In Commemoration of the Legacy of Ulrich Beck: Theory of Migration and Methodological Cosmopolitanism

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In this paper we will discuss about the paradigm of methodological cosmopolitism proposed by Ulrich Beck from the theory of migrations, based on research on new migrants, cosmopolitics and inegal individuation. We will first discuss the relations between cosmopolitanism, reflexive modernity and individuation, and then introduce the paradigm of Post-Western Sociology in dialogue with methodological cosmopolitanism. In Europe because of economic crisis, ethnic conflicts and wars in different countries, increasing numbers of asylum seekers, refugees, new migrants converge in big cities where they experiencing integration, exclusion, or even expulsion. Biopolitics, economic insecurity on labour markets and ethnic discrimination are embedded in European society and do produce inegalitarian cosmopolitanism which could produce processes of socialization, de-socialization and re-socialization in local and global societies. New migrants and new cosmopolitan actors also develop capabilities to create subpolitics and transnational spaces. Narratives of new migrants, asylum seekers and refugees are characterized by a proliferation of biographical bifurcations which does reflect a double local and global individuation's process and new global expulsions. The theoritical challenge is how to think, on one hand, of the dynamics, the coexistence and the simultaneity of the processes of violence, segregation, expulsion of new migrants and , on another hand, the production of new biopolitics and new subpolitics in a context of humanitarian crisis in struggling any form of methodological nationalism.

Keywords: *migration, cosmopolitanism, biopolitics, subpolitics, economic segregation*

Introduction

Ulrich Beck has played a fundamental role in the evolution of international sociology by first producing the concept of the society of risk which has provoked important debates around the notions of reflexive modernity, the growing individuation in contemporary societies, forms of exposure, adaptation and inequality to a plurality of risks, giving a central place to science and technology. Gradually he will denounce the methodological nationalism at the foundation of Western sociologies to think the «cosmopolitan change» and propose the paradigm of *methodological cosmopolitanism* by discussing very deeply with non-Western international sociological figures such as Han Sang Jin, Young Hee-Shim, Chang Kyung Sup, Midori Ito, Suzuki Munenori, Shijuro Yasawa …

     In the course of these discussions we propose to continue the discussion about methodological cosmopolitanism from the theory of migrations, based on research on new migrants, cosmopolitics and inegal individuation. In this article we will first discuss the relations between cosmopolitanism, reflexive modernity and individuation, and then introduce the paradigm of *Post-Western Sociology* in dialogue with methodological cosmopolitanism. We will then introduce the question of the cosmopolitan condition to think of the fabric of the biopolitics and the subpolitics before dealing with migratory careers, inegalitarian cosmopolitanism and global expulsions. The theoritical challenge is how to think of the dynamics, the coexistence and the simultaneity of the processes of violence, segregation, expulsion of new migrants and the production of new biopolitics and new subpolitics in a context of humanitarian crisis in struggling any form of methodological nationalism.[1]

Theory of Migration and *Methodological Cosmopolitanism*

The sociology of migration requires deconstruction of the universal, eurocentric and hegemonic categories; it questions the universalist-western vision of the social sciences, and henceforth requires us to think of

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transnational movements and local anchorages. In this perspective, Ulrick Beck's (2004) paradigm of methodological cosmopolitanism methodology really meant a «cosmopolitan turn» to think of mobilities, circulations and migrations in the context of globalization.

Migration, globalization and reflexive modernity

According to Beck (2004), globalization is «a process by which sovereign nation-states are interwoven and interwoven through transnational actors and their capacities for power, their orientations and identities». Cosmopolitanism then characterizes reflexive modernity in which the boundaries specific to nation-states are renegotiated. In the cosmopolitan perspective ecological and economic risks, crises of humanitarianism, and «community of civilizational destiny» are embedded.

Mobilities continue to accelerate and circulation has intensified over the last twenty years. The migrant or «cosmopolitan» today is an emblematic figure of the transformations of local and global social, economic and political orders. More and more migrants move, circulate, return and take on different migratory routes; they acquire experiences and are often put to the test in their social, ethnic and gender identities. Because of economic crisis, ethnic conflicts and wars in different countries, asylum seekers, refugees, new migrants … the geography of migratory spaces reveals new centralities and new economic and political peripheries between which transnational, diasporic, ethnic but also intracontinental lines of networking are emerging.

So what about the new "communities of civilisational destiny" –in the sense of Ulrich Beck-

In reflexive modernity because new migrants, more and more asylum seekers, refugees, "humanitarian governments", new horizons of coexistence and coordination unfold and public arenas are opened by institutional actors, intermediate actors and citizens. And *subpolitics*—it means civil organizations active in society (typical of reflexive modernity) and transnational institutions (Beck 1997)—produce new social solidarities, but also new inequalities and new moral boundaries in European society. Social differentiation processes (Beck and Grande 2010) can also be clearly seen in the production of an inegalitarian cosmopolitanism which could produce processes of socialization, de-socialization and re-socialization in different societies.

For Ulrich Beck, in the «societies of risk» (1999), the (unequal) cosmopolitization of biographies is expressed in a kind of «polygamy that is

developed in a transversal way in relation to social level and class, legality and illegality, mobility and migration« (1997). The illegal migrants must constantly protect their geographical polygamy. Talking about biographical polygamy also means analyzing migratory paths and modes of biographical definition by individuals.

In migratory experiences, biographical crossroads appear repeatedly: at each bifurcation, places and events influence the repertoires of individual resources that are rearranged to recompose the status, places and social identities of individuals. We talked about globalized individuation. The lower the economic, social and symbolic resources of migrants, the more professional biographies contain pluriactivities, polyactivities and reversibilities that produce biographical bifurcations; At each bifurcation the repertoires of individual economic, social and symbolic resources are rearranged to recompose places and professional identities. And in the biographical bifurcations the question of ownership and loss of *self* poses itself crucially. The more migrants move between economic and social spaces contrasted by their degree of legitimacy, the more they are confronted with different normative orders, they are sometimes recognized, unrecognized and unknown. It is around social and moral values, social respect and self-respect, social esteem and self-esteem in work that social and ethnic competitions and inequalities in labor markets are reorganized in a disjointed manner. Confronted with changes, readjustments and conflicts of identity, populations in precarious situations and / or in migration are finding it more and more difficult to adjust their different «selves», to keep face. They oscillate between self-ownership and loss of self, between self-esteem and self-shame depending on the roles they play in different work spaces (Roulleau-Berger 2010).

The question of the «unequal» cosmopolitanization introduced by Ulrich Beck means that global inequalities, the conflicts that are linked to them and the dynamics of these inequalities are fragmented into national inequalities. In according with Beck's thought, we have produced the concept of *multisituated inequalities* (Roulleau-Berger 2010), which shows that migratory careers account for the production of multisituated inequalities in transnational working spaces, inequalities built on graduated invisibilities of resources and skills. In contemporary migrations, the amplification—or reduction—of inequalities thus appears as a discontinuous and multisituted process

Methodological Cosmopolitanism and Post-Western Sociology

If, according to Ulrich Beck (2013), reproduction theories—from Bourdieu for example- produce a "narrative of continuity" concerning the unequal distributions of goods and miss the cosmopolitisation of the poor, their multi-ethnic, multi-religious, transnational life-forms and identities, we have nevertheless combined critical sociology and pragmatist sociology—as Luc Boltanski purposed (2010)- to apprehend the continuities and discontinuities in the reproduction and production of social inequalities in local and global risk societies. It means to take in account individual and collective capabilities of migrants, reflexivity and subjectivity of individual in different contexts, situations and interactions.

Furthermore it appears very necessary to be located in non-hegemonic and "post-Western spaces" to understand the complexity of new European societies, to establish theoretical continuities and discontinuities between European sociologies and non-Western sociologies in producing transnational epistemological theories. In according with Ulrich Beck, Han Sang Jin and Young Hee Shim (2010) argue for a methodological cosmopolitanism "from the bottom" based on what they call an active dialogue instead of a passive one, taking into consideration the genealogical characteristics of Asian history and culture in order to define the plural Asian modernities (Han 2015). The concept of methodological cosmopolitanism "from the bottom" looks really efficient not only to understand the plural Asian modernities, but also to apprehend the diversity of new European modernities and the plurality of "compressed modernities" and "cosmopolitanized reflexive modernity" (Chang 2016) in the global society. Shin Kwang-Yeong (2013) also talks of the double indigenisation of social sciences and symmetrical comparison so as to open a new path to non-hegemonic knowledge; on the one hand, double indigenisation means considering Western theories as indigenous and evaluating them consequently, as rooted in the Western-world history; on the other hand, it means reestablishing the institutional symmetries and resisting forms of domination in disciplinary fields.

So we have entered a period of de-Westernization of knowledge and coproduction of the construction of situated knowledge. After Post-Colonial Studies and to improve methodological cosmopolitanism, we have witnessed the emergence of what we are calling a *Post-Western Sociology* (Roulleau-Berger and Li 2012; Roulleau-Berger 2015, 2016; Xie and Roulleau-Berger 2017) in this context of globalization and circulation of ideas, concepts and paradigms where some scholars are producing epistemic autonomy. Post-

Western Sociology can also be defined as a global critical sociology and relies on different knowledge processes: knowledge niches" which appear to be specifically European or Asian and do not signify a transferability of knowledge; intermediary epistemological processes which encourage the partial transfer of sociological knowledge from Europe to Asia and from Asia to Europe; transnational epistemological spaces in which European knowledge and Asian knowledge are placed in equivalence

New migrants, borders and "cosmopolitan condition"

According to the United Nations Population Division, the number of international migrants increased from 75 million in 1965 to 165 million in 1990 and 244 million in 2015; 220 millions of migrants in the world are reported to reside in a foreign country. The acceleration of international migration reveals the dynamics of social, political and economic change taking place in contemporary societies which are increasingly complex, plural and diverse. Europe in particular is at the heart of these changes marked by the increase of South to North and East to West migrations due to the increasing importance of refugees and asylum seekers.

According to the «Migration and migrating population statistics Eurostat» in 2014, 3.8 million people—53% of men and 47% of women— have immigrated to one of the member states and at least 2.8 million emigrants left the territory of those States. Germany accounted for the largest number of immigrants in 2014 (884,900) followed by the United Kingdom (632,000), France (339,900), Spain (305,500) and Italy (277 600). In 2015, 19.8 million citizens from third countries and 34.3 million people born outside the EU lived in the EU. The median age of the EU population was 42 years and immigrants in the EU of 28 years.

A growing number of people fleeing persecution have arrived in Europe and have been seeking international protection for ten years. The number of first asylum applications has even increased by more than 50% between 2011 and 2016.

This situation is part of a broader context of increasing demand for international protection in the countries of the European Union over the same period, which has accelerated markedly in the last two years. 1.2 million people have applied for asylum in one EU country in 2016, twice as many as in 2014. France is the third country to receive asylum asylum. One third of the asylum applications were made by Syrians (80% of whom applied to

Germany), followed by a request from Afghans (15%) and Iraqis (11%). According to Karen Akoka (2017), a hierarchy of legitimacy has gradually been built into the reception policies of European countries: Syrians are placed above Iraqis, Afghans, Sudanese, Congolese, Eritreans who also flee from bloodthirsty dictatorships, Dead are counted by one hundred thousand and displaced by millions.

For migrants, the movements produced by globalization impose experiences–rather ordeals–of national, ethnic, religious, linguistic, social and cultural borders, resulting in a cosmopolitan condition (Agier 2013). Confronted with recurring risk situations, menaces and uncertainty, the most threatened and exposed new migrants are compelled to cross a succession of borders where, each time, lives are exposed, put in danger, after having fled wars, the Taliban… The most at risk migrants are then obliged to stay, for a relatively long time, in liminal situations between states and societies–risk situations that do not necessarily evolve towards stable situations.

One can talk of inequalities on the migration routes in the sense that migrants must develop survival strategies, especially for the less qualified, and simultaneously deal with uncertain and random destinies. But qualified migrants are also confronted with risks and inequalities linked to economic crisis and unemployment in their place of origin, linked to ethnic conflicts or Talibans…. If one can talk of ethnic, social and economic inequalities, one can also talk of political inequalities. Depending on the contexts of origin, migrants may have developed reflexive and survival skills which are different in nature and enable an understanding of the reasons of the migration. Asylum seekers and refugees are going to live in prisons, camps, streets, squatter houses and shelters, where living and hygiene conditions remain very precarious.

Complex and cosmopolitan migration forms consequently appear, based on polycentred, multipolarised spaces. But these mobilities also produce diasporic forms, circularities and roaming. We have therefore distinguished three forms of transnational multi-migration: diasporic, circular and roaming.

The diasporic multi-migration is characterised by the multi-polarity of migration and the inter-polarity of relationships with one's own kin between places of rooting and by collective competences which have to be set up in economic, social and political apparatuses in the receiving society.

Circular multi-migration can be defined from the outline of circulatory routes going from one point and coming back to the same point after repeated passing through the same places. This means that multi-migration may be sometimes punctuated with moments of pendularity. They put into

circulation differentiated goods and resources within transnational exchange and negotiation networks. Migrants always remain strongly linked to their countries of origin while circulating on large transnational spaces disjointed from economic and political local apparatuses. They accumulate economic, social and cultural experiences and resources in a variety of places from skills to seize a diversity of opportunities.

Roaming multi-migration—for example asylum seekers—refers to the weakness of bonds with the place of origin, the multi-centrality of identity-building places during the course of migration, and a distant position concerning the receiving society, for example for new asylum seekers and refugees.

Today, if one can distinguish a plurality of migration forms in the migrant careers along increasingly diversified routes, one can see that international mono-migrations, or pendular migrations and transnational multi-migrations are intertwining or succeeding each other, and are increasing in complexity and individualisation in an international context of the intensification and feminisation of migration movements.

On migration routes, migrants produce "spatial capital" (Lévy and Lussault 2003) which will appear as positive or negative in the arrival contexts. The extent and size of networks appears to play a decisive part in the production of spatial capital on migration routes. The more extended the professional or social networks, the more positive spatial capital becomes on migration routes. But if spatial capital seems positively correlated to the extension of social networks, it may also become a less positive capital when the individual accesses a less qualifying status in another country. If social capital is built differently depending on departure contexts, economic practices, the value of circulating goods, and the nature of know-how, qualifications, and skills on migration routes, multi-migration produces "positive" spatial capital when, migrants on migration routes accumulate new social and economic resources, thus enabling them to access a non-disqualifying stable or unstable job with regards to their initial situation (Roulleau-Berger 2013). It is not the case for the majority of asylum seekers and refugees.

Risk Governance and Biopolitics

International migrations enable us to understand how globalisations tell the stories of political and economic institutions, the Nation-States as well as the

collective and individual social practices of the migrants and vice-versa, and finally how they are redefined in global frames. The diversity of migrations demands that migration policies, ethnic dynamics, and the production of social and economic transnational spaces should be conceived as a whole. We must emphasise the way structural processes impinge on migration forms: for instance, in Europe, the multiplication of control areas within national borders, the monitoring of migratory barriers, the reinforcement of regional security orders. In inbound migration countries after the tragic events of 9/11 and terrorist attacks, the tightening of security policies, the reinforcement of regulatory barriers and the militarising of borders were the most acute within the intensified and redefined panoptical measures of the European migration policies.

These migration policies-linked panoptical measures, set up migratory routes and itineraries, but also sometimes generate and block them in very unlikely ways. They define differentiated accesses to a judicial status and consequently pre-define processes of access to employment on labour markets. New migrants with low social capital and few economic and symbolic resources suffer the full strength of panoptical measures and some may face physical or social death. Those with social and economic resources can rely on trust-networks and community solidarities and are consequently able to elaborate diversion strategies to circumvent these measures and attain social and spatial integration (Ambrosini 2013). But panoptical measures produce disciplines and spread multi-localised powers: indeed, the majority of new migrants are subjected to different pressures—not always continuously—in the States of origin, transit and settlement. Each country, each society, constantly reconstructs its own conception of integration. That process impinges differently on the migrants' destiny. The outcome of the residence permit application and the type of permit granted greatly determine the conditions of access to a job, and to a place in the different member-States.

For example in the democratic European states, asylum seekers and refugees are assigned to spaces of weak legitimacy and social invisibility. In order to access social rights such as employment and housing individuals have to perform suitable identities before State administrations; they are expected to relate their lives, including intimate details likely to affect them emotionally.

At the same time, on the administrative site, methods of triage determine the access–or lack of–of the weakest and most vulnerable people to mainstream social competition, and their capacity to ensure and maintain their participation (Ehrenberg 2010). The operation of these panoptic

apparatuses is based on institutional categories and classifications of refugees, migrants, asylum seekers, war refugees, economic migrants, illegal migrants… The policy of institutional, publicized, populist or learned classifications does not objectively reflect the movements experienced by these populations to aid the triage policies for those who cross borders (Agier 2017).

A range of bio-political apparatuses are in place to identify, define and control the intentions and actions of refugees who are expected to produce and adhere to narrative identities consonant with the norms of institutions, such as attitudes toward democracy, religion, or norms of gender relations. As Didier Fassin (2005) has suggested, this double process of injunction to be oneself and of submission to the State can be described as a "double process of subjectification and subjection."

In European societies, urban management produces forms of government which articulate moral economies and administrative techniques in order to control the inclusion of refugees and new migrants. These "technologies of government" (Foucault 2001) aim to *domesticate* asylum seekers, refugees and new migrants, in the original meaning of the expression, and produce contexts of domination. If the bio-power exercised by the humanitarian government is based on counting and sorting techniques, it also presupposes the production of moral economies of suspicion, contempt, and compassion. In the context of interactions between social workers, refugees and asylum seekers, moral figures of "heroes", "impostor", "resourcefulness" emerge which will determine the chances of success of the asylum procedure (Agier 2017).

They operate by turning them into suitable domestic subjects. These bio-political apparatuses can be seen as articulating *moral economies of suspicion, contempt, compassion, hospitality* which are embedded in institutions.

The moral economy of suspicion relies upon the principles of discrimination, stigmatisation and non-recognition of migrants, suspected of seeking to divert public provision, notably by taking advantage of social safety nets.

The moral economy of contempt relies upon the principles of moral and physical violence and the non-recognition of the social and moral competences of migrants.

The moral economy of compassion relies upon a weak consideration and a false-recognition of the migrants as well as moral intentions referred to forms of social domination or internal colonialism, in the European instance.

The moral economy of hospitality mobilises public actors and migrants

through the use of adjustments, agreements, consideration, and full recognition of the social, moral, economic and civic competences of populations without rights, employment or social status.

But the economies of suspicion have been particularly widespread and widespread towards newcomers, such as asylum-seekers and refugees, since the first terrorist attacks and the historical perspective invites us to think of the Islamist "problem" as a new ideological foundation, for example the determination of refugee status (Akoka 2017).

The moral economies of suspicion and economy of contempt produce "non-right to the City" and expulsions; moral economies of hospitality and compassion produce "right to the City" and urban affiliations. The two forms of integration are related to the construction of public spaces as hospitable or inhospitable to migrant presences, as they are considered either as welcome guests of unwanted foreigners.

Public actors manufacture moral economies concerning different populations and are producing a kind of an "institutionalized cosmopolitism" (Beck 2006). European democracies are characterised by a pluralism of institutions and a diversity of bio-political apparatuses, produced at the intersection between public authorities and civil societies. For example in France and in Italy, they include economic and social insertion structures or associations aimed at refugees, who often operate through a delegation of public authority.

Segregation on labour markets and migratory economies

Biopolitics and moral economies of suspicion, contempt, compassion are producing disqualification, discrimination and segregation on labour markets.

The issue of access to employment for new migrants on the European labour markets is primarily linked to that of obtaining a work permit. Obviously the most disadvantaged populations are those without work permit. A majority of migrants are registered in the sectors of agriculture, construction, tourism, catering, domestic services and the cleaning sector in all the EU countries but there are variations from a country to another. In the EU countries we can speak of a *double process* of economic insecurity and ethnic discrimination that also combine to produce situations of unemployment faced by migrants. In Europe unemployment and segregations of migrant workers on labour markets generate a market of

"underemployment." In most countries of the European Union ethnic discrimination, insecurity and proliferation of precarious forms of employment contribute today to pulverize the conditions of the work contract (Beck 1992) due to the plurality and flexibility of transitional employments, and to specific forms of work more or less official. This dual process clearly reflects the development of a market of under-employment – at the heart of which stands the figure of the migrant forced by global labour market. We can clearly see how the workforce standards are de-standardized and how the salaried full-time work multiplies into forms of under-skilled work: insecure work, temporary work, seasonal work … And most of new poor migrants are involved in informal economies

In the insecurity and ethnic discrimination, employment statuses keep diversifying and hierarchising by marking the divisions between European workers and migrants or workers of foreign origin, divisions that participate in the over-visibilisation of an ethnic membership and the invisibilising of a professional identity. The hierarchies between the new forms of work contracts give rise to processes of overexposure, designation, social stigmatising of migrants on economic apparatuses. The modes of access to employment are gendered, racialized. The lower the school levels are, the more migrants are exposed to low legitimized contracts, whenever they have access to these contracts. The cultural background, combined with the social origin, the sex and the generational position, participates actively in defining forms of differentiated and prioritized accessibility to labour markets. These forms of accessibility are built through "systemic discrimination" (De Ruder, Poiret and Vourch 2000) which is reflected by a lower treatment than their native counterparts despite comparable or even higher education, qualifications and experience. Migrants are employed in unfavorable conditions for the same qualification, usually on precarious contracts, promotion opportunities and career mobility remain limited, appalling working conditions.

In Europe the process of segregation of migrants on the labour markets means ethnic segmentation that is to say hierarchical proliferation of "ethnic niches" (Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996). How are migrants distributed on the different segments of labour markets? In Europe, OECD Statistics refer essentially to legal permanent migration, so temporary and undeclared migration flows are not taken into account, particularly in the primary sector, mainly agriculture; but agriculture has now lost his central position, except for seasonal work. Secondly traditional industries of manufacturing (textiles and heavy industries) and construction are confirmed as important sources of employment in almost all countries; for example mining and energy

employ a large proportion of migrant workers in Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland. Thirdly unskilled services jobs in tourism, hotels and restaurants. Migrant workers are also over-represented in the sectors of health and social work, and household services, especially in *care work* with a large proportion of women. Migrants workers are never over-represented in sectors of education and administration. Finally we could observe an ethnic hierarchy between migrant workers on labour markets: for example in Italy migrants from eastern European countries are mainly concentrated in agriculture, hotels and restaurants, and household services, while Romanian and Adnanians cluster in the construction sector, and African migrants are over-represented in manufacturing. In Finland, Russians are employed in healthcare, transport and cleaning, Estonians in sales, transport and construction, Vietnamese in manufacturing sectors… in Bulgaria, due to the recent accession of the country to the EU, migrant workers are fully integrated into the labour market and have quite the same employment conditions as Bulgarian nationals (Ambrosini 2007).

The modes of access to employment are gendered, racialized. The cultural background, combined with the social origin, the sex and the generational position, participates actively in defining forms of differentiated and prioritized accessibility to labour markets.

And for new migrants transnational spaces are the scene of a proliferation of new combinations which can be seen in the increasing differentiation of areas which were formerly a part of the national and supranational fields. Locality, commerciality and ethnicity construct assemblages between polycentric economies and hierarchically organised economies beyond the Nation-States, conjunctions between economic forms of unequal value. International marketplaces and "bazaar economies", in particular, are the vectors of globalisations. However, the international marketplaces are positioned within a hierarchy according to whether the international cities are "global", "partial" or "minor."

The *partial* cities communicate with the global cities and supply them through commercial exchange leading to the multiplication of *bazaar economies* (Geertz 2007). For example, in the bazaars of Milano, Naples, Marseille, Barcelone…. new migrants sell new clothes, belts, scarves, bags, bracelets, calculators, mobile phones etc in central districts.

Transnational economic networks linking cities compete with or even engulf national economies. The nearer international cities come to being "global cities" the more this phenomenon can be observed. Different facets of economic globalisation reveal new hegemonies, competitive forces and

rivalries between the international cities. These economies form networks out of hegemonic dynamics or the dynamics of resistance which, for example, are visible in the transnational circulations of poorly qualified populations. Processes of re-composition, segmentation and diffraction of the local and global labour markets find expression in the multiple constructions of arrangements between the diversified and hierarchically organised forms of labour which influence the mobilities and circulations within and between international cities (Tarrius and Bernet 2010).

Even if international marketplaces and *bazaar economies* are the vectors of globalisations, even if arrangements link international cities from the top and from the bottom, talking of assemblages also obliges one to talk of compositions, competition and conflicts in space. Consequently, a new map can be drawn, a map of new transversal anchor points for both economy and identity, points which are linked by more or less visible lines along which the more or less qualified populations circulate in cities. New migrants, which are compelled to follow the injunctions of mobility, are subjected to numerous displacements and are positioned according to plural modes within economic and social spaces of weak or strong legitimacy.

Migrants, "cosmopolitan actors" and Subpolitics

The new migrants are forming "cosmopolitan communities" to respond to global risks, to then engender "humane" civilization (Beck 2013); opening horizons to integrative opportunities for individuals. In Europe, faced with the issue of new migrants, asylum seekers and refugees, *cosmopolitan communities* are being established. Dealing with humanitarian risks, these communities bring together institutional actors, volunteers, former refugees who have become social workers–all mobilized to create global justice. For example, in France, born from a grass-roots movement, the associations create engagement and collaboration opportunities between refugees and their host society. Today this association has gathered a community of more than 20,000 members: professionals, business owners, artists, athletes, dancers, singers, students…Via subpolitics cosmopolitan communauties on one hand are producing global justice, on another hand are generating new hierarchies, new inequalities and expulsions between migrants, refugees and populations in different places.

Beck (2013) explains emancipatory catastrophism through three conceptual lenses: the violation of sacred norms of human existence,

anthropological shock and social catharsis : social catharsis is cosmopolitan sympathy and solidarity. Could we speak about «emancipatory catastrophism» as Ulrick Beck has suggested ?

Social catharsis could not be reduced to cosmopolitan sympathy and solidarity. The cosmopolitan actors are producing cosmopolitan sympathy from *the regime of respect, the regime of peace, the regime of abdication*, according to the times, the places, the situations they pass from one regime to another. These regimes of action are producing geographies of care. Subpoliitcs thus provoke the construction of moral boundaries between cosmopolitan actors and the populations which produce the situated competences based on the mobilization, selection and aggregation of resources within differentiated repertories of norms.

We may first distinguish different registers of competences among cosmopolitan actors in each regime:

-The *technical* register in which the institutional competence consists in identifying all the needs of the new migrants

-The *contractual* register in which the institutional competence consists in defining and making explicit to the new migrants their social rights

-The *civil* register which concerns the marks of recognition of the ordeal of populations, that is, expressions of courtesy, gestures of support and consolation…

These registers of competence combine and interact to give rise to different models of action subtended by different orders of recognition of the ordeal of the migrants

In the *regime of respect* the migratory ordeals are recognized in their material and moral dimensions the cosmopolitan actors work with a model of action based upon respect. In the register of technical action, they attempt to identify as well as possible the needs of the migrants. In the contractual register, they define and make explicit to the migrants their social rights. In the civil register, they express marks of recognition of the ordeal of the populations, make gesture of consideration, support, consolation …This regime of respect clearly aligns the skills of cosmopolitan actors and migrants to generate projects, undertakings, initiatives of a different nature which, from a context of mutual solidarity and recognition, promote the crossing of cultural and moral borders in the current host society, as well as migrants' social, even economic, affiliations.

In the *regime of peace* cosmopolitan actors work using a model of action

based upon trickery and «on cooling the mark out» (Goffman 1989), the ordeal of the victims is partially recognized in its material and moral dimensions. The biopoliitcs are set up to produce "registers of peace" which favoured the fate of the "good migrants", that is, those who accepted that their ordeal could not disturb the public order. The calls for peace imposed upon the migrants triggered tensions, complaints and disputes revealing inegalitarian modes of redistribution of social, material and moral resources. They also triggered moral suffering among migrants who felt tricked and unrecognized in their ordeal and suffering. In this situation, the cosmopolitan actors do not identify the real needs of the migrants, they do not provide them with precise information about their social rights, they show them false support and do not consider migrants as having competences for action and survival.

Being a cosmopolitan actor requires continued and intense engagements vis-à-vis new migrants, particularly with asylum seekers and refugees. Although, at one point, cosmopolitan actors were strongly mobilized to identify the needs of new migrants, to help them to access rights as citizens–like the right to asylum, the method of consideration of their migratory journey–part of those "on the front line" have become tired of not being able to find solutions for these migrants "expelled" from everywhere. These cosmopolitan actors capitulate and leave their roles, staying with institutions or resigning. We could say that they put themselves into a *regime of abdication*.

We also consider other cosmopolitan actors like volunteers–citizens invested in the migrant aid associations–generate cosmopolitan sympathy and solidarity from new forms of citizen engagement that draw the outlines of "affective communities" (Halbwachs 1950) subpolitics spaces. For example, in France, citizen accommodation initiatives on the theme of asylum were organized; the CALM program (*Comme à la maison*: Like at Home) by the association S. enables households in Paris, Lille, Lyon or Montpellier to welcome a refugee for a period of three to twelve months. There are also other spontaneous initiatives of hosting refugees in one's home. In the event of summons to the OFPRA (French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons) and the CNDA (National Court of Asylum), the French State takes in charge one-way train tickets for asylum seekers but not accommodation. To respond to this problem, social workers or asylum seekers post temporary accommodation requests for Paris and Parisians offer to accommodate those seeking lodgment.

In subpolitics spaces some migrants could actively mobilize their repertoires of social, economic and moral resources to progressively become cosmopolitan actors like, for example, the Iranian refugee, president of a

migrant aid association, involved in the presidential campaign of Mousavi in Iran, and who had to flee the country following the contested defeat of the latter and the subsequent repression.

Cosmopolitan actors in different spaces and times does express we are turning toward convergence in global justice base on the fabric of new subpolitics. So we would consider new global grammars of respect are elaborating in different contexts, cultural configurations and social situations.

Migratory careers and inegalitarian cosmopolitanism

Ulrich Beck (2006) spoke of "cosmopolitisation of biographies" and "geographic polygamy" that are organised around cultural differences, social and gender inequalities by producing what we called the *global individuation* (Roulleau-Berger 2013), by revealing a process of formation of "partially denationalized classes" in the European case (Sassen 2006, 2007).

Capital related to social and family legacies influence the effects of biographical discontinuity and are revealed in the mode of organisation of resource repertoires; the broader the resource repertoires are, the more organised they are and the more people can manage the effects of biographical discontinuity. Social capital are strengthened today in a context of increased migration and development of flexible capitalism.

In a context of economic uncertainty and increasing migrations biographical trajectories then continue to diversify by producing complex itineraries. Foremost this process of individuation is characterized by a proliferation of biographical bifurcations (Grossetti 2006) and reversibilities of situations. Indeed, the careers of migrants are constructed from bifurcations that correspond to the conjunction of migration steps, that is to say changes in space systems in the form of geographical mobility, and changes in economic regimes, in the form of professional mobility. In the biographical process these bifurcations can become affiliation in the sense that they multiply the contact points with the host societies, or poorly integrated when they produce accumulations of differences with the host societies. At each bifurcation sites, events, biopolitics and subpolitics influence the repertoires of individual resources which rearrange to reconstitute the statuses, places and social identities of individuals. But reflexive skills influence the modes and forms of recomposition of repertoire of resources, that is to say about the degree of predictability of situations of change. When the bifurcations are unexpected, when there are emergencies, reflexive skills are developed to

manage the effects of interference or identity shocks. Here appear inequalities which are built on the experience of migration based on the ratio between biographical bifurcations, social and personal resources and reflexive skills. Bifurcations mean professional and social mobilities, they also do express capabilities of action and reflexivity from migrants (Roulleau-Berger 2017).

Among 'polygamic' biographies we have distinguished four major types of migratory careers which reveal the salient processes of local and global affiliation.

Wasted lives and global expulsions

The careers of those expelled are constructed from a succession of increasingly degrading and discrediting situations for the individuals, who become increasingly invisible by crossing borders, by going from one country, one city, to another. Although inequalities develop in this process of expulsion from global society, the migrants may originally be from middle-class or upper-class families, as well as farming or working classes.

These migrants find themselves coerced into a denial of existence, to "wasted lives" (Bauman 2004) made of situations of great moral and material insecurity, finding themselves lost, cut off from their families, wives, husbands and children.

Pressured into silence while enduring irregularity, threats of expulsion in a variety of countries, living in fear of being tracked, and depicted as undesirable in global society, these migrants experience restricted movements that write the narrative of a global society of expelled persons condemned to empty lives, lost lives.

Globalized hoboes and uncertainty

The less qualified migrants who move from one place to another and accumulate spatial mobility, linked to the work situation. The trajectories of these new 'hoboes' (Anderson 1993) structure themselves on the basis of uncontrolled biographical bifurcations which multiply with the conjunction of various situations. The bifurcations find expression in the conjunction of economic multi-activity and of several spatial anchorages. They are helped by the effects of networks constructed by strong family links, or linked to the sense of belonging to their place of origin; and weak links connected to new social resources acquired through their geographical mobility. Because there is attachment to the place of origin and the restructuring of feelings, these

'hoboes' can circulate throughoutthe world. The conflicts between different attachments to places create *double-bind* situations in the moral careers of these migrants which generate loneliness and suffering, preventing them to develop strong capabilities.

Entrepreneurs and global integration

We will distinguish economic entrepreneurs and moral entrepreneurs (Becker 1963).

Economic traders and entrepreneurs develop biographical trajectories in which the bifurcations appear to be controlled by a strong capacity to articulate several places, territories and economic networks. The bifurcations are organised around knowing how to travel, and a great capacity to accumulate economic, social and symbolic resources in the different places, by following the distribution channels and the circulation of products or by creating services around the same economic activity. The volume of social, economic and symbolic resources increases rapidly by acting the broadening of repertoires of individual resources in an entrepreneurial dynamic.

In the communauties of destiny careers of moral entrepreneurs are also emerging, for example some migrants are becoming social workers or mediators in associations in charge of migrants. These new moral entrepreneurs are qualified and had a quite good social position in their country.

Linear urban careers

This designates the migrants who develop horizontal mobility rarely shaken by biographical bifurcations, during which the repertoires of individual resources are maintained in producing a partial social integration. The proximity of workplace, house and family life create subjectivities and affective security which produce capabilities and situations of self-management which is experienced positively by the individual.

Careers of social mobility

These cover in particular qualified or highly qualified middle class migrants who build up geographical mobility, during which the social, economic and symbolic resources accumulate to produce upward social mobility. The biographical bifurcations create affiliations and signs of social acceptance.

The volume of resources continues to produce the broadening of the economic, social and symbolic repertoires by producing upward social mobility.

So we are compelled to think inequalities in the different types of "polygamic" biographies, and also to think them as non-static, *multi-situated* (Roulleau-Berger 2010), and then complex and dynamic. Multi-situated inequalities also appear as reversible because a same migrant may very well live a situation of inequality amplified with regard to the previous one at a certain point, but that situation may very well decrease later in another context. A same individual may appear as "great" in a given context and as "small" in another. In contemporary migrations, the amplification, or reduction, of social inequalities consequently appears as a discontinuous process while it could be defined as more linear in previous migrations. In the passing from one context to another, more or less strong discrepancies are produced between varying social positions according to societal contexts and individual trajectories. Either inequalities add to each other, or they decrease by the effect of compensation between weak positions in a given societal context or strong positions in another.

Conclusion

If European democracies generate more and more situations of inequality and injustice, in the context of the neoliberalization they also generate new social movements. In facing societies which deprive them of any position, new migrants develop new forms of collective actions, on the fringes of the conventional political sphere, individual and collective commitments are redefined in different forms of intermediate spaces, at the margins of spaces of political, administrative and economic legitimacy. In these intermediate spaces, the agency of migrant minorities becomes visible. New claims can be heard, new practices appear and new narratives emerge as individuals attempt to make sense of their common experience and to reclaim their own subjectivity. If moral economies and bio-political apparatuses shape the local contexts of government applied to these migrant populations, they also shape the contexts where collective action is negotiated. In this respect, collective frames of action outline new geographies of resistance, which define new grammars of mutual recognition, and new forms of collective affiliation in a global public space. So how to define cosmopolitanism today? Where are the cosmopolitan actors? What does it mean risk governance in Asia and in

Europe? How Asian sociologists and European sociologists could produce common non-hegemonic knowledge and "post-Western" sociology together?

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