“Where are you from?” Race, Class and Situational Migratisation

Sayaka Mikoshiba

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Abstract

This study investigates the experiences of racially minoritised adults with internationally mobile upbringings due to their parents’ work, with a particular focus on their experiences of the question, “Where are you from?”. Based on inductive analysis of 24 biographical narrative interviews incorporating music elicitation and conducted longitudinally with eight, racially minoritised and ethnically diverse individuals over an 11-month period, this study identifies “Where are you from?” as an instance of migratisation, or the construction of migrant subjects who are framed as out of place and belonging elsewhere. The study reveals that processes of migratisation are both racialised and classed, underwritten by contestations of the legitimacy of cultural capitals in their embodiment. Race and class operate intersectionally in mediating the degrees to which cultural capitals embodied by racially minoritised subjects are recognised as symbolic capital. Furthermore, by examining how participants’ cultural capitals are evaluated differently in different contexts globally, thus triggering migratisation in context-specific ways, this study argues that migratisation is situational. It proposes the concept of situational migratisation, or the context-dependent ways in which race and class intersect in contestations of the legitimacy of cultural capitals in their embodiments, triggering migratisation, or the construction of the capitals’ owners as migrant figures belonging elsewhere. Making visible the experiences of a population largely elided in studies on privilege in migration, this study contributes to a theorisation of privilege in migration as relational, situational and contingent.

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For Hind, Reem and Sabreen.

> 'Rather than passively accepting things as they are, we must embark on the challenge of creating a new reality. It is in this effort that true, undying hope is to be found.'
>
> -Daisaku Ikeda (2017, p.7)
> 1928-2023

Author's declaration

The candidate confirms that this is her own work and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

1. Introduction

Beginning at the end: study rationale

Over the course of a three-day period as I finalised this thesis in the UK town where I live, I was asked by a GP if I was Japanese, a taxi driver if I was Canadian, and an electrician whereabouts I was from. Two of my querents were white British and one had been racially minoritised. Each of these questions was put to me during perfectly friendly interactions (if somewhat out of the blue during brief and limited one-off conversations); I could tell that they had not been maliciously intended. And yet, however routine, everyday and seemingly innocent these encounters may have been, they were also instances of migratisation, or "the *ascription* of migration to certain bodies and the *construction* of certain people as 'at home' while others are constructed as migrants" (Tudor 2018, p.1058, original emphasis). The posing of these questions constructed me as somehow out of place where I was and belonging elsewhere, staging "a sending-off to an elsewhere" (Tudor 2018, p.1057), whether that be Japan, Canada or elsewhere, nation-state or otherwise. Incidentally, at the time of writing, I was a permanent UK resident with settled status. But as "the ascription of being a migrant does not necessarily need an actual migration or border crossing," (Tudor 2018, pp.1059-1060) whether or not I was, and continued to be, a "migrant" in terms of legal status – or had been one and had, at some point, stopped being one – is beside the point. Migratisation is closely intertwined with racialisation (Tudor 2018; Scheel and Tazzioli 2022), albeit "without being reducible to the latter" (Scheel and Tazzioli 2022, p.8). As I will show, there is more to migratisation than this, but race nevertheless plays a significant role. Bearing in mind, therefore, that racism is "more than just a prejudicial attitude" (and "not exclusively a murderous ideology") (Lentin 2020, p.68), we must take care not to treat everyday instances such as my encounters above as "a question of individual morality, rather than being structurally engendered" (p.63).

This latest series of enquiries, the likes of which have been countless over the course of my life, reminded me of why I had begun this research in the first place, bringing the project full circle. This project grew from an initial wish to understand, sociologically, the work being done by the question, “Where are you from?”, when posed to those who are racially minoritised in the West and had grown up internationally mobile in relative privilege, due to their parents’ work in the professions. For such individuals, the question “Where are you from?” can be a difficult one to answer. Not only factually (is a person “from” a place if they did not grow up there?), but also – and perhaps to a greater degree – because of the question’s Othering effects. For example, as a(n ethnically Japanese) Japanese national who grew up in the US, The Netherlands and Germany due to my father’s work for a multinational corporation before attending universities in the US and UK, whenever the question is posed to me, I am left feeling as though I am some sort of trespasser, who really should go “back” to where I am “from.” The question, and others like it, have also rendered me conspicuous – singled out where others simply get to be, and get on with the daily business of living their lives. Through a series of biographical narrative interviews incorporating music elicitation with eight, racially minoritised and ethnically diverse privileged migrants over an 11-month period, I had the opportunity to delve into the study participants’ stories of their experiences with the question, “Where are you from?”.

And yet, in many ways, this project has not ended where it started. Originally, I had thought that my research was going to be focussed on participants’ *responses* to “Where are you from?”, which I had imagined would illustrate how they *resisted* the daily “racialised indignities” (Vera and Feagin 2004, p.70) or “everyday humiliations” (Essed 2004, p.125) of being asked this question “by the thousands over the course of a lifetime.” (Vera and Feagin 2004, p.70) In fact, I had been so certain that this was what I would find, that I had even prepared a conceptual term for such acts of resistance: “strategies of belonging.” In turn, I was convinced that such strategies of belonging would reveal ways of identifying and claiming belonging that transcended the nation-state and conflations of race with nation, as found in the white normativity underlying autochthonous discourses of belonging in much of the West (Yuval-Davis 2011; Sharma 2020), and that this would pave the way for overcoming the methodological nationalism of migration studies, and nationalisms more broadly. In this way, I had initially expected my study to be all about resistance: how the research participants undermined and subverted migratisation, drawing – I had anticipated – on claims to belonging other than through the nation-state, such as religion, gender, etc. Very soon into my fieldwork, however, I found that what I was hearing from the participants presented a very different story. My data, in Margaret Pykes' words (2010), "simply did not point in that direction." (p.552) In fact, I found that these stories of migratisation, rather than being the prelude to a coda of triumph over racism and migratisation, were the main event.

Thus, as any ethnographic researcher should be ready to do (O'Reilly 2009; LeCompte and Schensul 2013), I changed course. The focus of my research became figuring out what exactly was going on when "Where are you from?" is posed to racially minoritised individuals with relatively privileged internationally mobile upbringings, who, for example, speak English and other "imperial languages" as their first language, hold degrees from prestigious Western universities, and so on. Through listening to my participants' experiences and understandings of the question (and others like it), I established that the question did migratising work. I then realised that there was a whole lot more to be understood about the process of migratisation (or processes, as it turned out): What are the component elements of migratisation? What triggers it? When is it asked, where and by whom? Why?

If, despite what my participants were telling me, I had insisted on focussing my research on their resistance to and subversion of migratisation, I would have ended up with a very different – and less honest – project. Indeed, I would have betrayed my participants, who had so kindly shared not only their time but also their life stories with me, by "misattributing to them forms of consciousness or politics that are not part of their experience" (Abu-Lughod 1990, p.47). Through this ethnographic process, I came to see in my own initial ideas about strategies of belonging the "tendency to romanticize resistance, to read all forms of resistance as signs of the ineffectiveness of systems of power", the danger of which is to "foreclose certain questions about the workings of power." (p.42) I came to see the neoliberal individualism lurking under co-optations (including my own) of the discourse of resistance – the kind that puts the onus of dismantling systems of oppression on the oppressed themselves, who are lumbered with the exhausting labour of convincing others of their humanity and dignity.

Without a doubt, racism and its harms are grave indeed. Poring over my interview data, however, I realised that there was more going on than “just” racism. Yet, in looking at the literature on migratisation, it was clear that racially minoritised people were largely assumed to also be marginalised economically, that is, oppressed or disadvantaged across the board. And such class disadvantage associated with racial minoritisation was largely framed as accounting for their migratisation. In other words, this body of literature rightly identified racialisation and migratisation as being interlinked, but, by comparison, tended to offer a less nuanced analysis of the role of class in processes of migratisation. It tended to gloss over, or at least flatten, the role of class, creating the overall impression that racially minoritised migrants occupy homogenously disadvantaged class positions. But how, then, would one explain that even those racially minoritised migrants of relatively privileged class positionings still get asked where they are from? Could it be that the racially minoritised face migratisation *only* because they lack class status? In literature on the other end of the spectrum, on privileged migration, I found an opposite tendency to be in operation. Whilst the role of privilege in migration flowing from whiteness was well-analysed, the role of racial minoritisation tended to be glossed over – either assumed not to matter so much once class positionings were higher, or bracketed off as so entirely different from the experiences of white privileged migrants that they were outside the scope of investigation. What was missing were investigations of the roles played by both race (specifically racial minoritisation) *and* class in processes of migratisation, together.

This is where my study makes its theoretical and empirical contribution. By analysing data from longitudinal, repeated biographical narrative interviews with eight racially minoritised, privileged migrant research participants, I found that instances of migratisation were triggered by contestations of the legitimacy of a person’s cultural capitals in varied states, including in their institutionalised, embodied and linguistic states (Bourdieu 1986; 2021). Such contestations flow from different combinations of perceived mismatches in a threefold alignment between cultural capital, field and embodiment. Depending on who is doing the judging and where (or in what field), the evaluations of this threefold alignment are highly relational and contingent. Moreover, evaluations of the legitimacy of cultural capitals are contextual, or situational, in that race and class operate in different ways in different contexts to influence how the threefold alignment is judged. When the legitimacy of cultural capitals in their embodiments is contested, they can be refused recognition as symbolic capital, which is crucial if the capital is to be of any power, or effect. This, in turn, operates to mark a capital's owner as out of place where they are, and to migratise them, that is, to stage their sending-off to an imagined elsewhere.

But why does any of this matter? Why should we care about the experiences of privileged migrants, racially minoritised as they might be? I contend that this is because all oppressions and injustices, the world over, are connected. In the words of Dr Martin Luther King, Jr. (1963):

> 'Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly.'

Therefore, all of our respective struggles against oppression and injustice are also connected. Indeed, if we are to have any hope of overcoming those oppressions and injustices and the suffering they cause, our struggles against them must be collective. We cannot have freedom, equality and justice for some, but not others. It is high time that we made serious efforts to resolve "the inequalities […] fuelled by capitalism and its innate conflict with liberal-democratic ideals of liberty and equality." (Mondon and Winter 2020, p.2) Furthermore, as Ruha Benjamin (2024) reminds us: "Black faces in high places are not going to save us." The presence of racially minoritised bodies in positions of power must not be cause for an abdication of our commitments to antiracism and other struggles against oppression. By contributing to a more "nuanced understanding of power and privilege which recognises that an individual may occupy positions of both oppression and privilege" (Lennon and Alsop 2020, p.132), my hope is that the approach put forward in this thesis will be of use not only to racially minoritised privileged migrants who may be seeking to make sense of their own experiences, but also to anyone who is committing to better understanding the nature of power and its two faces of privilege and oppression.

Notes on terminology

Breaking with "Third Culture Kids"

The relatively privileged, childhood international mobilities of the participants in this study fall under those described in literature on Third Culture Kids [TCKs]:

> 'A Third Culture Kid (TCK) is a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years [first eighteen years of life] outside the parents' culture [accompanying parent(s) into a country that is different from at least one parent's passport country(ies) due to a parent's choice of work or advanced training]. The TCK frequently builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture may be assimilated into the TCK's life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background.' (pp.15-6; [27])

"Global Nomad" is another term with a similar definition (Bell-Villada et al. 2011), although TCK tends to be more commonly used. To be precise, the participants in this study could be classified as "Adult Third Culture Kids" [ATCKs]. Indeed, "TCK" and "ATCK" were terms in popular circulation that were known to the participants themselves, which helped in identifying participants during the recruitment process (see Chapter 3). In this sense, I did – in the early stages of research – employ the term as a category of practice (Brubaker 2013), that is, in its commonsense usage in everyday public discourse. Beyond this, however, I break with the use of TCK as a term and as a category of analysis, or as a tool of analysis that can end up "unwittingly reinforcing" pre-existing categories of practice that are "heavily loaded and deeply contested" (Brubaker 2013, pp.6-7). Instead, I refer to the participants in this study as racially minoritised privileged migrants, or racially minoritised individuals with internationally mobile upbringings due to their parents' work.

This is because the TCK concept is problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, whilst Pollock et al.'s *Third Culture Kids* (2017), now in its third edition (incorporating additional material written by the late David Pollock's son), continues to be regarded as the authoritative text on TCKs, it is not a strictly academic work. Rather, it is intended as a handbook for "parents and schools and for sponsoring businesses, organizations, and agencies" (2017, p.327). In fact, the original edition (2001) lists the book's subject category as “Self-Help/Parenting.” This limits the concept’s testing and rigour as a category of analysis; and yet, the category is often adopted uncritically as such in extant academic research, particularly in the fields of education (Fail, Thompson and Walker 2006; Langford 2008; Poonoosamy 2018; Dewaele and van Oudenhoven 2009; Lijadi and Van Schalkwyk 2017; Kwon 2019) and psychology (Ju Lee, Bain and McCallum 2007; Walters and Auton-Cuff 2009; Melles and Frey 2014; Abe 2018). The category has also generated volumes of memoir-style accounts of self-identified TCKs, often focussed on the *sturm and drang* of themes such as uprootedness and inner turmoil (Smith 1996; Bell-Villada et al. 2011; Hopkins 2015), which can at times be troublingly reminiscent of colonial literature (Dimmock 2011; Schellenburg 2011; Hadley 2011).

Secondly, the significance of race and ethnicity in mediating the experiences of an internationally mobile upbringing is deeply underaccounted for in the TCK literature. This flows largely from the term’s essentialist conceptualisation of “culture”, constructing cultures as discrete and bounded entities, or “reified artefacts” suggesting “a notion of ultimate essence” (Brah 1996, p.92). This conflates culture with country (or nationality), assuming a 1:1 correspondence between the two. This presupposes racial homogeneity in any given nation-state, and also collapses differences in intersectional positionalities along other structural axes of power beyond nationality, including but not limited to race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality and disability. Indeed, the book’s authors – and many scholars following their lead – do not account for such differences amongst TCKs themselves to consider how these may variously shape experiences of international mobility in childhood (cf. Deveney 2005; Bailey 2015; Emenike and Plowright 2017; Tanu 2016, 2017). Instead, “TCK” is treated as a monolithic category, underwritten by a Eurocentric white normativity implicit in “the traditional TCK experience itself” (Pollock et al. 2017, p.xiii), with its distinctly colonial roots in discourses around “Missionary Kids”, “Military Brats” and “Foreign Service Kids.” (p.26) In turn, the “third culture” is constructed as a universal one equally accessible to and similarly experienced by all regardless of positionality, much as in the case of constructions of cosmopolitanism and the “transnational capitalist class” (Sklair 2001 in Fechter 2007; Leonard 2010).

Lastly, the TCK framework overemphasises an individualised, psychological approach, that is, a normative, developmental and identity-focussed model of the individual, at the expense of the sociological. In other words, whilst it looks at the individual in relation to the *environmental*, it stops short of doing so in relation to the *structural*. This is particularly evident in its framing of the purported "benefits" (e.g. "adaptability" and "practical skills") and "challenges" of a mobile upbringing (e.g. "relational patterns" and "developmental issues") as personal characteristics – an inherent property of the mobile individual, rather than having to do with the structural conditions of that mobility, for example the challenges of translating cultural capitals into new fields. Instead, we are issued neoliberal warnings about "the cost of lost potential" (p.329) lest we fail to help TCKs "address challenges and take hold of the gifts bestowed upon them through their global childhoods, applying them in the places of great global opportunity and need." (p.xvi) Through its emphasis on "the importance of personal and individual freedom, liberty and responsibility", neoliberalism defines "success or failure […] in terms of personal entrepreneurial virtues or failings rather than attributable to any systemic properties (such as the class exclusions typical of capitalism)." (Harvey 2019, p.27)

One aspect of the TCK literature with which I have not broken is its highlighting of the question, "Where are you from?" as one that "many TCKs have learned to dread" (Pollock et al. 2017, p.184) At the same time, whilst Pollock et al. (2017) are most interested in the psychological, inwardly-directed interpretations of the question as a "most nagging, deep, heartfelt" one of "Where do I belong?" (p.183), my focus is on investigating the structural aspects of the question: When is it asked? To whom? By whom? Why? How it triggered? What is its function? In other words, I examine the question's role in processes of migratisation, and excavate the power relations at play in these.

Racial minoritisation

In this study, I take a critical approach to race as a social construct and power relation, as denoted particularly by my use of the term "racially minoritised", as opposed to “racialised”. Racialisation is “the processes by which ideas about race are constructed, come to be regarded as meaningful, and are acted upon” (Murji and Solomos 2005, p.1). I take whiteness as a form of racialisation, rather than as the “absence” of race, or the “unmarked normative position.” (Puwar 2004, p.58) In other words, “whiteness is also […] a racialised position” (ibid.). Racialisation is, however, far from neutral process, and racialisation as white confers inordinate power. The global inequalities wrought by European imperialism – “a major, extended and ruptural world-historical event” (Hall 1996, p.249) whose impact was not restricted to those places under direct colonial occupation – mean that whiteness occupies a hegemonic position globally, irrespective of numbers and whether such numbers constitute a majority or minority in a mathematical sense. It is in this context that I use the term “racially minoritised” to refer to people who are “racialised as other than white” (Lentin p.178), even if they are not in the numerical minority in a given context. “Minoritised” here does not refer to numbers, but rather to a position (or position*ing*, with minorit*isation* being an active process), relative to what Michelle Christian (2019) calls a “global *relational racial field* that is hierarchically based”, in which “whiteness has always stood and continues to stand at the top of a global hierarchical order” (p.174, original emphasis). In other words: “White lives matter disproportionately everywhere” (Raghuram 2022, p.786).

I thus use the term “racially minoritised” to denote a positionality of diminished power in relation to whiteness. I also use this term over others such as “negatively racialised” (Anderson 2013; Lentin 2020), or those suggesting that race involves only assessments of phenotype (e.g. skin, eye or hair colour), such as “person(s) of colour.” In this sense, race operates as “a technology for the management of human difference, the main goal of which is the production, reproduction, and maintenance of white supremacy on both a local and planetary scale”. (Lentin 2020, p.5) Yet, at the same time, as Parvati Raghuram (2022) points out, “race has different histories and flavours in different parts of the world” (p.778). As such, “[w]ho counts as ‘[B]lack’ and who ‘white’ differs from one place to another, as do specific meanings attached to the designations and their placements.” (Goldberg 2014, p.255) (See also Brah 2000; Choi 2003; Vera and Feagin 2004; Ang, Ho and Yeoh 2022.) In this study, I examine how race and class interact differently in migratisations across contexts. In illustrating that migratisation is situational, I show that the same person can be racialised and classed in multiple ways. In turn, I highlight that that race is an unstable, polyvalent and fluid construct (Stoler 2016), that racisms are multiple (Bonnett 2021) and that such multiple racisms are far from “new” (Bhambra 2017; Solomos 2020; Raghuram 2022; Ang, Ho and Yeoh 2022).

Chapter overview

In Chapter 2, I situate the present study by reviewing a number of relevant bodies of literature, highlighting where these leave questions to be answered and outlining how this study builds on these. I begin by reviewing scholarship in the fields of privileged migration and migrantisation, showing how these two bodies of literature, whilst taking virtually opposite approaches, both have a tendency to frame racial minoritisation and class privilege as mutually exclusive, eliding the experiences of racially minoritised migrants who are relatively privileged. Emphasising the need to theorise race and class together in migration, I turn to the literature on the intersections of race and class in migration, highlighting that whilst this literature addresses these intersections effectively on the macro scale of global migration regimes, it leaves questions as to these intersections in the realm of the everyday for racially minoritised privileged migrants. In the following section on the contingencies of whiteness, I raise questions as to whether “passing” as white is the only way to be privileged in the world. This is followed by a discussion of the literature on highly skilled migration and its approaches to “deskilling”, or the challenges involved in the recognition of skills held by racially minoritised skilled migrants. This raises the question of cultural capitals, which is addressed in the next section on Bourdieu’s theory of capitals, highlighting its limitations in theorising race in questions of the embodiment of cultural capital. In the final section, I review scholarship that addresses the significance of race and embodiment in the evaluation of cultural capitals.

In Chapter 3, I present the methodological rationale of this study. I begin by outlining my research aims and objectives, followed by the evolution of my research questions over the initial stages of data analysis, as I worked recursively between questions and analysis. I then discuss my research design and participant recruitment, highlighting the methodological de-nationalism of my approach to recruiting a diverse group of participants in terms of race and ethnicity, nationality and migration trajectories. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of my use of biographical narrative interviews, including my ethnographic approach to these, and of music elicitation. I then discuss my process of data analysis, specifically the emergence of theory through recursive analysis, utilising open coding, chunking and coding on as ideas took shape (Richards 2021). This is followed by a reflection on my positionality as a researcher who was also a member of the target research population. In the final section, I discuss the ethical considerations of this project.

Chapter 4 sets the scene for my empirical findings by introducing each of the eight participants through vignettes. These vignettes incorporate the music elicitation element of the study, starting with the name of the piece of music selected by each participant and an excerpt from their narration of the music's significance to them. Each vignette goes on to describe the participant's upbringing, spanning their ethnic backgrounds, their migration trajectories over the course of their lives and the cultural capitals in their possession. Drawing on Michaela Benson and Karen O'Reilly's work on migration stories (2018), I explain that these vignettes are biographies rather than histories, written through my intervention as a researcher and shaped by the project's research questions and aims. The vignettes are followed by a table summarising each participant's biography, for reference as the empirical discussions in Chapters 5-8 progress.

In Chapter 5, I examine the participants' experiences of the question, "Where are you from?". Drawing on W.E.B. Du Bois's (2018 [1903]) concept of the "unasked question", I discuss the participants' understandings of the question and others like it. I establish that, whilst it was not necessarily always experienced as migratising, the question, when posed to those who are racially minoritised, did largely migratising work: it framed the participants as not belonging where they were, staging their "sending-off to an elsewhere" (Tudor 2018). After investigating the significance of racialisation through the body in migratisation, I reveal that processes of migratisation are underwritten not only by racialisation, but by contestations of the legitimacy of cultural capitals in their embodiments. I thereby illustrate the imbrications of both race and class in migratisation; in other words, migratisation is both a racialised and classed process. Specifically, I excavate a threefold alignment involved in evaluations of cultural capital, namely between cultural capital, field and embodiment. I argue that a perceived mismatch between any two or more of these elements can block the recognition of that cultural capital as valid symbolic capital, thereby triggering migratisation. Moreover, I examine the participants' experiences of migratisation in three different contexts: in predominantly white, Western contexts; in contexts of co-ethnicity (or those who share the same ethnicity); and in contexts with "other Others" (Ali 2005), or those who are also racially minoritised but differently racialised. I demonstrate that assessments of the threefold alignment between cultural capital, field and embodiment play out in different ways across these three contexts, highlighting two broad articulations of race in these context-specific evaluations of the legitimacy of cultural capitals in their embodiments, namely anti-Blackness and ascriptions of (contingent) whiteness. I show how race and class intersect differently, or situationally, in contestations of cultural capitals across contexts, thereby rendering migratisation situational. Lastly, I establish that contestations of participants' cultural capitals was common in three different states, namely the institutionalised, embodied and linguistic states of cultural capital. I draw on the themes established in Chapter 5 to discuss the overlapping processes involved in contestations of each of these states of cultural capital in Chapters 6-8, respectively.

In Chapter 6, I examine the participants' experiences of migratisation triggered by contestations of their institutionalised cultural capitals, particularly their educational qualifications and nationalities. I establish that questions of embodiment were pertinent in evaluations of the legitimacy of cultural capitals even in such "legally guaranteed" states (Bourdieu 2021), which are supposed to function as symbolic capital largely independently of the bodies of their bearers. I present how race and class combined differently in contestations of the participants' Western academic qualifications across contexts. In both predominantly white, Western contexts and in those with "other Others", anti-Blackness operated in causing such institutionalised cultural capitals to be judged as mismatched to their embodiments. In contexts of co-ethnicity, on the other hand, suspicions triggered initially by a perceived mismatch between capital and field often operated to racialise the participants as white, thereby rendering mismatched all three elements of the threefold alignment between capital, field and embodiment. Across contexts, I highlight that the fields against which cultural capitals' match are judged can be at different scales, including sub-fields (Bourdieu 2021). This is followed by a discussion of the role played by nationality – and the global inequalities therein – in facilitating and/or limiting the participants' global mobilities. Whilst those participants with geopolitically strong passports were able to use these strategically to practise "flexible citizenship" (Ong 1999), I reveal the limitations to this given the persistence of conflations of nationality with race, often equating nationalities of the Global North with whiteness.

The focus in Chapter 7 is on the participants' experiences of migratisation triggered by contestations of their cultural capitals in the embodied state. I apply and expand on Nirmal Puwar's (2004) concept of in/visibility to argue that migratisation is a condition of high visibility, or conspicuousness, in situations where it is more advantageous to remain unseen, and vice versa, which I term the "paradox of in/visibility." Specifically, I outline how four processes identified by Puwar, namely the burden of doubt, the burden of representation, super-surveillance and infantilisation, play out in contestations of the participants' embodied cultural capitals, and thus in their migratisation. I also link this to discussions around "passing," raised in Chapter 3. I then establish another common pattern in the participants' migratisation experiences, namely the application of ever-finer criteria in evaluation of capital legitimacy in order to maintain migratisation, which I call "moving the goalposts." Building on the discussion of sub-fields in Chapter 6, I show that migratisation can be multi-scalar, that is, not necessarily out of one nation-state to another, but from a field on any scale to another. This is followed by a discussion of contestations of the participants' embodied cultural capitals in intimate and family relationships, revealing the operation of racial illiteracies in mixed-race relationships – and not only in those in which one or more members were racialised as white. Lastly, I investigate in further detail the imbrications of race and class in co-ethnic racialisations of participants as white on account of their embodied cultural capitals associated with the West.

In Chapter 8, I examine contestations of the legitimacy of the participants' linguistic capitals, which emerged as a particularly vociferously contested state of cultural capital, especially when it came to "imperial" languages such as English, French and German (Fortier 2022). Applying Rosa and Flores's (2017) framework of raciolinguistic enregisterment, I show that evaluations of the legitimacy of linguistic capitals – including accent and names – are not only racialised, but classed. I present the ways in which the "social magic" (Puwar 2003) of the imperial language can, to some degree, facilitate "racialisation by language" (Chow 2014) and "borrowing whiteness" (Roth-Gordon 2016), but show that there are limitations to this and to the "menace of mimicry" (Bhabha 2004), which can in fact trigger the application of stricter classed criteria to maintain exclusion, i.e. moving the goalposts, as identified in Chapter 7. Lastly, I show how race and class are also imbricated situationally in evaluations of the participants' relatively limited linguistic capitals in non-imperial languages expected of them on the basis of their appearance, both within contexts of co-ethnicity and without.

In Chapter 9, I draw together the themes that emerged across Chapters 4-8 to review my answers to the questions raised in Chapters 1-3. I identify the contestation of the legitimacy of cultural capitals in their embodiment as a key process underlying migratisation, with the imbrications of race and class especially visible in assessments of what I have termed the threefold alignment between cultural capital, field and embodiment. Moreover, I emphasise that migratisation is situational, with race and class always co-constitutive and inseparable, but operating in context-specific ways. By highlighting the different interactions between race and class in cultural capital contestations underlying processes of migratisation across contexts, I emphasise, simultaneously, the persistence of white hegemony globally, and the need for us to complicate our understandings of multiple racisms, rooting these in context-specific histories and presents. Even more importantly, I stress the urgency of theorising race as co-constitutive with class across contexts. I argue that race and class mediate privilege in migration by impacting the ways in which the threefold alignment between cultural capital, field and embodiment are likely to be judged, with perceived mismatches making migratisation more likely. Then, I conclude that privilege in migration is the extent to which one's cultural capitals in their embodiment are recognised as symbolic capital whilst moving across fields (nation-state or otherwise), that is, with minimal contestation as to their legitimacy, thus preventing migratisation. In other words, privilege in migration is the extent to which one can move through space without being migratised.

2. Literature review

In this chapter, I present a rationale for the present study by surveying a number of relevant bodies of literature, highlighting where these leave questions to be answered, and how this study builds on these. Given that the participants in this study had engaged in relatively privileged forms of migration throughout their lives, I begin by locating this study within the literature on privileged migration. I highlight that whilst this scholarship has been productive in theorising the contingencies of privilege across borders, it has tended to overdetermine whiteness in its engagement with race vis a vis privilege in migration, either glossing over or bracketing off the experiences of those privileged migrants who are racially minoritised. Race and class are often framed as mutually exclusive, maintaining an artificial bifurcation between white and racially minoritised migrants, or class is framed as cancelling out the effects of race in migration, such that all privileged migrants are equally privileged. This is followed by a discussion of scholarship on migratisation, or the social construction of the figure of the migrant. Conversely to the literature on privileged migration, this body of work focusses on the centrality of racial minoritisation to migratisation, but is weaker when it comes to theorising racial minoritisation in intersection with class, with the effect of essentialising the racially minoritised migrant as economically marginalised. I also explain my choice to apply the concept of migratisation (Tudor 2017; 2018), as opposed to migrantisation (Scheel and Tazzioli 2022) or migrantization (Anderson 2019), in this study.

I then turn to scholarship on the intersections of race and class in migration, highlighting that whilst this literature addresses these intersections effectively at the macro level of global migration regimes, it leaves questions as to these intersections in the realm of the everyday for racially minoritised privileged migrants. This is followed by a discussion of scholarship on the contingencies of whiteness, raising questions as to whether “passing” as white is the only way to be privileged in the world. I then look to the literature on highly skilled migration, which highlights challenges involved in the recognition of skills held by racially minoritised skilled migrants. This raises the issue of cultural capitals, which is explored in the penultimate section on Bourdieu’s theories of capitals and its limitations in theorising race. This is followed by a final section on literature addressing the significance of race and embodiment in the evaluation of cultural capitals, and how racial minoritisation can block the conversion of cultural capitals in such embodiments into valid symbolic capital.

Privileged migration studies: an overdetermination of whiteness

A sub-field of scholarship on migration, by far one of the most significant contributions of research on privileged migration has been drawing out the discursive distinction between the construct of the expatriate (or “expat”) and that of the migrant. In particular, the field has drawn attention to the white normativity underlying the expatriate construct (Leonard 2010; Lundström 2014, 2017; Kunz 2016, 2018; Benson and O’Reilly 2018; Cranston 2018), whereby “expat” is largely a category largely reserved for white people on the move, who, despite their cross-border mobilities, are “rarely even depicted as migrants” (Benson and O’Reilly 2018, p.10). Noting it as “an exclusionary term” rooted in “the classed whiteness of the West”, Pauline Leonard (2010) emphasises how the construct of the expatriate “‘Others’ other migrants, differentiating expatriates by virtue of their race, class, nationalities, occupations and education.” (pp.1-2) The field has also highlighted the colonial histories of such racialised hierarchisations of movement (Fechter 2007; Leonard 2010; Benson and O’Reilly 2018) and has been successful in reframing (white) expats as indeed migrants – variously termed “privileged migrants” (Amit 2007; Benson and O’Reilly 2018), “lifestyle migrants” (Benson and Osbaldiston 2014; Knowles and Harper 2010), “mobile professionals” (Fechter and Walsh 2012) and “highly skilled migrants” (Leonard and Walsh 2019 – see below) – and their mobilities as indeed migrations, whilst simultaneously recognising and “render[ing] visible the inequalities and asymmetries that exist and are (re)produced within contemporary migration regimes and governance.” (Benson and O’Reilly 2018, p.10)

Furthermore, another strength of the sub-field of privileged migration research is its “relative – rather than absolute – framing of privilege” (Benson and O’Reilly 2018, p.20), contributing to understandings that privilege in migration is not a monolith, that is, all privileged migrants are not equally privileged. Scholars have demonstrated the great diversity amongst so-called privileged migrants (Leonard and Walsh 2019; Camenisch 2022), illustrating how privilege is context-specific and mediated, that is, how it can be structurally limited by class and gender (Amit 2007; O'Reilly 2007; Fechter 2007; Croucher 2012; Benson 2014, 2015; Lundström 2014), as well as by nationality, with authors going to great pains to distinguish between the nationalities of their white European and/or North American research participants, e.g. American, Canadian, British, German, Dutch, Belgian, French and Italian (Fechter 2007) and even amongst the British nations of England, Scotland and Wales in the context of the British settler colony of New Zealand (Higgins 2019). By attending to the "detail, diversity, fluidity and even fragmentation of the expatriate experience" (Leonard 2010, p.9) and showing that "elite status is only ever situational" (p.15), such analyses tending to intersectional power asymmetries across contexts have added much-needed nuance to earlier transnationalist and cosmopolitan (Hannerz 1996) discourses on "the transnational capitalist class" (Sklair 2001 in Fechter 2007; Leonard 2010), "cosmocrats" (Mickethwait and Woolridge 2001 in Fechter 2007, p.22) and "nationalitylessness" (Robertson 1992 in Leonard 2010, p.5), framing such migrants instead as the "transnational middle class" (Fechter 2007), "middling migrants" (Lehmann 2014) or "middling transnational migrants" (Leonard and Walsh 2019). Through this more intersectional focus on power relations, privileged migration scholars have engaged particularly critically with whiteness as an unstable, intersectionally mediated and context-dependent concept (Leonard 2010; Lundström 2014).

Whilst such critical engagement with whiteness has been vital to disrupting assumptions that all white migrants are equally privileged and adding nuance to understandings of privilege in migration more broadly, this intense interrogation of whiteness has also somewhat essentialised the privileged migrant as white. This has – however unwittingly or inadvertently – contributed to an artificial and racialised bifurcation between constructions of the figure of the privileged migrant as white and wealthy, and the racially minoritised migrant as under duress and in need. Indeed, as Catrin Lundström (2017) points out, "'the migrant' is imagined as (and often is) a non-privileged, non-white, non-western (refugee) subject in search of a better future", yet this "excludes and obscures various possible migrant subjects who do not fit this image, such as highly skilled non-western, non-white migrants or white migrants from, or within, the western world" (p.79). In other words, the focus on critical interrogations of whiteness in privileged migration research thus far has had the effect of framing race and class as mutually exclusive, that is, implying that racially minoritised migrants cannot also be privileged migrants.

Indeed, across the literature, racially minoritised migrants tend to be depicted overhwlemingly as "low-skilled and economically disadvantaged" (Fechter and Walsh 2012, p.10), "mistresses and maids" (Lundström 2014, p.123) and "serving-class migrants" (Harper and Knowles 2010, p.13) characterised by "degrees of desperation and need" (p.228). In other words, when racially minoritised migrant subjects make an appearance in the literature, they tend to do so in order to serve as a foil to the privilege embodied and mobilised by the white migrant subjects. Racially minoritised migrants from the Global North are only mentioned to the extent that global migration regimes, whilst "generally privileging whiteness", "allow British and American ethnic minorities to trade on their British or US citizenship." (p.228) This gives the impression that a Global North nationality cancels out the effects of racial minoritisation in migration. As such, whilst scholarship on privileged migration has been successful in establishing that not all white migrants are equally privileged, the same nuance has not been extended to the racially minoritised migrant subject, thus eliding the existence of racially minoritised migrants who engage in forms of migration that would otherwise be characterised as privileged, such as the participants in this study. Race and class are often framed as mutually exclusive, maintaining an artificial bifurcation between white and racially minoritised migrants, or class is framed as cancelling out the effects of race in migration, such that all privileged migrants are equally privileged. This has produced an incomplete picture of privilege in migration.

To be sure, racialisation as white is a source of great structural advantage in global migration regimes (Benson 2015). Race is not, however, the sole axis of privilege in migration. The "group of migrants" who are "middle class, relatively privileged and relatively well-educated" (Lehmann 2014, p.1) and the migration "of the relatively affluent and relatively privileged" (Benson and O'Reilly 2016, p.20) are distinctly classed descriptions and can include racially minoritised people, too. Yet, scholars in the field frequently make explicit methodological decisions to focus their studies on whiteness. In a study on white Swedish female migrants in the USA, Singapore and Spain, for example, Catrin Lundström (2014) notes that "the category of 'expats' […] is far from being homogenously white" (p.94), making mention of migrants "in similar class positions from different national, ethnic or racial backgrounds" (p.112), including "other expatriates" from Taiwan and Japan (p.94). Yet, such migrants are excluded from the scope of Lundström's study, which is focussed on how whiteness, in intersection with gender and class, (re)produces privilege in migration (or, in some situations, fails to do so). Similarly, in a study on expatriates in Indonesia, Anne-Meike Fechter notes that she "decided to focus on 'white Westerners' rather than Asian expatriates from Singapore, Malaysia, or India, because the experiences of living in Jakarta as an Asian foreigner are likely to differ significantly from those of Europeans and Americans due to their race and ethnicity." (2007, p.7) As such, the experiences of racially minoritised privileged migrants are bracketed off from studies about privileged migrants (who become essentialised as white), precluding a study of both the convergences *and* divergences of such experiences, and what these can tell us about privilege in migration.

To the extent that such an overdetermination of whiteness in the study of privilege in migration conflates race with other social locations, specifically class, skewing or eliding the role played by racial minoritisation in the process, this sole focus, vis a vis race, on whiteness can also be seen as a form of methodological whiteness (Bhambra 2017; Benson and Lewis 2019) in the study of privilege in migration. Indeed, noting that white Western migrants in global cities (such as Dubai and Shanghai) live "*alongside other wealthy migrants*" (original emphasis) of "a wide range of national backgrounds, such as India, China, Lebanon and other Gulf states", Anne-Meike Fechter and Katie Walsh (2012) state that it is "important to widen our focus beyond the relationships between Western expatriates and host-country national to also examine […] relations between various transnational migrant groups" (p.18), noting that this must be a "key dimension of future research" (p.19). Fechter and Walsh's reference to "Western" (or "Euro-American") expatriates without specifying their whiteness is in fact a common practice in the literature, illustrating the conflation of nation with race, and moreover the West with whiteness. But citizens of (and migrants from) Western countries are not, of course, limited to white people. Rather, they include the racially minoritised, their elision in the literature notwithstanding (see Benson and Lewis 2009). In fact, in their edited volume on British migrant lives, Pauline Leonard and Katie Walsh (2019) point out "a gap in our knowledge of British migrants of diverse and mixed racial and ethnic backgrounds" (p.12), stating: "The notable absence of research about non-white British migrants is a key aspect to address." (p.17)

Another tendency in privileged migration research is to gloss over race, even when there are differences in racialisation amongst the sample of research participants in a study. This reveals an assumption that class cancels out the effects of race, or of racial minoritisation, specifically. That is, once migrants are on the boat of privilege in migration, race is framed as no longer mattering. This frames class as a monolith that operates independently of race, rather than race and class being co-constitutive. In a study on British female privileged migrants' experiences of their bodies in relation to "local" women in Singapore, Jenny Lloyd (2019) mentions that out of her 25 research participants who otherwise identified as "white, Caucasian or English with one participant identifying as of Irish ethnic heritage", one participant identified as "British-Indian." (p.150) Lloyd does not, however, engage with the participants' racialisations in her subsequent analysis. Other examples include Fechter (2007)'s mention of "some exceptions such as British Asians" in her research sample of expats in Indonesia (p.7) (such as Yasmeen, whose parents had moved to the UK from Bangladesh (p.135)) and "one Singaporean" out of "Americans, Europeans, Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders" in Angela Lehmann's (2014) study on privileged migrants in China (p.9). In both studies, however, the focus vis à vis race remains on whiteness, and these participants' racial minoritisation is not engaged with as factoring into their experiences of privilege in migration.

Similarly, in a study of "American and European expatriates" in Shanghai, James Farrer (2012) indicates that his cohort of 150 research participants are "mostly white Americans and Europeans but also include people of Chinese and other Asian descent and a few African Americans" (p.25). In a footnote, we are also told that "the larger study included many Japanese, who are not discussed here for reasons of space" (p.39). In Sawa Kurotani's (2007) study on middle-class Japanese housewives accompany their husbands on temporary intra-company transfers to the United States, references are made to "national culture", yet racialisation is neither specified nor attended to. In Sophie Cranston's (2019) study on British expats in Singapore, three out of 39 respondents are not white British, but Cranston explains that "the race of the respondents is not highlighted [...] to preserve the anonymity of the non-white participants." (p.60) Whilst consideration for participant confidentiality is an important part of ethical research, this decision limits the extent to which the ways in which racialisation mediates privilege in migration can be meaningfully analysed.

This is significant because, as David R Roediger (2022 [1991]) stresses, "the privileging of class over race is not always productive or meaningful" and, moreover, "to reduce race to class is damaging." (p.8) The present study visibilises racially minoritised migrants, of a range of nationalities, who engage in privileged forms of migration. Focussing specifically on their experiences, rather than as a footnote amongst mostly white participants, allows for a centring of race – beyond whiteness – and its intersections with class and gender in mediating privilege in migration. In other words, this study fills the bifurcated gap in the literature between theorisations of race and class in privileged migration by highlighting migrants who are racially minoritised (i.e. are not white), yet are not necessarily marked by "desperation and need" (Knowles and Harper 2010, p.228). Racially minoritised privileged migrants are both advantaged and disadvantaged along interlocking axes of power, and I interrogate how race intersects with class in shaping their everyday lived experiences, particularly of migratisation.

Migra(n)tisation: racialised social constructions of the figure of the migrant

If the main distinction that has been successfully excavated by research on privileged migration is that between the expat and the migrant, the main discursive distinction highlighted by migration studies more broadly is that between the migrant and the citizen. Put simply: "Migrants and citizens are made; they're not born." (Benson, Anderson and Kalivis 2023) More specifically, A key contribution of this body of literature has been establishing that the figure of the "migrant" is a social construct, and a highly racialised one. Despite critiques of migration scholarship's "aversion" to broaching race and racism (Anderson 2019; see also Erel, Murji and Nahaboo 2016), sociologists of migration including Bridget Anderson (2013; 2019; 2021), Nira Yuval-Davis (2011; 2019), Floya Anthias (2021), Janine Dahinden (2016) and Nandita Sharma (2020) have, by building on key works such as Benedict Anderson's (2016 [1983]) conceptualisation of the nation as an imagined community, and David Theo Goldberg's (2002) framing of the nation-state as foundationally a racial state, offered particularly insightful analyses of the conflation of nation and race in productions of the figure of the migrant – a key figure in autochthonous discourses of "us" vs. "them". By contrast, when it comes to its treatment of class, this body of literature tends to frame race and class as mutually exclusive, bifurcating – and reifying – the racially minoritised (whether migrant or citizen) as poorer, and the white subject (whether migrant or citizen) as considerably better off.

Writing on the politics of belonging and the construction of national boundaries and borders, Yuval-Davis (2011) explains that "ethnic, racial and national collectivities […] are all constructed around boundaries that divide the world between 'us' and 'them,' usually around myths of a common origin and/or common destiny." (pp.84-5) In order to achieve such myths of common origin, a "drive for homogenization" (Yuval-Davis 2011, p.88), or what Anderson (2019) calls "the ideological work of manufacturing sameness" (p.8), has been at the heart of nation-building. Furthermore, "this sameness became bound up with the ideological work of the construction of race." (ibid.). This "historical articulation between ideas of race and nation" has meant that each nation-state, imagined as separate and sovereign from the others, is "seen as comprised of different 'types' of people" (Sharma 2020, p.4). In the West, and in Europe in particular, as Barnor Hesse (2007) outlines, "white mythologies" underlying colonial conflations between "Whiteness, Christian, the West, Europeanness" (p.643) have meant that Europe is "culturally, economically and politically marked white in relation to its designations and marking of a 'non-Europe'." (Hesse 2007, p.659-660) In other words, European nations – and those deemed to belong to them – have come to be equated with whiteness (see also Bonnett 2004).

This white normativity persists in “the continuous reconstruction of Europeanness as whiteness” (Tudor 2018, p.1064), and “anyone not fitting this description remains an eternal newcomer not entitled to the rights of those who truly belong.” (El-Tayeb 2011, p.xx) Thus, within European (and European settler colonial) territories (or lands abstracted as “*state space*” (Sharma 2020, p.3, original emphasis)), those who are racialised as other-than-white are “excluded from the heaven of national belonging in the actual places they live” and are instead “made into the ‘*people out of place.’*” (Sharma 2020, p.4) They are, in other words, rendered migrants, with the onus very much on them to integrate into the normative society of non-migrants, that is, citizens (Schinkel 2017, 2018; Favell 2019). Against this backdrop of the artificial and heavily racialised construction of the migrant vs. citizen, we see how “[h]ostility to those who move – or are imagined to have moved” renders “the Migrant the quintessential Other” in today’s nationally-bounded world order (Sharma 2020, p.4)

Anderson (2019) refers to this process of the construction of the migrant as “migrantization”. Counter to “the strongly imagined norm of national and stable communities disrupted by migrants” (p.3), some people, rather than always and already being “migrants”, are “migrantized”, and thus made migrants. Outlining three different types of migrants, Anderson differentiates between who is designated as a migrant in law, a migrant in data, and a migrant in public debate. She illustrates the importance of distinguishing between the three, as follows:

> ‘For example, while the migrant in data is typically defined as foreign born, many of those ‘migrants’ may be citizens in law, through naturalisation for example, or deriving citizenship from a parent despite being born abroad. On the other hand, a person might be foreign born, and a non-citizen in law, but still not imagined as a ‘migrant’ in public debate. British people living abroad rarely think of themselves as ‘migrants’ and certainly not ‘illegal immigrants’ whatever their status in practice. They are expats.’ (p.2)

As the foregoing makes clear, key to such processes of migrantization is race: “Who sheds and who retains their migrancy is often bound up with nationally specific ways of encoding and remaking […] race”(p.8). Indeed, in their discussion of “migrantisation” as “the enactment of certain subjects as ‘migrants’, that is, as ‘people out of place’ who do not (really) belong to the places and societies they inhabit”, Stephan Scheel and Martina

Tazzioli (2022) identify processes of migrantisation are “heavily intertwined with processes of racialisation without being reducible to the latter.” (p.8) Whilst noting that racialisation and migrantisation are not identical processes, the authors also refer to “the migrant” itself as a “racialised category”, and to migrantisation as being “predicated” on “racialized mechanisms of discrimination” (ibid.). In other words, who “counts” as a migrant or a citizen is heavily racialised, to the extent that, in white Western contexts, the racially minoritised are frequently migrantized even if they have never moved, and those racialised as white are almost never migrantized even if they have. As Anderson puts it: “once migration is no longer at the border it becomes ‘race’, and minority ethnic citizens are often already ‘migrantized’” (ibid.). This means that “the racialised ‘other’ may be a citizen, but still a ‘racialised outsider.’” (Anthias 2021, p.140)

Such limitations to full citizenship for the racially minoritised subject, despite legal citizenship status, make clear what Anderson calls “the gendered, classed and racialized borders of within formal citizenship”, or “differentiated citizenship” (Anderson 2019, p.9). And as Sharma (2020) puts it, “claims of being Native to the nation trump formal National citizenship.” (p.33) Noting that “immigration enforcement itself is one of the mechanisms that helps to create differentiated citizenship”, Anderson points out that this mechanism “bears down disproportionately not only on minority ethnic citizens, but also on those who don’t have money.” (2019, p.9) This is followed by a discussion of threshold financial requirements in many visa schemes. Whilst class does encompass income, it is not only a question of economic resources. Moreover, racially minoritised migrants, just as racially minoritised citizens (and indeed white citizens), make up a wide array of class positionings. Just as citizens (whether white or racially minoritised) are not all of one class, racially minoritised migrants are not all from the lower classes.

If we are, as Anderson calls upon us to do, “to complicate arguments that set up a homongenised ‘migrant’ in conflict with a homogenised ‘white working class’ in a ‘natural’ competition for resources and status” (ibid.), then there is a need to widen understandings of class in studies of migration, especially in intersection with race, and attend to it in more detailed and nuanced ways. Indeed, as Yuval-Davis (2011) emphasises:

> 'Although discourses of race, gender, class, etc. have their own ontological bases which cannot be reduced down to each other there is no separate concrete meaning of any facet of these social categories, as they are mutually constitutive in any concrete historical moment.' (p.7)

This means that we cannot account for race in makings of the migrant without accounting for class. The question of the intersections of race with class within constructions of the migrant is raised – albeit with a light touch – by Alyosxa Tudor (2017; 2018) in their conceptualisation of migratisation. This specific conceptualisation is I how mobilise the term "migratisation" throughout the this study, because it captures best what happens at the level of everyday, lived experience, as opposed to larger-scale, discursive productions of the figure of the migrant.

Tudor defines migratisation as "the ascription of migration to certain bodies", resulting in "the construction of certain people as 'at home' […] while others are constructed as migrants." (2018, p.1058) Similarly to Anderson (2019) on the migrantization of "minority ethnic citizens", Tudor (2018) points out that migratisation "can construct people as migrants even if they do not have a migration history." (p.1059) Migratisation is a "performative practice" that stages "a sending-off to an elsewhere" (p.1057), performed commonly through the posing of questions such as, "Where are you from?" (p.1064). Migratisation "works in close interaction with racialisation" (p.1058), and Tudor (2017) describes the ascription of migration as "one possible strategy of racism" (p.30). In Europe, in particular, Tudor emphasises that a "racist logic of Europe as white" (2018, p.1064) means that "[r]acism functions in many Western European contexts through the strategy of ascribing migration – the externalisation of Black and Brown bodies from Europe." (2017, p.25) Indeed, the West, more generally, is widely taken as synonymous with white (Bonnett 2004) and other scholars (El-Tayeb 2011; Ong 1999; Yue 2000; Ang 2001) have noted that in Western contexts, "Where are you from?" is a question posed disproportionately to racially minoritised people. As such, "Where are you from?" is often not merely a request for factual information or a neutral statement indicating mobility.

As with other migration scholars, Tudor notes that "white privilege can manifest in supra-national border crossings that are precisely not seen as migrations". (p.1060) In so doing, they highlight that such border crossings are "often accompanied with class privilege" (p.1060), but call into question the degree to which, in the case of racially minoritised border crossers, class can mitigate race to prevent migratisation:

> 'Could a Black or Arab Spaniard in France or Germany really overcome the ascription of migration through class privilege […]? Would class privilege so straightforwardly mediate racist ascriptions of migration to non-white subjects? Moreover, are Black and brown border-crossers from the Global South who inhabit class privilege really not subject to the discrimination Europeans of colour or non-class privileged [B]lack and brown migrants experience? Is racism only something that the poor are subjected to, or, indeed, is the ascription of migration something that only the poor experience?' (p.1062)

Indeed, speaking to the mutually exclusive framings of race and class that I have traced in the migration literature thus far, Tudor states: "the interconnection of class with migratisation and racialisation is complex and the readability of class can become fragile in light of a hegemonic gaze that sees class privilege and non-whiteness/migratisation […] as mutually exclusive." (ibid.) Furthermore, speaking to the other tendency covered in the privileged migration literature review vis a vis race and class, namely that class effectively cancels out race, Tudor also makes the point that we cannot assume that "class privilege can do away with the ascription of migration" (ibid.). Indeed, this is shown by the work of Jean Beaman (2017) on the experiences of "upwardly-mobile and middle-class maghrébin-origin individuals" who had been born and raised in France, yet remained "on the margins of mainstream society" there (p.3). I build on such literature by investigating the operation of both race and class in experiences of migratisation.

The intersections of race and class in migration

As Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos (2012) outlines, "world-historical events and epoch-defining processes" in the post-World War II period produced for "self-declared" liberal democracies a "distinctive normative context", which called into question the legitimacy of such states' racially discriminatory immigration and citizenship policies (p.4). Across the Global North, shifts from explicitly racially stratified immigration systems to the “individualist ethic” (Triadafilopoulos 2012, p.8) of “skills”-based ones (Triadafilopoulos 2012; Ellermann and Goenaga 2019; Ellermann 2020; Boucher 2020; Elrick 2022) has been hailed as “the epitome of nondiscrimination” (Ellermann and Goenaga 2019, p.88), marking a “new age of non-discriminatory migration policy” (Ellermann, 2020, p.2464). Such contemporary regimes have, however, continued to reproduce inequalities, particularly at the intersections of race and class. As Antje Ellermann and Augustín Goenaga (2019) put it, “immigration policies can be discriminatory even if they are not based on the intentional and explicit exclusion of certain social groups.” (p.89) This is because, despite neoliberal capitalist constructions of class difference as “the result of individual merit”, class inequalities “are shaped by forms of dispossession and exclusion of certain social groups on the basis of other ascriptive characteristics, such as race or gender” (Ellermann and Goenaga 2019, p.91). As such, classed – that is, allegedly non-ascriptive – criteria for immigrant selection, such as pre-entry language and civic tests, or income, education and occupation requirements, can operate as a proxy for race and perpetuate racialised exclusions in a more concealed form.

As Ellermann (2020) puts it: “To the extent that class status closely maps onto ethnic and religious group membership, these conditionalities have resulted in intersecting patterns of class-based, ethnic, and religious inclusion and exclusion.” (p.2472) Indeed, Ellermann and Goenaga use the term “pretextual exclusion” to refer to “the reliance on nonascriptive features highly correlated with ascriptive characteristics as pretext for exclusion.” (p.92) The result, vis a vis race, is what Modood (2015) calls “indirect discrimination”, or when “[a] practice or policy may make no reference to race or ethnic groups, but may nevertheless disproportionately disadvantage some groups more than others.” (p.167) This illustrates how, even in the “global human rights culture” (Triadafilopoulos 2012, p.4) of the 21st century, “immigration policy […] like other legal and administrative constructs that purport to be neutral and non-discriminatory, is actually a means of defining the nation state in reference to multiple, overlapping social group ascriptions, including race, class and gender.” (Elrick 2021, p.9)

Where does this leave those migrants whose class positions do not, as suggested by Ellermann (2020), above, coincide with their racial minoritisation? In other words, what becomes of those racially minoritised migrants who *are* able to fulfil class-based immigration criteria and, thus, are *not* excluded by national immigration policies? Historically, "the intersection of race, gender, and class sometimes created openings for policy exemptions from exclusion", such that "high class status in particular could supersede race-based exclusion and facilitate the admission of wealthy and well-educated non-white immigrants." (Ellermann 2020, p.2465; see also Elrick 2021) (The "upper-middle-class bias inherent in the pursuit of the 'best and the brightest'" (Ellermann 2020, 2467) – a pursuit putatively facilitated by skills- or points-based immigration regimes – should come as no surprise, given that migration controls have historically been rooted in attempts to control the mobility of the poor (Anderson 2013).) Yet, once their foot is in the door, is it plain sailing for such racially minoritised privileged migrants? As Jennifer Elrick (2021) observes of Canada's postwar selection criteria for skilled immigrants, such criteria "did not eliminate race as a social distinction that influenced perceived admissibility; instead, they made the effect of race on admissibility contingent on other social distinctions, foremost class." (p.152) Rather than dislodging the effects of racialisation altogether, such evaluations involve "finer-grained distinctions […] about the place of race in nation-building." (p.16) In this way, Elrick argues, "the idea of race" was "recast […] to emphasize middle-class markers of class and status", allowing for the admission of "individuals with appropriate class and status traits irrespective of their racial and national group memberships." (p.152).

Here, Triadafilopoulos (2023) suggests that what Elrick outlines is a recasting not of race, but of whiteness, in terms of class. He goes so far as to claim that Elrick is describing racially minoritised' subjects entrance into a "class-based whiteness" (a term which Elrick herself does not use). Triadafilopoulos goes onto assert that such class-based whiteness is permeable, such that "[i]ndividuals from previously excluded groups could perform whiteness, by virtue of their middle-class dispositions and traits, and thereby be included in the Canadian nation." (p.558) He claims that whilst whiteness remained "the principal grounds of Canadian national identity", it "was blurred so that it could include phenotypically non-white individuals." (ibid.) Yet, in response to this and other interventions (Bonjour 2023), Elrick makes clear that whiteness is not so permeable. There are distinct differences in experience between those who are racially minoritised and those who are able to “pass” as whites (even if over time): “being categorized as a ‘visible minority’ is still a distinction that makes a difference in people’s lives, in a way that being of Irish or Italian origin is not.” (Elrick 2023, p.569) For many racially minoritised immigrants to Canada (and their Canadian-born children), however highly skilled they may be, “[t]he promise of equal ability to claim full membership, and to be recognized as full members, has not been fulfilled.” (Elrick 2021, p.172) Indeed, Elrick’s position is not so far from Sunera Thobani’s (2007) (cited by Triadafilopoulos in his critique of Elrick), who posits that the arrival of “highly qualified and professional” racially minoritised immigrants to Canada “mobilized deep seated racial/national anxieties and gave rise to a […] dislocation of white identity”: “If ‘they’ are like ‘us,’ if they can become like us, […] what makes us better? Who are we if they can become us?” (p.152) Whilst the aforementioned body of work traces the intersections of race and class at the macro level of nation-state migration regimes, the present study excavates these at the more micro-level of migrants’ everyday lives.

The contingencies of whiteness

Historians David R Roediger (2022 [1991]), Noel Ignatiev (2009 [1995]) and Matthew Frye Jacobson (1998) have provided instructive analyses on the contingencies of whiteness, particularly in the American context, showing that “whiteness itself has been subject to all kinds of contests and has gone through a series of historical vicissitudes.” (Jacobson 1998, p. 4) Together, these authors examine how Jewish, Irish and Italian immigrants to the US were not initially constructed as white, but eventually achieved “entry into the white race” (Ignatiev 2009 [1995], p.4), largely to “secure their own survival” (Roediger 2022 [1991], p.150) in the context of the “strict, white-over-black social bifurcation” of 19th century US society (Jacobson 1998, p.62) (and thereby also becoming “part of an oppressing race” (Ignatiev 2009, p.2)). This was particularly so in the working classes (Roediger 2022), with Satnam Virdee (2019) arguing that “[t]he genesis of structural racism […] was first and foremost a class project of the English colonial state” dating as far back as the 1680s (p.13). Within the United Kingdom, Alastair

Bonnett (1998b) argues that the British working class “was marginal to the symbolic formation of whiteness” in the 19th century, at which point “the assertion that everyone was equally white was […] problematic.” (p.316) These authors’ findings support Ann Laura Stoler’s (2016) argument that “the ‘truth’ of racial membership is not visually secured at all” (p.243) and, moreover, that “the porousness assigned to the contemporary concept of race is not a post-Second World War phenomenon”, with fluidity being “inherent in the concept itself” from the start (p.259). Indeed, Jacobson argues that “[t]o miss the fluidity of race itself […] is to reify monolithic whiteness, and, further, to cordon that whiteness off from other racial groupings along lines that are silently presumed to be more genuine.” (pp.6-7) Citing subsequent “Southern and Eastern European” migrations to the US, Roediger notes that “[t]he sad drama of immigrants embracing whiteness while facing the threat of being victimized as nonwhite would have many sequels after the Irish experience” (p.151).

Yet, it is worth noting that members of other racialised groups have not been accepted as “white” as readily upon “embracing whiteness”, as Roediger suggests, even on a “probationary” basis (Jacobson 1998). Rather, there are limits to who can claim whiteness within contexts of “which racial categories are useful to whom at a given moment, and why.” (Jacobson 1998, p.9) For all the fluidity of race, at least some of Jacobson’s “lines that are silently presumed to be more genuine” (1998, p.7) have proven, repeatedly, to be impossible to cross. Indeed, in noting that white people are “made and not born” (Jacobson 1998, p.3), Jacobson crucially points out: “It’s just a matter of who does the making.” (p.4) This is because race “is not just a conception; it is also a perception” (p.9). As such, one “must know as much about the eye that sees as about the object seen.” (p.10) In his discussion of early racisms against Italian immigrants to the US, Jacobson draws out the tensions between physical appearance and demeanour in processes of racialisation (including evaluations of whiteness): “It was not just that Italians did not look white to certain social arbiters, but that they did not *act* white.” (p.57, original emphasis) By contrasting court rulings, on the one hand, in *favour* of US citizenship for two Armenian men (*Halladjian* in 1909 and *Cartozian* in 1925) and a Syrian man (*Ellis* in 1910), with rulings, on the other hand, *against* citizenship for a German-Japanese mixed man (*Young* in 1912), a Japanese man (*Ozawa* in 1922), a Hindu Indian man (*Thind* in 1923) and revoking citizenship from a “high-caste Hindu or Arabian” (*Ali* in 1925), Jacobson reveals “a kind of pretzel logic whose very twists are defined by white supremacism.” (p.238).

In order to uphold a tautological reasoning that “White meant white”, the courts drew, as expedient on a case-by-case basis, at times on skin colour or complexion, at times on geography, and at still other times on “the highest qualities which go to make an excellent citizen”, which Jacobson outlines as encompassing “social bearing”, “proficiency in English”, “dress”, “manners”, “style”, “demeanor” and “class” (pp.238-9). This is in line with Stoler’s (2016) findings that even colonial racisms, which are commonly thought to have been more “overt and pristine” (p.242), derived in fact from a “shifting criteria of assessments” (p.244) which included “cultural competencies, moral codes, vague measures of civilities”, “comportment” and “ways of being”. (p.245) In other words, Jacobson shows that it is possible to: *look* white but not *act “*white enough” (as in the case of the Italians); *act* white but not *look “*white enough” (as in the cases of the Japanese/Indian/Arabian men); not *look* “white enough” but *act* “white enough” (as in the cases of the Armenians and Syrians). This shows how race and class can interact differently to racialise people differently, with race overpowering class in some cases and class overpowering race in others.

Here, it is instructive to turn to more recent scholarship on the ambiguous and ambivalent racialisations of those from Central Europe (Kalmar 2022) and the East of Europe (Lewicki 2023), and the Orientalist “Eastern Europeanism” (Kalmar 2023) which constructs them as “Eastern Europeans”. In noting that “people from Europe’s East are distinctively yet ambiguously racialised” (Lewicki 2023, p.1481), both Ivan Kalmar and Aleksandra Lewicki point to the “equivocal position” (Kalmar 2023, p.2465) of the East of Europe within logics of racial capitalism, specifically its “position in the global structures of privilege and power, somewhere in between the privileged core of Northwestern Europe and the postcolonial periphery” (Kalmar 2023, p.1472) The result of such racialisation can be that those from this region are “inferiorised within Europe, but often positioned within global racialised categories of ‘Europeanness’” (Lewicki 2023, p.1481), illustrating that “the same group can be positioned as racially superior in one context and inferiorised in another." (p.1484) This, furthermore, demonstrates that "features of race apply in varying ways to different repertoires of racism and play out distinctively in different cases and contexts." (p.1485)

Vitally, Kalmar points out in his analysis that "[i]t is really white *privilege*, not whiteness as such, that is at play here." (2023, p.1467) In other words, contestations over "Eastern Whiteness" (Lewicki 2023, p.1485) are "not the difference between white and not-white people, but between Whites who access full white privilege and those who do not" (Kalmar 2023, p.1467) Indeed, Kalmar puts forward the concept of partial privilege, framing Central Europeans as "white but not quite" in the sense that they are "white, but not possessed of full white privilege." (2022, p.6) He contends that there is a hierarchy of white privilege (2022, p.242), within an "imagined hierarchy of whiteness, with each nation located on a roughly West-to-East axis deemed more white than the next", ending in "the least white of the white: 'semi-Asiatic' Russia" (pp.242-3). Importantly, Kalmar views "constant struggle for contested privilege" (2022, p.13) as producing "ambiguous positions of partial privilege coexisting with oppression" that are not limited to "Eastern Europeans" but also include "Southern European, Southeast European and Asian American", as well as mixed-race, experiences. (p.7) At the same time, however, Kalmar appears to take the position that the whiteness of Eastern Europeans is not in question, but, rather, its degree. Similar to Jacobson's account of the Italians in 19th century America, Kalmar says of those groups whose whiteness has been contested historically that it "was not that their whiteness was absent, but that it was of questionable quality." (2022, 42) Thus, for Kalmar, the heart of the matter is not that Central Europeans are not constructed as white, but that "the privileges of whiteness are not fully granted to Central Europeans." (2022, p.11)

Indeed, Kalmar (2022; 2023), along with Lewicki (2023) and Ignatiev (2009), stress the relative privilege of those who are racialised as white, regardless of their positionality along imagined hierarchies of whiteness. As Kalmar puts it: "Eastern Europeans are white, even if treated as not quite so. Being white gives at least potential access to white privilege, which gives every white person, other things equal, a head start over a person of colour." (2022, p.5) Crucially, Lewicki points to the fact that this is because of Eastern Europeans' ability "to 'pass' into the generic 'White' category and so to acquire full or nearly full white privilege." (2023, p.1468) Yet this begs the question: What of those who are not physically (that is, phenotypically) "white"? In Lewicki's reference to "privileges for people who can pass as 'white', or mimic or assert Whiteness" (2023, p.1495) is a conflation between looking white and acting white. What of those who might not physically pass as white, but "mimic" or "assert" whiteness in their possession of cultural capitals that are Western European (or "fully white", in Kalmar's terms (2022, p.11))? Given Kalmar's assessment of "the hopeless struggle, doomed because of the inherent discriminations of racial capitalism" (2023, p.1476) for those of Central Europe to become "fully accepted" (p.1474), where does this leave racially minoritised privileged migrants such as the participants in this study, who may not have the option of physically "passing" as white but are in possession of large volumes of Western cultural capitals? Alastair Bonnett (1998a) contends that whiteness was not always synonymous with "European racial whiteness" – that non-European whitenesses, which he argues were non-racialised, predated racialised late-modern conceptualisations of whiteness. But is being racialised as white – that is, accessing white privilege, whether in full or in part (and whether via physical or cultural means) – the only way to be privileged? Can privilege only be defined in terms of proximity to whiteness?

It is apt here to draw on the work of Tariq Modood (2015 [1997]) on the distinctions – as well as conjunctures – between biological racism and cultural racism. In a sense, the racisms that Kalmar and Lewicki discuss could be seen as being more cultural rather than biological or "phenotypical" racism (Modood 2015, p.164), in that they draw on "cultural differences from an alleged […] 'civilised' norm", rather than on physical appearance, "to vilify, marginalise or demand cultural assimilation" from othered groups (p.155). Yet, crucially, Modood views biological and cultural racisms as operating together in late 20th- and early 21st-century Western contexts such as the UK, in a "combined racism" (p.156) in which "post-biological" (that is, "seemingly colour-blind"), yet "culturally intolerant", nationalisms have developed (p.163-4). For those who, unlike victims of Eastern Europeanism, are far less likely to be able to "pass" physically as white, cultural racism "builds on biological racism" to affect members of "groups who *also* suffer from biological racism." (p.155, added emphasis). Moreoever, similarly to Stoler (2016), Modood points out that even in times of more explicitly colour-based racisms, "racists always distinguished between the groups they rejected […] the culturally constructed grounds of rejection varied depending on the immigrant group." (p.161) Thus, in keeping with – rather than in contrast to – this, Modood predicts that in the contexts of such combined (or double) racisms in this century (rather than purely culturalist, as often claimed of the "new", colour-blind racisms of today), "hostility against perceived cultural difference will be directed primarily against non-whites rather than against white minorities." (p.164) In other words, racisms will persist against those who are not racialised as white. At the same time, however, entertaining the possibility that "colour racism may become negligible in its own right", Modood deems it "quite possible that we shall witness in the next few decades an increasing de-racialisation of, say, culturally assimilated Afro-Caribbeans and Asians, along with, simultaneously a racialisation of other culturally 'different' Asians, Arabs and non-White Muslims." (p.164) As a study with "cultural assimilated" Black and Asian participants, the present project puts this rather far-reaching claim to the test.

Highly skilled migration: racial minoritisation and "deskilling"

The literature on highly skilled migration overlaps with this study in a number of ways. First of all, the study participants' international mobilities in childhood were due largely to their parents' professions in fields such as business, finance, medicine and intergovernmental organisations, and, as such, can be seen as falling under the rubric of highly skilled migration, albeit as dependents of the highly skilled migrants themselves, i.e. their parents. Secondly, as highly-qualified adults themselves, many – although not all – of the participants' migrations since have been for reasons of work. Thus, the participants can, in some ways, be regarded as highly skilled migrants. Thirdly, skilled migration literature is one that tends to consider race and class together, as the majority of those studied in this field are relatively well-off and educated people "often […] from low- and middle-income countries" (Bailey and Mulder 2017, p.2689), i.e. racially minoritised subjects (by Western standards), usually from the Global South.

The category of highly skilled migration (sometimes called talent migration (Yeoh and Huang 2011)) is, however, a highly specific one, tied to state immigration policies aimed at sustaining national economic growth through the importation of foreign migrants with the transferable skills deemed necessary to meet the demands and perceived labour shortages of rapidly-changing knowledge-based societies (Riaño and Baghdadi 2007; Nohl, Schittenhelm, Schmidtke and Weiss 2014; Bailey and Mulder 2017; Ribeiro 2018), or “knowledge capitalism” (Raghuram 2021). As such, and despite pushes to move beyond viewing skilled migrants in economic terms (Yeoh and Huang 2011; Bailey and Mulder 2017) and at different scales (Ribeiro 2018), focus of this field remains quite narrowly on *labour* migration. By contrast, I approach migration – and migrant subjects – in a broader way, incorporating the personal, social and cultural.

Of particular relevance to the present study is highly skilled migration literature’s problematisation of the notion of skill itself, highlighting its socially constructed and context-dependent nature (Liu-Farrer, Yeoh and Baas 2021; Raghuram 2021) Stressing that “skill is not an intrinsic quality a person possess”, Gracia Liu-Farrer, Brenda Yeoh and Michiel Baas (2021) state: “Whether an ability is considered skill and can be called as such depends on the context of its use.” (2240) Relatedly, this begs the question, “Who are the arbitrators of skill? (ibid.), and underscores the importance of querying the “recognition process” (Ribeiro 2018) underlying whose skills, in practice, are actually validated. Against a backdrop in which “the skills of some nations and their peoples are seen as superior to that of others” (Raghuram 2021, p.3), most of the highly skilled migrant subjects who experience “deskilling” (Riaño and Baghdadi 2007), “skills underutilization”, “(mis)achievements in the labour market” (Nohl et al. 2014), “skill wastage and mismatch” or “(non)-transferability” of skills across borders (Liu-Farrer et al. 2021) have obtained their credentials and other cultural capitals in their countries of origin (cf. Erel 2010 on “national capitals” and the “rucksack approach” to cultural capital). By contrast, the participants in this study all have skills (or cultural capitals) with Western currency. What happens when these capitals are moved across borders? Do such racially minoritised privileged migrants experience similar processes of deskilling?

As Raghuram (2021) points out, “The racism and sexism that skilled migrants face are often ignored as skilled migrants are seen as privileged.” (p.4) Similarly, Yeoh and Huang (2011) stress the need to move beyond viewing highly skilled migrants as “professional, managerial and entrepreneurial elites” and attend to them instead as “embodied bearers of culture, ethnicity, class and gender”, whose experiences are “conditioned by the power geometries of race, nationality and gender.” (p.681) Indeed, Liu-Farrer et al. (2021) observe: “Possessing the conventional proxies of skill such as educational credentials, even the ones from educational institutions in the host countries, do not necessarily guarantee that these foreign graduates are ‘fit’ for employment in the host labour market.” (p.2246) As summed up by Ajay Bailey and Clara Mulder (2017): “Being a skilled migrant is […] related to privileges on the one hand and discrimination on the other” (p.2691). The present study builds on these authors’ work by investigating the experiences of racially minoritised migrants who are “highly skilled” as they move across contexts. A number of studies in this field have employed the concept of cultural capital in their discussion of skilled migration (Riaño and Baghdadi 2007; Nohl et al. 2014; Farrer 2021), which emerged as a central concept involved in the migratisation experiences of racially minoritised privileged migrants.

Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capitals and its limitations

The usefulness of Pierre Bourdieu’s (1986; 1990; 1991; 2021) theory of capitals to the study of class, generally (Skeggs 2002 [1997]; Tyler 2015; Savage et al. 2015), and of class in migration, specifically (Oliver and O’Reilly 2010; Erel 2010, 2015; Benson 2011; 2019), has been established elsewhere. In this section, after a brief outline of Bourdieu’s theory of the three types (or “species” of capital), I highlight the aspects of Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capitals upon which I draw and build in my analysis in subsequent chapters, namely: the three (arguably four) states of cultural capital; the significance of the embodiment of cultural capital; the significance of the field; and the process of the conversion of cultural capitals into symbolic capital, which is vital if the capital in question to wield any power. I highlight Bourdieu’s undertheorisation of the significance of race in the embodiment of cultural capitals and their conversion into symbolic capitals.

Bourdieu (1986) contended: “It is impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory.” (p.280) In other words, societies are riddled with inequalities that cannot be accounted for by disparities in economic resources alone. Instead, Bourdieu outlined three types of capital: economic capital, cultural capital and social capital, and held that apprehending “the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital” is key to understanding the “immanent structure of the social world” and all of its inequalities (ibid.). In this way, the theory of capitals allows us to address “one of the most difficult problems in sociology, which is power”. (2021, p.285) In fact, Bourdieu himself referred to capital as “capital (or power, which amounts to the same thing)”. (1986, p.281)

Cultural capital emerged as being of particular salience to this study. Bourdieu identified three states in which cultural capital can exist: as incorporated (or embodied) cultural capital – “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (1986, p.282) that are “acquired through experience” (1990, p.9), such as knowledge but also tastes and “manners (bearing, pronunciation, etc.)” (1986, p.290); objectified cultural capital – “cultural goods” such as paintings, books, dictionaries, computers, etc. (1986; 2021); or institutionalised cultural capital – capitals that are “legally guaranteed in the form of titles” (2021, p.162), such as academic qualifications. Bourdieu (2021) treats “knowledge of a language” as an embodied form of cultural capital (p.133), but has also specified language as “linguistic capital” (1991). In this study, linguistic capital emerged as a distinctive form of embodied cultural capital. As such, I treat linguistic capital as a state of cultural capital in its own right.

A pertinent feature of cultural capital is that it “cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange.” (1986, p.283) Rather, it must be acquired over time through socialisation and education, for example within the family or in school. In fact, much of the transmission of cultural capital is hereditary. And because the hereditary transmission of cultural capital is less conspicuous than the “direct, visible forms of transmission” of economic capitals, which “tend to be more strongly censored and controlled” (1986, p.284), Bourdieu states that “the transmission of cultural capital is no doubt the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital,” (ibid.) characterising it as “always heavily disguised, or even invisible” (p.283). The reason that the transmission of cultural capital is so heavily disguised is that cultural capital is “strongly tied to a person” (2021, p.170) and thus “has this property of appearing to be natural.” (p.167) In other words, cultural capital has a tendency to appear precisely as though it has not been acquired, but rather as a natural and inherent quality in a person. This is especially true of cultural capitals in their embodied state, as such cultural capital is “fundamental to the body of its bearer” (2021, p.166). Bourdieu also argued that this seemingly natural, embodied nature of cultural capital is why “the social foundation of the unequal distribution and difference is not perceived.” (p.171)

Another aspect of Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capitals that is relevant to the present study is the concept of the field, which illustrates the context-dependent nature of cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (2021):

> ‘[…] it is rather extraordinary to think of cultural capital independently of the structure of relations within which it functions. The notion of cultural capital as I conceive cannot be disassociated from the notion of the cultural field, the universe within which each bearer of capital will obtain from their capital a different profit depending on the position (and therefore the scarcity) of their capital in the structure of the distribution of cultural capital characteristic of the universe in which they place their cultural capital.’ (pp.165-166)

Put simply, a field is any given social “space” or “universe” (1985). Some fields have “clearly defined, fixed boundaries”, whilst others have “very porous, ill-defined and fluid boundaries” (2021, p.10). A field can be of any size or scale, e.g. a family or a neighbourhood, a university or a particular department within it, a specific workplace or profession at large (e.g. academia or journalism) or in a specific country (e.g. British academia), and so on. It is not, however, a neutral or empty space. The field encompasses not just “the space under consideration” (2021, p.14), but the power relations that are active within that space, such that it is “a field of forces, i.e. […] a set of objective power relations that impose themselves on all who enter” (1985, p.724). And capital is “a form of power that is effective within a certain space” (2021, p.16) To the extent that capital “represents a power over the field (at a given moment)” (1985, p.724), the field can be seen as a site for the struggle for value in that particular context. Indeed, Bourdieu stated that “in any field, the key question is to know who has the right to be in the field, who belongs there (and who does not belong), who says who belongs to the field” (2021, p.27).

Moreover, “a species of capital is defined in relation to a particular field” (Bourdieu 2021, p.156), meaning that not every capital will be valued in every field, or equally so. Bourdieu (2021) explains:

> ‘To put it simply, we could say that the specific capital of a field is what works in that field. In fact, although you can always enter a field, charge in uninvited so to speak, like a bull in a china shop, […] you cannot succeed in a field if you import a kind of capital that is not a recognized currency, even if it is current in other fields.’ (p.157)

What does it mean, however, to for a capital to “work” in a given field, or for a person “succeed in a field”? This is where the all-important question of symbolic capital comes in. Put plainly, any type of capital on its own is of little use if it is not recognised as having value, that is, recognised symbolically, and thereby “produces effects.” (Bourdieu 2021,p.16) Bourdieu defines symbolic capital not as a fourth type (or species) of capital in addition to economic, social and cultural capital, but rather as “any species of capital when it is perceived, recognized and acknowledged (which is what we generally call prestige).” (p.158) In other word, “symbolic capital is the capital that people acknowledge you have, the capital they grant you” (p.140). In this sense, evaluation by others as to its validity and legitimacy is central to what Bourdieu calls “the symbolic efficacy of cultural capital” (1986, p.284). As such, in order to be effective, cultural capital must undergo a process of transformation, or conversion, into symbolic capital. As Beverley Skeggs (1997) puts it: “Cultural capital has to be legitimated before it can have symbolic power. Capital has to be regarded as legitimate before it can be capitalized upon.” (p.8) Bourdieu described this process as “the alchemy that transforms monopolized property into socially recognized and approved property, and the owner of this property into its legitimate owner.” (2021, p.141)

Depending as it does on legitimation by other actors in a field, symbolic capital is deeply relational and contingent on external evaluation. Yet, Bourdieu (2021) depicted this process of legitimation as quite a natural one for cultural capital, owing to the disguised nature of its transmission and its appearance as the natural property of a person:

> 'Of all the species of capital, it is cultural capital that will be most spontaneously recognized as legitimate. This capital does not have to justify its existence: it is automatically justified since it is part of nature.' (p.171)

Moreover, because of this seeming naturalness, Bourdieu argued that cultural capitals in their embodied state are particularly "predisposed to function as symbolic capital, i.e., to be unrecognized as capital and recognized as legitimate competence" (1986, p.283). Of cultural capitals in their institutionalised state, of which the educational qualification is the "most obvious form" (2021, p.241), Bourdieu argued that this its objectification "is one way of neutralizing some of the properties it derives from the fact that, being embodied, it has the same biological limits as its bearer." (1986, p.285) Thus, the symbolic power of institutionalised cultural capital is that, as "a sort of license of knowledge and cultural competence", it has the "capacity transcend individual, biographical and biological accidents." (2021, p.241)

By this logic (a logic produced in 1980s France), provided that one's cultural capital matches the capital that is valued in a given field, such that one does not go charging in "like a bull in a china shop," it should as a matter of course be recognised as legitimate symbolic capital, and produce effects as such. Yet, this overlooks one glaring detail, namely that cultural capital "in its fundamental state […] is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment" (1986, p.283). Therefore, cultural capital – in any state – is always embodied, and by a range of different bodies, including differently racialised (and differently gendered) ones. Yet, Bourdieu's discussions of the body remain abstract and generalised – universal, even. Far from being inclusive of everyone, however, underlying Bourdieu's theory of capitals is a white normativity that does not factor racialisation into the accumulation of cultural capitals and its legitimation as symbolic capital.

The significance of race in conversions of cultural capital into symbolic capital

The works of Nirmal Puwar (2004) and Aihwa Ong (1999), who have both studied contemporary experiences of racially minoritised occupants of historically white spaces of privilege, are particularly instructive in contending with Bourdieu's undertheorisation of race in his approach to questions of the embodiment of cultural capital. The implicit obviousness and universality of the body under discussion by Bourdieu – the seeming superfluousness of specifying which bodies he is talking about – reveal what Puwar (2004) calls "the privilege of being racially invisible in a world structured by whiteness" (p.67) And, by Bourdieu's use of male pronouns (French-to-English translation notwithstanding), we are given to understand that the body he is referring to is male. Indeed, in her analysis of the experiences of the racially minoritised and of women in elite political, academic and cultural spaces in the UK context, Puwar notes: "There is an undeclared white masculine body underlying the universal construction of the enlightenment 'individual'." (p.141) And "enlightenment thought is able to successfully claim that all bodies are the same precisely because whiteness and masculinity can occupy the privileged position of being unmarked by their bodily natures" (p.142) In fact, Bourdieu's characterisation of the transmission of embodied cultural capital as "heavily disguised, or even invisible" (1986, p.283) underscores Puwar's point that:

> 'When a body is emptied of its gender or race, this is a mark of how its position is the privileged norm. Its power emanates from its ability to be seen as just normal, to be without corporeality. Its own gender or race remains invisible; a non-issue.' (2004, p.57)

Therefore, whilst – or, rather, precisely because – Bourdieu does not specify the characteristics of the abstract bearer of capitals in his theory of capital, this figure can be taken to inhabit a body that would be racialised as white and gendered as male (not unlike his own). In spite of Bourdieu's repeated appeals to the "natural" appearance of embodied cultural capital through references to the body, the abstractness of these references – the lack of any acknowledgement that the particularities any given body will make a difference to the perceived legitimacy of embodied cultural capitals as symbolic capital – speaks to what Puwar calls "the exclusionary some body in the no body of political theory that proclaims to include every body." (2004, p.141) In other words, Bourdieu’s discussion of cultural capitals and their embodiment reveals, by omission, “the very particular embodied subject that has been able to masquerade as the universal” and “pass as the invisible, unmarked and undeclared somatic norm” (p.8), that is, the white man. By contrast, it is “women and racialised minorities” whose presence (or “arrival”) “highlight the constitutive boundaries of who can pass as the universal human”. (ibid.) As such, we see the “unnamed normativity of whiteness and masculinity” (p.145) underwriting Bourdieu’s work on capitals. Puwar makes clear the implications of such normativity for those who do not fit the somatic norm: “Not being the standard bearers of the universal human, women and non-whites are […] highly visible as deviations from the norm and invisible as the norm.” (p.59)

Of cultural capital, Bourdieu proclaims: “Like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done at second hand” (1986, p.283). As for symbolic capital, he states that this legitimated and recognised state of cultural capital “is one of the forms of capital that most requires us to pay in person.” (2021, p.158) We quickly see why the white, masculine normativity implicit in these statements is problematic when we consider racially minoritised bearers of cultural capitals. Indeed, as Ong (1999) poses in her study of affluent Hong Kong Chinese migrants to northern California:

> ‘Bourdieu’s concept of habitus and capital acquisition seems to work seamlessly when applied to French society […]. But what happens when strategies of cultural accumulation run up against regimes of racial difference and hierarchy, so that the possession of cultural capital is rendered somewhat ineffectual for being embodied in racially inferior agents?’ (p.93)

Implicit in Ong’s own question is the white normativity of “French society” such that race need not be specified, as contrasted with the specification of “racially inferior agents”. The omission, whether intentional or not, is a case in point.

When it comes to cultural capitals embodied by those racially minoritised in Western contexts, there are, as Ong (1999) puts it, “limits to cultural accumulation” (p.91). Such racially minoritised subjects “may be economically correct in terms of […] capital, but culturally incorrect in terms of ethnicity” (p.113), such that their cultural capitals, in their racialised embodiment, “can only go so far” (p.92). This is because the power to legitimate such capitals rests with those judging them, that is, the racially dominant in a given site of capital legitimation: “the blending of a racialized person with a certain set of symbolic capital must be read as acceptable by the receiving society before any social prestige can accrue to such an embodiment of ‘correct’ taste and accomplishment.” (p.92) As documented by both Puwar and Ong, even where there is a match between cultural capital and its field, there is another match, unnoticed – or taken for granted – by Bourdieu, which must be satisfied before the capital in question can be legitimated and operate as symbolic capital, namely the match between cultural capital and its embodiment. When cultural capitals valued in predominantly white, Western fields are embodied by the racially minoritised, the legitimation of that capital as symbolic capital can be impeded, or even blocked altogether, due to the “perceived mismatch […], from the hegemonic standpoint, between the […] capital and its embodiment” (Ong 1999, p.92).

In the field of the sociology of education, Derron Wallace (2017) examines how cultural capitals possessed by Black Caribbean secondary school pupils are read and evaluated by their teachers. Wallace identifies “‘race’ and racism as social factors that complicate class (dis)advantage” (p.908), highlighting the intersections of race and class in evaluations of cultural capital. Pointing out that race “matters in the operationalisation and accumulation of cultural capital” (p.920), he emphasises the need for “discussions of cultural capital in raced terms” (p,908). These are indeed issues taken up in the present study. Where I depart from Wallace’s approach, however, is in the framing of the cultural capitals possessed by the Black youth in his study, Wallace frames these as “Black cultural capital”, which he defines as “the appropriation of middle class values by [B]lack ethnics.” (p.907) Such an approach tends to racialise “middle class values” as inherently white in themselves, whilst Black subjects “infuse [B]lack history and style” into these “to assert their racial identity while using cultural capital” (p.915), rather than attending to the *embodiment* of cultural capitals by differently racialised subjects. The latter is the approach that I take in this study, focussing on the embodiment by racially minoritised subjects of cultural capitals that are often *associated* with and *assumed* to be exclusively the domain of whiteness, yet can, at least technically, be embodied by anyone. Moreover, Wallace examines the “benefits of” and “backlash to” the mobilisation of such capitals by Black youth, noting that the right uses of cultural capitals can "offset potential marginalisation" (p.915). Although Wallace does not frame it as such, this can be seen as a question of the recognition of cultural capitals as symbolic capital, specifically the conditions under which cultural capitals embodied by Black subjects are – or are not – successfully legitimated as symbolic capital.

Lastly, Ong (1999) suggests the link between such contestations of the legitimacy of cultural capital and the migratisation of racially minoritised subjects: "Nonwhite residents and immigrants in the West are accustomed to being asked, Where are you from? or on extreme occasions being told 'to go home' because they do not match the ideal image of, for instance, an American citizen." (p.92) Such migratisation is also evident in Puwar's (2004) analysis of the framing of racially minoritised bodies as "space invaders" in historically white spaces of privilege. At the same time, it is worth noting that, depending on the situation, the legitimation of these cultural capitals may not be blocked entirely. Legitimation can be partial and contingent, resulting in what Puwar calls "differentiated inclusion." (p.58) Such partial inclusion can, of course, also simultaneously entail more "subtle forms of exclusion", rendering racially minoritised subjects "both insiders and outsiders" at the same time. (ibid.) In the present study, I build on Ong's and Puwar's work by drawing out the relationship between contestations of cultural capital in their embodiments and migratisation more explicitly, and investigating this more fully.

3. Methodology

As discussed in Chapter 2, a review of the extant literature made clear the dearth of empirical research on the experiences of racially minoritised privileged migrants. As such, I wanted to investigate the experiences of such mobile subjects specifically, rather than as a footnote in a wider study on privileged migration that either assumes that racial minoritisation does not make much of a difference, or brackets off such experiences as fundamentally different from those of privileged migrants racialised as white. In so doing, my aim was to make an empirical contribution regarding the experiences of racially minoritised subjects engaging in privileged forms of migration – a kind of data missing from, or at least obscured in, the extant literature on privileged migration. Specifically, I wanted to find out about their experiences of migratisation, that is, their construction as out of place where they were, belonging elsewhere. Thus, my research objective was to generate rich, qualitative data on the participants' experiences of migratisation. In turn, my theoretical aim was to establish the component elements of and dynamics involved in processes of migratisation. On a broader scale, the ultimate aim of this study was to contribute to a better understanding of how race and class mediate privilege in migration. In the sections that follow, I outline how I went about meeting this aims methodologically, first by discussing the evolution of my research questions, followed by my research design and methods of participant recruitment, including a rationale for the methods used. I then discuss my approach to data analysis, tracing the emergence of theory through iterative and inductive – or recursive – analysis. This is followed by a reflexive discussion on my positionality as both researcher and a member of the research population, and, lastly, a discussion of other ethical considerations in this project.

Working "up" from the data: the evolution of a research question

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the research questions with which I started this project are not the same as the ones I ended up answering. Or, rather, the first question – the opening salvo – remained the same, but the rest developed in a different direction than anticipated. That initial question was, itself, about a question, namely: What happens when the question, “Where are you from?” is posed to those who grew up internationally, and thus don’t necessarily identify with their countries of birth, citizenship and/or parents’ birth or citizenship? What work does the question, “Where are you from?” do? I wanted to know about such individuals’ experiences of the question – how they understood the question, how it made them feel, and how they responded to it (“When someone asks you where you are from, what do you think they’re getting at? How do you feel? How do you respond?”). Originally, I had wanted to know what the participants’ responses to this question showed about their strategies for claiming belonging in the face of suggestions that they did not belong where they were. In other words, how did they *evade* or *mitigate* migratisation, through what I had called “strategies for belonging”? Furthermore, by investigating participants’ identifications and how they negotiated their senses of belonging, I had hoped to meet a decidedly methodologically de-nationalism aim: What are ways of defining belonging beyond references to the nation-state?

Yet, as Lyn Richards (2021) puts it, “if the project is qualitative, […] you don’t know in advance what may be learnt from the data.” (p.101) And “[q]ualitative research works up from the data.” (ibid.) As the interviews and preliminary analysis of them progressed, the crucial role played by cultural capitals in their experiences of migratisation (and the relevance of both Bourdieu’s theory of capitals and its limitations) became undeniable. Crucially, I found that the participants’ cultural capitals, rather than shielding them from migratisation and forming an arsenal of “strategies of belonging”, were often subject to fierce contestation, and that this had something to do with their migratisation. In other words, there was a lot to be investigated about the process of migratisation itself. My research question, therefore, was not so much what *happen*s, but what *is happening*, when “Where are you from?” is posed to racially minoritised subjects with internationally mobile upbringings? What is going on when this happens? What are the component elements and dynamics at play? Specifically, what does this tell us about how race and class intersect in processes of migratisation? How does race mediate privilege in migration? And, ultimately, what does this tell us about privilege in migration overall?

In terms of methodology, this led me to realise that, if, for the participants in this study, or indeed any racially minoritised subject, "to exist is to resist" (Emejulu and Sobande 2019), then that should be enough. To ask any more would be to confirm, instead, that to resist is to exist. As such, rather than demanding that the participants tell me all about how they had come up with their own definitions of belonging and identification in response to (and even transcending) migratisation, I made the decision simply to listen to them tell me about their lives and experiences, on their own terms. In other words, I switched from working deductively (or "top down") – trying to impose onto the interview data *a priori* research questions about identification and belonging, including strategies for and negotiations of belonging – to working inductively ("bottom up") (LeCompte and Schensul 2013, p.83), deriving questions from the data as analysis progressed. Moreover, as Margaret LeCompte and Jean Schensul (2013) put it, "ethnographers actually use both induction and deduction throughout their analysis, and they move back and forth between the two" (p.83), namely through recursivity. Recursive analysis is "a cyclical process of raising questions, collecting data to answer them, conducting preliminary analysis, and then reformulating old or generating new questions to pursue, based on the previous analysis." (p.66) The principle of recursivity is particularly apt for an exploratory study in an understudied field, such as the present project. Indeed, a key feature of my research design (discussed in the next section) was to conduct multiple interviews with each participant, rather than a single interview with a larger number of participants. A main (albeit not only) reason for this decision was to facilitate the kind of recursive process that "generates new questions and variable domains not anticipated in earlier stages." (ibid.)

For example, the Bourdieusian framework that I employ in this study became relevant through induction, when I noticed that a common theme underlying the participants' stories of migratisation was the contestation of the legitimacy of their cultural capitals (often accompanied by refusals to legitimate them as symbolic capital, albeit in different ways in different contexts). At the same time, illustrating how recursivity involves moving between both induction and deduction, once I had inductively identified the relevance of Bourdieu's theory of the states of cultural capital to my analysis, I also used it deductively to structure my analysis of the dynamics involved in the contestations of cultural capitals in different states, at different sites and in different contexts. This, in turn, allowed for the emergence (Richards 2021; LeCompte and Schensul 2013) of the theoretical contribution of my thesis, namely the concept of situational migratisation. This deductive use of Bourdieusian theory also informed the conceptual structure of the thesis, namely organising the empirical chapters into contestations of cultural capitals in their institutionalised, embodied and linguistic states. As such, the recursive process continued beyond the reformulation of research questions and into the later stages of analysis (through open coding, more on which below).

Research design and participant recruitment

This study is exploratory in nature, with the aim of contributing both empirically and theoretically to an understudied field, namely the experiences of internationally mobile subjects who are both racially minoritised and relatively privileged in their mobilities. The objective of the study, therefore, was to generate rich, in-depth biographical accounts of racially minoritised privileged migrants. As such, I decided to employ a biographical narrative approach, making use chiefly of repeated semi-structured interviews and incorporating an element of music elicitation as well. Between August 2021 and July 2022, I conducted a series of three separate, semi-structured biographical narrative interviews each with eight different participants, totalling twenty-four interviews in all. The research population was defined as individuals who identified as visibly racialised and had had an internationally mobile upbringing due to their parents' work. As Dahinden et al. (2021) note, "[u]sually, categories such as *ethnicity, nationality* and *religion* serve migration researchers as pathfinders to the respective research population." (p.543, original emphasis) When one's research population is a diverse group of people who do not fall under such categorical umbrellas, however, locating those who meet the participant criteria can be difficult, as there is no single space that people such otherwise disparate people "meet or organize" on the basis of their shared characteristic (p.544). Rather than "hailing" from one nation-state or having migrated to the same nation-state(s), members of the target research population are, by definition, of diverse backgrounds and migration trajectories. This meant that there was no one space where I could readily access individuals matching such a description.

Therefore, I employed a combination of convenience and snowball sampling to recruit participants for this study. I began by approaching three personal contacts, including two individuals who had taken part in a previous study that I had conducted on a similar topic and fit the criteria for the current study. Two participants were introduced to me by colleagues and two were introduced through participants.

Six of the eight participants identified as female and two as male, and their ages ranged from late twenties to early forties. Whilst they had all grown up internationally mobile due largely to their parents' professions in fields such as banking, multinational corporations, international organisations and medicine, they all had varied migration trajectories across both the Global North and South, as outlined further in Chapter 4. The participants were also of a range of ethnic backgrounds (including Sudanese, Chinese Malaysian, Colombian, Afro-Caribbean, Indian and mixed Filipino-Chinese-Irish) and nationalities. Some had passports from the countries in which they were born (in some cases with dual citizenship), whilst other had acquired other nationalities (or permanent residency statuses) later in their lives. Furthermore, the participants have held the statuses of both "migrant" and "citizen" (Anderson 2019; Dahinden 2016) in different nation states at different points in their lives. Early on in my research, whenever I told others, particularly scholars, about my project, the most common question that I was asked – of all questions – was where my participants were from. As I replied, "All over," I felt as though I was breaking the rules by not focussing on one "sending" or "receiving" country, and that this rendered my research somehow less principled, weakening its validity. Yet, such a question illustrates the problem of methodological nationalism in the social sciences: "a model that naturalises the nation state as a container of social processes and thereby pre-determines and defines certain objects of sociological enquiry" (Anderson 2019, p.3). Indeed, the fact that academics were the most common querent of this methodological question illustrates how the "uncritical embracing of the nation/state/society as a natural and political form" has actually "implicated scholars in nation state building processes." (ibid.) Whilst my analysis found that nationality and citizenship were still a pervasive structuring force in the participants' lives, especially in its intersection with race and class, I sought to avoid the production of a methodologically nationalist account – that is, to practise what

Anderson (2019) calls methodological de-nationalism – by engaging participants of a wide range of nationalities, whose lives had traversed a wide range of countries.

Particularly when factoring in disruptions caused by the global Covid-19 pandemic and the logistics of having moved to a university shortly after having begun fieldwork (which entailed needing to suspend fieldwork whilst re-applying for ethics approval at my new institution), I needed to ensure that fieldwork and analysis could be completed within the time and resource constraints of the project. Specifically, I had to make a choice between interviewing a large number of participants once or keeping the sample size small and interviewing each participant multiple times. I decided on the latter, keeping the sample size at eight and focussing instead on three interviews carried out longitudinally with each participant. This is because my research objective was to generate detailed, in-depth narratives of an ethnographic nature, rather than to generate a huge, representative sample or to generalise from my findings in a totalising way. As Charlotte Aull Davies (2002) says of reflexive ethnography, "it is not necessary to seek out a large number of individuals, so much as to find those with broad experience and in-depth knowledge of a particular social and cultural milieu and the ability to reflect upon and discuss this knowledge." (p.170)

At the same time, "[t]heory is always the end goal of research, even small-scale research." (Richards 2021, p.102) Whilst theoretical abstraction from data is discussed further in the section on data analysis, below, key to this study's inductive approach to analysis is the distinction between "empirical generalizations to a larger population, which highlights the question of representativeness, and theoretical induction, in which social and cultural processes observed in individual cases are argued to be relevant in other contexts." (Davies 2002, p.170) In other words, "'generating insights into social processes' is not the same as 'generalising about them'" (Chamberlayne et al. 2000, p.22), and my goal in this study is the former, not the latter. Furthermore, conducting multiple interviews with each participant allowed sufficient time to "establish trust, and get past the 'yes, no, well' of minimal and tokenistic responses." (Gunaratnam 2003, p.89) Building trust with participants was particularly important in this project, as I was asking them to tell me about themselves and share stories of a personal nature with me.

In this way, conducting a sequence of interviews over time, rather than one interview in a single encounter, was a "methodological and political process of earning the right to hear accounts of experiences and feelings in the interview." (ibid.)

Ongoing health risks posed by the Covid-19 pandemic during the period of fieldwork and the distribution of participants' geographical locations across continents made it both ill-advised and infeasible for me to travel to meet with all of them. As such, all of the interviews were conducted online via video conference, using my university-issued Microsoft Teams account. In this way, these video interviews were a way to capture social interactions that were "spatially dislocated, time-bounded and characterized by intimacy at a distance." (Hockey and Forsey 2012, p.74) In all of the online interviews, with the participants' consent, the participants' and my cameras were switched on so that we could see each other. The video, however, was not recorded, in order to protect the participants' anonymity. Again, with the participants' consent, only the audio of each interview was recorded, using a separate, securely-stored digital voice recorder on my end. The interviews transcribed using Microsoft Teams, with close monitoring of misspellings, particularly of non-Anglo or -European words, and corrected by hand. The transcriptions were stored in a password-protected, secure facility.

"Being with": ethnographic interviews and music elicitation

> '[…][A]s an ethnographer I am not entirely convinced or happy about the often derogatory differentiations that are made between ethnography and interviews (where ethnography is always superior), or the claims that ethnography is "naturalistic" and interviews are not. It very much depends on what sort of ethnography and what sort of interviews you are doing.' (Gunaratnam 2013, p.158)

Because this study was conducted via video conferencing at a distance across cities, countries and continents, and with participants who mostly did not know one another and would not have gathered in any single "naturally" occurring social space, I have not conducted any participant observation. Nevertheless, this study is an ethnographic one, in two principal ways: firstly, in the way in which I have approached the narrative interview (specifically as an "ethnographic interview" (Hockey and Forsey 2012)), and secondly, in my overall approach to the research process, particularly as a form of “iterative-inductive research that evolves in design through the study” (O’Reilly 2009, p.52). As Jenny Hockey and Martin Forsey (2012) argue, “ethnography is not participant observation.” (p.69) Hockey and Forsey (2012) argue that ethnography flows “more from engaged listening than anything else” (p.74), and in the story-based approach (Hollway and Jefferson 2011; see also Flick 2018) that I took to the biographical narrative interviews, “the researcher’s responsibility is to be a good listener and the interviewee is a story-teller rather than a respondent.” (Hollway and Jefferson 2011, p.31) My use of the narrative interview is rooted in the position that “stories based upon events in people’s lives (rather than opinions, justifications and generalizations) provide valuable analytic opportunities for understanding the complexity of accounts of lived experience” (Gunaratnam 2003, p.129). By treating the interview as an ethnographic site and immersing myself in the stories of the participants, I was able to produce “richly written accounts that respect the irreducibility of human experience.” (O’Reilly 2009, p.3)

Each of the online interviews with each participant lasted between one to two hours (and sometimes more), totalling a minimum of three to six hours spent with each participant. This was often more, when counting follow-up correspondence carried out over email and/or video conferencing as necessary. After ensuring that each participant had read and understood the participant information sheet and signed the consent form (see Appendices 1 and 2), and checking if they had any questions for me, I took as a starting point the “lightly-structured depth interview” of Tom Wengraf’s (2001) biographical narrative interview method (BNIM), in which:

> ‘all your other interventions are reduced to a minimum and drained of any particular content, for as long as possible you give up control, refuse to take up offers of partial control, and maintain the maximum of power-asymmetry *against* yourself.’ (p.113)

I began each participant’s first of three interviews with a SQUIN (Single Question aimed at Inducing Narrative”. Specifically, I asked each participant to tell me about their migration history, from birth to the present day. I left it to each participant to dictate the scale at which they wanted to describe their moves, both spatially (e.g. country, city, etc.) and temporally (e.g. by calendar year, own ages, etc.). I also had a list of demographic information that I wanted to know (e.g. nationalities, parents' nationalities, types of schools attended, languages spoken, etc.), but first let the participant tell me their story as they wanted to, up until the present day. If any of the demographic information had not already been covered by their narrative, I asked specific questions at the end. The first interview was designed chiefly to get to know the participant's background and to build a rapport with them, especially those whom I was meeting for the first time, and to collect largely demographic data, and therefore did not contain in-depth questions. Although it was the most factual of the three interviews, the single question about their migration history already elicited a great deal of reflection and detailed story-telling about participants' personal experiences over the course of their lives. Whilst aiming to keep my interventions to a minimum, my work was also rooted in a constructionist epistemology, acknowledging that "meaning is socially constructed; all knowledge is created from the action taken to obtain it." (Holstein and Gubrium 1995, p.3) At the same time, I made a conscious effort to focus my interventions on eliciting stories and asking open-ended questions. Indeed, beyond the scripted SQUIN in the first interview and a few other set questions in the subsequent interviews (more on which below), the interviews were story-based (Gunaratnam, 2003; Flick, 2018; Holloway and Jefferson, 2011) and progressed in a largely organic and conversational way.

As the interviews were conducted at a physical distance through a two-dimensional computer screen, I wanted to find some way to create a sense of "being with" the participants (Pink 2011), that is, sensory ethnography: "a practice that seeks routes to understanding the experiences and meanings of other people's lives through different variations of being with, and doing things with them." (p.270) Since it was not possible for me to be with or do things with the participants in person, I needed to find a way to do this virtually. In order to generate story-telling that might not have been elicited by means of an online interview alone (or even a succession of them), I looked into collaborative and multisensory methods (Pink 2011; Dattatreyan and Marrero-Guillamón 2019). Music elicitation (Allet 2010), particularly as "an interactive and creative addition to a life-story narrative interview" (Levell 2019), emerged as one such method that was both appropriate and feasible for my objectives.

Compared to concrete objects involving senses such as sight, touch and smell, music was relatively accessible in a virtual format, as screen-sharing meant that both the participant and I could view and listen to the same piece of music at the same time. Nicola Allet (2010) defines music elicitation as “the integration of the music listening experience into research interviews to draw out or trigger memory, affective experience and descriptive in-depth discussion.” (p.3) At the end of the first interview and ahead of the second, I asked each participant to select a piece of music that they felt in any way captured some aspect of their internationally mobile upbringing. At the start of the second interview, I asked each participant to tell me the piece of music they had chosen. Where possible, we listened to the music together, by searching for an online video of the music on my computer and screensharing for the duration of the video. Once the music had finished playing, I asked the participant to tell me about their chosen music’s significance to them. Thus, I decided to incorporate music elicitation into the second interview in each participant’s series of three interviews.

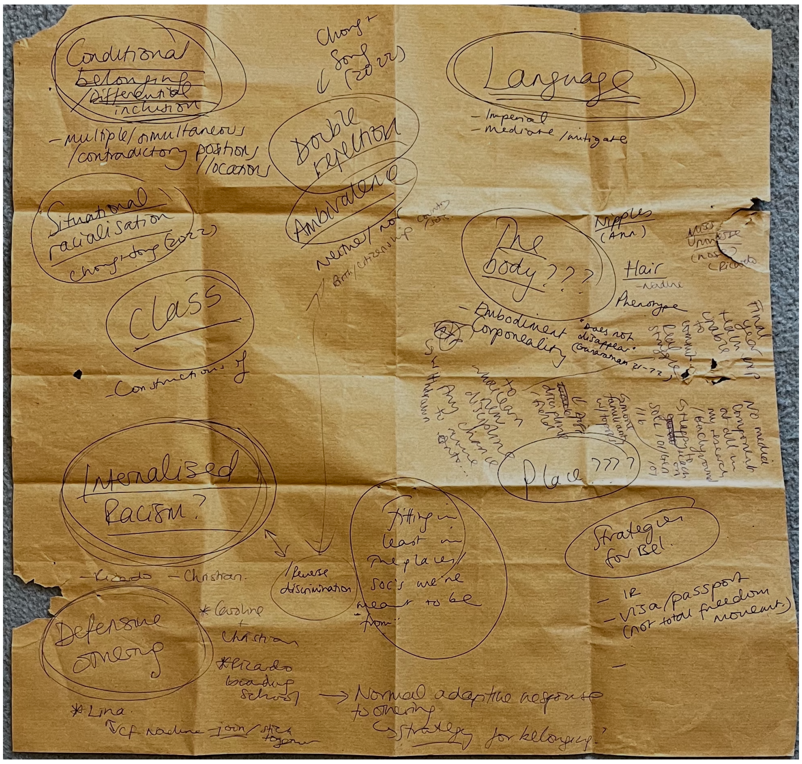
Whilst I had only intended the music to be a jumping-off point for the questions I had prepared, it was an effective method in prompting in-depth discussions, not only of the facts of participants’ migration trajectories but of their feelings and lived experiences. Music was a powerful tool in unlocking memories from their internationally mobile upbringings, which served as an entryway into rich, detailed stories of their experiences, allowing me to collect “thick and rich descriptions” (Level 2019, p.2). In this way, we were able to get beyond the somewhat more rehearsed, stock stories (or “rational, sanitized, and self-conscious responses” (ibid.)) that the participants may have been used to telling – stories of the “citizen of the world” cosmopolitanism often demanded of “privileged” migrants, perhaps. Thus, music elicitation provided “a route to gather data that remains largely unspoken in the conventional qualitative interview”, particularly when it came to “sensitive research” (ibid.), such as racism and migratisation. The incorporation of music was for the purposes of eliciting narrative, rather than for analysis of the music selection *per se* (e.g. music, lyrics, if any).

Furthermore, as indicated by one participant’s feedback that selecting their piece of music “was the best bit of homework I’ve ever had in my life,” this participatory, arts-based method made for a “more engaging and empowering experience” (Levell 2019, p.9) for the participants. Not only were the participants directly engaged in the task of identifying pieces of music that “convey parts of their life story” (Levell 2019, p.2), but the method gave them “greater control of the interview space” (ibid.) in that they could “preplan their contribution in some ways, through selecting the music” (p.3), thus disrupting some of the power imbalances between researcher and participant. I found this to be particularly important given the personal nature of what I was asking the participants to discuss with me. The participants’ narrations of their chosen music’s significance to them led quite organically into the main topic of discussion I had planned for the second interview, which was primarily about participants’ experiences of the question, “Where are you from?”

The third interview was the least structured of all. It was also the most in-depth, given what had already been discussed in the previous two interviews. If the topics had not already come up over the course of the previous interviews, I did ask the questions I had originally prepared about belonging and identification, which I had originally thought were going to be the main focus of the study (“Where/to what/whom do you feel you belong?” “With what/where/whom do you identify?”). Mostly, however, the third interview consisted of asking for more details about things that had come up previously, with migratisation and race in mind. In addition to the formal interviews, I conducted follow-up correspondence with some participants as necessary, via e-mail, voice notes and video conference. Such correspondence included checking the accuracy of transcripts, as well as asking for clarification, elaboration or further information.

“Coding on”: recursive data analysis

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, recursivity informed the evolution of my research questions over the course of the project. Beyond the research question, however, the recursive process also extended to data analysis, with the analysis of ethnographic data being a “cyclical and interactive process of data collection, analysis, and interpretation” (LeCompte and Schensul 2013, p.65). I approached data analysis in such an iterative way, as a process by which to “determine on an ongoing basis what the data mean" (p.65), in other words allowing "theory to emerge and change during analysis" (Chamberlayne et al. 2000, p.19). Specifically, I employed a process of what Richards (2021) calls "coding on", or "revising coding […] to create newly discovered categories" (p.134), which is done continuously "as the material builds up" (p.133). To begin with, I carried out "open coding" (p.106), which involved many repeated readings of the interview transcripts, accompanied by three types of reflections: annotations, memos and links to related material within the project (or out from it) (p.107). I annotated the transcripts electronically, using the comments function in Microsoft Word. As for themes and ideas as they emerged more widely across interview transcripts, that is, "*across* the data, and *above* the individual records" (p.119, original emphasis), I made memos of these by hand. As Richards puts it: "Qualitative researchers don't need instructions to draw models of what they see going on in their data. […] For many, paper, whiteboards and tablecloths work best." (p.111) For my data visualisations of themes across participants' transcripts, I used a pen and large pieces of paper, although due to a pet cat with a penchant for eating paper, these had to be neatly folded and put away at the end of each day. (See **Figure 1** for an early example, with bites taken out.) I used a similar method to denote thematic links amongst participants' stories (see **Figure 2**).



Conditional belonging /differential inclusion
– multiple/simultaneous /contradictory positions /locations
Chong + Song (2022)
Double rejection
Ambivalence
neither/nor
Birth/citizenship
country
Situational racialisation
Chong + Song (2022)
Class
– Constructions of
Language
– Imperial
– Mediate /mitigate
The body???
Nipples (Ann)
Hair
– Nadine
Phenotype
– Embodiment
Corporeality
"does not disappear." (Gunaraman 21–22)
Place???
No medical
Internalised Racism?
– Ricardo – Christian.
/reverse discrimination
Fitting in least in the places/socs we're meant to be from
Strategies for Bel.
– IR
– Visa/passport (not total freedom movement)
Defensive othering
*Caroline + Christian
*Ricardo boarding school
*Lina
cf. Nadine – join/stick together
→ Normal adaptive response to othering
Strategy for belonging?

Figure 1

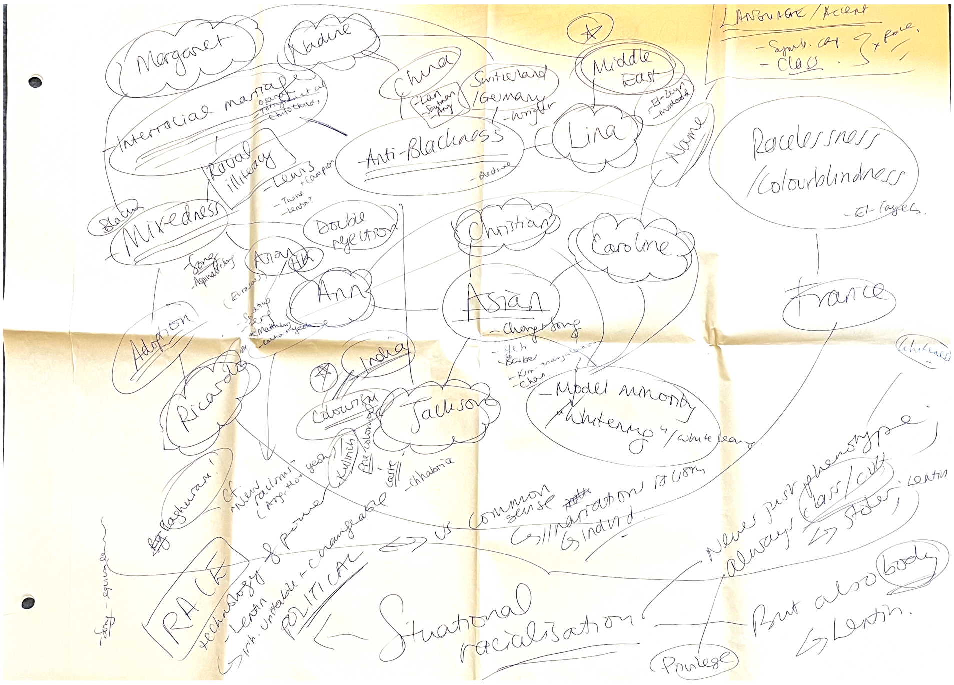

LANGUAGE / ACCENT
Margaret
Nadine
China
Switzerland /Germany
Middle East
Interracial marriage
Anti-Blackness
Lina
Name
Racelessness /Colourblindness
Mixedness
Double rejection
Christian
Caroline
France
Adoption
Ann
Asian
Ricardo
India
Colourism
Jackson
Model minority
Whitening
US common sense
never just phenotype
always class/caste
RACE
technology of power
POLITICAL
Situational racialization
But also body
Privilege

Figure 2

These manual memos were my entryway into three forms of coding: descriptive, topic and analytical (Richards 2021). Descriptive coding, which involves storing information about the "people or places or cases being studied" (p.124), is a fairly "matter-of-fact" process (p.129) that I employed to record each participant's migration history, their citizenship(s), their educational backgrounds and languages spoken (see **Table 1** in **Chapter 4** for a tabulation of this). Throughout data analysis, however, I worked particularly recursively between the latter two, more substantive and interpretive forms of coding, namely topic coding, or "labelling text according to its subject" (p.124) and analytical coding – "coding that comes from interpretation and reflection on meaning" (p.129) that "leads to theory 'emergence'". (p.124) In the early stages of topic coding, I used chunking, or when data is "treated initially as big clumps or pieces […] that evoke or represent a particular concept or phenomenon of interest in the study" (p.80), to generate "rather large categories" (p.82) into which interview material was "chunked" – many of which did not end up in the final project (more on which shortly).

As Richards (2021) puts it:

> 'There is no need to 'get it right' first time. Coding with a broad brush, you gather everything about a general topic in one place. Then, as the subtler meanings emerge, revisit and code on from that broad category to codes that reflect finer dimensions.' (p.134)

As I worked iteratively between topic and analytical coding, these codes became more refined. For example, as I coded the participants' narrations of their encounters with the question, "Where are you from?", one topic that kept coming up was "the body" (a sub-code being "hair"). As I gathered all of the chunked data with this code across participants' transcripts, my initial analytical coding of this topic code was "racialisation through the body (materiality of race)". However, as I continued to read the data over and over again, especially in conjunction with the repeated instances of words like "weird" and "bizarre" – concepts of "oddity" – in the participants' descriptions of themselves as they recounted experiences with "Where are you from?", I began to see that underlying these references to the body were questions of the embodiment of cultural capitals. Working inductively in this way, I began making a connection between migratisation and *contestations* of the *legitimacy* of cultural capitals in their racially minoritised embodiments. Specifically, through mapping and re-mapping the data, I hit upon a threefold alignment that must be perceived if cultural capitals are to be recognised as symbolic capital: between cultural capital, field and embodiment (discussed in Chapter 5). Moreover, I realised that the body was pertinent in evaluations of cultural capitals in all states, not just embodied ones. Underlying the connection between migratisation and cultural capital contestation were the imbrications of race and class in refusals to legitimate them as symbolic capital, such that they were co-constitutive and inseparable, rendering them co-constitutive and inseparable in processes of migratisation.

Revisiting Bourdieu at this stage (as well as the limitations of Bourdieu when it comes to racially minoritised embodiments of cultural capital), I began to see that the cultural capitals being contested across the participants' accounts could be categorised into three distinct (although overlapping) states, namely institutionalised, embodied and linguistic. And yet, the legitimacy of cultural capitals in all three states were routinely contested – not just those in the embodied state. Within institutionalised cultural capitals, which were supposed to operate independently of embodiment, I noticed that educational qualifications and nationalities (including but not limited to passports) were commonly contested across all participants. Embodied cultural capitals whose legitimacy was questioned included cultural knowledge (e.g. familiarity with popular culture), clothing, and demeanour, as well as interests, tastes and preferences (e.g. hobbies or food). Contestations cultural capitals in each state drew on racialised, classed and gendered expectations in slightly different ways, for example with gender being especially being pronounced in the contestation of embodied cultural capitals. This went on to become how I organised my empirical analysis, as reflected in **Chapters 6-8**, respectively.

Moreover, I realised that the participants' cultural capitals were being contested – and the participants themselves were being migratised – in different ways and to varying degrees, across different contexts. These contexts spanned the following: Western, predominantly white contexts; contexts of co-ethnicity (i.e. amongst people racialised in the same or similar ways); and contexts with "other Others" (i.e. those who are also racially minoritised but racialised differently). In other words, the ways in which race and class operated and intersected were situational; as such, migratisation was situational. Thus, the theoretical contribution of my work, namely the concept of situational migratisation, was born. As Richards puts it, in qualitative data analysis, "You want to arrive at an *explanation*, to report *analysis*, not just an opinion you started with or a description of what you saw and heard." (2021, p.102) And an ethnographic approach to qualitative data analysis involves moving between levels of abstraction – shifting from concrete – including "local explanations given by participants" – to abstract (and back). (LeCompte and Schensul 2013, p.78) As LeCompte and Schensul (2013) outline: "As the level of abstraction increases, the level of explanation becomes more and more global or general and in a sense becomes more applicable to events and phenomena in larger arenas." (p.78) This is evident in the evolution of my analytical coding from the materialities of race in the participants'' experiences to the imbrications of race and class in migratisation, and further still to situational migratisation. **Figures 3-5** illustrate this evolution in levels of abstraction over the course of my recursive data analysis, as my ideas took shape.

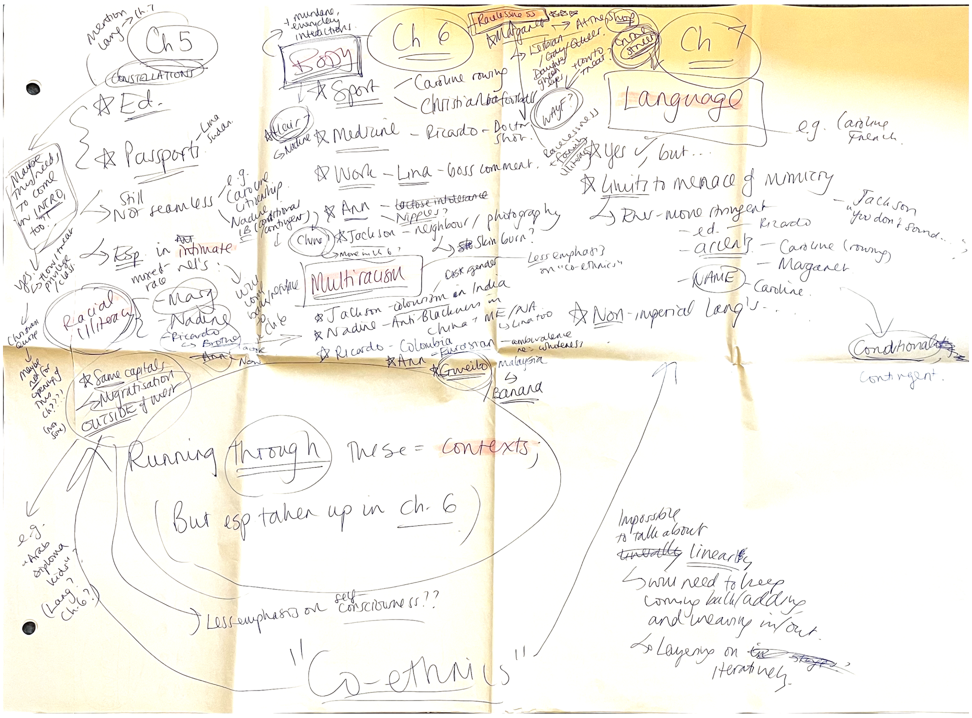
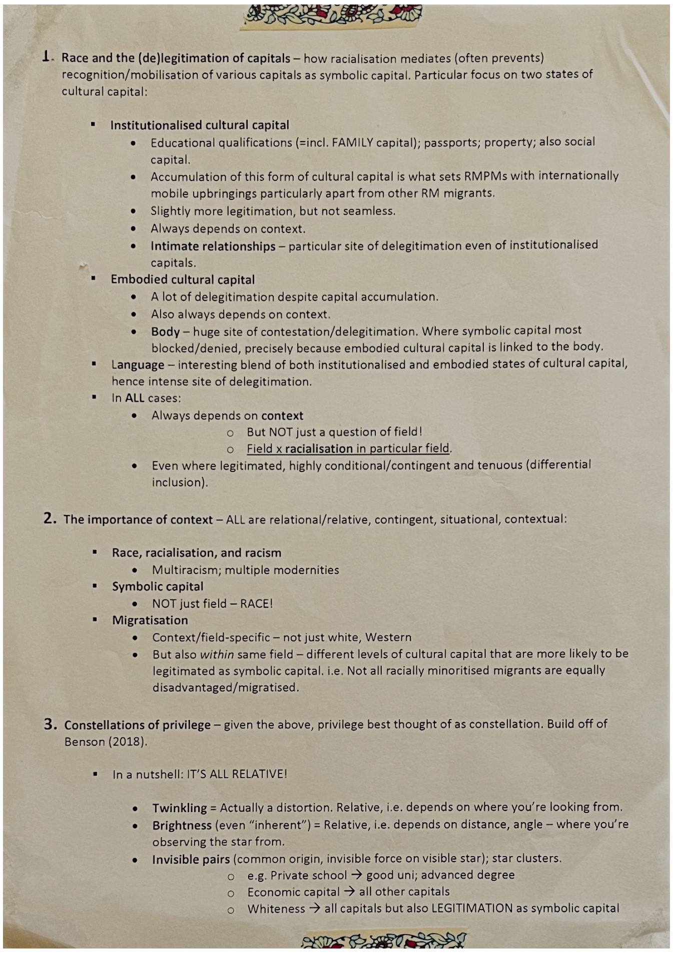

mention lang → Ch. 7
Ch 5
CONSTELLATIONS
☆ Ed.
☆ Passports – Lina Sudan
Maybe this needs to come in INTRO, too.
Still Not seamless – e.g. Caroline citizenship, Nadine LB (conditional/contingent)
Esp. in intimate rel's: mixed-race
yes. flow / tread privilege / class.
Racial illiteracy
– Mary – Nadine – Ricardo ↳ Brother – Ann
Christian quote
maybe not for opening of this ch??? (not sure)
☆ Same capitals
Migratisation OUTSIDE of west
+ mundane, everyday interactions
Body
Ch 6
☆ Sport – Caroline rowing – Christian football
Affair? ↳ Nadine
☆ Medicine – Ricardo – Doctor show.
☆ Work – Lina – boss comment.
☆ Ann – ~~lactose intolerance~~ – Nipples?
☆ Jackson – neighbour / photography ↳ Skin burn?
China ↳ more in ch 6?
will come back/revisit to ch 6
Multiracism
case gender
Less emphasis on "co-ethnics"
☆ Jackson – colourism in India
☆ Nadine – Anti-Blackness in China + ME/NA ↳ Lina too
☆ Ricardo – Colombia
☆ Ann – Eurasian – ambivalence re: whiteness
☆ Gweilo Malaysia ↳ Banana
Racelessness
☆ Margaret → At the Shop
↳ Lesbian / Gay / Queer. Daughter green eyes
How to treat?
On the street
WAYF?
Racelessness & family illiteracy
Ch 7
Language
e.g. Caroline French
☆ Yes ✓, but...
☆ Limits to menace of mimicry
– Jackson "You don't sound..."
↳ Ever-more stringent
– ed. – Ricardo
– accents – Caroline (rowing) – Margaret
– NAME – Caroline.
☆ Non-imperial lang's...
Conditional
contingent.
Running through these = contexts,
(But esp taken up in Ch. 6)
Less emphasis on self-consciousness??
e.g. "Arab diploma kids"? (Lang? Ch. 6?)
"Co-ethnics"
Impossible to talk about ~~linearly~~ linearity
↳ will need to keep coming back/adding and weaving in/out.
↳ Layering on ~~stages~~? iteratively.

Figure 3

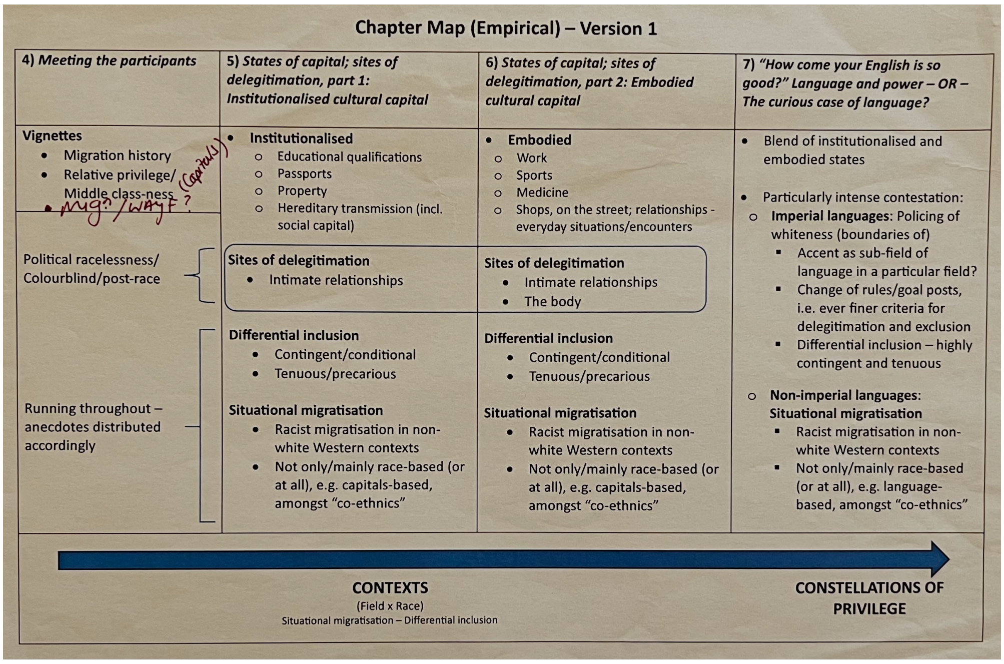


1. **Race and the (de)legitimation of capitals** – how racialisation mediates (often prevents) recognition/mobilisation of various capitals as symbolic capital. Particular focus on two states of cultural capital:
    - **Institutionalised cultural capital**
        - Educational qualifications (=incl. FAMILY capital); passports; property; also social capital.
        - Accumulation of this form of cultural capital is what sets RMPMs with internationally mobile upbringings particularly apart from other RM migrants.
        - Slightly more legitimation, but not seamless.
        - Always depends on context.
        - **Intimate relationships** – particular site of delegitimation even of institutionalised capitals.
    - **Embodied cultural capital**
        - A lot of delegitimation despite capital accumulation.
        - Also always depends on context.
        - **Body** – huge site of contestation/delegitimation. Where symbolic capital most blocked/denied, precisely because embodied cultural capital is linked to the body.
    - **Language** – interesting blend of both institutionalised and embodied states of cultural capital, hence intense site of delegitimation.
    - In **ALL** cases:
        - Always depends on **context**
            - But NOT just a question of field!
            - Field x **racialisation** in particular field.
        - Even where legitimated, highly conditional/contingent and tenuous (differential inclusion).

2. **The importance of context** – ALL are relational/relative, contingent, situational, contextual:
    - **Race, racialisation, and racism**
        - Multiracism; multiple modernities
    - **Symbolic capital**
        - NOT just field – RACE!
    - **Migratisation**
        - Context/field-specific – not just white, Western
        - But also *within* same field – different levels of cultural capital that are more likely to be legitimated as symbolic capital. i.e. Not all racially minoritised migrants are equally disadvantaged/migratised.

3. **Constellations of privilege** – given the above, privilege best thought of as constellation. Build off of Benson (2018).
    - In a nutshell: IT'S ALL RELATIVE!
        - **Twinkling** = Actually a distortion. Relative, i.e. depends on where you're looking from.
        - **Brightness** (even "inherent") = Relative, i.e. depends on distance, angle – where you're observing the star from.
        - **Invisible pairs** (common origin, invisible force on visible star); star clusters.
            - e.g. Private school → good uni; advanced degree
            - Economic capital → all other capitals
            - Whiteness → all capitals but also LEGITIMATION as symbolic capital

Figure 4



Chapter Map (Empirical) – Version 1

4) *Meeting the participants*	5) *States of capital; sites of delegitimation, part 1: Institutionalised cultural capital*	6) *States of capital; sites of delegitimation, part 2: Embodied cultural capital*	7) *"How come your English is so good?" Language and power – OR – The curious case of language?*
Vignettes • Migration history • Relative privilege/ Middle class-ness (Capitals) • Mig?/WAYF?	• **Institutionalised** ○ Educational qualifications ○ Passports ○ Property ○ Hereditary transmission (incl. social capital)	• **Embodied** ○ Work ○ Sports ○ Medicine ○ Shops, on the street; relationships - everyday situations/encounters	• Blend of institutionalised and embodied states
Political racelessness/ Colourblind/post-race	**Sites of delegitimation** • Intimate relationships	**Sites of delegitimation** • Intimate relationships • The body	• Particularly intense contestation: ○ **Imperial languages:** Policing of whiteness (boundaries of) ▪ Accent as sub-field of language in a particular field? ▪ Change of rules/goal posts, i.e. ever finer criteria for delegitimation and exclusion ▪ Differential inclusion – highly contingent and tenuous
Running throughout – anecdotes distributed accordingly	**Differential inclusion** • Contingent/conditional • Tenuous/precarious **Situational migratisation** • Racist migratisation in non-white Western contexts • Not only/mainly race-based (or at all), e.g. capitals-based, amongst "co-ethnics"	**Differential inclusion** • Contingent/conditional • Tenuous/precarious **Situational migratisation** • Racist migratisation in non-white Western contexts • Not only/mainly race-based (or at all), e.g. capitals-based, amongst "co-ethnics"	○ **Non-imperial languages: Situational migratisation** ▪ Racist migratisation in non-white Western contexts ▪ Not only/mainly race-based (or at all), e.g. language-based, amongst "co-ethnics"

CONTEXTS
(Field x Race)
Situational migratisation – Differential inclusion

CONSTELLATIONS OF PRIVILEGE

Figure 5

At the heart of this recursive process of data analysis were responding flexibly (that is, inductively) to unexpected findings, or “turning surprises into explanations” (Richards 2021, p.101). As mentioned, a topic that kept emerging from the data – in interview after interview and throughout the various stages of coding – was the significance of the body as a site for the articulation of race. This was a finding that caught me by surprise and made me feel a degree of discomfort, as it went against my sociological training, which had drummed into me that race was but a social construct. At the same time, this drove home for me the aptness of Lentin’s observation that “[a]ntiracists are very good at denying the biological facticity of race, but not very good at explaining *what* is social about race” (Lentin 2020, p.31), as well as the real, material effects of race as rule. This, in turn, went on to form a foundational part of my analysis centred on the embodiment of cultural capitals. Similarly, the concept of situational migratisation was one whose kernel lay in surprise. Originally, I had expected to hear mostly about stories of migratisation in white, Western contexts, it soon became clear that the participants experienced migratisation across a wide variety of contexts, not just in white Western ones. This was, again, intimately tied up with readings of the participants’ cultural capital, although race and class seemed to be operating differently these contexts. Thus, contributing theoretically to the situationality of migratisation also became an aim. Indeed, as Hernán Vera and Joe R. Feagin (2004) point out, when it comes to the study of racist events, it is imperative to strive for a “nuanced, complex, and holistic understanding of multi-dimensional racialized events as they play out in context, space, and time.” (p.67) The persistence – against “post-national” narratives – of nationality as a component of privilege in migration was also a surprising finding, and is addressed in Chapter 6.

Still, as can be seen across **Figures 1-5**, there are numerous topics and concomitant analyses that have not ended up in this final report, such as internalised racism, defensive othering, constellations of privilege, to name but a few – not forgetting, of course, my original, deductively-imposed concept of strategies for belonging. As Richards (2021) explains: “Coding is always for a purpose, and that purpose is established by the research question.” (p.122) For this, the guiding principle for determining which data and analysis to include and which to exclude was the extent to which it related to migratisation. There were, for example, plenty more data about race in the body than made the cut, but these did not relate to migratisation *per se*, that is, they did not appear to be underwritten by the imbrications of race and class (and were judged, instead, as illustrating racisms no less devastating, yet of far more widely studied varieties).

On positionality

> '*All* social researchers imbed their values, emotions, and understandings in their research. It is just that those holding to the traditional 'value neutral' position are generally unwilling to concede this point. In our view, it is better to make these matters public and subject to critical scrutiny as the research process proceeds.' (Vera and Feagin 2004, p.76, original emphasis)

The goal of empirical research in sociology is "not to present a value-neutral account, but to achieve nuanced, rich and meaningful interpretations of the social world and our place in it." (Benson and O'Reilly 2020, p.3) Instead of value neutrality, I endeavoured to practise a reflexive sociology (Vera and Feagin 2004; Benson and O'Reilly 2020; Dahinden et al. 2021), regarding reflexivity as an ongoing, active and iterative practice at all stages of research: "The point of reflexive practice is to continually reflect on and adapt to our own positionality as we become aware of it: it is reflexive and not reflective." (Vera and Feagin, p.8; see also Alexander (2004) on "reflexivity by rote.") During the interviews with participants, I tried to listen deeply and keep my interventions to a minimum. This is not, however, the same as what Claire Alexander (2004) calls "reflexive distancing", which "amounts to a denial of commonality and complicity in the research process" (p.143). Indeed, "[n]o research on race and ethnicity is either accidental or apolitical in its inception" (p.147). From the start of the project, I was upfront, both with the research participants and with myself, about the highly personal nature of my research: my interest in the topic had stemmed from my own positionality as a person whose background and migration history matched the description of those whom I was studying, and who had grown weary of being asked, "Where are you from?" Eschewing positivistic claims to a value neutral account whilst at the same time remaining alive o "disparate experiences along a racial hierarchy" (Song, 2004: 184) and to the analytical dangers of "racial matching" (Alexander, 2004; Gunaratnam, 2003), discussed below, this study is predicated on the understanding that "ethnographers' data are about something other than themselves of which they are nevertheless a part." (Davies, 2002: 199)

As the feminist pioneer Ann Oakley (1981) puts it, "the goal of finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when […] the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship." (p.41) Especially when discussions concern "intensely personal experiences", contrary to more positivistic concerns of "bias" or "contamination", Oakley deems personal involvement "problematic and ultimately unhelpful to avoid." (p.42) To this end, I did not refrain from answering any questions that the participants had about my own background and internationally mobile upbringing, nor from expressing my honest reactions to their stories of migratisation and, sometimes, flagrant racism – whether these were shock and disbelief on camera (widened eyes, a sharp intake of breath or a dropped jaw) or knowing exasperation and anger (sighs, pursed lips and shaking of the head). From time to time (not every time), and where I felt it to be appropriate, I chimed in with similar experiences to what the participant had shared, whether it was Asian relatives making comments about my body, or a former white partner demonstrating racial illiteracy in relationship with me. Such sharing of "war stories" broke down hierarchical power dynamics between researcher and participant, especially as I was asking for a considerable degree of vulnerability of the participants in sharing intimate details of their lives and experiences with me. My interventions also often ended up sparking another memory in the participant, who would then go on to share another story with me.

Benson and O'Reilly (2020) make the point that beyond positionality, the act of *positioning* "goes further than mere static reflection, and […] entails exploring how positions shape, and/or have been shaped, by engagement in a project" (p.6). For full transparency regarding own background and how this has inevitably shaped not only my interpretations of the participants' stories but my own investment in the project, I present a biography (see Chapter 4 for why this is not my life history):

I am a cisgender, heterosexual female born in Japan to ethnically Japanese parents, who were both born and raised there. My father worked for a multinational corporation and, before I was born, he had been transferred by the company to the US. My mother stayed behind in Japan to give birth to me. Once I was old enough to fly (three months), my mother and I joined my father in the US, as dependents on his work visa. After two years, my father was transferred back to Japan, where I lived until just before my seventh birthday. We then moved to the opposite coast of the US, where I attended a local primary school. Just before my twelfth birthday, we moved to The Netherlands, where I attended an international school that followed an international British curriculum. I had just started the Cambridge International GCSE (IGCSEs) there, when another work transfer of my father's took us to Germany. There, I attended an international school. Four years later, I completed my secondary education with an International Baccalaureate (IB) Diploma. I got my undergraduate diploma in the US, after which I obtained a one-year post-study work visa and worked for one year. I then moved to the UK, where I earned my Master's degree. After that, I took a job in Germany for three years on a sponsored work visa, before returning to the UK to pursue further qualifications. I worked as a teacher for several years before finding my calling as a sociologist and starting my PhD. Upon ten years of continuous residence in the UK, I obtained Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR) in the UK. My sole citizenship is Japanese.

As a racially minoritised woman living in the UK with an American accent, I am, as mentioned in Chapter 1, asked where I am from on a regular basis, whether I am meeting new colleagues, at the doctor's office or getting my boiler fixed. Although it is far from the more overt forms of racism I have experienced, I am intimately familiar with this and other forms of migratisation. I had been aware that such migratisation was amplified or ameliorated by the intersections of multiple power relations (including race, ethnicity, nationality and gender), and would be lying if I said that I had not pursued this project in part to make sense of my own experiences. Of course, I realise now that I had, in retrospect, been overly optimistic about the power of cultural capitals such as language, accent and educational qualifications (I had not distinguished between cultural capitals in their different states) to subvert migratisation and fashion alternative modes of belonging.

The degree to which my own background "matched" those of my participants raised questions of the insider (or "native") vs. outsider debate (Alexander 2004; Young

2004), as well as issues surrounding "racial matching" (Gunaratnam 2003; Alexander 2004). Shared characteristics (e.g. racialisation) between researcher and participant are "neither a sufficient nor simple foundation" for the research relationship (Alexander 2004, p.145), and neither does "difference in age, race and class […] preclude meaningful interaction." (Davies 2002, p.100) This was particularly relevant to my study, for although the participants and I shared the fact that we identified as visibly racially minoritised, and we possessed similar cultural capitals on account of our similarly internationally mobile upbringings, our positionalities varied along multiple vectors of power, including race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, age, languages, accents, and so on. It was analytically dangerous to that to assume – as the practice of "racial matching" does – that racial similarity would translate into overall similarity of experience and therefore give the researcher guaranteed authority (Gunaratnam 2003; Alexander 2004).

In this study, the only way to achieve "racial matching" would have been if all of the participants had also been of Japanese, or at least East Asian, ethnicity, although given the history of abhorrent imperial subjugation of East Asian people by the Japanese state, it is highly questionable whether the latter would have constituted any sort of "matching" in terms of lived experiences of race. Given what Miri Song describes as "groups' disparate experiences along a racial hierarchy" (2004, p.184), whereby "some groups experience *particular or distinctive* forms of racial abuse or disadvantage more frequently or more intensely than other groups". (p.182, original emphasis), I knew that I would be speaking to some participants who were racialised in particular contexts such that they experienced racisms more frequently, more intensely and/or of a different kind than I, and others for whom the opposite may be true. I did, however, come to this study as an "ethnographer of colour" engaged in "writing race" and the construction of racial knowledge (Alexander 2004, p.136). Whilst Alexander describes a "methodological Catch 22" when it comes to researching race, namely that racially minoritised researchers can be dismissed as "'too subjective and unreliable a witness', the writing too 'political' and therefore unacademic" (2004, p. 41), at the same time, the ambivalence of the position of the racially minoritised ethnographer, "at once writing and being written" (2004: 136) is a "necessary and productive tension" (2004: 143).

Moreover, the distinction between insider and outsider status itself is never clear-cut:

> ‘there is no singular insider or outsider position that researchers occupy during the course of fieldwork, but rather myriad positions and statuses that can be viewed by respondents either as insider or outsider depending on the social circumstances or conditions affecting the research endeavour’ (Young 2004, p.192).

The participants and I did not have the exact same volume or content of cultural capitals, nor were we gendered in exactly the same ways, and so on. As such, I was conscious not to over-identify with participants’ experiences, or to assume that I had understood their experiences. Regardless of similarities in experiences, I was mindful to respect each participant’s experience as their own and not to project my own lived experiences to their narratives. I exercised this care, for example, by making requests for clarification and/or elaboration, whether during or between interviews, or in follow-up correspondence in the later stages of analysis after the conclusion of the formal interviews. Such correspondence allowed me to ask questions to check that I had understood correctly and was not jumping to any conclusions.

Other ethical considerations

My study has been granted ethics approval by the Lancaster University. Participants were informed about the project by letter, sent via email, and informed consent was obtained writing from each of the respondents to ensure that their participation was voluntary. This was done through a consent form, completed electronically and returned via email. Protecting my participants’ confidentiality is, of course, of paramount importance and a matter of safety. Accordingly, I have removed personally identifiable details from their accounts. When it came to anonymity, however, in an effort to acknowledge that this research, which is about them and would not exist without them (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009), rather than taking it for granted that they would want to remain anonymous, I asked them if they would prefer to use their real name of a pseudonym. This practice was inspired by Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s (2012) decolonising research practice of giving credit and giving back to communities, rather than only extracting from them. All of the participants wished to use a pseudonym, but

I invited them to select their own pseudonym, in order that they would have control over the process of attaching a name to an account of their personal life experiences.

Although none of my interview questions were designed to cause distress and or harm, I did ask participants to recount experiences of discrimination, including racism and sexism, which are of course emotional topics that can provoke strong emotional responses or the surfacing of painful memories. I made clear to the participants that they were not in any way obligated to discuss any topics that they do not feel comfortable talking about. In case any participants did experience psychological stress or anxiety, I provided participants with the phone number for Samaritans (which provides a 24-hour hotline for emotional support 365 days a year), as well as a list of mental health charities published by the NHS. I also gave participants the option of specifying any statements that they did not feel comfortable being made public, even in anonymised form.

In this chapter, I have discussed my recursive approach to research, as exemplified by the evolution of my research questions and of my data analysis. I have outlined my method of participant recruitment and the rationale for my research design, including the use of biographical narrative interviews and music elicitation. In my discussion of data analysis, I have traced the emergence of theory through open coding and coding on, or recursive analysis. In a discussion of my reflexive practice, I have reflected on my own positionality as both researcher and a member of the research population, followed by a discussion of ethical considerations in this project, including inviting participants to select their own pseudonyms and provisions around sensitive topics such as experiences of racism. In the chapters that follow, I present my empirical findings and analysis in the structure developed from my recursive analysis, as discussed above. But first, I begin with vignettes introducing the participants in Chapter 4, distinguishing between biographies and life histories.

4. Stories of migration

In this chapter, I introduce the eight participants in this study. These introductions are presented through biographical vignettes – "stories of migration" – outlining the unique migratory trajectory of each participant, from birth to the present day. In working with migration stories, it is important to distinguish between individual histories – migrants' "own personal stories and experiences" – and biographies – those stories and experiences "as told to, and interpreted by," the researcher (Benson and O'Reilly 2018, p.139). The biographical portraits that I present below are not the participants' life histories themselves – these would more accurately be the direct transcripts of the interviews, which would make up multiple volumes on their own. Rather, the vignettes are "analytical devices" (p.141) that have been crafted by me, that is, through my intervention as researcher. They draw upon the participants' life histories – indeed, I have used the direct words of each participant, indicated in italics, as much as possible throughout – but they also inevitably "interpret the life and migration histories of those taking part" (ibid.).

Not only have I had to limit the content of the vignettes to the space available, but also in terms of the purpose that the vignettes serve. Their main purpose is to provide sufficient background information to contextualise the analysis presented in subsequent chapters, primarily by establishing each participant's migration history, but also by providing insights into the conditions of each participant's mobility. In most cases, the participants' moves were linked to their parents' jobs in the professions, but in some cases, they also involved displacement due to conflict. This disrupts the often racialised and classed bifurcation between forced and voluntary migration, the former associated overwhelmingly with the racially minoritised and poor, and the latter with white "expats" or "lifestyle migrants". Another key purpose of the vignettes is to give a sense of the cultural capitals accumulated by the participants over the course of their upbringings across multiple different social fields, such as educational qualifications, languages and citizenship statuses. In this way, the vignettes paint a picture of the relative class privilege of the participants, specifically in their possession of middle-class cultural capitals typically associated with the West (and whiteness). This picture of privilege is, however, complicated in Chapter 5, which looks into the participants' experiences of migratisation, and how both race and class factor into these.

As outlined in Chapter 3, this study employed a method of music elicitation as part of its multi-method approach. Each of the following vignettes begins with the title of the participant's chosen piece of music, followed by an excerpt from the participant's narration of its significance to them. Some of the participants used the music elicitation to relay and reflect on specific memories from key moments in their lives, whilst others used it to capture and address key overarching themes to emerge from their internationally mobile lives, such as their relationships to place, or questions of home and belonging. Each excerpt is then followed by a brief biography of each participant. All names are pseudonyms. Lastly, an overview of the participants' backgrounds and migration trajectories is provided in **Table 1** at the end of the chapter.

Margaret

Selected track: 'Take Me Home, Country Roads' by John Denver (1971)

> 'It's something I sing to my kids all the time, so it's with me a lot. I think it reminds me of that feeling of moving, of not fully belonging where you are at that moment in time. It fluctuates a lot, but I think most days, I feel like I have multiple homes, and that's OK. Sometimes when I am more connected with one home – when I'm there – then the romanticism kind of kicks in. Like, "Why don't I have a home?" Blah blah blah… When people ask me, I feel confronted. But if I'm just sitting on my own, I… I kind of find my peace with having these multiple places I could call home. And it's not the same kind of home that other people may have, but it's my kind of home.'

Margaret, in her early forties, was born in Liberia, West Africa. Before both migrating to Liberia and meeting there, Margaret's father, a Swiss-trained physician, had grown up in Grenada, a former British colony, and her mother, a writer and teacher, in St Thomas, a US territory. For the first nine years of her life, Margaret lived with her parents and two siblings in Liberia, where she attended primary school. Her primary school in Liberia had been an English-speaking school modelled after the US system, where many of the pupils comprised the nation's "upper class"*:* "One of the Vice-President's sons was in my class." This changed with the outbreak of the first Liberian

Civil War, upon which Margaret and her family moved to the UK, where they had family: “I am a refugee. But you know, I'm a very privileged refugee.” After a year in the UK, when the limitations of Margaret’s father’s Swiss medical qualifications within the British medical field became clear, the family moved to Switzerland, where Margaret’s father’s qualifications were recognised. Margaret was ten years old.

In Switzerland, Margaret’s education, which had previously been in English, switched to German: “We did that special class for children who spoke German as a second language. And then pretty soon after that, we were put in the regular primary.” During their time in Switzerland, Margaret and her family obtained Swiss citizenship:

> ‘I became Swiss when I was in my teens, through the whole process of being naturalised. I went through the process together with my family, so there wasn’t a great deal of pressure. By that time, my father was working at the children’s hospital so I think we all went into that process feeling fairly confident.’

After completing her secondary education with a Swiss qualification, at around age 20, Margaret moved to the US, where she also had citizenship through her mother. After obtaining her undergraduate degree, Margaret worked for a few years, before obtaining her Master’s degree. She then moved to the UK to pursue her PhD at a top university. During this time, she conducted research in West Africa. There, she met her now-husband, a white German citizen who had also been completing his PhD at the same UK university and conducting research in West Africa. Since earning her PhD, Margaret had worked as an academic in Europe. At the time of our interviews, Margaret had recently taken a new job in Germany, where she lived with her husband and their children. Margaret spoke German and English (“I think I'm more fluent in English, but I'm pretty fluent in German”), and held Swiss and US citizenship.

Nadine

Selected track: ‘Take Me Back to London’ by Ed Sheeran ft. Stormzy (2019)

> ‘It's really catchy, but it makes me feel really sad because I don't have a home. I think about teenagers who grew up in London and they have a connection to the references, and the style of music. I wish I had that. I mean, I can hear a song from a country that I lived in, and I can feel something, but it's not… It's not home. I

> could pretend on the outside that I come from there, but I don't. I'm not from there and I didn't grow up there. I feel like I'm just a visitor. A constantly moving chameleon going from one country to another and blending in. I wouldn't say I'm acting, I'm not being fake, but… I can play the part, but I'm not really from there.'

Nadine, in her late thirties, was born in the US to Sudanese parents who had grown up in Sudan. Nadine held dual US-Sudanese citizenship. Nadine's parents had both completed their PhDs in the US, where, at the time of Nadine's birth, her parents and two siblings had been living, due to her father's work in the field of development. When Nadine was two years old, her father was transferred to Kuwait, where the family moved. Once in Kuwait, Nadine's mother worked as a university lecturer. Nadine lived in Kuwait until she was seven years old, when the start of the Gulf War coincided with a planned move to the UK, again due to Nadine's father's work. Once in the UK, Nadine and her family lived in an affluent area in the south. When Nadine was nine, due to another work transfer for her father, Nadine and her family moved to the United Arab Emirates (UAE). There, Nadine attended a private English-language international school. After two years, Nadine's father was transferred to Saudi Arabia. Nadine first moved to another city within the UAE for about a year, this time on account of her mother's work as a university lecturer. Nadine attended a different branch of the same international school, before she and her mother joined her father in Saudi Arabia. Nadine had been 13 years old. In Saudi Arabia, Nadine attended another private international school, where she completed her secondary education with an internationally recognised qualification taught in English.

At around age 17, Nadine moved from Saudi Arabia to the US to attend university. After graduating from university, Nadine moved to Sudan, where she did volunteer work for a year. Nadine then moved to the Netherlands, where she completed her Master's degree, taught in English. After obtaining her Master's, Nadine moved back to the US. When the global financial crisis made finding a job there difficult, Nadine returned to Saudi Arabia, where her parents were still based. In Saudi Arabia, Nadine began a teaching role, which she enjoyed, and decided to obtain an English language teaching qualification in the US. Upon completion, Nadine returned to Saudi Arabia, where she taught at a university. After a few years in the job, Nadine decided to move to Sudan, where she got a job teaching English as a second language (ESL) at an anglophone embassy. There, Nadine met her now-former husband, a white British national, who had also been teaching English. After the two got married in Sudan, Nadine’s then-husband took a job in China, where Nadine eventually joined him, for six months. After a holiday in Sudan, the pair were separated by the Covid-19 pandemic, and later got divorced. Nadine remained in Sudan, where she had been working as an English tutor at an international school. Adverse economic conditions and frequent power cuts meant decreased demand for and difficulty providing lessons. This prompted Nadine to move to her parents’ property in neighbouring Egypt, where she continued English tutoring online:

> ‘A lot of Sudanese people flock to Egypt because it’s close by and we’re pretty comfortable. A lot of Sudanese people will own apartments in Egypt, it's very common. There's an agreement between Sudan and Egypt, we don't need a visa for here.’

Over the course of our interviews, Nadine had moved from Egypt to the US to take up a new job at a school in the US. Nadine’s languages were English and Arabic, although she was not as fluent in the latter.

Lina

Selected track: ‘Another Country’ by Tift Merritt (2008)

> ‘I discovered it in a movie. I just remember hearing this song and she kept saying, “Love is another country and I wanna go, too – I wanna go with you.” That line really stuck with me. Like, my parents… They want to be in Sudan. But I don't want to be in Sudan. I don't see it as a place where there's a future for me. I just don't have the same ties that they do. But then they’re there, so it’s… It's always that I'm trying to match people with places, and I'm not really getting anywhere… I think that song just represents that longing, you know… Who do I chase – do I chase the people? Or do I chase the places?’

Lina, in her late thirties, was born in Sudan, where her parents had been born and raised. When Lina was born, her parents and siblings had been living in the US, where her father was completing his PhD. To give birth to Lina, her mother had returned to Sudan, where she had the support of her extended family. Within a couple of months, Lina had moved to the US, meaning that that Lina’s sole citizenship was Sudanese. When

Lina was two or three years old, the family moved to Kuwait, due to her father's work in the oil industry. In Kuwait, Lina attended a private English-language international school until she was six or seven, when the Gulf War meant that she and her family had to flee Kuwait:

> 'The quickest way out of Kuwait actually was through Iraq. Politically, at the time, Sudan had supported Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. So Iraqis were not hostile towards Sudanese people. People were saying, "If you need to escape, the quickest way is to go through Iraq, drive through Iraq and on to Jordan." And I think my dad had a friend in Jordan, who let us stay with them for a couple of days. My parents always say they were driving for about four days to get out of Kuwait, through Iraq, into Jordan. We were in Jordan for a couple of weeks, or maybe even a couple of days, 'til we got a flight to Sudan.
>
> We were in Sudan for about a month or two. My parents always say, "The one thing we wanted to focus on was just making sure your school year kept going." So they put us in school there for maybe a month. It was an English school, but I don't think it was to any kind of international standard. It was kind of a private school that was run by this lady, who ran it in English. But there were no international teachers, that sort of thing.
>
> And then they heard that our school in Kuwait, which was an international school, had reopened in Egypt. All the teachers who'd fled, some of them and the administration, had set up shop in Egypt. So my parents thought, "Well, we could easily set up shop there. It's not far off." And I think we finished the school year there. Basically back at my old school, but it was in a different country. So yeah, that was kind of our escape from Kuwait.'

After a few months in Egypt, Lina and her family returned to the US, where her father took a job at the university where he had completed his PhD. After one school year in the US, when Lina was about eight, Lina's father took a job in Saudi Arabia, and the family moved there. Lina completed her secondary education at British-style international schools in Saudi Arabia, with internationally recognised qualifications taught in English. Lina then moved to the UK, where she completed her undergraduate degree, followed by a PhD, at two different top universities. After completing her PhD, Lina remained in the UK to undertake postdoctoral research at a third UK university. After this, she moved to Singapore to take up another postdoctoral role, where she remained for just under two years. Lina then moved to Sudan, where her parents had retired: "This was the first time I'd ever lived where my parents were from." After initially doing some university teaching work, Lina secured a non-academic job in her field at a multinational corporation. After about three years in Sudan, Lina secured a job in Ireland with an employer willing to sponsor her work visa:

> 'The job that I applied for here was exactly what I was doing in Sudan, but they needed someone who understood American culture – 'cause it's an American company, but they do business in the Middle East and in Africa. So it kind of all worked out in the end.'

Lina moved to Ireland, where she married a white, male Irish national, and had been living since. In order of fluency, she spoke English and Arabic. Over the course of our interviews, Lina had been applying for an Irish passport: I'm in the process of trying to get citizenship here in Ireland now, because I've been here long enough.

Ann

Selected track: '童话 Tong Hua (Fairy Tale)' by 光良 Guang Liang (Michael Wong) (2005)

> 'That was one of the first non-Western songs that I really liked. One of my friends in Hong Kong introduced me to it. I think my friend showed me the music video. She translated it for me, saying, "Now he's saying this." I liked it so much that I muddled through with my bad Chinese and tried to sing it at one point. I'd never learnt Chinese before. Like I said, I only speak English. At the time I was learning Mandarin in school. And we learned how to read pinyin. A lot of my Chinese books had the pinyin underneath it, and I remember when I listened to that song, I looked up the pinyin just so that I could sing it as well. I was so proud of myself at the time.'

Ann, in her late twenties, was born in Hong Kong to mixed parents:

> 'My mum's mum is 100% Filipino. And then my mum's dad is 100% Chinese – mainland Chinese. My dad's dad is 100% Irish. And then my dad's mum is mixed. We think she's, like, Chinese-Indian mix. Or some Malay mixed in there – we're not sure. They've all passed, so we... Don't know what that is. It's pretty much quartered. And then there's that quarter, which is unknown.'

When Ann was one, due to her father's work in IT, Ann and her family moved from Hong Kong to Singapore for two years. At age three, again due to her father's work, Ann and her family moved to the UK, where she completed primary school and the beginning of secondary school at a private school in an affluent area in the south of England. At her school in the UK, Ann started her classical music training in violin, piano and voice:

> ‘I started both violin and piano in my private primary school in the UK. I started violin when I was seven. Everyone in my school started learning it in class; we had violins for the whole class. Then I continued it 1:1 with a private teacher and I had to buy my own one. Piano when I was nine, I think. I started singing lessons in Year 7 [age 11 to 12] in the UK. I hadn’t done any private lessons prior to that, but I’d always been in my school choir, and I had gone to performing arts lessons since I was four years old – one hour singing, one hour dancing, one hour acting, once a week.

When Ann was 13, she and her family moved back to Hong Kong, where she finished her secondary education at a private British international school and had also continued her musical training:

> ‘In Hong Kong, I continued singing with choirs and a youth arts foundation, and did singing competitions with a Hong Kong-based company. I did my Grade 5 in the UK and then did Grades 6-8 with my singing teacher in Hong Kong. It’s a British exam board, but they fly over examiners to all parts of the world. And now I currently teach my own students that exam board syllabus.’

Ann reflected that the conditions of her mobility had also related to her sibling, who had special needs: “I think every time my dad would get a job offer, he'd always think of [Sibling], like, ‘Is there a good school for them?’ I think had [Sibling] not been born with special needs, we probably would have been uprooted a lot more.”

After secondary school in Hong Kong, where she obtained an internationally recognised qualification taught in English, Ann moved to the south of the UK for university. At university, Ann continued her lifelong training in classical music performance. She had been in the UK since, where she worked as an opera singer and singing teacher. Although Ann described herself as only speaking English, she did sing in multiple languages including Italian, German, French and Latin. Ann lived with her partner, a racially minoritised male British national. Ann held dual Irish and Filipino citizenship, although she had never lived in either country. Ann's family lived in the Philippines, but Ann planned to remain in the UK: “I've lived here for ten years now, so I know the area really well. I feel like I belong – that people know me, that I don't have to, like, try and prove myself or anything.” Ann’s decision to remain in the UK also had to do with her thoughts for her sibling:

> ‘I'd like to keep a base here. I always say, if anything should happen to my parents, I wouldn't move to the Philippines. I would take [Sibling] to come live here, because I feel like people are so much more accepting. In Hong Kong and in Asian countries, special needs is very much swept under the rug. Nobody wants to see it. In Hong Kong, there's only, like, one special needs school. Which is crazy to think. Because [Sibling] can't read and write, they’re classed as severely handicapped, which is not true. They’re very smart.

Caroline

Selected track: ‘Good Riddance (Time of Your Life)’ by Green Day (1997)

> ‘Music captures a lot of different parts of my life. This is actually quite a sad song for me. I had a friend who passed away when we were at school, and that was his memorial song. And it just kept popping out to me as the song that, really, I could remember. It goes, “It’s something unpredictable but in the end it's right, I hope you had the time of your life.” Even to this day, I don't… I don't think I really understand. I think they didn't want to tell us, because we were so young. This was in 9th grade, so I was - I don't even know - 15? 14? Yeah, something like that.’

Caroline was in her early thirties. Her parents, who were ethnically Chinese Malaysian nationals, had grown up in Malaysia, but her mother had studied to Master’s level in the US and her father to Bachelor’s level in the UK. Before Caroline was born, her parents had been living in Papua New Guinea, due to Caroline’s father’s work for a multinational corporation. For Caroline’s birth, her parents travelled from Papua New Guinea to Malaysia, where better healthcare and the support of extended family were available. Shortly after her birth, Caroline moved to Papua New Guinea with her parents. Two years later, the arrival of Caroline’s brother, Christian, who also took part in this study, meant another trip to Malaysia, before returning as a family to Papua New Guinea. Caroline eventually attended a private Australian school in Papua New Guinea. When Caroline was about six years old, Caroline’s father was transferred to Myanmar, where the family moved for two years. In Myanmar, Caroline attended a private English-language international school, before her father was transferred back to Papua New Guinea and the family returned there. After four more years in Papua New Guinea, when Caroline was about twelve years old, she and her family were transferred to Cambodia, where she attended another private English-language international school there:

> ‘My dad wasn't very happy in his job in Cambodia, but my parents made a concerted decision not to move because I was in 10th grade, going into 11th and 12th, and they were really important years before I went to university. So we stayed in Cambodia for the longest period of time that we had ever lived anywhere. Usually, it was like two or three years.’

Caroline lived in Cambodia for six years, until she had completed her secondary education with an internationally recognised qualification taught in English. When the time came to decide where to go for university, Caroline considered Australia, which was closest, but decided against it as the timing of the start of the academic year would have left a gap in her resumé. She also decided against the US because she had not done any preparation for the requisite SAT tests. Ultimately, Caroline chose to attend university in the UK. Caroline secured places at multiple UK universities, and enrolled at a leading university in the north of the UK. After obtaining her undergraduate degree, Caroline went on to complete a Master’s and a PhD, at a university in the south of the UK. As an international student, it had been crucial for Caroline to secure an academic job at a university willing to sponsor her for a work visa. She had secured this and had since moved to another university, where she worked as a lecturer. Over the course of our interviews, Caroline obtained a UK passport on the basis of long residence on a work visa. She was living in the UK with her partner, a racially minoritised male UK national. Caroline spoke English, French and some Cantonese.

Christian

Selected track: ‘Thunder’ by Boys Like Girls (2008)

> ‘The song is about the summer and, thinking back, most of your time is spent in your country during school time, and then in the summer, you spend most of your time away. You go back home and don't really spend much time where you actually live. That's quite similar to what I did. After school, just go home to Malaysia and hang out there, you know, with your family and things like that. I met my wife in high school, when I was still living in Mongolia. The summer that song was popular was before my now wife went away to university. And that was the first summer I pretty much spent with her, not really going back to Malaysia to hang out. And I think that it just reminds me of that time.’

Christian was in his late twenties, and was Caroline’s brother. Like Caroline, Christian was born in Malaysia. After a “full moon” celebration marking the completion of the month-long period of postnatal confinement , Christian and his family returned to Papua New Guinea. After four years in Papua New Guinea, Christian started school at the same private English-language international school in Myanmar as his sister, before moving back to Papua New Guinea, where they both attended Australian school. When Christian was ten years old, he and his family moved to Cambodia, where he attended another private English-language international school for six years. Christian's father's postings with a multinational corporation meant that the family had enjoyed the perks of an "expat" lifestyle:

> 'I remember moving from Papua New Guinea to Cambodia, 'cause I remember the company used to send you, like, on a field trip to see if it's a nice place, and stuff like that. A family thing. My dad went to meet his new colleagues. Then the mom and the kids go see the school, look at houses, go to the supermarket, and all that. We lived where most of the expats lived, or at least in in the higher… The upper middle-class areas. And that's because we had an allowance so, you know, you can kind of splurge a bit more. And also from a safety perspective and a school perspective, it's… A lot easier.
>
> In Papua New Guinea, we lived in, like, a sealed-off compound. There were security guards and guard dogs, and stuff like that. And no neighbours, really. All you saw was the ocean, which was obviously very nice. That was probably the most segregated. Everything else was in the city or in the areas where most people live – it was just in the nicer bits. The houses were quite good. Let's just say that. It's not like we were living in a shack.'

After six years in Cambodia, when Christian was 16 (and Caroline had left home for university), Christian and his parents moved to Mongolia, again for his father's work. In Mongolia, Christian completed his secondary education at a private international school, where he obtained an internationally recognised qualification taught in English. Christian then moved to the UK to attend university. After his first year, Christian lived in Malaysia for six months, where he undertook a work placement as part of his degree: "A one-year work placement but split into two companies – the first one was in the first half of your second year, and I decided to do it in Malaysia. That's the longest period I've ever spent in Malaysia by myself or living there." Christian then moved back to the UK, where he completed his undergraduate degree and had lived since. Christian undertook the second work placement of his degree at a UK company, where he got a graduate job. Christian had recently been joined in the UK by his wife, whom he had married in

Mongolia, years after having begun dating as classmates at their international school in Mongolia. Christian's first language was English: "We speak to each other in English. I do not speak Mongolian." He spoke limited Cantonese. Over the course of our interviews, Christian acquired UK citizenship through long residence on a work visa. Previously, his citizenship had been Malaysian: "So probably the next time we chat, I'll be British. I will not be a foreigner, you know. [Laughing]"

Ricardo

Selected track: 'Black Hole Sun' by Soundgarden (1994)

> 'A track that was often played on the radio while I played video games in our house close to the Swiss border. A reminder of my ability to speak and understand English – though I failed to understand the lyrics – while living in France. It reminds me of the fun I had enjoying those games, my means of coping and getting through some difficult issues I was faced with internally as a result of my accident.'

Ricardo was in his early forties. He was born in Colombia and put into foster care early in his life. Ricardo was adopted by his parents, a white French father and white British mother, who had met whilst working for an intergovernmental organisation in Switzerland. Ricardo has French and British passports. Ricardo first met his parents in Niger, where they had been living on a work assignment: "They both took a liking to the kind of life you can have abroad as an expat with European or Western incomes." By the time of Ricardo's arrival in Niger, his mother was expecting the first of Ricardo's two siblings. This meant frequent trips between Niger and the UK: "There were certain stereotypes in the different expat communities. And one of them in Africa is, if you have a health issue? Do not go local. Get on a plane and go back to your country and get it taken care of there." After a brief stint in the UK, when Ricardo was four years old, he and his family moved to Madagascar, where Ricardo attended a private American international school for four years. When Ricardo was eight, the family moved back to the UK, where he attended a local school. Two years later, when Ricardo was ten, his father got a new job in Guinea, and the family moved there. In Guinea, Ricardo switched from English to a private French school: "It always goes on the rumours of the local expats: 'Your children are better off in the French system here because the international school is not that great.'" Whilst living in Guinea, when he was about 11 years old, Ricardo got into a severe accident and was sent back to the UK for medical treatment. After an operation and a period of convalescence, Ricardo was enrolled in a UK boarding school for six weeks whilst undergoing physiotherapy:

> ‘We’re talking Hogwarts. There were exchange students from France, there was the grandson of Charles de Gaulle. There was also the son of the Bank of England who went there. Kids of 10 or 11 years old with Samsonite briefcases, you know? Blazers and church on Sunday and everything.’

Ricardo eventually returned to his family in Guinea.

At age 13, as Ricardo’s father’s contract in Guinea was nearing an end, Ricardo moved to France with his mother and siblings. There, Ricardo attended a French international school. After a year in France, his father got a new contract in Mozambique – a former Portuguese, as opposed to French, colony. French schooling was only available by correspondence, and up to a certain age. When Ricardo was 15, he had reached the end of the French correspondence programme on offer. He and his brother were sent to a boarding school in France, where some subjects were taught in English and some in French. A year later, when Ricardo was 16, his mother and sister also returned to France. (His father began work in Kenya, but the family did not join, as it was a short contract.) Once Ricardo’s mother and sister had returned to France, Ricardo and his brother were taken out of the boarding school and briefly sent to the international French school that they had attended prior to the move to Mozambique, two years prior. After a year, when Ricardo was 17, he and his family moved to Bangladesh, where his father had a new work contract. This time, the only school available was an American international school. Upon finishing secondary school with an internationally recognised qualification taught in English, Ricardo moved to Australia, where he attended a pre-university course for one year, before ultimately attending university in France. Upon graduating from university, Ricardo stayed in France for ten years. After ten years, Ricardo moved to the UK at the encouragement of his sister, who had been living there. Ricardo was living in the UK with his fiancée, a white female British national.

Jackson

Selected track: ‘Valley of the Sausages’ by Mr Scruff ft. Moss, Sneaky & Seaming To (2002)

> ‘This was released when I was kind of coming out of my shell. I discovered Bollywood, which was a big influence because of my parents. I had started discovering hip hop and jazz. And, you know, art college… That was a song that I used to play a lot. It has this mix of genres, which I quite like. Because I find I'm quite a good mix of stuff. I love the way that it crescendos into kind of this escapism, which I can relate to because I think… Most of my life, my parents have perhaps kept me quite disciplined. And then there was this breakout moment in life. And I think that song just expresses all of that.’

Jackson, in her early forties, was born in India to Tamil-speaking Hindu parents. When Jackson, an only child, was about one year old, she and her family moved to another part of India due to her father’s work in finance. For most of Jackson’s upbringing, her mother worked as housewife and mother: “She does have a Master’s and PhD but never got to use them.” In India, Jackson attended a local school*:* “I was taught in Hindi and my parents would teach me Tamil.” Her main language was English. When Jackson was five or six years old, a work assignment took Jackson and her parents to Hong Kong, where Jackson attended a private British school. When Jackson was eleven years old, the family moved from Hong Kong to the UK, once again due to Jackson’s father’s work. In the UK, Jackson attended boarding school as a weekly boarder, whilst her parents lived about an hour away: “I think the idea was to give me a better education, so they decided on living in the countryside.” During this time, Jackson obtained a UK passport through her parents’ application, as a dependent. At around the same time, Jackson’s parents acquired permanent residency status in Singapore, which also extended to Jackson. After five years in the UK, due to a work transfer for Jackson’s father, her parents moved back to Hong Kong. Jackson stayed in the UK as a full boarder at her boarding school, where she completed her secondary education, obtaining UK qualifications.

After secondary school, Jackson remained in the UK, where she completed a foundation course, followed by an undergraduate degree. Upon graduation from university, at her parents’ insistence, Jackson returned to India. Jackson moved to India via Hong Kong, where she worked as an intern for about six months whilst interviewing for jobs in India. Jackson got a job in India and moved there. She recalled the role played by father’s social capital in securing the job: “All the introductions for all the agencies were through my dad and his connections and network.” Through developing her own contracts at the company, Jackson secured a position at a UK branch of the same company. After two and a half years of living and working in India, Jackson returned to the UK. Soon after, the global financial crisis hit and Jackson was made redundant. Jackson made use of her permanent residency in Singapore to secure a job there. In Singapore, Jackson met her now husband, a racially minoritised British citizen, through a mutual friend. When a job opportunity came up for Jackson’s partner in New Zealand, the pair decided to move there. Jackson found that relevant companies in New Zealand were not hiring, and there were roadblocks to running her own business there: “I had set up a small business in Singapore that I couldn't carry over, because of import-export laws and duties.” Jackson and her partner got married in New Zealand and returned to the UK, where they had lived since. But moving was never far from Jackson’s mind: “It's a constant conversation. The option now is to consider getting a sort of summer house somewhere in the UK, near a beach. So that element of movement would still be there.”

Name	Born	Grew up in	Higher education	Nationalities	Languages spoken
Ann	Hong Kong	Singapore; UK; Hong Kong	BA (UK)	Ireland; Philippines	English
Caroline	Malaysia	Papua New Guinea; Myanmar; Cambodia;	BA; MA; PhD (UK)	UK	English; French; Cantonese; Mandarin
Christian	Malaysia	Papua New Guinea; Myanmar; Cambodia; Mongolia	BA (UK)	UK	English; Cantonese; Mandarin
Jackson	India	India; Hong Kong; UK; Singapore	BA (UK)	UK; India (Overseas Citizenship)	English; Hindi; Tamil
Lina	Sudan	US; Kuwait; Saudi Arabia	BA; MA; PhD (UK)	Sudan; Ireland (in process)	English; Arabic
Margaret	Liberia	Liberia; UK; Switzerland	BA; MA (US); PhD (UK)	Switzerland; US	English; German
Nadine	US	US; Kuwait; UAE; Saudi Arabia	BA; teaching certificate (US)	US; Sudan	English; Arabic
Ricardo	Colombia	Niger; UK; Madagascar; Guinea; France; Mozambique; Bangladesh	BA (France)	France; UK	English; French

Table 1 Summary of study participants' backgrounds and migration trajectories

5. Cultural capital contestation and situational migratisation

In this chapter, I present my findings on the participants' experiences of the question, "Where are you from?", including when it was posed to them, by whom, in what contexts, and how they had understood it. Through analysing such experiences, I set out the components of my main argument, which I draw on and build throughout the subsequent chapters. My main argument is that underlying the participants' experiences of migratisation were contestations of the legitimacy of their cultural capitals in their embodiment and, often, refusals to recognise these as symbolic capital. Moreover, I identify that such contestations of cultural capital involved evaluations of a threefold alignment between cultural capital, field and embodiment, with mismatches between any two (or more) of these elements leading to contestation of the legitimacy of the capital, thereby triggering migratisation. Crucially, questions of embodiment – and the racialisation thereof – were prevalent in evaluations of cultural capitals in all states, not just those in the embodied state, such as institutionalised capitals. I argue that this demonstrates the intersectional imbrications of both race and class in processes of migratisation, that is, that processes of migratisation is not only a racialised but also classed process.

Lastly, I present my findings that cultural capitals are evaluated differently in different contexts. I identify three different broad contexts under which the participants' experiences could be grouped, namely: in predominantly white Western contexts; in contexts of co-ethnicity (i.e. with those of the same ethnicity); and in contexts with "other Others" (Ali 2005), that is, with those who were also racially minoritised but racialised differently to them. In each of these contexts, the three elements of capital, field and embodiment were judged as mismatched in different combinations, thus triggering migratisation in slightly different ways. These context-dependent evaluations of cultural capitals tended to draw on one of two broad articulations of race: anti-Blackness or (contingent) whiteness. As such, race and class combined in different ways in different instances of migratisation, showing that migratisation, like the contestations of cultural capitals underlying it, is situational.

“Where are you from?” and its unasked questions: participants’ experiences of migratisation

The participants in this study all noted being posed the question, “Where are you from?” – or variations of it – upon meeting people for the first time. As put simply by Nadine: “Every time I meet new people, they ask that that question.” Christian summed up: “Pretty much any new social situation, for personal or work.” Jackson echoed: “It’s mostly the introduction stage.” (This had been especially the case upon speaking, which will be examined in more detail in Chapter 8.) In terms of frequency, many of the participants reported that the posing of this question had peaked during their time at university, when they were meeting many new people at once. Lina shared:

> ‘I remember when I was a student, I was like… I feel like I should just print my bio out on cards and give it out to people. Because I was saying it so much, you know. I suppose when you're young, you meet a lot of people, you're just in a you're constantly moving in lots of different circles.’

Margaret reflected that she was probably always asked the question but became more conscious of it at university and beyond:

> ‘I think I definitely started *thinking* about the question more since university. And I mean, I'm still dealing with that question today, obviously. But I'm more aware of the… the terrain, perhaps, than I would have been as a child, I think? I think I embraced the complexity over time and, with that, became more aware of the question. I think maybe after 18, I would say.’

Ann, who lived in the same neighbourhood as she had when she was at university, thought that she still got asked the question just as frequently as she had then: “I still get asked by random people, like, walking on the streets, especially around *here*.”

Significantly, all of the participants distinguished between different versions of the question, or more specifically, different motivations that they perceived behind the posing of the question. In other words, the question could be migratising, but not always. Some of the participants noted that question *per se* was not inherently migratising, with Ricardo observing: “It’s a pretty innocent question in and of itself. The genuine question answered genuinely doesn’t get a bad reaction.” Rather, it depended on the context – specifically on the perceived motivations behind the question. The participants distinguished between cases in which the question was migratising and when it was not. Ann shared that, in some cases: "I think they're just genuinely asking because they're curious. Nadine added: I just think natural curiosity because I'm also very curious about where people are from as well."

Ricardo distinguished between two types of querents of the question:

> 'Two types of people come to mind: people expressing a wish or feeling of genuinely wanting to know more about me, with friendly intentions, and people who are sizing me up with usually unfriendly intentions.'

Of the former, Ricardo explained: "When I am amongst people who have travelled and have developed an open mind (or haven't travelled but are open-minded), my answer has easily been accepted." This was echoed by Christian, who made a similar distinction between types of querent:

> 'The first one, that's actually genuinely interested – they've probably travelled a lot. They've probably spoken to lots of people and they're trying to find a link to, you know, have an interesting conversation. Like, "Oh, I lived there. I went there."

This was echoed by Nadine:

> 'The people who are very curious are usually people who have international experience, who are very interested in that. The ones who ask a lot of questions and want to know, I think, are the ones who have travelled quite a lot.'

"International experience" was also cited by Ricardo as a factor in the friendly intentions – or genuine interest – with which the question could be asked. Indeed, Christian qualified that such querents tended to ask: "Where are you *originally* from?" in order to minimise the migratising effect of the question (emplaced notions of belonging notwithstanding).

Conversely, Ricardo thought that lack of such experience was related to instances where the question, "Where are you from?" did more migratising work, that is, suggested that he did not belong where he was (and that he belonged elsewhere):

> 'Usually, when I have been amongst people that haven't really travelled and are closed-minded, my answers have ruffled some feathers. I can only assume because I don't fit into any of their pre-defined boxes.'

Christian had a similar second version of the question (in the UK context, in this instance), which denoted racialised judgments about belonging:

> ‘And then there's the kind of people that are asking because they just don't wanna say you're Chinese, and they're trying to be polite. That's my view.’

Here, being Chinese is invoked as a pejorative – a negative racialisation (Anderson 2013; Sharma 2020), with “Where are you from?” functioning as an thinly-veiled indication that Christian does not belong where he is on account of his racial minoritisation. Both Ricardo’s and Christian’s experiences illustrate not only emplaced notions of autochthonous belonging (to belong to a place, one must have been born there), but also conflations of race with nationality (to belong to a place, one must be of the predominant racialisation there). In predominantly white, Western contexts, it was difficult for Ricardo and Christian to evade migratisation without fitting into the “pre-defined box” of being racialised as white.

Indeed, across the participants’ stories, “Where are you from?” was experienced as migratising when it was based on racial minoritisation. As will be explored in the next section, the picture was slightly more complicated than racial minoritisation alone. Nevertheless, it was significant factor. As a child in the UK, Ann had found that the question suggested that she did not belong there, and had staged a sending-off of her to Hong Kong, where she had been born:

> ‘I hated that question growing up, because… [Sighs] I'm born in Hong Kong, which I think is what most people want me to say. But I’d lived in the UK for like most of my life at that point. So it was kind of like saying what people wanted me to say rather than how I felt.’

Ann explained that the racialised and migratising nature of the question had become all the more apparent to her in retrospect, upon moving to from the UK to Hong Kong during secondary school:

> ‘I'd always just thought that I had fit in. I'd assumed I had fit in. And then I went to Hong Kong and I realised – because there's so many mixed-race people there, so many, like, half-Asian, half-white kids – I went, “Oh my God, everyone's like me!”

> And then that made me realise that I *didn't* fit in before, in primary school. And all those questions yeah… It was like, "Ohh, OK, that makes sense now."'

As an adult in the UK, Ann had grown accustomed to sussing out the migratising intentions of the question based on her racialisation, and proceeding accordingly:

> 'If it's a nice person, I would spare them – and spare myself getting all worked up about it – and go, "OK. Let's just go through the whole story." But then other people, I can already sense a bad vibe if they're asking me all the wrong questions, like, "Oh, so you speak Chinese?" or "Oh, is that [Hong Kong] part of Japan?" I know why they're asking it, because I can see the racism clocks ticking.'

In many other cases, however, rather than the presence of "the wrong questions", it was an *absence* of engagement with their responses to the question that had tipped many of the participants off to the underlying, racially-inflected and migratising purposes of the question. Lina reflected on her university days in the UK:

> 'I'd say, "I'm from Sudan, grew up in Saudi Arabia." And then people would just be like, "Oh, OK. I don't know where that is." 'Cause they don't know anything about it, and they don't really care. For some people who aren't from that region, it's all kind of one big mishmash, you know. You just kind of feel like, "Oh, well then… What was the point of asking the question, anyway?" Like, what does it matter if you have no interest…?'

This was echoed by Christian:

> 'People don't know that much about Asia anyway [Laughing]. I don't think they care, if you're Asian. If you're Malaysian, if you're Chinese, if you're Japanese – I don't think they care. They're not that interested. So when you say it, it's kind of like, "OK, that's the end of the conversation."'

The participants also spoke of more explicitly racist questions that they had felt were underlying "Where are you from?", for which the question was a cover, particularly in Western contexts. In other words, rather than being asked explicitly, participants felt that such questions were mobilised indirectly through the principal question, "Where are you from?" Jackson had felt that silences after her response to the question were heavy with other questions that remained unasked:

> 'When you tell them, it's their response back. It almost feels like they wanna say more that's a lot more critical. I imagine they'll ask me how I got here, how I got a British passport, how I remained here. Why did I come? And why am I not doing

> everything in my own country, wherever that is? You know, why am I taking their jobs?'

Similarly, Margaret observed:

> 'Of course, if they want to ask more, I'm open to answering. But most people… "What are you doing here, how did you end up here?", basically, is what they want to know. And once that's established, rarely do people want more complicated answers. Rarely do they dig deeper into who I am, my experience, I find.'

Indeed, such reflections speak to the "unasked question" described by W.E.B. Du Bois (2018 [1903]):

> 'Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question: unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it. All, nevertheless, flutter round it. They approach me in a half-hesitant sort of way, eye me curiously or compassionately, […] instead of saying directly, How does it feel to be a problem?' (p.8)

For Jackson, such unasked questions framing her as a problem had come to life by words uttered to her by a young white British man at a bar one night: "Everyone, not just you – Eastern Europeans, they come and take our work." Recalling the experience, Jackson reflected: "And I just thought, 'Ohh man, you just said, "Everyone, not just you…"' I remember getting into it and my friends pulling me away, going, 'Don't. It's just not worth it.'" Like so many of the participants, the impacts of such racialised migratisation on Jackson and her sense of belonging were clear:

> 'I always thought I belonged to a country that I was living in, and then slowly started learning that people didn't accept that. I think that's when it dawned on me that, you know, racism is quite…. Large. And imposing.'

"It's all to do with my hair": the significance of racialisation through the body in experiences of migratisation

Across the participants' stories of their experiences with migratisation, the body emerged as a key site of their racialisation, through which their migratisation was performed. Race was animated, that is, made meaningful – and material – through the ascription of racial significance to their physical appearance. In Western contexts, such racial significance was attributed relative to the somatic norm of whiteness (Puwar 2004), or the exclusionary white normativity of how Europeanness is imagined. Reflecting on her experiences when she moved to the UK, Ann recalled:

> ‘Strangers stopped me and they’d go, “Ahh, you have an interesting face. Where are you from?” Which I *hated*. And then I would literally go, like, “Down the road. I live here.” And then they’d be like, “Oh, but no, like… Where are you *from*?”’

This demonstrates the centrality of Ann’s physical – specifically facial – features in how she is being racialised (“You have an interesting face”), and its connection to her migratisation (“Where are you from?”). When Ann had tried to resist her sending-off to an elsewhere by replying that she was from “down the road”, the migratisation was insisted upon, with a change of inflection to emphasise the word “from” (“Where are you *from*?”). This underscored autochthonous ideas that she could not possibly be of the place where she was (in this case the UK), because she did not look white.

Similarly, in describing his experiences of migratisation in France despite his white adoptive family, Ricardo highlighted the attribution of racial meaning to the colour of his skin:

> ‘People who get held up with the way I look compared to the info I give them about my nationalities usually want to link me “logically” back to my country of birth, which would fit with my complexion. They'd ask me questions and then it was like, “Yeah, OK. But are you… Are you *really* European?” They asked me, “What do you mean, you’re French?” Or “What do you mean, you’re English?” “I mean, you can’t really be both… Where are your *parents* from?” They’d try and pick apart my own narrative of what I identified as. Trying to get me to say… To come up with another narrative that would fit their small-mindedness.’

The fixation on skin colour, and the interrogation of Ricardo’s “genetic” lineage to account for it, illustrates the centrality of the body in ascriptions of racial meaning and in the exclusionary white normativity of how Europeanness is imagined.

Lina shared how the texture of her hair was central to how she was racialised under the white gaze in Western contexts:

> ‘Some people say I look very ambiguous. If I have my hair straight, some people say I look Indian. If I have my hair curly, then it's more obvious, I suppose, that I'm Black.’

Lina identified as Black or Black African, but qualified:

> 'It's not 100% the correct description because a lot of Sudanese will say we're Arabized Africans, and some will say we're Africanized Arabs – I don't know which one it is.'

She recalled an exchange with a white British peer from her university days:

> '"Where are you from?"
> "Sudan."
> "Where is Sudan?"
> "Sudan's in Africa."
> "Oh, but you don't look African."'

On this exchange, Lina reflected:

> 'I don't know what stereotypes they have in their heads, but… I think by saying that, it definitely does signal to me that there is an idea of what an African person should look like. I don't know if they expect the person to look… Like, you have to have really curly Afro hair, and specific facial features… You know, wider lips. I think that's probably it – what people expect.'

To the extent that it is constructed as meaningful through the body in this way, race, rather than having faded away into postmodern obscurity, continues to be a material structuring force in the everyday lives of the racially minoritised.

Similarly, Nadine reflected: "It's all to do with my hair and how I wear my hair." This meant that the same person could be racialised in different ways. Nadine explained how this influenced where people migratised her to, in their imaginations:

> 'I feel like when a Black person looks at me, they know that I'm Black. Maybe mixed with something else, but they know that I have African ancestry. However, when I interact when people who are not Black, they're not always sure what. When I'm interacting with Arabs, they also don't usually guess I'm from Sudan. They assume I'm from another non-African Arab country. They either think I'm Egyptian, Yemeni, Saudi Arabian, Moroccan. I have ancestry from all of those countries, funnily enough.'

The emergence of the body as such as a significant site of the articulation of race challenges received wisdom – in both general and academic discourse – that race is merely a social construct. It highlights Alana Lentin's (2020) contention that "repeating the mantra that race is a social construction is not enough to dismantle its effects on either the social or the physical body.” (p.48) Whilst race has no scientific basis, the differences to which racial meaning are attributed do include physical ones; race does not exist in the body but can nevertheless be operationalised through it. Stuart Hall (2017) characterises “the fact of difference” as “one of the great facts about human society” (p.46), making clear that it is not difference per se that constitutes race. Rather, it is the assigning of meaning to these differences that discursively produces race – how race is “*made meaningful*” (p.47, original emphasis). This discursive production of race is why, in Hall’s words, “What looks literally as if it fixes race in all its materiality – the obvious visibility of [B]lack bodies – is actually functioning as a set of signifiers that direct us to *read* the bodily inscription of racial difference and thus render it intelligible.” (2017, p.63) As such, “race is not in, but rather *of*, the body” – it is “both fact and fiction.” (Lentin 2020, p.35, original emphasis)

Furthermore, in addition to how he was racialised, Ricardo shared how the places to which he was migratised to – where he was imagined as belonging – differed depending on where he was:

> ‘In Europe, it really depends on the biggest communities from other countries, which are usually ex-colonies. Assumptions are made from that basis. In France: North African Arab, Egyptian, Malagasy. In the UK: Southeast Asian, Thai, Indonesian. A variety of things that have been said to me by people either addressing me in languages from these countries or just asking me if I came from there. My birth country has rarely been guessed because I’ve not really lived in Spain, a country that mostly Latinos would be tempted to migrate to because of the historical link.’

The above examples illustrate not only the centrality of the body as a site of racialisation, but also how variable and context-specific such ascriptions of racial meaning to the body are. This underscores race as a polyvalent and unstable construct that depends on the racialising, and where.

Indeed, the situationality of racialisation through the body, and of migratisation, was a key theme to emerge from the participants’ stories. This will be examined further in the sections below and in subsequent chapters. Ann observed how the differences in how she was racialised between the UK and Hong Kong influenced how she was migratised (or not), as indexed by the versions of “Where are you from?” that she was asked in each place:

> ‘It's the way that people word it. So here in the UK, people will go, “Where are you from?” But there, it would be, “Oh, what's your mix?” That's the question that I would get more. The question in Hong Kong, “What's your mix?” is not, “Where are you from?” ‘Cause people would acknowledge straight away that I am of mixed race, just like them. Because everybody pretty much migrated, like, everywhere. It's more a conversation of, “Ohh, I wanna know your background. Where did you go? I wanna know if *we've* been to the same places and *we've* lived in the same place, and I wanna know all the cultures that *you* got to experience.” It was fun, rather than, like… “Err, you look weird, where are *you* from?”’

Of note here is that whilst race had been at the fore in both contexts, and racialisation had been done primarily through the body, that is, through visual means (“Err, you look weird,”), it had not necessarily triggered migratisation in Hong Kong, whereas in the UK, it often had (“Where are *you* from?”). Whilst there may, on the latest available data, be more mixed-race people in Hong Kong than in the UK (11.2% in Hong Kong (Arat, Kerelian and Dhar 2023) vs. 2.9% in England and Wales (Office for National Statistics 2022)), the fact that Ann did not experience much migratisation in Hong Kong may be because of the pervasive power of whiteness outside of the West, such that despite having been in an ethnic minority numerically, she was not racially minoritised by the yardstick of global racial hierarchies. Indeed, there were limitations even to Ann’s evasion of migratisation in Hong Kong, and other participants in the study reported being migratised by other racially minoritised people across contexts. I return to this in more detail in Chapter 6. Yet, at the same time, Ann’s experience shows that, whilst race can be and very often is a potent technology of power that is mobilised through the body (in however seemingly arbitrary ways), racialisation, on its own, does not always trigger migratisation. In the next section, I outline how the participants’ stories showed how class operates in conjunction with race to trigger migratisation, specifically via evaluations of the legitimacy of cultural capitals in their possession.

“I still portray something else”: the significance of cultural capital contestation in processes of migratisation

In the previous two sections, I have demonstrated how race was a key power relation that was operational in the migratisation experienced by the participants. Whilst the participants’ racial minoritisation – particularly through ascriptions of racial meaning to their physical appearance – played a large role in their migratisation, however, I discovered that racial minoritisation on its own was not the only dynamic at play. Across many of the participants’ interviews, a theme of being perceived as “weird” or “odd” emerged rather consistently, which caught my attention and caused me to dig deeper. Upon analysing these instances, it became clear that what was particularly triggering their migratisation was the cultural capitals in the participants’ possession, and the perceived mismatch between the capitals and their embodiment. In other words, not only race, but also class in conjunction with race, that were jointly operational as component power relations in their migratisation.

In reflecting on her encounters with the question, “Where are you from?”, Nadine had remarked:

> ‘If you really think about it… It is bizarre that someone who has not grown up in the States has an American accent, understands cultural references, even obscure ones. It is weird.’

Both Ann and Caroline also described their accents as “weird” (more on language in Chapter 8). Similarly, Margaret felt that people asked her where she was from because she was an “odd figure”:

> ‘It’s when they’re trying to place me, I guess? ‘Cause I fit in, but I don’t fit in. I think I’m a very odd… Odd figure for a lot of people that I encounter, everywhere. Whether in Arica or Europe, or anywhere else. I think I kind of portray a certain socialisation, but I still portray something else.’

Furthermore, Margaret’s awareness of being perceived as “odd” had influenced her own feelings about responding to the question:

> ‘OK, I’m gonna have to out myself as this weird person again. Or this person with this weird background, once again.’

Ricardo also used the language of “oddness” to describe how he felt he was perceived by others when he was migratised:

> ‘It’s been hard having been brought up with European values only to find that I can be seen as an oddity. The Latino who is non-Latino, but French/English without being ethnically white.’

Similarly, Christian explained how his demeanour could be seen as “odd” and triggered his migratisation:

> ‘It's a bit odd to see an Asian guy with a really Western style accent and being quite, you know… I think the stereotypical (especially in the West) view of Asians, they’re quite timid and they're quite quiet… So when somebody comes in that, you know – I see myself as a quite confident speaker and I'm not afraid to say what I think – so that’s when most people ask me, you know, where am I from.’

What do these instances have in common? Across them, what is being perceived by others as “bizarre,” “weird” or “odd” is not the participants or even their racialisation *per se*, but specifically the cultural capitals that they embodied. Owing to their internationally mobile upbringings (and largely Western educations), the participants were all in possession of cultural capitals that were often not expected of them. Indeed, one of the dictionary definitions of “odd” is “unexpected.” And whether it was their accent, their understanding of cultural references (even “obscure” ones), their socialisation, their values, or their demeanour, it was the cultural capitals that the participants embodied that were being framed as unexpected of, or incongruous with, them. This often caused a “double-take” of sorts, triggering the question, “Where are you from?” Even more specifically, triggering migratisation was a perceived mismatch between the participants and their cultural capitals, blocking – or at least hindering – their recognition as symbolic capital. It was this contestation of the legitimacy of the participants’ cultural capitals – which I call cultural capital contestation – that triggered their migratisation.

In other words, there is more at play in migratisation than racialisation against autochthonous discourses alone. Rather, migratisation involves a dynamic interaction between how a subject is racialised and classed in any given context, particularly with regard to how their cultural capitals are evaluated, and the limitations to their recognition as symbolic capital. Therefore, both race and class are imbricated in processes of migratisation; they are co-constitutive and inseparable. Moreover, race and class intersect in different ways in different contexts, that is, situationally. A cultural capital possessed by the same person can be judged differently depending on where they are and who is doing the judging. And because evaluations of cultural capital in their embodiments are at the root of migratisation, the owner of a particular cultural capital can be migratised in one situation but not in another, or migratised in both, but for different reasons and by different means. This process of cultural capital contestation, its component elements and dynamics, and how these intersect and interact differently across contexts – that is, situationally – will be the focus of discussion in the following sections and chapters.

A threefold alignment: the significance of capital, field and embodiment in cultural capital contestation

The participants' stories across interviews showed that their experiences of migratisation were not triggered by their racialisations alone (that is, how they were racialised), but rather by their racialisation in interaction with assessments of their cultural capitals' legitimacy – their validity as symbolic capital. In some cases, how their cultural capitals were read could, in turn, influence how they were racialised, but in many other cases, it did not; such was the overpowering force of racialisation. As discussed in Chapter 2, according to Bourdieu, so long as a cultural capital is matched to its field, its recognition as symbolic capital should be a matter of course. The participants' experiences showed, however, that this was not always the case. Specifically, they showed that, beyond a two-way alignment between capital and field, there must instead be a *three*fold alignment before cultural capital is judged as legitimate, namely between capital, field *and* its embodiment. Furthermore, the question of embodiment was shown to be significant in judgments as to the validity of cultural capitals in *all* states, not just in the embodied state.

Margaret explained how, whilst living in Switzerland, she had had the appropriate cultural capitals matched to the Swiss field, where she had grown up since the age of ten. Yet, despite the alignment between her capital and its field, Margaret often experienced migratisation out of Switzerland, owing to the legitimacy of those capitals being contested (that is, not being recognised as valid symbolic capital) on account of their racially minoritised embodiment:

> ‘Socially, I feel very linked to Switzerland. That’s where I grew up and became a young adult. I was socialised in that culture. I have a Swiss passport. I think I do claim Swiss identity sometimes, but with an awareness that that claim would be contested by a lot of people because of my race.’

Here, Margaret’s mentions of her Swiss passport and having been socialised in Swiss culture point to cultural capitals in their institutionalised and embodied states, respectively. Both being Swiss, these cultural capitals are matched to the field in question. Yet, crucially, as pointed out by Margaret herself (“because of my race”), her cultural capitals were not judged as matched to their embodiment, namely in Margaret, a Black woman. Despite an alignment between capital and field, owing to a lack of threefold alignment between capital, field and embodiment, Margaret’s cultural capitals were not recognised as valid symbolic capital. Therefore, Margaret’s claims to “Swiss identity” – her claims to belonging where she was, in Switzerland – were contested; she was migratised. Margaret put the implications of such migratisation based on cultural capital contestation in these terms: “I can identify with lots of different things, but that doesn’t mean that I belong in all of those.”

Similarly, Nadine, in reflecting on why “Where are you from?” was “a question that I don’t like,” also drew on perceived mismatches between her cultural capitals and her embodiment of them:

> ‘I think I still confuse people. I know I’m born here. I’m American by passport. I understand aspects of the culture and I can speak the language. But… I’m too eastern for this culture, and then I’m too western for that culture.’

Here, Nadine refers to cultural capitals in three different states: institutionalised (having a US passport); embodied (understanding of American culture); and linguistic (speaking the English language). In Chapters 6-8, I outline in further detail the contestations of participants’ cultural capitals across these three states, respectively. Nadine’s account of being judged as “too eastern for this culture” suggests an evaluation of Nadine’s cultural capitals, despite their alignment with the American field, as being mismatched to their embodiment, thereby preventing a threefold alignment between capital, field and embodiment, and triggering Nadine’s migratisation. At the same time, Nadine’s mention of being judged as “too western for that culture”, referring to Sudan and the other Northern African and Middle Eastern countries in which she had grown up, get at the ways in which the threefold alignment between her cultural capitals, field and embodiment is judged in different contexts (including non-Western ones), that is, situationally. This is discussed further in the section below, as well as in subsequent chapters.

Situational migratisation: the varied intersections of race and class in migratisation across contexts

The participants’ experiences showed that race and class intersect differently in different context to produce different evaluations of the legitimacy of their cultural capitals, thus migratising them in different ways. Specifically, judgments of the threefold alignment between capital, field and embodiment vary across contexts, with different combinations of these three elements triggering migratisation in varied ways. In predominantly white, Western contexts, normative constructions of Europeanness as whiteness, heavily underwritten by autochthonous conflations of nation with race, were extremely powerful in influencing judgments of capitals as being mismatched to their embodiments, despite their alignment with the field. In fact, in many cases in such fields, migratisation appeared to be triggered by the participant’s very possession of cultural capitals associated with the West and whiteness – or more precisely, the West *as* whiteness, such that these capitals were deemed incongruous with possession by racially minoritised bodies. In other words, the participants’ embodiment of such cultural capitals (e.g. holding qualifications from prestigious Western universities, familiarity with cultural references or customs, being fluent in imperial languages) appeared to disturb commonly held expectations for racially minoritised subjects precisely *not* to be in possession of these capitals, thus provoking potentially *more* migratisation than if they had not been in possession of them.

Margaret's example of a migratising question that she had encountered reflected such perceived mismatches between cultural capital and its embodiment being invoked as grounds for refusals to view them as legitimate, and thus as grounds for the migratisation the capitals' owner:

> 'The other interesting one that I encountered recently was, "So *neither* one of your parents is white?" As a kind of "OK, so I assumed you kind of... Naturally belonged here. You know, *partially* belonged here somehow. But oh. Actually you don't."'

Here, the only plausible – or legitimate – way that it was imagined for Margaret to be in possession of her Western cultural capitals was through a proximity to whiteness, specifically by birth, that is, biologically through her parentage (even though race is not genetic), which would have deemed Margaret as "naturally" belonging in the West. Margaret's capitals *might* have been considered legitimate had she been "partially" white (that is, if at least "one of" her parents had been white); she might have been deemed white on a contingent, or probationary, basis (Jacobson 1998), or even been deemed an "honorary white" (Ellrick 2023, p.569; see also Jacobson 1998, p.59). Yet, the extension of such legitimation was suspended upon it coming to light that "neither one" of her parents was white. The way in which the legitimacy of Margaret's cultural capitals was contested in this instance shows how the boundaries of whiteness are simultaneously racialised *and* classed, illustrating how "race has served as a powerful instrument for jealously guarding privilege rather than as a neutral, coolly biological basis for understanding the relationship among the world's peoples." (Jacobson 1999, p.234)

The imbrications of race and class in processes of migratisation, and in the evaluations of cultural capital underwriting such processes, became especially visible when participants shifted social fields. In addition to predominantly white, Western contexts, there were two other contexts that featured in the participants' stories, in which migratisation took place. These were: contexts of co-ethnicity, that is, when the participants were interacting with people of the same ethnicity as them (whether in the West or elsewhere); and contexts with "other Others", that is, people who were also racially minoritised but of a different racialisation or ethnicity. Examples of from across these three contexts will be looked at in more detail across the following three chapters on the contestations of cultural capitals in different states. In the following two sections, I give an overview of the dynamics involved in processes of migratisation in each of these two contexts.

“What’s your father’s name?” Co-ethnicity and migratisation

In contexts with similarly racialised people, or those with whom they shared co-ethnicity, the participants’ experiences revealed instances of migratisation by co-ethnic peers. These appeared to flow from significant classed differences between the cultural capitals possessed by the participants and those possessed by the co-ethnic arbiters of their capitals. In such contexts/cases, out of the threefold alignment between capital, field and embodiment, what especially triggered the participants’ migratisation was the perceived mismatch between cultural capital and its field, particularly relative to expectations, on the basis of co-ethnicity, as to the cultural capitals that the subject would or should have. Yet, this was not unrelated to questions of embodiment, as classed evaluations of these cultural capitals intersected with racialisation in one of two different/opposing ways: the Western cultural capitals in the participants’ possession could function to racialise them as white (or proximate to whiteness); or anti-Blackness and colourism could function to disqualify them as “legitimate” owners of such capitals. In either iteration, perceived misalignments between cultural capital, field and/or embodiment worked to migratise the participants.

Nadine had experienced migratisation on the basis of contrasts between her cultural capitals and those held by those with whom she shared Sudanese co-ethnicity, both in Sudan and in the Sudanese diaspora in the US. An example of the latter had included finding out, to some shock, that one of her US-born Sudanese friends had a father who worked as a taxi driver: “That was kind of an eye opener for me. You know, I feel embarrassed saying this… Realising, ‘Oh, not everybody’s parents went to college.’” Reflecting on her experiences of being asked about her origins by co-ethnics in Sudan, Nadine shared a context-specific variation of the question, “Where are you from?”:

> 'In Sudan, this is something that that's very cultural. People will ask you, "What's your father's name?" They wanna know who my people are. They wanna know all your lineage.'

This emphasis on patrilineal lineage in Sudan (Sharkey 2003, 2008; Mukhtar 2004; James 2008; Zouhir 2015), particularly among "Northern riverine Arab elites" (Sharkey 2008, p.42), is historically linked to the Arabisation (*ta'rib*) of Sudan, or the construction of the "Sudanese Arab" identity (Sharkey 2008; Mukhtar 2004). This was a highly racialised and classed process, as the claiming of "an Arab pedigree" or "genealogical credentials" (Sharkey 2008, p.29) was a way for elites to distance themselves from the low social status and connotations of servility accorded to Blackness (*sudani*) on account of the slave trade in Sudan (Sharkey 2008; Zouhir 2015).

In contemporary Sudan, through co-ethnic insistence on the question, "What's your father's name?", Nadine had experienced the evaluations of cultural capital underlying processes of migratisation:

> 'In Sudan, I think I do stand out. When somebody starts speaking to me, I think they do notice that there's, like, a foreign vibe that I unintentionally give off. Because there's a lot of Sudanese people who lived abroad, and they come back and their Arabic is not that great, and they paint me as that. It's automatically the assumption: "You lived abroad, you lived abroad. You are more privileged than other people here." That's what they're also getting at, I think.'

The "foreign vibe" that Nadine had given off encompassed both her limited fluency in Arabic – that is, her *lack* of a cultural capital matching the Sudanese field, which she had otherwise been expected to embody, on the basis of co-ethnicity – as well as her possession of cultural capitals perceived as mismatched to the Sudanese field, such as speaking English. Together, these evaluations of her cultural capitals had cast doubt on the extent of her "Sudaneseness" and positioned her for migratisation. The fact that evaluations of Nadine's cultural capitals were involved in her migratisation despite co-ethnicity demonstrates the imbrications of *both* race and class in migratisation. Indeed, Nadine elaborated that the question, "What's your father's name?" – and, by extension, the migratisation that it performed – was highly classed: "It's implied. 'Where are you from, what's your socioeconomic status?'" Also potentially at issue here is the status of

English as a former colonial language in Sudan, which may have intensified Nadine's migratisation on the basis of the perceived hypocrisy of "the elite, who overtly profess the promotion of Arabic as a medium of instruction while sending their own offspring to schools where the medium of instruction is a former colonial language" (Zouhir 2015, p.289). In this way, Nadine's cultural capitals can be seen to have racialised her as white, or at least closer to the former white British coloniser, contributing to her migratisation.

These processes were, however, highly situational. Perceived mismatches between capital and field did not always translate into migratisation via racialisation of the capital's bearer as white. On the contrary, Jackson's experiences in India illustrated how the body can be a site of racial minoritisation even amongst co-ethnics. Moreover, they illustrated how, in some contexts of co-ethnicity, colourism (Hunter 2005; Harris 2009; Glenn 2009; Kullrich 20223) and anti-Blackness could contribute to refusals to legitimate cultural capitals, and thus operationalise migratisation:

> 'I was living in West India. You know, everyone's fairer. So there's a North and South divide; there's fair and there's dark. When I was there, I definitely faced, just, day-to-day racism. When I used to go to a club with friends, the bouncer would stop me alone. And I'd be the darkest one there. Right, well... I'm not going to shy away from saying what it is. And they'd be like, "No, it's your shoes." Really? Because I can see, like, 50 people in there with the same kind of shoes. So don't kid me… It's just the level of power that people seem to think they have over you because their colour of the skin is different.'

This is an overt instance of colourism and anti-Black racism based on the ascription of hierarchical value to skin tone. In fact, the issue of embodiment was so salient as to render cultural capital as mundane as her attire (specifically her shoes), which were no different to the shoes worn by lighter-skinned people admitted to the club, illegitimate in her particular embodiment. In contrast to Nadine's experience of co-ethnic migratisation above, in which her capitals had been judged as mismatched to the field, a perceived mismatch between Jackson's capital and its racially minoritised embodiment was the overpowering force in her migratisation.

“This is a white man’s club”: other “Others” and migratisation

The participants also shared experiences of migratisation by those who were also racially minoritised in Western contexts, but differently racialised – whom Suki Ali (2005) refers to as “other Others”. This could happen across contexts, that is, both within predominantly white, Western contexts as well as in places outside of the West. Jackson had been migratised by other Others in her own neighbourhood in the UK:

> ‘We live at the end of a council estate, and for sure when I’m walking around, sometimes you’ll hear a group of youth – not necessarily Caucasian, they can be any race – they will comment about, you know, “Go back to your country,” or stuff like that.’

In fact, Nadine reported having experienced more migratisation outside of white-dominant, Western contexts:

> ‘So this is the thing. I feel it’s very disappointing that the places that I’ve experienced the most discrimination have been places where people are not white.’

Similarly, Ricardo recalled that one of his first experience of migratisation (to Colombia, where he had been born) had been upon starting at his international school in Bangladesh at age 17:

> ‘That was the first time my Europeanness was questioned. But it wasn’t questioned by white people. It was questioned by one of the guys that purported to be my friend at the time. He was Bangladeshi and he said, “You’re not European. You’re Colombian.” Referring to just the ethnical side.’

In another nightclub context, this time in Australia, Jackson had experienced migratisation by a bouncer of Maori ethnicity:

> ‘We lined up, got to the front and they said, “No, you can’t come in.” The Maori guy did say to me, “This is a white man’s club. You cannot enter.”’

Jackson recalled having appealed to the bouncer:

> ‘“You are brown. How can you even say that to me? Do you not know what your whole people have gone through in this world and on this land?” And he just went, “No, don't care. You're not coming in. This is a white man's club.” He just kept repeating that.’

Jackson had been astonished that her entry to the establishment had been barred by another racially minoritised – albeit differently racialised – person in the context of a history of oppression by white colonisers. Yet, the incident illustrates the pervasiveness of Eurocentric racial hierarchies and concepts of white supremacy, both within white settler-colonial context and beyond, that is, globally, such that "White lives matter disproportionately everywhere" (Raghuram 2022, p.786). This also raises the question of racisms amongst those who are racially minoritised yet differently racialised. Such racisms – or "multiracisms", particularly those "beyond Black and white" (Bonnett 2021) – are often framed as "new" racisms, as though they never existed before and are only now emerging (Solomos 2020; Raghuram 2022; Ang et al. 2022). Yet, such framings of "new" racisms are deeply problematic for their Eurocentricity, as multiple racisms beyond Black and white may only be new to the Western academy. As Gurminder Bhambra (2014) puts it: "this data is not really new, just newly added to sociology." (p.150)

As will be examined further in the following chapters, the participants' experiences of migratisation by other "Others" reveal how racisms the world over are connected, such that "racist arrangements anywhere – in any place – depend, to a smaller or larger degree, on racist practice almost anywhere else." (Goldberg 2014, p.255) It is important to note that this also the case in places that were never directly colonised by European powers. This is because colonialism was "something more than direct rule over certain areas by the imperial powers" (Hall 1996, p.249) and "lives on its after-effects", regardless of such effects' "displacement from the coloniser/colonised axis". (p.247) And in the context of migration specifically, mobility, on a global scale, "cannot be fully comprehended without understanding it as racially configured." (Goldberg 2005, p.221). As such, whilst it is vital to situate particular racisms in their specific contexts, we must do so whilst simultaneously "recognizing the entanglements of this situated race with global manifestations of race and racism" (Raghuram 2022, p.784) In the chapters that follow, my analysis of the contestations of the participants' cultural capitals underlying their migratisation, and intersections of race and class within such contestations, reveal the operation of multiple racisms across contexts. I conduct my examination of multiple racisms with the goal of contributing to growing efforts to counter “the dearth of studies on issues of race in non-white settings.” (Ang et al. 2022, p.585)

The situationality of migratisation

Thus far, I have shown that processes of migratisation are underwritten by contestations of the legitimacy of the cultural capitals in their embodiments. I have identified a threefold alignment involved in evaluations of cultural capital, between cultural capital, field and embodiment, with mismatches between any two (or more) of these elements leading to contestation of the legitimacy of the capital, thereby triggering migratisation. I have shown how race and class are imbricated in such evaluations, with race being articulated broadly in terms of anti-Blackness or the ascription of (contingent) whiteness. Moreover, evaluations of this threefold alignment are context-dependent and situational; as such, migratisation is also situational. In sum, the situationality of migratisation depends on: the context in which the legitimacy of cultural capital is being evaluated; which of the elements of the threefold alignment between capital, field and embodiment are judged as mismatched; how race is articulated in these evaluations. I thus propose the concept of situational migratisation as the context-dependent ways in which race and class intersect in contestations of the legitimacy of cultural capitals in their embodiments, triggering migratisation, or the construction of the capitals’ owners as migrant figures, out of place and belonging elsewhere.

There was, however, one further factor that influenced processes of capital contestation and resultant migratisation, namely the state of cultural capital being evaluated. In this study, three states of cultural capital emerged as particularly contested: institutionalised cultural capitals; embodied cultural capitals and linguistic capitals. The processes involved in contestations of cultural capitals in these three states, and how these were related to migratisation, are examined in further detail in the three chapters that follow: institutionalised cultural capitals in Chapter 6; embodied cultural capitals in Chapter 7 and linguistic capitals in Chapter 8. Contestations of cultural capitals in each of these three states had elements in common. For example, they all drew on evaluations of the threefold alignment between capital, field and embodiment, as well as on articulations of race broadly in terms of anti-Blackness and colourism or racialisation as white. At the same time, contestations of each of these states of cultural capital also highlighted different processes, that is, different ways in which race and class combined in different contexts, and these will be outlined in detail in the next three chapters.

6. Contestations of institutionalised cultural capitals in migratisation

One of the most surprising findings in this study was that the participants' experiences of migratisation revealed contestations of their cultural capitals not only in embodied states, but also in institutionalised states. This was surprising because, according to Bourdieu (see Chapter 2), institutionalised cultural capitals, being "incorporated [embodied] capital guaranteed" (2021, p.225) (and "legally guaranteed in the form of titles" (2021, p.162)), are supposed to be endowed with the "capacity to transcend individual, biographical and biological accidents" (2021, p.241). In other words, so long as such capitals are matched to the field in which they operate (a medical degree obtained in Malta, for example, may not automatically license a doctor to practise in South Korea, no matter who they may be), cultural capitals in their institutionalised state should, in theory, be recognised as valid symbolic capital as a matter of course. Yet, the participants' experiences showed that this was not always the case. In particular, the legitimacy of two types of institutionalised cultural capital were commonly contested in their embodiment by the participants: educational qualifications, which Bourdieu called the "most obvious form" of capital in this state (2021, p.241); and nationalities, as objectified in the form of passports and other documentation showing legal status, such as permanent residency.

As outlined in Chapter 4, on account of their relatively privileged, internationally mobile upbringings, all eight of the participants held high volumes of Western educational qualifications, as well as nationalities or other legal statuses in Western states, often with dual citizenship. In this chapter, I break down contestations of these two institutionalised cultural capitals, across contexts. First, I outline the persistence of the logic of whiteness in contestations of participants' Western educational qualifications in their racially minoritised embodiments, not only in predominantly white, Western contexts, but also in contexts with "other Others", illustrating not only European discourses of political racelessness but also the global reach of white-supremacist racial hierarchies wrought by European colonialism. Next, this is contrasted to the dynamics of contestations of Western educational qualifications in contexts of co-ethnicity, underpinned chiefly by evaluations of capital as mismatched to field, which, in turn, works to racialise their embodiments as white. I then turn to the institutionalised cultural capital of nationality, first examining the impacts of geopolitically disadvantaged Global South nationalities within the "birthright lottery" (Shachar 2009) national citizenships, before discussing the uses of stronger passports in practices of "flexible citizenship" (Ong 1999) on the macro level of international mobility. Finally, I analyse the limitations to such flexible citizenship, particularly at more micro levels of the everyday, due to contestations of the legitimacy of Western nationalities when embodied by racially minoritised subjects, highlighting the persistence of autochthonous conflations of nationality with race.

"I was not white. This was the problem": The persistence of logics of whiteness in evaluations of institutionalised cultural capitals across contexts

When Margaret moved to Switzerland at age 10, from Liberia via the UK, she and her siblings had initially been put in a remedial class for pupils who spoke German as a second language, before being placed in the mainstream class shortly thereafter. Given the presumably tangible differences between cultural capitals accumulated in the Liberian or UK school fields and those acquired in a Swiss field, such a decision is perhaps understandable, if somewhat segregationist. Yet, on transition from primary to secondary school within Switzerland, after Margaret had had ample opportunity to "catch up", that is, to accumulate institutionalised cultural capitals matched to the field, her competence was still doubted. Margaret was initially placed in the vocational track of secondary school, rather than the university-bound academic one (*Gymnasium*). This time, the role of racialisation in the contestation of Margaret's institutionalised cultural capital was clear:

> 'Unfortunately, it would have been assumed that a student with a background like mine (displaced, from Africa, weak German skills) would never be able to catch up with the rigorous curriculum of a *Gymnasium*. I see this kind of thinking in the city that I live now, where my husband teaches at a school where 73% of kids have a "migration background", as they say here [in Germany]…'

According to Dahinden et al. (2021), the phrase "migration background" is used "mainly in German-speaking countries" and has "changed from a statistical category into a social one" (p.542). The use of such a euphemism in contesting the academic abilities embodied by racially minoritised pupils – regardless of an actual history of migration – highlights the imbrications of race and class in migratisation. Incidentally, Margaret was moved to *Gymnasium* a year later, after having "proven" her academic abilities.

Margaret reflected on her move to *Gymnasium* as having been a smooth one, at least socially: "The transition was easy because I joined a class that had just been created. I made one friend immediately and others soon after that." Academically, her experience had been more mixed:

> 'Teachers punished me (in terms of grades) for using different symbols in mathematics, which irks me to this day. My physics teacher was overtly racist and made it clear that he didn't think I belonged there. But others, like my geography teacher, expressed more cultural sensitivity.'

The young Margaret's experiences illustrate the pervasiveness of race as technology of power in contestations of the legitimacy of institutionalised cultural capitals. This underscores the centrality of question of embodiment in readings of the threefold alignment between cultural capital, field and embodiment. Despite Margaret now being in possession of institutionalised cultural capitals matched to the Swiss field

now having institutionalised cultural capitals matched to (indeed obtained in) the Swiss field, their legitimacy as symbolic capital was still denied, on account of their embodiment by a racially minoritised subject. Margaret's description of her mathematics teacher as having "made it clear that he didn't think I belonged there" shows how such contestations of cultural capitals in their embodiment are related to migratisation, or a denial of their belonging where they are and a sending-off of the capital's owner to an elsewhere, where they are imagined to belong.

Notwithstanding such early contestations of her institutionalised cultural capital, Margaret went on to have a highly successful academic career. After obtaining her undergraduate and Master's degrees in the US, she earned her doctorate at a top university in the UK. Despite having accumulated such high volumes of bona fide, Western institutionalised cultural capital, however, Margaret found that in the less public, more intimate context of relations with her future white German family-in-law, she still faced contestation of such capitals, and migratisation as a result. Margaret had met her now-husband, who had also been completing his PhD at the same university as her, when they were both doing fieldwork in West Africa. In the early days of their relationship, Margaret recalled:

> 'Even though at the time, you know, I was a PhD student at [the same university], the assumption was… I think one of the first things his mother's boyfriend said to me was, "What do you want from him?" You know, like the assumption is… Our relationship was instrumental to me in some particular way. It couldn't just be romantic – I was the one in need and I had to get something from him, right?'

Both completing the most advanced degree possible at one of the most prestigious universities in the world, Margaret and her now-husband would have been in possession of very similar institutionalised cultural capitals, in both volume and composition. These would have included capitals such as a recognised Master's degree completed to a sufficiently high standard (as well as the prerequisites for a Master's), references from well-regarded academics, and more. Yet, Margaret's racial minoritisation on the basis of her appearance and perceived origins outside of Europe (despite having grown up mainly in Switzerland), combined with classed – and highly gendered – assumptions about such "migrants", meant that she was not viewed by her partner's family as his equal. Racialised, gendered and classed constructions of racially minoritised women as poor migrants seeking social mobility through marriage overpowered the legitimation of the institutionalised cultural capitals held by Margaret, denying their recognition as symbolic capital.

Furthermore, in an apparent move to resolve the perceived impossibility of a Black African woman legitimately possessing Western cultural capitals, Margaret shared that her family-in-law migratised her to the US, constructing her as African American, rather than African:

> 'Their son went to West Africa and met a Black girl, and… He didn't bring me back, I was already studying at [prestigious UK university] at the time. But, you know, we came back together, and then had to meet his family. So I can imagine that for them, telling their friends that their son had met a Black girl in Africa, was tough. So mentally, I assume it was easier for them to… You know, see me as African American. They kind of pinned me down as an American.'

Not only had Margaret been in West Africa doing fieldwork for her UK PhD (just as her now-husband had been), but she was a citizen of a teutophone European state, namely Switzerland. Yet, the gendered racialisation of Margaret as a "Black girl" had outweighed all of this in her future family-in-law's migratisation of her out of Europe. This underscores not only the white normativity underlying who is constructed European generally (that is, the "explicit categorization as not European of all those who violate Europe's implicit, but normative whiteness" (El-Tayeb 2011, p.xxviii)), but specifically how such "hegemonic understandings of Europe construct Black Europeans as *non*-Europeans" (Tudor 2018, p.1061). Even more specifically, it could be seen as reflective of "the German discourse on the white German subject and the African Other" underlying the "refusal to understand Afro-Germans as Germans, much less as equals," such that "the Afro-German barely exists in the German imagination." (Wright 2004, p.191)

Moreover, the migratisation of Margaret out of Europe illustrates European discourses of political racelessness, or "the powerful narrative of Europe as a colorblind continent, largely untouched by the devastating ideology it exported all over the world." (El-Tayeb 2011, p.xv) Such racelessness translates into "the externalization of racialized populations (rather than their relegation to second-class citizen status)" (El-Tayeb 2011, p.xvii), such that "racialized minorities have traditionally been placed outside of the national and by extension continental community." (El-Tayeb 2011, p.xvii) Furthermore, the migratisation of Margaret to the US, specifically, through the construction of her as African American, is also characteristic of political racelessness's framing of race as particular only to the US (El-Tayeb 2011, p.xvi). As Margaret explained:

> 'I think being African American gets you… Puts you… Allows them to put you in this kind of raceless, less… Controversial category?'

The implication that race or race talk is "controversial" in Europe (or Germany), but not in the US, reflects what Michelle Wright (2004) describes as German views of Blackness as "an American problem" (p. 191). This also illustrates the function of political racelessness in Europe as maintaining the fiction of Europe as "a space free of 'race' (and by implication, racism)" (p.xvii), thereby absolving it of "the devastating ideology it exported all over the world." (p.xv) This was echoed by Ricardo, who had noted discourses of political racelessness in France:

> 'France's stance on race has always pretty much been… It's all these huge ideologies. "You're all men," and everything. "We're all equal and we all have equal opportunities," right? My friend who was doing history back at university, he said, if you ask the French government how many Arabs are here, how many people from ex-colonies, you know, from Indochina, Cameroon… They'll say, "We don't know."'

This is in line with Aurelien Mondon and Aaron Winter's (2020) characterisation of claims that "France does not see race because of the universalist nature of the Republic." (p.66) (See also Beaman 2017 (p.4) on "French exceptionalism regarding distinctions based on race and ethnicity.")

It is important to note that, despite her migratisation to the US by her family-in-law, Margaret did not herself identify as American:

> 'The only reason I have an American passport is because the US colonised the Caribbean island that my mom's from. So just based on that, I would never call myself an American.'

Yet, Margaret's characterisation of it having been "easier" for her family-in-law to frame her as African American suggests the operation not only of race (specifically anti-Blackness) but also of class in the evaluation of her institutionalised cultural capital, and her subsequent migratisation to the US: being a Black American from the "developed" Global North was hierarchised as preferable to being a Black African from the "underdeveloped" South, possibly with the former constructed as wealthier, more "civilised" and thus more respectable that the latter. In other words, if Margaret was going to be Black, it was preferable for her to be from a rich nation – one that had elected a Black president, even:

> 'A lot of our discussions were surrounding American politics. Umm the whole Obama… Putting me in the position to defend Obama, and his terrible politics… [Laughing]'

This was compounded by what Margaret noted as an avoidance of talking about Africa:

> ‘They never talk to me about my Africanness, right? If they talk to me about Africa, it's about what I'm studying. It's never about my relationship to the continent.’

In this way (and with distinctly colonial echoes), being in a position to *study* Africa was constructed as more tolerable than being *from* there.

Such anti-Blackness did not, however, only operate in contestations of participants’ institutionalised cultural capitals in predominantly white, Western contexts. Rather, Nadine had experienced such contestations by “other Others”, whilst living in northern China, where she had applied for jobs teachings English – a position for which she was fully qualified. Having obtained her English teaching certificate in the US, Nadine’s institutionalised cultural capital had been matched to the field in question (teaching English to Chinese learners). Yet, a perceived misalignment between the capital and its embodiment operated to deny the recognition of this as symbolic capital:

> ‘Even though I felt like I’m really qualified, I discovered that people there prefer white teachers. I have friends who are [white] American, and they’re not even teachers – their degrees are, like, in engineering or something, and they get tutoring jobs like *that* [snapping fingers]. Really quickly. Sometimes, you’d see job advertisements that would be like, “Hiring teachers. Prefer blonde and blue eyes.” [Laughing]’

Not only had Nadine been a dual US-Sudanese citizen in possession of both a US undergraduate degree and an English language-teaching qualification from a US university, but she also held a Master’s degree completed in English at a Dutch university. By the time she had moved to China, Nadine had taught English professionally for several years, in Saudi Arabia and Sudan. Nevertheless, a body-centric racialisation of Nadine, who did not have blonde hair or blue eyes, trumped legitimation of her competencies. According to Bourdieu, Nadine’s competencies were supposed to be guaranteed – independently of her person – by her many institutionalised cultural capitals, specifically her teaching qualification. Yet, despite being matched to its field, this capital was judged by potential employers in China as mismatched to its embodiment, thus denying its recognition as symbolic capital.

This is in line with Pauline Leonard's (2019) findings on "the preference for a white face" within English Language Teaching (ELT) in China (p.148), such that "where whiteness is regarded as a desirable qualification, non-white teachers […] may face discrimination and can often struggle to be accepted by school managers, students, and, at times, broader society." (p.163) In particular, Nadine's observation about the ease with which white counterparts with unrelated academic credentials had secured English-teaching jobs underscores "the easily won, but completely unearned, adulation" of whiteness in this context (p.167). Indeed, there was no doubt in Nadine's mind that her experience had to do with how she was racialised:

> 'I was not white. This was the problem. I was not white, and I just think they didn't know where to… Place me. I think they just could not understand what I was. I think I was something very bizarre to them. They just saw me as somebody who wasn't white. I'm assuming they probably thought I was strange. Or Brown. I mean… Perhaps because, at that point, I had braids, so… Some sort of Black, they probably assumed.'

As discussed in Chapter 5, Nadine's use of words such as "bizarre" and "strange" to describe how she felt she was perceived by prospective Chinese employers illustrate the contestation of her cultural capitals on the basis of perceived misalignments between her cultural capitals and their embodiment. (The difficulties in "placing" her also show how such contestations can serve to In fact, Nadine's reference to her hair illustrates the centrality of the body in her racialisation as Black in this instance, making clear the overpowering force of race in the refusal to recognise Nadine's institutionalised cultural capital as symbolic capital. This shows that when embodied by those racially minoritised, not only strictly within the West but within (Western-inflected) racial hierarchies more broadly, institutionalised cultural capital does not function as independently of the body of its bearer as Bourdieu would have us believe.

Nadine had not been the only one to experience such contestations of her institutionalised cultural capital: "I heard about experiences of Asian Americans, born and raised in the US, being discriminated against in China." This is also supported by Leonard's (2019) findings that some English language schools in China "refused to hire black, Asian teachers and even Chinese Americans, or, if they did, these teachers being the targets of complaints and students asking for a change to a white teacher." (p.168) M Dujon Johnson (2007 in Cheng 2019) even found that "when recruiting English teachers from foreign countries, some Chinese and Taiwanese schools would rather hire white Russians than [B]lack Americans." (p.9) At the same time, Shanshan Lan (2016) found that some of her African informants (in a different part of the country than Nadine) had "managed to find teaching jobs in China by posing as African Americans", coming to the conclusion that "nationality and the economic status of one's home country can be weighed more importantly in Chinese society than one's skin color." (p.308) This illustrates the complex imbrications of race and class in evaluations of cultural capital (e.g. in conflations between nationality and race, as well as between nationality and race), and shows this process to be a highly situational one. In Nadine's case, as with many other recorded cases, her racialisation as Black had overpowered the class status bestowed by her US nationality in contestations of her American institutionalised cultural capital.

Nadine's experience in this Chinese context also raised questions of the pervasiveness of white supremacy globally:

> 'I wonder why… Why they still have this thing that, you know, white people are superior. I'm curious, since… Considering the fact that their government changed the system, and they've been insulated, and how ethnocentric they are in China… But there's still, like, this… Fascination and… An awe of…'

As Alastair Bonnett (2022) says, scholarship on racisms outside of the West is "[d]angerously 'underdeveloped' but also, sometimes, just dangerous." (p.6) Race and racism are, by many accounts, contentious topics in China, often perceived as an imposition of purely Western constructs (Chen 2010; Law 2012; Cheng 2019; Castillo 2020; Ang 2022). Whilst some argue that, in looking at racisms globally, "the 'which is worse?' question is the wrong question" (Castillo 2020, p.328; cf. Song 2014), at the same time, the particularities of Han Chinese nationalism must not be "imagined as isolated from historical global racism" (ibid.). As Yinghong Cheng (2019) suggests, "an understanding of contemporary Chinese nationalism without its racial aspect is flawed" (p.21) And as T. Tu Huynh and Yoon Jung park (2018) point out, "the fact that China and diasporic Chinese communities have historically been racialised by others does not mean that China does not have its own racial imaginings" (p.159). Indeed, heeding Lentin's (2020) and Hesse's (2016) warnings that the very debatabiity of racism is part of how race exerts itself as a technology of power, we must, where necessary, "call a spade a spade" (Cheng 2019, p.1).

There have been multiple studies on anti-Blackness in China, spanning decades (Sautman 1994) and even centuries (Wyatt 2022; Cheng 2019). Yet, as Lan (2016) points out, "anti-[B]lack racism in China cannot be interpreted solely within the [B]lack and white binary and must be situated within the larger context of the triangular power relations between China, Africa, and the West" (p.312) – and, indeed, within "the global circulation of racial knowledge." (Lan 2017, p.2; see also Kowner and Demel 2013) Without such contexualisation, Huynh and Park (2018) point out, a "focus on 'Chinese racism' as a thing in itself, rather than a process […] that is interwoven with complex political, economic, and social relations, suggests that racial attitudes and ideas among the people in China are exceptional and possibly more racist than people in other parts of the world." (p.168)

In a sense, it could be argued that the English language schools who did not hire Nadine, and their Chinese clientele, were responding to the white supremacy structuring today's globalised neoliberal capitalist world and abiding by the global racial hierarchy that places whiteness at the top. Indeed, a case could be made here for Karen Pyke's (2010) framework of internalised racial oppression. As Pyke herself notes, most baulk at the notion instinctively, given "a concern that the racially subordinated will be held responsible for reinscribing [w]hite supremacist thinking, casting it as their shortcoming rather than a problem of [w]hite racism." (p.559) Pyke argues that such victim-blaming is a misplacement of the origins of internalisation of racial oppression, which only "serves to mystify and protect [w]hite racism" (p.560). Rather, Pyke contends that internalisation is "an inevitable condition of *all* structures of oppression" and uses the alternative phrase, "internalised white supremacy" to emphasise the structural nature of what is internalised (p.553). In this sense, preferences for white teachers at Nadine's English school could be seen as a manifestation of parents' efforts to give their children the best chances of success in a world materially ordered by such racial hierarchies.

In addition to China, Nadine had also experienced contestation of her institutionalised cultural capitals by "other Others" in Egypt:

> 'I would say in Egypt, There is often racism there against Sudanese people. I mean, not 100%, but… They often have a condescending attitude towards us. It's like they cannot compute in their heads that you are educated. In their head, they're like, "You're Sudanese – you must be poor. You must be ignorant." You know.'

In this context, classed assumptions about a deficit of both economic and cultural capitals, indexed by conflated references to poverty and lack of education, were imbricated in racialisations of Nadine. The recognition of Nadine's capitals – whether economic or cultural – as valid symbolic capital was not guaranteed by the fact of Nadine's being neither poor nor ignorant, that is, by her being in possession of both economic and institutionalised cultural capitals. This specific context also speaks to the complex history between Sudan and Egypt, particularly "the underlying centrality of slavery" in their historical relationship (Powell 2003, p.291), which, in turn, cannot be read in isolation from "the triangle of colonialism" between the British Empire, Egypt and Sudan (p.4). Eve Troutt Powell (2003) argues that this resulted in the emergence of Egypt as "the colonized colonizer" over Sudan (p.6). Against this history, Sudanese people in Egypt "became the source of many jokes, stereotypes, and caricatures" (p.6) underwritten by Anti-Blackness. Terms such as "*'abīd* (slave), *barbarī* (Berber or barbarian), *nūbi* (Nubian), *'arabī* (Arab) and *sūdānī*, to name a few […] bore particular significance in the hierarchy of political and economic relations from one end of the Nile Valley to the other." (p.17) Indeed, *'abid*, "a word intended for darker-skinned people of African descent" (Powell 20212, p.3) continues to be a painful epithet to this day.

"African enough?" Co-ethnic contestations of institutionalised cultural capitals

Thus far, we have examined how, across contexts, anti-Blackness could be seen operating in evaluations of the threefold alignment between the participants' cultural capital, field and embodiment, leading to contestations of the legitimacy of their institutionalised cultural capitals and, in the case of refusals to recognise these as valid symbolic capital, also to their migratisation. Participants being deemed too "Black" (or not white enough) for their cultural capitals was not, however, the only way in which race was articulated in judgments as to this threefold alignment. In still other cases, whilst contestations of the participants' institutionalised cultural capitals still underpinned their migratisation, the contestation took place in a different way to the instances discussed in the section above, with perceived misalignments of the three elements of capital, field and embodiment occurring in a different combination. Specifically, a perceived mismatch, in the first instance, this time not between cultural capital and its embodiment, but between a cultural capital and its *field*, raised the suspicions as to the legitimacy of those cultural capitals when embodied by a racially minoritised subject – especially of co-ethnicity as the person making the judgment. In turn, at least in some cases, this perceived mismatch between capital and field even operated to racialise the owners of such capitals as white. Thus, all three elements of the threefold alignment (capital, field and embodiment) were contested, but in a different way than when anti-Blackness was operating to cast doubt on the legitimacy of those capitals in their embodiment.

In a context of co-ethnicity within his own extended family, Christian had experienced migratisation on account of his institutionalised cultural capitals being deemed mismatched to the field in Malaysia, by which he was further racialised as white:

> 'Even my family, some of my cousins and stuff… They weren't as lucky as me to be educated in, you know, international schools and university [abroad], all of that. So I've been called the "banana" by my family. You know when Asian people are talking about Westerners. I would be lumped in with them. And I'd be like, "Hey, I'm Malaysian!" And they'd be like, "No, you're not. You're banana."'

"Banana" is a pejorative term that refers to an Asian person ("yellow on the outside") adopting white Western characteristics or values, i.e. Western cultural capitals ("white on the inside"), with connotations of being "whitewashed" or a "sell-out" (Pyke 2003, p.156). Christian's migratisation is made clear when his claim to being "Malaysian" is rejected by his cousins, and he is told instead that he is "banana." It is also clear that his migratisation involves contestations of his institutionalised cultural capitals (acquired at Western-style "international schools and university" in the UK), specifically on the basis of a perceived misalignment of this capital and its field in Malaysia. In other words, a perceived mismatch between the field and Christian's institutionalised cultural capitals, which in turn renders Christian white (and thus the embodiment of the capital also mismatched to the field), serves to migratise him out of Malaysia. In contrast to examples given in the previous section, in this context, rather than being deemed to racialised to embody Western cultural capitals, Christian is deemed as possessing cultural capitals that are too Western (and, by association, white) to be Malaysian. This illustrates the complex and situational imbrications of both race and class in the contestations of cultural capitals underwriting migratisation. Christian’s sister, Caroline, had had similar experiences of migratisation via racialisation as white on account of her embodied cultural capitals, and this discussed in Chapter 7.

Alastair Bonnett (1998) points to “other experiences of whiteness, developed before the late modern era or outside America and Europe” (p.1029) to argue that whiteness was not always necessarily racialised, that is, weaponised as a technology of power, until the construction of European racial whiteness. Yet, in this instance, the imputation of whiteness to Christian in his migratisation out of Malaysia suggests that the whiteness being invoked in calling him “banana” is indeed that associated with European domination of those deemed not white. The verdict, therefore, seems to be that such whiteness, and by extension, Christian, do not belong in Malaysia. This speaks to ambivalences towards whiteness in light of the violent legacies wrought by European imperialism, of which Malaysia was by no means spared. Although more research would be needed to investigate this, one possible interpretation of such refusals to legitimate Western institutional cultural capitals in Asian embodiments is to view such refusals as a form of resistance to Western standards in the arbitration of value. In other words, to it could be seen as a way of asserting that being racialised as white is not the only way to be privileged in the world.

Another example of Western institutionalised cultural capitals, judged as mismatched to the field, operating to racialise its owner as white was in the case of Margaret, who had recently started a new job at an institute for African studies at a German university, shared feeling that her possession of Western institutional cultural capitals, despite her racialisation, had cast some suspicion doubt on her “credibility” as an African scholar:

> ‘I think people are trying to figure out who I am at my new job. Trying to figure out *if* I'm African, *how* I'm African… In this whole decolonial debate, I guess the narrative has kind of flipped, to where Africanness gives you a lot of credibility (depending on your position, of course). And so now I feel as if *that* is in question, in a sense. Because I *have* had this experience of migration, and I speak the language here, so I almost fit in *too* well, in contrast to the large majority of other people of African descent that are here. Others who are looking for that kind of African authenticity… I think I put all of that into question, in a sense. Am I, you know, African enough to represent the voices that need to be represented at this moment in time?’

In this instance, what had called into question Margaret’s authority to speak on issues pertaining to Africa were the Western cultural capitals that she had acquired through her “experience of migration.” Whilst not only her English language, but also her institutionalised cultural capitals such as her Western educational qualifications, had been matched to the field of Western academia at large, these same capitals were judged as potentially mismatched to the specific “sub-field” (Bourdieu 2021) of African Studies within it. As Bourdieu (2021) says of the “laws” operating within sub-fields, these “cannot be deduced from a knowledge of the surrounding field: its stakes are different, as are the forms of capital that operate within it.” (p.9)

In this way, whilst Margaret’s institutionalised cultural capitals had been matched to the surrounding field of a German university, they were perceived as mismatched to the sub-field of African Studies within that German university. As suggested by Margaret when she says that her institutionalised cultural capitals had made her “almost fit in *too* well”, such Western capitals had in fact functioned to racialise her as white, or closer to white than would have been desired of an African Studies expert. That such a racialisation of Margaret as white was taking place was made evident when Margaret shared of her Black colleagues:

> ‘So then they're surprised when they learn that both my parents are Black; that I'm not mixed; I'm not fully European; I'm not African American…’

The same institutionalised capitals that had been invalidated in the context of Margaret’s white family-in-law on account of their Black embodiment (i.e. due to a perceived mismatch between capital and embodiment), were now contested on account of making her too “white”, calling into question her “authenticity” as an African person and her “credibility” as an African Studies scholar. In this way, we see that race and class are imbricated differently in contestations of cultural capitals in different contexts.

Furthermore, institutionalised cultural capitals that were invalidated in processes of migratisation were not limited to capitals of Western provenance. An example shared by Nadine shows how an institutionalised cultural capital can be deemed mismatched to the field and trigger migratisation even if the capital is not necessarily seen to racialise the possessor as white. Drawing on the experiences of her cousins, who were Sudanese-born but had been educated in wealthier Gulf countries, Nadine had observed:

> ‘They make fun of them. They call them “Arabic diploma kids,” in Arabic. There’s a stigma attached. It has a negative connotation. These are the kids who went to Arabic Schools in the Middle East, outside Sudan. The assumption is, “Oh, you’re slightly spoiled.” They’re seen as spoiled, privileged, very sheltered. Even my cousins, who *have* Arabic diplomas – they laugh and say, “When I went back to college in Sudan, I was made [fun of]… You know, they make fun of us.”’

Here, the institutionalised cultural capital of the “Arabic diploma” is judged as incongruous with the Sudanese field, exposing as it does a wealth gap between the owners of the capital and those evaluating it. Such a perceived mismatch between capital and field functions to call into question the embodiment of that capital, but this time, rather than ascribing whiteness to the possessors of such capitals, particular classed attributes are imputed instead, such as being “spoiled,” “privileged” and “very sheltered”.

Whilst such classed distinctions were not explicitly racialised, they can nevertheless still be regarded as being associated – or at least overlapping – with white privilege. Indeed, in the Middle East and North Africa/Southwest Asia and North Africa [MENA/SWENA] regions, there is a strong link between Arabness and whiteness (Tayeb 2021; El Zein 2021; Enzezrink 2022), with “‘Arab’ proximity to and approximation of whiteness” having “historically been predicated on anti-[B]lackness.” (Tayeb 2021) As such, the stigmatisation (that is, migratisation) of Nadine’s cousins as “Arabic diploma kids" can also be seen as involving an imputation of whiteness to them, which is also highly classed. This could even be seen as racialisation as white *via* class. In any case, the owners of such institutionalised cultural capitals, by virtue of being "too Arabic", are constructed as not being Sudanese – or African, or, potentially, Black – enough. That classed attributes so closely overlap with racialised ones demonstrates the inseparability of race from class (and vice versa), and the imbrications of both in processes of migratisation and the cultural capital contestation underlying them.

"A disaster, really": impacts of the birthright lottery of nationality

Another form of institutionalised cultural capital whose legitimation involved evaluations of embodiment was nationality, as objectified by (but not synonymous with) the passport. The geopolitically strong of those passports possessed by the participants, namely from the UK, the US, Ireland, France and Switzerland, were, at least at the macro level of facilitating movement across national migration regimes, the least contested of the participants' cultural capitals. These allowed their owners to exercise – to some degree –what Aihwa Ong (1999) calls "flexible citizenship," or the use of "material and symbolic resources to manipulate global schemes of cultural difference, racial hierarchy and citizenship to their own advantage." (p.112) At the same time, on the more micro scale of the everyday, the legitimacy of the racially minoritised participants' belonging to those nation-states' imagined communities did not always go uncontested, to say nothing of the inequalities experienced by those participants who did not, at least initially, have access to such strong nationalities.

Lina, who had been in the process of applying for an Irish passport over the course of our interviews, had had a Sudanese passport for most of her life. As outlined in Chapter 4, Lina's parents had been living in the US up to the time of Lina's birth. Had Lina been born in the US, she would have acquired US citizenship, by virtue of jus soli. Instead, Lina's mother travelled to Sudan to give birth to Lina there, before bringing her back to the US shortly thereafter:

> 'I don't have US citizenship, which is something my mom really kind of… My mom says, "I wish I just gave birth to you there." You know, it… It would have made life

> a lot… Much, much, much easier. My parents really didn't think that that was such a big thing back then. I think there was just trust that the world was all right. You know, there were no barriers at the time. They just didn't really think about staying that extra year, or… I don't know what it was like back [then] in the US to get it [citizenship].'

Lina's description of her sole Sudanese citizenship echoes Shachar's (2009) elaboration on the birthright lottery:

> 'For those granted a head start simply because they were born into a flourishing political community, it may be difficult to appreciate the extent to which others are disadvantaged due to the lottery of birthright. […] In fact, the vast majority of the global population has no way to acquire membership *except* by circumstances of birth.' (pp.3-4)

Lina's description of "trust that the world was all right" is also reminiscent of visions, in the early days of globalisation, of a borderless world, which was not to be: "despite jubilant predictions by post-nationalists of the imminent demise of citizenship, the legal distinction between member and stranger is, if anything, back with a vengeance." (Shachar 2009, p.2)

Lina reflected on the practical implications of her sole Sudanese citizenship, laying bare the classed assumptions made of people with citizenships from the Global South, which are also politicised:

> 'I have Sudanese citizenship, which… Is a disaster, really, in terms of… You know, there's this index where they rank passports in terms of… Your accessibility. Pretty much most countries will not allow me to visit them without a visa. And, OK, sometimes it's very easy to get a visa. Most of the time, it's not. There's certain characteristics… Like, I would never get a visa to the United States if I didn't have X amount of money in my account, if I didn't have a job, if I didn't have… Legitimate residency in in a certain country. To prove that I'm not gonna… Go and defect, and… Stay. Same if I try to apply for the UK, same when I come here [to Ireland], same if I try to go somewhere in Europe. Even India – I remember trying to get a visa for India, and it was harder than trying to get one for the States. I think when you have a passport… When you're… From the East, or you're brown, or you're African, or whatever, it… It really changes your perspective of where you can and can't go.'

Similarly, before obtaining her UK passport through long residency as a dependent during her secondary school years, Jackson had experienced the limitations of her Indian passport when she had tried to go on a school trip abroad with her UK boarding school:

> ‘We went to the airport to go on an art trip, somewhere in Europe. And they said, “You three don't have visas.” The right kind of visa, or something. We did. I think it was like a short stay, so you didn't need a full visa – but it was a new setup, and maybe the airline wasn't fully aware, or… They screwed up, the airline. And I think my parents were on the phone, definitely to the airline, to the embassy, proving it. And they just went, “No, it's just not possible.” The rest of the school art club left. But the three of us had to leave. We didn't go on the trip. All three of us. It was quite shambolic. And the three of us were all brown. Well, one was Black. Nigerian? And I think the other girl was… I wanna say Indian, I can't remember. And what I vividly remember is, I just thought, “Wow, that's incredible. How come we’re all brown and we're not going?” It's when I started realising, in that school, I'm one of very few brown people.’

As for the school’s response:

> ‘I think they mentioned, it was a shame. Sorry that we weren’t there, and we were missed. And I think we got some goodies on return. And then it was just, “OK, we'll refund you for the trip.” But no, there was nothing else really.’

Both Lina’s and Jackson’s experiences illustrate the constraints that can be dictated by one’s nationality within global stratifications of mobility rights, which highly racialised as well as classed.

The constraints of nationality generated conditions of precarity for those with less powerful passports, which was felt particularly acutely when applying for jobs, as in the case of Lina:

> ‘I was in a precarious situation where I didn't have existing residency anywhere, so it was going to be impossible to hire me because I wasn't already in the country. They're trying to get local people employed, so... I just kept applying, kept applying… But always, especially with England, hit the roadblock: “If you don't have residency, or if you don't have citizenship, then it's going to be very hard to get you over.”’

Similarly, at the time when Caroline completed her PhD, she had not yet obtained UK citizenship. This had meant that she needed to find an employer who would be willing to sponsor her for a work visa. This had put pressure on Caroline's job search: "I was going a bit stressed." In the end, both Lina and Caroline had managed to find employers willing to sponsor them. Lina secured a job with a company in Ireland:

> 'Eventually, I applied for a job here in Ireland and they were like, "Yeah, we'll get you an employment permit."'

Caroline secured a lectureship at a UK university:

> 'This university were really keen on me because they were small, and they were hiring lots of young people. And they were really keen on international people, actually. They gave me the visa and everything. I got a five-year visa. I took it.'

"Flexible citizenship": the uses of nationality to facilitate global mobility

All of the eight participants in this study had, or were in the process of obtaining, at least one passport from the following countries: the UK, the US, Ireland, France and Switzerland. All of these countries are ranked in the top ten globally in terms of the numbers of countries to which their passport allows visa-free travel, with all but the US in the top five (Henley and Partners 2025). As Manuela Boatcă (Boatcă, Benson and Kalivis 2022) puts it: "What a Western passport does is it grants visa-free access to the vast majority of countries in the world. Basically, it's a ticket to global social mobility." Passports and the mobility which they afford operate within a wider field of what Anderson (2013) calls "global hierarchies of citizenship" (p.112) Even if a passport does not grant immediate residency and/or work rights, as in the case of countries outside of the EU-27, e.g. Switzerland or the US, application procedures are often less stringent for those holding such strong passports. Ricardo, Margaret, Ann and Nadine had dual citizenship, with at least one passport – if not both – from these countries. This has facilitated their relatively seamless mobility and residence around the world, both in childhood and into adulthood. In this sense, at least in wealthy countries, citizenship facilitates mobility, such that "[a]s much as it is associated with belonging and statis, citizenship is also about being mobile." (Anderson 2013, p.112)

Ricardo (UK/France) had been able to live and work in the UK and France. Since being diagnosed with an illness, he had been able to travel freely between the two countries for medical treatment, with no limits on his length of stay. Margaret (US/Switzerland) was able to complete her undergraduate and Master’s degrees in the US as a “home” student on her US passport, followed by her doctorate in the UK (which had been a member of the EU at the time) and work in Germany, on her Swiss passport. Ann (Ireland/Philippines) had been able to continue living and working in the UK on account of her Irish passport, even after Brexit:

> ‘I'm quite thankful that my passport's Irish. When Brexit happened, I was like, “Sh*t.” But they’ve made a statement that Ireland is OK. It's out of the EU bracket – there’s a special exception for it. So it’s still the best of both at the moment.’

Nadine (Sudan/US) used her passports strategically (that is, flexibly), depending on her destination:

> ‘It depends on where I'm going. When I come to Egypt, I come with my Sudanese passport, because there's an agreement between Sudan and Egypt. We don't need a visa for here, and we get certain privileges. For example, if you go to museum, you don't have to pay international prices – you would pay like a local, if you’re Sudanese. But if I'm travelling to most other countries, I just use my US passport.’

Nadine’s US passport had allowed her to both study and work in the US.

Furthermore, despite the challenges outlined in the previous section, all of the participants whose original passports had not been as strong had had the capitals necessary to acquire a more advantageous passport, or at least to apply for one. At the time of the interviews, Caroline and Christian had recently obtained UK passports and Lina was in the process of applying for an Irish passport, all through long residence on a work visa. In this sense, all eight of the participants had had the means to exercise flexible citizenship. Indeed, Christian summed up the process of obtaining a UK passport as follows: “Five years. Take the test. Pay lots of money.” The pithiness of Christian’s description belies the significant capitals required: continuous (legal) employment over a minimum of five years; the linguistic, cultural and economic capitals to prepare for, travel to and pass the Life in the UK test, the economic capital to pay the relevant application fees and other costs. Lina also spoke of the time and resources necessary to gather large amounts of documentation as evidence for the application process – not only an invasive form of surveillance but particularly onerous for those who had moved frequently in childhood:

> 'The police sent me this form, like, "Please fill out every address that you've lived in since you were born." Oof! That took me a day, basically. And even then, I just did cities, below the age of 18. It was like, look, I was a minor. So even if I committed some atrocious crime when I was six years old, you know, it's not relevant!'

Once he had obtained British citizenship, Christian described his freedom to take jobs in more places:

> 'Now I'm in the position where I can, you know, do whatever I want, I'm a British citizen, so that opens up more opportunity.'

Similarly, before she had obtained her UK passport, Caroline described the limitations of her Malaysian as her primary motivation for having applied for UK citizenship:

> 'I need visas for the US, China, Canada… The big countries, basically. And that's what the British citizenship will, like, release me from, if we're gonna put it like that. I'm only doing the British thing so that I can have ease in my life, but I don't want to be British.'

This echoes Ong's descriptions of the practitioners of flexible citizenship as "outwardly mobile, aligned more toward world market conditions than toward the moral meaning of citizenship in a particular nation" (1999, p.119).

Jackson's family's uses of residency status, citizenship and passports are particularly demonstrative of flexible citizenship:

> 'My parents do like to collect nationalities and residencies, because they think it's very useful and that's how they keep moving around.'

Jackson acquired UK citizenship as a dependent when her parents obtained it through long residence. At this point, Jackson and her family had to give up their Indian citizenship:

> 'As a dependent, I received my British passport. We applied as a family. We then gave up – we had to give up – our Indian nationality. Because they did not and still do not offer dual nationality.'

Jackson had, however, used her Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI) status to live and work in India for up to six months at a time:

> ‘A PIO is a person of Indian Origin. We are all non-resident Indians at the moment. If we wanted to move and live back there, we could, because of the OCI. When you go and work in India, you can work there for six months without any visas, etc. And after that, if you plan to stay, you have to apply for a work permit. If you just leave the country after six months and then come back, get a new stamp, you’re valid again for another six months. So that's what I did when I went to India to work.’

Jackson had also benefited from her parents’ acquisition of permanent residency in Singapore, which had extended to her by virtue of being a dependent:

> ‘I think my mum went to live in Singapore to get the PR. I think that was not a difficult thing at that time. I think it happened within three to six months. They had purchased a flat there, so I think all that kind of added to aiding them to get the permanent residence. So she lived there for a bit and then got the PR, and then she came back to the UK.’

Jackson had made use of this status to work in Singapore as an adult. The process of acquiring permanent residency had been facilitated by Jackson’s parents’ ownership of property in Singapore, illustrating importance of economic capitals in the accumulation of institutionalised cultural capital and what Ong (1999) calls “economic calculation” in citizenship choices:

> ‘Although citizenship is conventionally thought of as based on political rights and participation within a sovereign state, globalization has made economic calculation a major element in diasporan subjects’ choice of citizenship’ (p.112).

“An easier sell”: the persistence of conflations of nationality with race, and limitations to flexible citizenship

The institutionalised cultural capital of nationality (or permanent residency) was not, however, a guarantee against migratisation, or a one-way ticket to full and unequivocal citizenship. At the broadest, institutional level of physical border crossings, Caroline’s and Christian’s acquired UK passports acted as guarantees of legal status and thus, at the macro level, were recognised as symbolic capital: they were now allowed to enter, exit, live and work in the country freely. After receiving her passport, Caroline had noted:

> ‘I definitely notice the privilege that I am getting. I returned to the UK on my British passport for the first time and it was the biggest shock of my life to bypass the long non-UK/EU queues and breeze right out within an hour…’

In this regard, Bourdieu’s promise as to the validity of institutionalised cultural capital independent of the body of its bearer had been fulfilled.

At the level of the everyday, however, their stories illustrate a differential inclusion (Puwar 2004) – or semi-citizenship (Cohen 2010) – experienced by racially minoritised citizens of predominantly white Western nation states. Their experiences reflect the barriers posed by persistent conflations of nation with race, or what Nandita Sharma calls “racialized, autochthonized ideas of who constitutes the proper ‘national subject’” (2020, pp.201-2). As Bridget Anderson explains:

> ‘The key to unlocking the contemporary relation between race and migration is nationality. […] [N]ationality is very productively ambiguous because it can mean nationality as in simple citizenship – ‘British national’ – but it can also mean belonging to the nation, which is racialised and ethnicised.’ (Benson, Anderson and Kalivis 2023)

Despite legal residency in Ireland, being married to an Irish national and being in the process of applying for a passport, Lina had continued to experience precarity:

> ‘I always live… Like, today, if I lost my job, I have no right to live in Ireland. I’d have to leave, you know. I might still feel the same way, actually even when I get citizenship.’

Indeed, even at the stage of applying for citizenship, Lina had been deeply aware that this form of institutionalised cultural capital would not necessarily shield her from migratisation:

> ‘You know, if I do get it… Like, would I say I'm Irish? Mm… I don't know! I… I probably wouldn't, ‘cause I just feel like… You know, the first thing is when I meet someone like me and I say, “I'm Irish,” it’ll be like… “Y-You're not Irish! ” [Bursts out laughing], you know? Like, come on here… Give us… You know, you could say… If someone digs deep and says, “Well are you… Do you have another passport? Or a

> citizen of another place?" Or something… I'd probably say… "Yeah. I'm Sudanese." I think.'

Lina was aware that a claim to Irishness by a racially minoritised person – "someone like me" – is unlikely to be accepted, legal citizenship notwithstanding. Lina could hardly contain her laughter at the seeming absurdity of making such a claim, even hypothetically. The mark left by Lina's lived experiences of migratisation is such that even her narration of it reproduces those same racialised logics of migratisation.

Such migratisation is an example of how, in Western European contexts, "neither long-term residency nor citizenship have anything to do with who is classified as a 'foreigner'" (El-Tayeb 2011, p.xxvii). Within Sharma's (2020) framework of the "the always-already autochthonous, racist distinction between National-Natives and Migrants" (p.116), "racialized criteria for national belonging" (p.100) mean that "claims of being Native to the nation trump formal National citizenship." (p.33) Indeed, in the European, context, whether or not one is categorised as a migrant is "less related to legal status or place of birth, but to a perceived immutable diversion from 'Europeanness.'" (El-Tayeb 2011, p.180). Of course, such Europeanness is imagined as whiteness: "when push comes to shove 'white and Christian' seems to be the smallest common denominator to which debates on European identity are reduced, and anyone not fitting this description remains an eternal newcomer not entitled to the rights of those who truly belong." (El-Tayeb 2011, p.xx) As such, racially minoritised migrants are rendered, as Tudor puts it, "eternal migrants who can never be at home in Europe." (2018, p.1059)

Similarly, the normativity of whiteness as Britishness was made plain in Caroline's deliberations about whether or not she would lay claim to Britishness after obtaining British citizenship (before she had got her passport at the citizenship ceremony):

> 'Everyone always asks, like, "Oh, where are you from originally?" And I am Malaysian, but since I have received British citizenship recently, this has become a really weird question for me. And I feel a little bit strange. I don't even know what I'm going to say once I receive the passport. My automatic reaction is always to say, Malaysia. Because I don't *look* British. You can see it in my face. Because I never presented as white, I can't… I'm never gonna pass as British. It's just not gonna be the case.'

Caroline had equated passing as British with looking British, which, in turn, she equated with presenting as white, particularly in her face. In other words, she has both internalised and reproduced Britishness as whiteness, and in a strictly phenotypical sense. Caroline was highly aware of the contestation with which she was likely to be met if she were to claim to be British, that is, the structural limits to the symbolic efficacy of her newly acquired institutionalised cultural capital in its embodiment.

Indeed, even after having received her passport, Caroline reflected:

> ‘I don’t think I feel “more” British. I definitely would never say first that I am British – and I think I have been thinking about it and I will say “I’m from Malaysia but I have a British passport”.’

This was echoed by Christian, who had reflected after his citizenship ceremony:

> ‘I think if I said “I’m British” to somebody, they’d be like, “Where are you *actually* from?” That's the question that they would ask. (And if you're asking me that question, I don't really wanna be talking to you.) I think I would never say I’m British. I think I’d say I have a British… I have a British passport. I think I’ll always default to say I’m Malaysian. I'm still gonna say Malaysia ‘cause it's just an easier sell, right?’

Christian’s observations make clear the distinction between citizenship and belonging, and that the former does not guarantee the latter. Furthermore, his comment that telling people that he is from Malaysia is “an easier sell” reflects the limitations posed by racial minoritisation in the legitimation of institutionalised cultural capital when its embodiment is judged as mismatched.

Even if their nationalities as institutionalised cultural capital were not invalidated outright, the participants experienced their citizenship and belonging in the nation as partial. Caroline recounted:

> ‘Recently I met somebody on the weekend, and I asked her, “Oh, where are you from?” And she was like, “I'm originally from Italy. And you?” And I was like, “Oh, Malaysian. Oh yeah, but I actually recently got [British] citizenship.” And then I started to… Just ramble a little bit. She was like, “OK, so you have the passport. You're British.” And I was like, “Yeah, I guess so…” But it's complicated to me. And it was super uncomplicated to her, because she was like, “I live in the Netherlands, but I'm Italian.” And I was like, “OK, cool. I'm Malaysian, but I'm British, and I’m not British…” And it was a bit strange.’

“It's complicated to me. And it’s super uncomplicated to her,” illustrates the difference between the inclusion experienced by an EU-27 national moving within the EU (apparently despite potential racial minoritisation in the north of Europe of those from the south) and that experienced by a recent citizen who is racially minoritised. This sense of differentiated inclusion is also conveyed when Caroline says, “I’m British, and I’m not British…” Similarly, Jackson explained:

> ‘Some people have been very direct and gone, “Well, if your citizenship is British, then you're English.” And I’m just like, “Mm, you don’t get it, do you.” [Laughing] Being British just… Yeah, it doesn't resonate at all, other than I have a bit of an accent and I might be a bit more polite than the general Indian. But more than that, I would say not really.’

Not only was Jackson aware of the limitations to recognition of her citizenship status as symbolic capital granting her full inclusion in the nation, but she also made references to her more embodied cultural capitals, such as her British accent and “polite” demeanour, which were also open to contestation. The contestation of such embodied cultural capitals is explored in Chapters 7 and 8.

The centrality of embodiment across states of cultural capital

In this chapter, I have shown that even cultural capitals objectified in the institutionalised state do not operate independently of the bodies of their bearers. Instead, evaluations of the threefold alignment between capital, field and embodiment still applied, and mismatches between two or more of these elements triggered migratisation, with race and class operating differently in these evaluations across contexts. In particular, mismatches between capital and embodiment in contestations of educational qualifications in predominantly white Western contexts, and in contexts with “other Others”, showed starkly the persistence of logics of whiteness in invalidating institutionalised cultural capitals in racially minoritised embodiments. At the same time, in contexts of co-ethnicity, perceived mismatches between those same capitals and their field could function to attribute whiteness to their owners, rendering all three elements of the threefold alignment to be judged as mismatched. Whilst nationality was less contested than educational qualifications, there were limitations to the exercise of flexible citizenship by racially minoritised subjects, and these also showed the persistence of autochthonous conflations of nation with race. Moreover, standards for the evaluation of cultural capitals differ not only by national fields, but within spaces on smaller scales, such as sub-fields. This idea is explored further in Chapter 7, in which I show that migratisation is multi-scalar, and not always out of one nation-state to another, and that migratisation is not always as explicit as the posing of the question, "Where are you from?", or injunctions to "go home."

7. Contestations of embodied cultural capitals in migratisation

Given the prominence of the body in cultural capital in its embodied state (which is "fundamental to the body of its bearer" (Bourdieu 2021, p.166)), and the body as a key site of racialisation (as seen in Chapter 5), it is perhaps unsurprising that the racially minoritised participants in this study experienced routine contestations of legitimacy of their embodied cultural capitals. Yet, close examination of such experiences of contestation revealed their links to processes of migratisation, demonstrating the intersections of both race and class in migratisation. Moreover, the participants' experiences showed that race and class operated differently in contestations of embodied cultural capital in different contexts, triggering migratisation in slightly different ways. Moreover, in addition to race and class, gender factored as an especially potent power relation in evaluations of the legitimacy of embodied cultural capitals. Specifically, assessments as to the threefold alignment between capital, field and embodiment took place by differing logics depending on context, drawing particular attention to the importance of developing our understanding of multiple racisms across the globe.

In examining the dynamics of situational migratisations based on contestations of embodied cultural capitals, I frame my analysis around four mechanisms that was seen across cases, namely: how race and class combined in evaluations of embodied cultural capitals to render participants conspicuous through Puwar's (2004) four conditions of in/visibility, which I have termed the "in/visibility paradox"; the application of ever-finer cultural capital criteria to maintain migratisation, which I have called "moving the goalposts"; racial illiteracies in intimate and family relationships; and, further to findings presented in Chapter 5, ascriptions of (contingent) whiteness to the participants on account of their embodied cultural capitals. On the latter, my findings suggested that whilst the possibility of "passing" as white was denied to the participants in primarily white, Western contexts regardless of the match between their embodied cultural capitals and the field, the possession of Western cultural capitals often operated in contexts of co-ethnicity to racialise the participants as white. Rather than "passing" (a condition of invisibility), however, in such cases, this was another way by which participants were rendered conspicuous, triggering their migratisation. Moreover, ambivalences toward whiteness by the racially minoritised arbiters of such cultural capitals suggested that conceptualisations of privilege as comprising solely white privilege were not uncontested.

Furthermore, migratisation based on contestations of embodied cultural capitals showed that migratisation can be multi-scalar, and not necessarily always at the level of the nation-state. In other words, migratisation does not always involve the sending-off of an individual out of a nation-state to another; instead, it can be from any field (or even sub-field) to another. In this way, migratisation emerged as a process that can be more subtle than the posing of questions such as "Where are you from?", indeed illustrating what Puwar (2004) calls "the nuanced dynamics of subtle forms of exclusion as well as […] differentiated inclusion." (p.58)

The in/visibility paradox: analysing contestations of embodied cultural capitals

In investigating the participants' experiences of migratisation that were underwritten by contestations of embodied cultural capitals, an analytical framework that proved particularly useful was Nirmal Puwar's (2004) concept of in/visibility, as it centres the body and questions of embodiment in judgments of racially minoritised subjects' competencies. And competencies, from a Bourdieusian perspective, are a form of embodied cultural capital, or more specifically, are embodied cultural capitals when they are legitimated as symbolic capital. When it comes to "racialised and gendered bodies in places where they are not the norm", explains Puwar, "processes of invisibility and visibility help us to understand the nuanced dynamics of subtle forms of exclusion as well as the basis of differentiated inclusion" experienced such subjects (p.58). Against the backdrop of the "unmarked normative position" of whiteness (p.58) in predominantly white, Western spaces, racially minoritised bodies occupy social positions that are "tenuous, a contradictory location marked by dynamics of in/visibility":

> 'Simultaneously they are seen without being seen […]. On the one hand, they are highly visible as conspicuous bodies, for whom specific slots are made as representatives of particular rather than general forms of humanity. On the other

> hand, they are invisible as they struggle to be seen as competent and capable.' (p.58)

Specifically, Puwar identifies four social dynamics in which states of in/visibility are manifested: the burden of doubt, infantilisation, super-surveillance and the burden of representation. These processes are not mutually exclusive and can, as indicated by Puwar above, be simultaneous, working in combination with one another.

Puwar's in/visibility framework highlights the intersectional power relations of race and gender in processes of exclusion. I contend that such exclusion encompasses migratisation, which is a process by which those who are migratised are both excluded from the imagined community and made highly visible, or conspicuous. In what follows, I add to Puwar's analytical framework of the vector of class, by applying the concept of in/visibility to analyse contestations of the participants' embodied cultural capitals in their experiences of migratisation. Specifically, I look at how each of the four dynamics of the burden of doubt, infantilisation, super-surveillance and burden of representation are at play in evaluations of the threefold alignment between capital, field and embodiment, especially as they are articulated in the ways in which the participants' embodied cultural capitals are judged as mismatched to their embodiment. In her discussion of the burden of doubt, specifically, Puwar states that "women and non-whites" are "highly visible as deviations from the norm and invisible as the norm." (p.59) This tendency was supported by my findings, and whilst Puwar did not do so explicitly, I argue that all four processes of burden of doubt, infantilisation, super-surveillance and burden of representation operate in inverse relation to how they function for those of the dominant racialisation in any given situation, that is, those who are able to "pass" in that context, whether that be as "white" in predominantly white, Western contexts, or otherwise.

In other words, in situations where it was more desirable or advantageous to be invisible, and those of the dominant racialisation could remain invisible and "pass", the participants were rendered visible; and in situations where it was more desirable or advantageous to be visible, and those "passing" as the dominant racialisation tended to remain visible, the participants were rendered invisible. It is due to this inverse relationship that I call this the "paradox" of in/visibility. In turn, the paradox of in/visibility impacted how the legitimacy of the embodied cultural capitals were evaluated in relation to their embodiment, that is, how the threefold alignment between capital, field and embodiment was judged in each case. Consequently, this impacted whether or not the capital was legitimated as symbolic capital; if so, the owner of the capital was more likely to be spared from migratisation; if not, migratisation was more likely.

Dynamics of all three of the burden of doubt, super-surveillance and the burden of doubt were simultaneously evident in Lina's experiences on a business trip to the UAE. On this trip, Lina had been travelling with her boss at the time, a white Swedish woman. They attended a meeting in which Lina had been in the minority, both in terms of racialisation and gender: "There's British guys, there's some Irish people, there was a French guy. It was basically mostly white guys. Just me and her were the only women." Lina's boss's actions in the meeting had subjected Lina to a burden of representation, by which the racially minoritised are "seen to represent the capacities of groups for which they are marked and visible *per se*" (Puwar 2004, p.62):

> 'We were talking about these files that were supposed to have been submitted to a government agency. She was saying, "We prepared these files, and we handed them to the guy who was supposed to submit them." And then she said – in this meeting full of ten people – "And, you know, there was this…" And then she looked over and put her hand on me: "This Sudanese guy – sorry, Lina – who then just did nothing with them!"
>
> And I was just like, OK… I mean… He could have been a French guy, he could have been a Portuguese guy… If he was British, I don't know – would she have done that? If he was American? I don't know. The fact that he was Sudanese… It was not really relevant. I don't know what you implied… The way you said that implies something about Sudanese people. And then I'm suddenly a representative.'

Here, one past interaction that Lina's boss had had with a Sudanese colleague had been given undue weight in generalising about the competence of all those racialised as Sudanese. Lina doubted that such a burden of representation would have been placed on the former colleague had they been racialised as white – in such a case, any incompetence is far more likely to have been chalked up to individual capacities, rather than attributed to their racialisation. The former colleague's performance had had nothing to do with his racialisation or ethnicity, and certainly nothing to do with Lina. Yet, whereas a colleague racialised as white may have been able to remain inconspicuous in this situation, a single instance of job performance of one Sudanese individual completely unknown to Lina was being framed as representative of all Sudanese people and, by extension, casting doubt on (that is, bringing into contestation) the legitimacy of the capabilities embodied by Lina herself – before she had even had a change to demonstrate them as matched to the field. In this sense, recognition of Lina's embodied cultural capital (her professional competence) as symbolic capital before was blocked before it had even been considered. Furthermore, by placing her hand on Lina and saying, "Sorry, Lina," the boss's actions had also subjected Lina to super-surveillance, such that Lina was placed under "a microscopic spotlight of racialised and gendered optics", under which "the slightest mistake is likely to be noticed, even exaggerated, and then taken as evidence of authority misplaced." (p.61) Again, making Lina highly visible, this had put Lina under a "pressure to do the job well, in order to show that non-white people can also do the work […] in the face of contrary suspicions." (pp.62-3) Thus, the legitimacy of Lina's embodied cultural capitals in her embodiment – the alignment between her capital and its embodiment – had been contested by means of a tripe burden of doubt, representation and super-surveillance.

On the same trip, Lina had been subjected to contestations of her embodied cultural capitals not only by her white boss, but also by a racially minoritised colleague (an "other Other"):

> 'On the same trip, we met with a contractor. And he was from Lebanon. He was talking to the same lady who used to be my boss. We were all in the car together. I don't know in what context it came up, but the Lebanese guy was saying, "Yes, I understand there was an issue with this in some government agency." And he said, "I was dealing with a Sudanese guy. But, you know, Sudanese people can be very lazy." And he knew I was there. On that trip, I felt like, "Woah, my Sudaneseness is just really sticking out here!"'

Here again, a burden of representation had been placed on Lina by the Lebanese colleague's racist generalisation about "Sudanese people", rendering Lina highly visible in a situation in which invisibility would have been more desirable or advantageous. This, in turn, functioned to place a burden of doubt on her capabilities. In other words, it brought the legitimacy of her embodied cultural capitals into contestation. Moreover, by rendering Lina conspicuous for her "Sudaneseness" within the small space of a car, the colleague's contestation of Lina's embodied cultural capitals be seen as having been migratising, constructing Lina as not belonging where she was – whether that be on the scale of the car, in the company where she worked, or in the UAE – and belonging elsewhere, presumably in Sudan. This demonstrates the connections between contestations of embodied cultural capital and migratisation.

Moreover, this incident also raises the importance of deepening our understandings multiple racisms globally. Lina reflected on this as follows:

> 'In the Middle East, these sweeping generalizations, I have to admit, are common. "Ohh, this Egyptian person is like this," because of… Negative, negative, negative. Or, "This Sudanese person…" That's the thing. I wasn't so much surprised by the remark from the Lebanese guy. That's just how it is in the Middle East, sadly.'

This was echoed by Nadine, who had had similar experiences at schools in the UAE and Saudi Arabia:

> 'I went to international schools in the Middle East, and it's funny. I did not get discrimination from English or American people. There was discrimination from… You know, amongst Arabs. Not all Arabs, but specific Arab groups. They can be quite racist against… Darker-skinned people.'

As discussed in Chapter 6, anti-Blackness is not uncommon in the MENA/SWENA region. Here, we must take into account the specificities of racial formations in MENA/SWANA contexts, namely that "forms of racialization and racial hierarchization predated and were exacerbated by the arrival of European imperial forces." (El Zein 2021, np.) In other words, we must challenge "many accepted tenets of the binary relationship between European empires and non-European colonies" (Powell 2003, p.22) Indeed, as Rayya El Zein (2021) argues, in order to "recognize and unravel textures of anti-Black racism" in Arabic-speaking contexts of the MENA/SWANA region, we must pay attention to "histories and power struggles that, while they cannot trump US power or other Western intervention, are no less nefariously implicated by the racialized hierarchies of white supremacy, even when they are manifest in communities of color.” (np.) Indeed, if we are to “deepen and complexify a global struggle against white supremacy and anti-Black discrimination, dispossession and oppression”, it is imperative that we investigate “how nation, empire, ethnicity, sect, religion – in addition to class, gender, and race – also intersect and interpellate subjects in the region and its diaspora.” (np.)

Another case in which colourism and anti-Blackness could be seen operating within a context of co-ethnicity to raise doubts as to the legitimacy of a participant’s embodied cultural capitals was Jackson’s experience with her extended family in India:

> ‘In India, my aunts and uncles will talk about how dark I've become. You know, it's the first part of the conversation when you meet after months, or years. “Be careful, you're getting very dark again.” And I was like… “Well I’m already pretty dark…” [Laughing] Not gonna go back, right? There’s no actual discussion around my personality or, you know, who I might have helped. What charity I might have volunteered for, or… My job, or… No. Nothing like that. It’s… It’s really all about the appearance, and whether I make a good wife. Which is so sexist, as well, because you don’t ask boys in the family, “Are you being a good husband?”’

For Jackson, discussions around her skin tone in this context had been distinctly related to gendered norms around beauty and marriage. Such gendered norms, in conjunction with a stigmatisation of darker skin, had led to the devaluation of Jackson’s other embodied cultural capitals, such as her kindness or altruism, which Jackson considered to be more important capitals. This reflects the deep entanglements between fair skin, female beauty and “marriageability” that persist in contemporary Indian contexts (Kullrich 2022; Vaid 2009). In discussing the social valourisation of light skin in women in India, Jackson pointed to the continued prevalence of skin-lightening practices:

> ‘I mean, there is a cream that's called Fair and Lovely. There are a lot more celebrities speaking out about it now than there used to be. So it's interesting to see it's still on the market. It still sells.’

Female skin-lightening practices are indeed a major focus of studies on colourism and racial hierarchies globally, and are not limited to the Indian context (Pierre 2013; Glenn 2009; Rondilla 2009; Thomas 2009; Bonnett 202). (Incidentally, the product discussed by Jackson was rebranded as “Glow and Lovely” in 2020. (Hindustan Unilever 2023; McEvoy

2020)) At the same time, Kullrich (2022) flags a need to move "beyond previous understandings of bleaching as internalisation of racial hierarchies" (p.241) by "historicising and localising 'skin colour' discrimination" (p.232).

Another example of the need for us to root our investigations of multiple racisms in understandings of both race and class was offered by Ricardo's account of his first-ever visit to Colombia, when he had been in his mid-twenties ("That was the first time ever being back in contact with my birth country in the town that I was born, and it was to search for my birth mother.") The town where Ricardo had been born was in the Atlantic coastal region of Colombia:

> 'The people where I come from were more brown. They do not look like the people who from Bogotá, for instance. In fact, the term in Spanish to designate people from where I am from, is pretty simple. It's just "coastal", but in Spanish, which is *costeño*. You have the *costeños*, where Gabriel García Márquez is from – he's a *costeño*. And as far as the people from the interior – who are usually pale-skinned, more European-like – they're the *cachacos*. And the people from the interior, the *cachacos*, usually see themselves as more educated, smarter, more hard-working than the *costeños*. The *costeños* love to party. The *costeños*… Love to party. That's it!'

Indeed, Ricardo's observation of such distinctions reflects the "regionalisation of race in Colombia" (Wade 1993), which is tied to the Spanish colonial development (Telles and Paschel 2015) of "region as a proxy for race", in which "Colombia's highlands were widely considered the place of beauty, industriousness, and whiteness, while its coasts were associated with laziness and hypersexuality." (Paschel 2016, p.44) Such cultural capitals as beauty, industriousness, wealth and progress are viewed as mismatched to the darker embodiments of the *costeños*, and thus not legitimate when embodied by them.

The fourth of the dynamics identified by Puwar as operating in processes of in/visibility, namely infantilisation, was evident across a number of particpants' experiences of contestations of their embodied cultural capitals. Christian had experienced contestation of his embodied cultural capital in the context of playing football in the UK town where he lived:

> ‘I’m quite a short person. I think the assumption is that you’re not that good if you’re smaller. I don’t know if it’s an Asian thing, but you can definitely tell people underestimate you. And they’re a bit surprised if you’re OK, or you can do stuff.’

Despite his ambivalence as to whether such under-expectation was “a racial thing”, Christian himself concluded: “It’s a combination of race and physical stature.” And insofar as Christian’s football skills had been underestimated on account of the ascription of racial meaning to his physical stature, the legitimacy of his embodied cultural capital had been contested on account of a perceived mismatch with its embodiment. Specifically, this perceived mismatch had been expressed through a process of infantilisation, or “the reluctance to accept racialised bodies as being capable” (Puwar 2004, p.60) Processes of infantilisation make racially minoritised bodies conspicuous where invisibility would be more advantageous, positioning them as “minors in a social hierarchy,” in which they are “assumed to have reduced capacities.” (ibid.) Within the field of sports specifically, this instance illustrates the biological determinism and scientific racism underpinning beliefs in “a hierarchy of ‘racial’ groups in connection with physical activity” (Fleming 2001, p.94), whether expressed in constructions of Asians as frail (p.97) or set against “the athleticization of [B]lack life” (St Louis 2005).

The infantilisation of Christian in this instance also overlapped with a burden of doubt placed on him, in that his capabilities had been doubted by default, as evidenced by the surprise at Christian’s being “OK” at football and his ability to “do stuff”. Unlike the burden of representation or super-surveillance, which are both processes by which racially minoritised subjects are made hyper-visible where white bodies can remain largely invisible, both infantilisation and the burden of doubt are processes by which the racially minoritised are made invisible when those racialised as white might remain visible (that is, presumed capable until proven otherwise). In such situations, racially minoritised subjects “have to work against their invisibility”, by making “a concerted effort to make themselves visible as proficient and competent, in a place where they are largely invisible as automatically capable.” (Puwar 2004, pp.59-60)

That processes of in/visibility were involved in evaluations of Christians' embodied cultural capitals, and that these were further implicated in his migratisation, became clear when Christian shared how he was recognised in his community:

> 'So where I live there's a very large population of Indian and Pakistani people, so I would be classed as like "that *other* Asian guy," you know. I play football three times a week and I've not seen another Southeast Asian or "my type" of… Or "fair-skinned" Asian, ever. So I'm like, "that Asian guy that plays football." To the people that might not know me in the area.'

Whilst initially invisibilised through contestations of his embodied cultural capitals based on physical ascriptions of race, by subverting such under-expectations (again, by being able to play football), he had made himself visible. Yet, by the same token, this rendered him *conspicuous* insofar as he was, by Christian's account, the only lighter-skinned Asian guy playing football in the community – "that *other* Asian guy […] that plays football." To the extent that Christian had felt that this made him stand out to passersby in the neighbourhood, that is, constructed him as potentially out of place or not belonging where he was, this illustrates the connection between evaluations of embodied cultural capital and migratisation.

Still, Christian voiced his opinion that he had probably faced less of such infantilisation and other forms of cultural capital contestation as an Asian man, compared to women racialised as Asian: "I think gender does play a role in, like, racial abuse and racial comments. I'm lucky, but I think that's also 'cause of my gender as well." Indeed, Christian's sister, Caroline, a woman generally racialised as Asian, summarised her experience with infantilisation as follows:

> 'I have always spent the whole of my life batting people off, being like, "Oh my God, but you look so young. You don't look like you could be over this age," and I *hate* it.'

Caroline recalled a particular experience whilst on holiday in Thailand:

> 'There's loads of white tourists. These Italians said to me, "Oh, what do you do?" And I was like, "I teach at a university." We were on the beach, and I was wearing this suit. I don't look professional at all. And obviously, I'm small, you know – I can look younger in those situations. And she was like, "Oh my God, I can't believe it!"

> Ultimately, they always ask, "Do you have trouble with your students?" And I'm like, "No. I'm the teacher. I know what I'm talking about."'

Caroline's embodied cultural capital, which overlapped with the institutionalised cultural capital of her educational qualifications but also encompassed less institutionalised (and more embodied) qualities such as authoritativeness and classroom management, had been judged as incongruous with her physical stature and appearance (including attire), which were deemed "young", invalidating her authority as a university lecturer. In a sense, this migratised her not out of a particular nation-state (she was on holiday at the time), but out of the field of her work, namely the university lecture hall, constructing her as not truly belonging there in a position of authority. This illustrates the intersections of both race and gender in evaluations of cultural capitals and how these are connected to migratisation.

Further illustrating the intersections of race and gender in processes of infantilisation, Jackson shared how she had also experienced infantilisation as an Asian woman:

> 'I think Asian women look younger than they are, and they can treat you like a kid. When you start speaking like an adult or like a woman, then you get told you're answering back, or you're being aggressive, or… I can't win. I'm too quiet or I'm too aggressive. There's no balance.'

Treatment of Jackson "like a kid", and the projection of a "quiet" quality onto her, illustrate the infantilising effect produced intersectionally by how she was both racialised and gendered – that is, not only as a (gender-neutral) child but specifically as a demure girl. When Jackson dared defy this positioning by "speaking like an adult or like a woman," she was punished for transgressing these racialised and gendered assumptions, and branded as "aggressive."

Finally, Jackson's story went on to make clear that such contestations of her embodied cultural capitals were connected to her migratisation, when she shared:

> 'And then my dad would always tell me, "That's why you have to dress better. That's why you have to straighten your hair." He would kind of de-Indianise me.

> And I find a lot of Indians to date are sort of de-Indianised because they feel like then, they're a bit more accepted.'

As suggested by Jackson's description of her father's efforts to "de-Indianise" her, his instructions regarding her attire and hair can be seen as an effort to help Jackson evade migratisation by altering her embodied cultural capitals so as not to be conspicuous, that is, by assuming an invisibility that would have been more advantageous in the given situation. Insofar as the attempt was to bring Jackson from (disadvantageous) visibility to (advantageous) visibility, and her visibility was linked with being "Indian" in a general sense, this can also be seen as attempt at evading migratisation through counteracting the burden of representation. At the same time, it is difficult to ignore the patriarchal logic of this father-to-daughter advice to "de-Indianise", with the onus being placed on the racially minoritised woman to improve her standing – and avoid migratisation – under the white, male gaze. Not only as woman but as a racially minoritised woman, Jackson was not accorded the space – the "balance," or indeed the invisibility – to conduct herself simply as an ordinary person.

Moving the goalposts: the application of ever-finer cultural capital criteria to maintain migratisation

A specific pattern to emerge in contestations of the participants' embodied cultural capitals, by which the recognition of such capitals as valid symbolic capitals was denied despite being matched to their fields, was through the application of ever-finer criteria to uphold the evaluation of their embodiments as mismatched, in turn upholding the owner's migratisation. In other words, even though participants' embodied cultural capitals were matched to their field, owing to their racially minoritised embodiments, the proverbial goal posts were moved om assessments as to their legitimacy, making it more and more difficult for these cultural capitals to be recognised as symbolic capital. Over the course of our interviews, Caroline had been a member of a competitive rowing club in the south of the UK, where she had moved after university:

> 'I'm the cox in a rowing club. Rowing is an extremely elite, extremely white sport. It was a big thing that I could have done – my university is a huge rowing university – but I did not. I only engaged with it because one of my colleagues asked me to be involved.'

Caroline reflected on how her role as a coxswain went some way to facilitate her inclusion at the club (that is, mitigate her migratisation), at least when on the water:

> 'I'm the cox, which is an important role, which demands and requires respect. When we're on the water, I'm in charge. So they listen to [me]. There's no question about that. And even if you don't want me as part of your group, you have to have me, right? Because they need a cox.'

Yet, Caroline was unequivocal about her experience of not being included within the club at large:

> 'I know I don't fit in because I'm not white. I didn't go to these schools that these girls went to, I'm not English... All of these things. I know that. But I'm just going to go and do what I have to do, and then just go home. Because at the end of day, I'm never gonna be friends with them.'

The pervasiveness of authochthonous discourses in constructing Englishness as whiteness – that is, conflating nationality with race – is evident in Caroline's own narrative ("I'm not white"; "I'm not English"). This speaks to the weight given to Caroline's racial minoritisation in the evaluation of her rowing experience as embodied cultural capital, such that its embodiment was deemed mismatched to the capital itself. Furthermore, whilst Caroline had attended a university with a strong rowing culture, having not rowed there, she found that her affiliation with the university, on its own, was not sufficient cultural capital to induct her as a bona fide member of the rowing world. Rather, an even finer and more stringent criterion appears to have been applied to the judgement of her capitals, namely, where she had attended secondary school. Because Caroline had not attended the same, presumably private schools as her white peers, the embodied cultural capital of her rowing experience was not recognised as valid symbolic capital. In other words, the application of this finer-grained criterion functioned to move the goalpost which had to be passed in order for Caroline's embodied cultural capital and their embodiment to be deemed as aligned. This, in turn, upheld the continued contestation as to the legitimacy of Caroline's embodied cultural capital, through which her migratisation was maintained, as evidenced by Caroline's assertion: "I know I don't fit in." Again, we see that migratisation is multi-scalar, and is not always performed at the scale of the nation-state. Rather, people can be migratised out of more specific spaces, or fields. To the extent that such migratisation is performed in order to uphold the exclusion of racially minoritised bodies from fields imagined as exclusively white, such as that of a private competitive rowing club in the south of the UK, I propose that the moving of goalposts – the application of finer-grained criteria in assessments of cultural capital – represents the policing of the boundaries of whiteness, and will return to this in Chapter 8.

The historic racial and class exclusivity of private members and sporting clubs in Europe (Sinha 2001) and the US (Sherwood 2013) – and the association of British clubs with “the Great English Public Schools” in particular (Sinha 2001, p.495) – is well-documented (see also Leonard 2010 and Beaverstock 2011). It is not difficult to surmise the handful of British private schools that would have been more likely to have been legitimated as symbolic capital in this scene. Whilst such legitimation would not have been guaranteed (given that the capital’s embodiment would still have been racially minoritised), the prestige of the school may have been sufficient to outweigh the embodiment in recognising it as valid symbolic capital. Caroline had, of course, attended a private school – but an international school in Cambodia, not a private day or boarding school in the south of England, let alone in the UK. In this way, what Mirnalini Sinha (2001) calls “the particular expression of the class, gender, and racial assumptions of clubbability” in colonial India (2001, p.297) may be closer at hand in Britain today than might be immediately obvious. Indeed, Caroline’s experience of ever finer distinctions to justify refusals to recognise her embodied cultural capitals as symbolic capital has distinct parallels to Sinha’s account of how the “endless deferral in the acknowledgement of Indians as properly clubbable always marked the experience of even sufficiently Europeanized Indians in colonial clubland” (2001, p.514).

One occurrence had stood out to Caroline:

> ‘I recently was in this situation where a boat of four girls needed me to cox them in a race. (I'm quite a good cox – I happen to now be quite experienced, so I'm a top choice, if you wanna put it like that.) The race, as it happened, meant that they were the last boat of the day. We had to wait two to three hours in between our races, and everyone else had gone home. And they were like, “We're gonna go sit in the café.” I was not *not* invited to sit with them in the café. I was obviously going

> to sit with them in the café, right? It was them four, two coaches (who are both white men, who are also part of that clique, basically) and me. And I was so hyper aware that I was not part of this group.'

Once inside the café, the group's conversation had turned to their plans for attending a famous regatta in a couple of weeks' time. They were going to go as a group and were coordinating accommodation arrangements. Despite her ample rowing-related embodied cultural capitals (especially her experience in coxswaining, which made her a desirable choice of cox), Caroline had not planned to attend the regatta. Caroline continued to describe her keen awareness of being out of place in the group:

> 'They were perfectly nice to me, but they were all talking about the organisation of this, and I was not part of the conversation at all. So I just kind of sat there. I was listening, I was drinking my tea, I was texting occasionally… I got a phone call – I had to leave and get my phone call. Like I said, they were perfectly nice to me, in a way. But I couldn't help but think… "Am I not part of this group because I'm not white?" Like, what… What is it that makes me not part of this group? And because rowing is so white, I wondered if it was that. Maybe I don't fit in with them because I'm not white. I won't be able to tell. You know, I can't really say, "Are you guys being racist towards me?"'

Here, attendance at a prestigious annual rowing regatta emerges as another layer of the embodied cultural capital that is held in distinction within the field of Caroline's competitive rowing club. Caroline felt that her non-attendance at the regatta – the lack of this particular embodied cultural capital in her arsenal – further disqualified her from inclusion in this instance. Indeed, Caroline had voiced her awareness that attendance was an important piece of embodied cultural capital in this context, stating: "These girls, because they're so keen on rowing, they would never not go to it." Although Caroline had not been told explicitly to leave, or that she belonged elsewhere, the lack of her full inclusion in the group can be seen as a form of migratisation. Moreover, the stricter criteria applied to evaluations of Caroline's embodied cultural capital in both of the above cases – attendance at an elite UK private school and attendance at a famous rowing regatta – were highly classed ways of putting legitimation out of Caroline's reach. This illustrates the imbrications of both race and class in contestations of embodied cultural capitals and in migratisation.

Furthermore, Caroline's uncertainty as to whether the incident had been racist – the group had, after all, been "perfectly nice" to her – illustrates the insidiousness of everyday racism (Essed 2002), which is "not about extreme incidents" but rather the "seemingly small, injustices one comes to expect" through their recurrence (p.204), often in "non-verbal registers." (Stoler 2016, p.8). Yet, the "debatability" of racism (Lentin 2020, p.55), or the "undecidability" of race (Hesse 2007, p.653), are precisely how race exerts is power. As Essed (2002) notes, "denial of racism has come to be part of dominant commonsense discourses" (p.203), when in fact, "[i]t has been shown repeatedly in research that careful observation is a norm rather than an exception when suspicion of discrimination is involved" (p.210). As Lentin (2020) puts it: "The widespread tendency to question what is and is not racism should be understood as a form of discursive racist violence." (p.14) Such a tendency may, at least in part, be a fallout of what Miri Song (2014) calls racial equivalence, or constructions of racism as something "experienced by almost anyone" (including those racialised as white), which "denudes the idea of racism of its historical basis, severity and power", thereby "paradoxically […] trivializing and homogenizing quite different forms of racialized interactions." (p.125)

The application of finer criteria in upholding contestations of embodied cultural capitals could also be seen in Ann's experiences as a professional opera singer. Ann, who had a Western-sounding name (more on the racialised politics of names in Chapter 8), had found that the contrast between her name and her physical appearance could cost her roles:

> 'When you put forward your CV and stuff, you don't necessarily put your photo in. So I will go by my full name, which is, like, the most white Irish name you could think of. And then I turn up. And I always… I can see it in their eyes. They look, and they'll be like: "Ann…?" "Yes." "Oh, OK…" "Yeah, I know, I know. I'm not white." Sometimes, I will make that joke. If I'm feeling particularly boisterous that day, and I can see it on their face, I'll just go, "Yeah, I know I'm not white." And I can see on their face, I've caught them out. And they go, "Oh! Ha! Uh… No, I was just, uh… I was checking… Something else." No. No you weren't.'

Ann's cultural capitals – her formal training and professional experience as an opera singer – have been deemed sufficiently suited to the field to warrant an audition, but upon Ann's arrival at the audition, the legitimacy of those cultural capitals are contested because of their embodiment, which is deemed not white enough. The surprise with which Ann's appearance was met is in line with Mari Yoshihara's (2007) observation that "Although the prominence of Asian classical musicians is […] often seen as a reflection of their successful transcendence of racial and cultural boundaries, Asian musicians are racially marked in ways that white musicians are not." (p.4) It also further suggests that "the concept of the universality of music needs to be analyzed with more nuance and scrutiny." (p.6)

Contestations of Ann's embodied cultural capitals were not only racialised, but also heavily gendered:

> 'If I'm doing a stage production, and there's a lot of acting involved as well, visuals do contribute a lot. It's the look, it's the sound, it's the height, it's… Body type. It's very judgmental, that industry. They'll measure you and go, "Oh, you're very tall. Our tenor is not that tall. Hmm. OK." And you can already tell from that – no, probably not gonna get it. Because I'm taller than the male lead. And they probably don't want me to be taller than the male lead, because that looks really awkward on stage.'

This illustrates the "hegemonic gender roles of normative bourgeois femininity" that Anna Bull (2019) argues are especially entrenched within the field of opera performance (p.144). Outsizing the "male lead" was deemed "awkward", that is, not in keeping with the "virtuous femininity" (Bull 2019, p.133) that is "both required for classical music and also performed by it." (p.9) Rather than the male performer's height being questioned, his was taken as the standard around which the female singer – his foil – should be selected. Taken together, Ann's experiences show how the "norms of bodily practice" within classical music are "linked to a raced, classed, and gendered hierarchy of value". (Bull 2019, p.xxviii) Specifically, such bodily practices are associated with "a Protestant, imperialist white identity", such that "classical music in the UK remains predominantly a taste and a practice of the white middle classes." (p.xii) This highlights the challenges to the legitimation of such taste and practice as valid symbolic capital when they are embodied by those who are racially minoritised. Moreover, insofar as Ann was being told – however indirectly – that she did not really belong in the world of classical music, such contestations of her cultural capitals also functioned to migratise her.

Additionally, Ann's case highlighted the situationality of evaluations as to the legitimacy of embodied cultural capitals, depending as they do on who is doing the adjudicating:

> 'You have to fit a certain thing that they want. And it's not the same box every time. It really depends. It depends on the company. It depends on the directors. It depends on the panel.'

Indeed, in some situations (although not in most), Ann had found that her racial minoritisation could contribute to the legitimation – rather than contestation – of her operatic cultural capital:

> 'I feel like now with the BAME [Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic] movement, that box has been broadened little bit more, because everybody now is fighting for inclusion and representation in the arts. Even though I don't think I ever had as big of a problem as other people, because I *am* half white still… I'm sure a lot of Black artists feel very, very underrepresented. But it's worked in my favour. I can slot myself into that category because I *am* Asian.'

This illustrates how judgments as to the alignment between a capital and its embodiment can differ entirely depending on the specificities of the field, including who is making the judgment and the hierarchies of value that are being applied.

At the same time, however, Ann noted that her mixedness could sometimes end up triggering the imposition of yet finer criteria on the legitimation of her embodied cultural capital:

> 'Unfortunately, I have downsides to each side, because my name is so white, but I don't look white. Whatever somebody wants, they will look at the two things separately. If they want a white person, they'll see my name, and then they'll see me physically and say, "Ohh, no." And then if they want an Asian person, they'll see me physically, and then if they see my name, they'll go, "Oh, what? That's not gonna look good on my programme!"'

When looking specifically for racially minoritised singers, Ann was deemed insufficiently minoritised, whilst at the same time being judged routinely as "too Asian" to fill "white" roles. Furthermore, the concern over how foreign-sounding names would "look good" on a programme highlights the performative tokenism (and downright exotified objectification) underlying attitudes towards "diversity" (Puwar 2003; Ahmed 2009), rendering questionable whether such moves drives for "inclusion" can be considered inclusive at all.

Keeping race talk to a minimum: racial illiteracies in intimate and family relationships

Another way in which contestations of embodied cultural capitals triggered participants' migratisation was through racial illiteracies in contexts of mixed-race intimate and family relationships (Twine and Steinbugler 2006; Osuji 2019; Campion and Lewis 2022; Rodríguez-García and Rodríguez-Reche 2022). Margaret had sometimes wondered about the possibility of her white German family-in-law's acceptance of her mixed-race children having been conditional upon their relatively light physical features:

> 'They treat my kids really well, but my kids are also very light. Like, [Child] has green eyes and blonde… Blondish hair. So of course I wonder, you know… What if they hadn't been as light? And as… Acceptable in white community?'

As Karis Campion and Chantelle Lewis (2022) argue, mixed-race families are a "microcosm" (p.2), or "microlevel political site", that "are not immune to, or devoid of, external racial inequalities, hierarchies and white hegemony." (p.8) Articulations of such white hegemony can include "common sense racist understandings about what constitutes beauty and respectability", such as viewing "the Black body as unruly, undisciplined, unkept, and Other" (ibid.). Margaret's musings raise the possibility that her family-in-law's acceptance of her children – which spared them of migratisation – may have been contingent on their embodied cultural capitals being judged as legitimate. In this case, the capital of their physical features themselves had been perceived as matched to the German field, which had been imagined as white in a physical sense, thus triggering no contestation over embodiment. Had these capitals been perceived as mismatched to the German field (for example, if hair and skin tones had been darker), Margaret's children may have faced migratisation. This illustrates "the omnipresence of whiteness as a governing force within the family" (Campion and Lewis 2022, p.8)

Another example of racial illiteracy in mixed-race relationships underlying migratisation could be seen in Nadine's experience in her relationship with her white

British ex-husband. One particular account illustrated how contestations of the legitimacy of embodied cultural capitals, on the basis of a perceived mismatch between the capital and its racially minoritised embodiment, could result in migratisation:

> ‘Although I'm Sudanese, he would say to me, “You’re totally American, you’re totally American.” He would just say, “You’re so American.” One joke that he would make about me, he would say, “You're cultured in a Dubai mall kind of way.” He meant it as a… You know, he was joking, halfway joking. But at the same time, I think he just saw me as a… So, uh, let me describe Dubai. Dubai is… It is a very artificial… It's very beautiful and glitzy. It's like the Los Angeles of the Middle East. It's very commercial and it's very artificial-looking. And people will, you know, joke and say, “This doesn't have a lot of culture because everything is just… Manufactured.”’

Nadine had treated this as a joke, and even as a sign that her ex-husband had understood her internationally mobile background. It can, however, also be seen as an example of what Chinyere Osuji (2019) calls “insults through humor” (p.164) in the context of mixed-race marriages and families. Similar to other manifestations of racial illiteracy in mixed relationships and families, Osuji argues that disparaging or discriminatory comments from white family members are one of the ways in which “white supremacy can coexist with loving relationships across color.” (p.8)

Moreover, the hegemonic white normativity underlying these remarks illustrates the limitations to the legitimation of cultural capitals when embodied by the racially minoritised in Western contexts. Nadine’s ex-husband’s comments suggest that true “culture”, the pinnacle of European modernity, is the domain of whiteness. Therefore, any trappings of such culture, when embodied by the racially minoritised, are “artificial” or “manufactured” – that is, illegitimate. According to this logic, the racially minoritised can never legitimately embody such capitals – only play at them. On account of such a perceived mismatch between Nadine’s embodied cultural capital and its racially minoritised embodiment, the capital was dismissed as some gaudy approximation of the “real” thing and, therefore, not recognised as valid symbolic capital. This is reminiscient of Ien Ang’s (2001) observation that “[e]ven the most westernized non-Western subject can never become truly, authentically Western”, only a “somehow inferior Westerner” (p.9) Indeed, underwriting such invalidation is what Stuart Hall (1996) called the "mythicised Eurocentric conception of high civilisation" (p.246). This myth – "the dominant narrative of modernity for some time" – is "an 'internalist' story, with capitalism growing from the womb of feudalism and Europe's self-generating capacity to produce, like a silkworm, the circumstances of her own evolution from within her own body." (Hall 1991, p.18) This, of course, effaces completely the contributions of non-European civilisations that are in fact co-constitutive of modernity itself (Bhambra 2023 [2007]). Yet, in the racialised, gendered and unequal power dynamics of this mixed-race relationship, the white male, positioned as the rightful heir to "Western civilisation", the sanctioned arbiter of culture and taste, assumed the authority to adjudicate on the legitimacy of Nadine's cultural capitals. Furthermore, we see how this invalidation of Nadine's Western cultural capitals on account of her racially minoritised embodiment underwrote her migratisation to the US, which may have been imagined as also being "artificial" and thus a more plausible place for Nadine and her Western cultural capitals to belong.

Racial illiteracy in mixed-race families and relationships can also be manifested in "conversations that deny, avoid, [and] dismiss" racism (Campion and Lewis 2022, p.1), and this was evident in the case of Ricardo. The approach to race taken in Ricardo's white adoptive family had been a largely colourblind one, or one of racelessness (see Chapter 6): "I was treated as a simple individual, just as a human within my family. My colour, my ethnic origins, were never emphasised." The colourblind approach to race in Ricardo's family had left little room for Ricardo to speak about his experiences as a racially minoritised person. Ricardo recounted one instance in which he had told his brother about an experience of racism:

> 'It very quickly became a debate about the validity of what I had perceived. Because, "Hey, you could make mistake in judging people." I wasn't readily listened to. I remember being quite hurt by it because it was just like… Here's my brother, just at the outset, like, "*Therrre* you go again…" It is completely demolished because, "Hey, don't talk about that, because you're making *me* feel bad for the life *I've* had." And it's just really demoralising. Really demoralising.'

Ricardo's experience illustrates how white members of mixed-race families can "trivialise, mute and deny" racially minoritised members' experiences of racism, such that racially minoritised members come to keep such conversations “to a minimum with white family members” (Campion and Lewis 2022, p.10). Moreover, as Campion and Lewis (2022) point out, this can be done “not only in anticipation that these might be inadequately dealt with but also in order to protect their white family members’ feelings and, ultimately, their “white innocence”, or “white fragility” (ibid.). This, in turn creates a “culture of silence between family members when it comes to race talk” (p.9), as evidenced by Ricardo’s brother’s objections to race talk, above.

At the same time, racial illiteracy in mixed-race families was not limited to situations involving white family members. Jackson’s husband had born and raised in the UK, with one of his parents originally from a Caribbean island nation, and the other from an East African island nation. As such, Jackson and her husband were both racially minoritised, but racialised differently. Jackson characterised the relationship between her husband and her parents, who regarded their son-in-law as “a Black man”, as positive:

> ‘They don't show anything but love. They call him his son, and they make him – poor thing – call them Mum and Dad.’

Yet, Jackson had also been aware that her husband’s different racialisation had been a “big deal” in her family:

> ‘Being the first one in my family to not have an arranged marriage or marry within my caste/race/religion was a big deal. My parents “agreed” because my husband’s dad is Hindu. And because I was 33 and ran out of prime time! The family kept warning them, but my parents also knew I was brought up abroad, and to be frank, they were happy I was getting married, finally.’

In fact, Jackson had learned just what a “big deal” husband’s racialisation had been upon her first visit to India with him, where many members of her family were to meet him for the first time. Ahead of their visit, as Jackson later learned, her parents had told her grandmother that Jackson’s husband was Indian. Jackson continued:

> ‘And I landed there with my husband, and they were like, “What? He doesn’t speak any Tamil. Is he Indian or not?” And I was like, “No, no he’s not. Who told you that? What are you talking about?” And then I found out, and I just thought, “This isn't

> on. Why did you do that? There's nothing wrong with who he is. And [his family] don't have any qualms about what *we* are. Why would you… Why would you do that?” And actually, I don't think our grandma cares.’

This suggests that questions of racial illiteracy in mixed-race relationships and families are not limited to those in which one of the partners is white. Yet, the latter forms the vast majority of research on the topic (Luke and Luke 1998; Childs 2005; Twine and Steinbugler 2006; Törngren 2014; Osuji 2019; Campion and Lewis 2022; Zambelli 2023; cf. Rodríguez-García and Rodríguez-Reche 2022). There is clearly a need to widen the scope of this scholarship to include mixed relationships in which both partners are racially minoritised, but racialised differently. Indeed, this would answer Erica Chito Childs’s (2014) and Törngren et al.’s (2016) calls for the study of mixed relationships in a more global context.

***Obruoni; gweilo*: when embodied cultural capitals operate to racialise their owners as white**

The instances of migratisation based on contestations of embodied cultural capitals discussed thus far have been predicated on anti-Blackness and/or colourism, in which capitals were matched to their fields, but a perceived misalignment between the capitals and their embodiments blocked their recognition as symbolic capital, underwriting their owners’ migratisation. This was not, however, the only way in which race was articulated in the contestation of participants’ embodied cultural capitals. As mentioned in Chapter 6, in contexts of co-ethnicity and with “other Others”, perceived mismatches between participants’ largely Western cultural capitals and *fields* often operated to migratise them. Such a mismatch rendered participants conspicuous and, in some cases, triggered attributions of whiteness to them, that is, the participants were racialised as white, on account of their embodiment of Western cultural capitals. In this way, in such contexts, all *three* of the elements of capital, field and embodiment could be judged as misaligned. It is noteworthy that this pattern was *not* observed in predominantly white, Western contexts; no matter how matched their capitals were to their fields, participants were not racialised as white. If anything, as seen above, goalposts were moved so as to prevent their racialisation as white, thereby maintaining their migratisation and justifying their exclusion.

Similarly to her brother Christian having been called “banana” by his extended family in Malaysia on account of his Western institutionalised cultural capitals, Caroline also experienced migratisation on the basis of racialisation as white by family members, this time on account of her Western embodied cultural capitals:

> ‘When we go back to Malaysia and hang out with our family, everybody knows that my brother and I are the, like, white people, if we're gonna put it like that, you know? All the cultures have that term for white people. We are always, no matter what we do – the word in Chinese is *gweilo*, which means a ghost – that's what they all call us. They’re always like, “Uh, you're so white,” or “Oh, you’re so *gweilo*.”
>
> Even stupid little things. Like, I don't like durian. This is a Malaysian thing – durian. The family are obsessed with it. My dad's cousin has a farm, and… They literally call them durian parties. The family comes together – we have a really big family – and eat durian. My aunt has said to me, “Oh you're so *gweilo*, you don't like durian.” And I was like, “Oh my God, just because I don’t like this terrible-tasting fruit doesn’t mean I’m not Malaysian!”’

Here, a highly field-specific and embodied form of cultural capital, namely taste in food, is invoked to migratise Caroline out of Malaysia. In this context of co-ethnicity, it is a perceived mismatch between cultural capital and field that triggers Caroline’s migratisation, by way of racialising her as white. *Gweilo* is a Cantonese term that has been variously translated as “foreign devil” or “foreign ghost” (De Mente 1996, p.145); “white devil” (Yeoh and Willis 2005, p.276; Richardson 2018, p.490); or even “crazy white person.” (Richardson 2018. P.490) As in the case of “banana” discussed in Chapter 6, it is possible that such disapproving constructions of whiteness could be seen as a form of resistance to the exclusive application of Western standards in the arbitration of value.

Similarly to Caroline and Christian, Margaret had also experienced migratisation on the basis of attributions of whiteness to Western embodied capitals, on her very first visit to Ghana to conduct research for her Master’s degree: “On the streets, people would point out, ‘*Obruoni*, *obruoni,*’ which means white person, or foreigner.” Whilst the term *obruoni* (or *obroni*) is widely taken to mean “white person” or “foreigner” in Fante (Wilson 1998; Kubolor 2015), it is also argued to stem from the Akan phrase *abro nipa* meaning ‘wicked person’”, in reference to deleterious encounters with European colonisers (Kubolor 2015). Whilst Kubolor (2015) notes that the term is used to address those “of a slightly fairer complexion than the average Ghanaian,” Margaret’s experiences in Ghana, as well as in Liberia, highlighted that, beyond judgments of skin tone, evaluations of cultural capitals also factored into such processes of migratisation corresponding with racialisation as white. Moreover, as discussed below, Margaret’s experiences made clear the imbrications of both race and class in evaluations of cultural capitals and the migratisation that can result.

In Liberia, where she had been born, Margaret had experienced the tensions between race and class in migratisation in contexts of co-ethnicity:

> ‘Now I'm working actively in Liberia – it’s part of my research project – and I’m going back and forth, I feel myself very tied to their prospects. I feel very invested in improving things there. But when I'm in Africa… [Sighs] I don't know. I think the socioeconomic scene is just so extreme there, to where I always find myself in a certain place in society – and that does not give me peace. That makes me feel very uncomfortable. I feel like I have to hide certain things about me when I'm there. I love being there, but I am always aware of these class differences –poverty and extreme wealth, and where I fit in within that whole… Societal framework. I feel like I can only be there in some form of exploitation, in a sense. Even though I'm trying to work against that. I think it’s just… Virtually impossible?’

Margaret’s reflections on her “place in society” in the Liberian context speak to the gap between the capitals in her possession (both economic and cultural) and those possessed by the majority of those around her, who did not have such privileged and internationally mobile upbringings. Such a gap had been palpable to Margaret to the extent that she had felt it necessary to mask her more Western capitals. One of the ways in which Margaret had done this was by modulating her response to “Where are you from?” in African contexts more broadly:

> ‘If I’m in Africa, I would say I was born in Liberia. Leave it at that. Sometimes, you know, it can come off as a bit snooty and off-putting when you're like, “Oh yeah, I lived in all of these places,” blah, blah blah. So I have to be careful, like how I bring across that information as well.’

Again, Margaret’s characterisation of her background (and concomitant capitals) as potentially “snooty” and “off-putting” shows an awareness of her positionality within extreme wealth inequalities in largely co-ethnic, African contexts.

For these reasons, despite her initial experiences of having been called *obruoni* there (this will be addressed shortly), Margaret had found Ghana to be a context in which she felt less migratised than in Liberia:

> 'I did lots of research in Ghana. Ghana's easier. It's easier to blend, to be me, in Ghana. But I think a lot of that has to do with all of these returnees, so groups from the African diaspora returning to Ghana and, in that sense… Artificially creating a middle class, where that wouldn't organically have happened? I think by virtue of this kind of middle-class migration back, that's created a space where I could be and not feel like I'm exploiting… Or being put in this… High… Upper-class position.'

Margaret's attribution of her ability to "blend" (that is, to be more invisible) to the emergent middle class in Ghana, particularly comprised of "returnees" from abroad, highlights the role of class in migratisation. Margaret's Western cultural capitals were more likely to be perceived as matching the field in Ghana, and were less likely to trigger migratisation than in Liberia. Incidentally, Margaret had had similar reasons for speculating she that would face less migratisation in the Caribbean:

> 'When I'm fantasising about where I could be the most me, I think it would be the Caribbean. There's a much bigger middle class. Even though I've never lived there, I could just kind of blend in and have a quiet… [Laughing] A quiet existence without having to be on the defence or anything – the least questioning of who I am, why I'm there…'

Crucially, however, class was highly imbricated with race. Although Margaret was not ethnically Ghanaian, she had considered that her similar racialisation on the basis of her physical attributes (that is, her *apparent* co-ethnicity with Ghanaians) had also contributed to the relative lack of migratisation that she experienced in Ghana:

> 'And just physiologically, I guess, I would fit into that kind of category [of returnees] automatically. And by means of that, kind of fit into the larger context. I mean, I think it would take a longer conversation with me for people to start questioning my Africanness, 'cause it's not gonna be based on how I look. Not my skin tone, or anything like that. Depending on how I dress, of course.'

The fact that Margaret's "fitting in" (that is, not being migratised) is contingent on dress highlights the role played by assessments beyond the physiological, that is, of embodied cultural capitals, in processes of racialisation. In giving a hypothetical example of attire that might trigger migratisation despite similar phenotype, Margaret described an outfit that would be associated with the West (and whiteness): "Maybe… A white button-up T-shirt or something like that." And attire that would help evade migratisation? "Local fabrics and stuff like that, probably."

Furthermore, such racialised assessments simultaneously classed. Even with the "correct" attire, Margaret added that there were other embodied cultural capitals that could still trigger migratisation:

> 'And even then, they might question it. It might just be more how I carry myself while dressed a certain way, as well. I think a passable way would be kind of more slow pace, you know, not in a rush – just kind of walking and taking my time. Whereas, if I'm… If I look like I have a meeting, people might be like, "Why is she walking, why is she not sitting in a taxi or being driven somewhere?"'

Demeanours such as rushing to a meeting or being driven in a taxi are classed, implying an economically privileged position, but also racialised, implying whiteness (*obruoni*) and white privilege. Together, this simultaneously racialised and classed assessment of such embodied cultural capitals as mismatched to the field in Ghana – where, to "pass," one should move at a slower pace – would render the owner of such capitals conspicuous, an "odd one out" in the field, triggering their migratisation. This illustrates the inseparability of race and class in the judgments of cultural capitals, and how the visibility generated by capitals in their embodiments being perceived as mismatched to their field can trigger migratisation.

Christian's, Caroline's and Margaret's experiences of migratisation employing ascriptions of "banana", *obruoni* and *gweilo* undersore the fluidity of race and racism (Stoler 2016; Lentin 2020) and illustrate how, in contrast to racialisations purely through phenotypical features, racialisation can also be "profoundly tethered to sensory distinctions of smell, sound, and comportment, 'ways of being', assessments of what was deemed to be in good or bad 'taste.'" (Stoler 2016, p.245) Such assessments of comportment and tastes are simultaneously racialised and classed, showing the inseparability of race and class in processes of migratisation. Moreover, such processes are situational, with race and class intersecting and influencing each other in different in different ways in different contexts, underscoring that migratisation is situational.

Another example of migratisation on the basis of attributions of whiteness to Western embodied cultural capitals was found in the case of Ann, when she visited Asia (or Asian diaspora relatives within the West):

> ‘I make this bet with my friends and with my partner if we're going to visit an Asian relative or if we're going to Asia. Like, “Right, how long will it take before someone makes a comment about my weight?” Whether I'm too fat or too skinny, there will always be a comment.’

Such evaluations of Ann’s body as “too fat or too skinny” are reminiscent of Jenny Lloyd’s (2019) findings of differing valuations of women’s body sizes and shapes in Singapore as compared with the UK, illustrating the situationality and context-specificity of such assessments of embodied cultural capitals (such capitals being, in this case, the physical qualities of bodies themselves). Simultaneously observable here are “the dominance of globalising discourses of the thin ideal”, at the same time as “the subtleties and disciplinary regimes that women must also not be *too* thin.” (p.157) Moreover, when Ann had objected to her Filipina mother about such comments being made about her body, her mother’s response had been a migratising one: “Oh, you’re so English for thinking something like that.” Detectable here is a criticism of, or defiance against, Western norms, heavily implied as being white norms, around discourses on the body – possibly discourses such as body positivity or “political correctness.” Such defiance must be put into the context of some of the “nicknames” by which (overwhelmingly white) expatriate British women have been documented as referring to Asian women, such as “‘Micro-Asian ladies’, ‘Stick insects’, and ‘Flat-packs.’” (Lloyd 2019, p.157) Indeed, it could be seen as a pushback against Orientalist, colonial discourses that objectify and discriminate against Asian women (see Lloyd 2019, p.155).

Lina and Nadine had both experienced contestations of their Western embodied cultural capitals in contexts of co-ethnicity, within Sudanese diaspora communities in the UK and US, respectively. Upon moving to a new city in the UK to pursue her postdoctoral research, Lina had been put in touch with a local Sudanese family through family acquaintances, who had invited her to dinner. Lina characterised the family as having been "Sudanese all the way", and their meeting evinced mutual refusals to recognise embodied cultural capitals as valid symbolic capitals:

> 'I never felt like I could connect with them. I didn't feel like they understood my nuances… I had English friends too, I had a German friend, who I really enjoyed as well. Whereas they preferred to just exclusively socialise amongst themselves. And I think they were kind of like, "Well, you know, why do you really need to hang out with other nationalities?" I just didn't feel like we understood each other in the same way. I love movies. I love art, music, and… A lot of the times, they just didn't have the same interests as me. And I'm not saying it's that they couldn't understand me, but there are also aspects of themselves, because they grew up in Sudan, that I just couldn't understand. We just didn't' always see eye to eye. After I left, I didn't keep in contact with them the way I might have kept in contact with other people.'

The embodied cultural capitals that had been accrued by Lina over the course of her internationally mobile life, which had enabled her to navigate white contexts successfully – friendships with white Europeans, familiarity with Western arts and popular culture – had not been recognised as symbolic capital in this more Sudanese context. Whilst the capitals were matched to the geographical field of the UK, they do not appear to have been judged by the Sudanese family as appropriate in Lina's embodiment, perhaps being perceived as mismatched to the sub-field of the Sudanese diaspora within the UK. Whilst not done explicitly in this case, such perceptions may have even operated to racialise Lina as too white (or not Black enough), contributing to her migratisation out of the diaspora community. To the extent that Lina admittedly had not necessarily recognised the family members' embodied cultural capitals as symbolic either ("there are also aspects of themselves, because they grew up in Sudan, that I just couldn't understand"), such migratisation based on capital contestation can be seen as having been mutual: Lina had, in a way, been migratising the family out of the UK field.

Nadine had experienced similar migratisation from the Sudanese diaspora community in the US, highlighting the classed elements of the evaluations of embodied cultural capitals involved in this:

> ‘I noticed a lot of Sudanese people had really conservative parents even though they were living in the States. I had more freedom. I was allowed to go out, and I couldn't understand, “Why aren't you allowed to go out?” They couldn't understand, “Why are *you* allowed to go out? You grew up in the Middle East. You should be more conservative than us.” They couldn't understand. Their parents came from more conservative families, even within Sudan. Because my parents come from a class that is generally… Generally more liberal. Like in the 70s and 60s my mom wore mini skirts, you know, and platform heels.’

Here, “conservative” and “liberal” operate as heavily classed terms, suggesting not only differences in economic capitals and institutionalised cultural capitals such as educational qualifications, but also embodied cultural capitals such as attitudes towards nightlife, possibly related to levels of religious observance. For Nadine, miniskirts and platform heels in 1960s and ‘70s Sudan (before the imposition of Islamic *shari’a* law in 1983 (Johnson 2011, p.56)) were classed markers of membership of the educated elite. Again, the migratisations based on contestations of embodied cultural capitals here were mutual, with Nadine evaluating her peers’ families as too “conservative” for the US, and Nadine’s peers evaluating her as too “liberal” for the Sudanese community.

For all the castigations of whiteness demonstrated in refusals to recognise Western embodied cultural capitals as symbolic capital, however, the global reach of racial thinking premised on ideas of white supremacy – or at least white *privilege* – was evident in Ann’s experience from her secondary school days in Hong Kong:

> ‘A bunch of us went to [Western fast food chain] for lunch. I didn’t want [fast food chain], so I went to the [Western convenience store chain] and bought some noodles, as did my friend. My friend was Hong Kong Chinese. We both met our other friends in [fast food chain], and we were all sat down eating. A lady from [fast food chain] came over and, in Cantonese, told my friend off. She just completely ignored me. “You're not allowed to eat that because that's from outside.” He went, “Why are you telling me? What about her? She’s eating, too.” She looked at me and said to him, “No, no, no. It doesn’t matter about her. *You* are not allowed to eat.”’

In this context, Ann, despite being part Asian, had been racialised as white. And despite the apparent rule against consuming food purchased elsewhere, this rule was only applied to her friend, who had shared co-ethnicity with the restaurant staff member. Ann saw this as preferential treatment, and had attributed it to her ascribed whiteness:

> 'I just didn't like how I got treated because I was white. I don't know why I had to be put on a pedestal, and I just hated that feeling of, like… Everyone needs to dote on me and mill around me.'

This is consistent with Zarine Rocha and Brenda Yeoh's (2022) findings, in a Singaporean context, of the persistence of white-supremacist hierarchies even within Eurasian mixedness, with higher status given to those of white British ancestry (the "Upper Tens") and those with darker skin (the "Lower Sixes") (p.745).

At the very same time, we must not neglect the urgency of investigating "racism *in* Asia, rather than against Asians" (Raghuram 2022, p.783) or "racism by Asians and among Asians" (Ang et al. 2022, p.585), as was raised by Jackson when she shared experiences of racial discrimination faced by her Indian parents whilst living in Singapore (see Noor and Leong 2013; Ho and Kathiravelu 2022). As Parvati Raghuram (2022) explains, "countries in Asia have their own brand of racial distinctions and discriminations based on the growth of Asian empires and their distinctive qualities." (pp.783-4) Just as Jung-Bong Choi (2003) points to how the history of Japanese imperialism disrupts "the tacit supposition that European imperialism is the single source of all colonial nightmares" (p.327), we must resist subscribing to an "underlying historical narrative that maintains civilizations as distinct entities prior to European encounter and subordinates those civilizations to that encounter." (Bhambra 2014, p.148) Above all, what the participants' experiences of situational migratisation show is that, in David Theo Goldberg's (2014) words: "Who counts as '[B]lack and who 'white' differs from one place to another, as do specific meanings attached to the designations and their placements." (p.255) As I have shown, such "meanings attached to the designations" include evaluations as to the legitimacy of cultural capitals in their embodiments, which involve both race and class in different combinations in different contexts, and are linked to migratisation on multiple scales. I now turn to the most vociferously contested of the embodied cultural capitals held by the participants, namely linguistic capital.

8. Contestations of linguistic capital in migratisation

In the preceding chapters, I have explored how the possession of cultural capitals usually not associated with the racially minoritised can be a trigger for migratisation. Across interviews, language emerged as a vociferously contested form of cultural capital, despite – and often precisely because of – how well the participants spoke a given language, particularly the "imperial" ones (Fortier 2022; Puwar 2004), such as English, French and German. Indeed, Bourdieu (1991) had been particularly adamant about the symbolic power of capital when it came to linguistic capital. Stressing that language is not merely a matter of grammar, but an "instrument of action and power", Bourdieu (1991) characterised linguistic exchanges as "relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualized." (p.37) The participants' experiences highlighted, however, the significance of racialised evaluations in these struggles over the legitimacy of cultural capitals, and moreover the centrality of contestations of cultural capital to processes of migratisation. Despite in some ways being "guaranteed" institutionalised form, for example, by an Anglophone university degree, the legitimation of linguistic capitals in the participants' possession depended very much on assessments of their alignment with their bodies, operationalised as such capitals are, literally, through one's mouth. Whilst the participants' experiences showed that linguistic capital can go some ways in mitigating migratisation, demonstrating what Puwar (2004) calls the "social magic" of speaking the imperial language, this had its limits. Across contexts, raciolinguistic enregisterment (Rosa and Flores 2017p.631) meant that the participants and their linguistic capitals were often marked as deviations from the norm, triggering migratisation.

In Western contexts, language emerged as a key site of the policing of whiteness. The participants' linguistic capitals in imperial languages were often judged to be incongruent with their embodiment, bringing their legitimacy into contestation and blocking their conversion into symbolic capital. Ever finer, more stringent criteria, such as regional and classed accents, were applied to aid in this blocking. In this sense, the "menace of mimicry" (Bhabha 2004) posed by the participants' linguistic capital was not only limited in its effect of disrupting hegemonic power relations, but could even be seen as having backfired on the participants. Rather than throwing open the gates to capital legitimation and inclusion, the annoyance caused by participants' command of imperial languages appeared to trigger redoubled efforts on the part of white listeners to solidify their migratisation. Even where linguistic capital was legitimated as symbolic capital, such legitimation was often precarious, highly contingent on participants playing by the rules and liable to be revoked at any time. Yet, this, too was situational. In non-Western contexts and contexts of co-ethnicity, on the other hand, expectations created by raciolinguistic enregisterment meant that the participants' relative lack of fluency in their supposed "native" languages prevented their recognition as symbolic capital. In non-Western contexts, the participants were also made conspicuous but, this time, for their relatively limited language ability in their supposed "native" languages. This invoked discourses around "authenticity" in evaluations of the legitimacy (or illegitimacy) of their linguistic capital, often resulting in migratisation on the grounds of being racialised as white.

Raciolinguistic enregisterment and migratisation

Across the study, participants cited language as a common trigger for the question, "Where are you from?" Jackson shared:

> 'It's mostly at the point when you start talking. Because I was brought up in England in a boarding school, so there is a twang of sort of a… Sophisticated and posh English accent, which will slip in if I'm speaking to someone who's quite sophisticated and posh.'

Jackson's reference not only to her ability to speak English *per se* but to her "sophisticated and posh English accent" speaks to the role of both race and class in contestations of linguistic capital and the migratisation that can result. Similarly, Caroline underscored the centrality of accent in her experiences of migratisation: 'If anything, actually, my accent is the trigger for questions about where I'm from.' At times, this was the case not only with strangers, but even amongst friends:

> 'We were having some drinks with some friends and somebody was talking about my accent. And one of my other friends was like, "Are we having this conversation

> again about Caroline's accent? It's just her accent. Stop asking about it. Who cares where her accent is from?"'

Lina also described how, despite her English fluency, she could never seem to evade migratisation on the basis of her accent in different contexts:

> 'If I'm in America, "Oh, but you sound British." If I'm in Britain, "Oh, but you sound American." And then I get Canadian a lot. But I've met Canadians who are like, "Nope, you sound American…"'

Moreover, accent was significant not only in English-speaking contexts, but in other languages as well, such as Arabic:

> 'In Middle Eastern countries… Obviously different countries have different accents, right? And you know, most people will understand each other. Sometimes the North Africans, it's tricky to understand because it's such a strong French influence. But I used to sometimes find that if I spoke to an Egyptian person in Arabic, I would try to…I would start to adopt more of an Egyptian accent.'

Noting the bewilderment with which her American English was often met, Nadine recounted a common reaction to her opening her mouth: "Your English is so fluent… How?" This was echoed by Lina: "'How come I speak such good English?' That's one I get a lot – everywhere, really." Lina noted that such surprise is directly linked to her racialisation, and the racialised expectation that her English would not be good:

> 'Actually, almost always after telling people I'm from Sudan, the immediate follow-up question is: "Oh, but you speak really good English." "But", you know? The "but", always… I used to delight in it. I used to like the fact that I surprised people. You know, I'm a Sudanese person and I speak really good English.'

Whilst Lina may have "delighted in" such surprise in the past, she had come to understand that such surprise had been because someone who looked like her was not expected to sound like she did:

> 'You think it's surprising or it shouldn't… It just doesn't follow the natural order of things, or whatever.'

This was echoed by Jackson, who observed:

> 'I will start talking and they will go, "You, you don't sound…" And I go, "What? Like I'm supposed to?" I just get really irritated by that… Like, what the hell is that supposed to mean?'

Similarly, Margaret described the surprise with which she was routinely met when speaking (Swiss) German: "That I speak German, I think, is… Surprising to a lot of people." Such surprise was often expressed through questions such as, "Why is your Swiss German so good?" Not only Margaret's Swiss German, but her specific dialect from the city in Switzerland where she grew up, also took people by surprise:

> 'So that particular *accent*. They're like, "Oh, wow, she actually knows this… [Chuckling] She actually understands." Yeah, I went to school here…!'

The participants' observations show how they had been subjected to expectations of a 1:1 correspondence between racialisation and language, or what Jonathan Rosa and Nelson Flores (2017) call "raciolinguistic enregisterment": a process of the co-naturalisation of language and race, whereby "linguistic and racial forms are jointly constructed as sets", such that "people come to look like a language and sound like a race." (2017: 631) In white Western contexts, racially minoritised subjects like the participants in this study are, prima facie, expected not to speak imperial languages fluently, that is, not to embody such linguistic capital. Thus, when they do, they are made conspicuous, leading to a "double-take" and triggering questioning as to their origins, in order to get to the bottom of this perceived mismatch between linguistic capital and its embodiment.

The persistence of raciolinguistic enregisterment was evident in Jackson's experiences of the policing of accent – a sense of being made to feel as though a British accent was not hers to embody. Referring to her experiences out and about in a city in the UK, she shared:

> 'A stranger will hear me ordering and be like, you know, "How come you have that accent?" Or stuff like that. I'm not sure if it's everyone being curious or a bunch of people just going, "What the ****? You don't sound like you look."'

In describing how deviation from hegemonic raciolinguistic enregisterment triggered his migratisation, Christian highlighted the highly embodied nature of language – the links between language and demeanour, such that two cannot be separated:

> ‘I think the stereotypical view of Asians, especially in the West, is that they are quite timid and they're quite quiet. So when somebody comes in that, you know… I see myself as a quite confident speaker and I'm not afraid to say what I think – that’s when most people ask me, “Where am I from?” Because I don’t have… You know, a typical, foreign, Chinese… Whatever accent they think. So that’s why.’

Such migratisation frames the “nonwhite native speaker” of Western languages, in Fatima El-Tayeb’s (2011) words, as “a curious contradiction, never quite becoming unspectacular or commonplace […] eternal newcomers, forever suspended in time, forever ‘just arriving,’ defined by a static foreignness overriding both individual experience and historical facts.” (p.xv)

The social magic of speaking the imperial language

Still, high levels of linguistic capital managed to go some way towards mitigating migratisation for the participants in this study. Nadine described how her American accent allowed her to “pass” as American:

> ‘Most Americans just assume I'm American. I think it's because as soon as I start speaking, they just automatically assume, “OK, American. You were born and raised in America. Maybe your parents are from somewhere else, but…” Their first assumption is that “Oh, you're American.” Even outside of America… If I'm talking to Americans or Europeans, they just automatically assume, “OK, you're American.”’

Within the US context, Nadine’s American accent tended to be legitimated as symbolic capital and functioned to prevent the full extent of migratisation that she might have faced on the basis of appearance alone, or if she had had a non-American (or non-anglophone) accent. Given Nadine’s racial minoritisation, her parents were still migratised (“Maybe your parents are from somewhere else”), but she herself was spared the same migratisation.

Margaret echoed that because of her accent, she was often framed as North American: “I think a lot of people assume that I'm African American 'cause of my accent.” Margaret noted that this was the case even outside of the US, for example in South Africa. This, too, however, depended on context, and in Margaret’s case, the historical links between her country of birth, Liberia, and the US meant that she could also make claims to being Liberian:

> ‘If I'm in Liberia... A country that was founded by free African Americans, and you have ties between the two countries in terms of people moving in between – and also because of the wars that happened in the ‘90s and 2000s – there's a huge Liberian diaspora in the US that returns occasionally. And because of that context, there is an opening for me to have an [American] accent but still claim to be Liberian at the same time. It's just a matter of saying “I am Liberian,” and people accept that.’

Christian also described his accent as a key to the legitimation of his English as symbolic capital, which worked to counteract migratisation:

> ‘I think if I didn't have such a distinct accent, or if I had a more Asian accent… Not being racist and stuff, but you know… The stereotypical, like… Chinese… Rolling your r’s – really heavy “r” – I would definitely be treated in a different way.’

These examples illustrate what Nirmal Puwar (2004) calls the “social magic” (p.108) of the imperial language:

> ‘The metamorphic quality of imperial/legitimate language enables racialised minorities to become human, in the full sense. They are the bodies that are more likely to be respected and accepted in institutions. In fact, in some cases, treated as rare entities, they are overly praised. Thus those who do not conform to this norm will find it difficult to be heard.’ (p.12)

The participants’ stories made clear that the primary way in which linguistic capital was legitimated was by influencing the ways in which they were racialised, thus mitigating the migratising effects of racial minoritisation. A common thread in the participants’ stories of the legitimation of their linguistic capital was the capacity, in Rey Chow’s (2014) words, to be “racialized by language” and, more specifically, to “borrow whiteness” (Roth-Gordon 2016, p.55). There were, of course, instances in which the legitimacy of one's linguistic capital was denied and participants were "languaged by race". This will be returned to in the following section.

In Chapter 7, we saw how Lina had experienced a triple burden of representation, super-surveillance and doubt in the workplace on account of her racialisation as Sudanese. Such experiences impacted how she subsequently used language in her work to de-emphasise her racial minoritisation:

> 'Now, sometimes when I go to meetings, unless I think it explicitly serves the purpose of the meeting well - it benefits the meeting well - I don't actually talk Arabic. If I know the person in front of me can speak and understand English really well, I will speak English and I will speak in a really strong American accent.'

In this way, Lina employed the racialising property of language to counteract contestation of her embodied cultural capital, in this case her professional competencies.

Another instance of racialisation by language was shared by Christian, who experienced the advantages of having a "Western" accent in a professional context in southeast Asia:

> 'I worked in Malaysia for six months during my time at university, at a consulting firm. I was probably the youngest person in the team, but they would be putting me to go do presentations to the client. Not because I was very good – obviously I was [laughing] – but also because I had a British, or Western, accent. They didn't say I was from Malaysia. They said, "Oh yeah, he's from our British office."'

In this context, Christian's linguistic capital was legitimated as symbolic capital by his Malaysian colleagues, conferring power beyond his level of experience as an intern. Christian explained the other cultural capitals associated with – and thus the classed assumptions made on the basis of – speaking fluent English in the Malaysian context:

> 'You know, it's because of the persona – in Malaysia, it shows you're educated, blah blah blah. You can attract Western people. So there's always benefits of having a Western-style accent. So that's, I guess... A positive racism in that sense, as well.'

Christian's reference to "positive racism" echoes Jennifer Roth-Gordon's (2016) concept of "borrowed whiteness", in which "language shapes the racial differences that people ‘see’” (p.55), and a person who would otherwise be racially minoritised can be racialised white in a given situation. Christian’s experience aligns with Roth-Gordon’s (2016) findings that “bodies are not only given racial meaning but also remain racially malleable”, and that “the instability of race is negotiated through language.” (p.62) Indeed, it shows whiteness to be “an historical and contemporary subject position that can be situationally inhabited both by individuals recognized as white and nonwhite”. (Rosa and Flores 2017, p.628)

Christian’s experience of “borrowed whiteness” must, of course, be situated in the specific context of having been in Malaysia, a former British colony and a current member of the Commonwealth. Indeed, as Frantz Fanon (1986) first stated in 1952, the racially minoritised (formerly) colonised subject “will be proportionately whiter […] in direct ratio to his mastery” of the imperial language. (p.8) This highlights the impacts of empire on the racialised hierarchisation of languages globally, and the “social magic” of speaking an imperial language. And yet, Fanon also highlighted the limitations to the recognition of the linguistic capital of racially minoritised subjects as symbolic capital: “A white man addressing a Negro behaves exactly like an adult with a child and starts smirking, whispering, patronizing, cozening.” (p.19)

Traces of such patronisation were evident in Caroline’s experience of speaking French in France. Caroline spoke French with a high degree of fluency, again for colonially-related reasons:

> ‘I only learned French because Cambodia was a francophone country, like a French colony. That was just my [foreign] language because I had to learn it from very young.’

Through family connections, Caroline had completed an internship in France:

> ‘My mum's cousin married a French guy. And I have half-Malaysian, half-French cousins. They're mostly French. And I used to visit them on occasion. I did an internship one year and I stayed with my aunt, who is Malaysian and Asian like me, and she speaks totally fluent French.’

Caroline’s embodiment of French linguistic capital was often met with surprise, but in this specific context, she found that such surprise actually helped to shield her from migratisation, rather than exacerbate it:

> ‘People are often quite surprised, I think, when I speak French. It's quite an advantage. People are super impressed when an Asian person can speak French. No one’s racist towards me, in that sense. They're actually like, “Ohh! Congratulations, you can speak French – very well done!” Because French people are notoriously terrible for people don't speak [French]. So that has helped me. It’s maybe one of those things that I believe makes me more Westernized and then helps me integrate more with, like, the Western white culture or European culture.’

Caroline’s interpretation of this situation was that her French linguistic capital signalled her embodiment of other cultural capitals that were likely to have been regarded with approval in a French, or European, field. At the same time, it is difficult to ignore the somewhat patronising tone in which her French ability had been praised. Indeed, this speaks to Rosa and Flores’s (2017) observation that even when racially minoritised subjects are perceived as “successfully engaging” in standard language practices, they are positioned as “exceptional” in relation to other racially minoritised members subjects “who have not been provided access to such normatively defined success.” (p.641) This is also reminiscent of Fanon’s depiction of a Martinician woman fainting at Aimé Cesaire’s spoken French and “the refinement of his style” (1986, p.26). In others words, the legitimation of Caroline’s linguistic capital in this situation may reveal deeply racialised *and* classed expectations for people who look like her to lack the means – that is, capitals – to learn French, or to learn to speak it properly.

Indeed, Caroline’s observations about the classed patterns in the linguistic capitals within her own family show the imbrications of both race and class in linguistic capital accumulation:

> ‘My dad speaks Hakka, which is a dialect of Chinese – that’s what he speaks with all his family. Dad’s family is less educated than my mum’s. Poorer as well, so they don’t have as high a level of English language. Mum and her relatives, there’s a difference I notice – most of them speak English. In fact, I have quite a lot of relatives in the UK. Mum’s cousins, all of them are kind of Westernised – so went to UK boarding schools, went to Oxbridge, all that kind of stuff.’

Caroline’s description aligns linguistic capitals in English (and more “Westernised” capitals generally) with privilege, encompassing the economic, social and cultural capitals needed to attend UK boarding schools and Oxbridge. At the same time, a deficit in English linguistic capital is associated with being “less educated” and “poorer”. Whilst class privilege may facilitate the accumulation of such capitals, however, their legitimation and recognition as symbolic capital is not necessarily guaranteed.

“How dare you?” The policing of the boundaries of whiteness through language

Across the participants’ experiences in predominantly white, Western contexts, language emerged as a site of particularly vociferous policing of the boundaries of whiteness. The participants shared multiple stories of when their command of imperial languages had drawn the ire of those whom Rosa and Flores (2017) call “hegemonic perceiving subjects” (p.629), specifically “white perceiving subjects” (p.630), and their “hearing practices” (p.627). Such irritation speaks to what Homi Bhabha (2004) describes as the “menace of mimicry” (p.126), that is, when a (post)colonial – i.e. racially minoritised – subject’s embodiment of the coloniser’s modes of behaviour and speech is seen as “an intolerable, illegitimate exercise of power” – an “immanent threat to both ‘normalized’ knowledges and disciplinary powers.” (p.123) An annoyance at the threat imagined to be posed by such “mimicry” on the part of the participants, by virtue of their fluency in imperial languages, often appeared to underlie refusals to recognise them as legitimate speakers of those languages. In particular, such refusals were performed through moving the goalpost (see Chapter 7) around accent. In other words, accent – a heavily embodied aspect of language – was used as an ever-finer criterion for evaluations of the participants’ linguistic capitals, often operating to deny their legitimacy as symbolic capital, thereby justifying and maintaining the participants’ migratisation.

Jackson shared that, since her schooldays in the UK, she had been asked of her British-inflected accent:

> '"Are you putting it on?" And I always thought, "No, I don't think so. I'm just… Speaking."'

Margaret had also faced contestations of her linguistic capital through accent. Raised in Switzerland from the age of nine and being a Swiss citizen, Margaret spoke fluent Swiss German. Yet, despite repeated demonstrations of that fluency, and sometimes because of it, those around her often refused to recognise her Swiss German as legitimate symbolic capital:

> 'One thing you notice in Switzerland is that most people, if they think that you're foreign, they'll speak to you in High German. So I get that a lot. And then I just respond in Swiss German, you know. And they… They might continue to respond in High German to kind of, you know… Yeah, that happens. Everywhere. In the street.'

Margaret spoke not only German, but the local variant, namely Swiss German. Yet, the racial minoritisation to which she was subjected on the basis of her physical appearance outweighed this linguistic capital and prevented it from being legitimated as symbolic capital in the Swiss context. Not only this, but in order to counteract the menace posed by Margaret's linguistic capital of Swiss German specifically, boundaries were tightened to ensure her continued migratisation, by continuing to address Margaret in the more formal register of High German (Riaño and Baghdadi 2007; Bonfiglio 2013), despite Margaret's responses in Swiss German. Thus, language was key site where the boundaries of whiteness were policed, and autochthonous constructions of Europeanness as whiteness upheld.

Margaret interpreted the insistence on addressing her in High German as expressing the white normativity underlying constructions of the Swiss citizen, thus migratising her:

> 'It's saying that you can't possibly be… Of this place. And I *know* it's not a product of my accent because I grew up there. My accent's fine. It's just, yeah, this… This belief that Black people can't have a history in their country.'

The denial of the legitimacy of Margaret's linguistic capital even when speaking perfectly well in the local dialect illustrates how racially minoritised subjects are "perpetually perceived as linguistically deficient even when engaging in language practices that would likely be legitimized or even prized were they produced by white speaking subjects." (Rosa and Flores 2017, p.628) As Rosa and Flores (2017) stress, the co-naturalisation of language and race has distinct roots in European colonialism, and Margaret's experience can be seen as an instance of the "continued rearticulation of colonial distinctions between Europeanness and non-Europeanness – and, by extension, whiteness and nonwhiteness." (Rosa and Flores 2017, p.622)

This, in turn, illustrates the limitations to the menace of mimicry, or at least the limitations to "mimicry's" potential to disrupt existing power structures, if not to its potential to "menace". Whilst such mimicry appears to pose a menace insofar as it irks the "white listening subject" (p.627), it is, as Puwar (2004) suggests, "not a menace to the extent that it leaves the normative power of whiteness intact." (p.116) Such limitation was keenly conveyed by Ricardo, who described the anger expressed by white counterparts at the perceived menace of his fluent French:

> 'I can speak English with an English accent and French with. French one. What I was confronted with was, "How come you speak French so well?" But not, "How come" – "How *dare* you. How dare you?"'

Here, we see a staunch refusal to recognise Ricardo's high-level French as valid symbolic capital. Moreover, this refusal appears to be spurred on precisely by how good Ricardo's French is. Indeed, just like in Christian's case, what had rendered Ricardo conspicuous was his deviation from how he had been expected to speak based on his appearance, rooted in hegemonic perceiving practices of raciolinguistic enregisterment:

> 'It was based on the way I spoke French, I suppose. [Feigning broken French] "You not talking like this, eh."'

In this way, Ricardo's linguistic capital was deemed incongruent with its embodiment because of how good it was – such good French was only legitimate if embodied by a white speaker. Conversely, people who looked like him were expected to be uneducated and unable to speak fluent French. This shows that raciolinguistic enregisterment is not only racialised, but classed.

In fact, in relating his experience, Ricardo cited a passage from George Orwell's (1961 [1934]) *Burmese Days*, a novelised account of the British colonisation of present-day Myanmar:

> "And butler!"
> "Yes, master?"
> "How much ice have we got left?"
> "'Bout twenty pounds, master. Will only last today, I think. I find it very difficult to keep ice cool now."
> "Don't talk like that, damn you – 'I find it very difficult!' Have you swallowed a dictionary? 'Please, master, can't keeping ice cool' – that's how you ought to talk. We shall have to sack this fellow if he gets to talk English too well. I can't stick servants who talk English. D'you hear, butler?" (p.26)

Such classed dynamics illustrate that race and class cannot be separated in conceptualisations of raciolinguistic enregisterment, nor in the contestations of linguistic capitals in racially minoritised embodiments and the migratisation that can result. It also underscores Puwar's point that the presence of racially minoritised bodies in historically white spaces of power "is not a menace to the extent that it leaves the normative power of whiteness intact." (2004: 116) It also underscores – and highlights the role of racialisation in – the power struggles involved in the recognition of linguistic capital as symbolic capital, as outlined by Bourdieu (1991):

> 'The competence adequate to produce sentences that are likely to be understood may be quite inadequate to produce sentences that are likely to be *listened to*, likely to be recognized as *acceptable* in all the situations in which there is occasion to speak.' (p.55)

Ricardo qualified, however, that the invalidation that he had experienced had been far more subtle:

> 'But the thing is, they don't do that in France. They will not humiliate you by saying how you *should* speak. They did it ninja style. Just like the English – ninja style. It's just very subtle, but you feel it. It's, you know… "You speak just as well as I do? How dare you. But you know what? Even though you speak just as well as I do, I'm sure you're not as smart as I am. So that's why I'm gonna try all these underhanded methods…"'

Such underhanded methods included questioning of Ricardo's academic prowess, based, for example, on what subject he had been studying at university in France, suggesting an implicit hierarchy amongst subjects. Thus, we see again the application of tighter, highly classed requirements for ever-more refined cultural capital – even drawing on cultural capitals other than language – in order to invalidate Ricardo’s linguistic capitals, and how this functions to justify and ensure their continued migratisation. Indeed, the imbrications of race and class in such evaluations of imperial linguistic capital in racially minoritised embodiments underscore Rosa and Flores’ (2017) admonition that:

> ‘we must not interpret the class ascendance of particular racialized persons as a product of their accumulation of cultural and linguistic capital, but rather as a legitimating articulation of white supremacy, a precarious positionality that is often derided at the same time that it is celebrated…’ (pp. 639-640)

The imbrications of race and class in contesting linguistic capital were also evidenced by Caroline’s experiences across different parts of the UK since moving there for university from international schools in southeast Asia, where she had picked up a mostly American accent. Initially, at university in the north of England, Caroline had experienced peer pressure to “speak northern”:

> ‘Especially in the north of England, my northern friends were really disparaging, actually, of the American accent. I had a very, very influential friend – he’s northern – and my first boyfriend was also northern. They were both really like, “The north is the best,” you know. “Say you're short a's and don't speak like a southerner. Don't have a posh accent.” And I was like, “OK, OK, OK.” So I learned. Like, the short letters – I still say “bath” [short a] instead of “bath” [long a], and things like that. To fit in, you know. I was trained not say [with American accent] “water”. Actually, even the way I say my *name* changed. And they were like, “Yeah, go, Caroline.”’

This emphasis on the distinction between northern and southern accents speaks to what Michael Donnelly et al. (2022) call the “classed geographies” of accents in the UK, within which “[a]ccent, as a signifier of social position, comes to represent the spatial structuring of class.” (p.111) In the UK context, accents reflect the “historically embedded spatially uneven economic development within the UK,” with London and the south east of England being seen as “the centre of economic, political and cultural power” relative to the “marginalised […] deindustrialised localities of England”, including the north. (p.1103) Against this backdrop, “RP [Received Pronunciation] and southern English accents are constructed as the ‘normative’ […] against which all other accents are constructed.” (p.1106) RP is “an accent indexically tied to the aristocracy (‘the

Queen's English') and to courtiers, barristers and senior clergy, and perpetuated, transmitted and enforced through attendance at high fee-paying (often boarding) private schools and elite universities ('Oxford English')." (Britain 2017, p.293) In fact, Donnelly et al. go so far as to say: "it is only through the dominant RP and southern accents wherein categories (and hierarchies) of accents are created within social space." (p.1106)

Having been students at an elite university, Caroline's peers are likely to have been relatively well-off, possibly having attended fee-paying schools. Yet, even amongst such schools, there exist "subtle inter-regional distinctions of middle class identity that are reflected in the linguistic distinctions and hierarchies between these schools." (Donnelly et al. p.1111) Diversity within "northern" English accents notwithstanding, Caroline's peers' favouring of a "northern" accent ("The north is the best"), alongside their admonition of Caroline not to "have a posh accent", could be seen as an expression of their "regional consciousness" (Donnelly et al. p.1114) – an awareness of their own subordinate positioning within "relational hierarchies of place, class and accent" (p.1111), in which northern accents are judged "more negatively" (p.1109). At the same time, their disavowal of the American accent could be seen as a positioning of British English, of any variation, as still superior to other Englishes of the anglophone world.

As evidenced by Caroline's peers' approval, so long as Caroline abided by the rules of speaking "northern", her linguistic capital was legitimated as symbolic capital in this context, however contingently, despite its racially minoritised embodiment. Yet, this contingency – the conditions attached to legitimation of Caroline's linguistic capital – demonstrates the precariousness of such legitimation. Furthermore, it is difficult to ignore not only the racialised but also gendered power dynamics of such admonitions by two white British males for Caroline to speak in a certain way. The contingency of Caroline's acceptance among her northern male peers is an illustration of how "[r]acial and linguistic stereotypes co-articulate with gender normativity in ways that alternately produce context-specific forms of privilege and precarity." (Rosa and Flores 2017, p.635) In fact, the conditionality of Caroline's fitting in on her speaking in a specific, sanctioned accent illustrates the extent of her "differential inclusion" (Puwar 2004) in this particular field. Caroline was included, but tenuously so; she was only ever a long vowel – or supposed mispronunciation of her own name – away from being migratised to an elsewhere.

Demonstrating the precarity of even such conditional legitimation of capital, Caroline found that recognition of her linguistic capital did not carry over to the south of the UK, where Caroline moved after university. Specifically, she found that her linguistic capitals were not recognised as symbolic capital in the very different racialised and classed conditions of the competitive rowing club that she joined there (see Chapter 7). In this new field down south, Caroline found that, as a cox, the very same pronunciations that had been legitimated up north, even praised, were summarily dismissed:

> 'My voice is out there, right? Like, I have to talk to them and people notice. And one of them was like, "You're so funny, Caroline. You have such an American accent, you say all these things and you sound really American. You're like, 'OK everyone, you can have some [with British accent] water now,' in, like, a British way. And then I just crack up."'

In this new field, abiding by the rules of the local accent– now decidedly more posh, with long vowels encouraged – did not guarantee legitimation of Caroline's linguistic capital as symbolic capital. Rather, the reverse seems to have occurred: Caroline's pronunciation of "water" in a southern, RP-esque accent was not only rejected, but rudely laughed at, in an instance of what Jayne Raisborough and Matt Adams (2008) call "disparagement humour". This can also be seen as an example of what Bourdieu (1991) called "strategies of condescension" (p.68) in contestations of linguistic capital.

This is reminiscient of Steph Lawler's (1999) observation:

> 'Accents are a particular pitfall [...], particularly in Britain, where they (are assumed to) clearly mark social location. 'Middle-class' accents are preferable in most social sites, but only when they are (or can pass as) *authentic*. When they are not, or cannot, they become a joke.' (p.17)

If this is the case even for white British female speaking subjects, as in Lawler's study, Caroline's experience makes clear that the legitimation of linguistic capital is also a deeply racialised process. In the environment of the rowing club, Caroline was marked as a racially minoritised Other, and was not considered as part of the invisible, universal "somatic norm" (Puwar 2004). Therefore, when Caroline attempted to speak the language of the normative, unembodied, universal (white) figure, her particular(ised) embodiment was rendered conspicuous. The perceived mismatch between linguistic capital associated with the white British upper classes and its embodiment in Caroline sounded the alarm on an interloper masquerading as the universal champion of patrician pursuits and all things rah – a symbolic position which only unmarked white bodies are allowed to inhabit. In this way, the boundaries of classed whiteness were heavily policed, and the eligibility criteria for legitimation of Caroline's linguistic capital were ever more narrowed to keep her out.

In yet another context, Ann's experiences of refusals to recognise her linguistic capital as legitimate had influenced her decision on where to attend university. During secondary school in Hong Kong, Ann's dream had been to attend a particular university in the US. When the opportunity arose to attend a musical theatre summer camp at this very university, she took it. To her disappointment, however, Ann experienced migratisation through contestation of her linguistic capital:

> 'That was my dream school at the time. I was like, "I'm gonna go to that school. I'm gonna study music there." And then that just, like, crushed my dreams. I got discriminated against quite a bit in the camp. They would speak [mimicking] really… Slowly… To me, 'cause I'd come from Hong Kong. They would speak really slowly, and then all the time, the comments would be, "Wow, your English is so good." So I was like, "I don't like it here…"'

Despite Ann's linguistic capital of English as her first and only language, her racial minoritisation in this context, combined with having travelled from Hong Kong, where she had happened to be living at the time, overpowered any legitimation of her linguistic capital. The way in which Ann was spoken to slowly illustrates the "racialized perceptions through which racially unmarked subjects' language practices are positioned as inherently legitimate and racialized subjects' practices are perceived as inherently deficient." (Rosa and Flores 2017, p.632) In fact, it even goes so far as to show "the ideological assumption that racialized subjects' language practices are unfit for legitimate participation in a modern world." (p.627)

To add insult to injury, Ann recalled that her original desire to attend university in the US had in fact been influenced by the migratisation that she had experienced as a child in the UK, for having had a somewhat American accent:

> ‘A lot of the kids used to say that I'm from America, because I had an “international school accent”. And that wasn't because I'd been to an international school. That was because my mom has a slightly American accent, because she learnt her English off either an American or Canadian person [in the Philippines]. And my dad's accent is pretty… He doesn't really have one. It's just very neutral. So at home, I didn't have an English accent. And I watched a lot of [American] TV, so my accent always had a slight twang. The kids always used to say, “Ohh, she's from America.” And I just thought, “America sounds really fun.” It always looks cool in the movies. Then I actually went there, and it was like, “Oh, God.”’

After she had experienced the overriding force of her racial minoritisation in blocking the conversion of her English to symbolic capital in the US, Ann ultimately decided to attend university in the UK. She had felt that, on balance, she was less likely to face migratisation in the UK: “I just felt a little bit more comfortable coming back here.”

Whilst Ann found that this was largely the case of her time at university in the UK, she still came up against “racially hegemonic perceptions” (Rosa and Flores 2017, p.628) entrenched in raciolinguistic enregisterment – if not in an assumption of her deficiency in English (as she had found in the US), then in an expectation for her to be fluent in Chinese:

> ‘There was a time at university where I got nicknamed “fake Asian”. They would be like, “Yeah, but you're not *really* Chinese.” Because I don't speak Chinese and I grew up here [in the UK]. So I'm a fake Asian, apparently.’

This resembles Ien Ang’s (2001) experience in the Netherlands of being told, “What a fake Chinese you are!” for not speaking Chinese, which she calls “a condition that has been hegemonically constructed as a lack, a sign of loss of authenticity.” (p.30) As discussed in Chapter 7 in the context of similar charges lodged against Nadine, such fixations with “authenticity” may reflect anxieties about the dislodging of white supremacy as the status quo.

Moreover, Ann's experience highlights the situationality of linguistic capital legitimation – that is, the crucial role played by the threefold alignment between capital, field and embodiment in order for linguistic capitals to function as symbolic capital. The importance of the match between linguistic capital and field, in particular, was illustrated by Ricardo's story. Having been born in Colombia but adopted by British and French parents, Ricardo did not count Spanish as one of his languages. This was despite exposure to Spanish in his early days:

> 'They were speaking to me in French and English, but they also started to speak to me in Spanish. My parents introduced me to these friends of theirs who were Spanish (people they worked with), who had a Colombian child. They would regularly come around the house and they would speak Spanish with me. But they told me that from one day to the next, I refused to speak Spanish. So we just flat out stopped speaking Spanish.'

It would likely not have been lost on the young Ricardo that Spanish was not one of the languages spoken by his parents in the home, i.e. not the most valued or symbolically effective linguistic capital for the field.

After having been educated in English until the age of 10, upon the family's move to Guinea, Ricardo's education switched to French. Up until this point, Ricardo and his siblings had spoken colloquial French at home but had had no formal schooling in the language:

> 'We'd spoken French very loosely up until then. I mean, we knew colloquial French, never actually written it that much, you know. French is very, very, very grammar-based. And children learn the grammar in pre-school and the beginning years, which is what… None of us went through.'

Over a number of subsequent moves, Ricardo's education continued largely in the French system (with the exception his short stint at English boarding school at age 11 whilst recovering from surgery after his accident in Guinea). When Ricardo moved to Bangladesh at age 17, he was enrolled in an American international school ("the only school available"):

> 'So we went through all these years of a French system – hardly any English – to being in this system in the last years of high school. The first book we had to read

> was, like… [gesturing] This thick. I'd never read anything this thick in French, let alone a language I hadn't been in contact with since… [age 10]. Writing essays, you know?'

This highlights the importance of the match between capital and field in linguistic capital legitimation: Ricardo's command of English had not served him in the French context, and vice versa. Yet, in adulthood, Ricardo has found his bilingualism to be advantageous, for example in giving him the ability to fact-check reports of current affairs:

> 'Were one of my countries being mentioned in the news, I have the opportunity to go straight to the press in that language to see if anything has been lost in translation.'

"Is this a real name?" The racialised politics of names

Many of the participants in this study were racially minoritised but had Western names, in addition to speaking multiple languages. These elements together often proved jarring for those whom they encountered. Ann's story in Chapter 7 illustrated the challenges of navigating the world with a name that could be deemed mismatched to its embodiment. Ricardo, whose "Latino" name defied racialised expectations of the languages he would speak, shared:

> 'My name signals one identity, while the language I am using to exchange with signals another. And another identity goes undetected in the form of the language not being actively used.'

Caroline explained that she had both an English and a Chinese name:

> 'We all have an English and Chinese name. Which is very Malaysian, actually. Christian name, surname, and then a Chinese name at the end. Most Malaysians have that.'

Caroline went by her "English first name." Yet, she shared:

> 'People have asked me, "Is this a real name, or have you made that name up?" Yeah. People have asked me that. And I'm like, "No, no."'

The questioning of the legitimacy of Caroline's given first name illustrates the white normativity underlying who is imagined to be the legitimate bearer of Western- or

English-sounding names, which in itself bears traces of colonialism and the spread of Christianity. Not only was Caroline’s “English” first name questioned, but so was her surname, which was Chinese:

> ‘It’s very often mistaken, like misspelt… All the time, all the time. So that annoys me. Sometimes on the phone, people are like, “Have you made a mistake?” And I’m like, “No, I haven’t made a mistake.” Like, honestly.’

In her first year at university in the UK, Caroline faced contestation of her linguistic capital due to racialised assumptions made on the basis of her Chinese surname. Caroline had submitted a formative assessment for one of her modules:

> ‘It’s not anonymous, so you can see my name. So obviously, not white. And I got a comment, “You should maybe read more novels because your English isn't very good,” or something like that. And I thought, “It's because it's not anonymous. That's why the tutor’s making this point.” So then I went to meet him for feedback, because I was quite concerned. I used it as an opportunity to make sure he knew I could speak English fluently, given his feedback comments about English clearly not being my first language. I specifically made a super clear point to speak perfect English, like, straight out the blocks – even in the small [talk]. And he was like, “Oh, your English is actually really good!” And I was like, “Yeah, it's my first language...”’

The change in the tutor’s attitude upon meeting Caroline in person and hearing her speak reveals the burden of doubt that had been placed on Caroline on the basis of her racially minoritised surname alone. Furthermore, it underscores the highly embodied nature of linguistic capital, suggesting that the social magic of the imperial language may carry more weight when presented in the flesh rather than on paper, through the speaking subject and before the “white listening subject” (Rosa and Flores 2017, p.630). Given the power asymmetry between a white male lecturer and racially minoritised young woman in an institutional setting, that “hegemonically positioned modes of perception” (ibid.) can have such material impacts on racially minoritised students’ chances of success is alarming.

Moreover, Caroline’s final results for the module only further highlighted the role played by racial minoritisation in this incident:

> ‘The final exam after that was marked anonymously, and I ended up getting the highest mark in the whole cohort and winning a prize for it.’

When, through anonymisation, the contestation of Caroline’s linguistic capitals had been removed from the equation of marking her written work, Caroline’s work was deemed not only as being on a par with her white counterparts’, but of such exceptional quality as to be prizeworthy. This incident had made Caroline not only conscious of the burden of doubt placed on her as a racially minoritised (female) subject in academia, but eager to prove such doubt wrong (and thus arguably shouldering a burden of representation as well):

> ‘For me, this experience just made me more motivated to do the best I could do since someone thought my English was bad.’

Moreover, just as she had done with the tutor, Caroline had since tended to over-emphasise her English ability to counteract any potential migratisation on the basis of her appearance alone:

> ‘I was like, OK, you know what? I need to make sure people don't think that I don't speak English. And I do this almost all the time now. Whenever I'm meeting anybody for the first time, even just saying hello, I'm always like, “Hi, how are you doing?” I always make sure they can hear more of me, to know that I am fluent in English, rather than expecting me not to be fluent in English. Batting it off straight away that I'm not a foreigner.’

Caroline’s own narration makes clear that raciolinguistic enregisterment sets up expectations for the racially minoritised *not* to embody imperial linguistic capitals. Moreover, such contestation of linguistic capital – which is simultaneously racialised and classed – is key to migratisation, or constructions of the speaking subject as “a foreigner.”

“Your accent is so strong!” Co-ethnicity and linguistic capital contestation

A shared characteristic amongst the participants was that they had grown up outside of the countries suggested by their ethnicity, and therefore often did not speak – or were not as fluent in – the languages associated with those countries, as compared with their main, imperial languages. This relative lack of linguistic capital corresponding to fields of co-ethnicity caused issues of capital contestation and migratisation in these contexts. For example, Nadine had found that her limited Arabic (compared with her English) meant that she was often migratised out of Sudan:

> ‘They can tell after speaking, like, “Oh, your accent is not… You're making grammatical mistakes.” I'll say something conjugated incorrectly, or I'll use the masculine when I'm supposed to use the feminine [Laughing]. Because there's a lot of Sudanese people who lived abroad and come back, and their Arabic is not that great. And they paint me as that.’

Evaluations of English linguistic capital in Sudan were highly classed, such that Nadine’s relative lack of Arabic was also read as an indication of her elevated class positioning, as suggested by the reference to other “returnees” from abroad.

Nadine’s migratisation on account of her limited linguistic capital in Arabic was compounded by the fact that had grown up partly in the Middle East, yet had attended international schools. Nadine shared how this made her feel:

> ‘It's like, “Well, you lived in the Gulf, why is your Arabic terrible? You lived in Arab countries. And that’s something that I find really… Um… Embarrassing? To explain to people that yes, I did live in Arab countries. I went to international schools, and it’s true, My Arabic is not very good. I didn't take Arabic in school very much. I took French instead.’

The fact that Nadine had learnt not one, but two, imperial languages over Arabic underscores the classed nature of the fields in which she had operated for most of her life, and the linguistic capitals that had been of the most currency in these fields. Yet, when she was in Arabic-speaking fields, the migratisation that she faced on account of her limited linguistic capital had made her feel embarrassed – potentially because it had accentuated her privileged position in a field of class inequality.

Similarly, Lina was not as fluent in Arabic as she was in English:

> ‘I speak it. I understand it. I read it, but if you were to ask me to write, you know, some essay in Arabic, I wouldn't feel comfortable. Or if someone gave me James Joyce's Ulysses in Arabic. I always talk to my parents in Arabic. My parents always spoke to us in Arabic. I just found it a lot of hassle to talk in Arabic, particularly to my brothers, when I knew that they could understand me in English.’

Language played a key role in the challenges that Lina faced in connecting with those who had grown up in Sudan, including in the diaspora. Yet, language represented a deeper connection to Sudan for Lina, and her relative lack of fluency in Arabic made her worry about this connection:

> 'Although I speak Arabic, you know, I can completely understand it, I'm not as… Socially fluent. Sudanese people in a group will have their sayings and their phrases. And I kind of struggle to express myself in the same way that I would in English. I think my relationship with Sudan is very difficult because… I worry that… I think my ability to say that I'm Sudanese… If I continue at this rate, where I'm not going back frequently, it's going to be difficult to say it. Not because it's not true, but because, you know, I won't feel very Sudanese. When you go back, you know, people are going to be speaking a different kind of slang.'

For Lina, Arabic linguistic capital was a significant part of "feeling" Sudanese. Such capital encompassed not only formal Arabic, but familiarity with more informal and colloquial registers, such as slang, that was liable to evolve over time.

Indeed, language represented connection to a land for Ricardo as well. When Ricardo had visited Colombia, he had found that his limited Spanish impacted the degree to which he felt a sense of relationship to the country and the people he met there:

> 'Because I did not have Spanish – I did have some sort of a broken Spanish – it was difficult to understand them, also the subtleties, and get to know the people necessarily well. And possibly feel a fond relationship with… With that land, you know. Because of the fact that I didn't speak the language, and still don't really. I don't really identify… Or feel that link.'

Christian, who spoke limited Mandarin, Cantonese and Malay, found that, on account of his limited Cantonese, and his more Western accent when speaking it, his linguistic capital was contested in Malaysia, including by members of his own family:

> 'Even my dad, when I was in Malaysia recently, I was speaking [Cantonese], and he was like, "Your accent is so strong!" It's like, are you really speaking it properly if you have such a heavy accent, not the local accent…?'

More generally, Christian was conscious of the role of linguistic capital contestation in triggering migratisation:

> ‘When you're not living in that country and you speak a different… You have a different twang or whatever, people immediately know. And then that makes you different from them.’

Furthermore, Christian’s experience made clear the relationship between linguistic capital and other embodied cultural capitals, such as adherence to customs, which can translate into evaluations of politeness:

> ‘In the Malaysian Chinese culture, for different levels of your relationships with your aunts and uncles, you should be calling them in a different way, like, “grand uncle” or “first uncle.” Like, there are specific Chinese words for it. But I've just been like, “I'm not gonna do that.” So I just call everybody “uncle.” All my other cousins who are, you know, the same generation or band in our family, they would be saying the right thing to say to these people. With me, it's like, “Why is this guy so casual?” Because in the West, you would just say, like, “Uncle Bob,” or whatever. You would never be like “grand uncle” or “first uncle on the first side!” before you address somebody. So it's more of, like, Western ways of speaking to people, or being formal or informal with elders and people in your family.’

Christian’s lack of adherence to customs of using Chinese terms of address that show kinship relation and deference (Lili and Jianqun 2019; Kuang and Khemlani 2009) was read as “casualness”, or impoliteness, which were constructed as Western, signalling Christian’s migratisation to the West.

In fact, Caroline found that her and her brother’s limited linguistic capital in Chinese operated to racialise them as white in this context: “Our Chinese is really bad… Everybody knows that my brother and I are the, like, white people.” And given the classed conditions of having developed English as their first languages, namely their international mobility due to their father’s work, the imbrications of both race and class in this contestation are clear. Yet, because of this racialisation as white in this context, Caroline found that speaking even limited Cantonese could operate to mitigate migratisation, in much the same way a “foreigner” would be praised for their language ability (as she had been for her French in France, for example): “So nobody expects us to necessarily speak the language. But I can speak it a little bit and everyone's always really surprised when I can say stuff or whatever.” This illustrates the situationality of whether or not such “surprise” will work to shield the bearer of linguistic capital from migratisation, or trigger it, underscoring the importance of attending to the particularities of each context.

In this chapter, I have discussed how the participants' linguistic capitals – particularly in imperial languages such as English, French and German – were a trigger point for the migratising question, "Where are you from?" I applied Rosa and Flores's (2017) concept of raciolinguistic enregisterment to show that the surprise with which the participants were met was due to the fact that people who looked like them were not expected to sound like they did. In other words, a mismatch was perceived between linguistic capital and its embodiment. Moreover, I have shown that such raciolinguistic enregisterment is not only racialised, but also classed – people who look like the participants are not expected to have the means to achieve such high degrees of fluency in imperial languages. Whilst the "social magic" of speaking imperial languages could go some way in enabling participants to be "racialised by language", or to "borrow whiteness", there were limitations to this, and indeed, to the "menace of mimicry" (Bhabha 2004) that could be posed by racially minoritised embodiments of imperial linguistic capital. If anything, in Western contexts, such "menace" appeared to invoke the ire of white listeners, and redoubled efforts at migratisation through the contestation of those linguistic capitals. Such contestation involved the application of narrower, ever-finer – and distinctly classed – criteria that the bearer of the capital was less likely to be able to satisfy, including particular accents and other cultural capitals, such as having studied particular subjects over others at university, blocking the capital's legitimation and recognition as symbolic capital. In this way, linguistic capital – including names – emerged as a particular state of cultural capital through which the classed boundaries of whiteness, and white supremacy, were policed. Moreover, even if linguistic capital were recognised as legitimate, this could be contingent on strict adherence to specific demands for performance, making the recognition precarious. Lastly, participants' experiences of linguistic capital contestation in contexts of co-ethnicity showed that evaluations of their limited proficiencies in their supposed "native" languages were both racialised and classed, at times even operating to racialised them as white, which could lead to migratisation.

9. Conclusion

I began this study by asking what was happening when the question, “Where are you from?” is posed to racially minoritised subjects who had internationally mobile upbringings due to their parents’ work. In order to find out, I immersed myself in the stories of individuals who identified as racially minoritised and had grown up internationally mobile before the age of 18, due to their parents’ work. Across 24 biographical narrative interviews (and, in some cases, numerous follow-up emails) with eight adults in their late twenties to early forties, carried out longitudinally over 11 months, I found out about their experiences with the question, “Where are you from?” and others like it. When had they experienced it? Where? Who had asked them? How had they felt? How had they understood the question? My methodological decision to centre the voices of racially minoritised privileged migrants has allowed me to make visible a figure largely elided from, or at least obscured in, the study of migration. As discussed in Chapter 2, the figure of the racially minoritised privileged migrant has been eclipsed in extant literature by, on the one hand, a tendency to frame race and class as mutually exclusive, maintaining a racialised bifurcation between the white migrant as privileged and racially minoritised migrant as in dire straits, and, on the other hand, a tendency to treat privilege in migration as a monolith, glossing over the effects of racial minoritisation in privileged migration and suggesting that class in large part cancels out the effects of race in migration.

As discussed in Chapter 5, I have established that when posed to such subjects, the question, “Where are you from?” did migratising work. It marked participants as conspicuous and constructed them as out of place where they were, staging a “sending-off” of them to an imagined elsewhere. Drawing on W.E.B. Du Bois’s (2018 [1903]) “unasked question,” I drew out the participants’ understandings of the questions underlying “Where are you from?”, including: “How I got here, how I got a British passport, how I remained here”; “Why did I come? And why am I not doing everything in my own country, wherever that is? Why am I taking their jobs?” and “What are you doing here, how did you end up here?”. Whilst the participants had not necessarily always experienced the question as migratising, it became clear that when it was experienced as such, racial minoritisation was involved, with the body emerging as a significant site of racialisation, complicating the oft-repeated mantra that race is a purely social construct. Indeed, the literature on race and migratisation had told me that it was down, in a word, to racism. Autochthonous discourses constructing the West as synonymous with whiteness meant the racially minoritised would forever be framed as eternal migrants, even if they had never moved. Yet, as the participants' stories told me, and I went on to show, there was more to migratisation than racial minoritisation *per se*.

Cultural capital contestation and threefold alignment

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, I had initially expected to hear stories all about how the participants had resisted and subverted their migratisation to carve out belonging for themselves, and the strategies that they had employed in doing so. It quickly became clear, however, that such migratisation was not so easily subverted, or even evaded. As I listened and re-listened across the participants' experiences of migratisation, I began to see that they had something in common: they involved some form of contestation of the legitimacy of particular cultural capitals in their embodiment – that is, a denial of their cultural capital as valid symbolic capital in a given field. This showed that migratisation is a process, and that, crucially, the process of migratisation is not only racialised, but also classed. Race and class were both in operation in these evaluations of cultural capital; they were, in fact, inseparable and co-constitutive.

Investigating this further, I found that the evaluation of cultural capital legitimacy was a relational process, resting as it does on the eye of the beholder. In particular, there were three elements involved in assessments as to the legitimacy of cultural capitals in their embodiments, namely: the content of the cultural capital; the field in which it was to operate; and the embodiment of the capital. Specifically, evaluations of what I call a threefold alignment between these elements of cultural capital, field and embodiment were key to processes of migratisation, with perceived mismatches between any two or more of the elements appearing to trigger contestations of the legitimacy of the cultural capital. Such contestations of cultural capital legitimacy often resulted in refusals to legitimate the cultural capital as valid symbolic capital, which in turn triggered migratisation of the capital's owner. Furthermore, contestations of the legitimacy of cultural capitals were common in three different (although often overlapping) states of cultural capital: institutionalised, embodied and linguistic. As developed in Chapters 6-8, respectively, contestations of each of these states of cultural capital tended to draw on specific dynamics, but regardless of the state of cultural capital, any subsequent refusals to recognise these as valid symbolic capital tended to trigger migratisation.

As already established by Bourdieu himself (see Chapter 2), if a cultural capital is mismatched to the field, their contestation, regardless of embodiment, is a matter of course. Whilst the cases of "deskilling" and downward social mobility amongst racially minoritised skilled migrants, discussed in Chapter 2, are often reduced to racial minoritisation and racism *per se*, viewed through the prism of the threefold alignment between capital, field and embodiment, these can be seen as examples of the perceived mismatch between capital and field. Yet, racially minoritised subjects with cultural capitals matching Western fields, such as the participants in this study, still experienced migratisation, particularly in Western contexts. This was because, as discussed in Chapters 5-8, the cultural capitals, despite matching Western fields, were judged as being mismatched to their racially minoritised *embodiments*. This may be why such cultural capitals, when embodied by the participants, appeared to trigger even *more* vociferous contestation and migratisation in predominantly white, Western contexts than if the participants had held cultural capitals *mis*matched to the field; such a state of affairs would likely have been seen as more "natural" against the backdrop of autochthonous conflations of the West with whiteness. This was most starkly evident in the case of one of the most embodied forms of cultural capital, namely language, as discussed in Chapter 8. Thus, we see the imbrications of both race and class in processes of migratisation.

The imbrications of race and class in situational migratisation

Moreover, processes of cultural capital contestation and migratisation were situational, and thus multiple. The participants had not experienced migratisation exclusively in the West, nor had they experienced it in the same way in all contexts. Race and class were co-constitutive and inseparable in processes of migratisation across contexts, but not in the same ways – they interacted situationally, in context-specific ways. And migratisation based on contestations of cultural capital had not only been performed by white arbiters of capital legitimacy in Western contexts. I identified three different contexts in which participants had experienced migratisation: in predominantly white, Western contexts; in contexts of co-ethnicity, that is, with others sharing similar ethnicity; and in contexts with "other Others" (Ali 2005), or those who were also racially minoritised but racialised differently.

Race and class interacted differently in these three contexts to produce different readings of the threefold alignment between cultural capital, field and embodiment. Articulations of race across these contexts could be broadly grouped into two: articulations of Anti-Blackness and/or colourism; and the ascription of contingent whiteness. The former articulation tended to be common in predominantly white, Western contexts and in contexts with "other Others", whilst ascriptions of whiteness tended to occur in contexts of co-ethnicity. Perceived misalignments between any two or more the elements of cultural capital, field and embodiment led to contestations of the legitimacy of cultural capitals in their institutionalised, embodied and/or linguistic states. Subsequent refusals to recognise these as valid symbolic capital tended to trigger migratisation. This process is summarised in **Figure 6**.

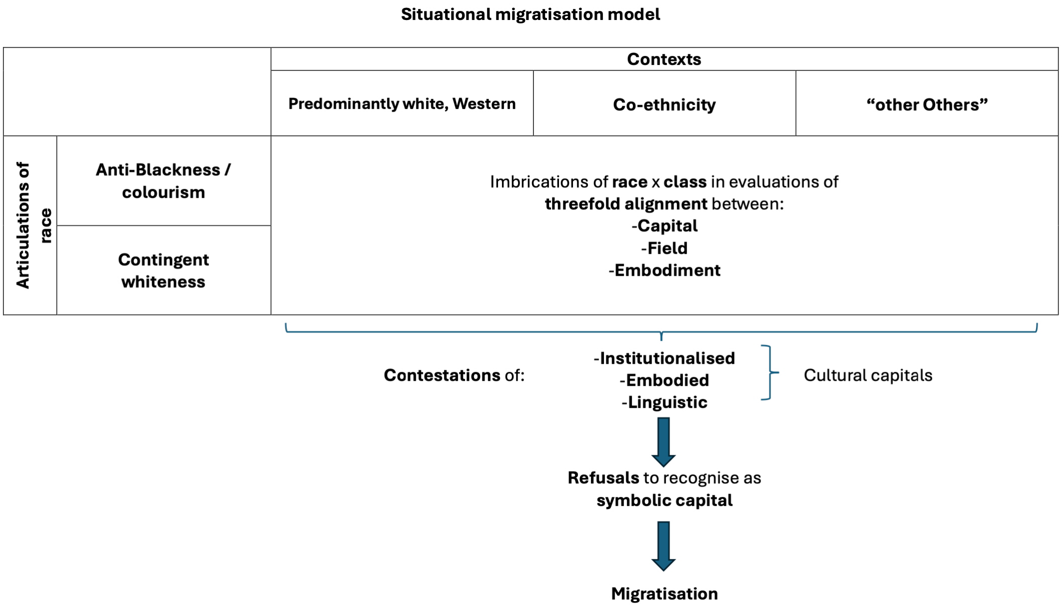

Situational migratisation model
Contexts
Predominantly white, Western
Co-ethnicity
"other Others"
Articulations of race
Anti-Blackness / colourism
Contingent whiteness
Imbrications of race x class in evaluations of threefold alignment between:
-Capital
-Field
-Embodiment
Contestations of:
-Institutionalised
-Embodied
-Linguistic
Cultural capitals
Refusals to recognise as symbolic capital
Migratisation

Figure 6 Situational migratisation model

The participants' experiences showed that questions of embodiment were pertinent in evaluations of the legitimacy of cultural capitals not only in their embodied states (Chapters 7-8), but also in their institutionalised states (Chapters 6), demonstrating the inextricability of racialisation from classed evaluations of cultural capital. Moreover, as discussed in Chapters 6-8, migratisation could be multi-scalar, that is, not only out of one nation-state to another, but performed from one field to another on any scale, including sub-fields. This has important implications for methodological de-nationalism (Anderson 2019), particularly in showing how citizens, too, can be migra(n)tised, that is, how the line between "citizen" and "migrant" can be blurred and is not as clear-cut or stable as, for example, politicians may make out. This underscores the shared struggles between "citizens" and "migrants" alike.

In predominantly white, Western contexts (e.g. in the UK, US, France, Germany, Switzerland and Ireland), a common trigger for migratisation – performed through the question, "Where are you from?", and other similar questions – was the participant's embodiments of cultural capitals not usually associated with or expected of subjects who looked like them, which called the legitimacy of those capitals in their embodiments into question. In other words, the cultural capitals were matched to their fields, but the chief misalignment triggering contestation of their legitimacy – and subsequent migratisation – was between capital and its embodiment. In many ways, the participants'' embodiment of cultural capitals normally associated with middle class whiteness rendered them more conspicuous and amplified their migratisation more than if they had conformed to racialised and classed expectations for them *not* to be in possession of such capitals. As exemplified by the question, "So neither of your parents is white?", such capitals were viewed as the property of whiteness, to which one could only have access through embodying whiteness in a physical sense, reflecting uncritical, commonsense understandings of race as an innate, genetic and hereditary quality. Thus, when embodied by racially minoritised subjects in these contexts, cultural capitals that were perfectly matched to the field, and were likely to be legitimated if embodied by subjects racialised as white (whether degrees from Western universities, tastes and hobbies deemed Western or fluency in imperial languages) were often judged as mismatched in terms of embodiment and thus refused recognition as valid symbolic capital. These underscored the autochthonous conflations between nation and race, and the white normativity underlying constructions of the West (and Europe in particular) as synonymous with whiteness.

In contexts of co-ethnicity, both in their countries of supposed "origin" (e.g. Colombia, Liberia, Sudan, India and Malaysia), as well as in the diaspora (e.g. in Germany. Ghana, Hong Kong, the US and the UK), the migratisations experienced by participants were often a result of contestations of their cultural capitals on the basis of their being judged as mismatched to the field, owing to their associations with the (white) West. In many cases, suspicions triggered initially by this mismatch between capital and field often operated in turn to racialise the participants as white, as evident in the characterisation of Christian as *banana* (Chapter 6), Margaret as *obruoni* (Chapter 7) and Caroline as *gweilo* (Chapter 7), or as less Black, as evidenced by Nadine's discussion of the term "Arabic diploma kids" (Chapter 6) and the questions raised as to whether Margaret was "African enough" to be an expert on African Studies (Chapter 6). Thus, in contexts of co-ethnicity, migratisation could be performed on the basis of all three elements of the threefold alignment as mismatched being judged as mismatched.

Intimate and family relationships were a key site of the contestation of cultural capitals across contexts, meaning that participants were not immune to migratisation in such settings. Examples such as Ricardo's experiences in his white adoptive family (Chapter 7) and Nadine's with her white former husband revealed the operation of racial illiteracies in mixed-race relationships and families, such that "[r]ather than being 'love's revolution,' interracial marriage can serve to reproduce race in unintended yet important ways." (Osuji 2019, p.4) Furthermore, Jackson's experience of her Indian family's attitudes towards her Black husband, and to Jackson's own skin tone, made clear that such racial illiteracies were not limited to mixed-race family settings in which any members were racialised as white. In other words, racial illiteracies were not only predicated on ideas of white supremacy, but could also be overlaid with colourism (which could also overlap with anti-Blackness). Indeed, the participants' experiences of migratisation in contexts with "other Others" were surprisingly similar to those in Western contexts, raising the concurrent issues of global white hegemony and multiple racisms. These are discussed in the two sections below.

The "pretzel logic" of white supremacism; scope for resistance?

In Chapter 2, in light of Kalmar's (2022; 2023) and Lewicki's (2023) discussions of the contingencies of whiteness and the limitations faced by those who are not able to "pass" as white, I asked if passing as white is the only way to be privileged in the world. The participants' experiences of migratisation in predominantly white, Western contexts, showed that the boundaries of whiteness are far from porous, and are, rather, heavily policed. Indeed, the narrowing of the requirements for cultural capital legitimation through the application of ever-finer criteria to maintain migratisation, which I have called "moving the goalposts", such as in the mocking of Caroline's English accent in her competitive UK rowing club (Chapter 8), can be likened to the "pretzel logic" identified by Jacobson (1998) in the US government's rulings to maintain the exclusion of racially minoritised subjects from American citizenship in the early 20th century (see Chapter 2), "whose very twists are defined by white supremacism." (p.238)

Furthermore, through recruiting a diverse group of racially minoritised participants with varied ethnic backgrounds and migration trajectories, I have been able to generate accounts of the multiple ways in which race and racism are articulated in migratisation across contexts globally, including in contexts with "other Others." The imbrications of race and class in the participants' experiences of migratisation in such contexts highlighted the operation of multiple racisms, that is, racisms "beyond Black and white" (Bonnett 2021), or indeed, "white on Black". Across Chapters 5-8, I have discussed participants' experiences of migratisation on the basis of cultural capital contestation by "other Others", such as Nadine's experiences in Egypt (Chapter 5) and China (Chapter 6), Ricardo's in Bangladesh (Chapter 5), Lina's in the UAE (Chapter 7) or Jackson's in the UK (Chapter 5) and New Zealand (Chapter 7).

Add to this participants' experiences in contexts of co-ethnicity, in which their migratisation appeared to flow from their Western (and Western-adjacent) cultural capitals operating to racialise their owners as white (or less Black). At first glance, such references to whiteness – however cultural or classed, rather than phenotypical – may appear only to strengthen and further entrench the grip of white hegemony globally. And yet, closer attention to the spirit in which such ascriptions of whiteness were performed by co-ethnic judges, that is, as *refusals* to legitimate Western capitals in co-ethnic embodiments as symbolic capital, suggests that such global white hegemony is not uncontested. As was evident in cases such as Christian's cousins (Chapter 6), Caroline's relatives (Chapter 7) or Ann's mother (Chapter 7) responses to these participants' cultural capitals, such mobilisations of whiteness could be seen forms of objection to, or resistance against, the status quo of Western standards being the final arbiter of value. Whilst further research is needed, and the scope for such resistance appears slim, this suggests that there may be some hope for dismantling – or at least disrupting – the hegemonic grip of the logics of whiteness the world over, or what Goldberg (2014) calls "the *globalization of the racial* rather than the racialization of the globe." (p.255, original emphasis).

Multiple racisms and the impossibility of theorising race without class

As discussed above, the participants' experiences in contexts with "other Others" featured processes predicated on dynamics of anti-Blackness, similar to those seen in contestations of cultural capitals in predominantly white, Western contexts. Whilst this at first glance appears to suggest the pervasiveness of whiteness as an ordering force in the "global racial field" (Christian 2019) (see Chapter 1), it has also raised the importance of contextualising migratisations in the racialised histories of specific regions, thinking beyond the Euocentric and oversimplified bifurcation between Black and white. Further still, it has highlighted the importance of always theorising race as co-constitutive with class. Whether we are considering the historical "triangle of colonialism" between the British Empire, Egypt and Sudan (Powell 2003), the distinctions between "Upper Tens" and "Lower Sixes" amongst Eurasians in Singapore (Rocha and Yeoh 2022) or the colonial legacies of the "regionalisation of race" in Colombia (Wade 1993), I contend that it is not possible to conceptualise, or to study the effects of, race without attending to its imbrications with class. This should not be surprising, given that, at root, colonialism is an economic model of exploitation and extraction that has been predicated on racial capitalism, needing to mobilise race in order to divide and conquer in the pursuit of accumulation (Hesse 2007; Virdee 2019).

Situational migratisation and privilege in migration

In summary, I have shown that migratisation is undergirded in large part by contestations of cultural capital, which is both a highly racialised and classed process. Evaluations of the legitimacy of cultural capital involve perceptions of a threefold alignment between capital, its field and its embodiment, which invoke normative ideas about both race and class, which shape each other to the extent that they cannot be separated. Contrary to Bourdieu's assertions that institutionalised cultural capitals operate largely independently of the body of their bearer, when it comes to cultural capitals embodied by the visibly racially minoritised, there can be problems in legitimation, regardless of the state of capital. In this study, I have focussed on the contestations of cultural capitals in three states that emerged as particularly contested in the participants' experiences: institutionalised, embodied and linguistic. Mismatches perceived between any two (or more) of the elements of capital, field and embodiment can block, or curtail significantly, the conversion of the capital in question into symbolic capital, thereby triggering migratisation. Furthermore, this process is context-dependent and situational. It is not only in predominantly white, Western contexts that the contestation of cultural capitals and migratisation take place. Capital contestation and migratisation take place in the contexts of co-ethnicity and other racial minoritisation as well, and these show that race and class always operate co-constitutively with each other, if in various combinations, across contexts. These multiple and varied imbrications of race and class in migratisation were made visible by examining how the threefold alignment between cultural capital, field and embodiment were judged in each of these contexts.

What can these findings tell us, at the broadest level, about how race and class mediate privilege in migration? Through my discussion of my empirical findings in Chapters 5-8, I have examined how race and class intersect to complicate conceptualisations of privilege in migration. Specifically, I have shown that race and class impact the ways in which the threefold alignment between cultural capital, field and embodiment are likely to be judged across contexts, with perceived mismatches making migratisation more likely. This, in turn, shows us that privilege in migration is not an absolute or static quality possessed inherently by some and not others, nor universally experienced. Rather, I contend that privilege in migration is the extent to which one's cultural capitals in their embodiment are recognised as symbolic capital whilst moving across fields (nation-state or otherwise), that is, with minimal contestation as to their legitimacy, thus preventing migratisation. In other words, privilege in migration is the extent to which one can move through space without being migratised. And this is a process that is both racialised and classed, and inextricably so.

Moreover, what is vital for a nuanced and intersectional appraisal of privilege in migration is an understanding that, owing to the context-specific imbrications of race and class in cultural capital legitimation, migratisation is relational, situational and contingent. I have presented this through my concept of situational migratisation, which describes the context-dependent ways in which race and class intersect in contestations of the legitimacy of cultural capitals in their embodiments, triggering migratisation, or the construction of the capitals' owners as migrant figures, out of place and belonging elsewhere. The legitimacy of a cultural capital in its embodiment, in any given field, is in eye of the beholder. And as there is no view from nowhere, the same person can be migratised in some contexts, and under some conditions, yet not in others. And because privilege in migration is in inverse relation to the degree of migratisation experienced a subject in any given context, privilege in migration is also relational, situational and contingent. This means that migrant subjects can experience privilege in some contexts and under some conditions, and not others. For those migrants who are racially minoritised by Western standards but have accumulated significant amounts of Western cultural capitals due to internationally mobile upbringings, this can be an uphill battle. Race and class combine differently in different contexts to produce shifting criteria for symbolic capital recognition, including amongst co-ethnics and "other Others", resulting in what could be seen as double or even triple migratisations for such subjects. Yet, the very relationality, situationality and contingency of their migratisations go a long way in showing us that structurally engendered power relations are not immutable, and that a more just and equitable world is possible.

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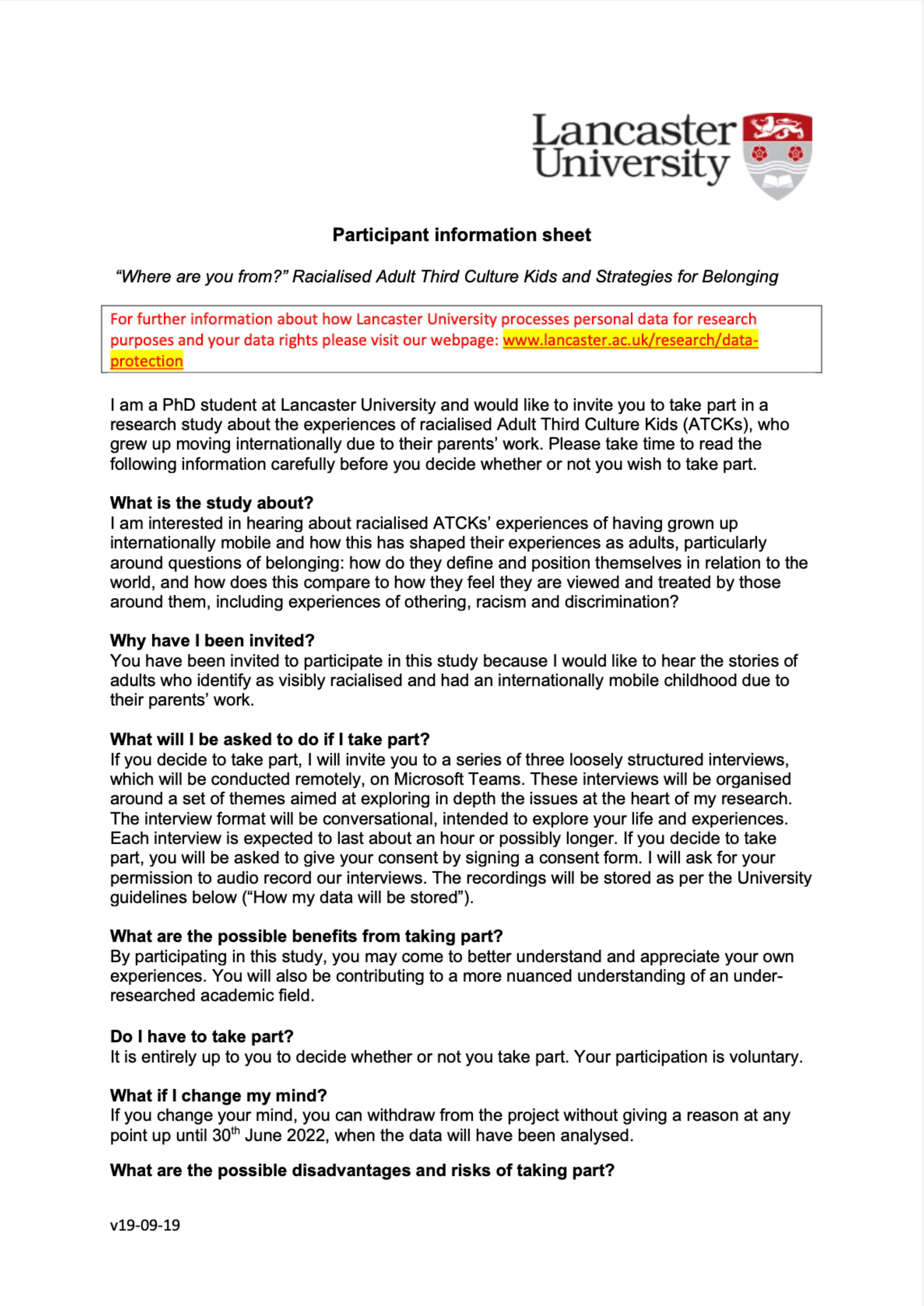
Appendix 1



Lancaster University

Participant information sheet

"Where are you from?" Racialised Adult Third Culture Kids and Strategies for Belonging

For further information about how Lancaster University processes personal data for research purposes and your data rights please visit our webpage: www.lancaster.ac.uk/research/data-protection

I am a PhD student at Lancaster University and would like to invite you to take part in a research study about the experiences of racialised Adult Third Culture Kids (ATCKs), who grew up moving internationally due to their parents' work. Please take time to read the following information carefully before you decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What is the study about?
I am interested in hearing about racialised ATCKs' experiences of having grown up internationally mobile and how this has shaped their experiences as adults, particularly around questions of belonging: how do they define and position themselves in relation to the world, and how does this compare to how they feel they are viewed and treated by those around them, including experiences of othering, racism and discrimination?

Why have I been invited?
You have been invited to participate in this study because I would like to hear the stories of adults who identify as visibly racialised and had an internationally mobile childhood due to their parents' work.

What will I be asked to do if I take part?
If you decide to take part, I will invite you to a series of three loosely structured interviews, which will be conducted remotely, on Microsoft Teams. These interviews will be organised around a set of themes aimed at exploring in depth the issues at the heart of my research. The interview format will be conversational, intended to explore your life and experiences. Each interview is expected to last about an hour or possibly longer. If you decide to take part, you will be asked to give your consent by signing a consent form. I will ask for your permission to audio record our interviews. The recordings will be stored as per the University guidelines below ("How my data will be stored").

What are the possible benefits from taking part?
By participating in this study, you may come to better understand and appreciate your own experiences. You will also be contributing to a more nuanced understanding of an under-researched academic field.

Do I have to take part?
It is entirely up to you to decide whether or not you take part. Your participation is voluntary.

What if I change my mind?
If you change your mind, you can withdraw from the project without giving a reason at any point up until 30th June 2022, when the data will have been analysed.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

Over the course of the interviews, it is possible that some sensitive topics may come up, such as othering, racism and discrimination. In case you do experience any psychological stress or anxiety, you are free to pause or terminate the interview at your request. I will provide you with a list of sources for support, included at the end of this letter.

Will my data be identifiable?
All reasonable steps will be taken to remove personally identifiable information from the research outputs and to protect your anonymity. I will ask you to select a pseudonym (first name only) and will only refer to you by this pseudonym. Alternatively, if you would prefer for me to use your real name (first name only), please indicate this on your consent form.

How will I use the information you have shared with me and what will happen to the results of the research study?
I will use the information you have shared with me for research purposes only. My findings and analysis will be published in my thesis. I may also submit articles for publication in relevant academic journals and may apply to share my findings at relevant academic conferences. When writing up the findings from this study, although I will use your exact words, I will only use anonymised quotes from my interviews with you, as above.

How my data will be stored
Your data will be stored in encrypted files (that is no-one other than me, the researcher will be able to access them) and on password-protected computers. I will store hard copies of any data securely in locked cabinets in my office. I will keep data that can identify you separately from non-personal information (e.g. your views on a specific topic). In accordance with University guidelines, I will keep the data securely for a minimum of ten years.

What if I have a question or concern?

If you have any queries or if you are unhappy with anything that happens concerning your participation in the study, please contact me at s.mikoshiba@lancaster.ac.uk or my supervisor, Professor Michaela Benson, at Michaela.benson@lancaster.ac.uk, +44 (0)1524 594095, Sociology, Bowland College, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YT, United Kingdom.

If you have any concerns or complaints that you wish to discuss with a person who is not directly involved in the research, you can also contact the Head of the Lancaster University Sociology Department, Professor Imogen Tyler, at sociologyhod@lancaster.ac.uk, +44 (0)1524 594095, Sociology, Bowland College, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YT, United Kingdom.

Sources of support (UK based)

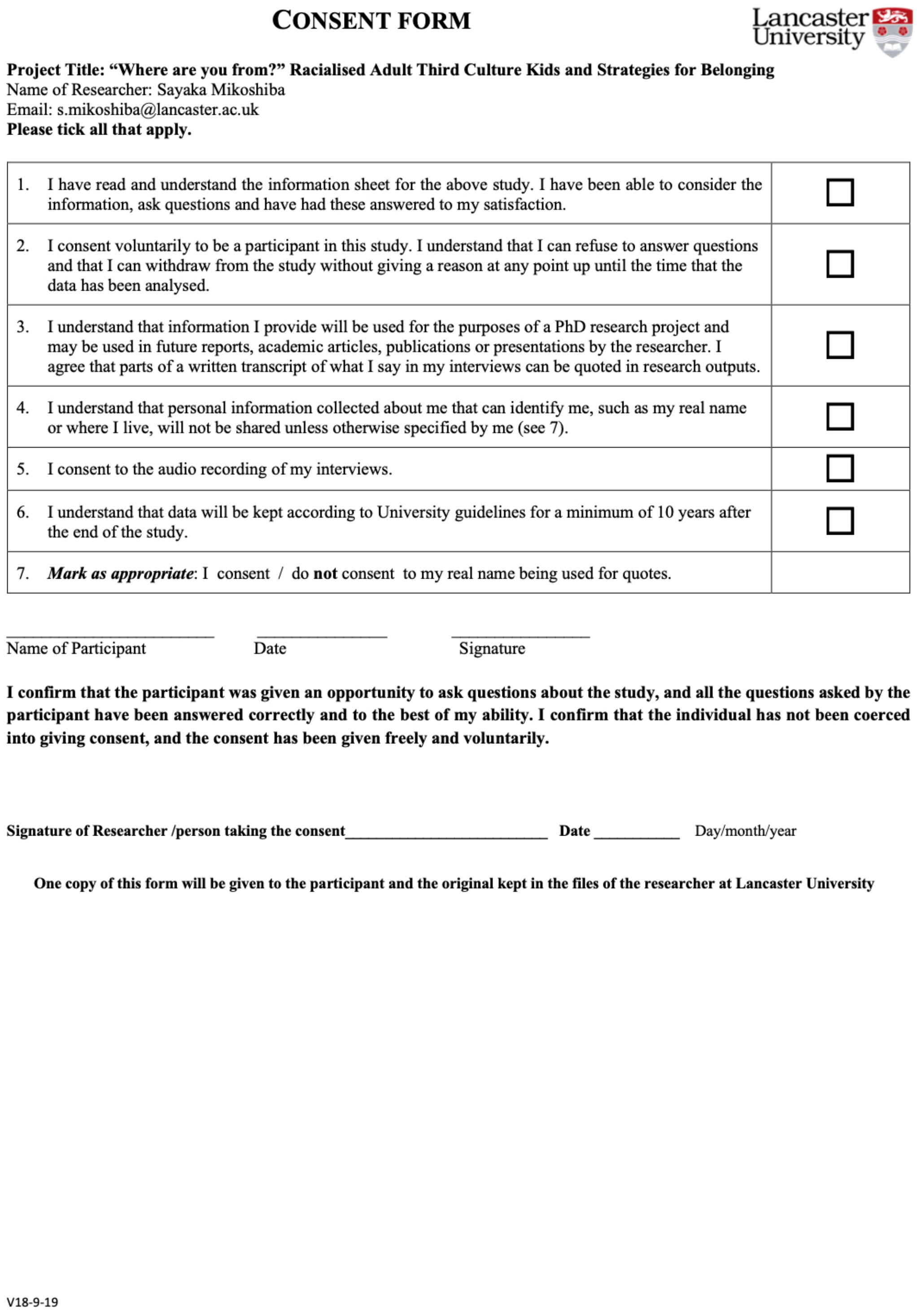
- NHS Mental health services: https://www.nhs.uk/mental-health/nhs-voluntary-charity-services/nhs-services/
- Mind Infoline (Monday-Friday, 9am-6pm except for bank holidays): 0300 123 3393 https://www.mind.org.uk/information-support/guides-to-support-and-services/crisis-services/getting-help-in-a-crisis/
- Shout 24-hour text service (Crisis Text Line International UK): Text SHOUT to 85258.

This study has been reviewed and approved by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Lancaster Management School's Research Ethics Committee.

Thank you for considering your participation in this project.

v19-09-19

Appendix 2



CONSENT FORM

Lancaster University

Project Title: "Where are you from?" Racialised Adult Third Culture Kids and Strategies for Belonging
Name of Researcher: Sayaka Mikoshiba
Email: s.mikoshiba@lancaster.ac.uk
Please tick all that apply.

1. I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have been able to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered to my satisfaction.	☐
2. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study. I understand that I can refuse to answer questions and that I can withdraw from the study without giving a reason at any point up until the time that the data has been analysed.	☐
3. I understand that information I provide will be used for the purposes of a PhD research project and may be used in future reports, academic articles, publications or presentations by the researcher. I agree that parts of a written transcript of what I say in my interviews can be quoted in research outputs.	☐
4. I understand that personal information collected about me that can identify me, such as my real name or where I live, will not be shared unless otherwise specified by me (see 7).	☐
5. I consent to the audio recording of my interviews.	☐
6. I understand that data will be kept according to University guidelines for a minimum of 10 years after the end of the study.	☐
7. ***Mark as appropriate***: I consent / do **not** consent to my real name being used for quotes.	

Name of Participant ________________________ Date ________________ Signature ________________

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

Signature of Researcher /person taking the consent__________________________ **Date** ___________ Day/month/year

One copy of this form will be given to the participant and the original kept in the files of the researcher at Lancaster University

V18-9-19