

# **G**LOBALISED **M**INDS, **R**ROOTS **I**N **T**HE **C**ITY

.....

**U**rbain **U**pper-**M**iddle **C**lasses  
in **E**urope

Alberta Andreotti, Patrick Le Galès  
and Francisco Javier Moreno Fuentes

.....

An aerial, black and white photograph of a city, likely London, showing a dense urban landscape with a river (the Thames) winding through it. In the foreground, the white wing and tail fin of an airplane are visible, suggesting the view is from an elevated perspective, possibly from an aircraft window. The city below is a complex grid of buildings and streets, with a prominent bridge crossing the river.

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‘This book bravely takes on some of the key issues agitating sociology – the value of classical sociological categories in a more transnational, mobile and cosmopolitan urban world; the socio-spatial consequences of recent transformations in capitalism; and the continued relevance, or not, of historical trajectories. The result is a wonderful, well researched, scholarly addition to these literatures that finally brings them all together. The book demonstrates the real value of deep empirical investigation in dislodging a priori but pervasive representations of class in the city.’

– **Loretta Lees, Professor of Human Geography,  
University of Leicester**

‘This brilliant book is a much needed contribution, as it moves ongoing conversations about globalization and its effects to a whole new level of theoretical sophistication and empirical rigor. Through a meticulous and detailed examination of evidence, the authors reveal how and to what extent the European upper middle class has become transnational (the answer: less than predicted by speculating social theorists). This powerful contribution will certainly leave its mark on the study of contemporary inequality, transnationalism, spatial transformations, and social change in European societies.’

– **Michele Lamont, Harvard University**

‘Many social theorists have become enamoured with the idea that a global capitalist class has emerged and with it, a new global society. The agents of this process are assumed to live nowhere and have allegiance to no one but themselves. This wonderful book skewers these arguments by actually talking to people who appear to be this

vanguard (managers having lived and worked abroad in four European cities) and reporting how they feel, act, and think, about the places where they live. Suffice it to say, the evidence for these broad claims is lacking. The image one gets is of a European upper middle class, one whose transnationalism is restricted in time and space to Europe. As such, their values and behavior are similar to middle class people everywhere. They like the variety and tradition of the places they live and want to preserve it, but at the same time value the freedom of modern life whereby people can pursue opportunity and live enlightened lives.'

— **Neil Fligstein, Department of Sociology, University of California**

'This stunning comparative study offers the most sensitive and systematic analysis yet of the ongoing role of the city in the hearts and minds of the European upper middle classes. In refuting simplistic arguments about the rise of global mobility, it demonstrates the appeal of the urban in the lives of privileged social groups. A compelling analysis which must be read by all urban scholars and all those interested in class and inequality.'

— **Mike Savage, Martin White Professor of Sociology, Head of Department, LSE**

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# **Globalised Minds, Roots in the City**

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## **Urban Upper-Middle Classes in Europe**

Alberta Andreotti,  
Patrick Le Galès and  
Francisco Javier Moreno-Fuentes

**WILEY** Blackwell

This edition first published 2015

© 2015 Alberta Andreotti, Patrick Le Galès and Francisco Javier Moreno-Fuentes

*Registered Office*

John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

*Editorial Offices*

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

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*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Andreotti, Alberta.

Globalised minds, roots in the city : urban upper-middle classes in Europe / Alberta Andreotti, Patrick Le Galès and Francisco Javier Moreno-Fuentes.

pages cm -- (Studies in urban and social change)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4443-3484-5 (hardback) -- ISBN 978-1-4443-3485-2 (paper) 1. Upper class--Europe. 2. Middle class--Europe. 3. Professional employees--Europe. 4. Executives--Europe. I. Le Galès, Patrick. II. Moreno Fuentes, Francisco Javier. III. Title.

HN380.Z9S6135 2015

305.5'2094--dc23

2014031689

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Cover image: Paris seen from the plane, France, © Mikadun / Shutterstock



## Series Editors' Preface

The Wiley Blackwell *Studies in Urban and Social Change* series is published in association with the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. It aims to advance theoretical debates and empirical analyses stimulated by changes in the fortunes of cities and regions across the world. Among topics taken up in past volumes and welcomed for future submissions are:

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Jenny Robinson, Manuel Aalbers, Dorothee Brantz,  
Patrick Le Galès, Chris Pickvance, Ananya Roy and  
Fulong Wu

## Preface

Comparative research is a fascinating endeavour, but it takes time to get funding, to work on categories, to understand each other's societies, to design a common questionnaire, to deal with the interpretation of quantitative and qualitative data in four cities in three countries, to visit and gain an understanding of 16 neighbourhoods, and to write with six hands in a common language that is not the mother tongue of any of us. With these preemptive justifications, we can see how the research and the book took eight years to be finished.

The research started at Sciences Po when Alberta Andreotti and Francisco Javier Moreno Fuentes spent some time as post-docs within the European Research and Training Network UrbEurope financed by the EU. It was led by Enzo Mingione and Yuri Kazepov and brought together seven universities. Enzo and Yuri have always encouraged us during the research and drafting of the book, providing critical comments at different stages of the process.

Together with François Bonnet, at that time a promising PhD candidate, we worked on a project that was initially financed by the research branch of the French ministry of infrastructure, the Plan Urbanisme Construction Architecture. We acknowledge the support of Anne Querrien, Evelyne Perrin, Nicole Rousier and most crucially François Menard, for their support, the funds, the seminars they run and their interest in our research. The first analyses of the data came out as a Plan Urbanisme Construction Architecture report in 2008 (*Les cadres supérieurs et la globalisation, Mobilité, ancrage, ségrégation et exit partiel dans les villes européennes. Une enquête exploratoire*). The report was written with the help

of François Bonnet and the support of Odile Gautier-Voituriez, who helped in many respects. Gina Sandanassamy was, as usual, great in helping us deal with managing the budget.

On top of these European and French funds, we aggregated various sources of money from Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) in Madrid, from Milan-Bicocca and from Sciences Po, where our research group 'Cities are back in town' benefited from the resources made available by Bruno Latour and the administrative infrastructure from the Centre d'Etudes Européennes. We thank Bruno Latour, Renaud Dehousse and the Centre d'Etudes Européennes's administrative staff, Linda Amrani, Sophie Jacquot, Samia Saadi and Katia Rio, for their help. Francisco Javier Moreno Fuentes and Patrick Le Galès obtained some resources from the Picasso Spanish-French research cooperation scheme, and we thank them profusely for this as well. We also thank our colleagues and staff at Institute of Public Goods and Policies at the CSIC in Madrid, as well as at the department of Sociology of the university of Milan-Bicocca for support and insights. Patrick Le Galès also acknowledges the support of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne. Final revisions of chapters were carried out while he was a scholar in Residence in Cologne at the invitation of Jens Beckert and Wolfgang Streeck.

Our first thanks goes to the 480 managers from four different cities in three different countries who kindly agreed to spend some of their scarce time talking to us about their personal and professional trajectories, and often reflecting with us about life and its complexities. Without their availability and generosity, this research would not have been possible.

Carrying out nearly 500 face-to-face interviews requires quite a bit of logistics, and it was only thanks to the help of many colleagues and institutions who collaborated, in one way or another, in this project that it was at all possible. Viviane Le Hay was central to helping us design the quantitative part of the research, and the framework for the data analysis, while Alberta Andreotti remained in charge of the design of the network analysis. Vincent Tiberj checked questions on values and made the connections with European Social Survey surveys. Patrick Le Galès started the initial stages of the research by designing the questionnaire with Alberta Andreotti and François Bonnet for the Parisian case. He supervised the Paris case and worked in Le Vésinet. Alberta Andreotti conducted the interviews in the 10th arrondissement of Paris, while Brigitte Fouilland, in charge of the urban masters at Sciences Po, worked in the 15th arrondissement. Charlotte Halpern and Julie Pollard dealt with the 17th arrondissement. Barbara De Roit and Stefania Sabatinelli (who came to Paris as PhD candidates and post-docs also within the Research and Training Network-UrbEurope project) both conducted interviews in Fontenay Sous Bois. Mathieu Zagrodski helped to complete some interviews and coded a large part of the survey data. In Lyon, François Bonnet led a team of young researchers in conducting the interviews. We also like to thank Hugo Bertillot (Sciences Po) for the interviews in this city.

The research in Milan was performed under the supervision of Alberta Andreotti, and several people collaborated very actively in the process of generating the interviews in that city. Thus, Chiara Respi conducted the interviews in Vimercate; Mariagrazia Gambardella, Roberta Bosisio, Marco Pizzoni and Laura Boschetti conducted the interviews in the city centre of Milan and Lorenteggio; and Adele Falbo together with Alessandra Armellin conducted

the interviews in Arese. We thank the Fondazione Bignaschi for logistic and administrative support during this process. We would also like to thank ManagerItalia, and in particular Marisa Montegiove and Gianpaolo Bossini, for their help in finding managers to interview. The alumni association of the Politecnico di Milano, the Comune di Milano (in particular Maria Luisa Cavallazzi), the Attività Educative e Supporto Pedagogico, Settore Servizi all'Infanzia and the General Director of the Comune di Vimercate all helped us in different ways and capacities in the complex process of finding managers to include in our sample.

The case study of Madrid was carried out by Francisco Javier Moreno Fuentes, with the support of a group of young colleagues who conducted interviews with managers from the four neighbourhoods included in this case. Thus, María José Mateo Risueño, Pilar Moreno Vera, María Garrote de Marcos and José Fernández Núñez conducted a series of interviews, and 'Andaira', a cooperative of sociologists (including Ariadna de la Rubia Rodríguez, Nuria Sánchez Díaz and Beatriz Garde Lobo), conducted another big chunk of interviews. As in the other cases, contacting managers that would fit the profile we were searching for, and who would be willing to participate in this initiative, constituted one of the biggest challenges of the research. In this respect, the collaboration of a series of institutions was central. We must particularly thank the alumni association of the ESADE Business School, the alumni association of the La Caixa scholarships and the Colegio de Ingenieros de Caminos, Canales y Puertos of Madrid. They did a great job at mobilising their members and asking for volunteers to participate in this initiative, a call to which many of their members generously answered.

In addition to being a close friend and a wonderful intellectual colleague, Edmond Préteceille provided us with

early and crucial methodological and theoretical advice, and inspired us with his great typology of neighbourhoods in Paris. He is one of the most sophisticated comparative urban sociologists of the time, and it has been a luxury to count on his support. The project was also very much influenced by a rich interaction and intellectual exchange with Michael Savage. His book *Globalisation and Belonging*, written together with Bagnall and Longhurst, has been a constant source of inspiration and reference for us. While he was a Visiting Professor at Sciences Po, at the same time that Alberta and Francisco Javier were there, his comments were very important for the launch of the project. We published our first piece about this research in the book *Networked Urbanism* he edited with Talja Blockland.

Tim Butler, has been a constant intellectual support for this project, and he shared with us his questionnaires, his data on London, many references, good ideas and jokes. As a regular Visiting Professor at Sciences Po from King's College London, where he is normally based, he, more than anybody else, has witnessed the ups and downs of this project. Adrian Favell, then at UCLA, was another source of intellectual inspiration and support for us. His book 'Eurostars and Eurocities' constitutes, in many ways, the other side of the coin of the social phenomenon we are studying, so we greatly benefited from discussions with him about methods, references and concepts to develop our research. Now at Sciences Po, Adrian has also greatly helped us during the final stages of writing the book.

Neil Fligstein and Juan Díez Medrano, together with Jurgen Gerhards, Ettore Recchi, Steffen Mau and Virginie Guiraudon, constitute a new generation of sociologist aiming at thinking and developing research about the making of elements of a European society, and they were a constant reference for us. We were fortunate to participate

in some of their research endeavours, and to publish a chapter in Favell and Guiraudon's volume on the *Sociology of the European Union*.

Once a first draft of this book was completed, we asked a group of colleagues to read it and to spend a day with us giving us feedback on our work. They provided us with plenty of comments and suggestions that greatly helped us to restructure the book. We must therefore explicitly thank Thomas Aguilera, Marie-Hélène Bacqué, Tim Butler, Bruno Cousin, Juan Díez Medrano, Antoine Jardin, Enzo Mingione, Marco Oberti, Edmond Préteceille and Tommaso Vitale for participating in that meeting and for providing us with insightful criticisms and constructive ideas on how to improve our book. In the final stages of drafting this volume, Adrian Favell, Tim Butler, Mike Savage and two anonymous referees gave excellent insights and suggestions on how to polish the manuscript, so we did our best to take their comments into consideration. We are particularly grateful to Chris Pickvance who did a careful detailed review of the original manuscript. On top this, with the second version, he provided us with key insights and suggestions that were crucial for the revision. We are very grateful for his great comments.

During the drafting of the book, we worked closely with Melanie Mauthner, who has done a systematic rewriting of our three types of 'continental European English'. She has been wonderful to work with, and the book owes much to her quiet perseverance and hard work. Thanks to Camille Alle, who reviewed and completed the bibliography. We are also very grateful to Marianna D'Ovidio and the GIS Laboratory of the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales-CSIC for their help in drawing the maps of the neighbourhoods and cities included in our research. Jacqueline Scott, from Wiley-Blackwell, and Jenny Robinson, the series editor, have to be specially thanked for

their patience and support during this extremely long production process.

Different papers related to this research project were presented in seminars and conferences at different stages of completion, within our own research centres (at CSIC in Madrid, the University of Milan-Bicocca and Sciences Po at the Centre d'Etudes Européennes). We were also fortunate to be invited to present part of the research in different contexts, and we would like to thank colleagues from the Groupement De Recherches cadres (Olivier Cousin), Centre for European Studies and the inequalities programme at Harvard, King's College London, the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne, the Sociology Department of the University of Delhi, the Department of Sociology II of the Universidad Complutense of Madrid, the CIIMU in Barcelona and the Sociology Department at Columbia University's conference on elites for giving us the opportunity to present our work and discuss with them our findings.

The Research Committee 21 (urban and regional research) from the International Sociological Association was, as always, a major resource to present our research. Particularly useful in that context were the comments at the session run by Paul Watt at the 2010 Goteborg Conference. Our research was also presented at the French Sociological Association meeting in Bordeaux (Urban Sociology), at the annual meeting of the Council of European Studies in Montreal and Madrid, at the Society for Advanced Socio Economics in Paris and during a session of Agnes Van Zanten's workshop on elites. The research was also presented in a session of the Successful Society Program from CIFAR, led by Peter Hall and Michèle Lamont, as well as in seminars at the universities of Manchester, Maynooth (Ireland), Ca' Foscari at Venezia, Princeton, Humboldt in Berlin and Tonji in Shanghai. We



thank all the colleagues who participated in those events  
for their comments.

# **Introduction: Globalisation and the Coming Age of New Barbarians? Upper-Middle Classes in European Cities**

Amused and inspired by his former students at the London Business School, Angell wrote the 'The New Barbarian Manifesto' in the early 2000s, identifying an emerging class of transnational mobile rational actors taking advantage of collective goods and services in the places where they lived.<sup>1</sup> They did not invest resources, did not commit to local places and were going private and temporary for as many services as possible, except when they could benefit at no cost from the public provision of good services. Long live the free high-tech nomad riders, he argued! And good riddance to the old world of irrelevant institutions and states. The quick, well trained will survive, while the others will become poor or die. Not shy of a provocation, that book may be read as a compilation of tricks to survive the information age in an increasingly globalised world, and aimed at young and aspiring middle classes working in the financial and high-tech sectors. The free-rider spirit promoted by Angell encourages those groups to make money while undermining existing social structures, states, taxation systems and old national elites.

Beyond the futurist high-tech rhetoric and apology for the new barbarian, the book raises a fundamental question for contemporary social sciences: to what extent do transnational mobilities associated with globalisation trends erode national societies and provide incentives for individuals to maximise their interests at the expense of institutions, collective organisations, families, states,

religions and social or ethnic groups? Does mobility make the old ideas of societies obsolete, as famously suggested by John Urry (2000)? Is a new 'cosmopolitan society' in the making, to use the words of Ulrich Beck thereby destroying classic understandings of belonging, settlement, embeddedness, rootedness and nation states? And what about cities? They are the natural recipients of transnational immigration, poor and rich alike, and some of them are characterised by 'super diversity' (Vertovec, 2007). Do networks and circulation destroy old ideas of identity, urbanity and social rootedness in the city, thus giving more support to ideas of a fluid 'post metropolis' (Soja, 2000)? Or does this just reveal old tricks from the elites of a globalised financial capitalism where mobility legitimates the making of a transnational bourgeoisie escaping the constraints (such as paying taxes) of the nation states (Sklair, 2000)? These are some of the questions we address in this book, discussed from a particular stance, that of upper-middle classes living in Lyon, Madrid, Milan and Paris. If change is taking place, via mobility dynamics radically transforming societies and cities, then south-western Europe is an interesting case to explore.

How are European societies and cities changing in relation to globalisation? Is Angell's 'new barbarian' the archetype of the upper-middle-class resident of European cities? The starting point of this book is, in fact, a puzzle over the apparently slow making of post-national societies in Europe. Individuals and groups are certainly becoming more mobile across the globe: migrants and expatriates constitute a significantly visible group of the population, and transnational practices seem to be increasingly present in citizens' everyday practices. Nevertheless, although those processes make sense for Western European cities, they do not seem to have radically altered the structure

and patterns of use of public services, the social interactions, mobility practices or the residential strategies of European upper-middle classes. For instance, despite the European Commission's efforts to relentlessly promote the free movement of European citizens as part of the single market for capital, goods, services and people, the statistics keep showing that Europeans do not move that much: only 1.5–2% of Europeans from the EU-15 countries move each year to another country, a relatively low (and slowly increasing) figure over time.

This book investigates the role of urban upper-middle classes in the transformations experienced by contemporary European societies, and it links our analysis to debates on the emergence of a transnational bourgeoisie. Three main questions structure this analysis:

- The rise of transnational mobilities and/or transactions may produce social differentiation processes and play a role in restructuring the social order and social hierarchies within national societies, creating new inequalities. Is a new European managerial class in the making in the European metropolis in relation to European/global processes? Do transnationalisation processes transform national social orders and hierarchies?
- Do upper-middle classes become barbarians in the cities they inhabit? Do they pursue secession and privatisation strategies? Do they abandon public spaces and avoid interactions with other social and ethnic groups? Do they congregate in upper-middle-class enclaves?
- Can we find a stratum of upper or middle classes in European cities who take particular advantage of mobility to put into practice strategies of 'exit' or

'partial exit' with respect to their nation state? Is there a pattern of growing social differentiation emerging?

Jacques Donzelot (1999) and Marie-Christine Jaillet (1999) put forward the argument of the 'secession of the middle classes', claiming that urban upper-middle classes are increasingly oriented towards privatised and individualised lifestyles in relation to the public space and public welfare services, avoiding mixing with lower social classes as a way to try to maintain their social status. Based upon the empirical evidence generated in our research, this book argues that European urban upper-middle classes are certainly becoming more cosmopolitan, partially 'exiting' from their national society while remaining locally rooted and skilfully playing a complex game of distance and proximity with regard to other social groups in their urban environments. But they also invest resources in the cities and neighbourhoods where they live and only look for social secession or gated-communities strategies in very specific contexts. The managers interviewed in this research remain in control of the social and spatial distance they keep with diverse social and ethnic groups living in their areas of residence. These upper-middle classes therefore have a globalised mind but remain firmly rooted in their local urban environments, where they belong to dense networks of friends and family, and where they invest in the functioning of the local social and political sphere.

## **Globalisation, Transnationalism and Mobility in European Cities**

The rise of modern nation states during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries paved the way for powerful processes of nationalisation and differentiation of European societies through urbanisation, industrialisation, wars and public

policies (infrastructure building, education, welfare states, labour markets, etc.; Therborn, 1995, 2009). Following Max Weber, Stefano Bartolini (2005) suggests that the making of national societies relied on two main mechanisms: the closure of borders and the creation of stronger interdependencies within each society. The first mechanism aimed at preventing external influences to play a role in the making of the national social and political order. National elites tried to prevent transnational forces, such as religious organisations (Catholics in France, for instance), international socialist movements or international capitalists, from playing a structuring role in their national society. The second mechanism intended to create interdependences between different (class and status) groups to reinforce feelings of belonging to the nation.

European societies are, in fact, deeply territorialised because of the tradition of a stable peasantry tilling the land (Mendras, 1997), and the long history of medium-sized cities, particularly those running through the north-to-south heartland of the continent, from the Low Countries to northern Italy (Kaelble, 1990). Britain, where industrialisation shaped the urban structure more than anywhere else, is a major exception in this respect. Weber's analysis of the Western city already highlighted these points, and numerous historians have argued about the long-term stability of European urban structures, the interconnection of cities across the continent through trade and other forms of interaction (Pinol, 2003). Modern Europe has thus largely emerged from the developing relationship of a longstanding structure of cities, followed by the later emergent nation states, a process famously studied by Tilly (1990). In this history, cities managed to retain a certain degree of autonomy from nation states, a feature that might be recurring in a world where nation states are, at least partly, eroding.