WORKING PAPER[1]

"I know I belong to a kind of migration that is perceived [to be] less problematic, but still, I am [a migrant]!" **Migrant self-identification and empathy amongst Italian, Greek and Turkish (privileged) migrants in Brussels**

While the mediatization and the politization of the management of the European Union's *physical* borders has been exacerbated by the refugee reception crisis of 2015-2016 (Krzyżanowski, Triandafyllidou, & Wodak, 2018; Rea et al., 2019), the expansion of '*symbolic*' borders – which materialize through exclusionary attitudes towards migrants – deserves further attention, considering their crucial implications on social cohesion. This communication is based on a PhD thesis which more largely investigates the perceptions of (privileged) migrants from Italy, Greece, and Turkey living in Brussels vis-à-vis migrants and immigration in their country of origin. Amongst other things, this thesis seeks to highlight migrant categorization processes as powerful *othering* tools, which hierarchize migrants based on their perceived (un)deservingness and (un)desirability, along nationality, class, age, gender, race, ethnicity, and religious lines, amongst others. Such "categorical fetishism" (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018) or "politics of naming" (Sigona, 2018) may for instance oppose 'expatriates' to 'migrants' (Kunz, 2020; Croucher, 2012), 'highly-skilled' to 'low-skilled' migrants (Weinar & Klekowski von Koppenfels, 2021), or 'refugees' to 'economic migrants'.

This PhD study draws from the interrelated theories of social identity, intergroup contact, group conflict and integrated threat, which posit that the quantity and quality of contact between 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' will reduce prejudice against the outgroup, and that intergroup conflict can stem from realistic and symbolic threats – linked to economic competition, insecurity and/or loss of cultural or religious identity (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew et al., 2011; Blumer, 1958; Van Hootegem & Meuleman, 2019; Licata, Sanchez-Mazas & Green, 2009). This thesis also builds upon the concept of 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007) to understand our respondents' positionality and experience in a city as multicultural and diverse as Brussels, where a variety of migration experiences coexist, carrying important implications for social cohesion. Our particular focus on the under-researched yet increasingly dynamic field of 'privileged mobilities' (Croucher, 2012) enables us to better grasp the power dynamics and inequalities that underlie migration processes and experiences.

As remarked by Triandafyllidou: "*Neither the Mediterranean tradition of hospitality, nor the previous experience of Greeks and Italians themselves as immigrants, have prevented the rise of xenophobic attitudes and behaviour*" (2000: 187). Building from this observation, we investigate the extent to which our Italian, Greek and Turkish respondents identify as migrants or not, and how the self-identification process of privileged migrants produces *empathy and solidarity* with socio-economically disadvantaged migrants, and, to a lesser extent, to othering and exclusion. In this paper, we understand empathy as the ability to take someone else's perspective and to sympathize with their situation (Stephan & Finley, 1999), and othering as overt and covert discourses and practices of exclusion which lie at the intersection between xenophobia, racism, sexism, classism, and islamophobia, amongst others.

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[1] This working paper is an updated version of a communication dated 20/11/2021 and submitted by the author as a short communication for a scientific workshop on privileged mobilities, which was held in Paris, France on 08/12/2021. The initial version can be accessed at the following link: https://orbi.uliege.be/handle/2268/265903

Methods

This communication is based on an ongoing PhD thesis conducted in the framework of the Horizon 2020 project MAGYC on migration governance and asylum crises.[2] Using a qualitative and comparative approach, this thesis documents the lived experiences of (privileged) migrants from Italy, Greece and Turkey who are currently residing in Brussels, studying the ways in which they perceive migrants and the migration situation in their country of origin. Indeed, in addition to being important countries of *emigration* (including to Belgium),[3] Italy, Greece and Turkey have gone through a 'migration turnaround' and have become key countries of *immigration* (King, 2000).

This communication draws from 51 semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted between November 2020 and March 2022, amid the COVID-19 pandemic. Sampling criteria for respondents included residing in the Brussels-Capital region (or being strongly involved in its day-to-day life through commuting there for work for instance); being an Italian, Greek or Turkish citizen; and being affiliated to an Italian, Greek or Turkish organisation or network active in the field of public, commercial or cultural diplomacy (through work or as a side activity).[4] Most interviews took place online and were conducted in English or in French. They were then transcribed *verbatim*, coded manually using inductive coding (allowing themes to emerge directly from the data) and analyzed via thematic analysis using both a master data analysis spreadsheet and the NVivo software.

Table 1 below provides an overview of the sample considered, broken down per nationality, gender, age group and length of stay in Belgium (See also Annex 1 for a complete list of respondents).

Nationality		Gender		Age group				Length of stay			
		Male	Female	18-35	36-49	50+	N/A	-5 yrs	6-9 yrs	10+ yrs	N/A
Italians	**20**	11	9	10	6	4	0	9	3	7	1
Greeks	**18**	11	7	7	1	8	2	7	2	9	0
Turks	**13**	8	5	3	6	4	0	5	2	5	1
Total	*51*	*30*	*21*	*20*	*13*	*16*	*2*	*21*	*7*	*21*	*2*

Table 1. Sample overview (March 2022)

Identifying (or not) as a migrant

The United Nation's Department of Economics and Social Affairs' Population Division considers migrants as individuals "*living outside of their country of birth*". According to the IOM, a migrant is "*a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence*". Objectively speaking, all our research participants (except for two) can be considered as migrants according to these definitions.[5] Yet, identifying as a migrant is a subjective process: identities are indeed dynamic, situational, and

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[2] See www.themagycproject.com

[3] Indeed, as of January 1st, 2020, Italians, Greeks and Turks respectively represented 8%, 2,2% and 2,1% of the total foreign population in the Brussels-Capital region (IBSA, 2021). Note: These figures do not include Italians, Greeks and Turks who also hold the Belgian nationality.

[4] This includes permanent representations to the EU/NATO, consulates and embassies, regional delegations, chambers of commerce, national trade associations, professional or social networks, cultural centers, etc.

[5] The first is a Belgian-Turkish citizen, born in Belgium; the second an Italian woman based in Italy but conducting an internship remotely (due to the COVID-19 pandemic) in an Italian organisation in Brussels. She was familiar with Brussels as she had previously attended French classes and summer schools and had some family there.

relational (Telles, 2022). In order to better understand our (migrant) respondents' position with regards to migration, the first step of this research consisted in probing their reflexivity regarding their own migrant identity (or lack thereof). Indeed, literature on privileged migration shows that privileged migrants,[6] especially those from the Global North, often consider themselves – or are often labeled by others – as "expats" or "highly skilled mobile professionals" rather than as "migrants" (Kunz, 2020; Le Bigot, 2021). Not being aware (or not being constantly reminded) of one's migrant status can constitute a privilege, as it reflects an unhindered migration experience.

Respondents were therefore asked whether they identified as migrants. The variety and complexity of answers within our sample demonstrates the fluidity of migrant identities and of the migrant self-identification process. Amongst the Italian and Greek respondents, **one important reason brought forward to justify why they did not fully identify as migrants was that they strongly identified as "Europeans"**. As explained by Luca[7] (30, Italian): "(…) *in perceiving the EU with no borders, you don't perceive yourself as a true migrant*". As Europeans benefiting from the right to move and reside freely within the territory of Member States, these respondents tended to feel more like *internal* migrants:

> (…) I think that since I feel European, I know that I'm a migrant, but somehow, I'm a migrant within Europe. It's not the same for me. It's a lower form of migration to some extent, you see. It's just like a person from Texas going to work in New York or in Washington, D.C: it's not really the same, but it's getting closer to that, in my opinion. (Pietro, 27, Italian)

Some respondents also did not identify as migrants because they felt that their specific administrative status (either as career diplomats or professionals connected to diplomatic circles) exempted them from being considered 'migrants' in the true sense. This was the case of Yusuf (68, Turkish), who explained: "*My experience has nothing to do with migration. I've never been in a migrant situation. I first came here as a diplomat*".

Another recurrent argument across all samples consisted in explaining that living in a city as diverse and international as Brussels made it easy to "blend in" as foreigners and reduced the likelihood of being singled out – and thus to identify – as migrants. Accordingly, respondents felt that this super-diverse context diluted their specific identities and allowed them to fit into Brussels' cosmopolitan setup. For instance, Emanuele (41, Italian) explained that he rather felt like "*a foreigner amongst foreigners*" than a migrant. Many respondents felt that this had not been the case in other European countries they had lived in and where the host country's national identity was more clearly defined and apparent than in Belgium, such as Germany or France:

> The first advantage [of Brussels] as I mentioned is that you don't feel like a foreigner (…) I think, well, I hope it will be like this, but I didn't have the feeling of racism here in Belgium. In France I've encountered a few times that being a foreigner – even a lawyer – is difficult to get in contact with people, and you have to convince them that you are not dangerous for the country or such things. In France, you feel this in a very hard way. Here in Belgium, I've never encountered that. Also, none of my friends or relatives reported me such an issue. That's the main pro in Belgium. (Osman, 36, Turkish)

Another similar reason for not identifying as a migrant – given exclusively amongst the Greek sample – consisted in feeling to have successfully "integrated" into Belgian society. This argument was predominantly used by respondents who had been in Brussels for over a decade and thus felt a strong sense of attachment and belonging to the city. Some respondents implied that,

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[6] We conceptualize privileged migrants as migrants possessing material (income) and/or symbolic capital (e.g. citizenship, socio-economic status, cultural capital) and who can, as such, be in a dominant and desirable position in most social contexts

[7] All respondents' names have been pseudonymized for confidentiality purposes.

unlike them, 'migrants' were not integrated into the host society. This therefore allowed respondents to present themselves as an opposite (and more deserving) figure:

> Certainly not, certainly not. I feel like a Belgian 100%. I'm not feeling like a migrant in Brussels, not at all, huh! I feel that I have rights there, I feel that I've worked there, that I've contributed, you know... so I feel thankful for many issues, because I've lived my whole life in Brussels after all... (Stefanos, 69, Greek)

In a similar logic, having faced adaptation challenges, or feeling insufficiently "integrated", often served as an argument to explain why respondents (in particular Italian and Turkish respondents) actively identified as migrants. Language barriers, due to insufficient French language skills, were often cited as examples, together with administrative requirements and challenges, including those related to obtaining a visa in the case of Turkish respondents. Many also acknowledged that their interactions with Belgians were limited in practice, due to the international nature of the city, and that this limited their integration prospects. This was the case of Anita (30, Italian):

> So, I do perceive myself as 100% migrant, because I experience difficulties, when I need to deal with the *commune* [Belgian municipality] or to open a bank account (...). So, I feel "a migrant" because I experience troubles. Also, French is not my mother tongue, so I cannot speak it very well, so it's hard for me sometimes if I need to cope with a problem... Also, I sometimes perceive people on the other side not that willing to help, so that's why I feel like a "migrant", because in my hometown in Italy I've never felt that I was treated differently just because I couldn't speak Italian properly, you know? (...) So, these kinds of little things make me feel like a "migrant". 100% migrant, yes.

Agency in the migration decision constituted another relevant element for our respondents. In some cases, they did not feel like migrants because they had not moved "*out of necessity*". In most cases however, respondents identified as "economic" or "work migrants" precisely because they had chosen to improve their own or their family's lives and/or economic conditions or to follow an opportunity at a given time in their lives. For instance, Carla (32, Italian), who had moved to Brussels in 2011, explained that her decision to move (and that of many Italian youth) had been strongly influenced by the economic crisis of 2010 and the lack of career prospects at the time.

In the process of identifying as 'economic' or 'work' migrants, respondents however often acknowledged that their move had been a privileged one, spontaneously identifying as "lucky" (Raffaele, 42) "luxury" (Adriana, 39; Emanuele, 42; Meltem, 50) or "privileged" (Eirini, 55) migrants. Such privilege was perceived to amount to symbolic advantages (e.g. European citizenship and freedom of movement, cultural capital, social status, whiteness) and material advantages (income level). As explained by Adriana (39, Italian), who characterized her move as "economic-driven":

> Well, they call us "expats" but still, I think it's just a type of, you know, migration. I usually say also to my friends in Italy that I consider myself a "luxury migrant" because I just left the country because I wanted to, not because I needed to by all costs...

Our respondents' agency over their decision to migrate to (and remain) in Brussels – and, in most cases, having had a smooth, unhindered migration trajectory and experience – thus brings an additional dimension of privilege to our respondents' experience in Brussels.

Positioning oneself vis-à-vis past and current Italian, Greek and Turkish immigrants

Having highlighted some of the ways in which respondents identified (or not) as migrants, we now analyze how they position themselves as Italian, Greek and Turkish migrants specifically, as three historically significant immigrant populations (King, 2000; Lafleur & Stanek, 2017; IBSA, 2021).

Examples of past waves of Italian, Greek and Turkish immigrants were often used to stress similarities across migration experiences, and oftentimes to call for more solidarity with today's socio-economically disadvantaged migrants. Some respondents highlighted that previous Italian and Greek migrants had themselves been marginalized or discriminated against. For example, Carla (32, Italian) stressed that during the early years of Italian immigration in Belgium, some cafes had signs to restrict access "*to Italians and dogs*" and that many first-generation Italian migrants in the 1950s would not teach their children Italian in order to facilitate their integration. In addition to labour migration, Greek respondents also stressed the many instances in the 20th century where Greeks had been displaced due to conflict (such as the 1919-1922 Greek-Turkish War and the subsequent 1923 population exchanges, the two World Wars, and the 1946-1949 Greek Civil War). These examples led our respondents to express their sympathy with the discriminations currently faced by migrants. As stressed by Ricardo (33, Italian): "*we are absolutely a population of migrants (…) but sometimes, of course, we forget it, and we blame the others that come, you know, that are trying to do the same but coming to Italy*". Similarly, Deniz (42, Turkish), explained:

> I think what [Turkish citizens abroad] can do is remember that they're immigrants themselves (…) So, I mean, they should just remember why they came, and what kind of difficulties they had, and if they had not been accepted and welcomed by the country and the society that they live in, how would they end up? Just a little bit of empathy maybe. That's the first step.

Several respondents – including those who had not previously identified as migrants – also alluded to the history of migration within their own families to support their arguments. For instance, Ioannis' (25, Greek) grandparents were refugees who had fled Smyrna (now known as the Turkish city of Izmir) following the Greco-Turkish war of 1919-1922, while Stella's (26, Italian) grandmothers had emigrated to Italy from Slovenia. Raffaele (42, Italian), a proud Torinese, explained that his parents were immigrants from the South of Italy. Anastasia (55, Greek) evoked her great-grandparents' difficult journey all the way from Azerbaijan:

> I knew, from all the stories, that they were not received with open arms. My great-grandfather used to say: "*When we were there [in Azerbaijan], they called us Greeks. When we arrived in Greece, we are the Turks, we are the Russians, we are the Cossacks, we are I don't know what… but we are not Greeks, sadly*!"

In a similar vein, several respondents denounced the double-standards that led some of their co-nationals to see themselves as more deserving to be in Belgium than other migrants:

> (…) People say: "*[Migrants] shouldn't come, they should stay where they came from!*", and I tell them: "*Well okay, but there are bombs there!*" So, it's easy to say… And, often, when it is Greek people who say that [in Belgium], I tell them: "*But you are here. And we are here. For a better life*". And they say: "*Yes, but we contribute to the economy*", et cetera. And I say: "*Yes, but that's all they ask for!*" To come here and contribute to the social fabric as we say. But we don't give them the chance to! (Angeliki, 31, Greek) [quote translated from French by the author]

In addition to calling for empathy and solidarity by referring to the shared condition and struggles of migrants across time and space by mobilizing examples of past Italian, Greek and Turkish immigrants, some respondents also chose to stress what distinguished them from previous migrant generations and their descendants. These differences between the so-called "expat" community and the "historical" communities of Italian, Greek and Turkish immigrants in Belgium was perceived to hinge largely on work experience, migration drivers, level of educational attainment, mindset, integration in Belgian society, or residential choices. Respondents were strongly aware of forming part of a certain educated, highly-skilled, progressive, and wealthy elite or upper

class which they felt contrasted with previous migrant generations, who were then perceived as "the genuine migrants" (Eirini, 53, Greek):

> There was a generation of Greeks, they were emigrants in the sense that they were looking for work, they were looking for better conditions of life. It is not my case, it is not the case of those you have spoken to probably. I don't think so, it is in the context of the European Union, or it is in the context of another level of people, educated people. It is different. (…) (Gerasimos, 68, Greek).

Amongst Turkish respondents, many sought to distinguish themselves from what they sometimes referred to as "*the Schaerbeek community*" or "*the Turkish people in Schaerbeek*", referring to a Brussels municipality which is known for hosting a large Turkish population. For instance, Samet (59, Turkish), whose business is located in Schaerbeek, explained how this community differed from the "executive-level" and "educated" Turkish people he was more used to interacting with outside of work:

> Yeah, actually they are… I would say third generation. They are fluent in French, but they are still keeping the Turkish values, quite religious. Quite supportive of Erdoğan! [laughs] And quite conservative, let me put it that way. But again, yeah, as long as they respect me, I respect them, we can find a way!

As a result of these core differences, many respondents explained that contacts *between* migrant generations were limited in practice, as opposed to those taking place *within* the same migrant generation. Some respondents explained that contact was essentially limited to special moments (such as elections, national day celebrations) or cultural events. A minority (of Greek and Turkish respondents) however acknowledged that they were in continuous contact with previous migrant generations through their work or personal life, and were eager to move past those differences and to stress their shared identity:

> (…) you see that these people [second and third generation Greeks] have had different experiences than what I have had, or other colleagues in the European Union. (…) It's a different world. It shouldn't be. This is why me and my husband, we have quite a lot of social contacts with those people (…). We just have other experiences, and maybe there were other reasons that brought us to Belgium, but after all, we're all Greeks! (Eirini, 53, Greek)

On the contrary, *intra*-generational relations appeared much stronger among the three samples, due to national-cultural considerations on the one hand, and class considerations on the other hand. Indeed, many respondents shared the feeling of forming a "distinct" community of co-nationals who shared many cultural similarities and interests. Some explained that meeting with their co-nationals was "easier", given their numerical significance and due to the "natural link" uniting them. Luigi (44, Italian) further explained how the Italian community became an important support system for him:

> What also made it easy was the fact that here there is a large Italian community of people that have actually the same migratory history that I have, with whom I share the same kind of experience. And naturally for me, this became a network that I could sort of rely on for personal matters. So, in fact, a lot of my friends are Italian – well, most of them, most of the people I see outside of work are Italian. (Luigi, 44, Italian)

Others explained that they valued their interactions with other "highly-skilled", "educated", "ambitious" individuals who were part of the 'EU', 'cosmopolitan', 'expat' or 'Brussels' "bubble".

Migrant self-identification, reflexivity and empathy

We have shown to which extent privileged Italian and Greek migrants in Brussels identified (or not) as migrants, as well as some of the ways in which they stressed (dis)similarities with previous and newer waves of Italian, Greek and Turkish immigrants. We now delve deeper into the more concrete effects of respondents' self-identification as (privileged) migrants on empathy and solidarity.

For one, identifying as a migrant can contribute to normalizing migration (rather than stressing its exceptionality) by highlighting the universality of migrants' aspirations and human rights. In such cases, our respondents' self-identification as "economic migrants" – a term which carries important pejorative connotations in public debates around migration (Crawley & Skleparis 2018) – could be interpreted as a way to normalize discourses around economic migration (and other forms of so-called 'voluntary' migration) and to stress their solidarity with people on the move, regardless of their national origin:

> Yes. [I identify] as an economic migrant, to some extent yes, even though I work in an international organisation and we have a special regime in Belgium. Still, I think that, you know, at the end of the day, we are economic migrants, so working in another European country. That's why I sympathize with some migration issues generally" (Iraklis, Greek)

In some cases, our respondents had been made aware – through their own migration experience – of some of the challenges or injustices faced by international migrants, which led them to empathize with their plight. For instance, many respondents stressed the difficulties of having to leave their loved ones behind and to adapt to an unfamiliar environment. Similarly, Anastasia (55, Greek) indicated that living abroad could sometimes create feelings of "isolation" and "in-betweenness": *"when you go back for example, you are always the foreigner suddenly (…) And here [in Belgium] also, you're always the foreigner.*" Importantly, **respondents often acknowledged their privilege and admitted that their nationality, ethnicity, socio-economic status, and/or geographical proximity with their home country mitigated such difficulties to integrate**. For instance, Raffaele (41, Italian), who self-identified as a "*lucky migrant*", was aware that being "*on the lucky side of the planet and of society*" had made his migration experience much easier. The following quote by Andrea (31, Italian) demonstrates that reflexivity around one's own privileged position can produce empathy:

> So yes, I feel like I migrated. At the same time, it would be superficial, it would just be not true to say that all migrations are the same. So I know I belong to a kind of migration that is perceived [to be] less problematic, but still, I am [a migrant]. And so, you know, the fact of feeling that I'm a migrant (…), it's just more (…) to highlight the fact that we are all moving, right? For some reason or another. And (…) I can't tell you how many times colleagues or others have said, you know: "*This area of Brussels is full of migrants!*" (…). We are migrants as well. So sometimes it's nice to remind them that. (…) So yes, I feel like a migrant. But I'm sensitive too, of course, of the opinion or the life experience of somebody who has had to go through something that is unspeakable (…) So (…) anyway, I recognize my privilege.

Angeliki (31, Greek), who had moved from Greece to Belgium as a young child with her parents and presented herself as a "*Greek who comes from Belgium*", was made aware of her own privilege as she could pass for Belgian and as such had never been subjected to xenophobia. Recalling an incident from her teenage years when her father was told to "*go back to his country*" by a Belgian motorist, she explains how this incident made her reflect upon her own advantages:

> I had never heard this before. Because, well, [Belgium] is my country, you see? And then I told myself: *"Oh yeah, for them, we don't speak French, we are not Belgian, we are from*

> *God knows where!"* [She laughs]. And for a few seconds, I realized what it was like for all these Muslim people – who are visibly foreign – Because for me it's fine, I can pass as Belgian, but a Muslim girl who wears the headscarf... I realized that people must probably tell her all the time that she's not Belgian. While I have the advantage that, if I walk in the street, nobody's going to say: *"Look at this one!"* And I also have the advantage of speaking French without an accent, other than a Belgian one! [She laughs]. But this is not the case for my parents... [quote translated from French by the author]

In some cases, recognizing their own positionality (and past or current struggles) as migrants, and more particularly the double-standards that exclude less socio-economically advantaged migrants, led respondents to recognize that they had a certain role in influencing mentalities back home and promoting more positive narratives around migration. More specifically, they felt that having been migrants themselves, they had gained new insights and values from their experience:

> I think that living here you can experiment a more multiracial and multicultural life and society. (...) So coming back, you know, it's been an occasion to communicate to people living in Milan that it's possible to live in a town with people coming from abroad, from everywhere, without feeling... bad! (Flavio, 60, Italian)

Conclusion

In this paper, we have presented the main explanations that were used by our respondents to justify whether they identified as (privileged) migrants or not. While few respondents either strongly identified as migrants or firmly rejected this label, most answers were far from straightforward and attest to the complexity and fluidity of migrant self-identification processes. Many respondents referred to previous waves of Italian, Turkish and Greek immigrants to highlight the common experiences and challenges faced by migrants across time and space. They further stressed some of the challenges which made migration a 'universal' human experience, all the while demonstrating reflexivity regarding their own privileged situation. Perspective-taking and recognizing one's privilege can therefore produce empathy and lead to solidarity actions with less privileged migrants, something that we analyze further in our PhD thesis.

Importantly, our PhD research more generally demonstrates that such expressions and practices or solidarity are far from fixed and that, in many cases, both othering of and solidarity with migrants form part of a subtle continuum. As such, respondents who would at times appear in favor of migration could easily appear more hostile at another point in the conversation.[8] Therefore, although we have largely focused in this paper on the effects of migrant self-identification (or lack thereof) on empathy, our data also includes cases where respondents explicitly sought to distinguish themselves from migrants who were perceived as 'different' and less deserving. For instance, respondents stressed their differences with other Italians and Greeks currently living in more distant continents, questioning the ways in which some of them had acquired the Greek or Italian nationality despite having lost all contact with their homeland. This could be understood as a form of 'gate-keeping' and othering, as it brings discussions around who deserves to be included in the national "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983) or not. In other cases, respondents strongly rejected the 'migrant' label and identified instead as 'expats', formulated essentializing remarks about certain marginalized migrant groups, or appeared in favor of immigration measures that sought to contain and deter migration on the EU's Southern borders.

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[8] See Hut, E. (Upcoming). Migrant Othering and Solidarity: Comparing the Perceptions of Privileged Migrants in Brussels (Manuscript in preparation), In: T. Bircan, *New (Other) Thoughts on Migration and Migrants*. London: Transnational Press London.

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Annex 1

	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Arrival	Affiliation
Italians					
1	Carla	F	32	2011	National representation*
2	Marina	F	23	2020 (remote)	National business organisation**
3	Luca	M	30	2016	Italian think tank
4	Lorenzo	M	63	1995	Italian business network
5	Silvio	M	52	1999	Think tank
6	Francesca	F	32	2017	National business organisation
7	Emanuele	M	42	2009	National financial institution
8	Andrea	M	31	2019	Regional government
9	Pietro	M	27	2018	National financial institution
10	Marco	M	43	2007	Italian business network
11	Ricardo	M	33	2013	National business organisation
12	Flavio	M	60	2020	Regional government
13	Luigi	M	44	2005	EU institution*
14	Cristiana	F	57	2015	Regional government
15	Gianna	F	49	2017	Regional government
16	Giulia	F	24	2019	Regional government
17	Raffaele	M	42	2017	Regional government
18	Adriana	F	39	2008	Italian business network
19	Stella	F	26	2020	Italian network
20	Anita	F	30	2015	National business organisation
Greeks					
1	Ioannis	M	25	2019	EU institution
2	Antonis	M	41	2005	National business organisation
3	Alexandros	M	62	2018	National representation
4	Angeliki	F	31	1990	National representation

5	Panagiotis	M	N/A	2016	National representation
6	Anastasia	F	55	1988	Greek cultural institution
7	Theodoros	M	64	2015	Greek business network
8	Gerasimos	M	68	1995	Greek business network
9	Markos	M	61	2004	Greek business network
10	Stefanos	M	69	1983	EU institution (retired)
11	Iraklis	M	N/A	1987	EU institution
12	Eirini	F	53	1991	EU institution
13	Michalis	M	29	2017	Greek business network
14	Christos	M	53	2005	EU institution
15	Ioanna	F	35	2015	Greek business network
16	Rhea	F	22	2019	National representation
17	Dimitra	F	22	2021	National representation
18	Alexia	F	25	2021	EU institution
Turks					
1	Can	M	24	2018	National business organisation
2	Tolga	M	28	2001	Business association
3	Murat	M	36	2018	National business organisation
4	Meltem	F	50	2013	National business organisation
5	Emir	M	36	Born in Belgium	National business organisation
6	Yusuf	M	68	1995	National business organisation
7	Osman	M	36	2017	Turkish business network
8	Güven	M	59	1994	Turkish business network
9	Samet	M	59	1995	Turkish business network
10	Deniz	F	42	2017	Turkish business network
11	Melis	F	48	2008	Turkish business network
12	Zeynep	F	36	2018	Business organisation
13	Ayça	F	30	2015	Turkish network

*National representations = embassies, consulates, or permanent representations to the EU/NATO.
**National business organisations = business or trade federations/unions, chambers of commerce, etc.
***EU institution = EU agencies (e.g. European Commission, European Parliament) and bodies