are analysed.

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

argument is that despite this breadth the link to diversity is rarely made and almost exclusively these explorations remain ethno-focal.

Beyond this, two inferences can be drawn. Firstly, social networks are dynamic with regard to both their temporal and spatial manifestations. Thus, adopting a social network approach draws those dynamics into the centre of the analysis and provides a tool for operationalising their study (Marin and Wellman 2010). Secondly, the above mentioned literature suggests that social networks carry utility for individual actors. Whilst this is a common argument particularly advanced in the social capital literature, it needs qualifying. The social network or relational perspective is set apart from 'conventional' research by explaining social outcomes with reference to the positions individual actors occupy in a given network. This does not imply that networks in themselves imbue individuals with opportunities but that actors can realise these depending on their network position, and may also find that their network position is associated with social constraints. The aim of this book is less to engage with the continued debate over social capital and the utility of networks; instead I am interested in how multilayered attribute differences as they are present in personal networks and in practices of groupness (Brubaker 2006) stand in relation to urban diversification processes. This requires recognising precisely that differentiations, as we find them between people and socially linked groups of people, are multidimensionally configured.

Social network analysts remain divided between scholars who insist that a social network perspective is defined by a structural approach (e.g., Freeman 2004; Wellman and Berkowitz 1988), and those who argue that social networks allow for a theoretical stance that is able to engage with the exploration of an interplay of structure and agency surpassing a dichotomous understanding of both (Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994; Emirbayer and Mische 1998; Emirbayer 1997; de Federico de la Rua 2007; Mizruchi 1994). This latter position builds on a conception of agency that particularly stresses the temporalities of human action, its situatedness, as it is at once engaged with its past, present, and future, and is 'intrinsically social and relational' (Emirbayer and Mische 1998:973). This is an important caveat in the theoretical scope of the relational approach and emphasises that even if it is assumed that the structure of social relations determines the content of those relations (Mizruchi 1994:330), these structures are not necessarily self-perpetuating, but are creatively reconstructed and amended by actors. As Brettell (2000) argues, a social network approach brings the migrant decision-maker back into the focus of analysis.

This takes us closer to recognising how we can develop an understanding of the presence of multiple differences (the basic ingredients of diversity so to speak) through a relational stance—without taking those differences as a given. In other words, if a social network perspective is combined with thinking about superdiversity variables as simultaneously present individual attributes and if we assume that similar and different attributes criss-cross within networks, then we can use existing social network concepts, theories, and analysis techniques to map the configuration of relational diversity—with Chaps. 4 and 5 I offer this type of analysis. This then would help us make sense of the perpetually emergent patterns of migration-driven diversity, as networks are only stable to a certain degree and to different degrees for different people.

In a sense a relational approach entails a triangulation of theoretical perspectives (Flick 2004:181) allowing for structural but also actor focused explanations. This versitality makes it particularly suited to comprehending the complexities which a superdiversity lens is often used in reference to—more importantly it is an approach that is cognisant of the fact that superdiversity is about not only describing complexity but also appreciating the adaptiveness of diversification processes. One particular advantage of this triangulation of perspectives is that it takes context and subjectivities into account (Fuhse and Mützel 2011). This is crucial because an important dimension of my analysis is querying why certain aspects are thought of as relevant to sociality practices and others are not. This is not least because of continued attempts to 'tackl[e] the problems of social cohesion in a multicultural society by changing the patterns of contact between people from different backgrounds in everyday spaces such as workplaces [and] neighbourhoods' (Amin 2010:2). In superdiverse contexts this narrative needs to be critically evaluated as it demands that we ask whose patterns of contact are to be altered along which variables of superdiversity.

Conclusion

Together the above considerations carefully outlined the conceptual foundations of this book. This was done in the necessary detail to situate the empirical analysis which follows. I have argued that the notion of superdiversity implies an investigation of diversity that goes well beyond the nature of migration origins and trajectories—particularly superdiversity is not distinctive because it refers to more diversity but because of the way it requires thinking about perceived increases in migration-driven diver-

sity by paying attention to multidimensionality rather than just multiplicity. To enhance the academic value of superdiversity, I have argued that it is necessary to distinguish between superdiversity as a malleable social science concept—sets of variables that researchers aim to conjunctively investigate—and superdiversity as a context where these variables play out in complex social patterns. This differentiation is of particular importance in facilitating the empirical operationalisation of superdiversity research so as to not lose sight of the potential of invoking a superdiversity lens to add to debates in the migration but also ethnic and racial studies literature and beyond. As a lens superdiversity opens a space to discuss both the relevance of the everydayness of diversity and that migrants from many places live in relative proximity in urban areas with dynamic changes in that population, including those who have moved in relatively small numbers.

Further, I have argued that complexity is an integral aspect of superdiversity—a complexity which is fuelled by migration but primarily has to be understood through the diverse practices of migrants living in cities. I have explained why a focus on social networks helps in developing a practice-focused analysis and that this focus shifts attention away from diversity as enumerated through differences between individuals, and I instead emphasised the need to investigate diversity through relational patterns. Although the discussion remained necessarily abstract its empirical operationalisation will show the amenability of a superdiversity lens to the use of novel approaches in studying the impacts of migration on the urban social fabric and to developing a novel ways of talking about diversity. Questions of research design and case study specificity which remained almost absent from this chapter are a central focus in the following chapter where I outline the parameters of the specific empirical study this book draws on as an example of in implementing and operationalising superdiversity research.

Note

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

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CHAPTER 3

How and Where to Point a Superdiversity Lens?

Abstract Operationalising superdiversity research requires that researchers use the notion diligently and that they are able to address specific hurdles of research design. In this chapter three aspects of the research design process are considered: choosing sites, foci, and analysis techniques. An investigation of the social networks of Pacific and New Zealand Māori migrants living in London and Toronto—the empirical project the book builds on—serves to illustrate the challenges and their solutions. In particular a discussion of starting research with a fuzzy category, facing difficulties in deciding on a specific set of superdiversity variables, and drawing on cross-context data are themes discussed not only to offer advice on designing superdiversity research but also to introduce the reader to the specificity of the case studies.

Keywords Superdiversity operationalisation • Fuzzy categories • London and Toronto • City as context

In the introduction I pointed out that migrant socialities are often studied with a narrow set of attributes. Research mostly remains focused on ethnic or migrant concentration in networks as *the* primary migration-related differentiation. In addition those moving to the city in larger numbers tend to be the focus. A superdiversity lens challenges us to shift to a broader positioning in studying migrant networks. In doing so, we can move

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towards a relational understanding of diversity focused more on social complexity than the enumeration of differences. I explored this argument in the previous chapter. I refrained from commenting on how we might go about studying relational diversity through a superdiversity lens in practical terms. Superdiversity as a malleable concept has to be advanced via empirical applications. In order to investigate relational diversity through a superdiversity lens we thus have to engage with practical challenges of research design and implementation. Beyond decisions on where to geographically point our superdiversity lens, we have to critically engage with who becomes subject of the research and how we develop and decide on a specific set of superdiversity variables.

The original data analysed in the following chapters stems from 55 personal network interviews[1] conducted in London (34) and in Toronto (21). Data from the interviews is supplemented with insights from extensive participant observation. Interview respondents all linked to the relatively small number of people who could be identified through the fuzzy category Pacific people. The specificity and simultaneous fuzziness of this focus is due to the projects' aim, to not only investigate patterns of superdiversity through migrant social networks, but to also explore the relevance of being a migrant from a relatively small migrant cohort. In the introduction I have explained at length why such a small group focus is particularly interesting in a research field that often builds on the analysis of larger migrant groups and thus on a few assumptions about the relevance and emergence of ethnic or migrant sameness in networks. Building on a dual-sited and multi-method approach, I elicited a comprehensive compendium of data about the social networks of my respondents and about observable sociality practices of Pacific Migrants in London and Toronto. Analysing this data allows operationalising relational diversity through a superdiversity lens.

In this chapter I highlight central methodological challenges faced by researchers who choose a superdiversity lens for their research. Following the three concerns of choosing sites, foci, and techniques, I comment on relevant decisions taken in designing and implementing the research. Despite the study's specificity, this chapter has a broad appeal, relevant for more general discussions about putting superdiversity research into practice. I commence this chapter by commenting on how, to avoid ethnocentric assumptions, I identified my respondents through a fuzzy category approach. I then discuss why the choice to use personal network interviews had important implications for the breadth of superdiversity

variables considered. Finally I elaborate on London and Toronto as two fieldsites that present multiple-nested contexts of superdiversity—this parallel between the two cities has implication for how the analysis is developed to focus on sociality practices in superdiverse contexts more generally and why only cursory attention is paid to the specificity of each city as an exceptional context for forging post-migration networks.

Superdiversity and the Value of Small and Fuzzy

Let us recall, at the start of my research I posed the seemingly simple question: 'What networks do migrants with few co-migrants from the same origin form in exceptionally diverse cities?' I already outlined in the introduction why in researching migrant networks it is useful to explore in more detail the sociality practices of those migrants who in the statistics often get subsumed under the other category. A multidimensional appreciation of migration-driven diversity does require opening up categories that mask rather than expose differentiations. Yet smaller migrant cohorts—like their larger counterparts—should not be approached as putative groups (Brubaker 2003) if the intention is to engage in a non-ethnocentric analysis.

To be able to clearly delineate the research but actively counter assumptions about the sociality patterns I wanted to study, I chose to commence my research with an origin-dependent but intentionally fuzzy category to identify a research population. At the outset of the research a category was chosen that relates to a global region of origin with relatively low numbers of migrants in both cities, yet not so low that I would have had to expect little variation in terms of migration trajectories and other superdiversity aspects. Fuzzy category here specifically means that who would respond to this category and link to it through sustained social relations was, to be established as part of the fieldwork. The category with which I started my research was Pacific migrants and in accessing my fields I aimed to identify migrants from the South Pacific region—from 'Other Oceania', as UK census tables label this internally quite diverse population. This category was picked not least because it rarely if ever is used for analytical purposes in the two destination contexts, even though it carries relevance in the Pacific Rim context where Pacific migrants account for a relatively large proportion of the resident foreign nationals. The category also largely remained absent from the public debate in both fieldsites.

The decision to commence with a regional focus was thus primarily practically driven but it also included a theoretical dimension as I was putting into practice Brubaker's (2003) call to start research with categories rather than with putative groups. To identify respondents, some criterion was needed and a regional focus ensured that I could identify and approach potential respondents but also follow the aim to study a diverse group with reference to superdiversity variables. Through its specific regional focus my study certainly fills a research gap. Migration from the Pacific Islands is mainly discussed with reference to environmental migration or with a destination focus located in the Pacific Rim states. When I commenced the research, there were to my knowledge no studies about contemporary migrations of Pacific people to London or Toronto. Only very few studies about migrations from that region went beyond the Pacific Rim as a destination. It was however evident that Pacific migrants could be expected to have moved through various different migration trajectories as different legal migration routes were open to them and various changes in the region implied the propensity of temporal differences in when people would have moved. After considering other alternatives the fuzzy category Pacific migrants was deemed a useful one for the purpose of studying migrant networks in contexts of superdiversity and for ensuring the small numbers focus of the case studies.

In London the population of migrants with a country of origin in one of the South Pacific Island nations in 2011 accounted for approximately 2000 individuals[2] which is a relative increase in numbers compared to the 2001 census when 1700 migrants stated their country of birth to be in Other Oceania (Kyambi 2005:171). For Toronto Pacific Islanders in 2011 accounted for some 2335 individuals with the data also detailing that a majority had acquired Canadian citizenship and that very few had migrated to the city in the period between 2006 and 2011.[3] The most detailed numbers differentiating countries of origin make it possible to identify Fiji as the most prominent country of birth in both cities. These similarities in numbers contributed to choosing London and Toronto as suitable fieldsites. For London the estimated total numbers diverge from those stated in more aggregated tables. This is due to the fact that statistics relying on sample based data often distort the actual numbers of smaller migrant groups. In Toronto it is interesting to note that some of the countries of origin from which I interviewed respondents (Samoa and Tonga) do not show a count in the National Household Survey for 2011 at all (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Origins and counts of Pacific migrants living in Toronto and London in 2011

	Toronto Census Metropolitan Area	*Inner and Outer London*
	Immigrants with a country of birth in a South Pacific Island nation	*Country of birth in a South Pacific Island nation*
	Source: Statistics Canada—2011 National Household Survey. Catalogue Number 99-010-X2011026	*Source: 2011 Census Commissioned table CT0048, Office for National Statistics*
Fiji	2145	1239
French Polynesia	40	30
Guam	10	70
Nauru	0	11
Palau	0	2
Papua New Guinea	75	300
Western Samoa	0	84
Solomon Islands	0	53
Tonga	0	97
Vanuatu	0	45
Kiribati	0	46
Other	65	0
Total	2335	1977

London offers detailed enough data to geospatially locate residential patterns of Pacific Islanders living in the city. Looking at those numbers we can note some concentration in the London Borough of Brent but we can also note that Pacific Islanders, despite their small numbers, are living in many different parts of the city. This reduced relevance of spatial concentration was reflected in the fact that my respondents resided in various different parts of the city. Indeed long distances often had to be covered between different public social spaces used by my respondents and interview locations chosen for convenience close to their work or home. This refutes immediate proximity as a major driver of network closure and underlines the argument that there are problems with some of the assumptions about migrant socialities that derive from larger group research.

Greater London and Greater Toronto have a population of over 8 and close to 6 million inhabitants respectively. Pacific migrants in each city account for less than 0.05 % of the entire population. If forging social contacts in the city was random it would be very unlikely that Pacific migrants ever encountered each other. As my research shows, and as might be expected, those migrants interviewed mostly did know others from their region of origin—even if some decided not to actively entertain those networks. This specificity of being few and spatially dispersed meant that different localities—became temporal stages of concentration and subsequent dissipation. But as noted this book is not primarily about small group sociality but about migrant networks and how placing personal networks at the centre of analysing relational diversity can alter our lexicon for talking about migration-related diversity.

The framing of my study with its regional focus did impact on what respondents and interlocutors presumed to be the intentions of my research. In fact, it uncovered certain expectations of what I, as a researcher, 'ought' to be interested in. It exposed an ethno-focal bias in the questions migrants expected to be asked. This is similar to the ethno-focal bias that Ravi, the respondent I made reference to at the very start of this book, expressed in terms of who he thought he should be social with ('More English people'). In spite of being very clear about researching 'smaller migrant groups in diverse cities to learn more about diversity' rather than having the competence to conduct a study of South Pacific culture, the impact of my regional focus was reflected in respondents frequently emphasising their Islanderness or Māoriness more than might be expected if they were approached as 'professional migrants' or through some other origin independent label. Those labels however would have been incompatible with my small group focus or my ambition to approach a set of migrants varied across their different superdiversity trajectories.

It is thus important to address the somewhat uneasy question of whether superdiversity research is hampered by focusing on migrants identified through a category that makes reference to a particular origin. There are a number of studies that are less focused on larger migrant groups and that do look at migrant socialities. These predominantly aim to understand urban diversity through studying a particular neighbourhood (Baumann 2006; e.g., Watt 2006) or other multi-ethnic settings (e.g., Jones et al. 2015; Watson and Studdert 2006). Those approaches account for smaller groups but mostly coincidentally, rather than as a specific research focus (e.g., Herbert 2008). If there is an empirical puzzle

that requires paying attention to smaller numbers—like developing a novel perspective on migrant networking and moving beyond prevalent assumptions about how migrants use their networks post-migration—then we do need strategies for studying those who moved in smaller numbers. Beyond a locality or neighbourhood focus, Wimmer (2009:262–5) suggests that in order to de-ethnicise research, studies should focus on individuals from diverse backgrounds, make use of class as a unit of analysis, or study institutional fields. The approach developed to meet my research objectives marries the second strategy (diverse individuals in terms of superdiversity aspects) suggested by Wimmer (see also Phillimore 2014 for sampling on the basis of difference) with the call issued by Brubaker to start research with categories.

Instead of assuming that I was looking for a group of Pacific migrants with presumed and constant strong social links, my aim was to seek a multiplicity of entry points to my field and to then engage with people who may ascribe to the fuzzy notion Pacific migrant. I would subsequently trace social connectivities in delineating my sample of respondents. Brubaker contends that commencing research with categories 'invites us to focus on processes and relations rather than substances' (2003:183). In commencing my research with the fuzzy category Pacific migrants I was able to implement both objectives—to identify a diverse sample and to build the research around a category. As White (2008:4) points out, considering categories in network terms 'brings out complexities in the possible meanings of a category'. My approach emphasises that different individuals can be counted into and ascribe to a category to different degrees—Pacific migrant the way it became relevant for my research is not a category that clearly delineates in-group and out-group. This in turn helped me to focus on a relatively smaller migrant cohort as was suggested by available statistics, without presuming either group cohesiveness or focusing on a particular ethnic group—the regional focus that Pacific migrants might suggest was then not as hard and fast as it at first appears. Through this tracing and observing of social gatherings, I was able to expand the sample in line with the small numbers and superdiversity focus of the study.

London and Toronto are both home to people self-identifying as New Zealand-born Islanders and New Zealand Māori neither of whom would be counted as part of 'Other Oceania' category. These migrants were often able to move through different legal status tracks and their migrations were conditioned by regional changes in the socio-economic fabric of New Zealand which has resulted in higher numbers of Māori moving

to London in particular. Through qualitative research in London—my first fieldsite—it quickly became apparent that a number of regular social links existed between some Islanders and some Māori—indeed building contacts to a number of my Islander respondents was only possible through my Māori contacts—this circumstance led me to include Māori as part of the fuzzy research category. Not all interviewees would maintain these pan-ethnic social relations, but I frequently noted that even those who did not, made reference to how they assumed those links to be relevant. Through this approach the individuals who I interviewed included not only those born and raised in the islands but also two Island-raised but UK-born respondents, four New Zealand-born or raised Pacific Islanders, and one US-raised Tongan and a significant number of New Zealand Māori migrants. Starting the research with a fuzzy category certainly did expose these 'processes and relations' better than starting with a putative group. The individuals who I was able to interview as a result of this study did satisfy the aim to speak to a diverse set of people about their sociality patterns. Table 3.2 undergirds this claim but it also clearly shows that there are a number of differences between the Toronto and London sample. For example, the Toronto respondents were on average older and also had a longer residence period in the city than my London respondents.

The caveat that my respondents did frequently emphasise their origin in interviews however should not be ignored. This may constitute one of the main drawbacks of a study design that uses an origin-dependent identifier in delineating the research population. Yet it is a caveat that can also add to the analysis. Focusing on an origin region clearly showcased that for many respondents everyday sense-making did take place in their own comparisons of what it is like in the place of origin as opposed to what it is like in London/Toronto and other places visited along the way. Often it revealed that practices of dealing with diversity travel with individuals (Heil 2012). As Wimmer argues, to move beyond ethno-focality does not require abandoning studies of migrants from particular origins, instead it demands 'avoid[ing] the Herderian fallacy of assuming communitarian closure, cultural difference, and shared identity [and instead] to ask […] whether there is indeed community organisation [and] ethnic closure in networking practices' (Wimmer 2009:265). To this I would add, that if there is such closure, the aim ought to be to better understand why and more importantly when this happens—or in other words to understand the fusions and fissions of these processes of closure and dissipation—as a fuzzy category approach underlines.

Table 3.2 Sample distribution (in %) across different characteristics of respondents

		London	*Toronto*	*Total*
		n = 34	*n* = 21	*N* = 55
Gender				
	Female	41	43	42
	Male	59	57	58
Age				
	Younger than 35	65	19	42
	Younger than 55	32	52	42
	Older than 56	3	29	16
Legal status				
	Temporary (visitor and student)	3	5	4
	Stay and work (no citizenship)	65	24	44
	Citizenship (or of spouse)	32	71	52
Occupational role				
	Mangers or professionals	21	10	15
	Semi-professionals	59	62	60
	Less skilled occupations	6	19	12
	Unsalaried	15	10	12
Education				
	High school	18	5	11
	Vocational training	29	33	31
	University degree	53	14	34
Residency				
	Time in city < 3 years	50	14	32
	Time in city > 3 years	50	86	68
Independent migrant				
	Moved alone	32	33	33
	Move in with family or friends	68	67	67

Focusing Superdiversity Research

Regardless of how fuzzy the delineation of my research population was, I was clear about wanting to interview people who had moved internationally. This does not mean that I would exclude non-migrants from my study—a frequent criticism of research that does not include a resident control group. Rather, having moved internationally was seen as a necessary delimiter. The questions I was asking concerned post-migration sociality and its expressions amongst those quite literally categorised as 'other'.

Migration as an event implies (at least in principle) that people interviewed at some point had to establish new social contacts in the city they moved to. They forged their post-migration networks in a superdiverse context.

Through exploring the networks of my respondents it is possible to focus on migrants, while non-migrants (as well as returned-residents, internal migrants, and migrants from elsewhere) also remain part of the research as they are part of the networks being studied. Many of the individuals whose networks I discuss in the following chapters have non/elsewhere-migrant social contacts who also regularly participated in the social events I attended as part of my participant observation. Thus, the research is also informed by people who did not move internationally or who did so from different regional origins. The focus of this book remains with the sociality practices of my migrant interlocutors and respondents. To broaden this focus would have implied a different study that would have gone beyond the possible scope of the project. Keeping this in mind, this section engages with the question what specific challenges follow on from the high demand for relatively complex data that both a network approach and superdiversity lens demand?

Complexity is in part recognised by acknowledging and feeding into analysis new and ultimately more variables—not just a few more but many more. This is increasingly relevant for how we imagine and understand processes of diversification and the social saliences of difference. New technical advances and methodologies are promising to dig ever deeper into the types of complexities that are interesting to social scientists and interesting to those using a superdiversity lens. It remains to be seen how collecting data tailored to answering specific research questions develops with the social sciences currently being transformed by the increased availability—as opposed to scarcity—of social data. Working with complex data structures however does not absolve researchers from critically engaging with the variables and associated categories used. The questions we pose inevitably frame the research we do. Categories of practice and analysis (Brubaker 2013; Jenkins 1994) and the distinction between both remain important. This is so even if we are working with multidimensionally linked aspects rather than starting the research by focusing on one particular facet of differentiation. Developing increased clarity on what is measured why is crucial and gaining in importance as the stories we can tell as researchers depend on clearly documenting research decisions.

Perspectives alluding to complexity will always be more data intensive as they presume that the whole cannot be understood as a sum of its parts. Personal network interviews are a good example to highlight the challenges

of defining and delineating a project specific set of superdiversity variables at a still comparatively low key level. Specific sets of superdiversity variables are the product of practical constraints to collecting data and of analytical decisions about which aspects to include and exclude. Three considerations are particularly relevant. First, it is doubtful that anyone can claim knowing the universe of relevant aspects in any analysis—a 'full' set of superdiversity variables is unfeasible to aim for—particularly if we want to identify emergent patterns. In fact it is arguably part of the research process to delimit and develop relevant variables, making them amenable for analysis (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). This is particularly so if we aim to include trajectory differences in how we define and develop categories. Second, as long as we see value in interview based data—and to make sense of social data this is likely imperative even with an abundance of new data sources—we as researchers have to be able to reasonably assume that respondents can put into words those things we want to know about. Further, content intensive interviews will always go hand in hand with concerns over interviewee fatigue. In fact asking too many questions that respondents cannot make sense of with the sole purpose of including additional variables may result in unusable data. Finally, using many variables still requires to critically think about if and why it makes sense to combine certain aspects in the analysis—spurious correlations have a counterpart in spurious patterns. Claiming that something is relevant for co-consideration has to be supported logically as well as empirically. This underscores that there is not one set of superdiversity variables but that thinking about superdiversity as sets of variables encourages a critical engagement with how one defines and delineates a specific study. In the long run we should be wary of simply increasing dimensionality but not countering the tendency to get comfortable with the variables that we use. This then encourages us to pay close attention to how we develop, combine, and analytically configure specific sets of superdiversity variables—it encourages active reflexivity throughout the research process (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

A Practical Example of Delineating a Set of Variables

The methodological decision to build my research design around personal network interviews and to ask my respondents about a broad set of aspects made these challenges pertinently evident. I had to ask how to study migrant networks without reductively focusing on ethnic or non-ethnic ties. The simple answer was to ask about non-ethno-focal but migration

linked aspects. In deciding on the aspects asked about, I followed closely the original Vertovec article (2007) to operationalise the research pointed to. This gave me a starting point that was already ambitious in terms of developing a suitable interview instrument.

Migration trajectories, labour market trajectories, and legal status trajectories alongside demographic differences thus became the focus of how I wanted to delineate and operationalise my study's set of superdiversity variables. All of these aspects cannot be taken as givens. Each has been written about but particularly with regard to trajectory type variables there is little to no consensus on what ought to be considered in distinguishing different types of trajectories. There was also no 'superdiversity index' that would dictate how to measure differences. Eliciting superdiversity variables with a questionnaire and interview driven study design implied defining my questions so as to be able to include as many aspects of superdiversity as possible but to also be cognisant of the fact that I had to limit what I could ask about.

Ego-centric data elicitation, a specific subset of which is known as personal network data, are suitable for exploratory network analysis. Data collection can be undertaken even if the boundaries of the network to be studied are not predefined—a precondition for my research as I could not and did not want to presume a bounded network of Pacific people prior to commencing my research. While an ego-centric network is composed of all the ties one focal person has with other individuals called alters; a personal network more narrowly refers to the 'most active social ties, those who are socially "close", those with whom an ego exchanges social support or those who fill a specific role' (Marin and Hampton 2007:165). Personal network interviews collect data that is relational (describing the relation between egos and alters) while also accommodating a larger role for conventional attribute-based data (Marsden 2005).

In eliciting information about personal networks respondents (egos) are first asked about their own characteristics. For this I developed a self-administered questionnaire to reduce face-to-face interview time and could thus ask about a reasonably long catalogue of aspects. In the second part of these types of interviews the respondent names his or her contacts in response to questions asking about who they know. The questions I posed aimed to encourage respondents to think about people from different domains of their personal social engagement in the city. With those questions—also called name generator questions—I asked about people my respondents met regularly, about city contacts whom they would ask

for advice, but also about who comes to them for advice and about who was most important in the first few weeks of settling into the city. Finally I asked about those work contacts my respondents engaged with outside of work and those who helped them with their occupational advancement. In addition, as is common, I also asked about 'anyone else' so that respondents who felt that their social contacts were not well suited to one of the other questions could name contacts who they knew in the city. Interview partners were free to name the same person in multiple capacities. Asking 55 respondents about those types of local contacts and counting the individual city contacts named yielded information about over 660 contacts. The specific numbers of contacts named are found in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Numbers of names elicited with different name generator questions

(1)	Network size Mean: 12 Min–Max: 4–24	
		Mean %[a]
(2)	Alters named for:	
	NG 1—Regular social contacts	50.3
	NG 2—People trusted	26.5
	NG 3—Trusting people	29.3
	NG 4—First 2 weeks	18.4
	NG 5—Others	12.7
	NG 6—Work and social	13.0
	NG 7—Helped find work	10.2
(3)	Alters named more than once	37.3
(4)	Types of relationship	
	Close friend or friend	64.1
	Acquaintance or work	12.4
	Close family relations	9.8
	Distant family relations	11.6
	Other	2.1
(5)	Time known alters	
	One year or less	12.4
	Three years or less	21.9
	Ten years or less	26.6
	More than ten years	39.0

[a]Based on 660 dyads (distinct ego alter pairs) elicited with network interviews. Mean % refers to the average share of contacts named per interview in response to different questions, Because contacts were frequently named more than once (see 2) the average shares for different name generator (NG) questions do not add up to 100%.

The relational diversity that was already apparent in simply eliciting information about contacts is notable. Given this high number of individuals about whom I required information meant that I had to limit what I could ask about. To delineate my set of superdiversity variables, I would ask about the contacts' migration-related characteristics each alluding to the different trajectory aspects and demographic differentiations I was interested in. Had they migrated from a different country, how long they had been living in London or Toronto, where in the city were they living, in what type of job were they working, and whether contacts were holding a specific legal status? I also asked about ethnic background, age, gender, and about some life course aspects. With this register I was already putting significant strain on my respondents' time. The interviews required respondents to comment on each of the aspects just listed for each of their contacts named. Since a number of respondents named more than ten contacts choosing to ask about more variables—while likely important for understanding superdiversity—was unfeasible in terms of the burden put on respondents who were not paid or otherwise compensated for the time they devoted to answering my questions.

Clearly more aspects could have been asked about and some, such as highest level of education were excluded not because they were thought to be irrelevant, but to focus on aspects that I could reasonably assume respondents to know about the people they named. While it is often clear in what type of job a person works it may not be known whether they are working in a field commensurate with their educational attainments.[4] Asking about a broader set of superdiversity variables for egos and alters is not (yet) common practice (see Dahinden 2013 for a relevant exception) and with the set of superdiversity variables developed, keeping both breadth and feasibility in mind, I am able to empirically move closer to engaging with the notion of relational diversity through a superdiversity lens.

To reiterate, it is important to recognise that we might be able to consider more superdiversity aspects if feasible. It is now more and more common to streamline network interviews through computer facilitated applications (e.g., Gamper et al. 2012). Expanding the question catalogue can thus become more manageable.[5] However even if technology does increasingly facilitate the collection of data, the argument made in this section will remain the same: both in collecting data and in writing up research findings it is necessary to cast a critical eye towards which variables are developed, incorporated into analysis, and importantly why this

is done. With this example of how the set of superdiversity variables was developed for the study here presented, I have been able to explain that these sets can depend quite significantly on what is possible to ask about as much as on what breadth of aspects are thought to be relevant.

Two Fieldsites and Multiple Nestled Contexts of Superdiversity

To locate the research in contexts of superdiversity I conducted fieldwork in Greater London and the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). London served as the exemplar of superdiversity (Vertovec 2007) and was an obvious choice for a fieldsite. By also doing research in Toronto I wanted to complement the London data with insights from an urban area that in terms of official statistics had similar numbers of resident Pacific people and which in terms of the impacts of migration on the population composition of the city was exceeding the degree of diversification evident in London. Toronto is an urban area that has one of the highest shares of foreign-born residents in the global north (Brenton-Short and Price 2004). To test my research questions I thus chose two cities that could easily be identified as superdiverse contexts, in the sense that migration plays a notable role in the dynamics of change within the resident population.

Clearly, conducting fieldwork in these two cities was not done to follow contemporaneous calls for paying attention to differently scaled cities (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009, 2011) nor to 'rethink the list of the "great" cities' (Roy 2009:820). Much more profanely, the use of a dual-sited research design enabled me to contrast findings across cities and to evaluate how well the methods worked in both locations as well as to increase the number of respondents I could expect to participate in my research. At a small scale, I was aiming for a variation finding comparison that 'promises to help us make sense of social structures and processes that never recur in the same form' (Tilly 1984:146) rather than to identify two cities with equal patterns of superdiversity. The dual-sited approach and the process of identifying Pacific migrants in both cities resulted in interesting insights about what constitutes socialising opportunities in superdiverse contexts and how these differed in the two cities. I intentionally do not elaborate on this in extensive detail here (cf. Meissner 2013). Instead I want to emphasise, that the specificity of each city is accompanied by relevant parallels in contexts of superdiversity.

As stated, the intention behind implementing a two-city comparative design was to be able to identify mutually applicable patterns in the data, but also to facilitate identifying locally specific patterns of sociality. Local specificity however did not have to be confined to between city differences. The logic of comparison for this project is located at the middle ground between a universalist approach—seeking only generalisable laws—and a culturalist approach—rejecting the possibility of identifying any generalisable patterns (De Vaus 2009). The focus on complexity and the exploratory nature of the research prohibited a formal comparative approach (Peters 1998). Such a strategy would have required too many assumptions about the equivalence of the two cities as well as the causal factors shaping the social networks of small migrant group members.

The 'city as context' approach often used in studying local configurations of diversity emphasises paying attention to 'the unique features of particular cities in understanding the effects of immigration and resulting cultural diversity' (Foner 2007:1000; Brettell 2003)—this can be thought of as relevant beyond commonly researched cultural markers to include superdiversity variables. At the same time we need to critically engage with this idea of the city as (superdiverse) context. Overemphasising the exceptionality of a particular city is problematic in two regards. First cities, like states, are not bounded containers or neatly coherent units of analysis. Especially in situations where the urban is characterised by sprawl, within city specificities may diverge more than those between cities. Toronto, a city often celebrated for its ethnic neighbourhoods (Qadeer 2004), is in fact an agglomeration of many in-between spaces that are home to migrants from many places but still display a physical (in-)distinctiveness. This ranges from living areas amidst the central business district to urbanised former farmland—the latter with wide open spaces and cul-de-sac housing developments connected via large roads and infrequent public transport and few designated social spaces other than those focused on consumption. While the former hide between high-rising office buildings, with the odd park or playground facilities within walking distance.

In London, getting on the tube at Kilburn station just to emerge again from the depths of Elephant and Castles station some 30 minutes later having crossed the city from its north western but still relatively central part to its southern pendant, leaves one wondering whether it is indeed in the same city as the physical and demographic patterns that can be observed in the vicinity of each station clearly do differ. Some of this variation is lost in neighbourhood focused studies but it is relevant as different city dwellers

engage socially in these cities of varied superdiverse contexts—each shaped by perceived and actual increases in migration-related diversity in their own ways. In attending different social events together with my respondents it was notable that many would not confine their social sphere to a limited and thus specifically configured superdiverse context.

Beyond this there is a second consideration which is relevant. What makes comparative cross-context studies particularly interesting is that the difference of 'initial' conditions does not always result in differences of (relevant) outcomes. Both this point and the one just made about the nested character of superdiverse contexts should encourage us to pay attention to the merit of building analysis around cross-city similarities. To elaborate, let us think more about London and Toronto. Scholars who have previously carried out comparative research in both cities have tended to point to the differential opportunity structures available in the cities and countries within which they are located (e.g., Bashevkin 2006; Berns McGown 1999; Hopkins 2006). For example, Berns McGown, who researched the Somali community in both cities, argues that: 'Canadian political culture has been more successful and British political culture less so, in creating an environment of legitimacy and respect for immigrants and minorities' (Berns McGown 1999:161). These differences can be substantiated by considering the diverging colonial pasts of the two cities, with different patterns of in-migration, the different spatial distribution of migrants living in these cities and the different labour market opportunities channelling migrants into complex scatterings of socio-economic backgrounds. Last but not least, although both have acquired a multiculturalist policy framework, its manifestations have certainly differed in the two countries and consequently the two city contexts (cf. Kymlicka 2003; Reitz 2012 on why the Canadian case is distinctive).

If we were looking to see the two cities as different contexts there would be ample ground to identify them as such. This is in part also the case if we compare the available data on the taxonomic diversity of London and Toronto which has been collated by various commentators and here does not require repetition.[6] Yet, this data and my fieldwork in both cities do not only point to differences. I encountered significant similarities. Both cities are 'migrant magnets' in so far as they attract a relatively higher share of migrants than other areas in the UK or Canada (Krausova and Vargas-Silva 2013; Statistics Canada 2007). The census figures clearly suggest that those migrants come from everywhere in the world, and that there is a significant share of the foreign-born population who have migrated

in smaller numbers. In addition in popular debates and policy documents both cities are often framed through a trope that focuses on origin and cultural diversity leaving understandings of migration-related diversity notably ethno-focal.

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

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

Although it is debatable whether the locus and focus are indeed as separable as suggested in this discussion, this supports seeking a more general understanding of superdiversity contexts through contrasting and comparing in light of those broader parameters including the relevance of a certain habitual familiarity with migration-related diversity which I identified as a crucial component of where we might locate the emergence of superdiversity as a research field.

We could confine our analysis of London and Toronto as superdiverse contexts to describing how changing migration patterns and importantly changes in the migration regimes of the UK and Canada have resulted in superdiverse population configurations that are clearly different. Yet contextual analysis requires more attention to be paid to the parameters within which those configurations are relevant, and the ones we may focus on that show continuity across the cities are, for example, a certain everyday normality of ethnic difference, an ever-present mixing and mingling of people from different backgrounds (more so in some areas of each city and less so in others) and an elaborate diversity of spaces that are more or less amenable to social interactions. In other words, in framing London and Toronto as superdiverse contexts, for this book, it is necessary to recognise that they are both internally differentiated and constitute multiple nestled contexts

of superdiversity. On this basis it is possible to think about the networks of my respondents as forged in contexts of superdiversity and to explore patterns first in light of their multidimensionality rather than in light of how the patterns differ between the cities. In the next chapters I thus draw the two cities together in talking about relational diversity and how it is evident in the networks of my respondents from both cities. This is done because the question to be addressed in those chapters is not how do the cities differ but what types of patterns can we identify by engaging a superdiversity lens in developing empirical explorations of relational diversity.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored three challenges faced when implementing a superdiversity lens in applied research: engaging with the other category and studying non-putative groups; delineating a study's set of superdiversity variables; and deciding on the weight devoted to explicating the exceptionality of particular superdiverse contexts. I commenced by considering how a small group focus can be made amenable to working with a superdiversity lens which is proactively aiming to move beyond ethno-focal analysis. The argument I advanced is that a small group focus is feasible; however, this focus cannot rely on assuming a putative group or presume group cohesiveness. Instead there is scope to actively engage with the insights gained from larger group research. In designing studies that do focus on migrants moving in smaller numbers we can use arguments such as the need to commence research with categories rather than with groups to unite both the ability to focus on those who moved in small numbers and move beyond ethnocentric assumptions about research participants. The strategy employed for designing the research project this book is based on was to commence the research with a fuzzy category. Through this approach it was possible to delimit a focus on small numbers but to not assume that respondents, who participated in the research, would all equally well be described by or identify with my starting category. The main insight we can take away from this specific design is that it is indeed possible to console a superdiversity lens with a group(ness) focus—be it small or large—and that this can usefully complement other study designs that focus more on particular neighbourhoods or other multi-ethnic settings.

This discussion was followed by a secondary concern. Why in principle and how in practice, to delineate and expose the set of superdiversity variables of a particular study. I explored this process and explained that

for the present research the most evident challenge came from reducing the aspects asked about in a way that made it practicable to seek multivariate patterns that could then be explored in relational terms. A growing literature on superdiversity has already uncovered a number of additional aspects of superdiversity that require much more attention. As the number of superdiversity variables increases through empirical contributions, the delineation of variables will no longer be able to refer back to the original article in the same way it was still possible for the described project on the social networks of Pacific Islanders and New Zealand Māori. As I have shown because there are practical hurdles to overcome, the process of probing and justifying the specific sets will become ever more important in developing and expanding superdiversity as a malleable concept.

In the final section I made a case for why in considering superdiversity as a context we can—and should—engage not only with what sets different city contexts apart but also with the fact that contexts that may seem quite different may also be thought about as displaying relevant commonalities. These can make for a fertile ground to draw data from vastly different settings together. Such a combined city context approach to pattern exploration and engagement with the data is developed in the next chapter where some of the challenges discussed in this and the previous chapter are addressed in presenting the analysis of the data collected. Most of this analysis has to be understood as implementing some of the demands on superdiversity research in a quantitative way which often falls wayward in the discussion of details from more qualitative approaches.

Notes

1. Interviews were conducted between November 2009 and October 2010.
2. Source for London data: Office of National Statistics. 2011 Census: Data Table: QS203EW—Country of Birth (detailed).
3. Source for Toronto Data: Statistics Canada: 2011 National Household Survey: Data tables: Citizenship (5), Place of Birth (236), Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration (11), Age Groups (10) and Sex (3) for the Population in Private Households of Canada. Census Metropolitan Area: Toronto.
4. The response option not known was always offered to my interview partners in case they did not know one of the aspects asked about.
5. At the time when I started this research some of those developments were still nascent—especially in terms of touch based technologies. With little knowledge of the Pacific population in London and Toronto their

characteristics and levels of being comfortable with using new technologies, a pen and paper strategy was preferred for eliciting the data.

6. For London see particularly: Vertovec (2007); but also Aspinall (2012); Nathan (2011); Sepulveda et al. (2011); Kyambi (2005); for Toronto see Fong (2006); Newbold (2011); Murdie and Ghosh (2010); Anisef and Lanphier (2003); Boudreau et al. (2009) especially Chapter 5; and, although not Toronto or London focused, Reitz et al. (2009); Reitz (1988).

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CHAPTER 4

Visualising Relational Diversity—Finding Difference in Similarity

Abstract Relational diversity is operationalised in this chapter. A practical example to make sense of migration-driven diversity in relational terms is offered. To account for the relevance of superdiversity the analysis puts particular emphasis on migration-related markers of difference and the migration, labour market, and legal status trajectories of respondents are discussed. It is further emphasised that categorical diversity in a given population does not have to equal relational diversity. Measures of homophily and variation in the researched networks are considered to make this point. Finally the chapter shows and explains how a heatmap is a suitable visual aid in making sense of multidimensional homophily—an aid to seeing difference in similarities.

Keywords Multidimensional homophily • Visualising superdiversity • Migration trajectories • Legal status trajectories

Up to this point I have discussed the incentives in and challenges of approaching the description and ultimately the quantification of migration-related diversity in innovative ways. The qualitative literature on the topic has made significant headway and often cogently moves beyond ethno-focal interpretations. There is still ample room in attempting similar procedures drawing on more quantitative methods. While it is increasingly encour-

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aged to sample for diversity (Phillimore 2014), it is often in the analysis of the data—through commonly used categories and side-by-side descriptive statistics—that rigidity is reintroduced. We need to expand our repertoire of approaches for pattern identification in talking about migration-driven diversity. A move towards relational diversity is a step in that direction and a step towards thinking differently about difference. The mapping of relational diversity through a superdiversity lens can facilitate a quantifiable approach focused on diversity dynamics to better understand not just the momentary but the adaptive complexities of urban diversity. This is possible even in light of trajectory type variables considered here as crucial components within any set of superdiversity variables.

With this chapter I start to fully immerse in the analysis of the personal network interviews I conducted with Pacific migrants in London and Toronto to explore the analytical link between sociality practices and urban diversity in general. Diversity can be understood as relational in terms of the opportunities and constraints of meeting people in superdiverse contexts in this book, however, I focus on how personal network constellations can be seen as an indicator of the interconnectedness of multidimensional differences in the city.

Despite superdiverse contexts in principle allowing for the intermingling of diverse people, there is no reason why personal networks should be as diverse as the city. Members of numerically small groups who in principle should be able to interact with a disproportionately large group of 'others' will also be subject to this trend. This is due to structural constraints that prohibit or at least make the interaction of some individuals with others less likely, but also due to a tendency for people to interact with others who are like them. In the network literature this latter tendency is called the homophily principle. Homophily is one of the most documented findings from that literature (for an overview see McPherson et al. 2001). In this chapter I will use this assumption of being disproportionately the same as one's social contacts to make the argument that regardless of this sameness or, more appropriately, similarity,[1] we can find incredible variation if the analysis is moved from considering aspects of superdiversity separately, to considering them simultaneously. Through this analysis it is possible to show, as the heading of this chapter suggests, diversity in similarity. With the analysis I move forward with the use of data visualisations as a tool to help grasp the exposed patterns and complexities and as a tool to encourage active reader engagement with the presented data.

In the first section of the chapter I use descriptive analysis of responses to the pre-interview questionnaire to explore what I call *the potential for relational diversity* amongst my respondents. Only if there is some variation in terms of differences between respondents and the people they named as their social contacts, can we predict the possibility for relational diversity. By potential for relational diversity I thus emphasise, that categorical multiplicity within a population does not automatically imply relational diversity—it is only a precondition. Even if we can identify respondents and social contacts as a diverse sample of individuals, only through analysing the composition of my respondents' personal networks—their personal patterns of sociality—is it possible to establish if this potential is translated into relational diversity. This is a crucial point so let me repeat it—diversity amongst individuals (and within the urban population) is not necessarily an indicator of relational diversity. To demonstrate the potential for diversity, I first focus on variation between my respondents in light of the three trajectory aspects of superdiversity that are part of my set of superdiversity variables: migration, legal status, and labour market trajectories. I then contrast this individual migration-driven but not ethnicity dependent diversity with the same potential for diversity amongst the sample of city-focused social contacts named by respondents.

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

Potentially Diverse Networks

That trajectories differentiate and thus contribute to migration-driven diversity is a basic premise of superdiversity. Trajectory type variables imply that individual histories and circumstances of becoming a resident in some place—and projected plans for the future—play an important role in

understanding the social positioning of migrants. To integrate discussing migration, legal status, and labour market trajectories as part of migration-driven diversity, I here focus on how these types differentiations can be explored as contributing to that diversity.

Migration Trajectories

What the term 'migration trajectories' entails has not yet been sufficiently addressed in the literature. There is no set number of factors according to which the trajectory of one individual differs from that of another. What is clear is that migration trajectories in terms of social practices are linked to aspects that go beyond individuals moving from A to C via B. I focus here on three factors in particular, although I am aware that other aspects might be considered central to a person's migration trajectory. The aspects I analyse are: (1) whether this was an individual's first international migration, which in Fig. 4.1 below is denoted with the abbreviation 'fm'; (2) whether the respondent migrated alone (independent migration—'im'); and (3) whether respondents indicated that they see themselves moving

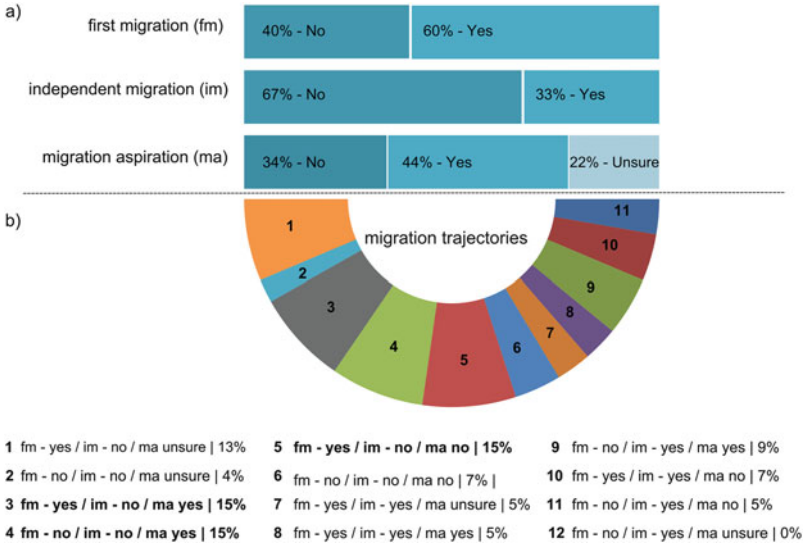

Fig. 4.1 Crossover between three aspects of migration trajectories. To access this figure online: http://socdiv.mmg.mpg.de/index.php/figures-chapter-4/#1

internationally again in the next ten years (migration aspiration—'ma'). I asked about all three aspects in my questionnaire and created dichotomous variables that indicate whether these applied or not. For predicting a future move I also included a category of 'undecided' for respondents who indicated that they were not sure 'where in the world they see themselves living in ten years'.[2] To emphasise the internal diversity within the migration trajectories, I then included the answers of my 55 respondents in both London and Toronto in a cross-tabulation to show the multiplicity of trajectories that can be identified on the basis of these three variables. Represented as three separate bar charts (Fig. 4.1a), differences in trajectories are less visible if compared to considering these as composites of all three variables (Fig. 4.1b).

Once we do consider those composites there are three more numerous combinations, but each accounts only for 15 % of the entire sample: (1) having migrated for the first time, not having moved alone and not having future migration aspirations; (2) having migrated before, not having migrated alone and aspiring to migrate again; and (3) having migrated for the first time, not having migrated alone and having future migration aspirations.

Identifying any one migration trajectory as particularly poignant is difficult and different factors play into how social aspirations can be actualised in the superdiverse contexts at destination. Clearly a person who has moved with family or friends is commencing their social engagement in a city in a different way to someone who has to find their footing on their own. Similarly, having experience of establishing oneself in a different context is as relevant for social engagement as are perceptions about the temporariness of one's stay. By recognising the multifacetedness of these simultaneous aspects of the migration trajectory, we can also recognise the part they play in diversification processes.

Legal Status Trajectories

During my fieldwork I noted the importance of the dual process of the impact of changing migration regimes and people moving through statuses in light of those regime changes. This observation implies two things: first, that access to, and the terminology for, possible legal status trajectories changes over time; and, second, that individuals living in a city move through their statuses under sequentially different conditions. This creates possibilities and constraints that are part of the contextual parameters for

this study that matter for patterns of sociality in a way that goes beyond considering whether an individual's current status limits their potential interactions with others (cf. Chimienti and van Liempt 2015). They are also relevant for understanding the sociality patterns in both cities and their comparability; a point I will return to at the end of the next chapter.

Keeping this in mind, to identify different individual trajectories amongst my sample of respondents, I first aggregated different legal statuses in very general terms. This was done to avoid ambiguity in comparability and to account for the different levels of abstraction at which respondents were able to identify their own and their social contacts' legal statuses. The four categories summarising the different statuses are (1) people with a work and residence permit; (2) people who hold citizenship or who are married to a citizen of their country of residence; (3) people who hold a visitor and student-type visa; and (4) those identified as being without a recognised legal status in relation to their country of residence. This aggregation is based on how legal status, if it came up in discussions—which it did frequently—was talked about during my fieldwork.

Having a pink passport in London[3] or 'the citizenship' in Canada was frequently associated with more stability but also at times with freedom of movement and the possibility to travel without administrative hassles. This sets this second set of categories apart from statuses that were not associated with citizenship. After all a Canadian or British Passport placed a number of my respondents in an improved position within the 'global mobility divide' (Mau et al. 2015). Being on a visitor or student visa—the third category—was sometimes seen as a step towards moving into one of the other categories. This was referred to as a much more temporary or specific purpose-based stay. Plainly, being without a status in relation to the host country had certain social limitations associated with it, as individuals had to work the system to continue their stay in the city. Within my sample of respondents no one falls into this last category; however, some respondents named social contacts that they thought were out of status. If we take the three applicable categories and compare movement between them from first arrival to the time of the completion of the questionnaire, we already see a number of different trajectories (see Table 4.1). These have to be considered in light of different lengths of stay but give an insight into which trajectories were more subscribed to.

Although no one moved to a visitor or student visa, there was movement between all the other categories. This includes two respondents who indicated having come on a visa associated with their spouse's citizenship

Table 4.1 Moving through visa categories

		Visa at time of questionnaire			
		Right to stay and work	*Citizenship (gained and of spouse)*	*Visitor/ student*	*Total*
Visa at arrival	Right to stay and work	22	10	0	32
	Citizenship (gained and of spouse)	2	9	0	11
	Visitor/student	3	7	2	12
Total		27	26	2	**55**

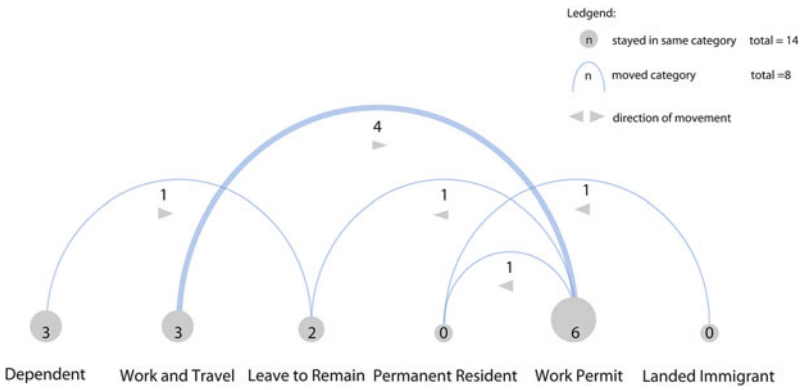

Fig. 4.2 Legal status trajectories within right to stay and work category. To access this figure online: http://socdiv.mmg.mpg.de/index.php/figures-chapter-4/#2

and who later moved on to indefinite leave to remain and to what the second respondent identified as a military visa (both grouped in the work and stay category). The largest number of respondents who remained within one of the three categories are those whose work and stay were not associated with a citizenship category (n = 22). Within this category we can still identify that individuals moved between statuses—we can identify different legal status trajectories. These can visually be shown using an arch diagram (Fig. 4.2). The diagram shows that while there are a number of respondents who remained in the same category (64%) there was also a number who changed status (36%). Looking at Fig. 4.2, it is immediately

obvious that in zooming in on this sub-sample the one trajectory that was followed most frequently was to move from a work and travel status into a work permit based status. This is not surprising, given the temporal and age restrictions associated to work and travel type visas. The figure also shows that there was some movement away from or into each of the subcategories. Overall, this supports the superdiversity argument that we should pay closer attention to how these status changes impact on patterns of sociality in the city, which thus far has rarely been considered in the literature (Bauböck 2012).

Labour Market Trajectories

Labour market experiences here serve as a final brief example of trajectory variation. Table 4.2 shows the different areas of work my respondents were engaged in based on the Standard Occupational Classification 2000 (SOC 2000). The table shows that the majority of my respondents worked in skilled occupations (61 %) but that there is a spread of other occupational groups as well.

Table 4.2 Number and percentage of respondents in different occupations

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

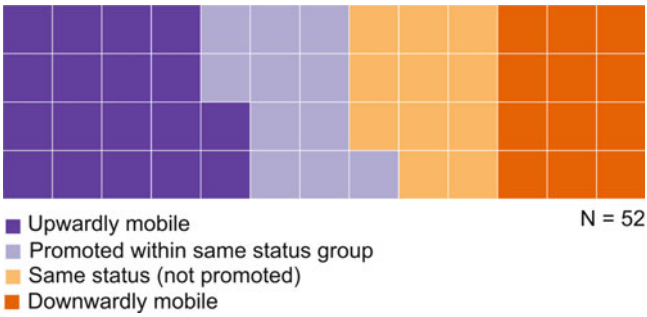

Fig. 4.3 Direction of occupational trajectories. To access this figure online: http://socdiv.mmg.mpg.de/index.php/figures-chapter-4/#3

Focusing exclusively on post-migration occupational mobility we can note that many of my respondents moved jobs during their stay in London or Toronto. Contrasting the two questions 'What was your first job after arrival in the city?' and 'What is your current job?' helps identify different trajectories of occupational mobility patterns. Of the 52 respondents who answered both questions, the majority (42.3 %, n = 22) stayed in the same occupational group but a substantive proportion were upwardly mobile (34.6 %, n = 18) while some respondents moved into a lower occupational group (23.1 %, n = 12). Of those 22 who stayed in the same occupational category half (50 %, n = 11) indicated that they had been promoted in their current job, adding to their personal post-migration occupational trajectory. This pattern is schematically represented in Fig. 4.3. Considering Table 4.2 and Fig. 4.3 conjunctively show that in terms of labour market trajectories, due to the multiplicity of areas of work and the direction of labour market mobility, overlapping and changing categorisations are almost unique to different individuals.

The Potential for Diversity amongst Social Contacts

Individuals named as social contacts differed in terms of their superdiversity attributes as well. As I pointed out, the potential for diversity in the sample of social contacts plays an equally important role to that identified

between my interview partners. To show the potential for diversity amongst the sample of contacts Table 4.3 relates shares of social contacts and how they are distributed across categories within variables similar to those just discussed with regard to respondents. The listed variables clearly do not allow for considering individual trajectory variation in the same manner.

As noted in Chap. 3 designing an interview instrument to elicit information about personal networks requires considering what respondents can reasonably be expected to know about their social contacts. In most cases we can assume that knowing the trajectory of a contact is less likely than knowing one's own personal history. This information was thus not asked about. To facilitate comparison in implementing a consistent set of superdiversity variables, respondents were asked about the time that their contact had lived in the city, whether a contact was born and raised outside the country of residence (both considered here as aspects related to the

Table 4.3 Potential for diversity amongst London and Toronto social contacts

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

migration trajectory of social contacts) as well as about visa category and occupational status.

Information about the sample of social contacts is summarised in Table 4.3. The table shows that there is some variation in the distribution of contacts across the different categories, although the higher occurrence of some categories (see bar charts in Table 4.3) can also easily be distinguished. In other words, while the potential for the networks to be diverse based on categorical variation of these migration-driven and characteristically trajectory type differentiations is evident amongst respondents *and* their social contacts, it is less explicit amongst the sample of social contacts.

Potentially Diverse?

I have insistently argued in favour of a simultaneous evaluation of different superdiversity variables in order to account for multidimensionality. The last section did rely on a side-by-side exploration of trajectory aspects. I now continue my analysis with a set of ten variables that I aim to consider simultaneously. They are listed in Table 4.4 where I summarise information about how exactly the variables are defined and provide frequencies of the attributed categories amongst both egos and alters. The table shows, that in broadening my set of superdiversity variables for the remaining analysis, I am including aspects that have been linked in the literature to the forging of same-category social ties as well as to the wider interpretations of superdiversity. The table is thus subdivided into the six broad superdiversity aspects: (1) migration patterns, (2) legal statuses, (3) labour market positions, (4) ethnicity, (5) age and gender patterns, and finally (6) life course patterns.

In exploring the potential for the networks to be diverse in the previous section, I deliberately did not make reference to ethnic diversity and instead focused my analysis on factors associated with my respondents having moved into the cities. This was done to show how migration-related diversity can be described without reference to ethnic differences. While it is necessary to avoid focusing exclusively on a singly defined understanding of migration-related diversity, people's ethnic background still remains an important issue playing an interlinked part in socialising practices. This is clear from how my respondents related to the Pacific people category with which I started my research and from its central role in the literature on post-migration social networks (e.g., Lubbers et al. 2007, 2010; Esser

Table 4.4 Variables included in the analysis

Superdiversity aspect	*Variable names*	*Categories in variable*	*n Egos*	*n Alters*
Migration	Migrant	Yes	54	433
		No	na	199
		Unsure	na	19
	Time in City	Less than 3 years	20	93
		3–10 years	13	209
		More than 10 years	21	325
		Unsure	na	24
Legal Status				
	Visa category	Right to work and stay	27	155
		Citizenship (of spouse)	25	438
		Visitor or student	2	4
		Out of status	na	8
		Unsure	na	46
Labour Market				
	Occupation	Highly skilled	8	166
		Skilled	33	246
		Semi-skilled	6	106
		Unsalaried	7	114
		Unsure	na	19
Ethnicity				
	Ethnicity	Pacific Islands (PI)	39	238
		New Zealand Māori	15	73
		New Zealand other	na	45
		Host country	na	137
		Other	na	158
	Pan-ethnicity	PI or New Zealand Māori	54	311
		New Zealand other	na	45
		Host country	na	137
		Other		158
Gender & Age				
	Gender	Female	23	318
		Male	31	333
	Age	Under 25	4	50
		25–35	22	262
		36–45	14	147
		46–55	7	87
		56–65	3	62
		Over 65	4	38
		Unsure	na	5
Life Course				
	Marital Status	Married	28	309
		Steady Relationship (Cohabiting)	9	124
		Single	14	150
		Divorced/Separated/Widowed	3	52
		Unsure	na	16
	Parent	Yes	37	273
		No	17	366
		Unsure	na	12

2001; Sanders 2002; Rogers and Vertovec 1995; Mollica et al. 2003; Martinovic et al. 2009; Ganter 2003).

A move beyond ethno-focal perspectives here is not thought of as having to result in disregarding the social relevance of ethnic difference. Instead the value of including the two ethnicity measures listed in Table 4.4 lies with locating them within and articulating a multidimensional appreciation of migration-driven diversity. The fuzzy category approach used to identify respondents calls for paying attention to pan-ethnic linkages. Patterns of pan-ethnicity are an interesting aspect to include in this discussion given the study's focus on the sociality practices of migrants who moved in smaller numbers—clearly patterns of pan-ethnicity debase ideas about smallness and highlight the relativity of group size. To create the pan-ethnicity variable, Pacific Islanders and New Zealand Māori are included in one category. It should be noted that respondents were asked to name their own ethnic background in the questionnaire and the 'family background' question in the ego-network interview elicited family background of contacts. It should be noted that social contacts identified as 'ethnic'—as having a non-host-country family background—are not necessarily also migrants. In fact 41.8 % of those social contacts identified as non-migrants (n = 199) were also named as having a family background elsewhere than the country of residence.

The How (or Not) of Diverse Networks—Homophily and Variation

Let us recall that the personal network of each respondent is made up of ego (the respondent), ego's alters (the social contacts named by respondents), and the connections between them (edges/ties). In an ego-centric network the ego by default knows all alters. Each ego and alter pair have a dyadic relationship, and the focus of analysis in the following is neither egos nor alters (as it was in the previous section) but the networks that are composed of those dyads.[4] The analysis thus moves to being relational, albeit still descriptive. The following analysis draws on the network concept of homophily and on the index of qualitative variation (IQV). The aim here is to illustrate whether and how the networks are diverse. I will start by discussing why I chose to include two different measures. To give some structure to the subsequent presentation of the data, I then first comment on predicted homophily scores and then on IQV scores. Thereafter I discuss how they interact and what this tells us about the diversity of the

networks. Finally, I use the homophily data to visually show diversity in similarity patterns by presenting the reader with a heatmap visualisation to independently evaluate the presented multidimensional patterns.

Why Two Different Measures

Homophily refers to the tendency for an individual to have social contacts with others who are like them. The opposite of homophily is heterophily—the tendency to have social contacts with others who are different from oneself. As already emphasised, homophily is one of the most established principles in network research (McPherson et al. 2001). The index of qualitative variation is an index which calculates the variance of categories within a group (Blau 1977). As each network constitutes a group made up of alters associated with one of the egos, the IQV can be used to compare how much variation of categories occurs in each network. But why would I want to draw on both measures in talking about relational diversity?

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

In the introduction to this book I argued for paying more attention to the fact that in superdiverse contexts the assumption of population homogeneity is difficult to maintain. By including both measures I want to emphasise here, in line with Wimmer and Lewis (2010), that if a homophily measure is applied it should be with the recognition that while we might expect that networks with some tendency for homophily should

be less varied, this does not have to be the case—in other words, the relationship between IQV and predicted homophily is certainly not a directly inverse one. More categories does not mean less sameness but at the same time a relatively high degree of sameness does not necessarily mean that there is no categorical variation in a network. Phrased differently, despite apparent network homophily, the remainder of the network contacts who are not the same as the ego may be from a variety of backgrounds. Equally, a very heterophilous network may be very homogenous if all the social contacts of that individual are the same category even though ego is different from them.

Contact theory, for example, suggests that more frequent interaction leads to reduced barriers between in- and out-groups, but there is no consensus on how much interaction is needed (Hewstone 2009). This means that it would be problematic to assume that measured network homophily necessarily hinders such a reduction of barriers, as a person might mainly interact with people who are like them but might also have a highly varied set of remaining social contacts. Vice versa, a network marked by heterophily may well be homogenous in terms of variation. Showcasing this interplay of different values will allow clarifying that the focus on same-type contacts can overstate the relevance of homophily in diverse contexts, especially if it is recognised that homophily is a common network attribute rather than an exceptional one.

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

Finally, it should be noted that as with most variables used for statistical analysis the estimation of predicted homophily and IQV is strongly determined by the attribute categories defined for each variable. The categories used are aggregates from responses to the face-to-face interviews and the questionnaire. When multiple responses were grouped together this was done based on insights gained during the interviews and participant observation, as was explained for the case of visa status aggregation in the previous section. Keeping this in mind is essential for interpreting the analysis presented in the remainder of this and the following chapter.

Predicted Homophily

Before considering how homophilous the sample of personal networks is across the ten variables included in this analysis, we need to recall that the homophily scores of different variables cannot be directly compared because different numbers of categories in each variable make it difficult to determine at what cut-off value the network ought to be described as homophilous—that is, as having more contacts of the same category than by chance—or not. In principle, estimating if a network ought to be classified as heterophilous or homophilous on a particular variable has to be seen in relation to the baseline homophily (McPherson et al. 2001, 419) which depends to the distribution of the respective categories in the population.[5] This could be elicited by determining the extent to which a specific category is representative of the population. With this information networks can be defined as being homophilous if an ego's contacts are like the ego to a proportion greater than the proportion at which that category is present in the population. This, however, requires defining the reference population. We could use available data for the population of the GTA and Greater London, but for a number of the variables included, in particular visa category and time lived in the city, this would not be possible since statistics are not available.

Additionally, because my sample of respondents itself is quite diverse and the objective of this chapter is to give a general overview and to talk about the average composition of networks in my sample rather than to look at specific individual networks or indeed differences between the two city samples, it is not possible to determine one specific cut-off value for all networks. The assumption is nevertheless made that all categories are evenly distributed. Networks are homophilous if the proportion of same-category contacts exceeds a cut-off value which corresponds to one

divided by the number of categories in the variable considered.[6] To give an example, a homophily score based on a dichotomous variable would be considered homophilous if the score exceeds 0.5, whereas a homophily score based on a three-category variable would be considered to be homophilous if its value exceeds 0.33. These cut-off values, together with the measured homophily range, mean, and median of the 54 networks included in the analysis,[7] is represented in Table 4.5, and the mean values across the networks and the respective cut-off points are plotted with the bar chart in Fig. 4.4.

Figure 4.4 shows that with an assumption of those cut-off values, homophily is a paramount identifier across the networks and across the variables. Even if a cruder value of 0.5 (indicating that half of the social contacts are the same as ego) is applied, six of the ten tested variables return a mean homophily score that indicates the presence of homophily. The highest mean value is recorded for gender and the lowest for occupational group. This suggests that overall egos named a higher proportion of same-sex ties than different sex ties, whereas overall they did not name a

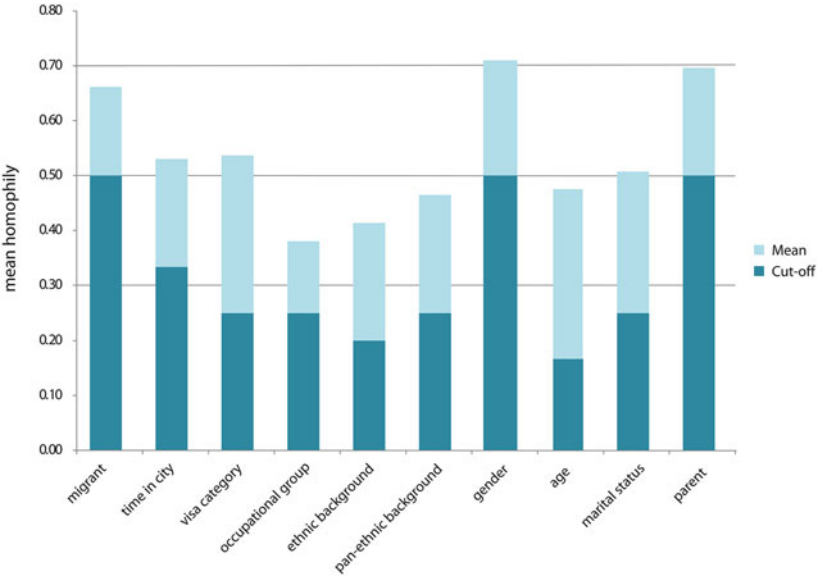

Fig. 4.4 Mean homophily values. To access this figure online: http://socdiv.mmg.mpg.de/index.php/figures-chapter-4/#4

high proportion of contacts in the same occupational group. Overall there is a greater tendency amongst my respondents to have same-category alters for those variables that have higher homophily scores (migrant, time in city, visa category, gender, marital status, and parent), and that tendency is smaller for those variables with lower scores (occupational group, ethnic and pan-ethnic background, and age). However, it is important to note that there is considerable variation between the personal networks of different individuals as is apparent from the range between minimum and maximum values recorded in Table 4.5.

Although for all variables a much larger number (approx. 76 %) of respondents show homophily in choosing their social contacts—not all do on all variables considered; clearly there are different patterns of homophily across the networks. A relatively even spread of this variation is indicated by median values that are close to mean values. In sum, Table 4.5 shows that homophily is by no means the exception amongst my respondents and that it is a measurable factor across the different variables, not only with regard to ethnicity. This, in addition to the homophily literature cited above, suggests that the presence of homophily in choosing social contacts is a fairly ordinary sociality pattern, even in contexts of superdiversity. Importantly, this is also the case for aspects of diversification that are migration-related but not directly linked to where people come from. As we progress with the analysis of this data it will become evident that aspects such as time in city and legal status homophily can usefully be linked to patterns of sociality and migration-related diversity even if they have so far only rarely been considered in the types of simultaneous analysis offered here (Dahinden 2013 offers one exception).

Index of Qualitative Variation

The distribution of the IQV can be represented well with the help of a boxplot which highlights the median, upper and lower quartiles but also shows outliers.[8] Since the IQV is a standardised index it is possible to plot the different variables in the same graph. Figure 4.5 shows how values differ both across networks (the span of each plot) and across the different variables (the divergent median values and differently shaped boxes and whiskers of the plots). The highest median (0.81) is recorded for gender (mean 0.70) and the lowest (0.47) for visa status (mean 0.42).

Table 4.5 Homophily across the 54 networks

	Minimum	*Maximum*	*Mean*	*Median*	*Cut-off*	*Difference cut-off to mean*	*n homphilous*	*n heterophilous*
Migrant	0	1	0.66	0.70	0.50	−0.16	41	13
Time in city	0	1	0.53	0.51	0.33	−0.20	33	21
Visa category	0	1	0.54	0.56	0.25	−0.29	40	14
Occupation	0	0.9	0.38	0.35	0.25	−0.13	37	17
Ethnicity	0	1	0.41	0.50	0.20	−0.21	39	15
Pan-ethnicity	0	1	0.46	0.50	0.25	−0.21	42	12
Gender	0.25	1	0.71	0.71	0.50	−0.21	46	8
Age	0	1	0.48	0.44	0.17	−0.31	47	7
Marital status	0	1	0.51	0.54	0.25	−0.26	43	11
Parent	0.3	1	0.70	0.69	0.50	−0.20	43	11
								N = 54

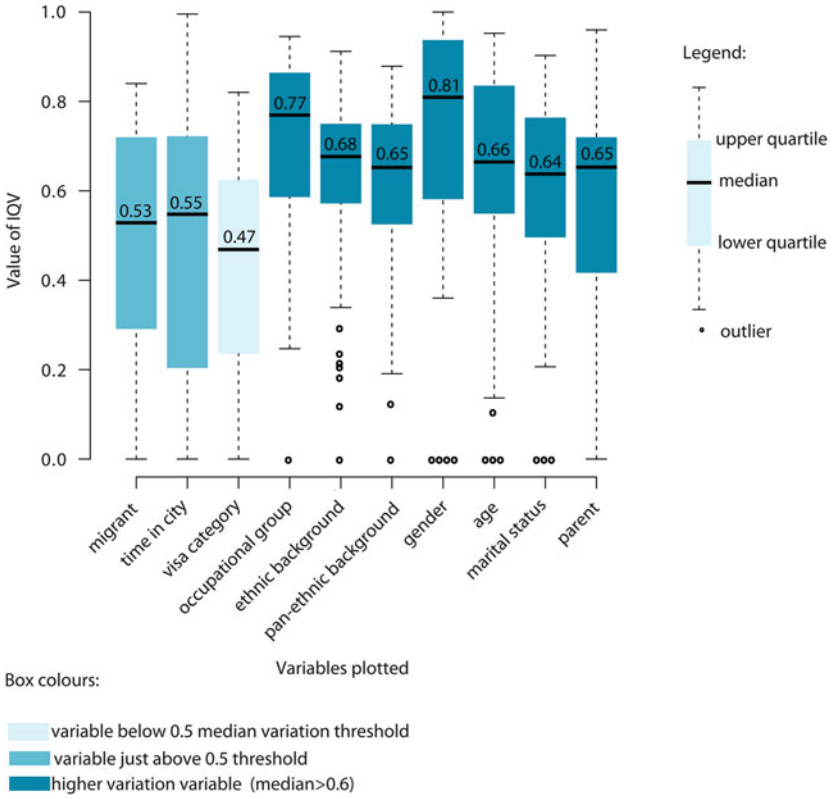

Fig. 4.5 Boxplots for IQV distribution. To access this figure online: http://socdiv.mmg.mpg.de/index.php/figures-chapter-4/#5

That gender is both registering relatively high values for homophily and qualitative variation may seem surprising. Yet what this pattern suggests is that despite the prevalence of same-gender ties, the majority of respondents still named both men and women in response to my name generators, some even in equal numbers (IQV = 1). This is why it is possible that overall we note relatively high homophily and relatively high variation on this variable. This finding in itself is thus not surprising, but what is interesting for this and for the other variables is that

the values vary strongly across the respondents' networks. To use the example of gender again, while some respondents' networks have an IQV score of one (n = 2)—indicating an equal number of same-gender and different-gender ties—there are also four networks that consist of only same-sex alters (outliers in the respective boxplot). For the example of visa status, the lower median IQV value suggests that overall there is less variation in the networks on this measure, meaning that respondents more frequently named alters from just one visa category. The sample of 54 personal networks considered here consists of ten networks that are marked by no variation on visa status. This can be attributed in part to how the different statuses were grouped (see above), but despite the broad grouping of categories there are 44 networks displaying different levels of variation, with IQV values ranging from 0.13 to 0.82. If an arbitrary 0.5 median threshold is used to distinguish between high-variation and low-variation variables, we can see that out of the ten variables tested, nine can be described as high variation. Out of those nine, two are just above the threshold.[9] This generally high qualitative variation suggests that the potential for relational diversity is translated into actual diversity, albeit not for all respondents' networks nor for all of the variables.

Comparing IQV and Predicted Homophily

To compare the outcomes of predicted homophily and IQV, Fig. 4.6 presents the relationship between predicted homophily and IQV using scatterplots. If homophily is directly inverse to qualitative variation, which is what one might expect intuitively under the assumption that the most diverse networks by variation would also be the least homophilous ones, then the values for homophily should also be directly inverse to those describing the qualitative variation in my respondents' networks', that is, the values should be ordered along the diagonal line visible in each scatterplot. However, this is not the case. If we recall how the variation in each network is calculated, the relationship between qualitative variation and predicted homophily is actually a curvilinear one.

The general pattern we observe across the different variables is that variation is higher in those networks that have a homophily score of approximately 0.5 (half the contacts named are the same as the ego and the other

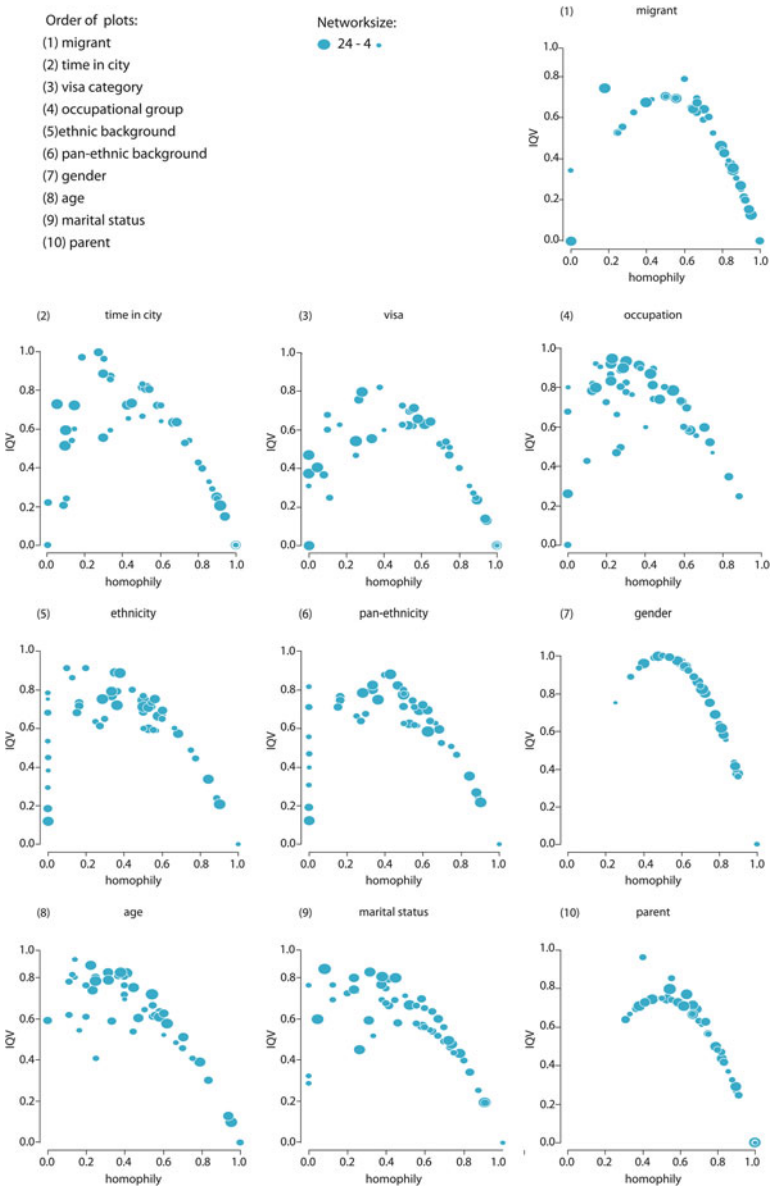

Fig. 4.6 The relationship between predicted homophily and IQV. To access this figure online: http://socdiv.mmg.mpg.de/index.php/figures-chapter-4/#6

half is not) and that, as expected, the IQV declines as homophily increases. This pattern is most clearly visible for gender homophily and those variables based on fewer categories in which the ego and alter may vary (migrant and parent). For the other variables it is also visible but the pattern is more scattered. If we take the example of visa category, we can see that while there are a number of networks that score zero on homophily—in other words there are multiple respondents who only named alters who are on a different visa category—their networks differ in terms of the variation of categories. One network is plotted with a zero score on homophily and IQV, that is, this one person only named people with same visa category (citizens) which was different from his own status (right to stay and work). This shows that his network is both heterophilous and not diverse in terms of variation. In comparison there are other networks where the egos named only alters who were different from themselves, but they did name alters with different visa statuses (as the higher than zero IQV value suggests). In addition the scatterplots show that there is no apparent relationship between network size and IQV or predicted homophily scores. The radius of the circles is scaled in reference to the network size, but there are smaller and larger networks inhabiting similar IQV and predicted homophily values.

Using two scores thus shows that a relatively high degree of sameness does not always imply a correspondingly low degree of variation—even if as a general pattern this relationship does hold for the present sample. It is worthwhile to think about both measures of variation and of homophily in contemplating the types of complex patterns we can point to and that there are different ways of framing relational diversity.

Diversity in Similarity—Multidimensional Homophily

A point that I have repeatedly emphasised in this book has been the overlap of different categories and how this is an important aspect in thinking about relational diversity through a superdiversity lens. Before concluding I therefore want to draw attention to how this overlap, which differentiates the networks, can be represented visually by drawing on homophily scores only but keeping the relationship between homophily and IQV in mind. The rather fuzzy patterns and the large range of outcomes for the different networks suggest that individual networks have different homophily patterns. Those patterns can be described as *multidimensional homophily*, as they show differentiation along a number of different axes. This is rarely

considered, but what could be expected is that some networks are more homophilous on one variable and less so on another, and that there might be patterns that distinguish different networks though this simultaneity. For example, it would be reasonable to expect that respondents naming primarily same-occupation contacts (assuming an ethnically diverse work environment) would have more ethnically diverse networks. These types of patterns can only be identified if homophily scores are plotted by network and variable, as done in Fig. 4.7 with the help of a 'heatmap'. This is a type of visualisation that thus far has not been used for the purpose of looking for concurrent patterns in multidimensional forms of migration-related difference in networks and in extension for describing and visually explaining urban migration-related diversity.

To explain how to read the graphic, each column represents one network and the rectangles in each row represent one of the variables. The shading of each rectangle depends on the measure of homophily for that network (column) on the respective variable (row). Darker rectangles indicate network homophily and lighter rectangles indicate network heterophily. The rows of respondents' networks are sorted according to the value on the first variable, which for this analysis is homophily with respect to whether respondents named other migrants, with the highest score on the left and the lowest score on the right.

By clicking on the link below Fig. 4.7 the reader will be able to explore this graphic in more detail and reorder the pattern by the different aspects that are listed in this printed representation of multidimensional homophily.[10] The interactive visualisation can be used to think about and arrange the data in accordance to interesting research questions. Using the interactive components of the visualisation it is possible to reorder the data and to for example note that those individuals with only same-ethnic ties mostly have otherwise quite differentiated networks. Observing the patterns move and change can then help to actively think of them as multidimensional. In using the interactive version of the heatmap readers can also engage with ideas about the represented diversity in similarity. If the respective data was available how could the visualisation be expanded to also visualise change overtime in the presented patterns. In addition including information on each network elicited allows contemplating that this heatmap can also be considered in terms of the specific stories of individuals forging networks and how they forged their networks in contexts of diversity. This suggests that there is scope to expand and further develop the use of mapping migration-driven diversity in novel ways.

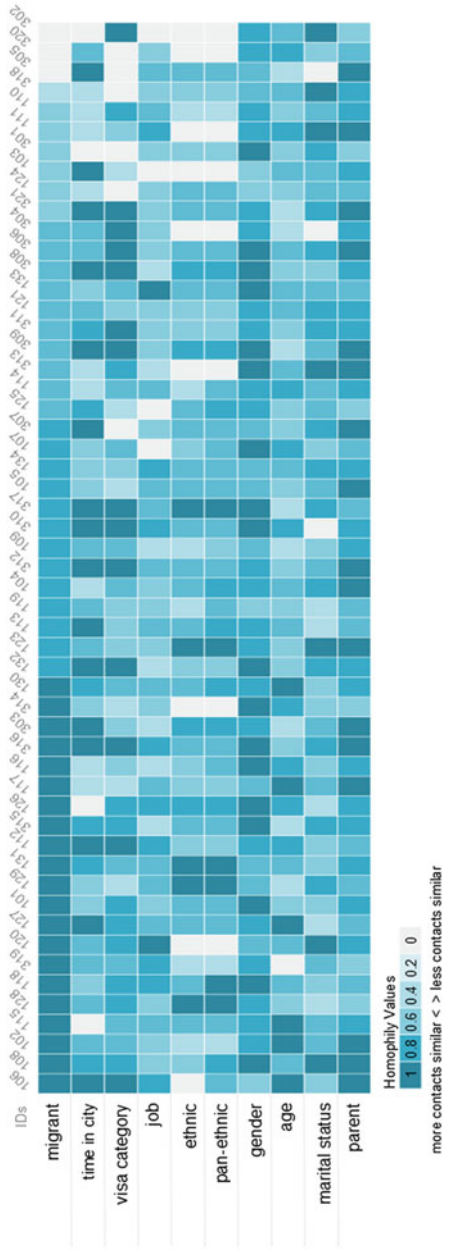

Fig. 4.7 Heatmap of multidimensional homophily patterns. please use the interactive version to explore the data: http://socdivheatmap.mmg.mpg.de/

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

Figure 4.7 shows that by drawing on network measures it is possible to discuss the complexity of the network patterns in an abstract way which incorporates categorisations, not by enumerating different 'groups' living in a superdiverse context but by considering how these categorisations are interlinked in individual networks. In addition the visualisation makes it possible to consider these interlinkages with reference to multiple aspects of superdiversity simultaneously. This complexity would be even more evident if the dissolution and creation of social ties and differentiation in terms of trajectories was also considered. In this vein it is possible to move to a different conception of urban diversity as relational rather than categorical with multiple saliences and continually changing patterns. It is then possible to argue that although the diversity of the cities is clearly of a different order from the diversity of networks, they have a degree of complexity in common which would be difficult to establish with a single track focused understanding of diversity. To emphasise this point such a single-track understanding is visualised in Fig. 4.8, which—to good effect—shows just the first row from Fig. 4.7.

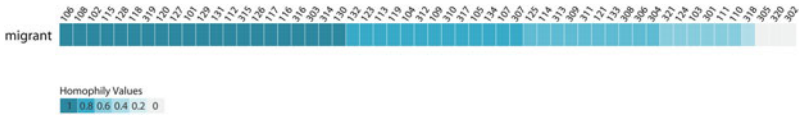

Fig. 4.8 Homophily patterns restricted to a single aspect (share of migrants in networks). To access this figure online: http://socdiv.mmg.mpg.de/index.php/figures-chapter-4/#8

The difference between these two graphics is telling and supports the idea that a simultaneous focus on multiple superdiversity factors is possible, and that neglecting this may mean missing the interesting questions which can be asked based on Fig. 4.7 but that are not apparent in investigating Fig. 4.8. For instance, how can these different patterns be disentangled to identify new ways of talking about post-migration social networks? How can we move beyond a language that is working from ethnicity out? This is a question that I address in the following chapter.

Conclusion

In this chapter I focused on whether, despite the tendency for individuals to interact with people who are like them, it is possible to identify diversity within network similarity. To answer this question the analysis in this chapter first explored the potential for diversity amongst my interviewees and amongst their social contacts. Given this potential and the theoretical assumption that more heterogeneous contexts also foster more heterogeneous social relations in terms of how ego and alter compare on a number of different social categories, it was nonetheless shown that within my sample of respondents homophily is a prevalent tendency across the superdiversity variables included in the analysis.

By presenting and contrasting the similarity patterns and variation patterns between personal networks I could clearly make the argument that despite tendencies towards homophily, amongst my respondents, the apparent similarity did not necessarily imply homogenous networks. In other words, knowing more people who are in the same category than one would by chance expect, is not in contradiction to one's network having been composed in and reflecting a superdiverse context.

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

patterns documented in this chapter with the help of a fuzzy cluster analysis, in this sense the following chapter can be thought of a sequel to this chapter.

Notes

1. Similarity is more appropriate because in most cases categories used for analysis can be subdivided into subcategories as the initial descriptive analysis will show, thus at times individuals might be identified as being the same as their social contacts but if more differentiated categories were used this sameness would actually only signify similarity.
2. I am not making the assumption that the intentions to move are predictive of future migration. The assumption made, based on ethnographic data, is that migration aspirations or uncertainties do impact on the social engagement at destination.
3. Mostly contrasted with the dark blue colour of, for example, the New Zealand Passport.
4. To be clear, a dyad refers to two nodes (here ego and one alter) linked through a social tie.
5. McPherson et al. distinguish this from inbreeding homophily which is homophily 'measured as explicitly over and above the opportunity set' (2001: 419) and conceptually related to more contextual aspects than those considered at the population level. Both play a role in interpreting the patterns to be presented here.
6. Here the 'unsure' category is not considered in estimating those cut-off values in order to use a more conservative measure and thus avoid overstating the relevance of homophily. It is assumed that ego and alter were not in the same category and ego was unsure about which category to attribute to one of their alters.
7. The necessity of variance to calculate network scores is the reason why the remaining analysis is focused 54 of my 55 interviews. One London based respondent chose to only name a single local contact and thus the measures used here could not be sensibly calculated for his network.
8. Outliers are those cases that take a value more than one and a half times lower or higher than the rest of the sample.
9. This is also reflected in the differential colour shading of the plots.
10. Instructions on reordering the heatmap are provided online.

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CHAPTER 5

Disentangling Multidimensional Homophily and Describing Migrant Networks in Contexts of Superdiversity

Abstract Multidimensional homophily exposes difficulties with thinking about migrant networks in terms of single aspects of migration-driven differentiations. How can we account for the multidimensionality that superdiversity demands and move beyond concluding that things are more complex? In this chapter a fuzzy cluster analysis of homophily patterns is presented as facilitating a data-driven delineation of different types of migrant networks—where the focus is not on one aspect of superdiversity but on multiple. Thus four types of networks are identified: city-cohort, long-term resident, superdiverse, and migrant-peer networks. Each is discussed in light of the networks that are sorted into the cluster. The fuzziness of clusters is considered as well as the relevance of London and Toronto as the two contexts where networks were forged.

Keywords Fuzzy cluster analysis • Migrant-peer networks • City-cohort networks • Long-term resident networks • Superdiverse networks

The heatmap presented in the previous chapter shows relational diversity in a clear and accessible way. In its interactive version it provides the option to reorder the patterns by different superdiversity variables. This facilitates developing questions about multidimensionally configured relational diversity. The primary advance of the heatmap is to clearly show otherwise

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less accessible and relatively complex patterns. Each network visualised has a different pattern of homophily scores—if we consider multiple aspects of superdiversity simultaneously. Thus the visualisation shows, why over-emphasising any one aspect in describing migrant networks is unduly simplistic—if migrant networks are the topic of research more often than not the analytical focus was on ethnic sameness. However it is not readily deducible from the heatmap what alternative ways of describing and making sense of individuals' post-migration networks could be. This chapter draws on the homophily data introduced in the previous chapter to find novel ways of describing migrant networks. It thus moves beyond pointing to the complexities of urban migration-related diversity but instead engages with its dynamically constituted patterns.

To disentangle and identify patterns that can provide a multidimensional appreciation of migration-driven relational diversity, I use a cluster analytic approach. Four clusters are identified using a fuzzy cluster analysis: *long-term resident networks, migrant-peer networks, superdiverse networks, and city-cohort networks.* Built around this analysis the chapter is composed of four substantive parts. In the first, I discuss why this analytical approach is a suitable strategy for disentangling the complexity of relational diversity the way it was operationalised in the previous chapter. In the second part I present the results of such an analysis and describe the clusters identified. This sheds light on the different sociality patterns of migrants from my sample. In a brief third part I estimate how the fuzziness of the clusters identified makes it possible to reintroduce complexity by considering the partial membership of individuals in each cluster and I revive the question engaged with in Chap. 3 about the relevance of London and Toronto as two different but also similar contexts of superdiversity. I ask how this can be read in the distribution of networks forged in the different cities across the cluster. Those final pointers are used in the conclusion to describe the need to further develop ideas about relational diversity and the dynamics of diversity it points to.

Clustering Homophily

How can the patterns presented in the previous chapter be ordered in a way that promotes an analytical appreciation of multidimensional homophily? More specifically, given the efforts devoted to investigating social outcomes for single-aspect sameness (e.g., ethnic homophily), how does investigating the multilayered similarity between individuals and

their social contacts help with developing a non-, or at least less, ethnofocal analysis of socialising patterns in superdiverse contexts? In this chapter I conduct a cluster analysis as one possible way of approaching this task. The intention behind using this type of pattern detection analysis is to derive analytical groupings on the basis of the data presented in the previous chapter. Clustering techniques as a data-driven approach complements relational typologies based on, for example, patterns of network capital (cf. Dahinden 2013) and helps foregrounding diversity dynamics. In the following I briefly explain the basic principles of cluster analysis and why I decided to use a fuzzy clustering method. I then review the variables included in the analysis. Finally, I present the four clusters identified: (1) *city-cohort networks*, (2) *long-term-resident networks*, (3) *superdiverse networks*, and (4) *migrant-peer networks.*

Cluster Analysis—The Basics

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

On the one hand, cluster analysis is well suited to identifying whether there are patterns of homophily across the multiple aspects considered. On the other hand, given the emphasis in this book on the complexity of socialising processes, it seems counterintuitive to further reduce data complexity by ordering cases into crisp clusters.[1] In comparison to other clustering techniques, fuzzy cluster analysis involves calculating the degree to which each case is a member in each cluster. In an applied sense, a fuzzy cluster analysis produces a membership matrix in which each case is assigned a membership coefficient for each cluster.

Expressed in percentages, these must add up to 100 % for each case (Höppner 2000).[2] Thus it is possible to define cases as being more or less in one or another cluster. The output can be used to do both, to find and describe patterns in the data; but also to appreciate that these patterns do not apply evenly across all cases. There are few examples of similar studies trying to identify alternative ways of describing migrant networks that take multiple migration-related aspects of differentiation into account. I can see a broader usefulness of considering how pattern detection can facilitate a quantification of diversity along different lines than the comparatively simple category based enumeration of difference which I identified as a prominent hallmark in the study of migration-driven diversity.

Variables of Superdiversity and Fuzzy Cluster Analysis

I will only comment briefly on the variables used for the cluster analysis, as they are explored in depth in the previous chapter. To recall, the homophily index used measures how often respondents identified themselves in the same category as their social contacts.[3] In other words, it measures proportionally how often they are the same as, or depending on the definition of categories, similar to their social contacts. Cases ordered by cluster analysis are thus based on information describing the categorical composition of personal networks. The analysis does not include information about individual respondents or dyadic relationships within the networks. In the following I concentrate on relaying the results of the final analysis. Endnotes are used to point to analytical decisions made prior to running the final analysis and can be consulted for more detail. The eight[4] homophily indices included are listed in Table 5.1.

To facilitate comparison between the sample and the clusters (see figures and tables in the following section), Table 5.1 also recapitulates the categories in which respondents can differ from their social contacts, the samples mean homophily, the standard deviation from the mean as well as minimum and maximum values. Conducting a cluster analysis with index values has the advantage that all the variables included in the analysis are measured on the same scale and it is not necessary to weight or standardise the values to account for differences in measurements. It is thus possible to immediately analyse the results.

Table 5.1 Overview of variables included in the cluster analysis

Variables included	*Sample mean*	*Standard deviation*	*Min*	*Max*	*Categories*
Migrant	0.66	0.27	0	1	Yes/no/unsure
Time in city	0.53	0.34	0	1	Less than 3 years/3–10 years/more than 10 years/unsure
Visa	0.54	0.34	0	1	Right to work and stay/citizenship (of spouse)/visitor or student/out of status/unsure
Occupation	0.38	0.22	0	0.89	Highly skilled/skilled/semi-skilled/unsalaried/unsure
Ethnicity	0.41	0.28	0	1	Pacific Islands (PI)/New Zealand Māori/New Zealand other/host country/other
Gender	0.71	0.17	0.25	1	Female/male
Age	0.48	0.26	0	1	Under 25/25–35/36–45/46–55/56–65/over 65/unsure
Parent	0.70	0.20	0.31	1	Yes/no/unsure N = 54

Four Fuzzy Clusters

A four-cluster solution was identified as most suitable for the sample data.[5] To distinguish the extent to which the clusters differ and to assess which aspects most determine how to interpret the cluster solutions, the cluster medians were explored and the cluster means compared to those of the sample to describe how the clusters differ from the entire sample across all the homophily variables.

A Spectrum of Factors—Sample Averages and Cluster Averages

A first task in looking at how the clusters differ across the homophily variables included in the analysis is to look at the range of values for each variable in each cluster. The ranges between the minimum and maximum values are noted in Table 5.2. For some aspects of superdiversity these

Table 5.2 Cluster-specific range of homophily values

Variables included	*Minimum and maximum*								*Range*			
	CL 1		*CL 2*		*CL 3*		*CL 4*		*CL 1*	*CL 2*	*CL 3*	*CL 4*
	Min	*Max*	*Min*	*Max*	*Min*	*Max*	*Min*	*Max*				
Migrant	0.00	0.95	0.40	1.00	0.00	0.83	0.56	1.00	0.95	0.60	0.83	0.44
Time in city	0.30	1.00	0.43	1.00	0.00	0.42	0.00	0.69	0.70	0.57	0.42	0.69
Visa	0.00	0.62	0.73	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.05	0.75	0.62	0.27	1.00	0.70
Occupation	0.00	0.62	0.13	0.75	0.00	0.63	0.00	0.89	0.62	0.63	0.63	0.89
Ethnicity	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.89	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.75	1.00	0.89	0.50	0.75
Gender	0.33	0.80	0.25	1.00	0.40	1.00	0.48	1.00	0.47	0.75	0.60	0.52
Age	0.00	0.58	0.11	1.00	0.25	0.79	0.40	1.00	0.58	0.89	0.54	0.60
Parent	0.31	1.00	0.50	1.00	0.33	0.88	0.41	1.00	0.69	0.50	0.54	0.59
												N = 54

ranges can still differ quite strongly[6] and it is difficult to identify cluster-specific patterns. A clearer pattern can be read from the mean and median values. The arithmetic mean, which returns the average homophily value for a specific variable and cluster, is generally slightly below or above the value of the median, which returns the most central value from the range. The median can be considered a more robust measure for describing the central tendency of values for a cluster, as it is not affected by networks that should be considered outliers in terms of the respective variable but that were ordered into the cluster because, overall, the network is still close to the other networks in the cluster.

A median or mean closer to zero suggests heterophilous tendencies, whereas a value closer to one suggests homophilous tendencies, and those medians or means closer to a 0.5 value can be interpreted as suggesting that roughly half of the social contacts named were in the same category as the ego. With this in mind we can construct a cluster-specific heatmap on the basis of the median values for each variable and each cluster (see Fig. 5.1).

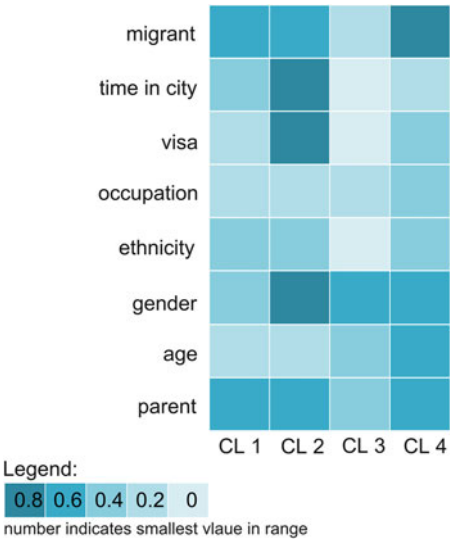

Fig. 5.1 Heatmap of homophily profile of clusters (based on cluster medians). To access this figure online: http://socdiv.mmg.mpg.de/index.php/figures-chapter-5/#1

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

These patterns should however be explored in relation to the sample. Here it is useful to refer to the cluster and sample mean to acknowledge that an outlier in the cluster does not necessarily have to be an outlier in the sample. This comparison of cluster and sample means can then be used as a proxy to identify if cases sorted into a particular cluster are on average relatively more or less homophilous. This is particularly important if we recall that estimating whether a network ought to be classified as heterophilous or homophilous on a particular variable depends on its baseline homophily, which refers to the distribution of the respective categories in the population. It is not assumed that the sample average corresponds to a population average (however, that population is defined).[7] Comparing cluster compositions to the sample composition provides a benchmark for describing the clusters in relative terms.

The data in Table 5.3 can then be used to develop an exploratory typology by identifying in which direction and by how much each cluster differs from the sample in terms of each homophilous aspect. To simplify the interpretation of Table 5.3, the corresponding Fig. 5.2 is a schematic representation of the table which sorts the differences into five categories:

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

Table 5.3 Comparing cluster and sample means

	Mean								
	S	*CL 1*	*CL 2*	*CL 3*	*CL 4*	*S−CL 1*	*S−CL 2*	*S−CL 3*	*S−CL 4*
Migrant	0.66	0.69	0.70	0.27	0.80	−0.03	−0.04	0.39	−0.13
Time in city	0.53	0.66	0.86	0.14	0.26	−0.13	−0.33	0.39	0.27
Visa	0.54	0.29	0.91	0.27	0.53	0.25	−0.37	0.27	0.01
Occupation	0.38	0.32	0.39	0.34	0.45	0.06	−0.01	0.04	−0.07
Ethnicity	0.41	0.52	0.46	0.16	0.39	−0.10	−0.05	0.25	0.02
Gender	0.71	0.59	0.77	0.72	0.76	0.12	−0.06	−0.01	−0.05
Age	0.48	0.32	0.41	0.49	0.68	0.15	0.06	−0.02	−0.21
Parent	0.70	0.68	0.77	0.54	0.72	0.01	−0.07	0.15	−0.02
N/Sum of differences	54	15	16	8	15	0.34	−0.87	1.46	−0.19

S = sample and CL = cluster

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

Broadly speaking, Fig. 5.2 shows that having started the analysis not focused on one particular aspect of differentiation we can now see how the salience of differences is varied in the clusters generally across different aspects. This underlines the focus on multidimensionality as a central aspect of considering different similarity and difference patterns.

Importantly, the 'time lived in the city' and the visa status variables, two non-ethno-focal superdiversity variables related to migration, but not necessarily to where migrants have come from, play an important role across most clusters and are relevant for distinguishing different patterns of sociality. It should here be noted that in the literature, time of residence has been dealt with especially with reference to theories of assimilation; however, it is difficult to apply those lines of argument in superdiverse contexts (cf. Alba and Nee 2003). Notably aspects frequently discussed with reference to (post-migration) friendship choices, such as ethnicity, having migrant friends and gender (McPherson and Smith-Lovin 1987; cf. Rivera et al. 2010), only suggest higher or lower homophily than the sample for one or two clusters.

Interestingly, Fig. 5.2 also suggests that the cluster analysis in relative terms, with the sample as the reference population, again shows that in

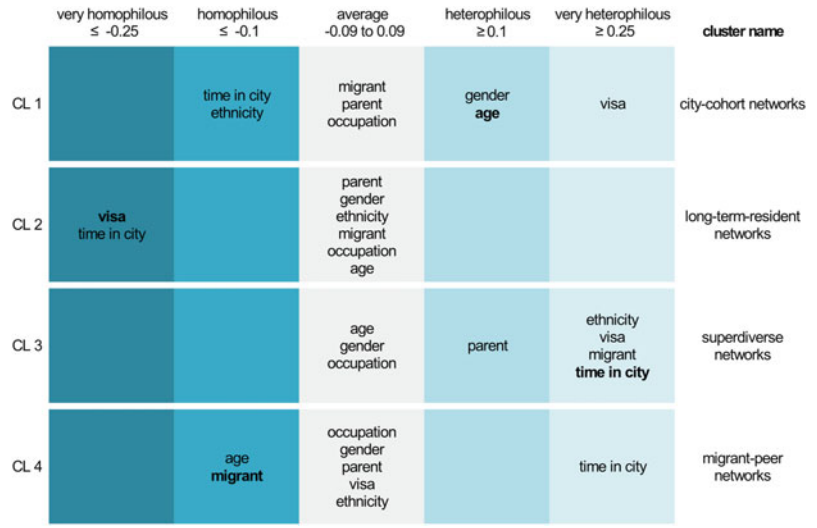

Fig. 5.2 Comparing cluster and sample means: schematic representation. To access this figure online: http://socdiv.mmg.mpg.de/index.php/figures-chapter-5/#2

focusing on similarity patterns of a particular aspect we may disregard how this stands in relation to the simultaneous dissimilarity in the networks. Given a previous focus in the literature on migrants being the same as their social contacts we have to consider how we can discuss a general trend towards homophily but cluster-specific patterns that veer in both the direction of homophily and heterophily. How can the clusters best be described to develop an exploratory typology that offers alternative ways of viewing patterns of sociality in the networks of migrants? Is it important that, in relative terms, some networks are composed of more ties between people who are different in some aspects but not others? I turn to this task in the next section, where I try to explain why, based on the analysis up to this point, I have isolated certain sociality patterns: *city-cohort networks*, *long-term-resident networks*, *superdiverse networks*, and *migrant-peer networks.*

Naming the Clusters

By taking insights about how the cluster means differ from the sample means and combining this with information about which respondents

named the networks sorted into the particular clusters, it is possible to delineate names for the clusters that do not rest on describing the networks in ethno-focal terms.

Cluster 1—City-Cohort Networks

A first intuition in reviewing the patterns evident in this cluster was that it might be characterised as 'ethnic networks'. It is the only cluster that seems to suggest the prominent notion of migrants engaging in ethnically relatively homogenous social circles. This is indicated by the relative homophily on the ethnicity variable not found in the other clusters. However, even though Cluster 1, which is composed of 15 networks, brings together the three networks with the highest network homophily in the sample in terms of ethnicity, it also includes one network composed only of other ethnic social contacts, and the remaining networks display a range of different tendencies towards same-category ties on this variable. Upon closer investigation, the patterns seen did not line up with the popularised notion of an ethnic (personal) network where it is suggested that individuals mainly associate with people of the same background, especially shortly after arriving and using primarily ethnicised support networks (Alba 1978; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). For example, respondents whose networks are sorted into Cluster 1 all, except one, indicated that English was the first language used at home, despite the fact that for the majority it was not their mother tongue.[8] The one respondent, who did not identify English as the first language at home, listed three languages as mainly being spoken in her household: English, the language of her partner and Te Reo Māori.

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

city-cohort networks rather than ethnic networks. It can be noted that all bar two of the networks sorted into this cluster are those of non-citizens.

To summarise: the city-cohort networks are marked by a relative heterophily in terms of visa status, gender, and age. This suggests that the networks to which migrants in this cluster have access are relatively differentiated even though some patterns of being the same as one's social contacts prevail, in particular time lived in the city.

Cluster 2—Long-Term-Resident Networks

Networks sorted into this cluster are referred to as long-term-resident networks. The majority of respondents whose networks were sorted into this cluster indicated being citizens (81.3 % or 13 out of 16) and have lived in their city of residence for a relatively long time (75 % for longer than ten years). Given these longer residence periods it is not surprising that the median age (48) of respondents whose networks we find in this cluster is notably higher (by 12 years) than the median age in the sample. This cluster has by far the largest negative sum of differences between sample and cluster means, suggesting that across the variables considered, on average networks sorted into this cluster were more homophilous than the sample, even if only by a small margin for some variables. The only exception here is age. On average networks in this cluster have a higher share of social contacts of a different age group than the ego who named them, but the difference from the sample is small and not as explicit as it is for Cluster 1.

Visa status, which has the lowest standard deviation of the included variables,[9] registers as very homophilous, suggesting that those citizen migrants sorted into the cluster mainly named other citizens as their social contacts. In addition, in this cluster the relationship between visa status and time lived in the city does clearly prevail as networks were also primarily composed of social contacts who had lived in the city for the same length of time. However this does not imply that these mostly longer term residents exchanged their migrant acquaintances over the years for non-migrant ones. The distribution of naming other migrants as social contacts is similar to that noted for Cluster 1, with 14 respondents stating that at least half of their social contacts had also migrated internationally, and only two referring to a larger share of autochthonous social contacts.

Cluster 3—Superdiverse (Spousal) Networks

Cluster 3 is the smallest of the identified clusters (n = 8). Four of the respondents whose networks were sorted into the cluster were relatively recent migrants with two having been in their city for less than a year and the other two having lived there for a maximum of three years. The other four had lived in the city for up to ten years (3) or more than ten years (1). Networks in Cluster 3 are composed of the types of networks I was, at least to a degree, expecting to find in cities such as London and Toronto. These networks seem to defy the principle of homophily across most superdiversity variables considered. The cluster averages suggest that respondents were frequently different from their social contacts. Remembering the relationship between homophily measures and IQVs (see Chap. 4), in the case of those eight networks this also means that they have more diverse networks with reference to qualitative variation.

Particularly in this cluster, networks are likely to be heterophilous with reference not only to how long respondents and their social contacts have lived in the city, the key variable in terms of standard deviation, but also with reference to visa status differences, ethnicity, and having non-migrant social contacts. In addition to being superdiverse in terms of being mostly heterophilous in comparison to the sample, these networks are—all except one—those of respondents who moved to the city to join a spouse who had already lived there prior to their move and who had established social links in the cities. The one network sorted into the cluster where the respondent did not come to the city to join his spouse is that of a respondent who came to join his mother, and she too had already lived in London for a number of years. For this cluster it is particularly interesting to pay attention to the additional information that fuzzy cluster analysis offers as compared to procedures that sort cases into distinct clusters. There are different patterns of cluster membership between networks sorted into this cluster, and I return to this observation in more detail after describing Cluster 4. For now it can be noted that one network in particular could almost equally considered in terms of Cluster 4.

Cluster 4—Migrant-Peer Networks

The final cluster is composed of 15 networks. The cluster has average sameness patterns that are similar to those of Cluster 2. There is a tendency towards being more homophilous than the sample. Networks

sorted into this cluster however display a relative heterophily in terms of how long egos and their alters have lived in the city. While for Cluster 2 we noted that respondents on average were older but had social ties to people from different age groups, respondents whose networks were sorted into Cluster 4 are on average younger (80 % were younger than 35 with a median age of 33) and had more social ties to others from the same age category.

Generally, on all of the superdiversity variables that might identify a peer group type network structure (age, gender, and parent), networks in this cluster score on average amongst the highest out of the four clusters. Furthermore, while the distribution of the type of occupational status groups in Cluster 4 is not notably different from the other clusters, the level of education of respondents is generally higher, with 60 % (9 out of 15) having completed an undergraduate (4) or postgraduate (5) education and a further 20 % having some type of vocational training.[10]

The variable with the lowest standard deviation for this cluster—migrant—is noted as being more homophilous than the sample, and the cluster mean (0.8) suggests that this is the cluster with the highest proportion of migrants in the networks. All networks can be identified as being composed of more social contacts who have migrated internationally than those who have not (9 of the 15 networks have a migrant share of over 80 % per network).

Fuzzy Clusters and Cross-City Differences

With the above typology I was able to present one answer to the question of how we might talk about migrant networks differently. I took into account that migration differentiates along a number of axes and that those differentiations can be mapped onto sociality practices that are simultaneously marked by similarities and differences. A binary distinction between similar contacts and different contacts as the building blocks of relational diversity can thus be rejected and additional nuances have to and can be taken into account. This also includes considering that the clusters are a tool in delineating different patterns but that once we return to the complexity represented in the heatmap used in the previous chapter, we can also recall that the patterns described are fuzzy. The membership of any one network in any one of the described cluster is not complete. The possibility to consider this fuzziness is a clear advantage of the type of analysis chosen. Table 5.4 presents the detailed membership matrix returned

Table 5.4 Membership matrix resulting from fuzzy c-means cluster analysis

	Ego ID	CL 1	CL 2	CL 3	CL 4	London / Toronto
Cluster one	113	0.74	0.10	0.05	0.11	London
	307	0.70	0.08	0.13	0.10	Toronto
	125	0.62	0.10	0.17	0.11	London
	105	0.56	0.02	0.28	0.14	London
	119	0.55	0.06	0.23	0.17	London
	109	0.52	0.15	0.16	0.16	London
	129	0.50	0.08	0.18	0.24	London
	303	0.50	0.35	0.06	0.09	Toronto
	121	0.46	0.02	0.38	0.14	London
	123	0.45	0.24	0.07	0.23	London
	131	0.44	0.26	0.04	0.26	London
	103	0.41	0.14	0.32	0.13	London
	128	0.41	0.23	0.07	0.29	London
	319	0.40	0.19	0.16	0.25	Toronto
	305	0.39	0.15	0.35	0.11	Toronto

	Ego ID	CL 1	CL 2	CL 3	CL 4	London / Toronto
Cluster two	312	0.02	0.96	0.00	0.01	Toronto
	308	0.04	0.92	0.01	0.02	Toronto
	316	0.04	0.92	0.01	0.03	Toronto
	132	0.04	0.91	0.01	0.03	London
	321	0.05	0.91	0.01	0.02	Toronto
	309	0.06	0.88	0.02	0.04	Toronto
	317	0.09	0.84	0.02	0.05	Toronto
	311	0.09	0.82	0.03	0.07	Toronto
	310	0.08	0.81	0.02	0.09	Toronto
	315	0.15	0.76	0.02	0.07	Toronto
	306	0.14	0.52	0.07	0.27	Toronto
	112	0.18	0.51	0.05	0.26	London
	108	0.22	0.49	0.03	0.26	London
	127	0.23	0.39	0.05	0.32	London
	106	0.25	0.35	0.11	0.29	London
	304	0.22	0.28	0.26	0.23	Toronto

	Ego ID	CL 1	CL 2	CL 3	CL 4	London / Toronto
Clustert three	318	0.04	0.01	0.92	0.03	Toronto
	301	0.06	0.01	0.87	0.06	Toronto
	111	0.08	0.02	0.77	0.13	London
	320	0.11	0.03	0.77	0.09	Toronto
	124	0.16	0.02	0.73	0.09	London
	110	0.14	0.10	0.49	0.27	London
	302	0.15	0.14	0.44	0.26	Toronto
	314	0.22	0.05	0.37	0.36	Toronto

	Ego ID	CL 1	CL 2	CL 3	CL 4	London / Toronto
Cluster four	104	0.12	0.02	0.06	0.79	London
	115	0.10	0.04	0.09	0.77	London
	101	0.13	0.08	0.03	0.76	London
	126	0.12	0.09	0.09	0.71	London
	118	0.16	0.09	0.07	0.69	London
	114	0.08	0.02	0.23	0.68	London
	102	0.23	0.06	0.07	0.64	London
	116	0.17	0.02	0.23	0.58	London
	107	0.18	0.05	0.21	0.56	London
	130	0.27	0.13	0.05	0.54	London
	133	0.20	0.10	0.16	0.54	London
	120	0.24	0.19	0.11	0.46	London
	313	0.15	0.11	0.29	0.45	Toronto
	134	0.32	0.04	0.20	0.44	London
	117	0.25	0.04	0.29	0.42	London

by the cluster analysis. This relays the membership coefficients that identify the degree to which a network is a member in each cluster. The rows in each quarter of the table refer to networks identified by a unique Ego ID, and rows are sorted in order of the highest membership coefficient. The coefficients listed in the separate columns add up to 1 (or 100 %) for each network. The membership matrix makes possible two observations about the ordering of the networks into clusters which I alluded to in describing and naming the types of sociality patterns identified: (1) partial membership means a non-negligible overlap between clusters, and (2) London and Toronto networks are not evenly distributed across the four clusters. Both aspects should be briefly discussed to account for the types of nuances that this can add to our discussion.

Partial Membership in Clusters

The first pattern that can be seen in the membership matrix (Table 5.4) relates to the partial membership of networks in each cluster. This is indicated by the distribution of the membership coefficients. These show that ordering networks into crisp clusters alone would conceal important information about the necessarily imperfect fit of each network in each cluster. For example, if we assume that a network is relatively well placed in a cluster if its membership is above 50 % then for the networks considered, 18 (33 %) are less well suited to their closest crisp cluster and overlap considerably with other clusters. I highlighted those membership coefficients in grey in Table 5.4. This pattern also differs across clusters. Cluster 1 has a particularly high share of these cluster-overlapping networks (47 %), Cluster 3 has a slightly lower share (38 %), and Clusters 2 and 4 have a 25 % and 27 % share of cluster-overlapping networks, respectively.

This suggests that although a four-cluster solution is the best fit for this data, substantial overlap between clusters has to be expected and it is useful to be able to refer back to more detailed data about those people whose networks are part of the multidimensional patterns observed. This is a task that goes beyond the scope of this book but that is important for considering how this type of analysis can usefully be expanded and enhanced through multi-method approaches. This also helps us to consider that relational diversity is intimately linked with the details of migrants' experiences and the social patterns that these bring about. This is helpful for recalling one of the arguments in favour of invoking a network perspective when studying the implications of migration; it brings the migrant as actively altering the dynamics of diversity back into the analysis. The identified clusters are thus not a hard and fast typology of sociality patterns in superdiverse contexts—much more do they help us to think of vocabulary to talk about possible patterns of interest and ask questions about the implications of those different and shifting sociality patterns.

Forging Networks in Cities—London and Toronto as Social Contexts

Up to this point I have left London and Toronto as different contexts of superdiversity at the margins of my analysis. I justified this analytical choice in Chap. 3 by pointing particularly to the multiscalar character of

both cities which result in multiple nestled contexts of superdiversity in the cities. In both cities, these were criss-crossed by my respondents in their everyday social engagements. My aim in analytically proceeding in this way was to focus on sociality patterns forged in superdiverse contexts more generally. The aim was not to disregard the context specificity of each city—I pointed to numerous reasons why we should think of the two urban areas as very distinct social contexts. A look at how networks forged in London and Toronto are distributed across the clusters suggests returning to the question of context specificity—even if this discussion here remains very brief.

Figure 5.3 shows that we can see clear imbalances in which networks were sorted into which cluster. While the Toronto networks account for just below 40 % of the combined sample, Cluster 4 (migrant-peer networks) includes only one rather than the six Toronto networks which we would expect if there was no imbalance in the distribution. The opposite extremes are Clusters 2 and 3 with 69 % and 63 % Toronto networks, respectively. For Cluster 1 the share of Toronto networks is 27 % and thus closest to relative parity with London networks. This uneven distribution of Toronto and consequently also London networks across the clusters shows a clear divergence in how homophily patterns differ across the variables and networks included in the analysis. There are two possible explanations for this: first, the patterns might be associated with the available socialising opportunities in each city. Indeed city-specific practices of pan-ethnicity which I analyse elsewhere (Meissner 2013) point us to the strong relevance of this factor. However if we consider how the clusters were described a second explanation is maybe even more relevant. A superdiversity lens highlight the fact that locally specific configurations of diversity are intertwined with and shaped by global migration patterns which in turn result in very different population configurations as more

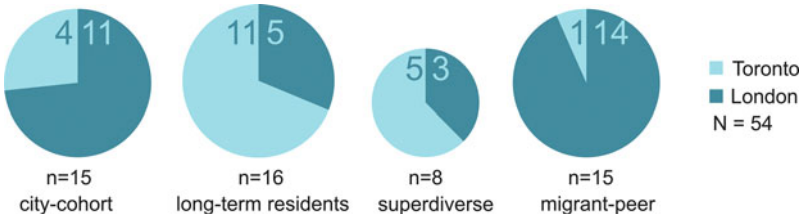

Fig. 5.3 Distribution of London and Toronto networks in the clusters. To access this figure online: http://socdiv.mmg.mpg.de/index.php/figures-chapter-5/#3

and less migrants arrive through different channels at different times in different destinations.

Keeping this last point in mind, it is reasonable to trace the observed imbalances to the differences between the two city samples rather than just the cities themselves as contexts. The characteristics of my respondents reflect the different histories of the movements of Pacific migrants to both cities. To give one example, let us consider the long-term-resident networks cluster. As I have pointed out in Chap. 3, the Toronto sample is composed of a migrant cohort that is on average older and also had a longer residence period in the city than my London respondents who were more likely to have arrived more recently. If, as I am suggesting in the description of the clusters, this is associated with quite a specific pattern of sociality it is not surprising that we find the highest share of Toronto networks in the long-term-resident cluster. Equally amongst my respondents in Toronto were few who would match the types of individual characteristics associated with the types of migrant-peer networks described. The low number of Toronto networks in that cluster is then also not surprising. It is important for the analysis of the data to recognise that both the compositions of the samples (and population diversity more generally) and the social opportunity contexts in the two cities are likely relevant if we were to expand and develop this analysis.

Recognising this supports one of the superdiversity arguments about how diversity must be understood as continuously reconfigured and subject to a 'layering' of diversity. While London has a steady in- and outflow of Pacific migrants but also a significant population who are relatively settled in the city, Toronto, which is not necessarily as globally aspired to as a destination, seemed to attract less changeover in the Pacific migrant population in recent years. For example, in London the economic crisis was much more frequently mentioned in my interviews as a reason for people moving on and thus dropping out of networks. In Toronto where arguably the effect of the crisis was a much less evident one, it was also much less discussed as impacting on the social engagement in the city. At the same time the relatively longer residence period of Toronto respondents also meant that they had, if we accept the above analysis, network contacts who might be expected to be less readily mobile even in the face of some economic hardship. Those dynamics might then be just as relevant for understanding the city specificity as are the specific sociality opportunities. In addition, as has cogently been argued by different migration scholars,

migrants from a particular background in one city rarely can be directly compared to those of the same background in a different city (Brettell 2000). This argument once linked to questions of superdiversity becomes relevant in considering the value of contrasting patterns across contexts to recognise some of those dynamics. This is important for further developing what thinking about diversity in relational terms across and within superdiverse contexts can add to our analysis and understanding of the complexities of migration-driven diversities.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered an ordering into different clusters of the homophily data presented in the previous chapter. This has provided a novel perspective on how to potentially understand different patterns of multidimensional homophily and through them relational diversity. It also supports the idea that a differentiated understanding of these social patterns is necessary. Less researched variables better describe the clusters, and thus seem to be more or equally descriptive than 'the usual suspects' of ethnic, gender, and age homophily. By talking about city-cohort, long-term-resident, superdiverse, and migrant-peer networks, the description of migrants' networks is pulled more in line with a superdiversity lens. The patterns of relational diversity mapped in the previous chapter with the help of the heatmap can then be dissected so as to consider how the multidimensional homophily of migrant networks becomes part of patterns of relational diversity.

The clusters can, as I have suggested, function as a starting point to generate new questions about what these social patterns imply. Obvious questions include: Is there a social cleft in terms of different legal status groups or between so-called new and long-term migrants? Also, do people with superdiverse spousal networks fare better than those with more homophilous networks across the variables? It is not immediately obvious how to interpret the relevance of being relatively more heterophilous on many, as opposed to some, aspects of superdiversity. Additionally, as has been pointed to with reference to Cluster 3, individual networks have different degrees of membership in the clusters and it is thus important to emphasise that the 'typology' presented is fuzzy. It only describes to a degree any one of the networks included in the analysis—this however, as I pointed out in looking at different membership coefficients, is part of

making sense of the presented patterns which do not rely on making place of origin or a dichotomous distinction between migrant or non-migrant the starting point of analysis in trying to estimate the social implications of international migration.

A more suitable approach for interpreting the patterns identified then is to appreciate them as a tool both for generating research questions that might not be as apparent if a single aspect of superdiversity was considered and to facilitate thinking through possible patterns of sociality that can emerge in superdiverse contexts. Recognising fuzziness calls to treat and theorise patterns not as consistently salient or necessarily clear cut. This is in line with appreciating the complexity of the configurations investigated and with recognising that the identified patterns are subject to change which is at the heart of diversity dynamics. We may then consider how this stands in relation to the taxonomies of difference that a more static approach to diversity would generate.

Individual network compositions are altered more or less frequently. People's sociality practices are subject to change as new contacts are met and some old ones wither away or indeed move away. This was all too obvious in the part of my interviews that did not aim to collect data for the network analysis but where respondents spoke about their social engagement in the city. Taxonomies of categories cannot account for those changes. Relational diversity encourages paying attention to their relevance in light of categorical multiplicities. Against this backdrop and keeping those dynamics in mind it is possible to draw on the clusters and their descriptions as tools which can be used to start thinking differently about difference and move on to asking how the two cities that served as contexts for forging those networks ought to be further investigated to get a clearer idea of the context specificities they quite clearly entail. I briefly commented on this in the final section of this chapter and concluded that the ability to contrast across cases is helpful in seeing those patterns that we observe in some places but not others (Meissner and Hasselberg 2012). In general the abstract and data-driven pattern identification in this chapter has pushed for—in moving towards a relational understanding of diversity through a superdiversity lens—underlining some of the corner points of superdiversity as a malleable concept. Developing ideas about diversity dynamics and how we might shift to making those dynamics more central focus in research on migration-driven diversity.

Notes

1. Frequently also called hard clusters, referring to the cluster solution before the fuzziness of the clusters is taken into consideration. I use the term 'crisp cluster' in this chapter in line with fuzzy-set analysis terminology (Smithson and Verkuilen 2006:7).
2. For example, for a two-cluster solution, individual A can be sorted mainly into Cluster 1 (e.g., 80 %) but also to a degree into Cluster 2 (20 %).
3. The index ranges from 0 to 1. A value of 1 indicates complete homophily on a given characteristic—that the respondent's social contacts are all the same. A value of 0 suggests that all the contacts are in a different category.
4. Prior to conducting a cluster analysis it is useful to probe the variables to be combined in the analysis, to avoid including too many variables if the objective is to avoid unnecessary murkiness in the clustering (Brosius 2006:645). Therefore, the analysis here does not include all ten aspects discussed in the previous chapter. It was necessary to exclude two homophily indexes from the cluster analysis. The first homophily index excluded is pan-ethnic sameness, as it obviously highly correlates with ethnic sameness and to a degree measures the same aspect of diversity. I also excluded marital status as it correlated with parent homophily. Parent was chosen over marital status as it more clearly marks a life-stage variable, and because being a parent was a more pronounced sociality structuring characteristic during my field observations. The remaining eight variables are included in the analysis as they are deemed to represent a variety of different super-diversity aspects. It should be noted here that while the cluster analysis does identify a pattern in the multidimensional homophily data, however, the pattern is not a clear cut one. This is due in part to including correlating variables. Notably gender homophily is highly correlated with visa status homophily ($p = 0.001$), but even though the two correlate, no direct link between these two variables could be established. For example, the gender of contacts (before the calculation of the homophily index) does not correlate with the specific visa status of those contacts, and there seems to be no plausible reason why egos should name social contacts that are both the same or a different gender and correspondingly have the same or different visa status. However, gender sameness was also the one variable with the lowest variance, meaning that the degree of being the same gender as one's social contacts was relatively equal across most networks. The correlation between the two might be an artefact of the data and due to the small sample of networks. Similarly visa status sameness correlates

highly ($p = 0.003$) with having spent the same amount of time in the city. This is a more plausible link, as if both ego and alter have lived in the city the same amount of time they are likely to be eligible for a particular set of visa statuses and thus more likely to be the same or correspondingly different on that variable. Both variables are nonetheless included in the analysis as they are seen as important in estimating multidimensional homophily patterns in terms of superdiversity. This indicates above all that the following analysis should be considered to be exploratory. Furthermore, to a degree these correlations also explain why the data does not cluster strongly with an average silhouette value of 0.28 (Rousseeuw 1987).

5. The data for the analysis were prepared in PAWS (SPSS) following the instructions in Müller et al. (1999). After initially estimating the appropriate number of clusters to focus on by conducting a hierarchical cluster analysis, which suggested that within a range of 3–8 clusters a 5, 4, or 3 cluster solution would be appropriate, the data were exported to R as PASW does not have a function that returns fuzzy clustering results. Using the function 'fanny' from the cluster package (Maechler et al. 2012) and by comparing the silhouette index generated with this function it was estimated that a four-cluster solution would be the best fit for the data. For the final estimation the fuzzy function was carried out with a relatively low membership exponent (also called a 'fuzzyfication factor') of 1.5. The distance measure used is squared Euclidean distance, which makes this estimation equivalent to a fuzzy c-means estimation. A four-cluster solution was further preferred over a three- or five-cluster solution as the results for a four-cluster solution could most clearly be interpreted.
6. For example, in Cluster 1 for the variable migrant networks sorted into this cluster in the most extreme cases have a homophily score of 0 (a network where ego named no other migrants) and 0.95 (a network where ego named almost exclusively other migrants).
7. For example, the population may be all New Zealand Māori and Pacific Islanders living in Toronto and London. My sample due to being an opportunity sample however is neither likely to be representative of that population, nor is there detailed enough data about this population to address all the aspects considered in this analysis.
8. In the entire sample the first language used at home was primarily stated as English although six respondents did choose a different language as the first language spoken at home.
9. This means that in terms of similarity between networks (rather than within each network) sorted in to the cluster this would be the variable on which those networks would be most similar.
10. For the other three clusters the share of respondents with a post-high school education comprised 80 %, 50 %, and 62 % for Clusters 1, 2, and 3,

respectively. Although this means that in Cluster 1 we find the same share of respondents with a post-high school education as in Cluster 4, a higher share in Cluster 1 were in the vocational training category (40 %) while in Cluster 4 we can note that more post-high school educated respondents have attained a university degree (60 % as compared to 40 % in Cluster 1).

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CHAPTER 6

Concluding Socialising with Diversity

Abstract The link between international migration and urban diversity is a central concern. To appreciate this link it is necessary to commence thinking about and researching difference differently. This entails the three key messages that are discussed and summarised in the chapter. (1) The scope of migration-driven diversity goes beyond a proliferation of the origins and ethnic backgrounds of migrants. (2) Paying attention to relational diversity is a useful strategy for getting to grips with some of the complexities of adopting a superdiversity lens. (3) There is a crucial need to engage more with the social implications of dynamic changes in migration-driven diversity. Taking these three assertions, implications for future research and the innovating potential of superdiversity are briefly considered.

Keywords Diversity dynamics • Relational diversity • Superdiversity lens • Theorising Difference

Summarising Three Key Messages

As a compendium this book has been about three key messages which this brief closing chapter draws together. The first message hardly needs repeating: the scope of migration-driven diversity goes beyond a proliferation of the origins and ethnic backgrounds of migrants—we might say that this is a core element of adopting a superdiversity lens. One can think of this point as staunchly anchored in the emergent research area of

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diversity studies—which has grown from centring attention on the urban, social, and economic implications of migration. I insisted on repeating this point here as there continues to be a gap between talking about moving beyond ethno-facility and actively developing strategies to implement this through changes in research design and analysis. This gap, I have argued, is in part due to using the same type of language to talk about the consequences of migration and the use of the same types of categories in talking about migration-driven diversity. The focus of my analysis was particularly on questions of imaginaries about who one should be social with post-migration and why these ideas continue to be about ethnic networks rather than pushing for the empirical investigation of broader migration-related differentiations—why is no one talking about socialising with diversity and what that would mean.

The second message follows on from this. I suggested that paying attention to relational diversity—for now the basic idea that diversity can be described by investigating how differences are not only distributed in the population as a whole but patterned through meso-scale social networks—is a useful strategy for getting to grips with some of the complexities involved in adopting and not just talking about a superdiversity lens. This second point is what has empirically been developed in Chaps. 4 and 5. I advanced my argument from the assertion that high levels of differentiation in the population do not necessarily imply relational diversity. I then visualised relational diversity amongst my respondents and showed how a visual display of those differences within sociality patterns can facilitate—in an accessible way—the exploration of the social complexities that a superdiversity lens points to and to see diversity in patterns of similarity.

Building on this and drawing on original data derived from personal network interviews with Pacific migrants and New Zealand Māori migrants living in London and Toronto, I presented an empirical analysis aimed specifically at the question with which I started my research: Who do migrants moving in small numbers socially engage with in a city of migration? The patterns presented on the basis of a fuzzy cluster analysis contributed less to making general arguments about the specificity of having moved in small numbers. Instead, I pointedly asked that question because the small group focus challenged a single aspect description of how the sociality practices of my respondents differed. The case study focus thus demanded moving away from a side-by-side analysis of multiple differences and developing an alternative analytical strategy. My aim was to develop an exploratory typology by referring to the multidimensionality of

similarity patterns that made the analytical approach of clustering possible in the first place. When we think of city-cohort, long-term-resident, superdiverse, and migrant-peer networks—the types of networks I was able to identify—it should be to consider the multidimensionality that undergirds those descriptions rather than tracing the patterns back to a single aspect be that single aspect one of the usual suspects like ethnicity or one of the more novel and trajectory focused aspects adopted in the presented analysis.

We may reasonably assume that those moving in smaller numbers do face particular circumstances in their social engagement in cities. Yet the types of patterns pointed to by the analysis in this book were less focused on this question of whether size matters. Indeed we should assume that the basic principle of multidimensionality within relational diversity the way it was operationalised in this book, can also be translated across to those moving in larger numbers (cf. Dahinden 2013). Overall I would suspect that regardless of how large or small the number of co-migrants in the city is, individuals and their multidimensional homophily configurations will differ. Whether there are recognisable differences in patterns based on group size, however, remains a question for empirical research and beyond the capabilities of the empirical data worked with in this book.

The patterns identified in the empirical chapters, as I have argued, have to be seen in relation to contextual factors. A general trend is to frame dual sited research in terms of identifying differences of context. However as I emphasised, a comparative approach should also take similarities into account. This underlines that the city is not the new unit of analysis replacing the nation state in a container model of society (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). This approach shifts the emphasis away from—but does not neglect—the differences between the cities. Clearly, not least because the patterns of sociality—both those observed and those described with the help of multidimensional homophily configurations—differed in their prevalence in the two cities, there is a case for focusing more on why this is so and future research should devote more attention to the comparative potential of superdiversity (Meissner and Vertovec 2014). I have emphasised that the difference in the prevalence of patterns is linked to the social opportunity contexts of each city but also to the circumstance that patterns and conditions of migration to both cities are quite different leaving us with not only contextual differences but also differences in the composition of the sample and where in the 'sociality life-cycle' they might find themselves.

This links to the third message that resonated throughout the analysis. I pointed to the crucial need to engage more with the social implications of dynamic changes in migration-driven diversity. In criticising static category based ideas about diversity, I was precisely trying to move towards those dynamics as setting migration-related diversity apart and making it relevant and interesting for social investigation. I was thus diligent to underline the importance of finding more comprehensive ways to include trajectory base variables in our research. I also noted that sociality practices expose some of those dynamics. In moving towards relational diversity we are also moving towards a focus on the dynamics of diversity. The patterns of difference and similarity that constitute diversity are inscribed in patterns of sociality precisely because those patterns are subject to change—change that is unrelated to migration as well as change that is driven by migration and associated differentiations—unpicking those entanglements is an important task for future research and crucial for seeing the implications of migration through a superdiversity lens.

The patterns that can thus be identified are marked by complexity and they are in a perpetual state of becoming (Connolly 2007). At the outset of this book I defined patterns of sociality as those social configurations that can be used as a proxy to describe diversity in a more nuanced and, importantly, relational way. This then ties this third point to the first one as it is likely that we will be able to shift the narratives about when, why, and how migration-driven diversity matters precisely by focussing on those dynamics. This is in what I wanted to emphasise with my theoretical explorations, by linking the notion of superdiversity to ideas about complexity. Focusing my research on a snapshot of otherwise shifting patterns was a starting point that showcased that it may be just as empirically and theoretically challenging to delineate and make sense of patterns as trying to determine linear causalities—pattern analysis and their incorporation into models of diversity can be thought of as an important tool in contributing more quantitative explorations to the study of superdiversity that do not take as a starting point the question of whether more diversity produces more or less diversity advantage, thus opening the scope for theoretically and empirically useful applications of this lens. With the analysis presented in the previous chapters and the empirical insights generated from it, this advantage of a complexity focus has become clear. Reflecting on how the social configurations we are trying to explain are patterned can be a very fruitful exercise as it paves the way to change the ethno-focal rhetoric with which post-migration networks are often discussed, and by extension to

move in practice towards a relational understanding of migration-related diversity and the trajectories this incorporates.

Thinking Differently About Difference—Towards a (Contextual) Relational Diversity

One of the most ambitious objectives of this book has been to pave new ground in terms of thinking through the complexities of how migration diversifies cities. This book alluded to social issues but it was not about a specific social issue a circumstance that will leave some readers disappointed. Yet this was a conscious decision. Certainly migration-related diversity could be portrayed as a problem (and it sometimes is, e.g., Putnam 2000; Goodhart 2004), however, I chose not to approach my research in this way. Instead, I followed ideas about the relevance of understanding the social conditions under which migration-related diversity becomes a fact of everyday life and can be mapped in the types of social networks forged in superdiverse contexts.

This was clearly facilitated by choosing to interview migrants who have moved to London and Toronto in relatively small numbers, who have previously received relatively little public or academic attention, who were mostly migrants arriving via formal channels and who were working in areas where their work was needed (including less skilled and highly skilled positions). Although a number of my informants and respondents had social circles dominated by people from the same origin, none were living parallel lives (partly due to the sticky question of 'Parallel to what?' and partly because diversity was just one aspect of people's everyday routines). An increased academic recognition of the everydayness of diversity coincided with the emergence of superdiversity as I pointed out in Chap. 2. Understanding this everydayness is thus one aspect encouraged by the use of a superdiversity lens (Wessendorf 2010) and it operated as a 'silent' backdrop to the research presented in this book.

In this light we may want to argue that implementing a superdiversity lens in studying social complexities, is just as much about ways of talking about complexities as it is about the adaptations in light of evident complex patterns of social organisation. Adaptations in a changing environment are crucial and by definition emergent together with the contextual changes at play. They may thus often not yet be noticeable in the larger social patterns that grab our attention much more easily. Diversification

the way it was thought about in this book can be abrupt but for the most part it is a continuous process that is fed by the coming and going of people. Difference thus becomes an aspect of everyday social configurations but an aspect that continuously is the subject of contestation and simultaneous mundaneness.

To be clear, I did not want to paint a picture of social circumstances that were free of tensions. My sample of respondents was diverse in many ways, including their positioning within a socially stratified London and Toronto. Yet by not making this a central concern, I could focus on trying to map patterns of sociality through recording observations, visualising complex patterns, and analysing those patterns with the aim of disentangling them. Focusing more on the 'So what?' of the identified patterns is the next line of inquiry—one that is enabled by recasting the relevance of migrant networks to thinking through urban diversities. This next step has to be cognisant of the power, politics, and policy in superdiverse contexts and in focusing on the dynamics of diversity—its speed, spread, and scale (Meissner and Vertovec 2014). This is necessary to explore what precise implications furthering a relational diversity perspective might have on ideas about creating opportunities for people to socially engage with diversity in a broad sense—and indeed to ask what this would mean in practical terms and how we might in public debates move away from too narrow debates about migration-driven diversity. Would Ravi the respondent whose reaction to his own network map I described in the first chapter of this book, exclaim the same desire for socially engaging with more English people, if ideas about diversity were shifted?

In Chap. 2 I developed the claim that superdiversity encourages researchers to start thinking differently about difference. In this book that task was approached by both trying to develop a strategy for describing diversity as multidimensional, and by suggesting that it is necessary to recognise that diversity is relational. Moving beyond categories and their multiplicity in describing diversity was, for me, a logical consequence of taking the ideas presented in the original superdiversity article (Vertovec 2007) seriously and in recognising that diversity is lived and practiced as well as being a set threshold of difference. This was foregrounded through a focus of the analysis on social networks. While this work contributes one approach to operationalising superdiversity research, I should emphasise that future and currently emerging research will certainly find other ways of empirically engaging with the dynamics of diversity rather than its categories. My approach has clearly shown the relevance of sociality patterns as

one way to appreciate the ever-shifting configurations of migration-related diversity and it has alluded to how they stand in relation to representations and encounters of diversity (Vertovec 2009).

There are evidently still a range of different research gaps that need to be filled in order to develop both a better understanding of the implications of superdiversity and of migrants moving in different numbers from different places to different places. I have suggested that there is some potential for reframing the debate about diversity in relational terms, and can here stress, that relational diversity is clearly not confined to questions of migration-related diversity. With this research, I have pointedly explored migration-related diversity and the social complexity it entails. I have offered one approach to operationalising research in a way that makes this complexity accessible for critical reflection. To advance this line of thinking there is an evident need for more research aimed at sharpening, methodologically and conceptually, the notion of superdiversity.

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

A better understanding of how international migration changes cities is pertinent for a better theorisation of the diversification processes involved. In focussing on the dynamics of diversity we will be able to advance insights into sociality practices in highly diverse urban areas. The implications of international migration and migration-driven diversity are now commonly talked about in terms of recognising complexity. Research that calls upon a superdiversity lens is intimately linked not only to identifying those complexities but also to develop strategies for making sense of them.

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