

Cross-border mobilities in the European Union: an evidence-based typology

Recchi, Ettore; Salamońska, Justyna; Rossi, Thea; Baglioni, Lorenzo Grifone

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EUCROSS

Crossing borders making Europe

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**The Europeanisation of Everyday Life:
Cross-Border Practices and Transnational Identifications
Among EU and Third-Country Citizens**

Cross-border mobilities in the European Union:
An evidence-based typology

**Ettore Recchi, Justyna Salamońska, Thea Rossi and Lorenzo G.
Baglioni**

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The research consortium is formed by:

- Università 'G. d'Annunzio' di Chieti-Pescara, Italy (coordinator: Ettore Recchi);
- GESIS–Leibniz Institut für Sozialwissenschaften, Mannheim, Germany (coordinator: Michael Braun);
- Aarhus Universitet, Denmark (coordinator: Adrian Favell);
- IBEI–Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals, Spain (coordinator: Juan Díez Medrano);
- University of York, United Kingdom (coordinators: Mike Savage, Laurie Hanquinet);
- Universitatea din Bucuresti, Romania (coordinator: Dumitru Sandu).

EUCROSS scientific coordinator: Ettore Recchi. EUCROSS project manager: Matteo Abbate.

For additional information: www.eucross.eu.

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Cross-Border Mobilities in the European Union: An Evidence-Based Typology²

Introduction

Globalization and individualization entail the expansion and diversification of the forms of physical mobility, alongside virtual mobility, i.e. mobility that does not involve a movement of people from one geographic place to another. Technological advances have facilitated the development and intensification of these new and diverse mobilities. Over the last decade or so, social theory has taken into account the rise and spread of mobility as game-changers in social life (Urry 2000 and 2007) and empirical research has paid renewed and multi-disciplinary attention to a large canvas of forms of international physical and virtual mobility: migrations (e.g. Recchi and Favell 2009; Krings et al. 2013), tourism (e.g. Urry 1990), shopping online (Perea y Monsuwé et al. 2004), abroad home ownership (e.g. Aspden 2005), virtual friendship (e.g. Mau 2010). Drawing on a variety of methodological approaches, these studies explore different facets of mobilities.

This chapter will seek to examine some of the cross-border movements described above – normally studied one by one – in an integrated way. Its focus will be on Europe and European citizens' cross-border practices that go beyond single nation-states. Therefore we start by proposing a classification of mobility practices. We then describe our dataset, drawing on the EUCROSS project, and the mixed-methods approach applied in this study. We use a combination of quantitative data and qualitative interviews with nationals in Denmark, Germany, Italy, Romania, Spain and the UK in order to map the patterns and experiences of mobility practices in everyday life. Our analysis links these movements in space (be it physical or virtual) to social categories and explores the way they combine, possibly overlapping, complementing or substituting one another. This goal is pursued by using latent class analysis. Our exploratory study distinguishes six most typical combinations of cross-border practices. The empirical classification emerging from latent class analysis gives an overview of different patterns of being mobile in Europe. In the second stage of the analysis we turn to qualitative material in order to illustrate each cluster with a qualitative profile and exemplify experiences and meanings associated with these cross-border practices.

Types of cross-border practices

To what extent Europeans live their lives beyond their nation states? How are cross-border mobilities adjusted into their everyday lives? Interest in mobilities was initially suggested by Urry (2000) in his thinking about 'sociology beyond societies'. In a working taxonomy of movements, *physical movements* of people and objects are taken as the most basic form of mobility. Urry's classification includes other important ways in which people move: *virtually*, in particular via internet-based interactive applications; and *imaginatively*, via passively consumed media, mainly television and radio (but now also the internet). While this taxonomy provides a the first reference for examination of mobilities, his work and that of many of his followers is mostly metaphor-driven, failing to provide an overarching picture of the spread of different mobility experiences in the population. In turn our attempt to map cross-border practices in Europe is intended to provide empirical evidence to the scale and patterns of European mobilities. Building on an earlier classification (Recchi 2014), we aim to

² Ettore Recchi, Justyna Salamońska, Thea Rossi and Lorenzo G. Baglioni.

describe the breadth and patterns of cross-border practices. In the first place we make a distinction between physical and virtual mobilities. Further distinctions are then made between dimensions of each cross-border practices. Physical mobilities can be seen on the *continuum* from ‘short’ to ‘long’ permanence ones. For virtual mobilities it is the ‘personal’ or ‘impersonal’ aspect that is the basis of differentiation (Table 1).

Table 1 Classification of cross-border individual practices

Physical border crossing?	Dimensions	Indicator
Yes → Physical mobility	High permanence	Long-term stay (>3yrs) abroad Medium-term stay (3months-3yrs) abroad Short stay (3weeks-3months) abroad Holidaying, short trips abroad
	Low permanence	
No → Virtual mobility	Personal	Having a foreign spouse or family member Having family/relatives in a different country Planning relocation in a foreign country Having foreign friends/neighbours Having friends abroad Sending children abroad Having foreign business partners, clients, colleagues Adhering to international associations Interacting with foreigners through social networks Making foreign investments (house, bank account)
	Impersonal	Buying foreign products online

Mapping these cross-border practices is a new way of looking at European societies and their hybridization via individual social practices. In this vein, the paper focuses on crossing nation state borders as a way of mapping EU citizenship practices in their day-to-day reality.

Physical border-crossings

Mapping the landscape of European mobilities starts here with an analysis of international movements, of both longer and shorter duration. Firstly, international migration is traditionally the most researched form of long term physical mobility across borders. For a long time, migration has been framed as a move from a place of origin to a destination of (more or less) permanent character. Migration statistics reflect this approach, as they define migrants as persons who are resident in a country other than their country of origin for at least a year (following a UN-established convention). Yet a plethora of international moves do not necessarily last a year or more. Add to this that migration horizons are increasingly

broader and go beyond the origin and destination dichotomy, entailing step-wise subsequent resettlements from one country to another. This flexibility is a particular feature of intra-European mobility as one in six Europeans now reports to have resided in another EU country for at least three months (Salamońska et al. 2013). Recently published studies on intra-European migration in the EU15 focus on diverse motivations of people moving for better quality of life, for studies, for family, or simply because they fall in love with somebody residing in another country (Benson 2010; King 2002; King and Ruiz-Gelices 2003; Recchi and Favell 2009 for a comparative picture of intra-European migrants). In the aftermath of the EU enlargements of 2004 and 2007, population flows from East to West in Europe grew substantially. Although these new migrations are still largely regarded as labour migration (European Commission 2008), an emerging literature points to non-economic factors involved, including life-style issues, social networks, quality of life, and life course related rationales (Cook et al. 2011; Eade 2007; Grabowska 2003; Koryś 2003; Wickham et al. 2009; Recchi and Triandafyllidou 2010; Krings et al. 2013).

Equally, the EU free movement regime facilitates short term mobility of a more tourist-like character. In the simplest sense, the Schengen area passport-free facility and the Eurozone single currency make travel projects particularly smooth. Relative ease of traveling and also historically decreasing costs of travel resulted in tourism as leading to new social encounters and interactions (Hall 2005). Szerszynski and Urry (2006) notice how in the Western world travel has become a 'way of life': a claim corroborated by the numbers of people on the move, unprecedented in history. Tourists may travel for diverse reasons, as the World Tourism Organization defines them as people 'traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes'. Tourist trips are possibly the most common form of short-term physical movements, but short trips for work trigger mobility as well. Hall (2005) and Koslowski (2011) document the blurring boundaries between tourism, recreation, leisure and work as the numbers of global mobility pick up.

The experience of travel, also within the EU, differs depending on who sets off for a journey, and with diverse motivations of commuters, tourists or migrants carrying different emotional loads (Löfgren 2008). Löfgren describes Swedes' 'travel fever', 'a nervous mix of anxiety and anticipation. It combines longing with fear and fascination of the unknown, the exhilaration (and dread) of 'letting go, moving out' (2008: 333). Burrell (2008) gives an illustration of migrant travels from well-known home towards an unknown environment taking the example of Polish migrants to the UK. Emotions of moving, fears, but also hopes and dreams may also be read from the possessions with which migrants set off for the journey. Quite against the rhetoric of a frictionless space of flows, people carry with them objects of biographical value, which at the same time impede mobility, in both material and emotional ways. Furthermore, Burrell describes the meanings of objects carried during the trips back and forth between the 'new' and 'old' home, like food which reflects transnational family relationships (see also Petridou 2001).

Virtual cross-border practices

Virtual mobility generates a particular type of experience (Woolgar 2002), which can be described as mediated, artificial or imaginative, but not as unreal – at least for its implications at the individual and collective level. Virtual relationships and communication

are subject to limitations imposed by the media that make them possible (phone, computer), but these limitations may also elicit an aspiration for corporeal mobility. Woolgar (2002) points out that, much like with physical mobility, focusing on the macro-level does not inform us about the day-to-day utilization and experience of new technologies. This is why there is a need to understand technology in a contextualised perspective, taking into account the social environment in which it is used. Furthermore, the virtual is interrelated with the real, but this interrelation can be either a replacement or a reinforce. Often virtual contacts trigger real actions. And finally, the perceptions of what technology is and related attitudes are not the same for different social categories.

Studies of transnational social networks were initially the domain of migration studies which explored how mobile people kept in touch with significant others back home. These illustrated 'travelling-in-dwelling' practices of communication by email or phone as they were becoming cheaper and more easily accessible (very much like travel) especially when compared with previous generations (e.g. Clarke 2005). However, migrants' practices are an extreme illustration of information and communication technologies' use linked to physical mobility. More generally, Eurostat data (2012) shows that connecting to the internet has become a daily practice for the large majority of European citizens. The bulk of Europeans use the internet to send and receive e-mails, over a third shares their profiles and their ideas on general social media (like Facebook or Twitter). Mau's work (2010) on social transnationalism based on a survey carried out in Germany demonstrates that almost half of German residents have social contacts that cross national borders, although the geography of these international social networks is not random, but embedded in specific geographical, cultural and historical contexts.

Non-physical mobility can become an imaginative movement when the travel takes place using TV set or radio (Urry 2000). Traditional and web-based social media allow traveling to distant places staying physically put (see for instance Tussyadiah and Fesenmaier 2008). But of course not all exposure to distant places via media turns into virtual mobility. To do so, such exposure must be interiorized, and possibly triangulated with experiences, to eventually be factored in as 'spatial competence'. In our analysis, we will tap this aspect referring to the 'familiarity' that individuals declare to have when imagining themselves in different countries.

Objects travel also in other ways, and in between real and virtual space. Migration scholars in particular have been interested in global flows of remittances (e.g. Mansoor and Quillin 2006; De Haas 2007), in terms of their directions, sizes and use. However, sending and receiving money is not limited to migrants and their households back home. Internet banking has made cash flows across borders easier, cheaper and faster than ever before.

What is more, shopping across borders has grown in importance in recent years. While for affluent classes this may mean buying second homes abroad (Aspden 2005), practices of online shopping have become more widespread (Li and Zhang 2002). Indeed online shopping is one of the most popular ways in which internet is used. Electronic commerce's added-value, compared to more traditional store retailing, consists in time saving and providing easily accessible information. However, online shopping activities may be more popular among those who are competent users of new technologies. And, again the EU may facilitate

online shopping, without custom duties charges that apply when shopping outside the EU borders. As a matter of fact, a primary shopping outlet like ebay.com has now implemented EU-wide search as a customary tool if surfing the web from a EU-based IP address.

So far we have drawn a broad yet hardly exhaustive picture of everyday cross-border practices, pointing to their possible intersections. Mapping these practices spatially requires attention to the fact that '[m]obility may well be the key difference and otherness producing machine of our age, involving significant inequalities of speed, risk, rights, and status' (Salazar and Smart 2011: 4-5). Consequently, one danger of taking on the mobility lenses is that of overlooking the determinants and meanings associated with *immobility*. This is why instead of drawing a dichotomy of mobile versus immobile people, we suggest thinking about a continuum of cross-border practices that form a kind of menu from which individuals select their own relation with physical and virtual spaces. These selections, we contend, are not random or entirely agency-driven, but rather reflect pre-existing structures and, in turn, cut across societies in a significant way. Thereafter, mobility patterns can affect future life chances and identities.

Data

This chapter is based on a combination of a quantitative and qualitative material. This mixed-methods approach allows mapping out patterns of cross-border practices based on a large scale survey dataset and interpreting these on the basis of in-depth qualitative interview data.

Quantitative data comes from the EUCROSS survey. As outlined in Pöttschke (2012), the EUCROSS survey focused on three dimensions of cross-border practices: physical mobility, virtual mobility and cosmopolitan consumption and competences. The EUCROSS sample consisted of EU residents, including nationals, mobile EU citizens (Romanian nationals), and third-country nationals (Turkish nationals). Here we focus on diverse mobility practices as reported by nationals of six European countries (Denmark, Germany, Italy, Romania, Spain and the United Kingdom). In total, 6000 respondents were interviewed in 2012 – that is, 1000 per country. The same questionnaire (in different languages) was used across the countries involved (see Appendix I). In addition, qualitative material coming from EUMEAN interviews is used to provide more in-depth insight into experiences of mobility practices. The interviews explored in details, among others, experiences of physical and virtual mobility (see Appendix II).

In order to examine the patterns of mobility practices among the EU citizens we resorted to latent class analysis (LCA). Using Mplus 6.12 (Muthén and Muthén 1998-2010) we performed exploratory LCA in order to group individuals into classes with similar patterns of mobilities, using the list of indicators described below. The final model presented in this chapter consists of six classes and selected on the basis of the model fit measures. The six-class model had the lowest BIC statistics compared to other models containing smaller or bigger number of classes. Furthermore, the six-class model provided a more readily interpretable framework for empirical data, compared to other models.

We used a range of indicators referring to physical long term and short term mobility, movements of objects, and non-physical mobility practices. We also included one indicator

not referring directly to practices (familiarity with other EU countries) but that captures imaginative mobility (and is found to be significantly discriminant and insightful in interpreting results). Where indicated, mobility practices were referred to the EU space.

The indicators used are the following:

- *Migration experiences*: ‘Have you ever lived in another EU country for three or more consecutive months before you turned 18?’; ‘Have you lived in another EU country for three or more consecutive months since you turned 18?’
- *Participation in EU-funded programmes*: ‘Have you ever (e.g. as student or during your professional career) participated in an international exchange program that has been funded or co-funded by the European Union?’
- *Tourism experiences in childhood*: ‘Please think about all your journeys abroad before you turned 18 (e.g. with your parents, other relatives, school or alone). How many countries did you visit before you turned 18?’
- *Recent tourism experiences*: ‘Please think of trips abroad (within the EU) which included at least one overnight stay. How many of these trips have you had in the past 24 months?’
- *Communication with family/friends abroad talking via phone/computer and via mail/email*: ‘Please think about the last 12 months: How frequently did you talk to family members, in-laws and friends abroad by phone or using your computer?’; ‘How frequently did you communicate with family/friends abroad by mail or e-mail?’
- *Communication with family/friends abroad via web-based social networks*: ‘And how frequently did you communicate with family/friends abroad via social networks? (e.g. Facebook, Hi5, Google+ etc.)?’
- *International money transfers*: ‘Do you ever send money abroad for reasons other than purchasing goods or services?’; ‘In the last 12 months, have you received money from someone who is living in another country?’
- *Shopping abroad*: ‘Thinking about the last 12 months, have you purchased any goods or services from sellers or providers who were located abroad (within the EU)? That is, for example, via websites, mail, phone, etc.?’
- *Following TV in foreign language*: ‘The following question is about TV content (e.g. movies, sitcoms, news broadcasts etc.) in other languages than [official CoR language] <<and your native language>>: How often do you watch TV content which is in another language and has not been dubbed, either directly on TV or via the Internet?’
- *Familiarity with other EU countries*: ‘Apart from [CoR], are there one or more other EU countries that you are very familiar with – that is, that you know well enough to feel comfortable in?’

After running LCA models we exported the assigned probabilities of class membership and run cross-tabulations between most likely latent class membership and a set of individual characteristics (gender, age, education, ISEI, country of residence).

In the second step, in a very preliminary attempt, we drew excerpts from EUEMAN interviews in order to illustrate the types of mobile classes which emerged from the LCA. Individual experiences contextualise diverse forms of mobility in European settings, unveil

meanings associated with different mobilities, and shed light on the intersections between different practices, as well as illustrating barriers to movement.

Descriptive statistics: measures of cross-border practices in six European countries

An overview of mobility practices in six European countries is presented in Table 2. Over one in two Danes, Brits, Italians, Romanians, Spaniards and Germans interviewed declares familiarity with other countries, talking to family and friends abroad by phone/computer/mail or email, trips to other EU countries in the last 24 months and watching tv content in another language. Germans and Brits seemed to be most familiar with other EU countries' contexts (66 and 64 per cent respectively). Clearly, for the Danes and Germans, and to less extent Brits, crossing nation states borders for short trips of leisure, work and travel has continued to be a part of everyday life since they were children. It is Danes who outnumber any other group with regards to short term physical mobility: over seven in ten of them visited another EU country in the previous two years. Setting off for a holiday abroad is less common among Italians and Spaniards (standing below 43 per cent) and Romanians (36 per cent).

Between-country differences become starker when foreign trips in childhood are considered. Almost eight in ten Danes visited another country before turning 18, compared to one in ten Romanians whose international travels were restricted by closed borders until the end of the Communist regime. Percentage of Romanians who travelled abroad in childhood was also just around a third of the share of Italians or Spaniards.

Romanians more often cross borders in other ways that make them remarkably well networked internationally. The number of Romanians who were in touch with significant others abroad via phone and email was twice the number of those who travelled abroad within the EU in the last two years (72 and 36 per cent respectively). They also often interact with other people abroad via web-based social networks.

When it comes to impersonal virtual cross-border practices, watching tv content in another language is most popular in Denmark (87 per cent), least so in the United Kingdom (36 per cent), but also Italy (38 per cent) and Spain (37 per cent) (at least occasionally). Danes most often purchase from sellers located abroad, but it is Romanians who transfer money internationally most often.

Not surprisingly, physical mobility of long permanence is the least common among cross-border practices examined here. Undertaking migration carries perhaps most risks and costs compared to other forms of mobility, so it is declared least often, along with participation in international exchange programmes funded by the EU. Here Romanian residents, although newcomers to the EU, are most likely to have migration experience, but also to have taken part in EU funded programmes.

Descriptive analysis of cross-border practices reveals the scale of different physical and virtual mobility forms among European population and a marked heterogeneity at the country level. Once knowing the numbers involved, we sought to disentangle patterns, if any, behind the ways in which Europeans cross national borders. Thus, as anticipated, we set out to examine configurations of cross-border activities with exploratory LCA techniques.

Table 2 Cross-border practices by country (%)

	Denmark	Germany	Italy	Romania	Spain	United Kingdom	Total
Familiar with other EU countries	59.3	65.8	40.7	47.9	48.2	63.8	54.3
Communicates by phone/computer/mail/e-mail with family, friends	43.0	43.3	47.5	71.7	55.0	59.2	53.3
Visited EU countries in the last 24 months	74.4	60.1	41.6	35.5	42.7	54.6	51.5
Watches tv in another language	86.9	49.2	38.0	57.6	37.2	35.9	50.9
Travelled abroad before turned 18	77.1	69.1	37.3	12.4	33.9	61.0	48.4
Communicates via web-based social networks with family, friends	24.6	17.1	25.6	40.6	29.8	27.0	27.5
Purchased from sellers or providers who were located in another EU country	34.4	18.8	12.2	10.6	13.7	11.9	17.0
Sent or received money from abroad	17.0	12.5	14.7	25.3	13.6	16.4	16.6
Lived in another EU country for three or more months	13.4	10.3	9.8	16.5	12.0	14.3	12.7
Ever participated in an international exchange program funded or co-funded by the EU	3.8	4.0	4.6	8.1	6.8	2.9	5.0

Source: EUCROSS, N= 5784

Patterns of cross-border practices, latent class analysis results

Our exploratory LCA distinguished six clusters (see Table 3). These clusters of respondents differ in the combination of ways in which they undertake – or not – physical and virtual cross-border practices. In the first place this classification invites to think about mobilities in non-dichotomous terms, as we distinguish six groups ranging from most mobile transnationals to least mobile locals. Classes in-between the two extremes of such a continuum provide an interesting insight into the intersection of different mobilities.

Locals form the most numerous latent class, accounting for just over 30 per cent of the EUCROSS sample. They relatively rarely cross national borders, both physically and virtually, standing well below the average for overall population. We will focus in more detail on some of the determinants of their relative immobility in the qualitative part of analysis. For the moment it is important to note here that immobile locals are a minority, albeit a sizeable one. Most Europeans do in fact display diverse patterns of cross-border mobility.

On the other end of the mobility continuum there is small but consistent group of *transnationals*. What is distinctive about this cluster of respondents is that they score above average on all indicators of physical and virtual cross-border practices. They are highly physically mobile both long and short term. They have higher probabilities of having had some migration experience, taken part in EU funded programmes and they are also likely to have travelled abroad recently. Furthermore, transnationals move in the virtual world when they maintain connections with family and friends located abroad via phone and computer assisted modes of communication. Compared to other groups, they also relatively often make use of online shopping and money transfers across the borders. Finally, they are competent movers who claim they are familiar with other countries than the one they come from and who follow tv content in original language. Being transnational remains quite rare, as only six per cent of the EUCROSS sample belongs to this group.

Between the two extreme cases represented by locals and transnationals, our classification points to a rich constellation of physical and virtual mobilities. *Virtual transnationals* may seem quite similar to locals in the way they seldom physically travel or have lived abroad. Compared to the sample average they also rarely engage in impersonal virtual cross-border practices, that is transfer money or make purchases internationally. Unlike locals, however, they are remarkably well connected internationally through family and friendship networks. They rely heavily on phones and Internet to connect with these networks. They may lead local everyday lives in spatial terms, but cyberspace makes them well connected to others who are spread around the world. Virtual transnationals constitute around eight per cent of the EUCROSS sample.

Visitors' use of communication technologies in order to keep in touch with friends and family abroad is not too different from that of virtual transnationals. However, it is perhaps 'the compulsion of proximity', to meet face-to-face (and qualitative material will allow shedding more light on that issue) people abroad that makes visitors travel to other European countries in larger numbers. Their travel experiences are therefore not tourist-like, but rather well informed and culturally embedded. Their relative propensity for international travel coincides with visitors' being familiar with other countries. Visitors make up slightly over 11 per cent of the EUCROSS sample.

Also *tourists* do engage in short term physical cross-border practices considerably, but they rarely stay in touch with people who are settled in other countries. Their journeys are not sustained by personal ties in the places they move to. This does not hinder some cultural returns to travelling: like other physically mobile groups, and in contrast to virtual transnationals, they hold higher probabilities of sharing a feeling of familiarity with other countries. They also relatively often follow tv content in another language.

The last cluster is formed by *returnees*. They have a relatively high propensity to having migrated in the past (although not as high as transnationals), and thus relatively often declare familiarity with other countries, keep in touch with family and friends abroad and send/receive money internationally. They use internet to sustain personal cross-border relations, but not to engage in instrumental and kind of more up-to-date activities, like international e-shopping (they are the least involved among the six clusters). In spite of their past migration experience, over the last two years only half of them crossed national borders, which is less than transnational, visitors and tourists, although more than the virtual transnationals and locals.

Table 3 Latent classes of cross-border practices (probabilities)

	TRANS- NATIONALS	VIRTUAL TRANS- NATIONALS	VISITORS	TOURISTS	RETURNEES	LOCALS	All
Lived in another EU country for three or more months	0.495	0.021	0.064	0.121	0.228	0.045	0.127
Ever participated in an international exchange program funded or co-funded by the EU	0.218	0.026	0.060	0.050	0.044	0.014	0.050
Travelled abroad before turned 18	0.752	0.162	0.759	0.747	0.344	0.237	0.484
Visited EU countries in the last 24 months	0.912	0.154	0.733	0.804	0.501	0.184	0.515
Communicates by phone/computer/mail/e-mail with family, friends	0.980	0.965	0.970	0.300	0.986	0.148	0.533
Communicates via web-based social networks with family, friends	0.641	0.622	1.000	0.000	0.429	0.009	0.275
Sent or received money from abroad	0.390	0.227	0.167	0.146	0.298	0.048	0.166
Purchased goods or services from sellers or providers who were located in another EU country	0.504	0.065	0.337	0.267	0.020	0.033	0.170
Watches tv in another language	0.897	0.431	0.774	0.660	0.438	0.233	0.509
Familiar with other EU countries	0.995	0.000	0.608	0.667	1.000	0.247	0.543
<i>Sample proportions</i>	<i>0.061</i>	<i>0.082</i>	<i>0.112</i>	<i>0.274</i>	<i>0.162</i>	<i>0.308</i>	

Source: EUCROSS, N= 5784

What is the social profile of these six types of Europeans in the EUCROSS sample? The following cross-tabulations break down latent class membership by social categories.

Transnationals and tourists more often tend to be male while women are overrepresented among virtual transnationals and locals. Other groups tend to have a relative gender balance (Table 4).

Table 4 Cross-tabulation of latent classes by gender (%)

	TRANSNATIONALS	VIRTUAL TRANSNATIONALS	VISITORS	TOURISTS	RETURNEES	LOCALS	All
Female	40.5	58.6	50.4	46.8	51.4	56.3	51.5
Male	59.5	41.4	49.6	53.2	48.6	43.7	48.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: EUCROSS, N= 5784

Table 5 Cross-tabulation of latent classes by age groups (%)

	TRANSNATIONALS	VIRTUAL TRANSNATIONALS	VISITORS	TOURISTS	RETURNEES	LOCALS	All
18-30	18.5	25.1	27.6	14.3	10.2	7.5	14.2
31-45	37.9	32.8	40.2	28.6	25.1	23.0	28.5
46-55	17.1	20.1	20.4	23.5	21.1	21.3	21.4
56+	26.5	22.1	11.8	33.7	43.6	48.2	35.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: EUCROSS, N= 5727

Perhaps due to their new technologies literacy, the majority of visitors and virtual transnationals tends to belong to younger age cohorts than the other groups (68 and 58 per cent respectively aged 46 and below). Equally, the majority of transnationals is aged 46 and below. On the contrary, locals and returnees are more likely to belong to older cohorts. Being a tourist does not seem to be related to age, as membership to this groups spreads along the whole age spectrum (Table 5).

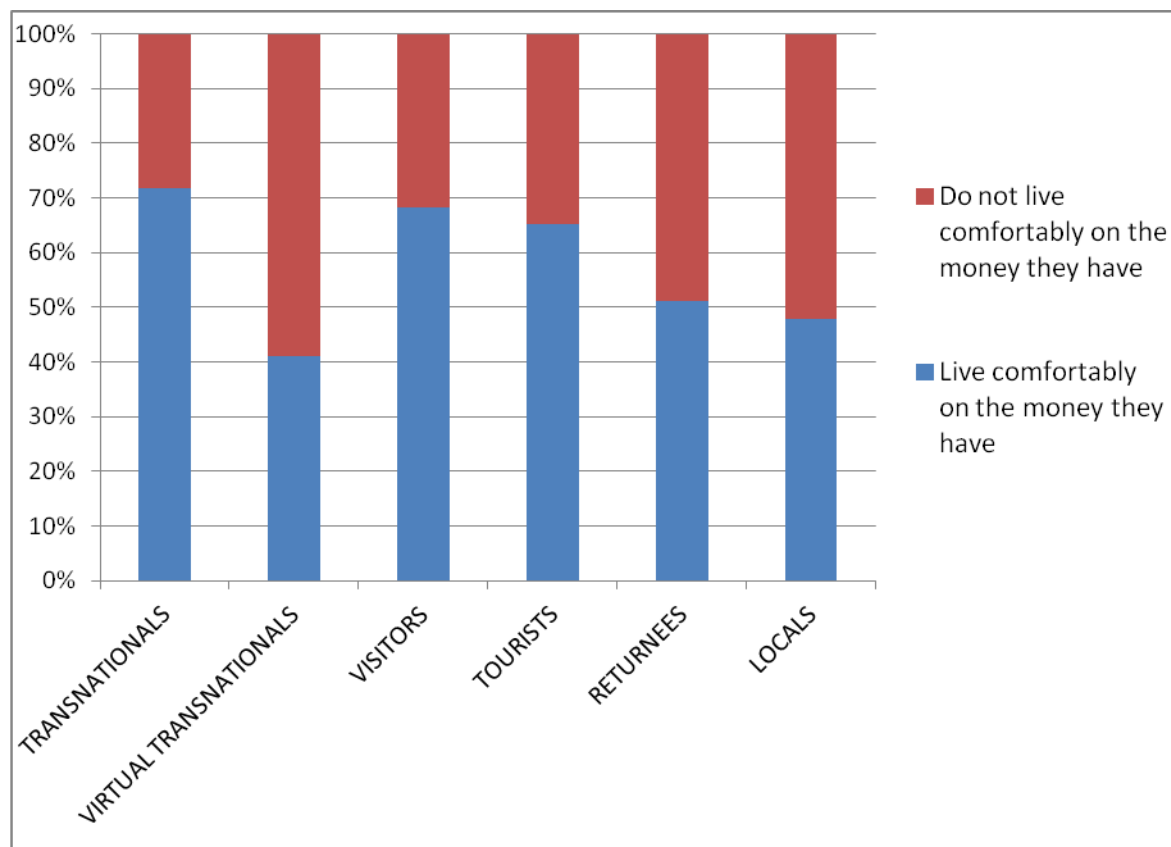
Table 6 Cross-tabulation of latent classes by educational attainment (%)

	TRANSNATIONALS	VIRTUAL TRANSNATIONALS	VISITORS	TOURISTS	RETURNEES	LOCALS	All
Less than tertiary educated	27.0	71.3	49.8	51.8	65.0	79.0	62.1
Tertiary educated	73.0	28.7	50.2	48.2	35.0	21.0	37.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: EUCROSS, N= 5728

Cross-border practices are highly differentiated depending on the education level. Almost three in four transnationals hold a university degree. Visitors and tourists are also more likely to be university educated than the overall sample. Mobilities are predicated on prior capabilities, which range from financial resources to language skills, which in turn hinge on education.

Figure 1 Cross-tabulation of latent classes by self-reported socioeconomic status



Source: EUCROSS, N= 4673

Transnationals, and to lesser extent tourists and visitors, are not only better educated on average, but also more likely to be found in the upper social strata, as captured by self-reported socioeconomic status (Figure 1).³ The proportion of people declaring to ‘live comfortably’ on their income decline is dramatically different among transnationals and virtual transnationals (72 per cent and 41 per cent), showing that the latter are possibly ‘constrained’ into the cyberspace by a lack of financial resources. The gap is in fact modest between transnationals and visitors, but widens when comparing transnationals to other more sedentary categories. Mobilities are both expensive and status-enhancing – unfortunately we are not in a position to disentangle whether they are more of a cause than an effect.

³ Very similar results were found using ISEI, a more objective measurement based on occupations (Standard International Socio-Economic Index: Ganzeboom, De Graaf and Treiman 1992).

Table 7 Cross-tabulation of latent classes by countries of residence (%)

	TRANSNATIONALS	VIRTUAL TRANSNATIONALS	VISITORS	TOURISTS	RETURNEES	LOCALS	All
Denmark	25.8	3.2	24.3	31.1	5.0	9.4	16.8
Germany	15.0	2.5	15.6	25.4	11.2	15.9	16.5
Italy	9.9	21.3	14.5	11.8	13.8	22.6	16.4
Romania	17.0	44.5	12.6	4.5	28.0	16.3	16.9
Spain	16.4	18.8	13.6	10.4	20.0	21.7	16.9
UK	15.9	9.7	19.4	16.8	22.1	14.0	16.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: EUCROSS, N= 5784

Finally, among transnationals and visitors Danes outnumber other nationalities. The majority of tourists also come from Denmark and Germany. Locals are in fact over-represented among Italians and Spaniards. Returnees most often come from Romania and the UK. Over four in ten virtual transnationals are Romanian citizens (Table 7). The different national composition of latent classes reflects also the heterogeneity observed on different cross-border practices indicators examined above (listed in Table 2).

Intersecting itineraries of mobility: qualitative profiles of mobile clusters

While LCA sheds light on more general patterns of mobilities and sorts European citizens into empirical classes, it is only qualitative material that can illustrate how this mobility is performed and experienced subjectively in everyday life. From the 60 semi-structured interviews collected in the six EUCROSS countries (EUMEAN survey) we picked stories that exemplify how individuals move in real and virtual space, portraying some of the clusters distinguished in the quantitative analysis. Clearly these are illustrative materials, with no claim of representativeness. Further more systematic work shall try to elucidate the connection between the social characteristics of the interviewees and the meanings they impute to mobility experiences.

1. Local – a gendered account of immobility

Against the broad narrative of a movement-based society, mobilities are clearly not equally accessible to everyone. Paola⁴ lives in a small town close to Milan. She is married and has two sons. She is employed in the front office of a corporation. Her work largely involves contact with local customers and administration duties. She obtained a degree in foreign languages, for which she also studied abroad. Paola is well aware of the relative ease of travelling within Europe:

⁴ This and all other names used in the text are pseudonyms. Some respondents' details (in this and in the following examples) were modified for anonymisation purposes.

...you can move freely, there is no longer the border. So this thing is certainly positive ... Now it's easy to compare, you go to a restaurant in Italy and you spend 20 euros, you go to Austria ... in the summer of 1989, we still had the lira and they still had the Austrian schilling. So the question of currency is not exactly a minor thing, is it?

Yet, even in the institutional borderless context that she describes, where free movement and single currency facilitate mobility, Paola's account highlights family circumstances and social roles that hamper personal "motility":

I decided to study languages and ... that I would travel as much as possible. In other words, I discovered I had this vocation for traveling, for other countries and for trying to understand them more. Then of course I did none of these things because... Yeah, well, I did study languages, I got my degree, but then... my family, a little, a few other things ... now there are other problems, like one of my parents not feeling well or...

Her trips abroad as a student enabled her to make new connections, but she recalls how keeping in touch by sending postcards in late 1980s and early 1990s was different and much more difficult than Facebook communication available now (and commonly used by her sons, but not by her).

When asked if she felt isolated living in a small town, she explained the value of automobility on the one hand, and the virtual connection with the wider world on the other:

Well, maybe not isolated, no, because luckily in my family we all drive and so we can move about by car and then there is the Internet so that if you need, you can be in touch with the whole world. That is a very good thing, but there one does run the risk of being isolated, yes.

However, de facto her life unfolds almost entirely within the community where she and her family live.

2. Returnee – negotiating real and virtual journeys

Valentina is in her 60s and lives in a small town in Southern Italy. She is a return migrant from France, where she used to work as teacher of Italian language. Her first trip abroad took place when she was in her 20s. With her husband they went by car to France where they were to settle. It was an emotional trip, a kind of 'migration fever' driven by hopes and dreams mixed with fears for the future:

... there was the enthusiasm, the enthusiasm you have at that age when you want to do something positive ...though in terms of feelings, you know, a tinge of sadness, because when you leave your mom it's forever...

The first journey from Italy to France was just one of many trips back and forth that followed. Characteristic of this type of mobile individuals is that their cross-border

relations develop along a binational axis. Material cultures use to be important dimension of this two way traffic (see Burrell 2008). In particular recurrent food gifts keep the family united across borders. Similarly, food brought back to France carries tastes and smells of the 'other home':

Once I went by train, my dad loved cheese, so I had bought him some Camembert, and by the time we arrived the people in the train couldn't stand it anymore. I was bringing it to my dad. At night, with the heating on, they said 'Lady, what on earth do you have in these suitcases!?' ... Then I would bring over bread ... for my father ... So many things. Then, from Italy, I came with the spaghetti, all these spaghetti loose inside the car, canned tomatoes, sausages, wine, a little of everything.

During the current economic crisis Valentina's husband lost his job. Their financial situation deteriorated and they were not able to travel any more, even if the 'compulsion of proximity' (Boden and Molotch 1994) remained strong, as her daughter and sister still live back in France. Real co-presence with the family is important to her, to the extent that the airport has become 'her second home' when the family members travel to visit her in Italy. In between the visits she stays in touch using virtual technologies. Significance of new communication tools is stressed by Valentina when she talks about friends and former students she left behind:

Yes... Yes, I miss them [friends and former students], I wanted to see them, so I got Facebook. I was totally incapable of doing anything, but I learned it ... I found all my classmates, all my students, they're all there. In the morning, I almost do the roll call.

3. Tourist – meeting difference

Axel is a management consultant in his 40s who lives in Berlin with his wife and children. Throughout his life, he visited many European and non-European countries either as a tourist or because of work. He started to travel alone at the age of 17, touring Southern France with other teenagers on a Volkswagen van. But holidays abroad were already a family routine for him:

I had been in almost every European country before uh I went on this journey to France. So it was really nothing for me in the sense of 'wow, I'm abroad'. But more like 'Nice to be here, to have fun'. [...] It is true that we did sightseeing in a few cities and we <went> through some... uhm, we visited little towns and stuff, but that wasn't the main goal. The main goal was really the beach, to swim and to relax.

His curiosity for other countries revolves mostly around consumption – what can be bought in local shops and supermarkets. He recounts that shopping was already a main focus of his travels with his parents:

I mean already as a child I liked to go shopping and I looked at where do the things come from that people, that you can eat, that you can buy. And that was

just what I also did in the other countries. I always turned every product I had on the back and looked at it. Where is that actually from and what do they actually have here? What's actually the difference to our supermarkets? Yes, and mostly you can't enter the houses of private persons, so you had to do that else way and uh, the most obvious things are supermarkets and do-it-yourself stores. I mean that is, that way you really get to know the differences.

He has memorable souvenirs of a travel to Japan and China with his girlfriend (now his wife) and expresses a desire to go back there and to Canada:

Asians, I'm interested in them, they excite me, I find that fascinating, I got an affinity for that. [...] I definitely want to go to Japan one more time and I definitely want to go to Vancouver in Canada also. Those two places...are my two favorite. [...] Vancouver because that city, as far as I know uh, is very multicultural. Uh, also characterized by the Asian culture, which I simply like and on the one hand the Pacific, on the other hand the Rocky Mountains in the background. I can go swimming and skiing, in two hours I can get everything. That's great. Yeah, I mean people are relaxed there. Exactly what fits me.

His interest for Asia leads him to follow Asian news via internet and tv, albeit not systematically. He also likes Asian sport events, sometime watching them on satellite channels, which he finds 'relaxing':

I mean for example something like what happened in Fukushima or something like that. It's always very exciting to see what different newspapers write and at some point I noticed, when I was in Thailand, there I bought a Thai newspaper, it was in English. Bangkok Times or something like that, and in it I read something about the FDP <Freie Demokratische Partei, a German political party> in Germany.

In Berlin, he is a member of a Japan-German friendship association, but that does not seem to yield larger social networks of contacts abroad. Ultimately, he sees this association mostly as a cultural club and possible tourist gateway:

They host a summer festival. They host some events, lectures. They also organize journeys, guided ones, through Japan, during which they really uh, yes try to show you the country from a totally different perspective. [...] also groups of pupils come here, who are in, I would say, grammar school, like about that age. Uhm, so that they speak at least a little English uhm, because most don't really speak Japanese, that has to be mentioned. Japanese is a pretty difficult language to learn.

4. Visitor – looking for the personal touch

Graciela is 60 years old and lives in Madrid with her husband. She worked in a bank, but she has taken early retirement. She did not have the opportunity to travel when she was younger because she could not afford it. Her first journey abroad was to Morocco, with her husband and eight years old son. She selected Morocco on purpose, for a vague and somewhat naive Orientalist fascination. She also recalls that her mother used to tell her as a child that she sat down 'Morocco-style' (in fact, kind of yoga position):

In Marrakech I was talking to people, I went into the shops, I sat down to drink tea with them in the square, at night I sat down to have tomato soup, literally, just like one of them. [...] I have a very clear idea and I did then too and still do now that when you go to visit another country you shouldn't go as a tourist but rather mould yourself into what they are and so in that way you won't have any problems anywhere with any type of culture or any behavior or any religion or anything at all, because really you have to value the people as individuals, not for their ideals or their religion or their traditions or anything, just as a person and I think that the person, we're all good people.

She now travels quite regularly, exploring different countries. Her enthusiasm and involvement try to go beyond the 'tourist gaze':

A kid, yes, yes, a kid on the street, he came with us, he was talking to me and he said he would introduce his family to us, his dad and his mum was making some crocheted hats for my son to try on and he tried it on, the father was, by the way, I have some wooden pipes from them, they'd make a hole inside, then carve them and then they'd put a piece in the pipe for a stone to press the tobacco, it's a carved stone well, so anyway, I was sitting there with them like normal I sat there, I sat with them that was it and I'm telling you, at no point did anyone try anything with me, so well, it was a trip which was not only cultural but also very important, that feeling...

Even though she lacks the skills and opportunities for deeper connections, she makes an effort to establish personal relations with the people she meets in her holidays abroad:

We write emails to each other from time to time and we send emails and that and it's good, good, then in Peru I also have acquaintances.

5. Virtual transnational – following the dear ones as time passes by

Laura is in her late 20ties and she lives in central Romania. She works in a betting agency. Her only trip outside of Romania was with her boyfriend and a group of friends to celebrate a New Year's Eve in Bulgaria. It was a positive experience, which she described in detail during the interview. When asked about travelling abroad, she claims it is important to visit your own country first before seeing other countries. However, she also explains how money and coordinating time off work with her boyfriend constrain opportunities for travelling abroad.

Laura also talks about family living in Greece with whom she stays in touch on a daily basis. It matters to her that virtual movement do not require financial resources, in

contrast to physical mobility. Asked about how difficult it is to maintain friendships across borders Laura claims without any hesitation that:

It's easy ... It's very easy ... There's the internet, there are phones. ... They [family] come to Romania every year, we meet every year.

She elaborates further on the importance of internet for staying in touch:

It's much easier to talk over the internet than over the phone. The telephone costs, the internet is cheaper. You can see photos online. You can see time passing them by, you can see, I don't know, that a cousin's wife in Greece just gave birth. I had the opportunity to see pictures of the little one that I wouldn't have seen until they came back to the country. The internet is important for me.

6. Transnational – the privilege of being everywhere

Hans is 57 years old and lives in Northern Denmark, in a house with his wife and son. He is jobless at the moment, but has been a self-employed graphic designer with his own company. Later in his life, he worked for an export company which took him to several foreign countries:

It was more or less a coincidence that I later on changed direction and found a sales job, where I were to sell a Danish product, and consequently I got to travel around Europe. I was supposed to sell this product all over Europe. I had to get out there [in Europe], and I met a bunch of people... every single country in Europe.

Hans' story exemplifies some normalization of practices of EU-wide cross-border mobility, of physical travel for reasons of work and leisure, shopping internationally on a private basis using new technologies, but also keeping in touch with significant others across the borders and appreciating contacts with people from other cultural backgrounds. In particular, Hans is a musician and music fan, and travels with his family to go to music festivals abroad. As a member of Rotary Club, he enrolled one of his sons into an international student exchange program promoted by the club:

As a nuclear family with two kids, our way of travelling was very much a 'standard' kind of way. It's always been extraordinary going away with the kids. We've also taken the kids to Samsø Festival, because I'm very much into music. Besides from that, it's been quite ordinary. I've been the owner of a printing house for years, and that's where I got the idea of being a member of the Rotary Club [an international society of businessmen]. Some people consider it a lodge, but it's nothing like that. It's a humanitarian organization, and there's nothing secret about it. We don't wear top hats and white gloves, you know. There are some good people there, and being with certain personalities, you might end up learning something, right. [...] It was an exchange of different people, which I found very interesting. Exchange students. Our son chose to go to New York for a year, and we had a guy from Mexico, Gustavo, living with us.

Hans uses Skype routinely to keep in touch with other musicians Europe-wide – people who sometime host him and that he hosts in Denmark as well:

Last week we also went to Scotland. I have a lot of friends there. [...] We meet up in Skype and have one of those group conversations but unfortunately we can't practice music together this way... We are trying to collect enough money to make a new album... It's a bit unusual that Hans [himself] from Denmark, Pete from Sweden, and Henry from Glasgow, and we're able to chat like that.

His view of globalization is quite articulate. On the one hand he acknowledges the importance and the usefulness of wide and frequent social contacts, as well as the ease of shopping goods that would otherwise be rare to find, but on the other he is concerned about the possible loss of local traditions. This became evident to him when recently travelling across Italy:

I believe we need to be open-minded. I mean, we can't be great at everything we do, but we need to keep our eyes open to be able to learn. I might sound very old school now, but I think that the fact that the world has become smaller qua digitization has something to do with it, but has its downsides as well. It's great that we are able to look up anything on the internet, but when you go abroad they have the same stores everywhere, unfortunately.

Conclusion

In this paper we have argued that mobilities – in their plural and multidimensional manifestations – shape the everyday lives of Europeans on a much larger scale than has been recognised so far. Our interest lies particularly in cross-border mobilities, as these erode the 'container' nature of nation-state societies. Expanding on previous research on international migration within the EU, we contend that the process of European integration goes hand in hand with globalization and leads to enhanced relations among individuals that obliterate national boundaries.

While we cannot track the evolution of such cross-border activities over time, which may be a crucial test of the presumed growing interpenetration of European societies, we can however document the current spread and forms of these individual mobility patterns. To this purpose, in the paper we outlined – on the basis of LCA analysis – a typology of mobilities as experienced by European citizens sampled in the EUCROSS survey.

Our evidence shows that there are two polar social types: transnationals, scoring high on all forms of mobility, and locals, who stay aloof from all of them. Our estimate, on the basis of the weighted random six-country sample of the EUCROSS project, shows that these two extremes together account for slightly more than one third of EU citizens. The remaining two thirds, however, are not distributed along a simple continuum of gradients of mobility behaviours, but rather tend to assemble diverse combinations of mobilities that emphasize varying aspects of cross-border opportunities. While preliminary analysis indicates that country- and individual-level factors structure to some extent these 'mobility styles', further statistical analysis should seek to shed light on the relative

weight and interaction of macro and micro determinants of mobilities. Assuming that mobility is for the winners and immobility for the losers of Europeanization/globalization largely overlooks that the large majority of people are in a middle position – neither very mobile nor very immobile. The picture of mobilities in Europe is nuanced and reveals that social actors can carve a variety of strategies to adjust their individual lives to the debordering of European societies (see Andreotti et al. 2013).

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