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'Becoming a citizen of the world' : sociological study of biographical narratives of new cosmopolitans

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'Becoming a citizen of the world'



*Sociological study of
biographical narratives of new
cosmopolitans*

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Sciences

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Abstract

Studies of identity constitute one of the most dynamic areas of sociological inquiry. In the light of global changes - economic, political and cultural - the overall structure of social and personal identifications is under a constant process of reconstruction. 'Becoming a Citizen of the World' is a research project designed to explore how identities change, especially in circumstances of transnational mobility, and to engage with theoretical discussions on cosmopolitanism. The inquiry is based on the analysis of 25 autobiographical narrative interviews with transnational individuals. The process of analysis employs three different analytical models - the formal structural analysis of Schütze, the narrative ethnography of Gubrium and Holstein, and the fuzzy set analysis of Ragin. The overall research process focuses on two main strands of the academic discussion: theoretical, dealing with transnationality and identity; and methodological, exploring innovative analytical approaches to biographical data. The investigation of cosmopolitanism focuses on biographical dispositions, perceptions of mobility and identity adjustments. It considers biographical elements that constitute empirical indicators for cosmopolitanism and the idea that cosmopolitanism is an outcome of the reconstruction of overall identity configurations. The methodological discussion examines the differences between analytical models - allowing for a systematic exploration of the different levels of transnational biographical experience, including meaning-making, transnational practices and emotional attachments, which add up to the formation of identifications beyond the nation state. It engages with the issues of validity, generalisation and dissemination of biographical research, and contributes to the discussion concerning methodological cosmopolitanism. The multi-dimensional findings suggest that autobiographical narrative data offer fascinating insights into identity formation processes and that the data can be analysed most effectively through a combination of complementary analytical models, each of which provides a unique perspective on the subjective experiences of transnational individuals.

Introduction

The issue of the second question

It all starts with the second question. When meeting for the first time, strangers exchange their name first and then ask the one question that is very simple to answer in a normal situation but has become increasingly difficult to respond to in our contemporary world: where are you from? With this second question, an attempt is made to place the person on one's mental map, to judge how geographically distant or close one's conversation partner is. The friendly second question forms the beginning of an assessment process that assumes the counterpart's place of origin provides some additional information about who he or she is, often enclosed in common sense or stereotypes, and more importantly what the person's relative position is in relation to the speaker. The answer to where you are from question should be natural and simple – one, maybe two words – and it should be stated with a sense of pride, like an emblematic statement which immediately classifies the person as one or the other.

The question, as simple and as conversationally safe as it may seem to be at the beginning of any first encounter with the stranger is, however not without its problems. Firstly, it may refer to different scales of places. To give the 'right' answer depends on one's assessment of the person asking the question, the language used and the situation it is posed in. A person with the same nationality, a native speaker of one's own language will likely want to know one's city of origin, region or simply the city district, whereas stating one's nationality, sometimes even the continent, would be expected when asked by a foreigner. Secondly, because the answer will shape the way in which the speaker is perceived, the status of the place one wants to be associated with might come into consideration. A small village or big city, an undeveloped third-world country or an exotic, mysterious place all carry different symbolic messages, different sets of associations and first impressions. Thirdly, recognition of the place is important. There is nothing more troubling than when the person who has asked the question is unexpectedly stumbling into a whole world of names of places he or she knows nothing about. Without recognition there is no set of associations, and so the speaker is required to try to explain the place on a mental map, referring to a bigger city nearby, the region, country or continent – places which do not necessarily describe his or her origin at all.

The problem with 'Where are you from?' is the assumption that giving an answer is simple. Where a person comes from could indicate where he or she was born, where he or she lives and works, where his or her accent is from and how it happened that he or she happens to be here right now. Yet for an increasing number of people the answers to all of these implied questions would be more complex than the name of merely one place. The confusion arising with the second question is only a modest implication of the complexity of the personal and social relationships brought into the question and recognition by experiences of individual mobility, whether from a village to a city in moderate cases, from one country to another or from continent to continent in a more complex scenario.

The same processes and difficulties emerge with the question at the core of this PhD thesis. Asking someone to tell his or her life story is no more complex in its structure but reveals a whole new world of meanings, discourses and justifications. Through

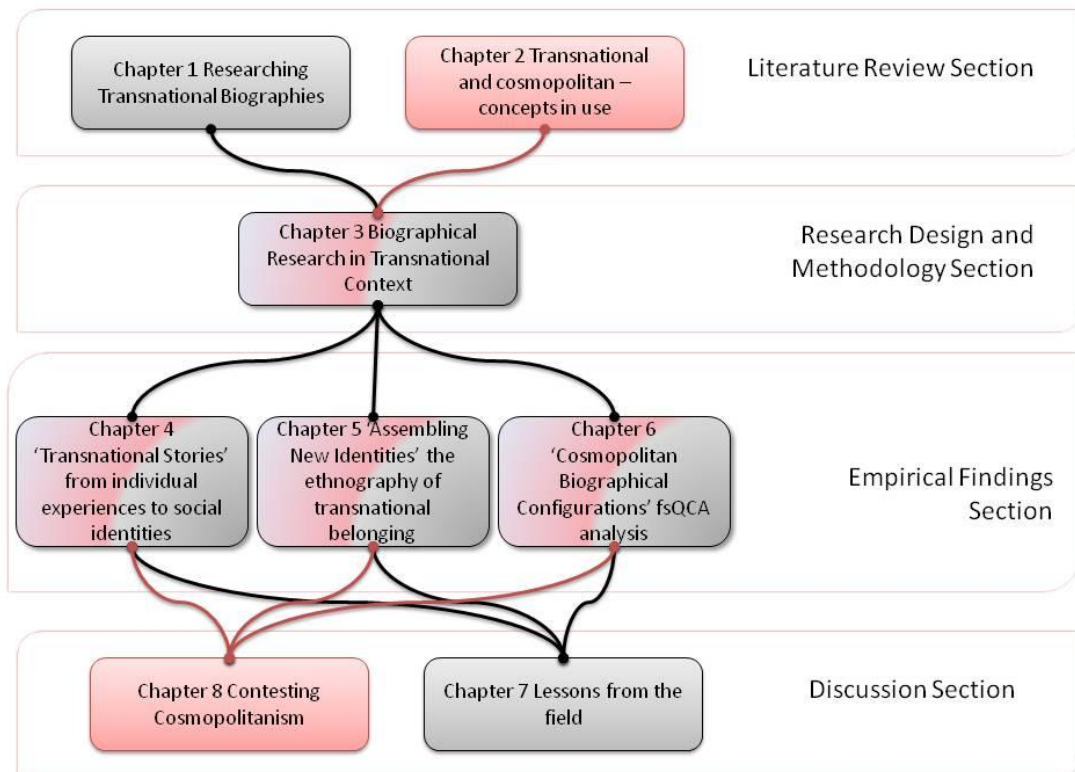
the stories of childhood adventures, educational encounters, intimate relationships and significant others the narrator uncovers the complex social relations between individuals and communities, value hierarchies and moral justifications, but when put in a transnational context, life stories become personal accounts of change – of the transnational individuals and of their social worlds.

Becoming a citizen of the world is a research project combining the theoretical issues of transnational identities and sense of belonging with the autobiographical narrative methods of social inquiry. The project is an independent undertaking which is linked with the EU FP7 research project EuroIdentities¹ both in terms of its primary data collection as well as research training. Out of 200 autobiographical interviews carried out by the EuroIdentities research teams a sample of 25 was selected and independently analysed using a three-method comparative research design, which was specifically developed to amplify the potential for identity discourse based on analysis of narratives. The comparison between methods and the theoretical focus on cosmopolitanism are both key aspects of the study.

In terms of sociological theory, the project explores issues of individual mobility narratives, transnational practices embedded within local and global patterns, and cosmopolitanism. The methodological discussion follows the main research hypothesis and suggests that the application of three distinctive and diverse analytical methods – the formal structural analysis of Schütze, narrative ethnography of Gubrium and Holstein, and fuzzy set analysis of Ragin – allows for an exploration of different levels of transnational biographical experiences, including meaning-making, transnational practices and emotional attachments, which add up to the formation of identifications beyond the nation state. The methods are seen as complementary to the narrative analysis of the autobiographical interview material, focussing the attention on the importance of methodology when dealing with unstructured, narrated material.

¹ For more information on EuroIdentities see Appendix 2.

Figure 0.1 The structure and outline of the PhD



The structure of this thesis follows two interconnected strands of argumentation – methodological and theoretical – woven together by the three empirical studies. The first section contains two literature review chapters. Chapter 1 maps the field of biographical narrative research, outlining the variety of biographical narrative research traditions, their interdisciplinary character and basic ontological and epistemological assumptions. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant theoretical approaches to migration, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, attempting to mark out the historical heritage and the developments in the field of transnational migrations.

The second part of the thesis focuses on the empirical aspect of the study. Chapter 3 outlines the methodological procedures applied throughout this PhD, sampling procedures, ethics and research design. Subsequently, three empirical chapters – 4, 5 and 6 – correspond to three distinct analytical models. Chapter 4 uses the formal structural analysis model and presents the findings in the form of three distinct stories of mobility experiences. Chapter 5 is based on the narrative ethnography

approach, focussing on different types of identity adjustment scenarios employed by individual narrators to regain a biographical sense of continuity. Chapter 6 applies the Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) method in order to identify theory-driven sets of biographical conditions associated with transnational and cosmopolitan lifestyles and practices.

The third section brings together two distinct strands of discussions. Chapter 7 examines the methodological strengths and weaknesses of each analytical model and their combined explanatory power for the whole study. It addresses issues of validity and generalisation, and discusses the key challenges of data convergence as well as interpretative practice. Chapter 8, on the other hand, aims to explore the theoretical value of the empirical findings achieved through different analytical models. It outlines the logical interplay of the empirical findings to each other and their relation to more abstract theoretical concepts such as cosmopolitanism.

Chapter 1

Researching Transnational Biographies

In their classical study 'Polish peasants in America', Thomas & Znaniecki (1958 II:1834) argue that 'social science cannot remain on the surface of social becoming, where certain schools wish to have it float, but must reach the actual human experiences and attitudes which constitute the full, live and active social reality beneath the formal organisation of social institutions'. The life story provides a form of empirical data with a unique individual outlook on the social world, and it is interlinked with the individual's sense of self, social identifications and sense of belonging, thus becoming a rich source of knowledge about individuals as well as their society. Biographies and life stories constitute the core of this thesis. The main research question aims to explore the changes in identity formations shaped by biographical work and reinforced by transnational mobility experiences captured in the autobiographical narratives of transnational individuals. Before the complexity of these changes to the identity and the impact of transnational experiences can be explored it is necessary to understand what a life story is and outline the theoretical and empirical baseline for further investigation.

The aim of this chapter is to map the field concerned with biographical narratives and their implications for the contemporary discussion of identities and sense of belonging. Firstly, the relation between biography and narration will be explored,

followed by a discussion of the characteristics of narratives. The ontological and epistemological foundations of narrative inquiry will be outlined, focusing especially on distinctions between agency and structure as well as intertextuality in life stories. Thirdly, the evolution of biographical narrative research will be discussed, following from the Chicago School traditions, through ethnomethodology and phenomenology, to contemporary large collaborative projects. Finally, the relation between the narrative and identity as well as the theoretical concepts relevant for biographical narrative analysis will be examined.

What is biography and narration?

While a number of academic disciplines use some form of biographical and narrative data, life stories or autobiographical narratives constitute a specific type of material. According to Atkinson (1998:8), a life story 'is the story a person chooses to tell about the life he or she has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what is remembered of it, and what the teller wants others to know of it ... A life story is a fairly complete narrating of one's entire experience of life as a whole, highlighting the most important aspects'. The concept of telling one's life story often seems a natural act of narration within a society in which stories form an integral part of conveying knowledge and communication; there is a sense that knowing someone, especially intimately, is the same as knowing someone's story or stories. The fact is, however, that not many people have the chance and opportunity to tell the whole story of their life in the form of one coherent narrative. Even in the case of written autobiographies, time requirements and the absence of an active, present listener change the way in which a life story is told.

The modern world delivers numerous sources of narrative biographical material: various genres of literature, personal documents such as diaries, letters or blogs, and a range of forms of information-based, policy, academic and cultural materials are all widely accessible due to the exceptional growth of new media. Within the social sciences, however, more methodologically systematic materials, in which the story is delivered in one attempt and in a situation which does not interfere in storytelling, are desirable. Gubrium and Holstein (2009:37) note that within the interview

situation 'the informant or respondent is treated as a repository of answers or stories about his or her inner life and social world. The interview is seen as a means of tapping into that repository'. In the case of biographical research life stories are thus collected with the help of the autobiographical narrative interview technique, which is designed to open up the narration of the life story while allowing the individual to focus on their own story rather than on answering specific questions. The autobiographical narratives used in this thesis were collected via such interviews, allowing access to the world of individuals' experiences, opinions, arguments and attitudes.²

The life story, told in the framework of a narrative interview given to the active listener and in one session, then becomes the subject of a thorough investigation. It is the story itself, rather than the narrator, which lies at the centre of the investigation and constitutes a primary research unit (Linde 1993). Comparisons within and between cases are possible because seemingly unstructured material containing individual experiences in fact follows specific narrative patterns and forms. The life story itself is not a collection of significant events but a complex narrative structure where meanings of biographical elements are interlinked with their place in the overall gestalt of the narration and the perception of the significance of past circumstances is shaped by current affairs (Rosenthal 2004). In order to analyse the story, the researcher needs to understand the cognitive processes governing the narration process and the complexity of the narration itself.

Assembling biographical narrative

The biographical narrative is not a simple, chronological account of the events in life. It consists of a logically interrelated but not always linear assemblage of emotions, points of view, subjective self-identifications and knowledge about the social world. As a research unit in its own right the narrative – and the biographical narrative in particular – has some particular features. The constitutive elements of the narrative are: characters – the narrator is the main hero of the story, but the importance of other characters is crucial – and action – carried by biographical experiences and

² The technique of autobiographical narrative interview is described in chapter 3.

events and plot. This last element in particular forms the core interest for the narrative analysis of biographies. According to Paul Ricoeur (1991), it is the process 'emplotment', or linking the events and characters into one coherent story, in which the narrator's cognitive work can be investigated. The emplotment takes on the form of synthesis, which aims to bring together seemingly unrelated events into one coherent and continuous story. The narrator needs to synthesize a number of events of different biographical consequences and weave them into one continuous story aiming to illustrate both the biographical sequence of events and the character of a certain historical reality enclosed within specific life events. All this narrative work is done in order to comply with the basic condition of every story, namely to make it meaningful. In the case of biographical narratives, the point of the story is to portray the author as the main character of the story as well as elaborating on and justifying the present circumstances and positions to the listener.

The art of storytelling

To tell a life story is therefore a complex cognitive process, which does not operate at random but requires narrators to carefully 'assemble their stories, artfully picking and choosing from what is experimentally available to articulate inner lives and social worlds ... they strategically construct their accounts, organizing experience in the process (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009:30-31). In the process of storytelling the narrator unconsciously follows cultural and social conventions of telling the life story, thus engaging in a complex emotional and cognitive process of biographical work (Kohli 2005). There are three basic cultural conventions, often referred to as narrative laws (Apitzsch & Siouti 2007) or constraints (Fritz Schütze 2008). Every storyteller unconsciously fulfils those social demands and shapes the life story into a form which is familiar to the listener (present or imagined).

The first autobiographical demand put upon the narrator is the need to condense the life story into one textual form (Fritz Schütze 2008). A life story is a unique narrative unit bound to the present circumstances of the narrator as the life story is anchored in the current state of the narrator's consciousness. The narrator is required to choose the most relevant events that have been shaping the overall biographical

process. The narrator reflects back upon a sequence of events which have led the individual to the current place and time. This reflective process is strongly embedded in the interview situation itself. In contrast to the case of writing the story, the narrator needs to tell the story to the other party of interaction – to the listener. The life story is enclosed within the temporal frame of the interview and needs to follow the rules of social interaction. Those constraints impose on the narrator the need to ‘condense’ the story, to choose the most relevant and the most significant events which have led the narrator to the present situation. The process of condensing the life story needs to follow the logical structures of causality. The convention of coherence (Linde 1993) is one of the most powerful mechanisms which ensures that the events relevant for the story as well as justifications follow, if not true events, at least genuine interpretations of those.

The second narrative constraint deals with the narrator’s need to elaborate on the experiences and events in detail so as to be able to justify them and connect them together within one logical process. An intentional omission of relevant events immediately results in discrepancies within the logical order, which the narrator is forced to ‘correct’ as the story continues. Such additional stories, introduced in order to regain narrative coherence, take on the form of ‘background constructions’ (Fritz Schütze 2008) and often indicate a life story episode which, within the narrator’s own perception, is problematic, shameful or emotionally painful. Elaboration on specific events creates narrative units, seen as particular episodes or turning points. These particular chapters of the story are not entirely independent and should be analysed in relation to the overall sequence of the life story.

The final constraint of the biography imposes on the narrator an obligation to finish their story and to tie together all loose threads (Fritz Schütze 2008). Usually life story narrations start with a biographical introduction, the preamble. This is the moment when the narrator searches for the beginning of their biographical experience as well as the overall underlying patterns which would highlight the current biographical situation. In a similar manner the biographical conclusion, the coda, brings the narrator to the present, encourages evaluating the overall story and dares the narrator to look towards future possibilities. Between the biographical preamble and

coda all the narrative, argumentative and descriptive elements of the life story need to be tied together into a logical and coherent structure. The elements of the narrative which are left open and unfinished create a sense of dissonance and thus cause the feeling of incoherence, which the narrator feels obliged to close in order to make a final point.

The philosophical assumptions of biographical inquiry

Narrative inquiry has a long history in social sciences. Contemporary biographical scholars (Bertaux, 1981; Chamberlayne, Bornat, & Apitzsch, 2004; Merrill & West, 2009; Roberts, 2001; Rosenthal, 2004) refer to the latest revival of interest in the method as the subjective or biographical turn. According to Merrill & West (2009:17) the biographical turn in social research is 'a reaction against forms of social enquiry that tended to deny subjectivity in research and to neglect the role of human agency in social life'. The research focus on individuals' subjective experience, enclosed in the narrative form of a life story, thus follows the philosophical assumptions of the nature of the world and the methods of scientific inquiry derived from the school of phenomenology and ethnomethodology. In order to understand the data's character it is crucial to understand these basic philosophical assumptions as well as their implication for practically analysing narrative material, drawing conclusions and evaluating the results.

Ontology and epistemology of the narrative world

The ontological foundations of the narrative and biographical method can be traced back to the social phenomenology of Alfred Schutz (1967, 1970, 1972, 1976), social constructivism of Peter Berger and Thoms Luckmann (1966) , symbolic interactionism, especially Herbert Blumer's work (1969), and ethnomethodology as proposed by Harold Garfinkel (1976). The core idea, onto which the ontological foundations of the method are based, is that of the conscious subject. Deriving from Husserl's work (1992), followed by Schutz (1967, 1970, 1972, 1976), is the assumption that 'consciousness constructs as much as it perceives the world' (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009:485). By suspending their 'ontological judgement' about the nature of the social reality, the researcher is able to observe 'the ways that

members of the life world subjectively constitute the objects and events they take to be real, that is, to exist independently of their attention to, and presence in, the world' (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009:485). From this philosophical standpoint, the life story in itself is the subjective perception of the narrator's social life which aims to document the biographical process of the construction of self as well as mechanisms of sustaining these perceptions over time. The selection of events included in the biographical narrative has two important features (Linde 1993). Firstly, the events are chosen to present the narrator as what they consider a worthy person. The life story aims to demonstrate the social world of the individual as well as present their current position in the positive light. Autobiographical narratives are not about the objective truth about the individual, but about the narrator's interpretation of actual events. Secondly, the events included into the narration need to be identified as worth reporting. Events considered 'normal' and 'usual' are rarely included into the narrative, whereas milestones such as parenthood, divorce, career advancement, illness, religious conversion or transnational experiences become the essence of what constitutes the narrator's identity.

The 'what's and 'how's of storytelling

Narratives provide an account of how individuals 'do' social life. Following ethnomethodological assumptions, the practical reasoning embedded in the story as well as the mechanisms employed by individuals to orient and interpret the world around them are at the core of the narrative investigation. The analysis of the subjective realities presented in autobiographical narratives thus requires a two-fold focus: of 'what' events the story consists as well as 'how' they are narrated. The 'what' part of the analysis focuses on the selection of relevant events, based on the assumption that narrator has not chosen them by accident and that they play a vital role in the narrator's own self-identification. Additionally, the relation between the events and the overall story's 'gestalt' embedded in the case-specific sequential order form important elements for analysis.

The 'how' part of the narrative focuses on the textual, linguistic form in which biographical events are told. The textual form of the autobiographical narrative

indicates the presence of individual and social undercurrents lying beyond conscious reflection. According to Linde (1993:3), linguistic analysis of narratives offers access to cognitive processes operating 'from the level of individual construction of sentences through the form of narratives and social negotiation of narratives, up to the social level of belief systems and their history, and finally to their effect on the construction of narratives' (Linde 1993:3). Based on the correspondence theory of meaning, the language, here represented in the form of text – a transcript of the life story – not only conveys information about the individual's perception of reality but also mirrors the formal structures of this reality. This philosophical assumption expands the focus of the inquiry towards issues of the narrator's self-positioning within the context, social and cultural patterns and the perception of individual control over social circumstances. The 'analytical bracketing', or in other words shifting between the 'what's and 'how's of the life story, creates a methodological baseline for everyday narrative research practice.

The epistemological response to ontological assumptions concerning the world of narratives takes on the shape of 'interpretative practice', a term coined by Gubrium (2005). Interpretative practice 'is centred in both how people methodologically construct their experiences and their worlds, and in the configurations of meaning and institutional life that inform and shape their reality-constructing activity' (2005:484). This double interest in the life story's actual content as well as structure provides a central analytical distinction between the ethnographic thick and thin descriptions (Geertz 1977) and the narrative analysis of the story (Gubrium, 2005). The specific linguistic construction of the life story as well as its biographical content reflects the process of the individual's meaning-making, adaptation and reflection. Strauss (1995:4) argues that in order to fully understand current events and complex social situations every 'man must be viewed as embedded in a temporal matrix not simply of his own making, but which is particularly and subtly related to something of his own making – his conception of the past and how it impinges on himself'. Within biographical accounts the unique balance between social and individual elements creates a 'window on social reality' from a bottom-up perspective.

According to Apitzsch and Siouti (2007:9), biographical narratives make it possible to capture the 'narrator's structure of relevance'. This structure is exposed within the narration's textual form and becomes an additional source of information as well as a means to re-evaluate the content of a life story. Autobiographical narration provides an account of an individual's reflexivity process understood as the ability 'to consider themselves in relation to their (social) context and vice versa' (Archer, 2007:4). Focusing on the life story as a reflexive account of the individual's perception and sense-making – rather than an objective sequence of events in the historical sense – allows an insight into the subjective hierarchy of experiences and meanings, which shape the individual framework of relevance. Autobiographical narratives represent accounts of mental capability to harmonise social structure elements and individual action into one coherent analytical unit.

Narrative epistemology questions the sharp distinction between agency and structure, thus influencing the way of theorizing and drawing conclusions from narrative data. Within the free and unstructured flow of biographical narration, interviewees present their own account of important life events, individual struggles and realised or missed opportunities. In very specific ways, narratives have their own ways of addressing both agency and structure, but those are delivered in a form which is relevant to the narrator and not necessarily the researcher. In their work, the linguists Bucholtz and Hall (2005:591) argue that, by giving a biographical account, narrators 'often orient to local identity categories rather than to the analyst's sociological categories'. This particular feature of biographical research requires a great deal of humility from the researcher, because it focuses not on what is supposed to be important from an academic point of view but on what is important to the non-academic narrator.

The act of telling one's life story does not contain analytical social and psychological considerations in a direct sense. Only few narrators – those who are well-trained in professional or academic ways – are able to tell their autobiography with reference to collective social concepts such as social class, social movements, but also culture shocks, stages of personal development or identity. Through the narrator's eyes the life story forms a carefully selected chain of significant events throughout time, told

to the willing listener in the interview setting. For narrators it is not always necessary to address issues of globalisation, belonging, religion or cultural background explicitly. However, those issues run through the background of the life story and provide an unconscious account of the individual and social cultural, political and economic setting of the narrator. Moreover, within a life story the interaction processes between social, collective and individual aspects of life can be observed. It is the researcher's role, however, to capture symbolic elements of social reality and apply a theoretical framework.

The philosophical foundations of the narrative method focus on five main characteristics (L. Stanley & Morgan 1993). Firstly, the main focus of inquiry is on the text, here seen as a social product rather than an objective account of reality. In treating the biographical account in terms of individual's version of events, not in terms of absolute truth, opens the new possibilities for the investigation of narrative accounts in the scientific manner. Secondly, narrative research rejects any separation between a single life and social structures, stating that a single self cannot be investigated separately from its social context. In that terms the life story is a collection of the intimate, public and common narratives, all of them employed in order to illustrate the connections between individual agents and the way they place themselves in the social structures. Thirdly, the biographical experience placed within the life story is not simply a description of events because 'the experience is always mediated by ... structuring processes' (1993:3). The narrative's content should be seen as a representation of life rather than a description of life itself, where the content of the life story is as important as the way in which the story is told. Fourthly, narrative inquiry pays attention to issues of temporality and memory. The perception of time sequence and understanding of the biographical life cycle as well as a narrator's memory is used to select, compare and expand the experiences of the life story. Finally, arguing that 'representations of reality and reality itself cannot be prised apart' (1993:3), the interest in intertextuality is underpinned by the assumption that the biographical narrative is not exclusively produced by the narrator but incorporates available cultural patterns in order to give the most representative account of realities of living. With these key philosophical

characteristics in mind biographical narratives are among the most powerful sources of data about the modern world, but their collection as well as analysis requires methodological proficiency and technique.

Evolution of the idea - short history of biographical narrative research

Rooted in the traditions of oral history and everyday documents, biography provides an account of the life lived and experienced as well as an insight into the forces which have shaped and influenced individual lives. Throughout the last century different schools and academic disciplines have attempted to understand the mechanisms and significance of biographical material as well as use it in order to enhance our understanding of the modern world. The development of biographical inquiry methods was not by any means linear. Marked by historical events and a variety of linguistic traditions, interest in biographical research as well as actual empirical studies developed independently within specific academic disciplines and national context. Only some traditions and studies have achieved international status and, mostly due to translation, have sparked the interest in biographical research around the globe.

Within the sociological tradition, the Chicago School, and particularly two studies - Thomas and Znaniecki's (1958) 'The Polish Peasant in Europe and America' and Shaw's 'The Jack Roller' (1966) - pioneered the use of biographical data. Both studies attempted to explain complex social reality through the medium of narrative stories. The first study used letters by Polish migrants in the USA, and the second used the life story of one 'criminal individual' to explore in detail the process of social becoming, contextual discontinuity, adaptation processes and the narrative nature of making sense of, and actively navigating within, the specific cultural and social circumstances (Apitzsch & Siouti 2007).

Biographical narration as a methodological approach has been continued by US scholars mostly in the field of social psychology. Authors such as McAdams (2010:243) argue that 'the stories we construct to make sense of our lives are fundamentally about our struggle to reconcile who we imagine we were, are, and might be in our heads and bodies with who we were, are and might be in the social

contexts of family, community, the workplace, ethnicity, religion, gender, social class and culture'. The social psychology field of narrative research focuses on the interpretative aspect of life stories and the individual's ability to build an integrative, evolving and internalised definition of self. These schools of social thought have led to the use of biographical narration not only for the purpose of academic inquiry, but also as a therapeutic tool allowing individuals to make sense of complex personal circumstances. The psychological as well as therapeutic value of narrating one's life has been acknowledged and incorporated into the major techniques in the field of psychotherapy and addictions (Humphreys 2000; Green et al. 1998). The best-known use of biographical narratives this context is the 12 step programme used in Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous treatment programmes.

In the field of sociology and within a European context a different approach towards biographical research has emerged. Based on the challenging experiences of the world wars, communism and various historical, social and political shifts, social scientists have developed an alternative way of biographical investigation based on a structural analysis of the linguistic form of an interview underpinned by the theoretical framework of Alfred Strauss (1995) and develop further by Fritz Schütze (2008). According to Apitzsch & Siouti (2007:7) 'the focus of biographical analysis is not only the reconstruction of intentionality, which is represented as an individual's life course, but the embeddedness of the biographical account in social macro structures'. Within that analytical approach the analytic framework for narrative research is shaped by the way in which a story is told, with special emphasis on the issues of biographical sequence as well as the relevance of important events within a context (for further information see chapter 3 and 4).

The structural school of biographical narrative research does not offer a ready-to-use analytic system; it builds on several philosophical and methodological assumptions. According to Apitzsch and Siouti (2007:4), the school derives 'from the awareness of wider theoretical and methodological sources such as the Chicago School, pragmatism, symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, sociolinguistics and not least the French tradition of phenomenology, especially Paul Ricoeur and Daniel Bertaux's'. Within this complex theoretical framework different

approaches interact, not always peacefully, and explore the best possible ways of capturing dynamics currently occurring within society. In European context the main lines of divisions within the field are running along national lines, where different linguistic traditions evolved and have started to compete with each other. The German, American and French traditions especially, have influenced each other and encouraged innovative attempts to understand modern society by investigating individuals' life stories. Both the interpretation and structural analysis unveil qualitatively new dynamics of modern society and provide a new perspective on the narratives and discourses in a globalised world.

The biographical method has come a long way from the individual researcher's attempt to generalise findings from single cases. New, more standardised approaches to the methods of data gathering as well as analysis have been developed as a response to growing demand for biographical methods. Within that context two methods should be mentioned: the Biographical Narrative Interpretative Method (BNIM) developed by Prue Chamberlayne and Tom Wengraf in the UK context (Chamberlayne et al. 2002) as well as the narrative ethnography method presented by Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein (2009) in the USA. The BNIM approach uses the interviewing method of Fritz Schütze and combines it with Övermann's idea of objective hermeneutic (Övermann 1979). It focuses on the interpretation analysis of biographical structures of the individual life story negotiated within a group of researchers in order to reflect the most objective and complex understanding of biographies. Narrative ethnography focuses on a way in which society discourses and patterns are reflected in biographies. The method's basic assumption states that 'if stories in society reflect inner live and social worlds, society has a way of shaping, reshaping, or otherwise influencing stories on its own terms' (Gubrium & Holstein 2009:7). The focus of investigation then shifts towards social forces and cultural patterns which frame individual biographies within a complex network of narrative environments, such as job, family, organisations, status and local cultures³.

³ See chapter 3 and 5.

Research Projects

The development of more standardised methods for data gathering and analysis has created new opportunities for applying the biographical narrative method. International funding has opened up opportunities for international collaborative projects enabling the collection and analysis of a greater number of individual cases across different countries. In a European context, the Social Strategies in Risk Society (SOSTRIS) project (1996-1999) was the first large-scale international collaboration using the biographical method. It brought together some of the most experienced European biographical researchers such as Roswitha Breckner, Prue Chamberlayne and Ursula Apitzsch (Chamberlayne et al. 2002) and focused on the issues of social exclusion and social integration in Europe. The project's success opened up possibilities for other biographical research initiatives in Europe.

From 2009-2011 another EU-funded project – EuroIdentities – took place (for further details please see Appendix 2). The consortium of seven European universities under the coordination of Robert Miller conducted research in the emergence and evolution of European identity. The project also included Fritz Schütze, Gerhard Reiman, Howard Davis, Antonella Spano and Kaja Kazimierska (Miller & Day 2012). Within the EuroIdentities project, approximately 200 biographical interviews were collected. The project focused largely on transnational individuals who had travelled, studied, or worked abroad and had engaged with the cultural and institutional frameworks of the European Union. Applying biographical methods within large, international projects involving numerous researchers, all of whom carry a variety of experience, expertise and interests, poses additional methodological as well as analytical challenges. Although issues of data standardisation, creating a coherent framework of analysis and even differences at the level of philosophy of science between analytical induction and deduction can cause difficulties, they also add to the development of the method itself. Through publications and a presence in public as well as academic discourses, including the ones focusing on EU development, international collaborative projects have brought the biographical approach to a much wider audience. Today, narrative and biographical narrative methodologies are entering the mainstream of social research. Research centres such as The Centre for

Narrative Research (CNR) and Narratives of Varied Everyday Lives and Linked Approaches (NOVELLA) promote the methodology and moderate the latest discussions and developments⁴.

Narrative Identity

In sociology, biographical narrative approaches are predominantly used to investigate identity, operationalised as the cognitive link between individuals and their social worlds or agency and social structures. Within the field of social sciences, issues around identity have long been considered important. On the one hand, they have focussed on the development of the ideas of self and internal identifications of the individual, which is the subject of symbolic interactionism rooted in the theories of Gorge H. Mead (1934) and Charles H. Cooley (2009). As the interest progressed, theories on role identities were introduced by Erving Goffman (1990) and then further explored addressing the issues of identity performance and institutional identifications. At the other end of the spectrum, the tradition of collective identities has emerged with specific interest in the discourse of the 'imagined communities' introduced by Benedict Anderson (2006), in which group belonging categories, such as nationality, lead the identity discourse in terms of social belonging, rights and obligations towards a specific group category.

In numerous attempts to define identity diverse elements have been highlighted. The definition of Ashmore et al. (2004) is a good start for the discussion of these complexities.

IDENTITY is a human capacity - rooted in language - to know 'who's who' (and hence what's what). It involves knowing who we are, knowing who others are, them knowing who we are, us knowing who they think we are, and so on: a multidimensional classification or mapping of the human world and our places in it, as individuals and as members of collectives (cf. Ashton et al. (2004) cited by Jenkins 2008: 5)

⁴ See following links <http://store.ioe.ac.uk/browse/product.asp?catid=42&modid=2&compid=1>

The definition highlights in a comprehensive way the interplay of various ways of knowing, which help individuals and groups to classify and order social reality. It focuses on self-knowledge, knowledge others may hold about us as well as the categories we use to classify others. The most important element of identity is its ability to combine 'the dialectical interplay of processes of internal and external definition' (Jenkins 2008:46), where both the perception of self and group memberships and affiliations come together in one picture of the person - me or the other. At the same, however, identity is never practically accomplished. It changes constantly, reacting to situational and biographical changes; it represents a process rather than a state. Within this process both individuals and groups construct a set of attributes, often overlapping and varying from the practical to the highly abstract, which drive individual actions and practices in a wide range of settings from everyday interactions to highly hierarchical institutions and organisations. The distribution of these attributes across society guides processes of resource distribution, power relations and social control; they highlight issues of dominance and resistance underlying every aspect of individual life, thus becoming the guiding principles of the life story.

At a theoretical level, identity is a dynamic set of connections and configurations of power between the individual agent and the social structure. With all its complexities, however, empirical inquiry into identities is considered problematic at least. The problem for empirical investigation is twofold. On the one hand, the strength and presence of identities varies and so does the research capacity to capture internal variations. While some of the identifications can be accessed by direct questions about attitude or opinion, there are others, hidden or unconscious, which come to light only through more qualitative inquiry. Additionally, there is often a difference between a researcher's idea of what the subject's identity should be and what his or her understanding of identity actually is. Because identity is a process, it is difficult to describe and compare the versions of identity conveyed by the researcher and by the subject. Identity intersections and interactions pose yet another problem for empirical research. The social life of every individual is shaped in a matrix of overlapping identities, such as gender, ethnicity and class (Yuval-Davis 2006). In

order to explain an individual's observable actions and practices in a given situation, research should capture the complexity of social circumstances, both of the direct nature of the situation and those hidden in the earlier experiences and coping mechanisms of the individual. By focusing entirely on one dimension of identity the ability to capture a dynamic process is limited; only when looking at identities as a framework or system reacting to an emerging situation can inquiries about the interaction between the individual and the social be made.

The biographical narrative approach to identity aims to address these questions. Within this thesis, the approach to identity follows a bottom-up perspective. It tracks the individual life story with all the complexities of overlapping self-definitions, changing throughout the lifecycle and group memberships shaped by the individual's experiences and accomplishments. Biographical narratives offer a unique insight into identity configurations and intersections, but the relationship between identity and biography is not always straightforward. The ontological and epistemological characteristics of storytelling are crucial for understanding the narrative inquiry into the bottom-up system of identifications.

Multi-dimensional operationalisation of 'identity'

Accepting the assumptions of the nature of identity, with all their strengths and limitations, leads to an attempt to redefine the nature of thinking about identity. If identity is a process and if it involves numerous intersections of individual and social categories that change depending on the situation, then, instead of looking at the statement of identity, researchers should rather look at the story of identity. The narrative allows the individual to capture a dynamic process of personal growth and changing circumstances as well as the processes of positioning oneself in relation to important others, social groups and institutions, imagined communities. The narrative also provides an insight into the cognitive structures of meaning making, the axiomatic system of values and the individual's perception of the social world. Whilst almost every narrative account addressing an individual's life carries information which may be used as a source of data, such as letters, diaries, stories or even jokes to name but a few, the autobiographical narrative, the life story, is the

form of narration with the greatest potential for identity research. Traces of 'identifications' can be found in various forms across the life story. Depending on the analytical approach as well as theoretical operationalisation of the term 'identity', it is necessary to review the available repertoire of analytical categories used for scientific inquiry concerning identity work conveyed in biographical narratives, namely the mechanisms of continuity and coherence, nominal and virtual identities, the theory of attributions and identity capital.

Narrating continuity and coherence

The significance of self-interpretation and self-knowledge which are the subject of narration in everyday life can be found in the works of William Dilthey (Hodges 1976) and Paul Ricoeur (1991). It is in the process of narration that individuals realise their actual position within a system of social connections and relationships with others as well as with more abstract social constructs, such as social institutions. The process of narration brings all these elements together, but it is in the procedures of connecting them together that the researcher may catch a glimpse of the structures of individual relevance and knowledge. As Apitzsch and Siouti (2007:5) suggest, 'the aspect of 'identity' is conceptualised in biographical research / biography theory as the accomplishment of building and maintaining continuity and coherence through changing situations'. In the analysis of these two aspects of this narrative work – continuity of the plot and coherence of the structure – it is possible to trace the internal structures of identifications. Both of them constitute the main plot of the life story, the first one focusing on the biography's logical temporal sequence, the second choosing the events and experiences relevant for the story.

Narrating 'me' and 'others'

The continuity and coherence of the story are the functions of the narrated text – the sequence as well as the content of the events needs to be presented in one logical structure – but also a function of intertextuality. The identity-narratives are set within a specific historical and cultural context; they are influenced by stories of important others, literary and popular culture references, important life and historical events as well as larger political, economic and social discourses. In those

terms life stories 'mesh with the rest of the world and with other people's stories, at least in externals' (Hacking 1995:252). They are presenting a fragment of social reality in which the individual agent is connected to the social structures of everyday life. Based on the psychological theory of attribution, which 'deals with how the social perceiver uses information to arrive at causal explanations for events' (Fiske & Taylor 1984:12) in the process of making causal links between the narrated events – a function which assures coherence – the individual narrator uses twofold judgments. When assessing others, the narrator focuses on internal attributions of behaviours, such as character. When making judgments of their own behaviour they use external attributions - situational context. It is exactly their focus on the external attributions of their life choices, the situational context, which narrative research uses to inquire about the connection between the individual and the social structure.

The narrating 'me' as accomplishment

By accepting the premise that a vital part of identity narratives is socially constructed, the question appears of the hierarchies of relevance between different types of social identifications. It is the function of social structures, such as groups and institutions, to assign specific types of labels, identities to specific categories of people. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) refer to these types of categories as nominal identifications. It is up to the individual agent, however, to fully internalise these categories, in the form of practices, and incorporate them into an individual hierarchy of importance. Hence, the term virtual identity signifies what 'nominal identification means experientially and practically over time to its bearer' (Jenkins 2008:99). Within the narrative process, the actual identity statements - often using categories which are otherwise perceived as core to the identity discussion, such as gender, ethnicity, nationality or class – take on the form of these virtual identifications. The social labels, internalised by individuals in the process of biographical work, to consciously describe themselves are then another dimension of identity existing within the narrative biographical data.

These conscious identifications are used in the process of narration to uphold the image presented by the narrator and to justify biographical motives and decisions in

the process. In that form, identity is a type of capital, the public image carefully assembled and performed in order to increase the narrator's chances of success. This 'identity capital', a term coined by Cote (1996:425), 'denotes what individuals invest in who they are'. In biographical terms these investments can have a sociological character and take the form of educational credentials, memberships, passports and general self-image - patterns of speech and dress - as well as psychological features, such as ambition, discipline or critical thinking. The 'identity capital' can be reinforced by social and technical skills, behavioural repertoires, psychological development as well as associations in key social and occupational networks (Cote 1996). All these elements are the content of biographical narratives and are used by the individual narrator in order to endorse their framework of identifications.

According to Hacking (1995:250) 'we constitute our "souls" by making up our lives, that is, by weaving stories about our past, by what we call memories'. Biographical narratives grant a rare insight into the social world seen from the point of view of an individual. Based on the structure as well as content of the narrative it is possible to infer the type of identifications, seen here as the point of connection between the individual agent and their social structures. Within this chapter particular ontological and epistemological assumptions were outlined, focussing on those which allow for the investigation of identities presented in the various forms throughout the narration. With these theoretical links between narrative, biography and identity established, it is time to consider the actual situational circumstances leading to the emergence of the core aspect of this particular research - transnational identities.

Chapter 2 ***Transnational and Cosmopolitan - concepts in use***

The ontological and epistemological assumptions outlined in the previous chapter, as well as the relationship between biographical narratives and the identity discourse, have become a platform for discussing issues of transnational mobility at the beginning of the 21st century. Based on the set of assumptions that identity discourse within biographical research is expressed through a sense of biographical continuity and coherence embedded in narrative patterns (Apitzsch, Siouti 2007), attributed to external circumstances (Fiske and Taylor 1984) and internalised only when exposed to specific experiences (Rosenthal, Jacobson 1968), this inquiry into transnational identities focuses on a set of experiences carrying the power to change and modify all three aspects of individual identification patterns. It focuses on the aspect of transnational mobility, an experience that sees the transnational individual 'dropping out of the continuity of life', as Simmel (1971:187) states. Thus mobility, and in particular mobility between countries and national cultures, is the key aspect of the emerging question addressed in this research. The core question of this thesis is as follows:

How do configurations of identity change through transnational mobility experiences as captured in the autobiographical narratives of transnational individuals?

Transnational mobility of the human population is one of the most important social phenomena influencing the social and cultural makeup of the contemporary social world. Mobile populations carry the kernels of social change affecting the macro-scale of the global world in terms of international economy, political relations and global culture, as well as the micro-scale of individual relations, opportunities and restrictions. In itself, mobility is not a new phenomenon; indeed it is as old as the first human experiences, but its nature has changed significantly with the emergence of territorially and culturally bound nation states. Along the concept of legally defined citizenship, which assigns specific civil, political and social rights in terms of T.H. Marshall (1964) to a specific national community, the issue of outsiders – people who are legally bound to another state, people on the move – has started to be perceived and treated as a nation state problem. Considered in terms of political, economic and cultural security of the state, immigration issues have become a dynamic field of social sciences. The theories of migration aimed at understanding the patterns of migratory movement take into account the types of motivations as well as economic reasons pushing and pulling individuals across national boundaries (Lee 1966). The problems with assimilation and the emergence of ethnic communities have become the field of inquiry for generations of social scientists - anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists as well as economists and political scientists. Finally, issues of overlapping national social policies and international law, including the human rights discourse, add to the complexity of the phenomenon of international migration.

The field of migration studies, which considers many different aspects and involves a multiplicity of academic disciplines, contains a vast amount of theoretical and empirical literature. Additionally, as the political and economic processes shaping the world change, so do the perspectives as well as methodological approaches within the field. With due respect to the ever growing scope of knowledge, a set of assumptions needed to be made in order to narrow down the review of the

literature, focussing only on those publications with the greatest relevance to the issue in question and to the biographical data used for the purpose of this particular study. The first aspect of migration studies utilised to focus the literature search was to set a geographical parameter for the study. Immigration is a global phenomenon but, considering the geographical distribution of the cases available for this research, Europe with its unique international political and economic agreements and very specific mobility regulations lies in the centre of this thesis. Whilst some of the biographical cases come from other places, Europe is the final destination for the transnationals investigated. The study's second aspect deals with the narratives of transnational mobility, placing the account of the individual transnational agent at the centre of the inquiry. Both geopolitical and economic aspects of the mobility are seen in terms of context, but the main focus is on the experiences and biographical continuity conveyed via the narrative. For that reason transnational identities within this thesis are considered from a bottom-up perspective. In this regard, the study searches for changes in the mobile individual's framework of identifications rather than in the politics of naturalisation and assimilation often pursued by nation states. Finally, due to the nature of biographical data, inquiring into patterns of cultural reproduction of transnational identities across generations is also limited. Some of the individual cases have an immigration background and pass on transnational cultural patterns to their own children, but the inquiry into patterns of reproduction is only partial.

With these three assumptions in mind the structure of the chapter is as follows: firstly, the migration situation and scope of the migration flow within a European context will be outlined. Secondly, theories of migration – especially migration networks and the plural actor – are discussed together with the evolution of the term 'transnationalism'. Finally, the chapter reviews the relevant literature concerning cosmopolitanism, including the historical background and contemporary social theories.

Geography of European mobility - facts and figures

Contemporary Europe is a canvas for transnational migrations, thus being a site of changes in the relationship between traditionally established communities embedded within the national frameworks and individual experiences of transnational mobility. Throughout the centuries, Europe was often on the sending side of the migration flows. Historically, major flows of people of European origin emigrated to the USA, Argentina, Canada, Brazil and Australia as well as the British West Indies. Between 1820 and 1924 key sending countries, such as the UK, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Spain, Russia, Portugal, and Sweden, sent over forty million individuals across the globe (Kivisto & Faist 2009:25). Migration ensured the Old Continent's colonial dominance, carried by the people who had been pushed out of Europe in order to pursue better economic opportunities as well as political and cultural goals. During the second part of the 20th century, along with the processes of globalisation, Europe started to become a destination for mobile populations. The influx of new ethnic groups posed a challenge to the cultural homogeneity as well as the political and economic systems of each European country in its own specific way.

Yet what makes the European case exceptional – and the process of tackling migration is only one aspect of the case – is the unique political system of the European Union. What started as an economically driven international co-operation, is today an international governmental organisation (IGO) shaping the cultural, political and economic life on the continent, slowly encouraging member states to move in the direction of unifying policies, fostering cultural exchange and economic co-operation. The term 'Europeanization' has been established in order to capture the growing interdependence of the European nation states (Cowles et al. 2001; Börzel & Risse 2003; Falkner 2003; Featherstone & Radaelli 2003; Martinsen 2005; Graziano & Vink 2008). In the context of migration studies Europeanization becomes especially relevant when taking into consideration 'a globally unique free movement regime' (Favell & Guiraudon 2011:19) supported by the idea of common citizenship as established by EU social policies as well as the cosmopolitan, cultural aspirations of the Union. These institutional elements of the EU system (Lisbon Treaty and Europe 2020) remove the legal barriers to mobility within the European Union and

create a framework for educational, professional and personal opportunities. At the same time, the EU has tightened restrictions to mobility from non-member states, thus creating the phenomenon often referred to as 'fortress Europe' (Habermas 2003).

Whilst the flow of people within the EU is not tightly monitored, recent studies such as Maas (2007) and Koikkalainen (2011) as well as Eurostat data in 2012 suggest that there were 32.5 million foreigners across the EU countries, constituting 6.5% of the total EU population. Furthermore, the studies indicate that the number of foreign-born residents, taking into account mobile individuals who have taken a given country's citizenship, in the EU was 47.3 million (Vasileva 2012:1). The dynamic of the migration flow in the EU has two important dimensions. On the one hand, the flow of people from outside the EU has become a subject of national scrutiny and labour market restrictions. The number of foreign individuals from non-EU countries is estimated at a level of 20.2 million (Vasileva 2011:1). These originate primarily from Turkey, Morocco, Albania, China and the Ukraine. Inner-EU mobility, on the other hand, is relatively unrestricted and difficult to monitor, but EU statistics estimated it at 12.3 million (Vasileva 2012:1). Among the most popular sending countries are Romania, Poland, Italy, Portugal and the United Kingdom. According to (Herm 2008:1), the most popular destination countries for migrants are Spain, Germany and the UK.

There are some significant patterns with regards to gender, age and mobility direction characterising European movements of people. According (Vasileva 2011:5), 'EU residents with a foreign background are most numerous in the younger working-age classes'. The direction of movement corresponds roughly with the trajectory from East to West and South to North, and the gender distribution leans towards female migration. The majority of migration flows corresponds to the labour market regulations and countries that have not restricted the transnational employment. But in addition to straightforward labour mobility there is yet another layer of transnational movement across the European area. Educational mobility facilitated via the Bologna process, transnational professionals embedded in international networks as well as the more informal, intimate and family

relationships across borders complicate the picture of European mobility patterns, thus bringing to light new social problems and posing new challenges for scientific inquiry.

Naming the problem

The outline of migration patterns as well as scope of migration flows within and outside the 'fortress Europe' shows significant shortcomings associated with methodological nationalism (Yeates 2008). The statistics on movement are gathered within the institutional framework of nation states. Whilst movement from the outside is closely monitored, at least with regards to legal migration, in most instances the movement of European citizens is difficult to register. This is particularly significant considering the swift nature of mobility and the diverse nature of mobility destinations. In those terms, even though numbers such as 6.5% speak volumes, the actual scope of mobility within Europe takes place outside official statistics. EU statistics take pride in collecting and analysing national data for international purposes, yet without the capacity to collect data independently they can merely aggregate the methodologically and temporarily diverse national statistics.

A further problem associated with mobility statistics and the scope of migration across Europe comes with the diverse type of definitions used for gathering statistical data. The status of 'national citizen' is a simple enough category associated with the possession of a national passport, but in some cases the category of 'foreign-born citizen' is actually more informative. Moreover, the discussion is also an issue for EU citizens – those with free labour market mobility privileges and those without them, individuals moving within the Schengen Agreement area and outside. Among the categories of citizenship, there are those shaped by national social policies screening for a particular set of professional skills or ethnic and historical background, introducing for example a points system or policies to connect families, as well as a wide range of definitions assigned to categories such as 'refugee', 'asylum seeker' and finally 'illegal immigrant'. Depending on the national understanding and policy regulation, aggregate national statistics offer some

indication of the scope of migration flows across Europe, but they are far from sufficiently accurate in order to draw any long-term and empirically sound conclusions about the nature and consequences of European transnational mobility. The problems with statistical data and with an accurate definition of those individuals engaged in transnational mobility therefore would benefit from complementary methodological and theoretical approach. In order to address these issues a revision of relevant migration theories and associated concepts is called for. On the one hand, the theory of migration is required to capture the individual aspect of migration, which does not purely focus on the economic and political implications governed by the nation state discourse but captures individual experiences. On the other hand, the theoretical framework of transnationalism and associated concepts needs to be revisited, focussing on their ability to capture the cultural diversity of changing cultural settings, cultural hybrids, the individual dispositions and capitals which shape diverse attitudes and adjustments.

Agency and the network - theories of migration

The original theories of migration are associated with the work of the German geographer Ernest Georg Ravenstein (1885). In his attempt to capture the dynamics of population movement and to explain the direction of movement, he distinguished basic patterns of movement not only at a transnational level but also applicable to migration from rural to industrial and urban areas. According to Lee (1966:48), Ravenstein outlined the basic principles guiding population movements. He suggested that the physical distance and the available technology, in particular travel, are the main conditions for choosing a specific destination. Furthermore, Ravenstein explored the stages of migration as well as the theory of streams and counter streams aiming to explore the interaction between newcomers and native populations. He also noted that there is a difference in the propensity of migration between rural and urban environments and that female migration predominates among short-distance workers. Finally, Ravenstein argued that economic factors, such as better job and wage prospects, are central for understanding motivations and making predictions about mobility within a given population.

The centrality of economic aspects is still setting the tone of migration theories. At its core is the assumption that individuals are by nature settlers. Thus the decision to migrate needs to be motivated by the survival instinct, which, when faced with resource scarcity, drives people to re-settle in a different place. This type of argument, which offers an 'intuitive and parsimonious account of the migration process' (Kivisto & Faist 2009:35) forms the basis for the push-pull theories of migration (Lee 1966; deHaas 2007). The line of argumentation here focuses on a cost-benefits calculation type of decision-making, which assumes that rapid population growth, poverty or political repression constitute factors pushing people to search for a new place to live in, whereas factors such as job opportunities, the possibility of higher wages or access to resources and political freedom would pull mobile individuals towards a specific place.

This model was perfected by the neoclassical economic school of migration (Harris & Todaro 1970; Todaro 1969, 1976; Borjas 1989, 1994), which was summarised by its critics such as Massey et al. (1994:701), who suggests that the calculation of 'the difference between incomes expected at origin and destination, when summed and discounted over some time horizon and added to the negative costs of movement, yields the expected net gain from movement, which if positive promotes migration's. However, the push-pull theory and neoclassical economic models have been widely criticised for their inability to capture the voluntary movement of people and to take into account 'migration chains', diasporas and the emergence of 'ethnic enclaves' with the economic impact of remittances to both country of origin and destination. In order to address these problems both economic and social sciences have attempted to build theory that would facilitate a better understanding of contemporary migration.

A new economic twist on the theory of migration was proposed by Oded Stark (1991), who insisted that migration is not pursued by individuals but rather by 'webs of group-affiliation' (Simmel 1955). In these terms every decision of individual mobility is taking place within the individual's social context, family relations and communities. Following this interpretation, Massey et al. (1994) introduced the term

of network into the research of webs of social associations involved in international mobility. Massey et al. (1994) define migrant network as follows:

Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. The existence of these ties is hypothesized to increase the likelihood of emigration by lowering the costs, rising the benefits, and mitigating the risks of international movement. Network connections constitute a valuable form of social capital that people draw upon to gain access to foreign employment and high wages. (Massey et al. 1994:728)

Approaching the mobility of the individual in terms of networks has its advantages. It highlights the collective nature of mobility, especially at the level of decision making – about the social consequences of mobility as well as destinations. Furthermore, it brings into view both economic and non-economic factors. After all, mobility takes place in accordance with established social relations, be it travelling and staying with a family member or friends, or intentionally choosing a place with established institutional connections, such as a church, university or international organisation. Additionally, as Kivisto & Faist (2009:39) note, 'the social ties served to link individual immigrants both to those who remained in the homeland and those who were follow migrants', thus constituting qualitatively unique forms of social life – ethnic communities (Portes and Bach 1985; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Scheffer 2011) , chains of remittances (Sanders & Nee 1987; Maimbo & Ratha 2005; deHaas 2006) as well as transnational social spaces and social fields (Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Glick Schiller 2007; Faist 2000).

The network approach to the issue of migration also reveals the unique quality of networks – reducing the costs and risks of mobility. In this respect the development of social links that then become institutionalised in the process of development, thus adding to the development of ethnic enclaves, create channels of migration flows which perpetuate further migration (Massey et al. 1994:448). Where economic calculations and job opportunities decline due to foreign-population saturation, the networks sustain substantial flows of people contrary to a purely economic rationale, changing the economic, political and cultural landscape often against the growing

discontent of the native population as well as restrictive regulation policies imposed by the state. The self-perpetuating nature of the network is thus used to inquire further into migration elements such as culture of migration, reception and social labelling of new groups and the regional distribution of human capital.

Agency and network relations

The network theory of migration is also well suited to the type of data and the level of inquiry represented by biographical narratives. Its focus on the social context, a network of social relations, turns the focus of study to individual agency – focussing on the social, cultural and symbolic capitals utilised in the process of migration – rather than simply to the individual, an unconscious recipient and follower of some complex economic processes taking place within a global context. In these terms, migration networks theory and its interest in social agency responds to the problems associated with the empirical shortcomings of statistical data and macro-level theories of globalisation as outlined by Khagram and Levitt (2005:8):

'... 'globalist' scholarship is far too often not fine-tuned enough to capture cross-border agents, structures and interactions at different scales, ranging scopes, varying units and multiple levels that are not worldwide, global or transplanetary ... Furthermore, agents are often understood to be either so heavily constrained that acting against universalistic systemic forces is under-theorised, or are so heavily constituted that they are just enacting scripts, or are just plain 'institutionalised others'.

These complexities of the overlapping cultural, economic and political diversity interwoven into social structures as well as the individual life experiences and choices embedded in agency, as used in the context of migration studies, can be researched from a bottom-up perspective via biographical narrative accounts containing elements of transnational mobility. In that context, the individuals involved in mobility are seen not only as the centres, or nodes, of any specific migration network but also as the agents who have at their disposal specific types of cultural repertoires they can activate when faced with a specific transnational situation. In the terminology of Bernard Lahire (2011) this type of agency is associated with the concept of the 'plural actor'. According to Lahire (2011:36-37) all individuals 'embodied several repertoires of schemes of action (habits) ... they can

quite well coexist peacefully when expressed in social contexts that are different and separate from one another, or lead only to limited and partial conflicts in one or other particular context or domain of existence'. These cultural repertoires contain a type of social capital, and social networks are an important part of it along with the skills and dispositions utilised by an individual when the external situation requires it.

The situation of mobility activates a specific type of cultural action scheme. Lahire (2011:56) suggests that 'the nature of the context that we are led to pass through determines the degree of inhibition or repression of a smaller or greater part of our reserve of competences, skills, knowledge and know-how, ways of speaking and doing of which we are bearers'. The changes of dominant cultural repertoire and context cause a change in the structure of self-definitions, which are expressed in the narrative through attempts to adjust the biography's main plot and restore biographical sense of continuity and coherence (Apitzsch & Siouti 2007). Changes in the dominant scheme of actions can be expressed in the interaction with a particular actor or situation, in the domain of practices, the social network relations and depends on the moment in the life cycle of the individual actor (Lahire 2011:57). Furthermore, the theory of the 'plural actor' takes the individual's background into account. It stresses the importance of exposure to cultural and social situations in the stages prior to the mobility, which may facilitate the formation of certain cultural repertoires. Lahire (2011:48) notes that 'the more such actors are the product of heterogeneous or even contradictory social forms of life, the more the logic of the present situation plays a central role in the reactivation of the part of the experiences embodied in the past'. In this regard the theory takes into account that mobility and the logics of action employed in the process of adjustment to the new social and cultural context are rooted in the individually accumulated forms of capitals, such as education, language competences and social support networks.

Defining transnationalism

Whilst migration network theory aims to explore issues of movement and 'plural actor' theory assigns a particular type of agency to decision-making processes and practices, an important step in exploring issues of migration is to investigate the

process of settlement in the new country as well as the identity change resulting from that process. The major task begins with the terminology and the categorization of individuals involved in the transnational mobility. This aspect of the study is crucial. During the long existence of migration studies some of the terms used to denote the individual have become part of the political and public discourses, reflecting tensions and problems of their given historical, social and economic contexts. The concept of 'migrant', 'emigrant' and especially 'immigrant' are the direct outcomes of thinking about and theorising migration as a one-way, purely economic type of settlement in a new country. The increasing complexity of cross-national movements, however, with all their global political, economic and cultural implications, puts a new spin on the field of migration studies. Whilst the phenomenon of international migration used to be discussed in terms of movement of an individual from one national context to another, the increase in the migration scope reinforced by emerging communication technologies calls for a new theoretical approach.

In the early 1990's anthropologists introduced the term transnationalism in order to capture individual experiences, formations of communities and international networks appearing along the social, political and economic consequences of cross-national mobility. According to Kivisto and Faist (2009:129), 'those scholars who initially embraced the idea of transnational immigration did so because of a conviction that it was necessary to capture the distinctive and characteristic features of the new immigrant communities that have developed in the advanced industrial nations at the core of the capitalist world system'. The introduction of transnationalism into migration studies formed an attempt to shake off the historical, and not always positive, political and cultural connotations by creating a concept that would allow researchers, without prejudice, to understand and explore the patterns and dynamics of movement and settlement in the country of destination. The introduction of transnationalism as a terminological 'clean slate' reflected the expression of a deeper need to introduce a term able to stand up to the complexities of the processes associated with globalisation and to the changing role of the nation state.

The term transnationalism itself was coined in the early 20th century by political writer Rudolf Bourne in his essay 'Trans-national America' (1916). It was used as a standpoint for appreciating the innovation and diversity brought by immigrants into the new society. Bourne (1916:87) suggested that the newcomers' influence could 'save us from our own stagnation', thus advocating the idea of an open, cosmopolitan society ahead of his time. The transnational individuals, in this early use of the word, were the drivers of change; they brought the energy needed to overcome political and economic impasses and a sense of individual pride to stand up and overcome their own difficulties. Tan Le (2010), in her public speech, summarised this ideological point in the following way: 'it is OK to be an outsider, a recent arrival, new on the scene. And not just OK, but something to be thankful for ... because being an insider can so easily mean collapsing the horizons, can so easily mean accepting the presumptions of your province'. On the other side of the discussion, Karl Deutsch (1954; 1969) used the term transnationalism not as an ideological standpoint but as a political theory. In its original form the theory outlined the impact on the increase of cross-border exchanges followed by the institutionalisation of cross-country connections, which would, in the long run, lead to international integration – a transnational system.

A more contemporary take on the term has evolved and is now used in a wide range of social and political contexts. According to Vertovec (1999:449-456), transnationalism is used across five main areas of social sciences often overlapping and influencing each other. Firstly, transnationalism is used as a social morphology, indicating the areas of social practice taking place across national borders. Secondly, the term may be encountered in the discourse of diasporic consciousness. A third use of the term denotes the mode of cultural reproduction associated with hybridity, cultural translation, bricolage as well as cultural syncretism. A fourth way of approaching transnationalism is associated with the area of political engagement and the growing role of international and supranational organisations. Finally, Vertovec (1999) sees transnationalism in terms of reconfiguring the nation from the local to the translocal. The term transnationalism is therefore open for interpretation, to say the least, but this may be considered both a limitation and its biggest strength. The

ambiguity of the term guarantees flexibility of use and means it can be applied in emerging areas of social inquiry tackling a cross-national context; on the other hand, the difficulties with operationalisation make it a challenging concept to research in a holistic way. The key aspects of this particular study as specified by the research question fall into the first three areas distinguished by Vertovec (1999).

Across various studies and theoretical discussions the term transnationalism is used to signify 'the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement' (Glick Schiller et al. 1992:1), 'multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation states' (Vertovec 1999:447), and 'activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders for their implementation' (Portes et al. 1999:210). The concept of transnationalism used throughout this thesis strongly resonates with the cross border practices embedded in a variety of individual experiences, caused and facilitated by cross-national mobility. Favell & Guiraudon (2011:19) suggest that a focus on international 'behaviours that are performed by any possible individual agent in any aspect of everyday life' provides a way of capturing and understanding the complexity of transnational social worlds from a bottom-up perspective, thus avoiding the theoretical assumptions often rooted in the discourse of collective and institutional identifications, which may influence researchers' understanding of these social phenomena.

Among studies aiming to capture transnational or cross-border types of practices, the most influential is Glick Schiller, Bash and Blanc-Szanton's (1992) contribution, which focuses on the emergence of transnational social fields, the platforms of social action stretched between two or more national boundaries, aiming to sustain and support the cultural and social links between country of origin and diasporic type of community living and operating in a different country. According to Glick Schiller (1992:1), transnational social spaces are 'networks, activities, and patterns of life encompassing both their host and home societies. Their lives cut across national boundaries and bring two societies into a single social field'. The concept was subsequently developed further by Portes (1998; 1999) and Faist (2000), who highlight the complex relationships between the ever growing number of

transnational connections and the institutionalisation of these relationships in the form of kinship migration chains, transnational circuits and ethnic communities.

The concept of transnationalism has gained attention within academic debate due to its relative emancipation from politically charged migration debates and ability to capture the aspects of cross-country mobility associated with new phenomena of cultural hybridity. Within this study, however, due to the biographical character of the data and analytical approaches, the operational definition of the concept is rather specific. Transnationalism within this study is strongly associated with transnational mobility of the individual agent and the sequence of changes within the individual's system of identifications. These manifest themselves within the narrative form of transnational experiences and within descriptions of cross-border practices and new social environments. Transnationalism, or more precisely an engagement with transnational mobility, is seen as a starting point for, as well as an ongoing process of identity change leading the individual towards becoming a 'citizen of the world'.

Transnationalism, outlined here as cross-border practices embedded in transnational social fields but without any normative content assumed a priori, has three important implications for empirical research. Firstly, it highlights the need for social sciences to emancipate themselves from the closed systems of the nation-state. Kivisto and Faist (2009) emphasise that research on movement and settlement needs to be 'unbound', otherwise it will 'fail to provide a room for the wider field of action occupied by contemporary migrants' (2009:132). Secondly, as Glick Schiller et al. (1992:11) notes, the 'multiple and fluid identities of contemporary transmigrants, contending that their manipulation of identities reveals a resistance on the part of transmigrants to "the global political and economic situation that engulf them"' (Kivisto, Faist 2009:132-3)', thus deny the claim that social and cultural phenomena associated with migration can be explained exclusively by economic and political motives. Thirdly, the use of transnationalism as a conceptual framework moves the level of inquiry from abstract macro processes to the level of middle-range theory (Portes et al. 1999), capturing the interplay between elements of individual transnational agency and national as well as transnational social structures.

Over the last 20 years the concept of transnationalism has been subjected to critique and revisions. The critique follows the assumption that 21st century migration movements and settlement are substantially different from the migration experiences of the previous centuries. Both the phenomenon's scope and the intrinsic motives of transnational individuals seem, at least to some such as Guarnizo (2003), fairly similar to those who travelled to the USA, Australia and South America at the beginning of the 20th century in search of political freedom and better economic opportunities. In response, academics highlighting the transnational processes associated with globalisation make the point that advances in transportation and communication technologies have contributed significantly to the emergence of qualitatively new types of social, political and economic relations that were previously marginal or unknown to social sciences. Whilst the availability of air travel and telecommunication technologies associated with the expansion of the Internet is central to any transnational discussions, the overall technological determinism forms the second source of critique of transnationalism. The final argument lies in the interplay of transnationalism with issues of assimilation and integration. According to Portes (2001:188), 'immigrant transnationalism is significant in that it can alter, in various ways, the process of integration to the host society of both first-generation immigrants and their offspring'. Whilst future assimilation of migrants was more or less certain in migration debates – in the long term and in a more or less completed form – the emergence of transnational social spaces and networks has extended this process, if not brought it to an end.

Cosmopolitanism

Theories of migration networks and transnational social spaces aim to address the issues of movement and settlement, but their conceptual framework is not sensitive enough to fully explain the scope of changes in the framework of individual identities and the social relations between natives and the others caused by transnational mobility. Increases in global mobility flows as well as the diffusion of cultural patterns between local, national and global contexts have created the need for a theory able to address these issues from a different vantage point, developing awareness and exploring possibilities and consequences of mobility from a global

rather than national perspective. This need for a conceptual framework has led academics from various disciplines in the direction of cosmopolitanism – the theory at the core of this thesis. The idea of cosmopolitanism is rich and old, and in order to fully use it as a working theory compatible with the biographical narrative data gathered for the purpose of this study it is necessary to revise and evaluate the relevant cosmopolitan literature.

The origins of the cosmopolitan idea were laid out by the ancient Greeks and developed further by the Romans. Cosmopolitanism as a concept was a response to issues of citizenship and loyalties towards a different polis and debates about the status of non-citizens. The concept as used in its contemporary form is rooted in the legacy of Stoicism, especially that of Zeno of Citium (334-262 B.C.); however, as Appiah (2007b) argues, Zeno based his philosophical debate on an already existing framework developed by the Cynics. In ancient Greece, the term, which in its original meaning simply stands for ‘citizen of the cosmos’, was a case of an idealistic paradox. The Greeks’ identity, sense of belonging and loyalties were rooted within their political, social and cultural community – the polis. The idea of citizenship was inseparable from the idea of polis. Being a citizen was an honour and consisted of privileges and duties. In the socio-political system of ancient Greece, being a citizen of the polis was generally a full-time profession, which was held only by those with the proper aristocratic background and connections. The economic existence of the polis system was possible only due to the wide use of free labour – slavery. The ancient philosophy was rooted in the dialectic between the citizen and the slave. Slaves did not truly belong to the polis, neither did women; in the general outlook slaves, women and children were not considered equal human beings.

In this context the idea of being a ‘citizen of the cosmos’ – later interpreted as ‘citizen of the world’ or planet – was an abstract and possibly revolutionary concept. The idea of belonging to the widest possible community – humankind – in which all people are ‘citizens’ with equal rights and responsibilities, was a truly ideal form of coexistence but for most Greeks simply unachievable. Yet the idea of cosmopolitanism has not faded away over time but has instead become a source of inspiration for many social thinkers and reformers who have seen the concept of the

'cosmopolitan' as the ultimate goal, a utopian vision of how the world should be: a world in which the sheer randomness of being born into a certain place and time, with a certain gender and skin colour, certain interests and abilities does not matter; a world where everybody has the freedom to choose how to live their lives and to boldly call the world his or her 'polis', community of faith and ultimate belonging; a place where no one is excluded. These highly idealistic goals, however, have served throughout the centuries as legitimisation for universalist claims, in which the aim for universal values and lifestyles was impinged by territorial, political and cultural expansions. This is the case with the Roman Empire, the Empire of Alexander the Great, and is also the idea of Universal Christendom.

However, cosmopolitanism is not simply synonymous with universal claims. The idea of 'being a citizen of the world' lies at the heart of a humanistic way of thinking about particular individuals and particular cultures and societies. At its core rests the profound concern for acknowledging individual and collective diversity, whilst at the same time addressing the problematic issues relating to their existence. The idea of cosmopolitanism was very appealing to those who searched for ultimate solutions to social problems concerning social, political and cultural inequality and exclusion. For those thinkers who had witnessed during their lives suffering of individual people as well as the extinction of whole communities, cultures, nations and races, cosmopolitanism was an idea that strongly influenced the theoretical and practical direction towards the better future envisioned by Enlightenment and the French Revolution. The philosophical quest for cosmopolitanism as seen from the current perspective can be divided into two different streams often labelled as 'old 'and 'new' cosmopolitanism in current literature.

Concerned with creating ideal conditions for cosmopolitanism (Ulrich Beck & Natan Sznaider 2006), 'old cosmopolitanism' engaged in the discussion around normative duties of existing communities, mainly nation states, to guarantee its members equality and freedom as well as economic, social and political conditions to exercise their rights and fulfil their duties. Within this stream of cosmopolitan thought, often associated with 18th century Enlightenment, Kant's idea of perpetual peace (2010) and rights of hospitality was created, as was the later concept of international law

and humanitarian interventions established in order to protect the individual from his or her own community of belonging (nation-state but also ethnic group) when it does not fulfil its duties towards its citizens (Benhabib 2005; Fine & Boon 2007; Hall 2008). The developments of this stream of cosmopolitan philosophy currently have a great impact on the debate regarding the diminishing role of nation-states, especially in the area of international law, which can be penalised for the first time ever for not treating its citizens according to generally agreed human right standards (Benhabib 2005). This 'old' cosmopolitanism is focused on creating institutional conditions and uses the language of laws, rights and duties. It exists above individuals, communities and nation-states and, even though it influences the lives of many people, it is often invisible for ordinary people all over the world.

The second stream of thought – 'new cosmopolitanism' – on the other hand, focuses on the individual. It sees cosmopolitanism as a philosophical ideal of 'I' towards which every individual should aspire (Appiah 2007b). In its highest form, the ideal of fully formed individuality reaches the form of the 'citizen of the world', a person who consciously knows the world he or she is living in and knows the way through existing opportunities and limitations. Cosmopolitanism in this sense 'is understood as the property of those individuals who possess sufficient reflexive cultural competencies that enable them to manoeuvre within new meaning systems' (Roudometof 2005:114). Cosmopolitanism as an ideal for the development of individuals is a source of significant dilemmas concerning personal and individual freedom. The choice given to individual human beings is a value in itself but can also be used against the freedom of others, as the works of Isaiah Berlin (1969) show through their distinction of positive and negative freedom. This issue was discussed with particular intensity following the terrorist attacks in the USA on 09/11.

In order to reach the state of 'cosmopolitan human beings', specific conditions need to be fulfilled. Individual freedom needs to be underpinned by social and individual trust in the good will of others, and mutual respect and responsibility for the common goods as well as eagerness to share are all attributes constituting a cosmopolitan. Ulf Hannerz (1990:239) states that the core of 'new' cosmopolitanism is a 'willingness to engage with the Other'. Keeping an open mind and attempting to

understand the Other as well as an ability to learn from the Other without losing your own identity is, according to (Appiah 2007a), the main manifesto of cosmopolitanism. This stream of cosmopolitan thought focuses on ‘cosmopolitans’ themselves; it emphasises the values of tolerance and respect and encourages a lifestyle beyond one’s community. It cherishes the particular diversity of individuals.

Those two streams of cosmopolitan thought can be seen as opposite ends of an ‘old’-‘new’ cosmopolitanism continuum. The ‘old’ is strongly associated with Enlightenment, and as Hollinger (2002:228) emphasizes ‘it is often alleged [that it] was insufficiently responsive to diversity, particularity, history, the masses of humankind, the realities of power and the need for politically viable solidarities’. At the same time, ‘what makes the “new” cosmopolitanism truly cosmopolitan is its determination to maximise species-consciousness, to fashion tools for understanding and acting upon problems of global scale, to diminish suffering regardless of colour, class, religion, sex and tribe’ (Hollinger 2002: 230). This ‘new’ cosmopolitanism provides the philosophical core of this thesis; however, it is necessary to emphasise that, with such complex theoretical traditions within social sciences, the heritage of 2000 years frequently pervades the common understanding of cosmopolitanism. The ‘shadow’ of the ‘old’ cosmopolitanism is still strongly visible in social sciences and often mixes with other complex categories, such as the ones discussed below.

Cosmopolitanism in Social Theory

The notion of cosmopolitanism has been widely used throughout history as a platform for theoretical discussions about others, their identity and their place within the social, political and economic framework of modern societies. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that the 21st century – the century of global migrations, telecommunication technologies, transnational corporations and international organisations – is experiencing a rebirth of the concept of cosmopolitanism in an unusually diversified way. Social sciences, which by definition have an interest in investigating the changes in people’s individual and collective lives, see cosmopolitanism as a useful tool for understanding the contemporary world. Within social theory, as in philosophy, the use of the term cosmopolitan has a relatively long

history. The classical and contemporary theories see cosmopolitanism in their own specific fashion, which reflect their diverse historical and more current social, economic and political contexts. What makes the discussion about cosmopolitanism these days even more complex is its close relation with the processes of globalisation. The aim of this section of the thesis is to review classical and contemporary theories concerned with the concept of cosmopolitanism as well as its co-existence with the globalisation discourse.

Classical Outlook on Cosmopolitanism

When compared to the philosophical heritage, social sciences can seem relatively young. However, over the four centuries of their existence, their generated reach and valuable scope of theories has shaped the social, economic and political map of the world. Within those classical theories, cosmopolitanism rarely appears as an independent concept; rather it is part of a more complex theoretical framework. It can be found as a more general set of social attitudes of openness and respect towards the other, as well as in the set of specific cosmopolitan practices and lifestyles of an international, cultural elite and their opposition towards locals.

Within the contemporary cosmopolitan debate classical sociological theories used to be unappreciated mostly due to the short-sighted assumption that their relevance for contemporary issues is limited. However, according to Turner (2006), classical sociology tends to explain, define and describe possible associations within society at the level of generalisation which is universal and still relevant for understanding the social world today. This is due to the fact that classical authors such as Durkheim and Weber were interested in 'the social' as opposed to 'nature'. According to Turner, each individual theory attempting to define and understand 'the social' consists of two major, interrelated elements. Firstly, it investigates 'patterns or chains of social interaction and symbolic exchange' and, secondly, it looks at the system of institutional patterns formed by those interactions (2006:136). Within that structure Turner identifies two classical theories – the 'universal moral individualism' of Emile Durkheim (1973) and the 'hermeneutic of the Other' of Max Weber (1968)– as roots of cosmopolitanism within classical social theory.

According to Durkheim, the life of each individual is marked by an ongoing struggle between his or her individual autonomy and the 'moral order of society'. Within that struggle two major types of individualism can be distinguished – the 'utilitarian egoist' and the 'universal moral individual' (Turner 2006:141). Out of many everyday choices the universal moral individual would live with the interest of others at heart, which means disregarding his or her 'empirical individuality in order to seek out only that which our humanity requires and which we share with all our fellowmen' (Durkheim 1973:43-45). According to Turner (2006: 141) 'such an attitude is the foundation of cosmopolitan virtue'. The message about cosmopolitanism found in classical social theories clearly states that true cosmopolitanism starts with the individual practices and attitudes towards others. It is in the sense of responsibility and common fate that Durkheim sees the future of modern societies. In the current discussions about globalisation, which has made the world so interconnected, this shared future depends even more on 'universal moral individuals' who, in the blurred world of global consumption, can see the other clearly and act with the other in mind.

Whilst Durkheim focussed on moral responsibility of the individual, the other classic, Max Weber (1968), focussed in his concept of 'verstehende Soziologie' on the importance of understanding and accepting the Other within one's society. Turner (2006) distinguishes four main elements of interpretation and acceptance of the Other. These require from each individual and from any given social group: recognition, respect, critical mutual evaluation, and care. These four elements, referred to as the 'hermeneutic of the Other', form the basis for peaceful coexistence in a society of mutually respected equals and represent precisely the core aspects of cosmopolitanism. They build on Hegel's notion that, in order to forgive others for being different from us, society needs to learn and understand the other in the same way so as to really care about the other – it needs to value the differences (Appiah 2007a). This 'manifesto' of equality and mutual respect as well as readiness to learn about the other reflects yet another dimension of cosmopolitan attitudes.

Whilst cosmopolitanism can be found in the works of Durkheim and Weber in an indirect way, essentially as a commitment to cosmopolitan values and attitudes,

classical social theory also engages with cosmopolitanism as a range of practices. Cosmopolitanism also forms a part of sociological terminology in the academic considerations of Robert K. Merton (1968) and Alvin Gouldner (1957; 1958). Both authors, followed by others such as Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1995), Richard Sennett (1998) and Manuel Castells (2011) use the term 'cosmopolitan' to refer to 'the revolt of the elites against the low culture of the masses' (Delanty 2006:26). In this understanding of the term, modern cosmopolitans could be considered akin to a 'global bourgeoisie', people with sufficient economic resources, a set of cultural and symbolic predispositions to be considered a world elite, compared with the rest of the local world. Although the demarcation line between cosmopolitan and local seems an intuitive one, according to Merton (1968) as well as Gouldner (1957, 1958), what distinguishes those two groups is their approach to knowledge and attachment to the work place.

Merton's distinction between locals and cosmopolitans is based on two different available sources of knowledge. According to Merton (1968), the local's source of general knowledge is rooted within the members of their own communities. This 'knowledge of acquaintance', reproduced by the community for generations, is based on shared experience and has a fairly homogenous character. Knowledge possessed by cosmopolitans, on the other hand, operates at a very different level. Cosmopolitans build their knowledge through expertise about the world, to a certain extent they fulfil the role of professionals; they deliver a specific kind of knowledge which introduces novelty into the community. Based on that, cosmopolitans 'buy' themselves a place in the local community but do not depend on it. Hannerz (1990:246) argues that 'what matters to them [cosmopolitans] is not the number of people they meet, but the kind of people with whom they can share their knowledge about things'.

Professional knowledge is also a hallmark of cosmopolitans within Gouldner's (1957; 1958) considerations about the modern intelligentsia. In his perception, what characterises cosmopolitans is their independent attachment to their work place. According to Ossewaarde (2007:371) 'while the local is committed to the workplace, colleagues and shop-floor solidarity ... the cosmopolitan is committed to degrees,

credentials, profession and career'. This emancipates the cosmopolitan from their local context and provides a passport to any social space they aspire to. Being cosmopolitan by being a professional provides an individual with social independence, at least in theory. However, it often fails to acknowledge that in the contemporary world the demand for professional knowledge is sustained by dynamic higher education. Today, being professional does not guarantee being cosmopolitan. The local labour market, when supported by global networks, is adjusting to the demands of modern society, and in consequence only a few international professionals can now call themselves cosmopolitans.

Classical theories reflect the times of building the nation-state and industrial society. Classics such as Durkheim and Weber refer to the values that, in their original meaning, were supposed to counter-balance nationalist rhetoric. On the other hand, Merton (1969) and Gouldner (1957, 1958) find cosmopolitan practices in a form of professional knowledge offering some of the individuals a way out of their local community and quite oppressive industrial work relations. The visible influence of classical social theories can be found in more contemporary social theories as well as in popular discourses on globalisation. Phenomena such as the emergence of a global capitalist social class and supra-national organisations to control the nation-state carry significant echoes of the classics, with the additional modern twist of a global perspective.

In contrast to classical theory, the search for 'the social' in contemporary social theory shifts from institutional patterns of social life towards its particular dynamics of change. Theories such as cosmopolitanization by Ulrich Beck (Rantanen 2005; Ulrich Beck & Natan Sznaider 2006), cosmopolitan cultures by Bronislaw Szerszynski and John Urry (2008; 2006), and critical cosmopolitanism by Gerard Delanty (2006) focus on newly emerged social formations and track the causes of those processes within changes to the global social, political and economic context.

In his considerations about the second age of modernity, Beck (2002:63) argues that 'a new kind of capitalism, a new kind of economy, a new kind of global order, a new kind of politics and law, and a new kind of society and personal life are in making,

which both separately and in context are clearly distinct from earlier phases of social evolution'. The newly emerged kind of social reality and social context has a great impact on individual choices and opportunities. Changes in the social context, which are a direct consequence of powerful forces such as globalisation, can be observed within individual lives in the form of what Beck calls cosmopolitanization. In his interview with Rantanen (2005:249) Beck argues that, unlike in the case of cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitanization is 'a function of coerced choices or a side-effect of unconscious decisions. The choice to become or remain an "alien" or a "non-national" is not as a rule a voluntary one, but a response to acute need, political repression or the threat of starvation'. In Beck's perception, an individual's existence outside his or her social, political or economic context does not belong to the individual, but is always truly an outcome of functional changes within the social system.

Beck (2002) emphasises, however, that participating in a process of cosmopolitanization does not necessarily indicate the emergence of cosmopolitanism. This would mean that in order to internationalise and make sense of a complex situation individuals would create a notion of 'banal cosmopolitanism' allowing them to explain their life choices and political, social and economic circumstances marked by cosmopolitanization. Within that statement Beck puts himself in opposition to any notion of cultural or even moral heritage of cosmopolitanism as 'openness' towards the other and highlights the reactive elements of 'cosmopolitan' phenomena. For Beck, cosmopolitanization plays an important part in the transformation of modern society but not the only one – individualisation as well as global risk dynamics are complementary to cosmopolitanization and mark the second age of modernity.

Beck's considerations about the second age of modernity assign an important role to the emergence of 'cosmopolitan memory'. Along with his most famous notion of risk society, Beck points to new global challenges and risk dynamics, such as terrorism threats and ecological catastrophes, which create a sense of shared fate on a truly global scale. According to Beck and Sznaider (2006: 12), 'this is the case when recognition of the scale of the common threats leads to cosmopolitan norms and

agreements and thus to an institutionalized cosmopolitanism'. These institutionalized cosmopolitan norms are brought to life by a cosmopolitanization of memory combining local, national and international memories and historical facts and putting them into a global context through intensive reconciliation work, such as the bilateral history school book commissions between Poland and Germany or Germany and France. Beck himself, together with Levy and Sznajder (2009), argues that this is also the case in discussions about Jewish memories of the Holocaust and ongoing reconciliation work with Germany and Poland over mutual recognition of both crimes and victims.

In contemporary social theory the term cosmopolitanism is used in a variety of ways. Within the empirical field of academia based on the individual notion of cosmopolitan heritage, the work of Szerszynski and Urry (2006) focuses mostly on the emergence of what can be called specific cultures of cosmopolitanism. According to Szerszynski and Urry (2002:468), 'cosmopolitanism involves the search for, and delight in, the contrasts between societies rather than a longing for superiority or for uniformity'. Based on their empirical data, Urry and Szerszynski identify a set of certain cosmopolitan predispositions defining cosmopolitans, such as extensive mobility, curiosity, semiotic skills, the ability to take risks, to 'map' one's own society as well as 'openness towards other people and cultures' (2002:470). As is the case with any list of possible conditions, this raises questions about the extent to which these predispositions have to apply to the individual and what depth they need to represent. To mention only semiotic skills, the question is whether understanding the other culture results from an intuitive understanding of the other or the language or whether perhaps a certain kind of acculturation is necessary in order to fully engage with and get to know the other.

The set of cosmopolitan predispositions as presented by Szerszynski and Urry (2002) can also achieve a different level of intensity and therefore create different dimensions of cosmopolitanism. A similar idea is expressed in the academic work of Kendall et al. (2009), who distinguish three different styles of cosmopolitanism. First, the sampling style of cosmopolitanism is represented by the type of globally aware consumers, who, with their knowledge about cultural diversity and their ability to

obtain certain goods, represent a specific taste for cosmopolitan goods and values. Second, the immersive style of cosmopolitanism can be characterised by 'a conscious pattern of action which is based on learning and cultivating engagements for the purpose of change, self-knowledge or improvement' (2009:119). The final, reflexive style of cosmopolitanism represents what could be considered true cosmopolitanism in the general discourse, seen as a commitment to 'cosmopolitan openness' and to the values of mutual respect and equality. The different styles of cosmopolitanism as described above differ in terms of commitment towards understanding the diverse modern world. While being a cosmopolitan consumer lies within the reach of almost everybody, in order to become a reflexive cosmopolitan one needs to engage with the other and challenge the existing social, political and economic status quo.

Searching for a widely understood 'cosmopolitanism', Beck looks into the cosmopolitanization of the social context, and authors such as Urry and Szerszynski (2002, 2006) or Kendall, Woodward and Zlatko (2009) seek individual predispositions for the emergence of cosmopolitan practices and attitudes. Within that complex network of theoretical assumptions and empirical approaches, Gerard Delanty (2009) attempts to bring together both – the individual and the social elements. According to Delanty (2009: 53), 'sociologically driven critical cosmopolitanism concerns the analysis of the cultural modes of mediation by which the social world is shaped and where the emphasis is on moments of world openness created out of the encounter of the local with the global ... cosmopolitanism is a form of the world disclosure that arises out of the immanent possibilities of the social world for transformation.' Within Delanty's critical outlook cosmopolitanism can be found in every moment where society or societies are ready for change.

Delanty (2009) sees the modern world in terms of ongoing clashes between different individuals, groups, nations and supra-national organisations, who, when exposed to the dynamics and forces of globalisation, tend to mix with each other, up to the point where causal relations, mutual reinforcements and clashes are difficult to describe and explain. This creates a specific moment of 'openness', whereby, in the process of system transformation, different elements influence and shape a new outlook on the world. With its different dimensions and dynamics, critical cosmopolitanism aims to

provide a theoretical framework reflecting this complex reality. For this reason Delanty distinguishes three different dimensions of cosmopolitanism. At the historical level of modernity, cosmopolitanism occurs when 'the self-transformative drive to re-make the world in the image of the self in the absence of absolute certainty – provides the basic direction for cosmopolitanism'(2009: 76). At a macro level, cosmopolitanism occurs when, through ongoing interactions, two or more societies develop their own models of coexistence and mutual respect. Finally, at a micro-level, where social identities and individual agency are involved, cosmopolitanism deals with the changes within individual, national, but also cultural, political and economic identifications.

Within contemporary social theory, cosmopolitanism – in its various forms – aims to describe the particular patterns of change often associated with processes of globalisation and individualisation. According to numerous scholars, cosmopolitanism exists and operates at various levels of analysis, has different dimensions, styles and meanings. This variety of cosmopolitanisms is even more astonishing when the perspectives and heritages of the other social sciences, such as political sciences, anthropology and media sciences, to mention but a few, are taken into theoretical consideration. However, even more significant is the fact that the cosmopolitan debate occurs not only in the academic realm. Due to the overwhelming scope of changes and an increase in the education of entire societies, the academic discourse and philosophical questioning of cosmopolitanism often spark interest within the public discourse and thus become a notion of change themselves. Cosmopolitanization and cosmopolitans themselves are often seen in strong correlation with processes of globalisation in its political and economic form. Within the public debate the two often coexist together and create a common political and economic discourse.

Echoes of Cosmopolitanism in Sociological and Political Discourse

The contemporary discourse around cosmopolitanism chooses freely from a rich philosophical and theoretical background. Vertovec and Cohen (2002:9) emphasize that general cosmopolitan issues tend to be grouped into six wide categories of

cosmopolitanism as: socio-cultural condition, a kind of philosophy of the world view, a political project towards building transnational institutions, a political project for recognising multiple identities, an attitudinal or dispositional orientation, and/or a mode of practice or competence. All of those issues set important challenges for our understanding of the modern social world and the way it functions. Every social science discipline attempts to answer the questions above in its own specific way. Whilst considered useful as a concept by many, cosmopolitanism dominates in those disciplines that operate at a certain level of abstraction. Within that debate, political sciences and sociology are at the mainstream, influencing and fuelling the public discourse about both globalisation and cosmopolitanism.

In current academic debates cosmopolitanism is often treated as a theoretical companion for other social phenomena in associated with modernity and globalisation. Cosmopolitanism rhetoric is often employed simultaneously in academic and public debates, and these different levels often cause significant clashes in the ways in which cosmopolitanism is defined, perceived and often judged. In the general theoretical discussion, cosmopolitanism seems to be a more appropriate analytical category wherein blurred national boundaries with regards to capital flows, population movement and global culture raise questions about the real character of change within global economic and political systems. This theoretical discourse, however, does not exist in an academic vacuum and is therefore influenced, reinforced and discussed alongside other, sometimes academic and sometimes purely intuitive, categories.

Cosmopolitanism is commonly seen as an outcome of globalisation, which, with its international, highly mobile individual characteristics, fits in with currently occurring social, political and economic phenomena. However, it is also strongly influenced by the ongoing debate about the theoretical and practical character of globalisation itself. There are many possible ways in which globalisation can be approached as a concept, but this is not an aim of this thesis, although it is necessary to review the debate about the global or international nature of current events in order to fully understand the connotations of cosmopolitanism. This debate mainly takes place within the two arenas of social and institutional life – economy and politics.

Economic discourse has always been the fortress of globalisation theories. In his presidential address to the XV World Congress of Sociology, Martinelli (2003:294) mentions that the 'increasing power of economic and financial transnational actors' is a main reason for naming globalisation 'a qualitatively different process' (cited by Roudometof 2005:115). The hyper-mobility of capital and globally available outsourcing are the main pillars of the economic power of transnational corporations (TNCs), but also of banks and international finance institutions, especially the IMF and World Bank. Due to their enormous financial power these institutions have, to a certain extent, become independent from the regulation and control of nation-states. They have become the archetype of truly global, independent organisations, of cosmopolitan organisations.

Intuitively, the employee of a global financial organisation or an international business corporations, predominantly male, is an archetypal cosmopolitan (Kendall et al. 2009). Like traders throughout history, in their professional roles these archetypes of the modern cosmopolitan are characterised by frequent mobility and greater than average personal freedom due to their financial means. At the same time traders' contacts with others, their clients, are reduced to the basic minimum. Traders as well as businessmen have not 'engaged' with the Other; they have much more in common with other traders and are often associated with an elusive, international elite.

The emergence of a new international social class is currently widely discussed amongst sociologists. Different authors have attributed different names to the phenomenon: the 'international business elite' (Marceau 1989); 'new global elites' (Friedman 2000); a 'transnational capitalist class' (Van Der Pijl 1998; Sklair 2000); a 'World Class' with a 'global management culture' (Kanter 1995); or a 'global bourgeoisie class' (Ossewaarde 2007). What characterises this social group according to Sklair (2000) is its transnational practices. Members of the transnational capitalist class are independent from the nation-state, their lives are cross-national, and their loyalties lie with their corporation. What they have in common is economic interest, global perspectives, cosmopolitan citizenship and common life-style patterns. However, what they do not have is what classical sociology calls class consciousness

and the idea of a community of faith. Whilst this idea of a 'cosmopolitan class' is very intuitive, it also has significant connotations of prestige: in so far as being a citizen of the world is considered a measure of individual, professional success, it suggests that 'cosmopolitan' is synonymous with an identity with the strongest level of detachment from national boundaries and the highest level of control by the individual over his or her own life.

At the other end of the globalisation debate spectrum is Hirst and Thompson (1999) argument that the economy of the 21st century is not really global: it is, as it has always been, still mostly international, albeit on a larger scale than before. They suggest that national economies are the key players and what is commonly taken to be a global economy is just a complex structure of bilateral and group agreements, regulations and actions between economically advanced nation-states. From this perspective, members of the mobile population, including the employees of TNCs, are just somewhere in between their original nation-state and the host country but have not developed a new meta-identity of being citizens of the world. They have their national attachments and loyalties, very often reinforced by economic bounds such as double taxation in the country of origin and the state of residence, and their families and personal lives anchor them within some national space. What is changing is their perspective and experience of living in a different context. But this is not enough to become a 'citizen of the world'.

The relations described above also refer to the issue of transnational labour. According to Castells (2001), 'capital is global, but labour is local'. Even though labour mobility is cross-national and workers are often forced out of a nation-state's labour market by a disproportion in economic development, 'transnational' labour is still very much dependent on the local context (local health, education institutions). Furthermore, as Roudometof (2005:114) argues, there is a 'disjuncture between image and reality that lies beneath the layperson's judgement about who looks like a "cosmopolitan" vs. who looks like a "transnational" or "transmigrant"'. Werbner (1999) and Lamont and Aksartova (2002) suggest that cosmopolitan practices can easily be found within the international working class. Consequently, when taking into consideration the characteristics of 'new' cosmopolitanism, it is possible that the

employee of a TNC can be just transnational in the same way as a transnational worker can be cosmopolitan. The difference lies not in the economic status, profession or degree of mobility, even though these can limit or enable access to resources which can be helpful, but it lies in the individual attitude and personal project of the cosmopolitans. As Robbins argues (1998:3), the “‘actually existing cosmopolitanism” ... is the reality of cosmopolitan attitudes as manifested in people’s opinions, attitudes, values and orientation’. Global economic conditions are one of the obvious factors for cosmopolitanism; however, they are not sufficient for the emergence of a 'cosmopolitan' elite.

Unlike the economy, politics and its idea of governance have attempted to control and regulate the liberal actions of globalisation, especially in its economic dimension. The nation-state as a main category of territorial belonging in the 20th century is currently facing new, global challenges. Held (2002) suggests that there are two main positions towards the nation-state in the 21st century. Globalists argue that, by losing their ability to act independently and exercise their power over their citizens and territory, states are in a losing position within the structure of more complex political, economic and cultural relations. The emergence of transnational political organisations, such as the European Union or the United Nations, indicates the trend towards a more global system of governance and citizenship. On the other hand, nationalists highlight the influence of national infrastructure on the everyday life of their citizens. Only citizenship – the cultural, political and economic connection of individuals with their nation-state – is able to assure the wellbeing, freedom and protection of its citizens. Held (2002:56) argues that, to a certain extent, ‘the leading claims of the globalists are at their strongest when focused on institutional and process change in the domains of economics, politics and the environment, but they are at their most vulnerable when considering the movements of people, their attachments and their cultural and moral identities’. As the debate seems to have reached an intellectual impasse, cosmopolitanism is becoming an alternative theoretical perspective.

Within political debates, the meaning of cosmopolitanism needs to be additionally specified. Held (2002) distinguishes between political and cultural dimensions of the

phenomenon. Political loyalties – national or cosmopolitan – are mutually exclusive. In global politics, realistically speaking, one can only be a citizen of one, sometimes two states, but not of all of them at once. However visionary, the ideas of ‘global citizenship’ (Archibugi 2003) or ‘global civic society’ (Ohmae 2004) still seem utopian rather than possible. But there are alternatives to being a citizen, which can be interpreted as yet another archetype of cosmopolitanism. Pollock et al. (2000:582) suggests that ‘refugees, peoples of the diaspora ... represent the spirit of the cosmopolitan community’. Refugees, people who have been denied citizenship, are truly free from national attachments, so they could in theory be considered truly cosmopolitan. However, people without a home, for whom exile was not a choice but rather a necessity, tend to search for new national identities rather than label themselves as cosmopolitans. Consequently, it seems that even when focused on mobility and engaging the Other, cosmopolitanism still seems to be deeply rooted in individual ‘national’ identity.

As an alternative to political cosmopolitanism, cultural cosmopolitanism can contain all levels of identity – local, regional, national and the most inclusive kind, cosmopolitan. Political identity forces people to choose sides, whereas cultural identity reinforces dialogue and reflects the multicultural and dynamic process of globalisation. Held’s (2002) cultural cosmopolitanism avoids the difficult debate about the future of nation-states, yet still acknowledges the fact that national demotion of identity is still an important part to ‘new cosmopolitans’. Language, cultural patterns, political engagement and even religion are domains of the nation-state, and even when choosing a cosmopolitan life individuals are always anchored within a national culture. Moreover, this national culture and its acceptance is a necessary element of building a cosmopolitan identity.

From a political perspective, as Gadamer (1975) argues, ‘cosmopolitanism should be understood as the capacity to mediate between national cultures, communities of fate and alternative styles of life. It encompasses the possibility of dialogue with the traditions and discourses of others with the aim of expanding the horizons of one’s own framework of meaning and prejudice’ (cited by Held 2002: 57-58). This particular approach is what makes cosmopolitanism a relevant alternative for

arguments raised by both globalists and nationalists. Cosmopolitanism, understood as dialogue and openness towards others seems to suit better to the cultural and political challenges of this global era. This cosmopolitan project both within the economy and politics requires the basic terms of identity, belonging and patriotism to be redefined in order to better reflect the reality of a globalised world (Soutphommasane 2012). This change of perspective from national to cosmopolitan is a serious challenge for all academia, but for social sciences in particular.

Researching Cosmopolitanism – Methodological Considerations

As mentioned before, cosmopolitanism discourse is often abstract and difficult in its operationalisation. This has significant consequences for research. In sociological discussions the debate about cosmopolitanism focuses on issues such as mobility and media influence (Szerszynski & Urry 2006), class relations (Werbner 1999; Calhoun 2002), international education (Findlay et al. 2006) and cosmopolitan-orientated consumption behaviours (Peterson 1992). It investigates the processes of shaping a new kind of individual as well as a new kind of collective placed outside the communities of traditional belonging. In many respects sociology also attempts to operationalise and research the way in which individuals navigate through a world not standardised according to well-known patterns that were originally incorporated into the ways of the nation, social class, rational choice of taking risks both in terms of family life and career path (Beck 2009). However, due to its individualistic character and detachment from any national framework cosmopolitan practices are challenging for scientific investigation.

While there is an enormous scope of theoretical and philosophical literature concerned with the topic and its possible variations, it is difficult to find more empirical approaches to the topic with the exceptions of some, such as Szerszynski and Urry (2006), who have researched cosmopolitan, individual cultures and their relations to time and space; Weenink (2008), who uses the term cosmopolitan capital to characterise the situation of parents placing their children in international education in order to guarantee a better educational start for them in adult life; Pichler (2008), who attempts to build a statistical model combining internationally

available statistics and allowing to characterise cosmopolitans as a group with its distinctive features; and, last but not least, Nowicka and Rovisco (2008), who examine specific situations in which individuals display their cosmopolitan predispositions.

Those studies, and probably many more to come, illustrate a significant shift in the ways in which social sciences approach cosmopolitanism. In the past, although widely discussed, cosmopolitanism was considered an ideal, a type of citizenship in Weber's sense or a utopian system wherein everybody is a citizen of the world. Nowadays, it is a set of practices and attitudes that can be observed and investigated empirically. New international cooperation projects and the unifying role of the English language have opened access towards the mobile population and thus made it possible for researchers to see processes such as mobility and cosmopolitanism in a more dynamic, multidimensional way. These new opportunities and more sophisticated analytical tools have brought the discussion about cosmopolitanism to a very different, empirical level. Current attempts to operationalise the concept and find the necessary indicators both within quantitative and qualitative research traditions would suggest that at least for some social scientists cosmopolitanism has stopped to be just a theoretical idea – it has become empirical reality.

'New' cosmopolitanism is focused on the development of the cosmopolitan individual and the conditions shaping this particular form of identity. This perspective requires quite specific research questions and subsequently specific research methods. Cosmopolitanism represents a mixture of individual and social factors, built on experiences stretched between very different national and cultural contexts. This adds to the difficulties with standardisation and, even more so, generalisation from such experiences. Cosmopolitanism is not an organised, social experience only, and thus quantitative methods are rarely sensitive enough to capture the complexity of this phenomenon. In its very core cosmopolitanism is about an individual – his or her practices and attitudes – and from this perspective qualitative methods seem more appropriate. However, the choice of relevant methods is not the only problematic element in researching cosmopolitanism.

Comparative and cross-national experiences of cosmopolitans are a methodologically challenging idea. Capturing a static moment in one locale (Herm 2008; Vasileva 2011, 2012), mostly of a national character, skews the meaning of the cosmopolitan experience, which, according to Beck & Sznaider (2006), should be reflected in a similarly cosmopolitan methodology. As Beck (2002: 62) emphasises, ‘as more processes show less regard for state boundaries – people shop internationally, work internationally, love internationally, marry internationally, research internationally, grow up and are educated internationally (that is multilingually), live and think internationally, that is combine multiple loyalties and identities in their lives – the paradigm of societies organised within the framework of nation-state inevitably loses contact with reality’. In conjunction with the decline of the importance of nation-states these multiple loyalties and identities are, according to Beck, the most important reasons for the emergence of methodological cosmopolitanism.

In order to explain who the ‘new’ cosmopolitans are and how they have come to be, it is necessary to look carefully into the individuals’ lives, the ways their lives have unfolded step by step and the external opportunities and limitations that have shaped it. It is important to research the individual as an owner of free will and an individual life project who has used the structure of opportunities in order to achieve a cosmopolitan outlook. This thesis is an attempt to research ‘new’ cosmopolitans via a methodological insight into their biographies in order to develop a new, empirical framework for understanding the cosmopolitan phenomenon.

The main aim of this chapter was to explore and systemise the available scope of literature concerning migration theories, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism and describe their implications for the identity discourse of transnational individuals. The chapter outlined the key dimensions of mobility in Europe and the key concepts of migration networks and the transnational plural agent, but primarily focused on theories of cosmopolitanism. Contemporary social sciences has rediscovered cosmopolitanism as an inspirational but often very abstract idea, which has stood for a utopian vision of a future social order. However, currently and due to changes

associated with globalisation, there has been a shift in the approach towards cosmopolitanism – from theoretical considerations towards more empirical studies. In order to describe and understand the increasingly complex social, political, economic and cultural context, social sciences have to search for empirically new but theoretically old frameworks. The idea of cosmopolitanism seems to reflect the processes and phenomena of the global age from a different, more flexible point of view. In his interview with Rantanen (2005:259) Ulrich Beck asks ‘what kind of consciousness, biographically, culturally and politically, derives from the situation of having more locations and identities, and being involved with all those contradictions in your own biography? It’s an empirical question. It’s not something which can be solved theoretically’. This thesis aims precisely at finding empirical answers to the question of how individuals who experience multiple cultural, social and political attachments in their everyday life work through their biographical experiences in order to become a ‘citizen of the world’.

Chapter 3

Biographical Research in Transnational Context – design and methods

A brief history of the thesis

The history of this particular research thesis begins with the work of the EuroIdentities project but the process and outcome are an independent effort to understand the realities of transnational individuals across Europe as well as to engage in methodological study of autobiographical narratives. The research question and design, sample and analysis are shaped by this evolving interest in method and by the dynamically changing debate about the application and significance of narrative methods in social sciences. The research question in its final form emerged from a great admiration for the autobiographical narrative interview method, which gives the narrator unobstructed freedom to tell the life story as one sees it, as well as discontent and frustration with analytical models which focus entirely on one aspect of the narrative, thus losing sight of the narrated experience's complexity. Along with the methodological debate the thesis responds to the growing interest in transnational mobility and its consequences for national and international orders, social entities such as family, education and organisations, and

the impact of mobility on individual transnational biographies. These are my core theoretical concerns.

EuroIdentities

Firstly, the EuroIdentities Project⁵ provided an opening for both the theoretical and practical framework for my research. Training in data collection, transcription and various analytical tools formed an integral part of the project. Working as a research officer for Bangor University team within that framework gave me an opportunity to obtain practical skills in data gathering – especially as an autobiographical narrative interviewer – and analysis, including cross-national comparison of biographies. EuroIdentities, which focused on the evolution of European identities explored through individual narratives, provided me with the first insights into the transnational biographies gathered across Europe. As the project focused on European identities, some of the emerging issues had to be put aside to be further explored in independent projects. What was therefore needed was a search for a new theoretical framework reaching beyond Europe, independently from the EuroIdentities project.

The Cosmopolitan Project

The burgeoning of new studies and new approaches aiming to explore and compare all possible social aspects of life between nations, across nations and above nations suggested the need for a theoretical framework which would be more sensitive towards the transnational complexities of individual experiences. Cosmopolitanism, currently the buzz-word of international studies, shifted the focus of my investigation into this discourse. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, the proliferation of theoretical as well as empirical approaches, has become a burden for the concept. Whilst every study provides a specific definition of cosmopolitanism, the discussion between empirical studies, between theory and research, across academic disciplines and between the academic and public discourse has rendered the discussion of specific results and issues difficult and not always fruitful. For that reason, while cosmopolitanism remains the underpinning idea behind this study, the focus of my

⁵ See Appendix 2 for more information

investigation has shifted towards explaining transnational biographical experiences, practices and logics of actions. Only then have the findings been confronted with the relevant theories of cosmopolitanism.

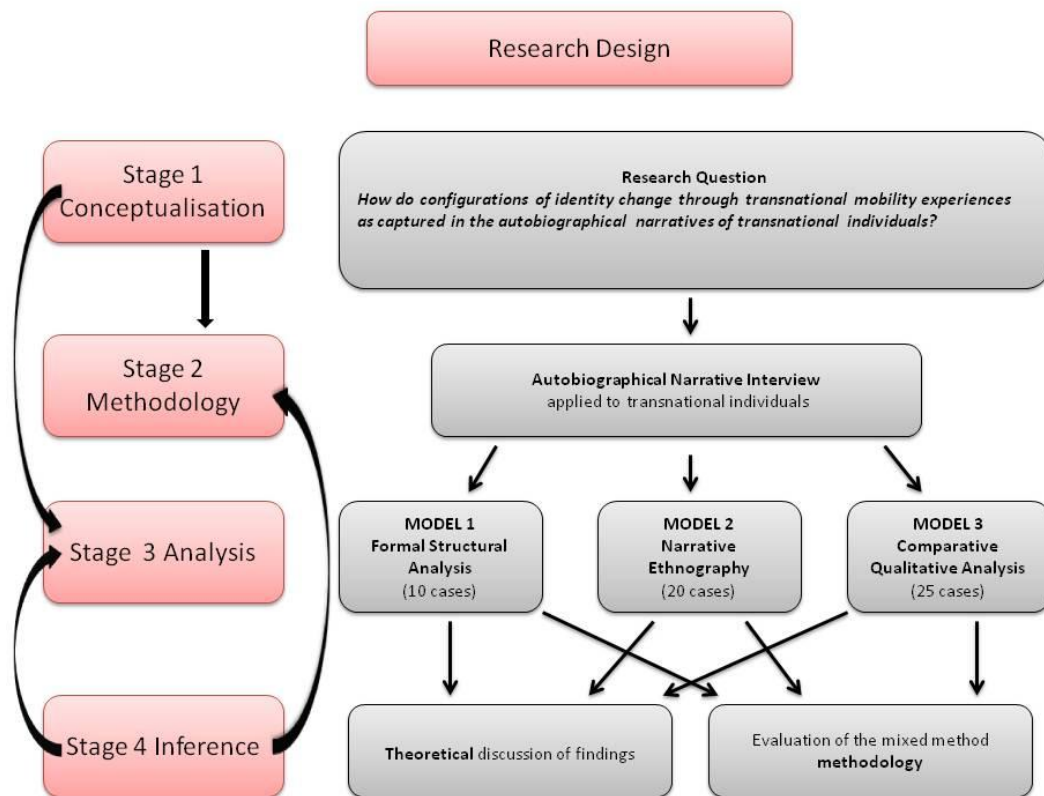
The Research Question and Research Design

This thesis therefore focuses on a twofold research question. It is designed both to accommodate the evolution of my theoretical and methodological interests as well as to capture the ever-changing landscape of narratives methods and the internal complexities of transnational identity experience. The question is framed to explore and understand the following:

How do configurations of identity change through transnational mobility experiences as captured in the autobiographical narratives of transnational individuals?

In those terms, the theoretical level of investigation concentrates on the issues of transnational mobility with respect to direct impact of experiences, possible adjustments and emergence of new identity configurations, such as cosmopolitanism. The methodological aspect of this inquiry directs its attention to the analytical ways in which these different types of dynamic processes can be extracted from autobiographical narrative data. In the process of concept operationalisation as well as the review of available analytical techniques, a three-way research design has emerged, creating the overall structure of this research project. Figure 3.1 outlines the structure of the inquiry process, involving the application of the three analytical models - formal structural analysis (1), narrative ethnography (2) and comparative qualitative analysis (3). The study separates on a design level the method of data gathering - in this case the autobiographical narrative interview method used within the framework of the EuroIdentities project - and the methodological approaches used for data analysis, which form an independent part of this research project.

Figure 3.1 The Research Design



The first two models, namely formal structural analysis and narrative ethnography, are designed to tackle qualitative narrative data. The third analytical model follows Teddlie and Tashakkori's (2006) conversion design. This approach allows for data to be 'transformed (qualitized or quantitized) and analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. In this design one type of data is gathered and analysed accordingly and then transformed and analysed using the other methodological approaches' (Tashakkori & Teddlie 2006:23). For the purpose of this study, three strands of analysis were conducted, with formal structural analysis forming an integral part of the autobiographical narrative interview method; then the data were analysed with the tools of narrative ethnography, followed by a conversion of the data (fuzzy set-theory calibration) in order to perform a configurational comparative type of analysis (Ragin 2000).

This particular study uses two strictly qualitative methods, namely formal structural analysis and narrative ethnography, and combines them with qualitative comparative

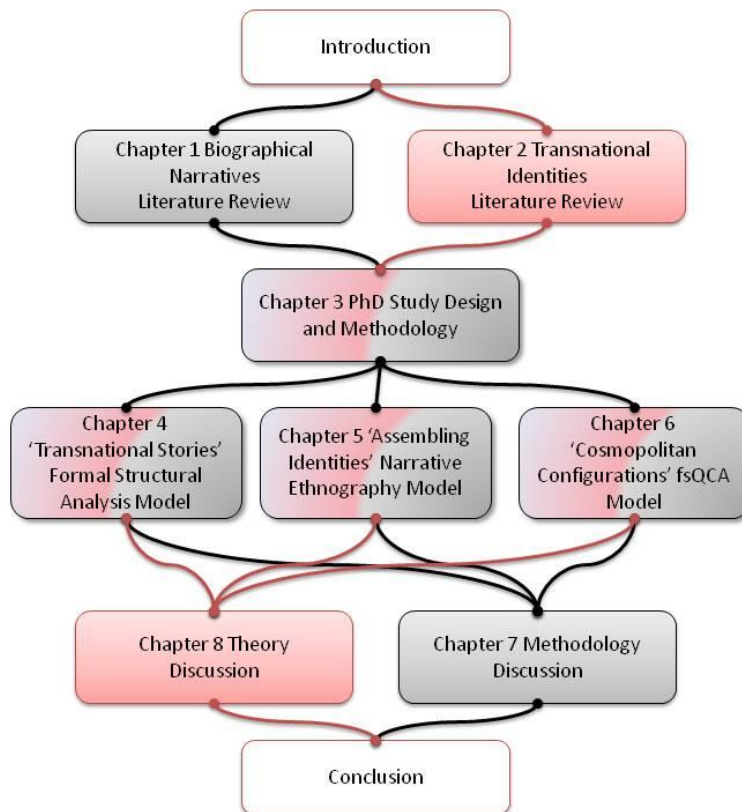
analysis (QCA), which in itself presents a methodological attempt to fill the gap between qualitative and quantitative approaches to data. The study focuses on the outcomes of the multi-method approach for understanding the phenomenon in question – here transnational identities – rather than working both qualitatively and quantitatively. The purpose of the mixed methods design is methodological triangulation and 'cross-validation' using comparable data (Jick 1979:602). Applying a multistrand concurrent design has important advantages. Firstly, as Tashakkori & Teddlie (2006:20) suggest, this research design 'enables researchers simultaneously to ask confirmatory and explanatory questions, and therefore verify and generate theory in the same study'. Secondly, subjecting biographical data to the conversion improves the interpretation of qualitative data and offers an insight into the complexity of conditions which may indicate the underlying patterns. Running multiple strands simultaneously, however, can be challenging for the researcher and it raises some interesting methodological questions (see discussion in chapter 7).

The study's design aims to explore the relation between a methodological approach and empirical findings. By applying three different analytical models and comparing the outcomes, researchers can gain insights into how methodological assumptions, embedded in the philosophical paradigms of research, shape the understanding of the world and the phenomenon in question. The application of the conversion research design thus aims to explore the following aspects of the analytical procedures applied to biographical narratives.

- What are the similarities and differences in analytical approaches to autobiographical narrative data?
- How can different methods capture different levels of biographical experiences?
- What is the character of findings obtained via specific types of analysis?
- Do the methods complement or contradict each other?
- What are the characteristics of the findings in terms of issues of representativeness, generalisability, and practical and theoretical application?

The following schema shows the relationships between the main elements of the thesis, including the three analytical models.

Figure 3.2 Structure of the thesis



The following sections of the chapter outline the methods of obtaining the data and provide the key information about the analytical models used within the research design, analytical toolkits, step-by step research procedures and the sampling procedures. Each of the empirical chapters which follows (Chapters 4-6) will illustrate the analytical models' application to the empirical data. The comparative study of all three approaches and a discussion of strengths, limitations and future development of mixed methods in narrative research is outlined in Chapter 7 before a final discussion of cosmopolitan theory in Chapter 8.

Character of the data - Selecting a sample

The research data for this thesis uses interview material gathered within the EuroIdentities project. The project's primary collection consisted of approximately

200 autobiographical narrative interviews gathered across seven countries, targeting mainly transnational individuals scattered across Europe. The fact that the EuroIdentities project was strongly sensitized towards the concept of Europe had a significant impact on the selection procedures as well as the interview situation. All of the interviewees shared some type of transnational experience within a European context but often belonged to more than one 'sensitized group' (see also Appendix 2). Narrators who took part in the study represented a variety of nationalities, socio-economic backgrounds, age, gender and education, but what connected them was the fact that they spent parts of their lives living abroad. Their experiences in encountering and dealing with different people and cultures bring a new, international dimension to the biographical material collected.

From the EuroIdentities dataset, 25 interviews were selected for the purpose of my research (a full list of the interviews can be found in Appendix 1). The selection criteria followed the guidelines for theoretical sampling outlined by Corbin and Strauss (1990), allowing for the selection of the cases based on their 'theoretical relevance to the evolving theory' (1991:176). My cases were selected in order to reflect the variety of transnational experiences in terms of mobility duration, geographical distribution and intensity of mobility as well as population characteristics such as gender, nationality and age in terms of the biographical life cycle and historical circumstances, with some cases coming from outside Europe. This type of sample was designed to capture the significant aspects of transnational experiences which, according to Strauss and Corbin (1990:176), 'are repetitively present or notably absent when comparing instances, and are of sufficient importance to be given a status of categories'.

By its very nature, theoretical sampling sets the boundaries for analytical outcomes of the data. A non-probabilistic way of obtaining subjects for the study restricts the ability to generalise findings across the wider population. Using theoretical sampling does therefore not reveal the attributes and properties of the population under investigation, but it permits 'generalisation about the nature of the process' (Gabo 2004:405). The logic of theoretical sampling, beside obvious practical implication for quantitative inquiry, also has a theoretical grounding. Transnational individuals do

not constitute a coherent sub-set of the population. The fact that transnational mobility places individuals outside their original economic, political, social and cultural systems makes it impossible to determine the population to which the research aims to generalise. Additionally within the biographical narrative data even the most random sample of transnational individuals would be simply too diverse to be able to capture the possible variety of individual circumstances and experiences. According to Gabo (2004:406) 'in order to obtain representativeness, the sampling plan needs to exist in dialogue with field incidents, contingencies and discoveries.' With the proper methodology a small-n study can inform the research about deeper processes associated with and driven by transnational mobility.

Gathering the data - Autobiographical narrative interview in practice

The collection of biographical narratives within the EuroIdentities⁶ project followed the methodological guidelines of Fritz Schütze (2008). Eliciting the narrative and its shape depend heavily on the external context of the interview. The EuroIdentities project consisted of seven different teams, and interviews were collected in a variety of settings, places and languages. Additionally, interviews were conducted by a number of researchers with different levels of skills and varying language skills. These variations actively influenced the material and will be addressed (see also Domecka et al. 2012). Across the sample of 25 interviews 7 were made by the author, and others were conducted by members of the other EuroIdentities teams⁷. The process of obtaining the autobiographical narratives involved setting the scene, the interview itself with a narrative and a probing part, its transcription and translation, and then analysis of the material.

The autobiographical interview

Depending on the team, the EuroIdentities project employed a purposive sampling procedure as well as snowball sampling. The choice of interviewees was guided by the concept of 'sensitization to Europe', hence interviewees with a variety of transnational experiences relevant to Europe were chosen for interviews. In most teams first contact was made via phone or an introduction letter. This introduction

⁶ For more information please see Appendix 2.

⁷ For detailed list of interviews please see Appendix 1.

provided some information about the project as well as the time and place for the interview. The biographical narrative interview technique requires mental preparation from the interviewee as well as the proper setting and timeframe. Interviews took place in numerous locations, such as an interviewee's homes, university offices or a more public space – cafeterias and work places. Following a methodological requirement of the narrative interview its timeframe had to be open as biographical interviews usually take between one and three hours.

Taking into consideration all the special characteristics of the autobiographical narrative interview, the technique of interviewing is relatively subtle and demanding. More so than in usual interviews, the social interaction between interviewer and interviewee impacts on the quality and character of the life story. According to Gubrium and Holstein (2009:39) 'in everyday life, the 'same' account changes in meaning and in its consequences, depending on speakers' and listeners' purposes and the circumstances.' Similarly, the autobiographical narrative interview situation is shaped in various ways by different aspects of the social interaction between interviewer and interviewee. Within the EuroIdentities project every interview transcript contains information about the time and place of the interview. Additionally, notes were taken describing the interview situation, such as general atmosphere and interaction between interviewer and interviewee. Possible power disproportions during the interview, such as gender, age and social position imbalances, were taken into consideration and reflected in the transcripts as in the following example.

I heard about Gosia from a mutual friend at university. I contacted her via e-mail in Polish and she responded to me in English. When we first met she explained that her Polish was rather limited and she preferred to give her interview in English. That was due to the fact that she moved from Poland when she was young and she and her mother had been living in Germany. The interview took place at university, in the student canteen. It was holiday season and we were there alone. As a psychology student she was very interested in the technique of biographical narrative interviewing. [Interviewer Marta Eichsteller, Bangor University]

The issue of the first question

A crucial part of the autobiographical narrative interview, which is the subject of detailed discussion in the literature, is the interview introduction and the stimuli for narration (Domecka et al. 2012). Biographical narration is elicited by a single question. According to Rosenthal (2004), within the first period of the 'main narration' the interviewer explains the idea of the autobiographical narrative interview and activates the narration process by asking the interviewee 'Please, tell me your life story'. In order to open an unobstructed narrative flow the interviewer needs to connect with the interviewee. A specific type of understanding about what the biographical interview is needs to be reached, especially considering that some of the interviewees can be surprised by the interest in their life stories and unsure of what the interviewer's expectations are.

I: OK. So let's start the interview. So I just told you the idea is to –erm-// you were just going to tell me about the story of your life and how you became the person whom you are today/. And /ehm/ I'm not going to interrupt you and you can just start, probably –eh-, with your very first memory

N: -Mmh mmh-

I: And then just continue as you like.

N: Yes.

I: OK. And if there's any, you know, if you're, sometimes if there's silences that's no problem. If you like need some time to think.

N: Ah. - Right, OK, so will I say who I am and?

I: Yeah.

N: Or not, yeah?

I: Yeah you can, yeah.

N: OK, well I am ... [Interviewer: Maruska Svastek, Queens University Belfast]

This first element of the interview requires establishing a trust relationship. The state of the interactional power balance is a very important issue. Where one party is required to share often very personal events from their life the interviewer needs to find a way to make the narrator feel comfortable with it. This often lies in the sphere of the interviewer's interpersonal skills. It is common practice for the interviewer to share some elements of his or her own life with the interviewee before or after the interview.

An additional difficulty in asking the first question is the possibility of leading the interviewee's answer into the areas of the interviewer's initial interests. This is especially the case where sensitized concepts are used in order to focus narration on a specific research question and in the selection of interviewees. In the EuroIdentities project some teams and interviewers included the interest in Europe into the opening question, others did not. Individual interviewing styles as well as judgements of the interview situation were the main reasons for introducing a Europe-probe into the question.

I: So, as I told you before, this is part of a project looking at people and notions of identity. So, If you'd like to tell me the story of your life, in any way you want, in any order that you want and while you're doing it, I'll make a few notes.

N: OK

I: Things I want you to clarify after, because I don't want to interrupt you as we go along. So

N: It's going to be a little monologue ((laughing))

I: Just a monologue – however you want to say it.

N: Yeah..

I: OK. As I say, we know that you are Dutchman. If you could talk about the story of your life and the way Europe you think Europe has affected your life. I will make notes as you go along. So would you like to introduce yourself now, and start however you want?

N: OK. My name is ... [Interviewer: Sally Baker, Bangor University]

Throughout the project it became apparent that within the flow of biographical narration the first question loses its impact. Whilst at the beginning the issue of Europe may have an impact on the choice of events, due to the constraints of biographical narration interviewees very soon become too much involved into their own story to structure their narration according to the external stimuli. All of those factors were taken into consideration during analysis and when drawing conclusions. The fact is, however, that European identity is not a subject for investigation in this thesis. Instead, the focus is directed towards cross-border practices, and any references to Europe in that context are treated not as a statement of identity but simply as one of the possible aspects of transnational life stories.

After the first question

The narrative autobiographical interview process has a specific twofold interview design (Rosenthal 2004; Schütze 2008; Domecka et al. 2012). In the first part of the narration the interviewee is encouraged to give a full and ideally undisturbed account of their autobiography in order to obtain the best possible representation of the self-structured life story. At the same time, the interviewer actively listens to the narration and notes down possible questions and discrepancies, but without disturbing the free flow narrative. Active listening can be challenging for the interviewer (Domecka et al. 2012). Probing for more detailed information is second nature to a skilled interviewer, but in the case of an autobiographical narrative interview the urge to dig deeper into biographical experiences should be restrained. On the other hand, there are situations when the interviewee might need some help from the interviewer in keeping the temporal structure of the events, or getting back to the narration where the interview is interrupted.

The narrative part of the autobiographical narrative interview is enclosed within the textual framework of the life story, which gives the interviewer an indication of where the life story's beginning, building elements and ending are. The story's beginning often starts with a preamble, the element in which the interviewee focuses on the overall shape of the life as a whole. It can contain a simple introduction of when and where one was born, but sometimes it includes the biography's major theme.

N: OK. So I start. I was born in –eh- Romania, next to the Hungarian border and that's why I had my three mother-tongue languages. That means –eh- yeah, Hungarian, Romanian and German.

I: -mmh-

N: And at the age of 14 - I came over to Germany

[Interviewer: Marta Eichsteller – Bangor University]

The biographical narrative is built with specific textual segments. Those can be distinguished by the use of supra-segmental markers, figures of speech which aim to complete a given episode and start a new one. The narration of the life story ends with the textual element known as coda (Fritz Schütze 2008). This final element of

the biography is usually quite explicit. It contains evaluations of the overall life story as well as questions about the future. The coda ties all the biographical elements together and brings the narrator to the present situation.

N: And some nice // like, we're moving actually next week /ehm/ - and it's a nice wee town, there's wee lakes and – I'm hoping that'll - help me find - a centre there, because that's the whole aim. We want to ... avoid what - I was saying earlier about Kai's /ehm/ stepbrothers... like growing in a (third) country and not having the sense of proper identity.

I: -mmh-

N: So we really want for Jacob to have that wee sense of coming back to his home. Like, I can always go home. Home is always - walking up that wee road to my house at home.

I: -mmh-

N: And – it's like we want to find – a wee centre here, an early centre there – that you maybe work, or that you maybe spend phases of your life in.

I: -mmh-

N: But, yeah – it's just really hard work. /Ehm/ - I think I'll stop talking now ((laughing)).

I: ((laughing))

N: I realise I've gone on really long. [Interviewer: Markieta Domecka – Queens University Belfast]

The biographical coda opens up the second period of the biographical narration. In the second questioning part, the interviewer asks relevant questions in a particular order. First, the interviewer poses 'internal' narrative questions, which are directly related to what was said in the interview, and tries to use the interviewee's narrative flow in order to obtain more detailed elements of the life story. Afterwards, 'external' narrative questions are asked, which deal with some especially interesting aspects of the life story as well as any occurring biographical discrepancies. In the EuroIdentities project 'Europe-related' questions were asked in a more direct way. Those often elicited an interviewee's free associations with Europe, such as EU regulations concerning labour market and currency, but also aspects of cultural heritage and supranational identifications.

From interview to transcript

All the EuroIdentities interviews were recorded and then transcribed. The autobiographical narrative interview requires a specific kind of transcription. According to Gubrium and Holstein (2009:34), a transcript 'must be fine-tuned to capture sufficient conversational detail to support the form of narrative analysis under consideration'. All EuroIdentities teams used the same transcription markers in order to indicate significant pauses, interruptions and self-corrections. Transcripts included indications of significant non-verbal responses, emotional tone of the utterance, such as strong statements and change of volume. All of them are interconnected with the textual form of narration and often indicate a transition to the next narrative segment.

One of the greatest challenges in an international project using biographical data is the transcript translation. The EuroIdentities project collected narratives in English, German, Polish, Bulgarian, Italian and Estonian, and most of them were translated into English. The translation was carried out by the teams, some of which used professional translation services, whereas most were translated by research assistants. The advantage of translation by EuroIdentities staff was an understanding of the mechanism which guides the biographical narratives. Whilst some of the biographical and conversational elements may seem insignificant to a professional translator, they have been preserved in the translated transcripts by researchers. The issue of transnational adequacy was carefully addressed by the teams and efforts were made to ensure that translations were up to standard.

Autobiographical narratives often contain sensitive information not only about the interviewee but also about his or her family, friends and work environment. The project therefore attempted to mask any sensitive information in the transcripts. Names, dates, places as well as most of the less relevant information through which an interviewee could be identified were replaced in the transcripts. However, there have been a small number of interviewees who, due to unique biographical experiences, could be recognised in spite of all efforts to mask them. Those transcripts were therefore restricted to EuroIdentities researchers only. An agreement was reached that, when used for publications, the overall biographical

story would not be used and all researchers would take special precautions not to disclose any elements of the biographical interview allowing identification of the interviewee. These precautions were set in place in order to meet ethical requirements and ensure anonymity and confidentiality of the interviewees as outlined in the ethical section of the project proposal.

Note on the ethics

The ethical aspect of this study is strongly embedded in the EuroIdentities practices. The process of gathering the data as well as the transcription, secondary analysis of the data and the use of the data for publications were uniform across the project and regulated via the project management agreement. All biographical narratives were given by healthy, adult narrators, with their clear consent (written or verbal) and participants were informed of the nature of the autobiographical narrative interview technique. It was made clear that the individuals can make a decision to omit the elements of the life story they do not feel comfortable about sharing with the interviewer. The interview is conducted at a previously agreed time and in an appropriate space so that the narrator is comfortable and has enough time to give a full account of the life story and can stop the interview at any moment (Ryen 2004). The narrators were assured on the confidentiality of the data given.

The interviews were transcribed and anonymised by the group responsible for the given interview. Only the members of that team knew the identity of the narrator, and transcripts shared between the project members used pseudonyms for all the names used as well as masking of the places mentioned by the narrator. In cases where a public or easily identified individual was interviewed, project members were instructed to use the data with particular care. All the team members and some project associates have access to the securely stored transcripts of the biographical narratives gathered during the project. At the time of writing, no external academics have the access to the data set but there is a plan to securely store the data in the national archives.

Three steps of analysis

The data analysis stage uses the conversion mixed methods research design. There are a number of analytical approaches to narrative data which aim to tap into either various features of discourse which reveal cognitive structures or the actual account of social practices reported from the acting agent's point of view. The analytical models vary significantly and often lie in the domains of different academic disciplines, such as linguistics, history, sociology, media analysis and anthropology. All of them tend to make claims to their analytical superiority and sophistication and rarely engage with each other in interdisciplinary debates. However, due to the rise of collaborative projects targeting narrative methods in their investigations, there is a growing need to explore not only the bulk of knowledge about the social world as found in the narratives, but also the analytical methods for extracting information from this particular type of data. There is a need to understand their impact on the character of findings, such as their explanatory power and generalisability, as well as possibilities for their further application.

For the purpose of this thesis three distinct analytic approaches were chosen. Formal structural analysis, narrative ethnography and configurational comparative analysis were used in order to highlight different elements of autobiographical narrative. The first method provides an insight into the mechanisms of creating the life story as it focuses on the negotiation of the individual plans and actions with the social structures embedded within the experiences brought up in the narration. Narrative ethnography treats the life story as a discourse. It captures the dynamic relation between the big stories within society, patterns of status, success and failure as they are resonating in the 'small' life stories. The configurational comparative method allows for a deep comparison of the complex units, including biographical narratives. It uses mathematical fuzzy set theory and Boolean algebra to systematise necessary and sufficient conditions for the emergence of the phenomenon in question as embedded in the network of a structural and individual matrix. Applying three analytical methods for the biographical narrative material makes it possible to capture and explore the multidimensional aspects of belonging and identity

formation. Additionally, it enhances the understanding of autobiographical narratives as well as development and comparison of new analytical tools and approaches.

However, all three analytical approaches used for the purpose of this study follow different analytical logics. Formal structural analysis requires application of logical abduction (Rosenthal 2004), which requires constant shifts between emerging theoretical generalisation and the specific cases. Narrative ethnography follows the inductive logic of Grounded Theory (Corbin & Strauss 1990), wherein discourse categories emerge straight from the data. Finally, configurational comparative analysis requires mathematical testing of possible configurations of conditions for the present or absent outcome and follows a deductive logic of research (Ragin 2008). The logic of the analysis strictly determines the type of theoretical reasoning, but also requires adjusted sample sizes.

The first analytical approach – formal structural analysis method – requires deep, line-by-line analysis of the cases. It focuses on the way in which the life story is told, specifically on how transnational experiences are framed. The approach is very time-consuming and requires detailed handling of sometimes very long transcripts. In the research for this thesis, the sample for the formal structural method of analysis consists of 10 autobiographical narrative interviews. The second analytical approach – the narrative ethnography method, which deals more with the practices and the content of the interview – allows for enlargement of the first sample by an additional 10 autobiographical cases. The analytical procedure is designed to tap into a different level of the narrative account and structures the possible findings along a different analytical logic, allowing reuse of some of the same data in a different manner. The third analytical approach – comparative configurational method – searches for similarities and differences in the configuration of autobiographical elements. The method is designed for small-n studies, but a larger number of cases allows for more precise configurations. For that reason the sample has been enlarged by another 5 autobiographical cases, thus bringing the study's overall sample to 25 narrative interviews.

Table 3.3 Full list of biographical narrative interviews

Case No	Case	Age	Country of Origin	Country of destination	EuroIdentities Team	
1	RENI	42	Bulgaria	Hungry, UK, Germany	Bulgarian Academy of Science	Formal Structural Analysis
2	JOANNA	24	UK	France and Germany	University of Magdeburg	
3	PAULINE	31	Northern Ireland	Denmark	Queen's University Belfast	
4	CARMEN	68	Germany	France, Italy, Spain	University of Magdeburg	
5	FREDERICK	66	United States of America	Republic of Ireland	Queen's University Belfast	
6	JAKUB	32	Poland	France	University of Łódź	
7	AGATA	28	Poland	UK	Bangor University	
8	SARAH	44	Brazil	Italy, UK	Bangor University	
9	DEAN	46	UK	Ireland	Bangor University	
10	GWILIM	55	UK	Sweden	Bangor University	
11	KINGA	31	Poland	China, UK	Bangor University	Narrative Ethnography
12	ZULA	23	Mongolia, Germany	Finland	University of Magdeburg	
13	MAJKA	26	Poland	UK	Bangor University	
14	KOSTEK	32	Poland	UK	University of Łódź	
15	DANIELA	28	Romania	Germany	Bangor University	
16	GOSIA	25	Poland	Germany, USA, UK	Bangor University	
17	MATILDA	64	UK	France, Ireland	Bangor University	
18	ALEXANDRA	30	Poland	UK	University of Łódź	
19	IGOR	25	Italy	Holland	University of Napoli	
20	ANDREW	41	South Africa	Northern Ireland	Queen's University Belfast	

21	MONIKA	35	Poland	Northern Ireland	Queen's University Belfast	fs QCA
22	LUKE	36	Zimbabwe	Northern Ireland	Queen's University Belfast	
23	MATYLDA	26	Poland	France	University of Łódź	
24	NORA	34	Italy	Germany	University of Napoli	
25	HELEN	50	UK	Germany, France	Bangor University	

Grammar of the life story – Formal structural analysis

The foundations for formal structural analysis were laid by Fritz Schütze and anchored in the phenomenology of Alfred Schutz (1972) and the symbolic interactionism of Anselm Strauss (1995). Formal analysis is 'a process-analytical procedure which provides an idea of the genesis of the course of social events and records social reality from the perspective of acting and suffering subjects' (Schütze 1983 cited in Apitzsch & Siouti 2007:7). The autobiographical interview is a multi-layered account of social reality seen from the individual's perspective. According to Kallmeyer and Schütze (1976), within this account a number of communication schemes can be distinguished: argumentation, description and narration. Amongst those three, the formal structure of narration provides an insight into the areas of social actions, argumentation is used as a tool of evaluations and justifications, and description allows the interviewee to place their story within a specific set of circumstances. A life story interview encourages narration rather than argumentation or a description of events. Indicators of 'modality of exchange', such as expressions of distance or intimacy, anger, irritation or emotional responses, often influence the way in which a life story is told and should be reflected upon. Where those conversational elements of social interaction, which are often intuitive and unconscious, cannot be easily controlled for, especially where a number of interviews are analysed, they should be accounted for when analysing and drawing conclusions.

Ten autobiographical narratives were used in this particular study. Cases were selected out of the approximately 200 EuroIdentities interviews and selection criteria aimed to represent a variety of memberships in transnational social worlds, identified via theoretical discussions and types of practices identified as significant for the emergence of transnational identifications. The 'transnational' social worlds which guided the theoretical sampling of the autobiographical narratives were: international education and employment as well as participation in international projects. Additionally, the 'local' case of Agata was selected for possible comparison purposes. The list of 10 life stories selected for formal structural analysis can be seen in Appendix 1. The number of interviews selected was dictated by the detailed and intensive method of analysis as well as by the overall size of the biographical narrative interview transcripts (between 15 and 60 pages each). At the same time, the number of 10 selected case studies provided an opportunity to investigate in detail the narrative and structural elements relevant for understanding the modern face of transnationalism.

Autobiographical narratives are unstructured and rich accounts which aim to incorporate the complexity of human experience into a sequential, coherent and logical plot. Analysis of one story is in itself a case study, and in order to compare and contrast a number of cases the analysis needs to be focused. According to Mason (1996:96) argumentation stating that 'you may have sampled people but what you really want to compare are their experiences', the analysis focused on the individual experiences of transnational mobility and the ways in which narrators linguistically framed that particular experience. An additional advantage of focusing on mobility experiences was the management of data allowing systematic analysis across 10 cases. As Linde (1993:52) suggests, 'because this method of sampling a cross section of a speaker's life story generates a manageable amount of data, it also permits us to consider a number of speakers and to compare the ways in which they handle the equivalent problems of constructing similar types of narratives and in creating coherence for similarly problematic chains of events'. The focus, however, did not divert attention from the story's overall context. The place of mobility experiences in

the overall sequence of biographical narration as well as its significance for previous and following life events was incorporated into the analysis as well.

The first step of analysis for the formal structural approach of the autobiographical narratives begins with a very detailed interview transcript, which, besides the text, includes the notation of hesitations, emotions, self-corrections, emphases as well as word repetitions. In the form of text the narrative is built as a sequence of narrative units, with the particular events captured in the linguistic form of narration, description and argumentation (Schütze 2008). In the process of analysis of autobiographical narrative units four types of process structures can be distinguished. The use of these structures within the narration captures the relation of the narrator's agency and attitudes with the wider social and cultural context. Firstly, a 'biographical action scheme' is used by the narrator when speaking about planned and intended actions. Those refer to individual choices made by the narrator themselves but are possible because of certain existing opportunities. Action schemes are employed by the narrator in a situation of confidence and control over one's life course, where plans and dreams can be positively executed. An 'institutional action scheme' is used as a means to express a situation when the narrator sees the source of their decision-making process as within prevailing institutional patterns and guidelines. This type of action scheme carries notions of control over one's life but at the same time it reveals the complex structure of available social scripts, which the individual is encouraged to follow. Those can encompass educational trajectories or career patterns, but also power relations within organisations, communities and family.

'Biographical metamorphosis' is the pattern which occurs in times of intensive personal development, when the narrator is encountering and experiencing new and unexpected possibilities. Biographical metamorphosis is a complex formal structure, which often attaches meaning to biographical experiences in terms of values and convictions. It includes a complex set of changes in response to some external circumstances together with the process of embracing and internalising new social structures and a new biographical path. The last form of the biographical narration is the 'trajectory of suffering', in which the narrator indicates painful or even traumatic

experiences (Schütze 2008). Trajectories of suffering indicate a biographical situation in which an individual agent loses control over biographical events, when changes become overwhelming. Trajectories of suffering indicate traumatic experiences which might be caused by sickness, tragic accidents or a personal crisis. By employing this narrative form the individual indicates a social situation in which the narrator needs to fight to preserve their emotional and social integrity.

Distinguishing the process structures allows for comparison of biographical experiences between autobiographical narrative cases. Typologies based on the way individuals themselves choose to narrate their experiences - especially the experiences associated with transnational mobility - capture different sides of the social phenomena in question. They develop the understanding of these phenomena, placing them in a complex framework of relations between individual and social structures. This multi-level understanding is the basis for the analytical model which is applied and presented in Chapter 4.

Practical Knowledge of the Life Story - Narrative ethnography

As an analytical method narrative ethnography is essentially based on the assumption that life stories are embedded in and shaped by the wider social and cultural context they are told in. In its conceptual origins the method builds on the foundations of the Chicago School and especially Everett Hughes. Narrative ethnography approaches life stories as accounts which provide insights into the social world of their narrators, with special emphasis on the individual's 'going concerns' (Hughes 1971) understood as spheres of life which carry immediate relevance to everyday life. The idea of going concerns focuses the analysis on changes and processes occurring in what Gubrium and Holstein (2009) refer to as 'narrative environments'. These relate to 'the work of maintaining particular ways of framing and doing matters of relevance to participants. Such concerns vary in size from families, friendships, support, and recovery groups, to schools, nursing homes, and therapeutic enterprises' (Gubrium 2005:526). Depending on who tells and who listens to the story, biographical narratives set life events around socially and culturally relevant events, such as important relationships and local cultures, jobs

and organisations as well as status (Gubrium & Holstein 2009). The analytical procedures of this model investigate the impact of transnational mobility on these 'narrative environments'.

With its focus on the perception of social worlds, narrative ethnography focuses on what events and practices people add to the biographical narration, rather than how they report them, as was the issue in the formal structural approach. It focuses rather on the social changes and patterns which occur within areas of direct individual concern. For that reason the narrative ethnography analysis allows for cross comparison between a larger number of cases. Enlarging the sample widens the area of investigation and allows capturing the ethnographic diversity of transnational adjustment patterns. Selection of additional EuroIdentities interviews was designed to reflect a variety of narrative environments embedded in transnational narratives. The final ethnographic sample consists of 20 autobiographical narrative interviews (see Table 3.3 and Appendix 1), achieved by adding a further 10 cases to the previously investigated 10 cases. Analysis was based on the interview transcripts, with additional support of shorter sequential summaries of the narratives produced by the author.

Narrative ethnography focuses on the aspects of individual and social life embedded in the specific narrative environments. In the autobiographical narratives, analysis may be focused on one type of narrative environment or one type of experience which influences and modifies the overall biographical balance within and between significant aspects of life, and this is the case for this particular study. The experience of transnational mobility activates a whole series of adjustments and changes, expressed by the logics of actions and narrated practices, thus forcing the individual to modify their basic aspects of belonging and identifications. The types of transnational practice which reveal the acquisition of knowledge and response to 'going concerns' are the main unit of analysis for the narrative ethnography analytical model applied in this phase of the author's research.

Narrative ethnography uses the concept of narrative environments as an analytical tool. According to Linde (1993), life stories naturally navigate towards biographical

turning points or rather the events which the narrator feels are worth reporting. Events such as education, marriage, illness, divorce, childbirth, career milestones as well as ideological conversions constitute the natural but also culturally specific components of biographical narratives. Based on that assumption Gubrium and Holstein introduced five types of environments which 'reflexively shape the realisation of the problems in question, and mediate their sustenance of transformation' (Gubrium 2005:257). Life stories consist of the stories of family relationships – between children and parents, siblings and intimate partners; local cultures which include friendships as well as local networks; jobs – in terms of professional identifications as well as the organisation of work; organisations – such as educational institutions, churches or nursing homes; as well as status-related statements which reveal the structure of values and achievements. Within each environment different types of dynamics and adjustments occur. Their general relation to each other in a single narrative indicates hierarchies of values and world attitudes as well as the similarities and contrasts between autobiographical cases. In my analysis of transnational biographical cases I have investigated each narrative environment separately.

Relationships and social ties within the family and significant others, reinforced by intimate and emotional elements, are powerful means of shaping individual lives. Within the context of autobiographical narratives, relationships become one of the most significant indicators for the investigation of social aspects of belonging (Gubrium & Holstein 2009). The ties between people shape and influence individual plans and social expectations, thus offering an insight into the formation of a personal sense of continuity and coherence. Along with the role and expectations associated with the lifecycle – from child, to spouse, parent and grandparent – the relationships change their shape and significance. Different types of relationship involve different levels of personal freedom and opportunities, different sets of social responsibilities and rights as well as different biographical costs and benefits. Local cultures, on the other hand, are the primary gateways for participating in everyday-life's social structures. Friendships and access to local networks are the dimensions of social life shaping the structure of opportunities and limitations; they also have a

strong hold on the areas of individual and collective interests, participation and values (Gubrium & Holstein 2009). Every local culture has its own set of rules, applied in the form of tacit knowledge, which regulates membership of the group as well as social positions in the local hierarchy. The local culture narrative environment presented in life stories often addresses the issues of belonging to a place and community. The ties to the local culture emerge naturally throughout the life cycle, starting in the process of primary socialisation and are passed down to the new generations of community members.

Transnational biographical narratives contain a wide variety of transnational practices addressing these issues across relationships and local cultures. An ethnographic study of personal relationships offers an insight into the mechanisms of establishing and maintaining an emotional connection across distance. It outlines the efforts of international individuals to bring together the parties involved or to maintain long-distance relationships facilitated largely with the use of modern telecommunication technologies. The research also refers to changes in the generational structures of transnational family life, the effects of mobility on both children and parents of transnational individuals. In the case of local cultures, issues of intercultural communication and bridging the national cultures can be observed, often narrated in the language of physical reactions, such as encountering a different cuisine, perception of the diverse landscape or applying a different set of rules to personal interactions. Narrative analysis of the transnational life stories enables a grasp of the emergence and life of 'migrant' neighbourhoods, communities based on shared international experiences as well as relations between the 'native' communities and transnational newcomers. These are often entangled in the narrative accounts of important lifetime events and celebrations, such as baptisms, weddings or funerals.

Whilst identities and a sense of belonging – expressed via narration of intimate relationships and the interactions with local cultures – are often seen as a matter of personal choice and individual agency, the transnational experiences and practices regarding jobs and memberships in organisational settings are a more formalised form of social belonging (Gubrium, Holstein 2009). Becoming a member of an

organisation implies recognition of entry criteria that are often formal, such as education credentials or previous professional experiences. Clear organisational procedures for membership in these narrative environments along with an often formal code of practice make them important gateways into the new society (Linde 2001). Formal participation in the labour market, often associated with the taxation and insurance obligations, is the type of practice shaping the access and position in the new society. Understanding and adapting to both the formal and informal culture in the workplace is crucial for transnational individuals. By internalising the culture of the workplace, interacting with others and acquiring usually tacit forms of organisational knowledge, the membership identity provides the transnational individual with a sense of belonging as well as recognition outside of the organisation.

The transnational practices forming the core of jobs and organisation narrative environments are formed in terms of employment or membership trajectory, either securing a sense of continuity, stable progress, and a sense of one's place; or in individual projects, discontinuous, seen as an adventurous pattern, which requires from the individuals rapid adjustments (Linde 2001). Additionally, organisational structures often create a framework of opportunities, which can facilitate the mobility itself. Within narratives the stories of transnational employment and memberships in organisations are the source of transnational experiences inevitably shaping the individual's sense of continuity and coherence, thus constituting the issues around identification and belonging. They may be orientated towards educational goals, such as schools and universities, thus creating networks of alumni, but also political, religious or environmental movements which influence the ideological aspect of transnational identifications.

The final narrative environment employs the concept of status, here seen as the narrator's evaluation of what type of practices and experiences are worth placing within the life story. This is especially important considering a main constraint of narration, as narrators aim to portray themselves in a positive light, as the hero of their story (also see chapter 2). In these terms 'status can be viewed as organising rights and responsibilities in communicating accounts. In this view, status determines

storytelling [...] developed in narratives to justify, disclaim, or otherwise contextualise the exceptional rights and responsibilities of those in question' (Gubrium & Holstein 2009:149-150). Narration passages indicating status are particularly important for the investigation of transnational narratives. They reveal the orientation principles of the narrator, indicating the aspects of narrative environments assigned by the narrator with positive or negative values.

Narrative ethnography sees narratives as a system of assumptions about the society and the role of the individual which are conveyed within life stories. The systematic analysis of narrative environments across all 20 biographical cases will indicate a strong relation between the type of status and the type of transnational practices in every type of narrative environments. The way of framing biographical 'going concerns' is thus a reflection of greater narratives, which exist at a more abstract level of society but are rarely conscious. According to Gubrium and Holstein (2008:250), narrative ethnography is concerned 'with the production, distribution and circulation of stories in society, which requires that we step outside of narrative material and consider questions such as who produces particular kinds of stories, where they are likely to be encountered, what their consequences are, under what circumstances particular narratives are more or less accountable, what interest publicise them, how they gain popularity, and how they are challenged'. Transnational biographies, in which common world views and lifestyle are constantly adjusted to new circumstances, capture the impact of the assumption systems on the individual's life via contrastive comparison across and between the autobiographical cases. The application and illustration of the narrative ethnography analytical model is presented in Chapter 5.

Biographical configurations – the fsQCA analytical model

The basis for developing qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) is based on the strong need to bridge the quantitative and qualitative divide and use these modes of analysis in a complementary rather than competitive way. In these terms, QCA is an attempt 'to use the analytical leverage generated by different analytical perspectives to yield a more comprehensive picture of a problem than is possible from one

perspective alone' (Small 2011:76). Qualitative comparative analysis is a technique which aims to apply a more rigorous and mathematically sound way of reasoning to qualitative data. The technique has been developed by Charles Ragin (2008) and employs some of the assumptions of Boolean algebra, set theory and fuzzy logic. Ragin is also the author of the open source computer software (fsQCA) which is used as a tool for analysis throughout this part of the study.

According to Ragin (2008:23) 'QCA has capacity for analyzing complex causation, defined as a situation in which an outcome may follow from several different combinations of causal conditions, that is, from different causal "recipes"'. QCA was created for analysis of qualitative data with a large number of possible variables and limited number of cases under investigation. In its approach the QCA method is case-specific; rather than focussing on distinctive variables it focuses on the configurations of conditions. Based on deep knowledge about the cases, the researcher identifies possible causations throughout the set of cases, and the QCA computer software (fsQCA) analysis helps to identify the strongest patterns and create typologies. In the case of the current research, selection of the variables under investigation was theory-driven. In order to accommodate the theoretical diversity three distinct hypotheses were tested. Firstly, cosmopolitan practices were explored, emphasising the analysis of mobility patterns as well as age distribution. In particular, analysis across the age groups required a number of analytical moves which captured temporal changes across the biographical cases. The second hypothesis, cosmopolitan disposition, dealt with the groupings of causal conditions. Finally, dealing with the cosmopolitanism and reflexivity, the third hypothesis employed a multi-level type of analysis. An application of QCA and more detail of the design can be found in Chapter 6.

The most significant advantage of QCA and the reason to apply it to the analysis of biographical data is that this analytical technique is well-suited for small-n studies. The numbers of variables (or conditions) in a given configuration which can be tested on the data set strongly depends on the number of cases under investigation – the number of all possible condition configurations cannot be larger than the number of cases ($n < 2^k$). Thus for the purpose of this stage of analysis five additional cases were

added to the sample, increasing the total to 25 cases (for the full list of cases see Appendix 1). The selection criteria followed the same theoretical sampling rules as in the previous two stages and aimed to maximise the diversity of transnational biographical experiences across the sample.

According to Small (2011:77) 'the core ideas behind QCA are to treat each case as a particular configuration of traits and to identify the sets of traits necessary for a given outcome to occur'. The QCA approach allowed an insight into the configurations of the conditions (or biographical experiences and practices) within and between biographies, making each biographical case a single analytical unit. QCA analysis focuses on the dynamic networks of explicit, causal relations, enhancing the understanding of biographical identity patterns and their dynamic relations within the given data set and beyond, but it requires a deep knowledge and understanding of every individual case.

Within this part of the study every autobiographical narrative is treated as a qualitatively deep single case, and the configurations of biographical conditions are examined in order to understand the dynamics between individual and social biographical elements in the emergence of new types of identifications. QCA is dependent on in-depth knowledge of the cases, in contrast to a Grounded Theory approach, it is mainly theory-driven. It allows for hypothesis testing, but the operations run on the data need to be theoretically justified. Unlike statistical hypothesis testing based on probability calculations, QCA is based on Boolean algebra, which calibrates the appearance of conditions on a scale ranging from 0 – a lack of the condition – to 1 – the condition has taken place. The score between zero and one identifies membership in the crisp set of the cases expressing a given condition.

The nature of qualitative data however often requires different levels of membership in the set, and for that reason QCA uses fuzzy set memberships rather than crisp sets. According to Ragin (2008:38), 'one of the greatest strengths of fuzzy sets is that they make set theoretic analysis possible while retaining fine-gained empirical gradations'. For the analysis of the autobiographical material a six-point-scale was

used to calibrate the possible conditions for different levels of identifications for the variables under investigation. The most transnational, cosmopolitan dimension was assigned the value of 1, and the most locally orientated was assigned 0. A gradation level was established in between – 0.2, 0.4, 0.6 and 0.8, with 0.5 marking the level of highest ambiguity, signifying the situation where the condition is neither in nor out of the set. The data were calibrated manually by the researcher so as to compare between different cases (for the outline of calibration see Appendix 3 and chapter 6).

Next, QCA focuses on identifying explicit connections between case elements – establishing configurations – and searches for commonalities in the configurations across cases. Ragin (2008) emphasizes two general strategies which allow combinations of causality patterns within complex data to be detected. ‘The first strategy is to examine cases sharing a given outcome and attempt to identify their shared causal conditions’ (2008:18). This approach is appropriate for the assessment of necessary conditions – a combination of elements which needs to occur in order for a certain phenomenon to take place. ‘The second strategy is to examine cases sharing a specific causal condition, or, more commonly, a specific combination of causal conditions, and assess whether these cases exhibit the same outcome (2008:18). Following this way of reasoning, a pattern of a sufficient combination of elements can be identified.

According to Rihoux and Ragin (2008:12), ‘a well executed QCA should go beyond plain description and considered “modest generalisations”’: QCA results may be used in support of “limited historical generalisation”. Qualitative comparative analysis does not have the generalisation power of a statistical, probabilities-based analysis, but offers an analytical tool for rigorous and systematic analysis of the data, which would otherwise only be available for interpretative methods. Instead of measuring the strength of the correlation, it assesses coverage and consistency of complex patterns across the data; these two measures report on the strength of empirical support for a specific combination of conditions. Firstly, the set-theoretic consistency ‘gauges the degree to which the cases sharing a given combination of conditions agree in displaying the outcome in question’ (Ragin 2008:44). Consistency then indicates how closely a configuration of conditions is approximated. Secondly, the

set-theoretic coverage 'assess[es] the degree to which a cause or causal combination accounts for instances of an outcome' (Ragin 2008:44). Both of these descriptive measures provide a picture of fit between the set-conditions model and data; thus if there is a number of condition configurations, coverage would be lower but consistency would be higher and vice versa. The coverage and consistency number depends on the data, and for the purpose of this study 0.75 and above is considered strong coverage; below indicates that the model has rather weak explanatory power.

As this chapter has explained, the research is designed to explore the potential of the autobiographical narrative material by applying three methods to the analysis – formal structural analysis, narrative ethnography and a configurational comparative method. The autobiographical narrative interview method is rewarding but also challenging. Life story narratives require a specific form of interview, which involves only one opening question, demands emotional investment from interviewee and interviewer and does not guarantee anticipated answers. While gathering autobiographical narratives is time-intensive and requires good interviewing technique, analysis of the material is even more challenging. Life stories are multidimensional analytical units; they belong to many analytical categories – individual, discursive, oral, linguistic and social. They are shaped by past experiences, present well-being, interview situation and prospects for the future. Analysis of life stories requires very specific skills and is very time-consuming. The problem lies not only in the size of transcript, and some of them are more than 60 pages long, but also in the fact that, across the group of researchers, analytical categories tend to be contested and re-evaluated in the process of comparison and interpretation (see Chapter 7 for detailed discussion).

The three analytical methods displayed in the next three chapters follow a logical sequence. Firstly, the structural formal analysis is a means to capture innovative and creative aspects of the data, underlying patterns embedded in the textual form of biography. Secondly, narrative ethnography describes the life story environments, searching for commonalities and differences between life stories. Finally, the

hypotheses generated during the first two steps of analysis are tested with the use of qualitative comparative analysis, which searches for patterns and explicit connections between elements of the study and across the cases. During the process the size of the sample was enlarged in each step in order to fulfil formal requirements, and the logic of inquiry was enclosed in the full research circle – from logical induction and abduction to logical deduction. These three analytical steps are used to enhance the potential for theory-building based on highly unstructured empirical material. They allow triangulation of analytical perspectives on individual life stories and attempt to push the boundaries of the autobiographical narrative method's future application.

Chapter 4

Transnational stories – from individual experience to social identities

Transnational mobility, especially in a European context, has become a major part of social and cultural change. Over recent decades the movement of individuals from one country to another has marked the era of multiculturalism and cultural diversification of modern societies. It also brings up old and new concerns about the ability of societies to incorporate differences and of individuals to adjust to new social environments. The increase in mobility as well as the change in mobility patterns raises questions for national politics about belonging as well as the responsibilities and rights of newcomers. The complexity of transnational pathways, which involve labour migration, educational mobility, professional careers and cross-national relationships, are additionally convoluted by the presence of transnational organisations, institutions and corporations which create international channels for mobility and by the emergence of transnational places, such as global cities as well as virtual global communities. Transnational mobility has become a key element of social change; it shapes the lives of millions of mobile individuals and reshapes modern societies, both at the sending and receiving ends of the process.

This chapter aims to explore the mobility experiences of 10 transnational individuals currently living in Europe and to gain insights into the process of identity formation reflected in their transnational autobiographical narratives. The first section of this chapter outlines the analytical approach of formal structural analysis which was

employed during this particular stage of the research. The second section presents the empirical material organised in three distinctive transnational story patterns: the story of displacement, the story of biographical transformation, and the story of exploration. These represent a specific set of mobility motives and adjustment strategies, which then influence specific types of identity and social practice. The chapter's final section discusses the importance of each narrative pattern for understanding the social and cultural processes influencing European societies.

The impact of mobility on the biographical sense of coherence and continuity

The structure of personal identifications, built over the life course and in relation to specific social contexts, frames the ongoing search of each individual to establish who they are and how they come to be. It is established by the network of relations built by the individual with other people and larger social entities, such as organisations, institutions and communities both existing and imagined (Chase 2011). The frameworks of identity are, by nature, fluid and change across the life span. They respond to changing social and cultural circumstances and allow the individual to make sense of them as well as build a sense of personal belonging (Linde 1993). According to Cote (1996:420) 'identity can emphasise different faces of human self-definition'. The structure of identities reflects the complex universe of personal and social relations spread across formal and informal social roles, across local, national and global contexts, as well as cross-generational relations and historical events. This complexity, often embedded within unconscious relations, is especially challenging for social research. However, biographical methods offer indirect access to the frameworks of identity via the biographically significant experiences that have shaped them.

Among many biographical experiences which find their way into autobiographical narratives, transnational mobility offers a particularly fascinating insight into the formation of new identity patterns. A sudden change of social, cultural and linguistic environment exposes the work of the individual's cultural, social and symbolic capitals, which are utilised to enter a new society and establish a position that is acceptable for the transnational individual. The experience exposes what Cote

(1996:425) refers to as 'identity capital', the key ability of the individual 'to form and sustain an identity pragmatically situated in a social/occupational matrix ... [and ability] to do it in a complex, shifting social milieu [which] requires certain cognitive skills and personality attributes that are not imparted by human or cultural capital, and are certainly not imparted by mass/public education'. This form of inner struggle to establish oneself in a new society is well captured by the autobiographical narratives of transnational individuals.

The process of assembling a narrative is based on that particular linear sense of self which guides the selection of relevant events and combines them in the life story. A similar process takes place in the formation of personal and social identifications. According to Döbert et al. (1977:9 cited in Kohli 2005:63) identity represents 'the symbolic structure that makes it possible, for a personality system, to secure continuity and consistency across the changing biographical states and across the different positions in social space'. The focus on coherence and continuity, which guide the process of assembling an autobiographical narrative, reveals new mobility-related elements that become incorporated into the individual's structure of identity. These 'transnational' identifications reflect types of behaviour, attitudes and overall patterns of engagement of transnational individuals, which indicate their position in the new society's social structure. Following formal structural analysis of the transnational autobiographical narrative method this chapter aims to address the following research questions:

- What is the relation between the experience of transnational mobility and the configuration of personal and social identifications in the new society?
- Which elements of the transnational experience are incorporated into the main framework of the narrative?

The analytical model and transnational experiences

This chapter presents the empirical life story material analysed using the formal structural analysis method of Schütze (2008). It focuses on the textual forms within which the relevant biographical experiences, namely transnational mobilities, are framed and expressed. Following the analytical guidelines of Schütze (2008) the

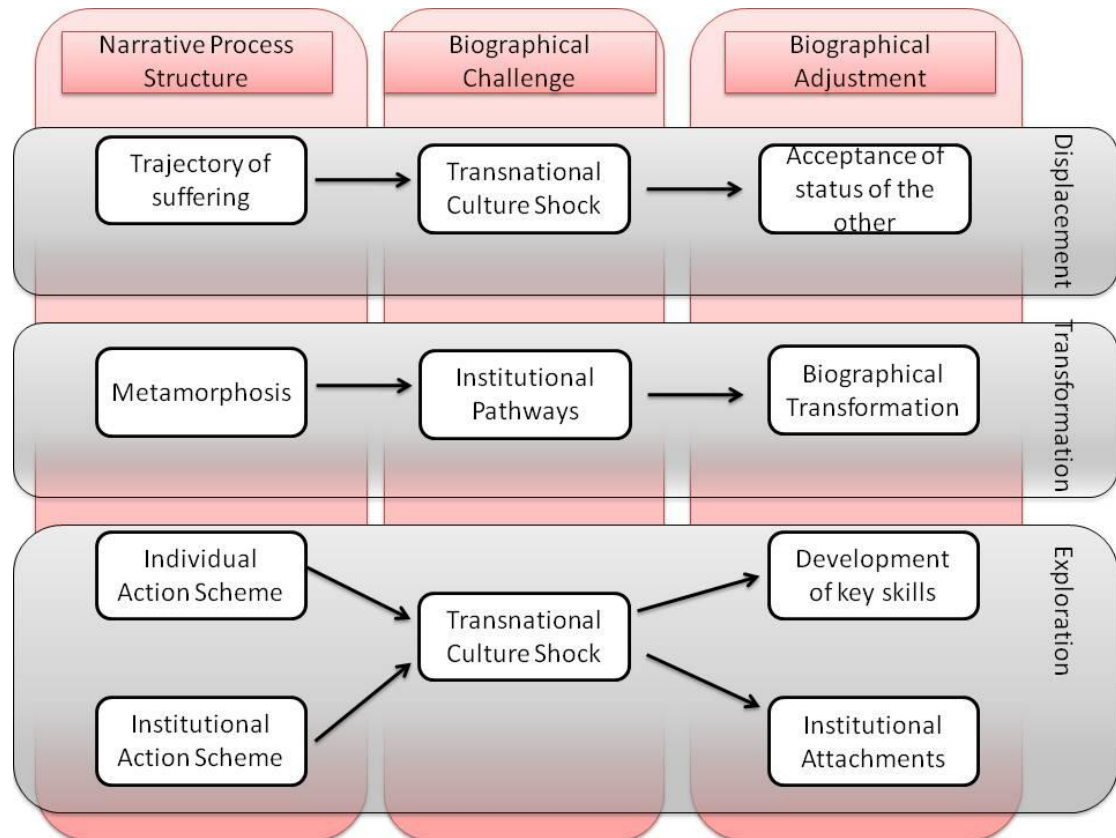
inquiry into the data follows 'a process-analytical procedure' based on the typology of process structures – namely trajectory of suffering, metamorphosis and action schemes – framing the story of transnational mobility experiences. Additionally the location of the transnational mobility within the overall gestalt of the biography (narrative preamble and coda) provides an insight into the elements of the transnational experience incorporated into the already existing structure of identifications.

Formal structural analysis of the narrative empirical material reveals patterns of structural processes, such as individual and institutional action schemes, trajectories of suffering and biographical metamorphoses (see chapter 2). Applied at various stages of the transnational mobility, these shape the formation of the biographical sense of the social self. The experiences which activate the transnational mobility as well as the first culture shock of living in a foreign country have a significant impact upon the possible identity adjustments which secure biographical continuity and coherence. The biographical events initiating the transnational mobility can be identified, depending on the narrative form they have been told in, as three different types of transnational story: the story of displacement, the story of biographical transformation, and the story of biographical exploration. The stories, which describe the individual's perceptions of their mobility motives, have a significant impact on the biographical outcome of transnational experiences. They shape the individual's ability and willingness to encounter, learn and adjust to new circumstances, and they also influence the transnational individual's self-definition. They define the way in which the transnational individual reacts to new social environments by adopting one of three possible attitudes: acceptance of the status of other, social adjustment and biographical transformation (see chapter 6).

The model presented below (Figure 4.1) illustrates the process of transnational mobility experiences with special emphasis on the biographical patterns that challenge stable biographical identifications and a sense of belonging. It presents a framework for transnational experiences focused on the motives for mobility, initial challenges upon arrival and biographical adjustments made to regain individual control over the new social situation, and it explores all the possible formal process

structures of narration framing the experience. Based on the model, three types of transnational stories are distinguished: the story of displacement, exploration and biographical transformation. These create a framework for deeper exploration of the biographical opportunities and consequences associated with transnational mobility across the 10 narrative cases analysed here (also see chapter 3).

Figure 4.1 The narrative process structures as an analytic basis for the classification of transnational stories



Elements incorporated into the preamble and coda

The formal process structures capture cognitive processes in which the individual narrator reports biographically significant experiences and linguistically transforms them into one coherent and continuous autobiographical narrative. An additional feature of the narrated life story, which reveals the deep reflexive and cognitive mechanisms employed in autobiographical narrations, is the need for the life story to start and end in a proper, culturally embedded manner. These two features – the ‘preamble’ as an introduction to the story and the ‘coda’ which ends it – highlight the ongoing themes which the narrator aims to keep at the centre of their narrative.

Both preamble and coda are linguistic signals of the plot completion – the story started with the implied question of who the narrator is right now and ends with the evaluation of how they have come to be. In a linguistically significant manner they are indicating the narrator's position in the present by highlighting the starting points for the narrative, the scope of capitals and cultural background which have facilitated the direction of the individual's life story as well as their future plans and possibilities indicating the further biographical development.

In contrast to the narrated process structures, the language in the biographical preamble and coda is mostly descriptive and argumentative. Seen together in a complementary manner, the biography's beginning and end are the closest to what can be considered direct identity statements. The running themes, which the narrator aims to expose throughout the autobiography, provide a clear declaration of personal goals, values, achievements and future plans, which keep the life story coherent and continuous. Both preamble and coda statements should, however, be seen as part of the overall gestalt of the biographical experience. The type of arguments and evaluation are deeply rooted in the narrative part of the story and are employed by the narrator to bring together different elements of biographical experience. Both preamble and coda express cognitive processes within the narrator, which attempt to make sense of the rich biographical experiences and to relate them to the abstract categories of identity already established. Those, however, are used by the individual as a form of mental shortcut and need to be seen across the overall narrative rather than as a matter-of-fact statement of identity.

Transnational practices and construction of the transnational social worlds

The story patterns in which transnational narratives are framed have a significant impact on the individual and social practices shaping the life of transnational individuals in their new social environments. These practices express the ability to comply with or defy new social norms and to actively strategise and position oneself towards specific social actors and institutions. The forms of social practice are based on the individual's perception of the transnational situation – the type of narrative story addressing mobility – and the individual as well as social types of cultural

repertoires, which are expressed and executed through the constantly negotiated identity structures. Based on the understanding of the biographical circumstances, and identity formations facilitated by them, formal structural analysis sheds light on the process of constructing new, transnational social worlds.

Three types of transnational stories

The analytical framework of the autobiographical narrative interview method allows identification of three distinct types of transnational story. They frame the transnational experience and focus on the mobility motives, the initial culture shock of arrival, and the actions taken in order to restore a biographical sense of continuity and coherence as well as find a way into the new society's social structures. The initial transnational experience is then put into perspective by incorporating transnational elements into the biographical preamble and coda. Each transnational story supports the emergence of specific identity capital, which can then be applied by transnational individuals in the process of adjustment to new social and cultural circumstances. The stories of transnational mobility, namely the stories of displacement, adjustment and transformation, provide the typology of transnationally mobile individuals across Europe and determine their status and position in the new society.

The story of displacement

The story of displacement is the most common and well-researched narrative, often associated with the experience of economic and political migration in a classical sense. In the narrative's form the motivation for migration plays an important role in establishing the story's general tone as well as the individual's position towards the social circumstances which contextualise their transnational experiences. The displacement type of the transnational story often starts with the escape narrative. In the autobiographical narrative this type of experience takes on the form of the biographical trajectory of suffering. It focuses on the traumatic experiences, the times when the individual loses orientation in their own social worlds. In biographical narratives these can refer to issues such as unemployment, abuse in the family or other social institutions and political prosecution. The motives for mobility can be

very complex, but it is their individual perception which forces the individual into escape mode. The biographical escape does not allow for thorough preparations and well-adjusted plans. The mobility is seen as an impulse, and the suddenness of the decision-making process is often the source of adjustment difficulties in the new situation. The story of displacement is illustrated by the case of the Polish transnational worker Agata. In her case the mobility originated in economic hardship and a state of permanent unemployment. In the following excerpt Agata attempts to express the complexity of the personal as well as social circumstances which forced her into the mobility pattern.

I wasn't looking for a job. I was just sitting, sometimes I tried to learn, because I tried to start something new. But I was never able to reach the end, there was always something to do at home, work [...] I was just 'sitting' at home. Sitting, sitting, sitting [...] I don't know, it was maybe two years I was sitting at home like that, yeah two years, yeah two years. I was sitting at home for two years and my brother at this time was here for one year. And he came to Poland for Easter to take his children and wife. His wife was visiting him there, but she always had to come back because the children were in Poland. And they came to take the children, it was before Easter. But they did not have anyone to leave their children with here. [...] And because I was not doing anything at home, but only 'sitting' and ((laughing)) and disturbing everybody they said: 'come at least for two months to look after the children before we find them a school and so on' and help them to make themselves comfortable. When I arrived here I did not know that my brother applied for a job and - for me. [...] And – when I arrived here there was a first call with a job interview invitation. And I – I spoke only this little English I was taught at lyceum, meaning nothing. [...] So, when I came here, I did not go to this first interview. I was looking after the children. I came here in April in 2006. April, April, May at 27th [...] in the meantime I was looking for another job, because I knew that I was going to stay here at least till Christmas. However I did not want to stay – at all. [Agata 28, Poland]

In the cited fragment of Agata's narrative the emphasis on the word 'sitting' indicates a passive position in life and the feeling of aimlessness. In this situation her international mobility to the UK made it possible to bring both the personal and professional life back on track, to start afresh. For Agata, however, mobility was not a choice; it was not her personal plan. It was Agata's close relatives who made the

decision and organised her travel and employment via a migration chain. In some way Agata was tricked into the whole arrangement – she did not anticipate the fact that she was going to be working in the UK and for how long she was being moved there. The sense of being lost in her home context, formulated in the narrative pattern of a trajectory of suffering, initiated Agata’s mobility pattern.

A transnational experience which starts in escape mode often carries the elements of a ‘biographical trap’. The individual finds themselves in a situation where they have escaped a traumatic situation on the one hand, but they are not prepared to actively deal with their biographical plan in the new country either. Their biographical trajectory of suffering pushes them into a ‘survivor’s’ state of mind. The individual responds to what is brought to them, accepting the opportunities given to them, but they rarely question the institutional or social arrangements. Their biographical attitude is passive and reactive, which often places them at the bottom level of the social structure within the new society. The escape mode is most often seen in the group of transnational workers, but not exclusively. Relatively low qualifications, an inability to speak the language fluently as well as aspirations focused on ‘day-to-day survival’ are characteristic for this group. Agata illustrates this point in the following passage:

And the first time I visited Poland it was after half a year, and me and my Mom, we were like [crying all the time]. They couldn’t take us away from each other for a week. Three days before I was leaving, I was just saying: Mom, just tell me one word and I will stay, and she answered: I cannot. [...] I was just repeating, just one word, just one word, you will see I will not go, not go. Please just say the word.

I: What was the most difficult for you in the UK?

The most important language, of course. I couldn’t understand and so on. But food. For the first week I couldn’t eat. Everything was disgusting, and so on. Yeah, food and people were strange. Their behaviour, like on the bus, in Poland everybody is sitting silently, you know, the school bus is different, they are children. But here people scream at each other, I was just wondering: what the hell is going on? The same is when people talk on their mobiles on the street or in the store, nobody talks silently, everybody screams. They do not behave like they should when you are in a public space, no. Now I don’t pay attention to it anymore, but in the beginning it scared me. [Agata 28, Poland]

The biographical passivity is reflected in an inability to engage with the social structures of the new society and an inability to modify one's configuration of social belonging. Especially at the beginning of the transnational mobility, the escape mode can lead to social alienation. It prevents new social engagements, which would allow the formation of links with outside communities or expose the individual to the cultural and social norms of the new society. It also confirms the transnational's status as 'outsider' and places the individual within the group of 'the others'. Reinforced by the cultural shock of engaging with a foreign society, this biographical situation often prolongs adjustments and reinforces divisions between the 'transnational we-group' and the 'native other-group'.

The autobiographical narratives based on the story of displacement are often embedded in the strong emphasis on the idea of home. According to Woodward (2002:49) 'the idea of home also contributes to the desire to stabilize identity, and the expression of longing for home can also be translated as a need to secure the sense of who we are when our spatial location can be seen as compromising that security'. In the case of the transnational individuals who follow the pattern of displacement the reconstruction of 'home' becomes a primary identity project. In order to achieve it transnational individuals use the entire repertoire of available resources. They build close ties with others from a similar cultural and linguistic background or who share the same religion. Close personal ties, which play a major role while setting up the home in another country, are also used to re-connect to the closest family members, thus creating cross-generational migration chains. In her story, Agata mentions that her life in the UK became complete at the moment when all important family members came to live with her.

He [Agata's husband] has come to me [in the UK], before he was in Poland for two weeks to close his business stuff and he has come, and in the meantime my sister also came here for vacation. [...] but my mum was complaining that she cannot do it alone and so on, that she cannot walk by herself and that the sister is out all day [...] that she cannot do it and we had to make some decisions. So we decided that we are taking them here [to the UK]. Yes. So now everybody is here. So this is all in a nutshell. [Agata 28, Poland]

The ideas of home and generational continuity become leading themes in displacement stories. The preamble and coda, which respectively start and end the biographical narration, highlight the themes of creating and sustaining family bonds across different countries. By securing a sense of continuity transnational individuals recreate the external conditions, which then assure a coherent self image and transplant the structure of social roles and status from the community of origin into the new environment. However, this process of recreating one's home in a foreign country is limited by the availability of cultural and symbolic resources as well as the willingness of other members of the family and community to comply with these arrangements. For this reason some of the social roles and lifestyle choices change their primary meanings and are granted a symbolic role that connects the narrator to their country and culture of origin. In this case issues such as longing for traditional food as well as ways of celebrating important cultural events turn into significant elements of the identity structure.

An important characteristic of the stories of displacement is the amount of biographical work involved in re-establishing home as closely as possible and thus sheltering from the influences of the new social environment. In the story of displacement the activities outside the 'home' are the sources of biographical suffering. They trigger the sentiment for what is familiar and safe. Because the new home is placed in the new environment, with time new elements are incorporated into the everyday life as well as the biography, but the process takes significantly longer. Scheffer (2011) refers to this attitude as a brutal bargain. It often falls to the next generation, brought up in the new environment, to act as guides for integration into the new society.

'To gain entry to another culture you have to relinquish many things you hold dear. Securing the place for yourself often involves disloyalty to family traditions. Learning a new language distances many migrants little by little from their parental home. It takes a great deal of effort to balance on a slack rope slung between the country of origin and the country of arrival, and that is a great temptation either to have done with the past completely or to cling to old memories and react with hostility to the new environment' (Scheffer 2011:8).

The story of displacement is the most researched and well-known type of transnational experience. It is repeated in an almost unchanged form in the migration studies of each immigration wave across the globe. The history of Polish migrants in the United States in the 19th and early 20th century captured by Thomas and Znaniecki (1958), the stories of Turkish 'Gastarbeiter' (guest workers) in Germany (Schütze 2003) as well as the more current study of Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands (Scheffer 2011) are just a few examples of the otherwise huge body of literature on the subject. Research on the story of displacement often extends into research on migrants' assimilation across the second and third generations. They attempt to understand how displacement can be bridged and the biographical narratives be remodelled in sync with the cultural and social patterns of the new society. Over time the biographical sense of continuity assures incorporation of the social elements and cultural codes into the identity structure of transnational individuals and allows them to form roots within the new environment. The limitation, however, is the time and intensity of the mobility. The process of overcoming the story of displacement is biographically costly; it often lasts a lifetime and can only be activated in the place which will become the new home in the future.

It is important to realise that, for transnational individuals who frame their biography following the story of displacement, settlement in the new country is not a new chapter that begins for them with a blank page. It is the outcome of the process in which they see themselves as victims, and the causes underpinning the problems evoked by their presence in modern societies are as complex as the personal circumstances they are trying to escape from. Although the story of displacement is so common and well-researched, the fact that transnational presence and assimilation are still seen as problematic indicates that both the process of transnational identity formation and the understanding of the biographical impact of mobility on this particular group emerges through the constant struggle of the individual with new aspects of social reality they are not prepared to face. The possible solution suggests that they should be guided into the new social structures

rather than expected to adjust. For that reason their personal story needs to be acknowledged in the process.

Story of biographical transformation

The story of biographical transformation is the second type of biographical narration within formal structural analysis, showing the impact of transnational mobility on identity formation. What distinguishes it from the story of displacement is a focus on a different set of mobility motives and experiences. The story of transformation also evokes the process of identity formation based on the process of deep biographical evolution embedded in the institutional environment and involves the conversion of core values and attitudes. This story takes on the narrative form of biographical metamorphosis in the analytical terminology of (Schütze 2008). It is rooted in the notion of ethical and moral evolution, which changes the narrator's core attitudes and opens their horizons to the world of professional and personal 'callings'.

The story of biographical transformation is guided by an overall biographical mission statement. This is often the case with religious professionals, humanitarian workers, doctors and politicians as well as artists and sportsmen. Their sense of mission becomes the overall aim of the biographical account, and all other biographical experiences, including transnational mobility, are presented within their narrative as a means to an end, as steps along a biographical path towards a greater vision.

As a result, the story of transformation is focused on finding and achieving a certain type of passion, an idea that guides the life choices and gives greater purpose to life events. The types of personal experiences activating the story of transformation usually focus on the individual becoming aware of some fundamental difference. This can involve special individual talent as well as realising the existence of some form of injustice, but the experience needs to be powerful enough to direct the narrator's focus towards seeing their biography in a linear way as a commitment to the idea that governs the sense of a given individual's existence. In this case transnational mobility may, but does not necessarily have to, provide a sense of contrast and difference that would activate the biographical story of transformation.

This type of experience is illustrated in the case of Dean, who is a professional employed by an international humanitarian aid organisation. In his narrative, Dean places the origin of his transformation in his childhood story from India, where he became aware of social and economic inequalities for the first time. The event, placed within the context of transnational mobility, marks the professional and moral evolution leading Dean into the professional position he finds himself in today.

So at nine I went to Calcutta, to India, and spent a month with him [father] and I got the shock of my life [...] I think was very important in a very positive way in my life in Calcutta was that one day, you know, I was living the high life, we had servants, we had a big house, we had a chauffeur driven car, you know it was really, it was like, you know, colonial times, yeah. [...] I was going to lunch with him one day and was being taken by the chauffeur in the car to his office and the window was, the air conditioning in the car had broken down and the windows were open, and in Calcutta there are lots of railway lines criss-crossing the city, so you have to stop quite regularly to, you know, wait for trains to pass, and we stopped at these lights and the chauffeur was gesticulating at me to wind my window up and I didn't really understand why and, you know. And suddenly the, this person who was begging shoved the stump of his arm into my face and was begging for money. And I was so shocked. I mean it was absolutely a frightening, frightening thing, a shocking thing. And you know shooing him away and all that. But the interesting thing was that, from then on, I began to notice, really, really notice, the poverty, the deprivation, the way that people were living and I, you know it. You can see these things and you can really see these things and of course they were there all around me before but I suddenly start to notice. And I think, you know, it was at that point that I really started to ask myself that question, you know, of why. You know this, of this issue of injustice and why is this happening. Why have I got everything, you know, that I have, in a material sense, and these people have nothing? And it just seems so unfair and that has affected me for the rest of my life and affected me in the job that I've gone into and the way that I view things. And it was a huge, huge uh issue for me and that really, in many respects, is my first kind of proper memory of my, of my childhood.[Dean 46, UK]

Dean assigns great importance to this personal and professional 'foundation myth', which in many respects has shaped his personal and professional life. In his narrative Dean focuses on the sense of injustice caused by him realising the extent of poverty and exclusion, which are transformed later in life into a sense of mission to combat child exploitation, poverty and social exclusion in third world countries. The

transnational experience and sense of contrast introduced Dean to a world of global social, economic and political divisions which thus became the baseline for his personal and professional transformation. The transnational experience has given Dean a sense of conviction that has directed his educational choices – he studied sociology and international law – and career path within international humanitarian organisations as well as his personal relationships and friendships.

The narrative language of the biographical metamorphosis can be characterised by the individual's devotion towards a particular issue. The kinds of stories evoked in that pattern are passionate, inspiring and focus on mental and professional development which is not forced but rather directed by outside conditions. The 'narrative of growth' sees personal development in a long-term perspective; all other experiences add new dimensions and symbolic values which enhance the general sense of and commitment to the mission. As the transformation story is very emotional and powerful it tends to dominate other areas of life, such as private life and relationships. It tends to see the world around in a very 'black and white' manner, thus hindering integration with others who are less committed to a single issue. The energy and commitment often enables the individual to find the institutional environment that will channel and organise them into the relevant biographical action. As in the case of Frederick, outlined below, involvement in environmental issues for his direct neighbourhood prompted a biographical transformation from the American living in Ireland leading to full-time environmental activism in local, national and international lobbying for environmental protection in Ireland.

I just left it all behind, did my writing and did my gardening, I grew globe artichokes and got quite famous, I did television programmes about growing globe artichokes. About 1990 a (Dutchman) tried to build six holiday homes just above the little strand ... you know butterfly houses with butterfly roofs. [...] It was an outrageous thing to do, and so I tried to stop it. And I got a, I had a, quite a good solicitor that helped me through the thinner places and she said, look if you're going to do this kind of work you'd better join an organisation, don't do it on your own. [...] So I joined, I'm attached to The National Trust, and there wasn't a branch in the area but there were a couple of other people I'd met who were interested so we set up a branch of The National Trust. And we

were very successful, we had an architect as the head of our branch and I think nine of us actively working and every planning application that came into the council in a sensitive area was sent to us. [...] Under the law attached to these, these sensitive areas. And we commented on them and we stopped countless bad developments taking place. [...] The council was delighted because they could say, oh our Trust has objected. [...] I mean it's like the seven biggest environmental troublemakers ((laughing)) all sitting around a table. [...] We could also tell war stories, which is what environmentalists like to do best I think. [Frederick 66, USA]

At a textual level, the passage illustrates the process of biographical metamorphosis. Similar to Dean's case as discussed before, it starts with the 'myth of origin' – the starting history which, having been narrated numerous times, is usually very well rehearsed. However, Frederick's story of transformation is framed in the language of intensive learning. His first experience of protest introduced him to the new social world of environmental activists and to an institutional framework in which his commitment and energy are directed into action at a local, national and international level. At that point the biographical account of the story of transformation is shaped to be in sync with the 'grand' narratives and stories of the organisation itself. According to Linde (2001:161), 'part of becoming a member of an institution involves learning the stories about the institution which everyone must know, the appropriate times and reasons to tell them, and the ways in which one's own stories are shaped to fit a new institutional context'. The narrative end of the biographical metamorphosis establishes a 'full-time' type of membership within a specific type of a committed community.

The story of biographical transformation strongly depends on the form and level of operation of the institution in which the narrator is embedded. Issues such as environmental activism, but also reconciliation, missionary or humanitarian work, are by their own nature orientated to an international level of work. Even if, as in the case of Frederick, the original initiative had a local character, the career path as well as personal development within the organisations provides opportunities to utilise the professional and organisational skills at different levels of engagement – nationally and transnationally. The perspectives embedded within the transnational level of work create a specific international outlook and influence the structure of

identification and belonging. Contrary to the case of the story of displacement, the story of transformation is orientated towards building a general sense of common goals, interests and destinies, rather than searching for particular everyday differences between us and them. Often sheltered by specific institutions and organisations, the story of biographical transformation evolves around the commitment to important transnational issues rather than transnational experiences themselves. Abstract ideals of life without borders, freedom of movement, world interconnectedness and human rights are at the core of transnational biographical transformation.

The transnational individuals sharing the story of transformation locate their biographical narratives within the context of social, economic and political contrasts between the world of their childhood and the path they have chosen to follow in their adult life. Within the sample discussed in this part of the research all of the transnational individuals who share the story of biographical transformation come from quite privileged backgrounds, and the issue they are standing for as adults often contrasts with their upbringing and even their education. This disjunction often forces narrators to justify and argue where their interest in the issues stems from and to prove their commitment to the cause. This style of presenting their life story reveals a specific way in which transnational individuals see themselves as productive members of society and it is reflected in the type of identifications they internalise.

And you would go to one of the top schools and then from there you would go to one of the top colleges. And then you would go into one of the top firms and this was the course that the well-to-do East Coast American businessmen had. The children, my children they'll say, oh, but you were rich, but we were rich looking back in many ways but many people in America in the fifties who were honest, decent business people did well and lived quite well. But I wouldn't say that they were rich in the sense that, you know, European society sees rich people now. [...] You know, with their private yachts and their helicopters and their clubs and so on. But because the house we had was, was extensive and lovely we had, my father was very keen on tennis, so very early on they built a tennis court. And then in the early fifties I remember they decided that we could have a swimming pool and I thought, oh this is really wonderful. [Frederick 66, USA]

The story of biographical transformation supports the emergence of an identity structure unfolding as a progression line of personal and professional evolution; it is the outcome of hard work and deep moral and emotional commitment rather than a social position simply inherited. The fact is, however, that all transnational individuals who fall into the transformation category were, due to their family networks, exposed to a variety of transnational environments – Dean’s parents worked abroad and Frederick’s family was spread between the UK and the US. It seems likely that early exposure to different social and cultural environments facilitates the biographical transitions as well as active participation in the mission to improve the world, but the cultural and symbolic repertoire inherited through an open and privileged upbringing helps to avoid traumas caused by cultural differences and allows use of opportunity structures such as access to education and organisations.

The biographical coda, the element closing the autobiographical narrative and bringing the story of transformation to the present, is marked by an assessment of accomplishments. Transnational individuals complete their life story of transformation, similar to the story of displacement, by coming back to the concept of home. Unlike the stories of displacement, however, home in the stories of transformation is the idea that reflects the complexity of transnational experiences. The idea of home, a place of belonging, carries the biographical traits of complex experiences gathered around the world and identities reflecting the diversity of individual and social links scattered across the globe. In his autobiographical narrative Fredrick attempts to answer the question of where his home is as follows:

... There was a writer, an Irish writer on landscape and a bit on the society and he says that, that everybody has a certain place, a certain special place that they remember and that is what nationality is. It's, it's not, you know, a whole series of republican ideas or that kind of thing, it again represents Ireland or America. I know where that special place in America is. There's a little farm above my house where I used to ice skate in the winter and there was a massive bank and I can remember sitting on that massive bank, an absolute paradise it's that would be my America, in the same way that this, part of this little harbour with its rocks and my kayaks you know this kind of stuff, that would be my Ireland.[Frederic 66, USA]

The story of biographical transformation represents the group of transnational individuals who, in current social research, are mostly characterised based on their transnational practices. Sklair (2000) refers to them as members of the transnational capitalist class. Accordingly they are independent from the nation-state, their lives are cross-national, and their loyalties lie with their organisation rather than a particular state. They are driven by their passions and interests – money-related or purely ideological – global perspectives, cosmopolitan citizenship and common life-style patterns. They are not, however, a social class in the classical sociological sense. They do not possess class consciousness or the idea of a community of faith. According to Hannerz (1990:246) 'what matters to them is not the number of people they meet, but the kind of people with whom they can share their knowledge about things'. Being a transnational individual is considered a measure of individual and professional achievement; it represents the identity formation with the strongest level of detachment from the national context, but at the same time strongly embedded within the institutional context of a transnational organisation.

The social worlds that facilitate the stories of biographical transformation and operate across national boundaries bring together transnational individuals from all over the world and combine internationally accumulated perspectives, attitudes and knowledge. The type of profession as well as a particular calling gives transnational individuals a unique status. Throughout their life and career they build specific networks that allow them to move within international places. Transnational individuals access the everyday life in a foreign country in a very specific way that comes with professional status. They develop a type of individuated identity, which according to Cote (1996:421) is 'based on the production of the distinctive personal style and role repertoire by which the person's biography leads to an organic integration into a community'.

The life story of Frederick, who has been living in Ireland for more than 20 years, married to an Irishwoman, highlights the fact that even after so much time, he was still perceived as an American. The acquisition of the new 'environmentalist' identity did not actually change his status of the 'other'. However, it assigned him an additional label of 'useful stranger', as the kind of person who can be an asset to

their community despite being an outsider. According to Ossewaarde (2007:371) transnational individuals 'are accepted by the locals, because the locals credit their knowledge about things. They need that knowledge, often specialized knowledge, which they do not possess themselves, to develop their own neighbourhoods'. Frederick is aware of the status of outsider, which also allows him to bend some official boundaries, and by accepting it while still making the effort for the community, he gains an 'honorary' type of membership.

Story of exploration

The third and final type of the transnational narrative, which can be identified using a formal structural analysis framework, is the story of biographical exploration. As in the other two types, transnational experiences framed in this narrative pattern have their own distinctive set of mobility motives, adjustment patterns and practices and form a distinctive transnational identity pattern. The transnational story of biographical exploration is deeply embedded in the transnational individual's plans or wishes, which lie beyond the local environment of the nation state. The set of motives guiding this narrative pattern require active, individualistic agents who wish to challenge the local structure of belonging and explore their opportunities abroad. The reasons for transnational mobility can be found in deep discontent with the current situation or great appreciation for alternative biographical patterns, but the responsibilities for attempting them as well as all the biographical consequences fall upon the transnational individual only. Their set of motivations is presented throughout the life story as a personal or professional project, which takes on the narrative form of individual or institutional action schemes. In both cases the narrator presents the transnational mobility as an opportunity or adventure.

The pattern of individual action scheme is illustrated in the following passage from the interview with Gwilym, a Welsh medical doctor from the UK who is married to a Swedish citizen. After ten years in the UK the whole family decided to move to Sweden for some time, and this is how he justifies their decision:

But Charlotte [Gwilym's wife] always had sort of hiraeth [Welsh for home longing, the call of home]. Bitter sweet. And then one day I thought well now

we'll to do it then [move out to Sweden]. Then we had a window of opportunity - when the girls had finished their O levels and, and Tom hadn't started secondary school, that we could go for a year, which was the original plan. So I could learn the language, get to know Sweden and have a break from my very hectic life. And give Charlotte a chance to recapture her old background. And that's what we did, and found when we settled in there we found life very interesting, very stimulating, learning new things - new techniques and languages and ways of doing things. And most illuminating really and most valuable was the cultural, the political side of things. Things were done differently. Not so much in the medical world because it is pretty straight forward, pretty universal. Although there are sort of different ways of doing things [...] I had to learn a few things. [Gwilym 55, UK]

The mobility which evolves as a consequence of the individual action scheme creates a specific reflective outlook on the transnational experiences. Because the decision to move abroad originated with and was executed by the individuals themselves it carries the notion of personal choice. This indicates a measure of control over the turn of events, even if difficult, and places the responsibility for the decision-making as well as for the overall experience on the individual. The confidence invested into such a decision is proportionate to the personal commitment for the action scheme to be successful. In the case of Gwilym, it is both him and his family who carry the responsibility for their decision to move to Sweden, and this fact makes them see the forthcoming biographical events from the point of view of active agents, of being individuals who deal with upcoming difficulties and move forward to explore new opportunities.

On the other hand, framed in the narrative pattern of the institutional action scheme, the motive for the mobility is the outcome of interacting with the transnational opportunity structure provided by certain institutional frameworks. They can be connected with employment in an internationally based corporation, educational exchanges or a degree abroad as well as channels of international exchange or cooperation established by one's family or community. Transnational structures of opportunity create a landing base in the receiving society; they provide direct access to specific social environments – a university or organisation – which

facilitate the arrival and welcome in the new country. The following excerpt from the interview with Carmen, a German history teacher, illustrates the case. Carmen became pregnant young and gave birth to her son against her family's wishes. After a year of separation she was forgiven and was allowed to return to her father's home with the baby. Her future education and life returned to more traditionally accepted patterns. Carmen's father used his professional network to arrange a proper placement for her and at the same time requested her to leave her son at his home.

*... And then he [Carmen's father] had said: 'What do we do with you. I want that you leave'. I say: 'I can't leave my child'. 'Well, you have to learn something'. I say: 'Yes, I would like to do my A-levels'. 'That is out of question. What do you like to do?' I say: 'fashion'. Don't know. I had said something. 'Right', he said, 'I will then I will try to organise you something through [father's network]'. And then he had spoken with the purchasing agent of – fashion and then he said: 'Yes. She could go to Paris. That would be great'. [...] And what I had to do there [in Paris], I had to walk about in Paris and – research the trend for the next year. And the draftswomen say which visions I have now. Of course, that was a plum job. – And then I had lived in the hotel how this eh all other *littérateurs* had done and such. [Carmen 68, Germany]*

In Carmen's case the motivation for mobility lies not in her own willingness to go, but rather in the existence of established structural opportunities available to her via her father's connections. Linguistically the structural process of this mobility mode follows the logic of biographical institutional action schemes. It is narrated in a language which indicates compliance with traditionally established roles and patterns. In this case Carmen follows the path which her father has chosen for her. In her situation – mid-sixties Germany – she is a liability for the 'family honour' and cannot stay at the family home; transnational mobility is the 'honourable' solution. Carmen's father chooses an appropriate type of career in fashion and arranges employment and accommodation for her in Paris.

This strictly defined biographical path seems to suit Carmen. She is using the language of personal development as a justification for following this type of institutional pattern. She mentions that what was given to her was a 'plum job' and the lifestyle was up to her standards. During that transnational experience Carmen had time to learn, re-evaluate her personal goals in life and orientate herself in the

foreign context as well as her complex personal situation. Later in her autobiographical narrative, however, Carmen makes the decision to follow her own path and decides independently to continue her education at university level.

Whether presented as individual or institutional action scheme, the story of exploration is not completely sheltered from the culture shock of moving into an unfamiliar environment. The feeling of uncertainty with regards to expectations, rights and responsibilities often causes the initial transnational experience to be traumatic rather than romantic. In that respect the story of exploration can be placed somewhere in between the complete shock of the story of displacement and the sheltered experience found in the story of transformation. In the story of exploration the culture shock is expressed in the narrative pattern of trajectory of suffering mostly due to the expectation that, because the mobility was a choice, the transnational individual should be prepared to face a new social, economic and political environment and succeed in entering it. The following passage from Pauline's interview illustrates the experiences of culture shock and the feeling of being out of place while attempting to start her new life in Copenhagen.

... after Sweden I tried to live in Denmark for four months. I couldn't find a job and I was unemployed and I was kind of thinking, you know, I've got a degree and all, I've done so much and I've, like - got this experience behind me of working in Sweden and I can't get anything in Denmark and I had kind of just walked into Kai's life and lived in his flat only knew his friends, you know, I just felt like I'd given up so much and I couldn't [...] it was starting to bring in this not so nice side to our relationship [...] that was a really tough time. And I – I actually put on loads of weight [...] Because I was just eating, I wasn't exercising so much and [...] that was one the toughest times in my life. So, probably up until that point I had just all good experiences, really. [...] and I just felt like I was kind of riding on a very high lucky wave. And like in psychology I was always drawn to different psychologists like humanists or people who would have put out a sort of positive spin on, on things. So our sense of being active in your life, rather than passive. And I always felt like you could be really strong and you could change, like, anyway. But that, that experience has really, it knocked me a bit because it was, like, I lost control. I always thought you could control life. [...] I think I had lost, you know – a sense of who I was, because I hadn't, you know, I had no identity, people would ask me what I did

and I'd say I was unemployed and then they'd give me loads of ideas how to get out of it and all this... [Pauline 31, N. Ireland]

The state of culture shock in the case of transnational narratives is a powerful experience. It brings to light the most fundamental aspects of belonging and identity. In the passage above the totality of the experience is overwhelming. It highlights the sense of alienation from the social structures, an inability to find oneself in a situation in which the social patterns already learned no longer apply. The transnational culture shock is especially powerful in the case of linguistic differences between two societies as well as one's inability to identify and address the social structures, such as value systems, norms and rules of social interactions and expectations. A sense of disorientation has a significant impact on the psychological sense of coherence, which cannot be synchronised with the social roles and identities of the narrator. In the case of Pauline her sense of dissonance, as conveyed in her narrative, is signalled across a whole range of individual and social levels. In the social area, Pauline is not able to find herself in social situations; she struggles with employment and does not deal well with the fact that the people around her are her partner's friends. This shift in her social position influences their intimate relationship, makes her question her professional and social skills. Moreover, the transnational experiences have a significant negative impact on her self esteem. The scale of psychological hardship as well as her loss of social status is also experienced at the level of her body-image.

The trajectory of suffering, which takes place in the case of entering new social structures, crushes the existing structure of self-identifications starting with the body-image, continuing through self esteem, and ending in the inability to navigate in more complex social situations. In that state the individual is extremely vulnerable. Outside of the secure 'we-community' the individual loses their sense of biographical coherence – of who they are – and continuity – how the experiences fit into the life sequence. This turns into a source of suffering, into an identity crisis. In order to regain a sense of control over their life, transnational individuals need to find a way into the new social structures. In that process they are attempting to build new emotional, cognitive and social attachments. Transnational individuals attempt to

employ different types of action schemes – individual or institutional – which aim to resolve the biographical trajectory of suffering and find a new sense of self and a sense of belonging.

The individual action scheme employed by the transnational narrator is concentrated on the development of key skills and professional qualifications which are essential and desirable to establish one's social position in a foreign country. This type of strategy is based on the superficial assessment of the current economic, political and cultural situation in a given country. In a European context, employment programmes for the medical and highly qualified labour force are the reasons for implementing biographical action schemes tailored towards structural requirements. A similar situation takes place in the field of language acquisition. It is commonly accepted that English is an asset in international institutional contexts; to claim, however, that it is possible to live and work in a foreign country without speaking the native language would be misleading. In the story of exploration, transnational individuals often base their hopes and partial knowledge of the foreign social structures on common knowledge and media narratives. Their efforts are concentrated on fulfilling the vague list of personal and professional requirements that would possibly grant them 'membership' in the new society.

The individual action scheme focused on developing 'key' skills is illustrated by the passage from the autobiographical narrative of the 44-year-old Sarah, who was born in Brazil to a family of Italian immigrants. She mentions that throughout her entire childhood she was addressed as 'the Italian'. Sarah recalls that she has always carried both identities: Brazilian and Italian. As an adult she attempted to move to Italy, but this turned out to be a traumatic experience. She has returned to Brazil but decided not to give up her dream. She identifies the key skills, such as language and professional qualifications in demand, which will be necessary for her in order to enter Italian society. She employs a series of individual action schemes, which add up to a coherent strategy aimed at gaining access to the foreign social structures.

... But all in all we've had a very interesting life because we are driven by projects. Obviously we didn't stop the [living in Italy] project, we start again with fingers crossed a new project and I decided to learn the language and I

started to learn the language just listening to RAI, you know 'RAI televisione', the Italian channel in Brazil, so I learned a lot and I learned more Italian in Brazil than I learned there, when I lived there [...] and I had a bright idea because it's me, to start a new career so, and I started to start nursing. [...] And I studied nursing for 3 years and for me it was a project as well because the Italian government they were taking nurses from countries which offered in, which was a programme just designated to Italian people living abroad. [...] It was my case. They are intentional to get the best nurses abroad, Italian ones, which was my case to go to Italy and to get a job straight away in - the health public sector in Italy. And I start to study because I am such impatient we started this project and to how can I say to be a nurse because amazingly I had such a desire to do something quite a challenge for me. [Sarah 44, Brazil]

Sarah formulates her efforts in terms of 'the biographical project'. In the terminology of the formal structural analysis, this takes on the form of individual action schemes. She is clearly stating the purpose of her actions – learning the language as well as becoming a nurse – and strongly justifies her actions as fitting to the overall aim of moving to Italy. In her narrative she indicates her great commitment to the long-term investment to develop the key skills allowing her to achieve her biographical goal – to become Italian. Those actions enable her to regain control and a sense of agency in what was previously the source of trajectories of suffering. In her narrative Sarah indicates a sense of encouragement, a focus on specific achievable goals as well as a fully developed plan of action.

A positive attitude and commitment to making it through, which are carried forward in the textual form of the action scheme, have an impact upon the ways in which transnational individuals perceive barriers to access within new social structures. These are recognized as temporary challenges, which can be tackled by employing specific skills and a creative attitude. There is a sense of control over the events, giving transnational individuals relative security and helping to maintain their orientation towards the previously identified goals even in the situation of transnational uncertainty. The narrative pattern of action scheme takes away the feeling of being displaced and brings a sense of purpose. As in the case of Sarah, it introduces a new sense of achievement and self-worth. At the same time, individual action schemes tend to be quite limited. Entering new social structures is a complex process; it requires not only linguistic and professional skills but also a deep

understanding of the foreign cultural norms and social patterns. Placing a transnational individual within the social structure requires social and cultural grounding, connections and patterns of recognition.

The alternative way of overcoming culture shock leads through the organizations and institutions acting as institutional access points to the social structures. In receiving societies, the status of transnational individuals often depends on where they come from, their ethnic background and the level of qualifications they possess. Receiving societies however, often do not have the contextual knowledge to recognize the 'professional and personal value' of transnational individuals. They become the 'other' group and gain access to the social structures through the institutional setting of welfare systems. These social services are set up to help organise the basic everyday life – housing, benefits and jobs. They are, however, low-end institutions which are there to safeguard only the basic needs, and often they consolidate the status of the migrant or low-paid worker rather than help them shape new emotional attachments with the country. The institutional gateways for transnational individuals concentrate on the types of organisation and institution which carry a certain prestige and status. By entering these settings, individuals seek to re-validate their professional qualifications as well as their personal qualities. Participation in the institutional setting gives them recognition but also allows them to gain access to the cultural resources and professional networks.

Especially with regard to career development, the importance of institutional settings is illustrated below in the case of Jakub. Born in Poland, the 31-year-old took part in an Erasmus exchange programme in France. After one year he decided to enrol at a French university as an international student. During his studies he achieved a French degree but also built his professional portfolio through a series of international internships.

After the Bachelor's degree, they already valued me at the university. Because in a couple of classes particularly the IT ones, like Access, like IT-classes, such as, I don't know, even the statistics and math, I had [maximum grades] [...] So at university I've made quite a name for myself. And so they told me "OK, you can apply too" [for an internship]. And so I submitted my papers to one of the

companies. To X. It turned out that the X corporation had its international headquarters in Lyon. So I applied there. And it turned out that they were looking for someone precisely for this, this programme, as among others, they had some project to run in Poland. And so they thought "man, we've got a Pole. Fantastic, we're taking him!" [...] I won't deny, this internship opened many doors for me. Because, well, X in France is just like some big corporation. [...] X was a company that would open all the doors for you in France. And I managed to be taken on, to their technological centre. So, as a young guy, I thought I couldn't have done better. [...] But remember: I still had [to work in a] hotel. Well, I decided not to quit the hotel, because even though we worked at that company, but they paid us some close to nothing. 100 Euro a month, so really, ridiculous for the work we were doing. Well, but I treated it more in terms of an investment. I thought, OK, I'll bear this. I discussed it at the hotel. At the hotel it was all right as well and they were understanding.[Jakub 32, Poland]

Jakub treats the internship and education in France as an investment. This requires double the work compared to other students, as he is working night shifts at a hotel during his studies. However, Jakub is strongly aware that only by excelling in the institutional settings of the university and the corporations, in which he is an intern, will he be able to access the French labour market from the professional position of an IT consultant and specialist. Without credentials he would be yet another Polish migrant with a Masters qualification occupying a low-paid job. The affiliation with a well-known company gives Jakub recognition and the kind of biographical experience that can be shared with other members of the new society. His French degree provides direct quality assurance of his professional skills in ways which are trusted within French society and an indirect indication of Jakub's language skills as well as his awareness of French cultural and social patterns. In his narrative Jakub mentions that both internships and his studies 'opened the door' for him. In this exact 'gateway' transnational individuals start to build into their identities those elements binding the native and foreign in order to create the structure of personal belonging, which would fit within both environments.

The uses of the story of exploration, which focus on social recognition via the organisation at a textual level, follow the narrative pattern of the institutional action scheme. Transnational individuals enter the organisation, and in the relatively sheltered environment they acquire the cultural repertoire that allows them to find

their place in the foreign social structure so that it possibly fits best with their professional and personal expectations. The institutional environments, however, tend to also be biographically pricey; there is set of standards and expectations – both of a social and economic nature – which clearly mark the point of access to a certain organisation. In the case of educational institutions these would be focused on qualification criteria and availability of financial resources. Employer-type organisations have very selective criteria and often, as in the case of Jakub, require some period of internship before granting further access, and the same applies to social clubs and organisations. From that perspective, entering the social structures through the institutional framework is, as Jakub mentions, a type of biographical investment.

On the other hand, access to the social structures via the institutional framework can be quite limiting and biographically costly. The institutional environment is only a part of the social life in a given country. It is usually kept separate from the personal as well as community life. Investing one's entire time and energy to gain access to just one institution does not create a strong enough link between the transnational individual and the social structure. In the situation where an internship or a period of education is coming to an end, transnational individuals find themselves in the same situation as in the beginning. Even if the position in the organisation is secure, the strength of the personal position in the foreign society is not only measured by the strength of the social links but also by their number. Becoming a member of an institution is costly and the selection of the institution as well as the level of commitment to it should not be accidental. The correct decision in that matter is the measure of further success and possibility of integration.

The biographical effort to enter the new society by utilising key skills and/or institutional memberships applies to those transnational individuals who possess a specific construction of identity and belonging. In analysis terms, the narrative gestalt of the stories of exploration is characterised by three themes appearing in the form of a biographical preamble, which aims to validate the transnational choices and the way of life. Firstly, the mobility aspect is highlighted by transnational experiences in early childhood. This is often associated with family mobility but also

with the presence of other transnationals, such as extended family or friends, who have introduced the narrator early on to a world of cultural differences and global perspectives. Secondly, the early sense of difference in terms of cultural, educational and social distinctions pushes the narrator to search for international places that share the same values and experiences. Thirdly, the sense of being an 'active agent' of one's life story explains the deviant nature in terms of national and local loyalties. These elements constitute a type of identification built around the idea of choice. Experience of displacement in early life, an early sense of personal distinction from traditional social structures as well as a predominant sense of otherness in terms of individual aspirations, are traits of individual and social identity frameworks illustrated in the biographical preamble to Carmen's story; her family was forced to flee the new Polish territory after the Second World War's change of national borders.

I believe one, one reason is that you have concentrated on the other countries, that you have the courage to leave, that you, prefer to live once in Paris, or in London or in Rome. In, in Madrid, doesn't matter where. In the big nice cities here in Europe, that is, that always demands unbelievably much courage. But why do you have courage? I believe that is very much linked to that we are children of the war.[Carmen 68, Germany]

In stories of exploration the biographical coda, the narrative element closing the transnational biography, contains an evaluation of the transnational experiences, which is often presented as a balanced account of the biographical success and sacrifices presented in the context of transnational mobility. These often highlight the personal strength and commitment required to follow through a transnational biographical project, but also the difficulties and sense of discontent with the challenging life choices and circumstances. This can be illustrated by the biographical coda passage in Sarah's narrative, who, following her transnational project, is currently a mature language student.

... but at least I am having an opportunity to put my life, the real life on hold, and to get the knowledge and to recreate my chance to get a nice life. A better opportunity to live in the UK. Because as I said it is not so good in here. I have all good intentions to have another project here, the project to work with people. I don't know, or to work here for good, to help people. Because the love

[of languages] is not just about ego, it is about wanting to help people as well. That is my vision of those languages if I have an opportunity to go in the humanitarian mission and to help there I would be more than happy to do that, to help people, because translation is about it, helping people. Not just to be outstanding, not just a matter of being clever or intelligent. Sometimes language is more than that. And I can with my experience that's why it would be fantastic, philosophically speaking, for me in a year's time to get all my background, my experience and my knowledge and to increase it in to be a very unique and to make a difference. That is my idea. [Sarah 44, Brazil]

In contrast to the stories of displacement and transformation, the biographical relevance of the idea of home is almost invisible in the stories of exploration. Home is discussed as a childhood memory and the place where the transnational narrator currently stays; instead the idea of project is the leading theme of the biographical gestalt. The story of exploration is a good example of a 'do-it-yourself' type of biography (Bauman 2000), which requires a high level of reflexivity and commitment. According to Cote (1996:426), 'developing a life-plan and setting goals is an important preparation for, and antidote to, the exigencies of late-modern society'. Exploring alternatives and achieving new goals constitutes the type of transnational individual who is able to adjust to new transnational challenges and to make use of the skills and opportunity structures granting access to the new social environment. The transnational individual actively strategizes their social position, individual characteristics and professional qualification in order to enter the social structures on their own terms, including a specific set of aspirations with a margin of acceptable alterations required to achieve them.

Transnational individuals who build their identity around the mobility patterns framed in the story of biographical exploration build their 'identity capital' on their reflexive sense of what the new society requires from them. According to Cote (1996:425), they 'establish a stable sense of self which is bolstered by the following: social and technical skills in a variety of areas; effective behavioural repertoires; psychological development to more advanced levels; and associations in key social and occupational networks'. They develop an identity profile allowing them to achieve a relevant social position without necessarily binding them permanently to the current place. They perceive the current place of living as a station on the way

rather than the destination of their biographical project. For that reason their identity structure needs to be flexible enough to incorporate new elements along the way. In their interaction with the social structures they are picking up elements of the social environment, which further their access to the new society, but these are minimal and easily overwritten by new upcoming social challenges and expectations.

Transnational individuals using the story of exploration are characterised by well-developed individual and social reflexivity (Archer 2007). They are able to 'mediate the role that objective structural and cultural powers play in influencing social action' (2007:4). These types of transnational individuals orient themselves well in contemporary modern society and often gamble with their individual plans and wishes against the national social structures of opportunities and limitations. Their lifestyle and life choices are also expressed in their social practices. Friendships and relationships as well as education and career choices are not built based on geographical locations, but rather through a platform of shared transnational experiences. The transnational individuals discussed in the story of exploration do not attach themselves to already existing 'ethnic groups', they also do not commit themselves to one organisation or institutional environment; rather they create a network of relations spread across national locations with people who, like them, understand the need for flexibility, reflexivity and commitment to life projects.

This chapter aimed to explore the impact of transnational experiences on individual biographies and the identity formation of transnational individuals using the formal structural analytical approach of Schütze (2008). It distinguished between three different narrative patterns of mobility stories and indicated significant, qualitative differences within the group of transnational individuals. All three groups have obtained very different positions within the new society and used different types of social and cultural capitals in order to advance. Distinguishing between different types of stories indicates the possibilities and limitations for nation state institutions in addressing specific groups and building a set of policies to facilitate access to, as well as integration into, the receiving society. The type of mobility story embedded

within the identity structure is also an indicator of the social behaviours – the re-establishment of ethnic community networks in the case of the story of displacement, the embeddedness in professional types of networks in the case of stories of transformation, and the community-building based on shared transnational experiences in the case of the story of exploration. The three groups differ in terms of aspirations, loyalties and awareness of political, economic and social rights as well as responsibilities. Any type of political and economic intervention into the transnational population should be aware of the diversity of private troubles as well as public issues associated with transnational mobility.

Chapter 5 ***Assembling a New Identity - the ethnography of transnational belonging***

It is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore mobility and the impact of exposure to diverse cultural patterns on transnational individuals. It influences their world views, challenges their value systems and sense of belonging, and thereby shapes a transnational logic of action. To explore this area of social life is the main goal of this study. The dimensions of transnational experience, embedded in the transnational biographies, are reflected in both the individual perception of changing circumstances and the cultural and social environment which frames them. The investigation into bottom-up, individual experiences and practices lies in the domain of qualitative research, with a special role assigned to ethnographic and narrative analysis. The observation of transnational aspects of social life across borders, with its complex interplay of motivations and consequences, employment and relationships, professional mobility and labour migration, poses a challenge for social researchers. Biographical narratives offer a unique way of gaining insights into the forms of social life and social practices that define the everyday life of transnational individuals, thus capturing the process of assembling transnational identifications.

The inquiry into the autobiographical accounts of 20 transnational individuals, as proposed within the analytical framework of narrative ethnography (Gubrium and Holstein 2009), allows a systematic study of everyday practices. The primary focus is on the interplay of individual agency and social structures narrated across distinct but interconnected elements of the transnational biographies – namely relationships, communities, jobs and organisations. There is a particular emphasis on status as a narration governing principle. Two identity adjustment scenarios can be distinguished. Depending on the availability of cultural grand narrative patterns as well as personal skills and preferences, transnational individuals assemble a new framework of identification capable of embracing and making sense of cultural and social differences. Challenged by the situation, they employ a pattern of adjustment that aims to restore their biographical sense of continuity and coherence (Apitzsch & Siouti 2007). Within this study two of these patterns, namely local and global, are being investigated.

The main issues addressed in this chapter relate to identity adjustments across transnational biographical cases. The first part explores the theoretical aspects of adjustment scenarios and their relationship to grand narratives as well as their intertextual character. It elaborates on the interplay of agency and social structures, here compressed together in the form of narrative environments. The second part contains the analysis of empirical material focussing on the distinction between local and global patterns of identity adjustment. Finally, the chapter discusses the issue of narrative status as a governing principle for the discussion of global and local logics of identity adjustment and social legitimisation of transnational logics of action.

The ethnography of belonging

The main assumption of the narrative investigation of transnational life stories is that the individual is transplanted into a new social context. Geographical mobility places transnational individuals in a new and relatively unknown social environment. This experience evokes a set of identity adjustments – mechanisms which work to regain biographical continuity and coherence – to make sense of the experience itself. The process of adjusting is not always conscious; it is the outcome of a complex interplay

between the individual's skills, plans and wishes with the external framework of opportunities and constraints. Within narrative biographies, various forms of identity adjustments (Black et al. 1991) take on the form of biographical trajectory as described by Strauss (1995) and are referred to as adjustment scenarios throughout this study. The notion of scenario highlights the possibility and serendipity of the outcome - in this case the adjustment - rather than assuming a controlled type of effective strategy. The focus on adjustment scenarios across transnational cases allows us to capture the dynamic process of biographical narratives assembly that incorporates and re-evaluates transnational experiences, tackles cultural and linguistic problems and builds new types of identities.

The term of adjustment scenario has been introduced by the author in an attempt to capture these frameworks of orientation, what Beck describes as 'a new dialectic of global and local questions which do not fit into national politics' (Beck 1998:28). It distinguishes between well-known traditional patterns, which reproduce local values and focus on homogeneity and similarity, and relatively new, non-traditional types of identification, which underpin a global outlook orientating the individual towards heterogeneous and diverse social patterns. The local scenario aims to reduce a sense of discontinuity by incorporating and reinforcing traditional patterns (from both the place of origin and the place of destination), often bringing into question the sense of personal coherence. The global adjustment scenario, on the other hand, focuses on the sense of personal consistency (following personal plans and wishes) in return for accepting some elements of biographical discontinuity.

Ethnographic analysis of transnational practices seems to position individual narratives within a polarised narrative matrix. Based on the systems of values orientating the individual towards either global, independent ways of life or local, traditional logics of action, the biographical narrative employs specific adjustment scenarios. The social narrative matrix creates a polarised field of the available and socially approved social scripts activated and employed by the individual actor when facing a new, challenging situation. The local pole of the narrative spectrum assigns positive value to the traditional and locally embedded forms of social life. In various narrative environments it may imply traditional family patterns, a stable career

trajectory and well-developed community ties. The global side of the spectrum is revealed in autobiographical narratives in socially praised forms of social practice which involve non-traditional, more innovative forms of social life such as the acceptance and status of long-distance relationships, project-driven career patterns and membership in virtual rather than physical social communities.

The way to distinguish between the local and global levels in transnational narratives is to focus on the practices, or patterns of action, observable in the textual form of the narration as well as its actual content⁸. The analysis is rooted in the individual perception of local and global attachments across personal relationships as well as jobs and life goals with a judging undertone of more or less desirable outcomes. These are the main narrative mechanisms upholding a sense of individual continuity and coherence, and they lie at the core of narrative ethnography analysis (Gubrium and Holstein 2009). In this respect, individual practices and perceptions brought up in the narration process reveal unconscious dimensions of identity formation, understood as a mental effort to bring the individual life story into line with patterns of meaning and acceptance within wider society.

The relationship between the 'big' narratives present in wider society and individual 'small' stories add an important dimension to the narrative ethnography analysis. These can be observed across the narrative environments (see also chapter 3). When talking about main concerns of everyday life, relationships and jobs, individual narrators use the commonly available social scripts, or common knowledge (Linde 1993), to convey the complexity of the interplay between individual agent and social structures. According to Gubrium (2005:526), 'each of these environments affirms certain stories; they are going concerns that narratively construct, reproduce, and privilege particular kinds of accounts for institutional purposes'. Autobiographical narrative cases display a variety of transnational practices along with the evaluation of their biographical consequences for each of the narrative environments. These reveal 'the layered interplay between the local, the national and the international [which] becomes a confluence of both narrative reproduction and narrative

⁸ For the example of narrative ethnography analysis see Appendix 3.

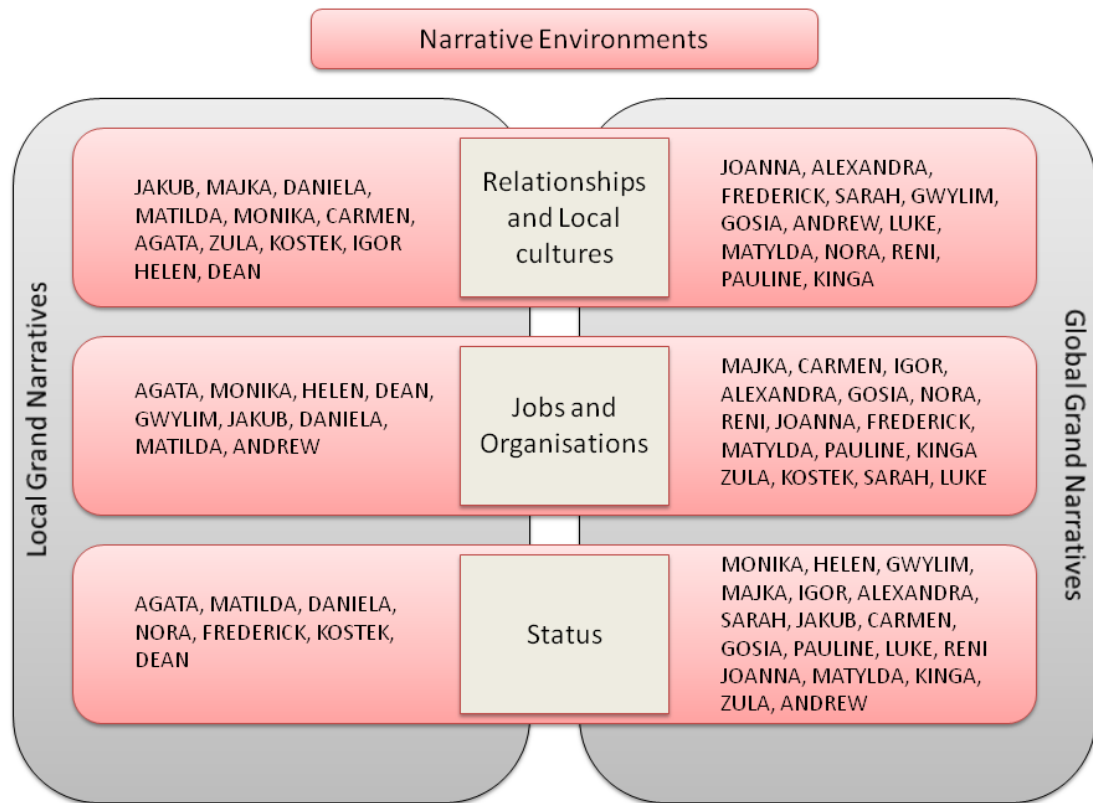
elaboration' (Gubrium 2005:526). The narrative ethnography model thus focuses on a twofold research question.

- What is the character of local and global narrative adjustment scenarios across autobiographical narrative cases?
- How do the adjustment scenarios modify and legitimise transnational types of identification?

Local and global grand narratives

The concept of narrative environments provides an insight into the ongoing concerns of transnational individuals and strategies which aim to preserve the biographical sense of self in transnational circumstances and build new social ties or identities which bind the individual to the institutional order of the new country. They also reveal the complex interplay of internal and external aspects of social identity rooted in the domain of social action unfolding along the lines of personal choices and access to opportunities provided by group memberships. The ability to tackle issues of cultural, economic and political similarity and difference as well as to strike a balance between a biographical sense of continuity and discontinuity expressed within the narration of transnational practices across the 20 biographical cases is displayed in two contrasting adjustment patterns – global and local as presented in figure 5.1. Analysis of the cases took place within a framework of specific narrative environments, allowing for cases such as Jakub's or Frederick's to be considered either in terms of local or global scenarios, depending on the personal relationships aspect, career choices or status.

Figure 5.1 The distribution of the cases across local and global adjustment scenarios



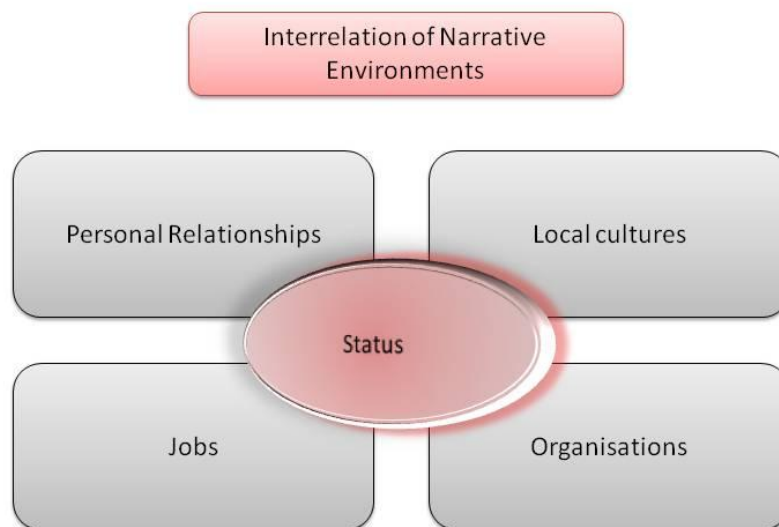
The analytical distinction between local and global adjustment scenarios also provides an insight into the mechanisms through which a given adjustment is assembled. According to (Gubrium and Holstein 2009:7), 'if stories in society reflect inner life and social worlds, society has a way of shaping, reshaping, or otherwise influencing stories on its own terms'. The analytical procedures of narrative ethnography unfold under the assumption that 'small' individual life stories are embedded and thus reflect the 'big' stories available in larger society. This property of narratives is often referred to as intertextuality (Kristeva 1980).

Briggs and Bautnan (1992:583) suggest that 'intertextual relationships between a particular text and prior discourse (real or imagined) play a crucial role in shaping form, function, discourse structure, and meaning; in permitting speakers (and authors) to create multiple modes of inserting themselves into the discourse; and building competing perspectives on what is taking place'. In that context, especially when the individual is faced with the challenging circumstances of a transnational

lifestyle, the process of sense-making is an outcome of two powerful forces: first, the individual's ability to understand experiences based on prior knowledge and interpersonal skills; and second, the cultural narratives available to the individual. In that sense assembling a new type of identity follows the intertextuality principle. Transnational individuals build a new sense of continuity and coherence using the elements of their own story modified according to cultural patterns present in the new place of residence. The more access the individual has to these 'grand narratives' – and language becomes a key factor here – the better the possibility for the individual to fashion the biographical narration capturing this complex interplay of individual experiences into a coherent representation of self.

The use of the term 'grand narratives' here is not accidental. Built on the distinction of Lyotard (1984) between little and grand narratives, it assumes that transnational life stories are able to capture the interplay between both individual stories and the cultural context that legitimises them. In that sense, across the narrative cases the types of social practice employed in response to the transnational situation, together with the positive or negative status assigned by narrators themselves, informs the researcher which type of grand narrative – here local or global – is used by the narrator to justify and legitimise their biographical choices. In that sense the narrator signals to the researcher which type of belonging and identification presents a desirable value, thus shaping every element of their transnational life story. The analytical procedures capturing the distinction between local and global types of narratives are based on the recognition of the narrator's value system, taking on the form of the narrative environment of status, see figure 5.2. In this context, status constitutes a meta-narrative environment, which structures the narrative accounts of personal relationships, local cultures, jobs and organisations.

Figure 5.2 The interplay across the narrative environments in the biographical narration



Local adjustment scenario

Local patterns of narrative focus on the notion of similarity, of what narrators have in common with others around them. According to Szerszynski and Urry (2006:125) local narratives ‘invoke personal memories and associations’ which are presented as a justification and a statement of full membership at a local level of social life. In the narrative, belonging at a local level is expressed through embeddedness in the network of local social life, placing oneself in relation to other people and institutions. Local patterns emphasize the notion of belonging to a particular place and particular people – family, friends and community. The narrator’s individual life story is told through the stories of the place and people, from the perspective of an insider.

Within the interview text, local patterns are characterised by a long, continuous and coherent flow of the narration. Internal divisions within the narration sequence, which highlight biographically significant turning points, are related to life course transitions, such as childhood, marriage, parenthood. In the case of transnational stories, which by definition challenge the embeddedness of the narrator in local narrative environments, the emotional as well as mental effort of the narrator is focused on restoring continuity, on re-establishing relations with family members,

the community and organisations. This is often expressed in the form of a project, a short term episode, which either focuses on the possibility of returning or displays an active effort to re-build the locality in the form of family, friends and community networks in the new place, see table 5.3.

Global adjustment scenario

Unlike their local counterparts, global patterns focus on the perception and narrative expression of difference. The plurality of places, attitudes, values and people that transnational individuals are exposed to is expressed within the narration through an active effort to find one's position in relation to the complex net of personal, professional and community associations. This attempt places the narrator in the position of an observer and commentator on social life, often outside or between different social contexts. The inability to see oneself in terms of membership and belonging gives the impression of trespassing in social spaces. According to Szerszynski and Urry (2006:124-125) transnational individuals who display global narrative patterns 'talked about places by comparing and contrasting them with other places, and did so in a way which abstracted the visual appearance of a place from the people who lived there'. This type of an almost cartographic perspective frames the overall narrative sequence of the transnational life story. The given narrative units are not structured in parallel with the pattern of mobility – in this country and in the other country – but focus more on a particular state or situation, describing a new context in each new chapter of the life story, see table 5.3. For that reason the narration's overall structure is broken down into a significant number of passages containing elements of description and argumentation.

Table 5.3 Local and global grand narratives used for distinction of narrative adjustment scenarios

Local Scenario	Global Scenario
Based on the idea of similarity, focuses on what people have in common.	Based on the idea of diversity, focuses on how individuals can distinguish themselves.
Locates individual within local community and builds on the individual's need to belong.	Locates individual outside of the community, as trespassing rather than belonging.
Is a tool for maintaining biographical continuity – focus on the process.	Is a tool for introducing biographical change – focus on the state and situation.
Within textual form can be distinguished by the process of straightforward narration patterns.	Within textual form requires intensive argumentative and descriptive patterns.

The local scenario in a transnational context

As argued above, any transnational mobility experience removes the individual from the known and coherent social context and places them in a relatively unknown, at times hostile milieu. The adjustment scenario is thus the set of individual practices employed by the transnational individual, which helps them make sense of the situation and establish a set of connections and networks in the new context. Within that argument, the local adjustment scenario is the predisposition of a transnational individual to navigate towards culturally established and relatively stable cultural patterns, either of the country of origin or the country of destination. Aimed at upholding a sense of similarity, these patterns combine with a sense of internal and external identities. Within the biographical data this situation occurs when the narrators attempt to present the story as a continuously unfolding process, often seen through the narrative metaphor of personal growth and progress.

Local adjustment scenarios across the narrative environments, such as relationships, participation in local communities, organisations and jobs, restore continuity of the biographical self. They are embedded in the practices of family life and the need to

connect with the larger social context. They also attach importance to the stability of social connections, for instance within a stable job environment or the generational order. However, employing a local adjustment scenario also has biographical consequences. The grand narratives or deeply established cultural patterns are quite dominant; they do not allow for a mix-and-match approach and require some level of submission, thus causing quite invasive shifts within the identity structure. They polarise and strongly highlight differences, placing the transnational individual in either/or type situations.

The closest circle - family

The local scenario employed in the narrative environment of relationships is focused on creating or restoring the types of relationship which can be understood as traditional, following culturally established social patterns. In a European context these consist of the notion of regular family narratives – a family which stays together in one cultural and social context, shares social and economic responsibilities and takes part in the social reproduction of cultural values and norms. Depending on the state of personal relationships before the mobility, transnational individuals following this adjustment scenario tend to focus on re-establishing intimate ties.

The case of Agata, a transnational worker from Poland, illustrates this point, which is also present in many other narrative accounts. Agata's mobility is part of her family's chain migration to the UK as she follows her brother's family. At the same time, her husband is working in Sweden. The narrative of that period is full of negative experiences, an inability to adjust and to enjoy the much improved financial situation. Agata's perception of the situation only changes when she takes action to bring her entire family together in one place. In her biography Agata responds to the question:

I: So, how is your life here in Wales?

N: Super. I mean, there is everybody here who should be here, except for my sister maybe. But, everybody is here. We have enough money to live, three of us are working: me, my husband and my sister, there are two more, my Mum and

younger sister. My brother is now applying for social benefits for my younger sister because she is still at school. [Agata, 28 Poland]

In this narrative passage, Agata emphasises the word 'everybody', thus indicating the important others (especially her mother and husband), and highlights the fact that these people should be here with her. Her statement is rooted in a deeply embedded sense that a family has a shared responsibility to be together and to support each other. Within Agata's narrative especially her relationship with her mother seems almost symbiotic. Agata's ability to make sense of the new situation and to adjust to the new social context, which, from a purely financial point of view, is much more secure, is only possible when her relationship connections are brought into one geographical location. From that point onwards, the narrative account of her transnational mobility changes character into a success narrative for the whole family. Agata's positive outlook towards her transnational situation facilitates further adjustments, such as changes in the employment trajectory and participation in local cultures.

Across the narrative material, accounts of local adjustment scenarios in the relationship and local cultures narrative environments are directed towards restoring a personal sense of coherence associated with establishing, or re-establishing, personal connections with the new social context. Local adjustment scenarios draw on social knowledge and predispositions built along individual's inner identity patterns but also, in some cases, focus on external sources of knowledge about the new society. Either internal or external cultural narratives may express vital elements of personal relationships, such as the language of communication within the family, or in some cases the selection of a partner, or models of bringing up children and relationships between generations. The overall balance and fulfilment in relationships comes from completing ascribed social roles and being in harmony with individual and social expectations.

'People like me'

Local adjustment scenarios can also apply to the wider social context when intimate relationships are extended. Local culture narratives and cultural patterns, social networks and friendships form a vital part of social life. Local adjustment scenarios

often focus on establishing social connections at the place of residence rather than long-distance. These are frequently built along the lines of similarities running throughout the neighbourhood, often focussing on identity distinctions of nationality, ethnicity and religion but also categories such as social class, profession and education.

The case of Jakub, a transnational consultant living in Paris, illustrates this argument well. In spite of his high qualifications and very good command of the French language, Jakub still carries the label of the migrant from Poland. Besides his friendship connections from university in France and his place of work, he has established relations with other Poles in Paris. What brings them together is the shared local experience of living in Paris. In his narrative he mentions, however, that the group consists of a number of different categories, of people who only have in common the time and place. He distinguishes himself from others, such as the au-pair girls, based on the fact that his master status is built on his professional qualifications. In his narrative Jakub states:

I mean, you know, you meet Poles because they are Poles. And you know the French from work, from university, from the outings with mutual friends. At first we stuck more with the Poles. [...] There are two groups. There are people who work in some professions professionally, and there are the girls who do babysitting. How do they differ? Well, you know. For me, going for this babysitting thing when you have already graduated from university in Poland, that is a bit stupid. Because if you have your studies, then well you know, you work in your profession, right? With all due respect for those who are doing it, because it is a job, and a tough one too. And those girls sit there, waiting for I don't know, some French prince charming, who'd take them and all that, so, I think, they're hurting themselves a bit. [...] I spend quite some time with the people I work with. So we have our own crew at work. And it's really not a problem to make those connections, even with different nations, no problem. It's enough if you're quite open. [Jakub32, Poland]

The linguistic notion of obviousness, the statement 'you meet Poles because they are Poles', indicates a local adjustment pattern. The connections between people are established on the ground of one particular similarity – in this case nationality –

which would not necessarily play an important role in the country of origin. While the group grows, internal differences occur but the overall sense of belonging to the particular group establishes a sense of shared identity. Importantly, Jakub emphasises in his narrative the multiplicity of his peer-group connections: the French, the Poles, the company colleagues. However, he does not attempt to bridge the differences between them. In many respects Jakub's social life is compartmentalised along the lines of his social roles – employee or student – and coherent social labels – Polish, professional. He enters the local networks but does not merge them, which also indicates that he does not attempt to hold too many diverse social and cultural narratives in his everyday transnational life.

Organisation – local membership

The local adjustment scenario is probably most visible in the narrative environment of organisations. Especially in the case of total institutions, becoming a member means internalising a set of cultural norms and knowledge, both tacit and explicit (Linde 2001). In this sense the organisational environment creates the type of locality – a familiar and often uniform environment – which, through the use of socially accepted practices, creates a sense of belonging as well as a common social identity. Organisations often facilitate transitional mobility. However, it is important to distinguish that aspect of international networks from their role in reinforcing local cultural patterns. This international aspect of local organisations often confuses researchers of transnational life in their attempt to understand the impact of the mobility on identity formation (Favell 2008).

This can be observed in the case of Matilda, a Welsh nun in an overall French congregation. Matilda's education and international practice is spread across her congregation's network. She has lived in the UK, Ireland and France. As an international student and then as a teacher she was responsible for organising international exchanges, but at the same time she had never perceived her mobility in terms of transnational lifestyle. Her vocation and thus her obligations lie within the structure of the religious organisation. Matilda is going wherever the organisation requires her to go. In her narrative Matilda states:

I: So was it a sort of, coincidence that your congregation that you joined was French?

N: I think it was as simple as the only one I knew. [...] I think I was so naïve I probably didn't realise how important it was. In fact, some of the Irish sisters had half regrets that they hadn't joined an order that wasn't French because, you know, French was, is the congregation language; so we all learned French.

I: When you were in France, you were in the convent and had an enclosed life. You didn't ever venture out into society of France; you were always within your Order.

N: Really, yeah. Well, when I went over there for the academic year I attended the university and I helped in the boarding school in France but no, I never went off wandering round Caen by myself. Later we took a party of girls to France; we organised a trip to France, we took a bus-load of girls to France. And that made me see another side of France, which I hadn't really experienced although we stayed in our own convent [...] I, to be perfectly honest, I'm fairly ignorant about it, too. My experience of France is very limited. I mean, although I've been to France several times, it's always to a convent and you can't judge the whole of France by a convent, can you? [Matilda, 64 UK]

The case of Matilda is by no means usual. A convent is a total institution which encompasses the whole life of a person, yet Matilda's account offers interesting insights into transnational identity formations across borders. Local adjustment scenarios occur naturally within organised narrative environments. Transnational jobs narratives – especially those of international professionals and diplomats – and educational exchange stories among Erasmus students convey a sense of identity generated within a specific organisational context. This type of local environment is able to overcome some significant cultural differences under the umbrella of organisational membership. For the French congregation, the unifying language of everyday practice is French, and its overall life and work is structured according to the regulations and mission specific to the congregation. In the case of transnational individuals, whose sense of belonging is questioned in every aspect of life, the promise of a regulated, understandable and uniform environment is very appealing.

The threads of enclosed, organisation-based identities are, however, quite limiting as Matilda indicates. Organisations and institutional environments have a tendency to surround the transnational individual. They create an 'institutional bubble', which

Matilda describes in terms of her ignorance and inability to engage with the culture of her country of destination. Especially for transnational individuals, an organisation's social world contains the potential of them losing touch with the larger context, leading to an inability to deal with and engage with other structures in their country of destination.

On the identity sacrifice

Adjusting to big narratives, especially local ones, which require commitment and significant intervention into the structure of auto-definitions, brings with it significant biographical costs. The scope of the adjustments required by a local scenario depends on how many aspects of transnational life are required to change. Depending on the context, the local adjustment scenario and its emphasis on restoring a sense of biographical continuity activates a process of overwriting significant memories and life choices. Whilst the decision to adjust to the local environment is made, the dominant cultural narrative replaces the previous one. This process of losing one's previous sense of self weakens the emotional connection with the country of origin and inevitably changes the types of association between personal relationships, communities, careers and organizations and the previous context.

Although accepting the role of stranger, migrant or outsider whilst adjusting to the transnational situation is considered a natural process of adjustment, there are also some cases of 'going native' which represent the extreme cases of applying the local adjustment scenario. An example of this sort of biographical pattern can be observed in the case of Alexandra, a Polish pharmacist living in the UK with her British husband, who prides herself on having lost her Polish accent completely and her ability to blend into the local culture and British society. She responds to a question about the way in which she intends to bring up her daughter:

I: And do you incorporate something from the Polish culture to your everyday life, or it is, do you do something on purpose or you know, what I mean just to incorporate some Polish habits or whatever?

N: Well, I don't know what that would be like. [...]

I: And what about upbringing of your daughter do you plan to speak to her Polish?

N: Absolutely yeah. But first because we both speak English so we prefer to speak to her in English and later when her English will be established probably I'll start to speak to her Polish well I know that my brothers are going to bring some Polish and stories. [Alexandra, 30 Poland]

In her life story Alexandra pushes aside her memories of Poland and Polish culture. In her narrative the real life starts in the UK. She marries a British citizen, places special emphasis on British traditions and celebrations, craves the acceptance of her mother-in-law and is proud of her ability to gain British vocational qualifications and establish a career pattern in the UK. Alexandra employs the local adjustment scenario across all narrative environments, thus activating the process of replacing her previous identity structure with a new one. At the same time Alexandra tends to be quite dismissive about her Polish heritage. She does not aspire to introduce any Polish elements into her family life, or even to insist on bringing up her daughter bilingually. She is not willing to hold two dominant cultural patterns – Polish and British – and for that reason she commits to only one, even though, from an outsider's point of view, this attitude might seem extreme.

The local adjustment scenario in transnational situations indicates a logic of action following a clear social script. It is predefined, traditional and usually conservative. It aims to minimise dissonance between individual actions and established social and moral order. Following the local adjustment scenario requires both flexibility and a degree of social conformity, redirecting motivations for social action to external social patterns, taking a logic of action that benefits the group first and the individual second. But for all these commitments in relationships, local cultures, jobs and organisations the local scenario provides a clear sense of belonging, which harmonises one's social life and deflects the possible cultural shocks of a transnational lifestyle. Across the biographical narratives local adjustment patterns also have their less positive consequences. Re-definition of the sense of self, especially in situations where the pressure to belong and fear of exposure associated with transnational lifestyle can lead to overall conversion, erasing previous identities

to accommodate new ones, can cause the sense of psychological, cultural and social loss.

For biographical narrative cohesion, both the directions of the adjustment as well as the scope of changes require justification. The narration of change and adjustment needs to be legitimised and anchored in a value system which nurtures this type of narrative. The meta-narrative environment of status or, simply put, the justification for the actions taken (see figure 5.2), is the source of information about why and how transnational individuals assemble their new identities by reaching for the grand narratives which support their preferable identity adjustments.

Global scenario in the transnational context

In contrast with the narrative adjustment scenarios which follow the local logic, a reverse narrative pattern can be found: the global adjustment scenario. This represents an alternative approach the biographical change induced by transnational experiences, namely identity eclecticism. Whereas the local scenario searches for established cultural narratives, the global scenario focuses on assembling a new framework of identifications, thus negotiating the various cultural elements collected via transnational experiences. Across transnational biographical accounts, global adjustment scenarios focus on a transnational individual's inability or unwillingness to submit to the larger cultural narrative and centre on efforts to maintain and celebrate individual difference rather than similarity. Global scenarios employed in personal relationships, local cultures, jobs and organisations often sacrifice a biographical sense of continuity for a greater sense of personal coherence. The set of transnational practices employed in that process, however, often places them in opposition to traditionally established social patterns.

Challenging distance

Within the narrative environments of relationships and local culture, global scenarios are usually based on what can be characterised as half-way solutions. In this case, relationship patterns do not necessarily need to follow the traditional notion of family. Instead they combine different elements of cultural and social narratives and

negotiate the rules and values for commonly shared emotional, social, cultural, economic and spatial relationships. Global adjustment scenarios can be employed in a variety of transnational practices. Within the biographical narrative material analysed for the purpose of this study, there are cases of long-term and long-distance relationships and marriages, often involving situations where family members live in different countries for most of their relationship. All of them allow one or both parts of their relationship some degree of independence whilst containing an emotional element that binds them together.

This is particularly visible in the case of Reni from Bulgaria. Both Reni and her husband are academics with international aspirations. Their career ambitions do not allow them to settle in one place: while she is studying in Hungary, he is in France; when she is in the UK, he is returning to Bulgaria. In Reni's narrative signs of the emotional costs of this type of relationship are highlighted, but their long-term practice seems to make it work.

Well, I was thinking, well, the man is honest and we got married. On August 11 actually we were still on our honeymoon, we had to be on a honeymoon until the 11 of September and then we left. I left [...] I think we left on the same day, yes. And we split. And since then we were on honeymoon for a very long time. Our paths went very different ways. Actually, for the next 10 years we might or might not have lived together for two, three years. [Reni, 42 Bulgaria]

Having overcome spatial separation, Reni's family – including her son – is currently living together, but both Reni and her husband are considering the possibility of further mobility. In her narrative, Reni compares their life together to the honeymoon – the temporary time together, which also implies that returning to regular life might mean further separation. The global adjustment employed in that particular biographical narrative challenges traditional notions of family life and the natural order of relationships. Thanks to the growing capabilities of telecommunication technologies and transport services this type of adjustment scenario has become a viable, albeit an emotionally costly, alternative to traditional relationship options.

Celebration of difference

Spatial separation, however, is not the only alternative to traditional types of relationship. A second variant of the global adjustment scenario – facilitated by but often also the cause of mobility – is the growing appeal of intercultural and international relationships. Especially but not exclusively in the case of young people, mobility involves forming intimate ties with cultural others. Contrary to its already discussed local counterpart, the global adjustment scenario creates an eclectic set of cultural attachments and predispositions which easily write themselves into the cultural hybridity of our modern world. The global adjustment scenario supports these cultural hybrids, such as relationships using more than one language, which celebrate diverse cultural patterns and do not subordinate one type of cultural narrative to the other.

This type of global scenario can be observed in the case of Welsh medical doctor Gwilym. His marriage to a Swedish wife determines the shape of family relationships between the couple as well as between the parents and children. This can be seen in the complicated set of linguistic relationships between mother and children, father and children as well as the couple itself. Gwilym attempts to summarise this situation in his narrative as follows:

Charlotte [his wife] felt at that time she was losing her language and we decided, well I think I pushed her into talking Swedish with, with our son. So then I was talking Welsh to my children and English to my wife, but Charlotte was talking English to her husband, Welsh to her daughters and Swedish to her son. And oddly enough the girls picked up the language with their little brother so they speak Swedish, and now we've all learnt all 3 languages so whenever we speak now it, it can seem to an outsider a terrible mixture. [Gwilym, 55 UK]

Cultural diversity embedded in relationships offers a valuable and rich narrative environment but is often difficult to explain to outsiders. In a humorous fashion Gwilym calls it 'a terrible mixture', but he seems aware of the fact that the type of communication and cross-cultural relations apparently working well within his family context is likely to set them apart from their immediate social environment. Some of the shared family experiences are therefore locked in the narrative pattern tied to a specific language and particular social context. The only person who is able to fully

understand and bring them together is the one person who is the subject of the experience.

'What we have in common is that we are all different'

The global adjustment scenario thus allows the individual to integrate a variety of cultural and linguistic patterns into a hybrid type of identity – a 'transnational identity' for the want of a better word. This allows every transnational individual to build a completely unique framework of self-definitions and self-identifications based on individual experiences involving a number of cultural and linguistic variables. For that reason, in terms of involvement in local cultures, the narrative environment of transnational individuals employing the global adjustment scenario brings together a multiplicity of cultural experiences, thus implementing diverse cultural patterns into the place in which they currently reside.

Among the transnational narratives analysed for the purpose of this chapter, the global adjustment scenario in this context is well-presented by Pauline from Northern Ireland in the narrative account of her wedding day. Through her educational and work travels Pauline has met a number of friends and important others, including her future husband. Her wedding was the one day when she managed to bring all of them together in one geographical location, thus making it the most special day of her life. In her narrative she reports:

Our wedding was amazing because it was like, the one time in my life when everyone was in the same room. You know, that was, I looked down and I could see the French ones there, the Dublin ones there, the ones from home, the ones from Denmark, the ones from Ireland. There were 11 nationalities in a room. And that was so nice. It was, like, that was oh, it was [like my mum] had said to me on the day at our wedding, she just felt the sense of pure love. And it did. Like, that day, it just felt, like, you pick up these wee gems of people from everywhere you've gone. And it wasn't just about me and Kai, you know. We're the ones there that should be just about, you know, you and the person, but it was me and Kai and everyone. [Pauline, 31 Northern Ireland]

The global adjustment scenario is based on that multiplicity of cultural patterns so clearly highlighted by Pauline. Her wedding took place in France, where the two of them had met, and it was organised as a celebration of difference. Here the wedding

traditions, which are normally deeply rooted in local cultural patterns, were amalgamated into an intercultural event, which reflects the complexity of Pauline's international experiences. The global adjustment scenario allows Pauline to incorporate 'these wee gems of people from everywhere' so that they become a part of her life story highlighting here not the continuity of their presence in her life but their impact on who she is right now. In the narrative, Pauline expresses her sense of coherence but is aware that the people, experiences and practices she was involved in are only one of many episodes in her life story narration.

A do-it-yourself career

In a similar fashion, the global adjustment scenario can also shape the narrative environment of jobs and organisations. Whilst local scenarios are focused on building a sense of membership and continuity which can be enclosed in the narrative format of a coherent career trajectory, global adjustment scenarios follow the metaphor of a project. In these instances transnational individuals aim to use personal aspirations and professional skills in order to maximise an individually-driven project usually reflecting their personal interests and hobbies. By employing a global adjustment scenario, transnational individuals are able to justify their choice of career pattern outside the regulated traditional setting or to navigate between organisations to their own advantage. In this context, employing a global adjustment scenario is a high-risk solution; the job trajectory outside any organisational context can be more autonomous, rewarding and interesting, but it does not provide the security net supplied by highly organised and regulated employers. Additionally, in a transnational context the set of personal risks associated with that adjustment scenario can be much higher.

The difficulties and high risks associated with the global adjustment scenario can be observed in the job narrative of the transnational consultant and humanitarian worker Dean. Throughout most of his career Dean was an employee in an international organisation where he was given the opportunity to develop expertise in the field of forced child labour. Following internal problems in the organisation and due to his growing confidence in the field built through a number of consultancy

projects with other organisations, Dean attempted to go beyond the organisational framework of large international charities and set up his own. In his narrative Dean mentions the decision-making process involving the need for confidence, risk-taking and motivation.

Well, yeah, the charity was, it's all happened very quickly. So I left AAA, I left AAA under a cloud, really, because I was feeling a bit jaded about the issues and starting to feel a bit unhappy about the organisation because, for many years I'd seen the organisation and the issues as synonymous. And, I know it sounds silly, but it was very important for me to be able to differentiate and say OK there's an organisation and it's got its problems and I like working there but there are these issues, and then there's this issue which, you know, I'm really engaged in, [...] but OK I've had enough now, I've got to go. [...] And we were just, you know, we'd spent the day out and we were in a café and Ann [wife] just started to talk [about setting up a charity] and saying, I just think we could. I can't remember how the conversation started but she started the thing going - and initially I was very standoffish, quite cautious. And I don't think this is a good idea, you know, I'm not sure, but let her carry on. It starts to work and I think, actually, I think she's right, I think this could, there might be something in this. And then afterward, I mean I have gone through with this, peaks and troughs, where I've thought, - well I'm not sure whether this is a good idea and then thinking, well yeah, actually it is. And I mean all this time moving on - and actually the hardest thing of all is to make the decision. [...] But where we are with our careers and our personal life it just fits, it really fits. [Dean, 46 UK]

The global adjustment scenario in this sense carries elements of a do-it-yourself type of career. It aims to reshape the external environments to fit the internal aspirations. In this regard it ensures a sense of personal coherence, settles the chosen self-identifications expressed here by Dean's feeling that his career and personal life 'just fit'. Dean actively differentiates himself from the context, which otherwise forced him to compromise his internal values as a professional humanitarian worker. Dean's narrative, however, also highlights the difficulty of conceptualising a global adjustment scenario. The fact that he did not reach the decision immediately and that his motivations were based on both organisational problems and external pressure from his wife highlight Dean's difficulty in seeing his own career outside its traditional pattern.

Discontinuity of the context

Global adjustment scenarios across relationships, communities, jobs and organisations raise questions about an individual's sense of belonging. Transnationals who do not comply with the dominant cultural pattern often find themselves in biographically challenging situations, such as long-distance relationships, 'virtual' communities or less stable career trajectories. These are the means of cultural diffusion in terms of Kroeber (1940), encouraging the emergence of cultural hybrids, the type of personality and in the long stretch the global types of cultural narrative of cosmopolitanism which, learned directly at an intimate level, challenge old social and cultural classifications in which the traditional types of identifications are rooted.

Being constructed by combining diverse cultural narratives and social patterns, global adjustments are by their very nature relatively unstable and context dependent. Even simple changes in an individual's biographical circumstances can cause a major biographical crisis. This is illustrated in the narrative of Kinga, a Polish psychology student in the UK, who was married and then divorced her Japanese husband. The couple met and married in Poland, but moved to Japan after some time. The context change entirely altered the intimate and social dynamics between them, culminating in the couple's separation. Kinga explains:

I also think that it depends where a given couple is. My experiences with my ex-husband were totally different when we had been in Poland. He was living in Poland for quite a long time. And the relation between the same partners looked completely different in Asia. I personally think that the role of the woman in Japan is very - I don't know those are my private opinions, and I really don't want to sound racist but it could be said that a woman does not count much in Japan. There is not much she can say and nobody really asks her about what she thinks. And it really does not matter what kind of education you have and what you are doing. It is a totally different relation than in Europe, and the thing is that it is changing dramatically, at least in my experience.
[Kinga 31, Poland]

Kinga's biographical global adjustment scenario in her career (she had been a teacher in China before) as well as her private life (her cross-cultural marriage) left her without cultural and biographical attachments that could have prevented or at least minimised the biographical costs of a failed marriage. Within Kinga's narrative the

experience's emotional costs resonate very strongly even after some time. In her narrative she tries to stay objective and detached, avoiding talk about the marriage. She only slips once, with her claim about her 'personal opinion' regarding the power relations between men and women in Japan. In this short passage Kinga reveals a fundamental change in the character of her relationship caused by the change of context for which she had considered herself to be prepared. Kinga's biographical sense of continuity is inevitably knocked off balance. There is nothing she can come back to after the separation. In order to bring her life back on track she has to start afresh – a new place, new career, and new relationships.

Global adjustment scenarios have clear appeal for many transnational individuals as they seem uncompromising. They aim to uphold a sense of personal coherence in spite of changing and challenging circumstances. Applying a global adjustment to the already existing framework of identifications requires managing the various cultural narratives, which are often the source of uncomfortable dissonance. The active effort to deal with a number of cultural patterns requires personal strength, an ability to take risks, and an effort to prevail over biographically difficult choices, such as geographic separation, cultural alienation and job insecurity. The lack of a safety-net, here represented by harmonious grounding in the community and culture, may in some cases lead to very highly desired independence and freedom, but can come for many with excessive biographical costs and a sense of complete isolation.

The availability of global adjustment scenarios and justifications for them are rooted in the grand narratives associated loosely with the processes of globalisation. The notions of transnational mobility and the individual agent's active role above the social structures are the sources of narrative forms of status which value commitment to personal projects, independence from social contexts and an eclectic type of identity. Assembling and sustaining and combining these types of identification requires a lot of personal energy where social structures and traditional patterns are unable to support the emerging framework of identifications. The grand narrative of globalisation, however, is powerful enough to legitimise the choice of this identity adjustment which can be seen in the way in which

transnational individuals narrate their biographical success, in terms of personal relationships, communities, jobs and organisations.

Meta-Narratives of Status and intertextuality

Autobiographical narratives of transnational individuals offer rich accounts of how their practices and lifestyles are influenced by transnational mobilities. They are based on the individual's ability to navigate through changing social and cultural contexts and execute biographical projects. An ethnographical investigation of transnational narratives provides insights into the complex interplay of local and global adjustment scenarios, across narrative environment, seen also as a commitment towards traditional or non-traditional patterns shaping and reinforcing transnational practices (see figure 5.1). The analysis of biographical narratives does not focus entirely on distinguishing adjustment patterns but also reveals the mechanisms of constructing and justifying them. The measure of justification can be observed in the life story's narrative elements conveying the narrative environment of status, and the mechanism of assembling these adjustment scenarios can be investigated by applying the logic of intertextuality to the accounts of transnational individuals.

Status as a narrative environment

In many respects, the narrative environment of status is a meta-narrative to other narrative environments, such as personal relationships and jobs. By identifying status patterns in the analysis procedure it is possible to distinguish between local and global scenarios. A local scenario means assigning positive value to traditional lifestyles, whereas a global scenario highlights the positive aspects of a non-traditional way of life. Status here plays the role of structuring the principle of narration; it is used to select those life events which portray individuals as worthy heroes of their life stories⁹. Transnational individuals whose experiences activate a series of adjustments and thus reconstruct the framework of personal identities use the notions of status to legitimise and justify their choices, especially with regard to mobility, and the type of adjustment scenario they choose to follow. Notions of what

⁹ For more information about rules and constraints of narration see chapter 1.

is and is not individually and socially desirable frame their life story, highlighting to the interviewer the hierarchies of values which the narrator identifies as the most attractive and the most prestigious.

Self-perception of status indicates the individual's orientation towards either local or global cultural patterns. It establishes the narrator's point of view, which frames the process of assembling the whole life story. In order to make sense of the emotional and biographical consequences of transnational mobility and to still fulfil the biographical condition to present oneself as a worthy person (Linde 1993), the transnational individual calibrates the framework of identity so as to fit to the present circumstances. In many narratives this process of recalibration is difficult to narrate directly. It takes some significant insight into the psychological and emotional aspects of one's identity to be able to describe the narration baseline in an explicit way. The case of Andrew, an academic of international standing born in South Africa but now living in Ireland, illustrates this process very clearly.

Never wanted to be European nor I wanted to choose this place, it sort of, relationships and life just sort of chose that. But now that I'm here I think about that differently. At the same time I do have increasingly a sense of – and I think that just happens to people in my position where I sort of feel more like, I have this imaginary sort of global identity thing that I think I have, you know. But I don't really know what that is, you know. Like I sort of, there's a naïve part of me that feels the sort of like global citizen sort of thing because I don't really belong anywhere. And so then you create this other thing, but, you know, like the, the problem is you can't escape the material reality that I now live here and have to choose whether my kid goes to an integrated school, a Catholic school or a Protestant school. So that's, I can be as global a citizen as I want in my head, I have to deal with Northern Ireland's little parochial problem. On a day to day basis. I have to choose which area I live in. You know, so I can think as global as I want but you're also constrained by your reality just as if we move back to South Africa I can come back as this person who's travelled and been different and got a global sense of who I am. But I'm going to have to negotiate race because it's like in your face and it's in, you know. [Andrew, 41 Republic of South Africa]

In his narrative Andrew is able to see two distinct poles of his identity framework. On the one side, the global – also named as European – refers to the perspective which binds Andrew's European ancestors to his mobility experiences of travelling and

living in Europe in an international relationship with an Irish wife and with an international career. On the other side, the local is visible in everyday life practices – gender, religion and race – as well as everyday life decisions such as which school to send his child to, or which neighbourhood to live in. Andrew defines himself as a citizen of the world and talks extensively about his ability to see things in a global context, but at the same time he acknowledges the existence of local problems and local issues, smaller in scope but still impossible to ignore. As an international academic, Andrew is able to name and navigate between the local and the global. Within the analysed sample of 20 biographical narrative interviews, Andrew is the only one who is able to place his life story in both local and global contexts. All other narratives are orientated towards one or the other.

There are, however, emerging patterns based on the individual's perception of transnational success. In most of the narratives a global scenario is perceived as more prestigious in the narrative environments of personal relationships and local cultural settings. Multicultural households, as in the case of Pauline, or international friends, as seen in the narrative of Reni, are usually presented in a very positive light; they enrich the individual's life and provide opportunities for personal growth. Local scenarios, on the other hand, tend to dominate the notion of status in job environments as well as organisations. A continuous career trajectory, especially in international corporations, institutions and organisations, such as in the case of Jakub, is perceived as more socially desirable compared to often chaotic 'projects', as attempted by Sarah when she decided to move her family from Brazil to Italy. The differences in perception, of both narrators and researchers who deal with them, stems from the way in which different grand narratives legitimise a specific logic of action.

The application of global adjustment scenarios emerges in the grand narratives of societies supporting innovative and independent individuals. This model, or rather the grand narrative which legitimises this type of biographical trajectory, is rooted in the international social order, where people follow the logic of action constituted by borderless flows of capital and ideas. This type of grand narrative is acquired by and sustained by individuals in terms of status and success, in the type of society where

innovation and development is the antidote for structural stagnation. Local adjustment scenarios, on the other hand, enforce grand narratives which aim to stabilise the social order, adding value to the cultural reproduction of social life, thus assigning higher status to the type of behaviour which follows traditional patterns. In the case of societies which go through or still deal with major social unrest, crisis or structural change, the local grand narrative legitimises conformist attitudes and logics of action. These external forces, an outcome of national history and global economic development as well as social and political cultures, shape the life story of each and every individual via identity adjustments.

The ethnographic analysis of transnational experiences embedded in biographical narratives provides an insight into individual experiences and practices as well as social and cultural circumstances which are shaping the framework of identities and belonging of an ever growing population all over the world. The inquiry into the narrated mechanisms of adjustment, either local or global in character, reveals the process by which identities are assembled from the available cultural resources. The two patterns – one with a coherent and traditional character and the other a diverse and eclectic one – create a matrix of cultural narratives, shaping the lives and thus life stories of the mobile population and reflecting the more abstract world of conflicting grand narratives. The chapter emphasises that the distinction between local and global adjustment scenarios can provide a better understanding of how different transnational individuals deal with biographical challenges resulting from mobility. Neither is inherently better than the other – however, global scenarios tend to be potentially more biographically costly as they are more risky, being disconnected from local support networks. It seems that an individual's happiness is influenced by how well they can navigate between global and local scenarios so as to take advantage of the possibilities offered by mobilities without paying too high a price for being a citizen of the world. Further discussion of the findings with reference to the two other analytical models will take place in chapter 8 and the methodological considerations are discussed in chapter 7.

Chapter 6

Cosmopolitan Biographical Configurations - fuzzy set QCA analysis of biographical narrative data

One of the most dynamic and significant discussions in identity discourse is cosmopolitanism. Seen as the attitude of openness towards the Other (Hannerz 1990), cosmopolitan ideas re-define issues of identity and belonging and place them within a global, rather than national, social, political and cultural context. Recent interest has sparked vibrant theoretical discussions as well as a number of small and large research projects across the globe. The diversity of theoretical discussions on cosmopolitanism, which stems from differences between academic disciplines and between professional and public discourse, has significantly influenced the ability to empirically test cosmopolitan claims. The goal of my research is to overcome difficulties in operationalising the concept and to design a study with the methodological capability to capture the complexity of the phenomenon, going beyond simple attitude questionnaires. This chapter will investigate cosmopolitanism using biographical narrative data from 25 cases and the techniques of fuzzy set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA)¹⁰.

¹⁰ For the full list of the interviews see Appendix 1.

The chapter is organised in the following way. Firstly, the biographical narratives are considered as a basis for QCA type of analysis. Secondly, the analytical procedures used to establish the theory-driven outcome and set of conditions are outlined, with special emphasis on the set of hypotheses which are tested for the purpose of this study. Finally, the outcomes of analysis of three cosmopolitan hypotheses, namely 'cosmopolitan practices', 'cosmopolitan dispositions' and 'cosmopolitanism and reflexivity' are presented and discussed. The methodological foundations of QCA have already been outlined in chapter 3, the final fsQCA software outputs for this chapter are available in Appendix 4 and example of the analysis is available in Appendix 3.

Autobiographical narrative as a deep unit of analysis

Most biographical data analysis methods use an inductive approach, which allows the researcher to be guided by data in a loosely defined way. More variable-centred, deductive hypothesis-testing is the domain of large-scale surveys data using mostly quantitative data analysis. Until recently, studies with a small number of cases could not support the analytical procedures designed for such rigorous, multi-variate analysis of data. A small amount of cases limits the application of statistical models and generalisation to a larger population. However, to a certain degree it is possible to use logical models, based on Boolean algebra and fuzzy set theory, to capture the configurations of conditions within and between a limited number of cases. Investigating the causal relations between given outcomes and a set of conditions makes it possible to test a theory-driven hypothesis. This type of analysis can be applied to any data set, but it is particularly useful in small-n studies. As the number of variables – within QCA referred to as conditions – is restricted by the number of cases under investigation, the hypotheses tested should be quite specific but can be relatively complex.

Comparative case studies - study of biographical configurations

The analytical model based on QCA (Qualitative Comparative Analysis) depends on both the type of data and the measurement techniques applied by the researcher. The type of data suited for QCA comprises a low number of cases combined with

deep qualitative dimensions. For the purpose of analytical transparency both data units and the methods of calibration of data require an explanation. The units of analysis, or cases under investigation, need to be coherent, rich in data and well defined. In the classic application of QCA, Ragin (2008) uses countries as a case for analysis, with their history and complex economic systems providing sufficiently deep units to allow testing of the outcomes - here survival or collapse of the democratic system - based on the number of theory-derived conditions, such as literacy and legal opposition. For the purpose of this thesis the individual biography is taken as the single unit of analysis, with the assumption that it has enough qualitative depth for this type of analysis. This chapter uses 25 autobiographical narrative cases for the investigation (see also Chapter 3 for further explanation).

Cosmopolitan biographies - defining the outcome

The analytical procedures of QCA investigate the relations of similarity and difference between the configurations of conditions which do or do not display a specific outcome. Both the outcome and conditions are theory driven, thus allowing for hypothesis-testing and assessing the configuration's solutions. According to set logic, each outcome is defined in terms of presence or absence of the conditions which define it. Each condition is calibrated on a scale between 1 (the condition is fully present) and 0 (the condition is fully absent). With the application of fuzzy set theory QCA can also take into consideration a partial degree of membership in the outcome. For the purpose of this analysis a 6-point scale was applied (0, 0.2, 0.4, 0.6, 0.8, 1) wherein 0.5 would be an indication of maximum ambiguity (condition is neither in nor out). See Appendix 3 for a detailed list of conditions and their calibration.

The definition of the outcome as well as selection and calibration of the causal conditions are the first step in any QCA analytical procedure. As the main question for my research was to investigate identity changes as narrated in the autobiographical accounts of transnational individuals, the selection of the outcome of that change was an arbitrary choice that had to be made. Based on the scope of literature and research on the concept of cosmopolitan identities, incorporating both issues of mobility and identity hybridity, these elements have become the key theme

for the QCA analysis applied in this study, and the concept of the biography conveying cosmopolitan values and attitudes has been established as an outcome of the analysis. The definition of cosmopolitanism, and further on cosmopolitan biography, posed some important challenges.

In its philosophical roots, the idea of cosmopolitanism was born in ancient Greece as the heritage of the Stoics, but centuries of theoretical discussions and use have significantly modified its meaning as well as application. The 'old' Enlightenment version of cosmopolitanism concerned with creating cosmopolitan conditions and the 'new' cosmopolitanism at the time of the nation state and international order focused on the individual's rights and their equal coexistence. Within social sciences, cosmopolitanism has proved to be an inspirational but often very abstract idea which has stood for a utopian vision of a future social order. However, currently and due to changes associated with globalisation there has been a shift in the approach towards cosmopolitanism – from theoretical considerations towards more empirical studies such as (Ossewaarde 2007; Nowicka & Rovisco 2008; Pichler 2009).

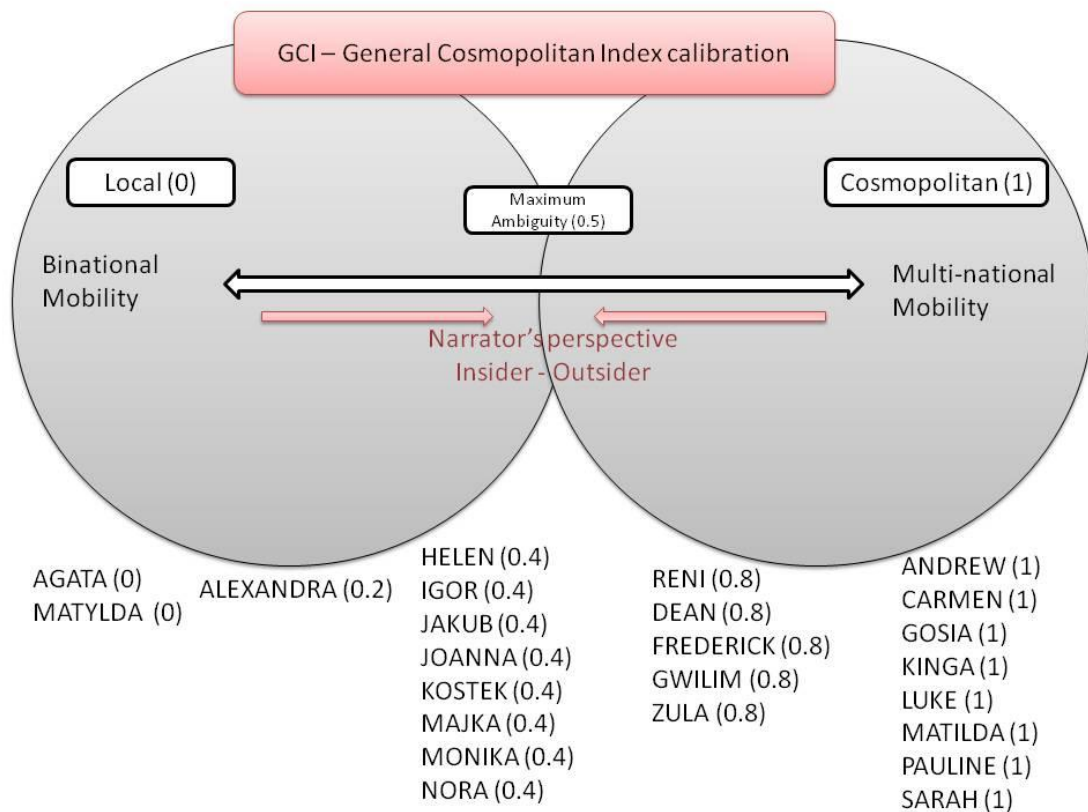
In order to describe and understand the increasingly complex social, political, economic and cultural context, social sciences have to search for empirically new but theoretically old frameworks. The idea of cosmopolitanism seems to reflect the processes and phenomena of the global age from a different, more flexible point of view. In the interview with Ulrich Beck Rantanen (2005:259) queries 'what kind of consciousness, biographically, culturally and politically, derives from the situation of having more locations and identities, and being involved with all those contradictions in your own biography? It's an empirical question. It's not something which can be solved theoretically'. The aim of my research is precisely to find empirical answers to the question of how individuals who experience multiple cultural, social and political attachments in everyday life work through their biographical experiences in order to become a 'citizen of the world'.

On the other side of the cosmopolitan story there are cosmopolitan individuals, people who via their knowledge, attitudes and values have set new trends as well as challenged the existing systems. Within the rich philosophical literature and in social

theory, cosmopolitans themselves mirror the historical epochs. Delanty (2009:52) argues that cosmopolitanism reflects the 'revolt of the individual against the social world, for to be a citizen of the world was to reject the immediately given and closed world of particularistic attachments'. A cosmopolitan is an individual who, due to his or her personal skills such as reflexivity but also his or her position in a social structure guaranteeing new opportunities, is able to explore new ways and through that become a pioneer of change. Their stories and achievements influence and inspire others, who, unhappy with the current social, economic and political situation, desire and attempt change. Within that perspective the status of cosmopolitans is dynamic; it changes along with the changes in the social system. When the system adjusts to new ideologies and individual life styles, the cosmopolitan status dissolves and re-appears in a completely different element of the social structure. Due to those particular features of cosmopolitanism, within philosophy as well as the social theory field, personal archetypes of cosmopolitanism are very diverse, as presented in previous chapters.

The cosmopolitan biography, and the cosmopolitan identity in particular, is thus a story of multiple belonging and multiple identities, facilitated by mobility and supported by the development of the attitudes and skills which would allow the transnational individual to live and prosper (in terms of relationships as well as career and self-esteem associated with the accepted personal status) in at least one, but usually several different cultural contexts. The calibration of the outcome would then fall into the space between 1 – fully cosmopolitan – and 0 – fully local – but with the application of fuzzy set analysis degrees of set membership are possible; thus internal differences such as bilateral or international mobility, language skills and the narrator's perspective and values can be accounted for in the outcome. Throughout this study the overall outcome GCI (General Cosmopolitan Index) has been calibrated according to the type of mobility, where multi-national mobility places the calibration at 1 and limited bi-national mobility places the transnational individual at 0, and the narrator's perspective and attitude of openness which can be captured in the gradation between 0 and 1, as illustrated in the diagram below, see figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1 Distribution of the cases in calibration of GCI



Conditions and hypothesis

With the outcome defined, the next analytical step focuses on selecting the conditions – relevant to the outcome and possible to retrieve from the autobiographical data – followed by a formulation of the testable hypothesis. QCA focuses on investigating 'conjunctural causation' across the cases, which indicates that 'different constellations of factors may lead to the same result' (Rihoux & Ragin 2008:8) and follows five important theoretical assumptions. Firstly, QCA does not assume permanent causality, but focuses on the fact that a combination of conditions can be the cause of the outcome. Secondly, uniformity of causal effects is not assumed, which means that there is always the possibility of more than one combination of conditions that would lead to the same outcome. Thirdly, QCA does not assume unit homogeneity, which means that any single condition may display a different impact on the outcome depending on its interaction with other conditions; and fourthly, the additivity of conditions is not assumed. Finally, in QCA analysis causal symmetry is not assumed, which indicates that either presence or absence of

a given outcome may require a different explanation. Stating the baseline assumptions for QCA outlines the method's strengths and limitations whilst also explaining the analytical procedures applied to biographical data.

Due to causal asymmetry the analysis requires special emphasis on the distinction between necessary and sufficient types of conditions, which is also the case in this study. The terms of necessity and sufficiency outline the logical combinations between outcome and condition. In the QCA analysis the term 'necessary condition' is used to identify 'causal conditions shared by the cases with the same outcome' (Ragin 2008:18). This type of condition is always present when the outcome occurs. The term 'sufficient condition', on the other hand, is used to examine 'cases with the same causal conditions to see if they also share the same outcome' (Ragin 2008:18) and refers to a situation where the outcome always occurs when the condition is present.

In this study, and according to the definition outlined in chapter 1, some level of international mobility is a necessary condition for developing a cosmopolitan outlook and attitudes, but by no means is it a sufficient condition, meaning that mobility alone does not make an individual be cosmopolitan and that there are other conditions, such as an ability to speak the language of their host country, which may influence the possible outcome. Both sets of conditions, necessary as well as sufficient, shed some light on understanding the outcome, but they often reveal a different causal dynamic within the outcome.

The literature on cosmopolitanism, used as a dimension of individual identity and sense of belonging, is rich and diverse. Depending on the author and his or her theoretical as well as empirical experiences there are a number of theories which could be applied to biographical data. Out of the growing volume of literature three approaches to cosmopolitan identities have been selected for further investigation and QCA analysis. These three theories, namely 'cosmopolitan practices' of Szerszynski and Urry (2002), 'cosmopolitan dispositions' of Kendall et al. (2009) and 'new cosmopolitans' of Archer (2007; 2011), were used as a source for the theoretically-generated hypotheses tested for the purposes of this chapter.

- Hypothesis 1 'Cosmopolitan Practices'

The form of geographical mobility and biographical age influence cosmopolitan biographies.

- Hypothesis 2 'Cosmopolitan Dispositions'

Cosmopolitan individuals are cultural specialists characterised by specific types of dispositions, individuality and cultural skills.

- Hypothesis 3 'Cosmopolitanism and Reflexivity'

Cosmopolitanism is the domain of a specific type of reflexivity.

'Cosmopolitan Practices' the significance of mobility and biographical lifecycle in transnational life stories

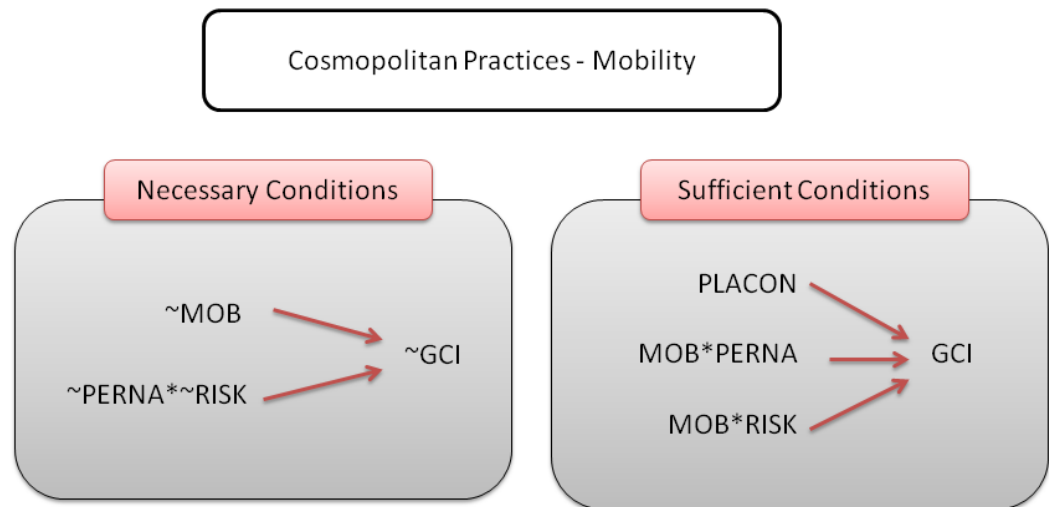
The first set of hypotheses tested on the biographical data using the set-theoretic analysis is based on the theoretical inquiry of Szerszynski and Urry and their theoretical as well as empirical attempt to investigate cultures of cosmopolitanism (2002) and the patterns of cosmopolitan practice, looking both at the issues of mobility and the ways in which people make sense of transnational experiences. Through their work Szerszynski and Urry (2002:470) operationalise cosmopolitanism as 'a kind of connoisseurship, of places, people, and cultures' and distinguish a set of cosmopolitan practices that can be found in the biographical narrative data and then quantified for the purpose of the QCA analysis. Szerszynski and Urry (2006) argue that cosmopolitanism involves extensive mobility, curiosity and capacity to consume culturally diverse places, and a willingness to take risks and encounter the other. Moreover, cosmopolitanism requires the mental 'ability to "map" one's own society and its culture in terms of a historical and geographical knowledge, to have some ability to reflect upon and judge aesthetically between different natures, places and societies' (2006:114) as well as the skills to interpret and compare various representations of otherness. Cosmopolitanism seen from the perspective of transnational biographies features the axiomatic and pragmatic openness to the other and the ability to appreciate and desire elements of foreign cultures.

The set of conditions for cosmopolitanism outlined above opens the discussion on the internal dynamics of cosmopolitanism within the individual lifespan. Szerszynski and Urry (2002) indicate the importance of individual practices when dealing with different types of mobility, but also the importance of the lifecycle and age which shape all previously described elements associated with cosmopolitan practices. In order to capture this complexity for the purpose of QCA analysis the 'cosmopolitan practices' hypothesis has two stages. Firstly, the impact of transnational mobility will be analysed. Secondly, the analysis will focus on the presence and absence of cosmopolitan practices in different stages of the lifecycle, thus investigating the youth, the adult and the mature form of cosmopolitan practices. The full research output for hypothesis 1 can be found in Appendix 3.

Geography of cosmopolitanism

The idea of space lies at the core of the contemporary globalisation debate. The density of the connections between places together with the channels of communication between them creates a new cultural map of the world. Szerszynski and Urry (2006:117) argue that even simple 'sensations of other people and places create an awareness of interdependence, encouraging the development of a notion of "panhumanity", combining a universalistic conception of human rights with a cosmopolitan awareness of difference'. The state of this particular awareness can be achieved via physical travel (MOB) additionally reinforced by the individual eagerness to explore and consume a variety of places and cultures (PLACON). Cosmopolitan practices place special emphasis on the development of the transnational individual's narrative perspective (PERNA) which allows them to position themselves either inside or outside of the specific physical, cultural and social context. Additionally, it values the ability to take risks in the pursuit of cosmopolitan, biographical goals (for the condition configuration see figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2 Necessary and sufficient conditions for cosmopolitan practices according to mobility



QCA analysis indicates three possible combinations of conditions which would be sufficient for the development of cosmopolitan practices in terms of physical mobility (solution coverage is 0.86 - see chapter 3). First, the drive to explore alone is sufficient for the development of cosmopolitan practices. In cases such as Zula's, Kinga's and Andrew's the notion of geographical mobility and orientation towards exploring culturally diverse spaces is enough of a condition to facilitate the emergence of cosmopolitan practices. Kinga's involvement in an international teaching program in China can be used as an example. The second pathway indicates the interaction of the mobility intensity and the ability of narrators to place themselves outside of the local context and compare different cultural settings. These are cases such as those of Pauline, Dean and Joanna where extensive mobility facilitated development of the ability to map their own culture in relation to other cultures, thus using the 'global' framework. Dean is such a case, who sees his humanitarian work in the framework of the UN network rather than as a cross-national project. The third pathway also signifies intensive mobility, but with emphasis on the ability to take risk. Among the cases Sarah's life story follows this outlined pattern. For Sarah the mobility, and thus development of cosmopolitan practices, was part of a larger life project rooted in the preconception of her Italian origins. In order to become an Italian herself she focused on developing the kinds of transactional practices enabling her to move with family to Italy, only to discover that

the idea of following a particular life project does not necessarily resolve her identity questions.

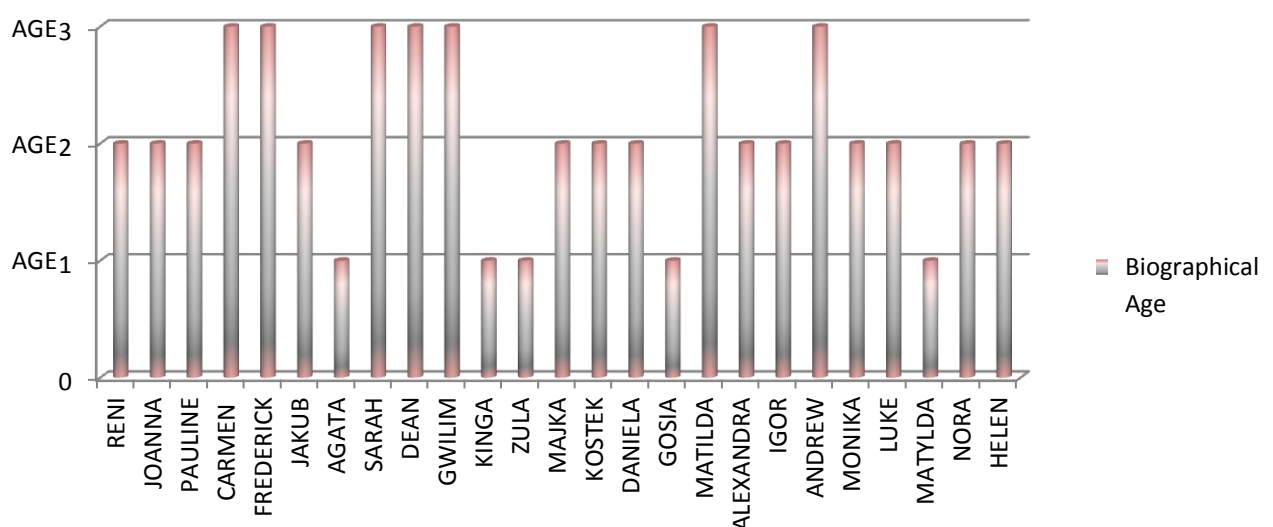
With solution coverage of 0.82, the analysis of the necessary conditions indicates that the sets of conditions that would hinder the emergence of cosmopolitan practices form two patterns. The first is associated with a lack or low level of mobility. In cases such as Agata's, Igor's or Nora's this is exactly the issue. The low mobility from one country to another (often without return) is not enough to develop the ability to navigate between various cultures or to develop the idea of openness and appreciation of cultural diversity. The second set of conditions is relevant for the cases where the narrator's perspective is navigating towards the local world and where their willingness to take risks is low. Matilda, the nun in an international convent, does not express any willingness to compare and contrast different cultural patterns; she is not interested in other cultures even when living in the territory of a different country. Instead she is committed to her educational work and grass-roots development of the community she is assigned to by the order.

The overall analysis indicates that it is necessary for cosmopolitan individuals to travel extensively. Alternatively cosmopolitans may develop the ability to map their society and nurture the perspective which captures the issues of belonging on a more comparative and analytical basis supported by an ability to manage risk and follow an independent course of action. The analysis highlights that cosmopolitan practices and biographies are indeed associated with extensive exploration of new cultures (MOB*PERNA), the need to follow an independent life plan outside of traditional social patterns (MOB*RISK) and the desire to be mobile, to reach new places and people (PLACON); thus the 'cosmopolitan practices' hypothesis has been confirmed. The analysis, however, suggests that deeper ideological motives, such as rejection of traditional patterns of social life as well as contestation of political, economic and cultural orders, can give additional meaning to geographical mobility and the cosmopolitan practices.

Lifecycle and cosmopolitanism

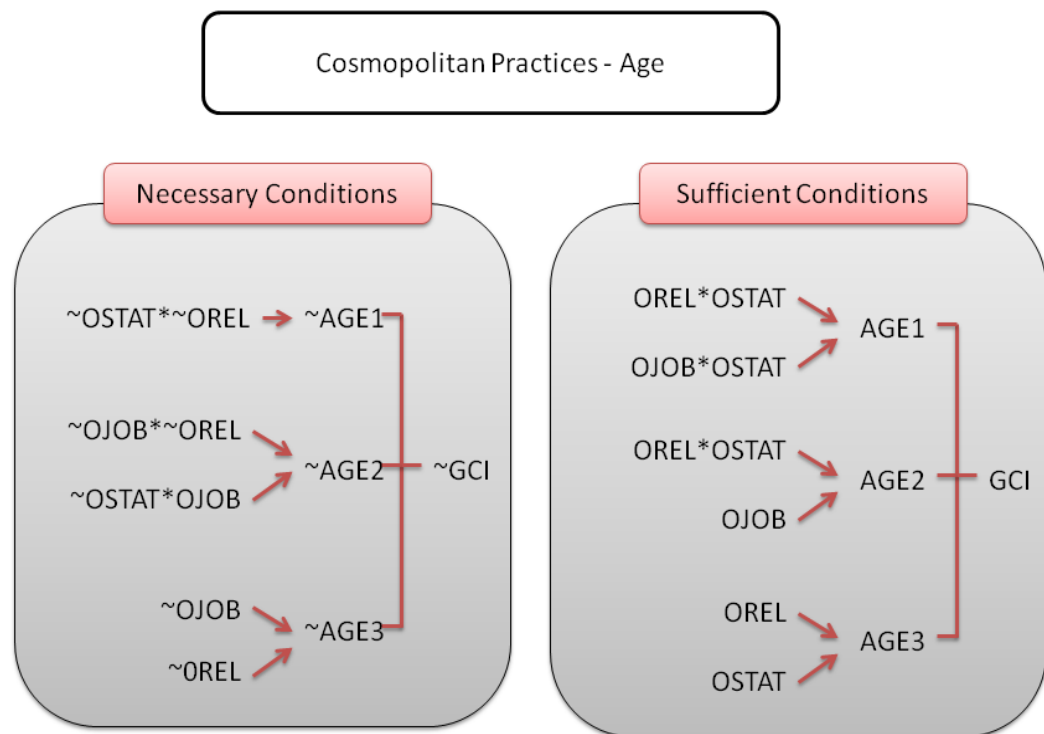
A second important dimension of cosmopolitanism is, according to Szerszynski and Urry (2002), time, and in particular the biographical lifecycle of the individual in question. Both authors note that, depending on the scope of personal responsibilities, the individual's career stage and the abilities they acquire through life experiences have a significant impact on the form of cosmopolitan perspective. Following the reasoning of Szerszynski and Urry (2002), all 25 biographical cases under investigation have been assigned on the scale of value between cosmopolitan (1) and local (0), but with consideration of when these elements of biography have occurred in the biographical lifecycle. Respectively three outcome variables have been tested: the young adult (AGE1) involved in educational and early career mobility who still expects to come back and settle at the original point of origin, the adult individual (AGE2) characterised by increasing responsibilities in personal relationships (with biography often involving spouses and children) and the development of a career trajectory, and finally the mature individual (AGE3) associated with the slow release of social responsibilities and investment into developing personal interests and values. Depending on the narrator's biographical age the distribution of age across the sample is illustrated in the figure below (see also Appendix 1).

Figure 6.3 Distribution of age groups across the sample



Considerations about which conditions have a major impact on the changing character of cosmopolitanism across the lifespan are derived from Szerszynski and Urry's (2002) theoretical considerations. They measure the type and intensity of personal relationships (OREL) as well as the impact of transnational employment and career (OJOB). Additionally, the element of status (OSTAT), here defined as the system of values which provides a framework orientation towards global or local, has been added to the tested solution.

Figure 6.4 Necessary and sufficient conditions for cosmopolitan practices according to age



Young Adult

The cosmopolitan attitude of openness found in the age category of young adult is represented by the notion of travel, exploring new places, meeting new people and gaining the life and work experiences which would be a valuable addition for starting an 'adult life'. In their study Szerszynski and Urry (2002:476) suggested that 'young people talked about travelling and working around the world, but, possibly reflecting the strong regional identity of the north west of England, still expected to return to the locality of their origins to settle down'.

The QCA analysis of the sufficient conditions with the solution coverage 0.78 indicates two combinations of the conditions which are associated with the emergence of cosmopolitan practices in that age group. Firstly, there is the interaction between status and relationships which can be seen in the cases of Reni, Pauline and Matylda. The analysis indicates that a non-traditional form of personal relationships, such as long-distance marriage in the case of Reni, combined with a sense and orientation that international aspects of relationships are valued more highly than the local, as in the case of Matylda who intentionally defines possible Polish partners as less desirable, is strongly associated with the emergence of cosmopolitan practices. Secondly, the combination of status with an international job and educational opportunities, as in the cases of Joanna, Luke and Kostek, follows the same pattern. In Joanna's biography, there is a clear indication of ranking in professional success between the local, in this case the national labour market, and her ability to succeed in a foreign environment as an intern in Germany. As a consequence she is now aiming to study international journalism.

The analysis of the necessary conditions, on the other hand, indicated the set of conditions which would provide enough incentives for transnational individuals to stay in the given local context (solution coverage only 0.5). The interaction between status, associated with being accepted and indistinguishable as a foreigner, and personal relationships in the given locality, are key elements locking in the young individual. This is the case in Daniela's narrative, whose difficult move from Romania to Germany at the age of 11 clearly indicates this pattern. Her mastery of German as well as her relationship with a German boy gave her validation of the status she needed at that time in her life; she could now pass as a German.

Adult

The analysis of the second lifecycle stage focuses on the dynamics of cosmopolitan practices in the middle phase of the biographical lifecycle, highlighting the sense of obligations – personal and professional – towards others. Szerszynski and Urry (2002:476) note that 'adult responsibilities bring a greater salience of ideas of duty, responsibility and care, ideas that are then extended to other places and peoples'. According to the authors, the idea of starting a family and building one's career

embeds the individual within the local context and, for the time being, puts cosmopolitan practices on hold.

The QCA analysis of the internal dynamics between relationships, employment and status in the 'adult' group age indicates a slight change in terms of sufficient conditions (solution coverage 0.91) and a more significant change in terms of necessary conditions (solution coverage 0.74). Sufficient conditions for developing cosmopolitan practices in the adult age are non-traditional, project driven employment and/or the interaction of non-traditional relationships with the recognition of international aspects of life as having high status. In the first instance, which can be illustrated by cases of Sarah, Jakub and Igor, employment that requires an international outlook, such as international management (Jakub), international research (Igor) or the ability to adjust to cross-nationally changing circumstances of employment (Sarah), lead to the development of cosmopolitan practices. In the second instance, illustrated by the cases of Pauline and Gwilym, a specific form of relationship – often cross-country – and a positive assessment of their status also leads to the development of a cosmopolitan worldview. In the case of Gwilym and his Swedish wife, the biographical project of relocating the whole family to Sweden for 10 years was possible, adding a cosmopolitan dimension to his adult life.

The set theoretic analysis of the necessary conditions indicates that adult transnational individuals who engage in local rather than cosmopolitan practices are associated with either the presence of continuous employment and traditional relationships or a job which is quite discontinuous, project-based but with a low perception of achievement and status. The first path can be illustrated by Agata, Monika and Helen, whose family relationships are very strong and whose employment situation is designed to support a continuous family life. In the case of Monika her employment as a cleaner in Ireland is a means to keep her family together (her husband had to work abroad before) and provide good economic resources for their family. The second path leading to the development of local practices in the 'adult' group is illustrated by cases such as Frederick's and Nora's. Frederick's international correspondent career did not fulfil his personal and professional dreams and added to his overall sense of frustration which was the

direct cause of his decision to focus on a writing career based in the rural part of Northern Ireland, where he stayed for 20 years, only to change at retirement stage.

Mature Adult

The third age group under investigation is mature adults. This type of transnational individual slowly relinquishes family responsibilities as well as employment ties and is more involved in personal interest initiatives. Szerszynski and Urry (2002:476) state that the change in cosmopolitan culture within that particular group 'brought a re-opening to a sense of wider connectedness. But these life phases also bring their own situated justifications for not being "good" global citizens'. Voluntary investment in global initiatives, such as environmental movements or the commitment to an international cause, forms part of rediscovering cosmopolitan practices at a later biographical age.

The QCA analysis of the mature adult age group indicates that there is a strong association between cosmopolitan practices and firstly status and secondly relationships, with solution coverage of 0.95. The association highlighting status, in this age group, is indeed related to the sense of 'wider connectedness' outlined by Szerszynski and Urry (2002). In cases such as Dean's and Sarah's, biographical experience-based knowledge forms the foundation for opening a new type of biographical project, such as setting up a new NGO (Dean) or entering higher education in order to master an additional three languages and use them to help others to communicate (Sarah). In this age group as well as all the others, the impact of individual relationships is prominent. Cross-country marriages keep mature individuals on track and force them to see their own life and commitments from a wider, cosmopolitan perspective.

The analysis of the necessary conditions on the other hand (solution coverage 0.92) suggests that, in order to stay within the local spectrum of practices at a mature age, transnational individuals still need to be embedded in locally based employment or locally based relationships. Continuous employment restricts their ability to follow different life projects, as in the case of Gwilym who still is working as a doctor. Involvement in local type relationships can also be observed in the case of Matilda,

who as a nun is more committed to the mission of the order than the development of cosmopolitan practices.

The overall analysis of Szerszynski and Urry's (2002) hypothesis indicates that across the three groups the types of cosmopolitan practice change their character. At a young age cosmopolitan practices are strongly associated with status, expressed via international and non-traditional relationships (OSTAT*OREL) but also international job experience (OSTAT*OJOB). This confirms the hypothesis that young people travel in order to expand their life experiences and improve their chances in the labour market. The drift of adult cosmopolitans towards a more stable and responsible lifestyle is also confirmed. They assign higher value to transnational relationships (OSTAT*OREL), but also highlight stable and continuous employment (~OJOB). Cosmopolitan practices amongst mature narrators, however, indicate that the hypothesis about this particular group is refuted. Mature narrators hold on to transnational practices if they have relationships (OREL) or jobs (OJOB) that require it. Their sense of wider connectedness, suspected by Szerszynski and Urry (2002), here associated with the high status of transnational practices, is not confirmed by the data. In conclusion, the highly visible role of international relationships, above international employment and international status, indicates that the strongest source of cosmopolitan practices lies in that particular aspect of social life.

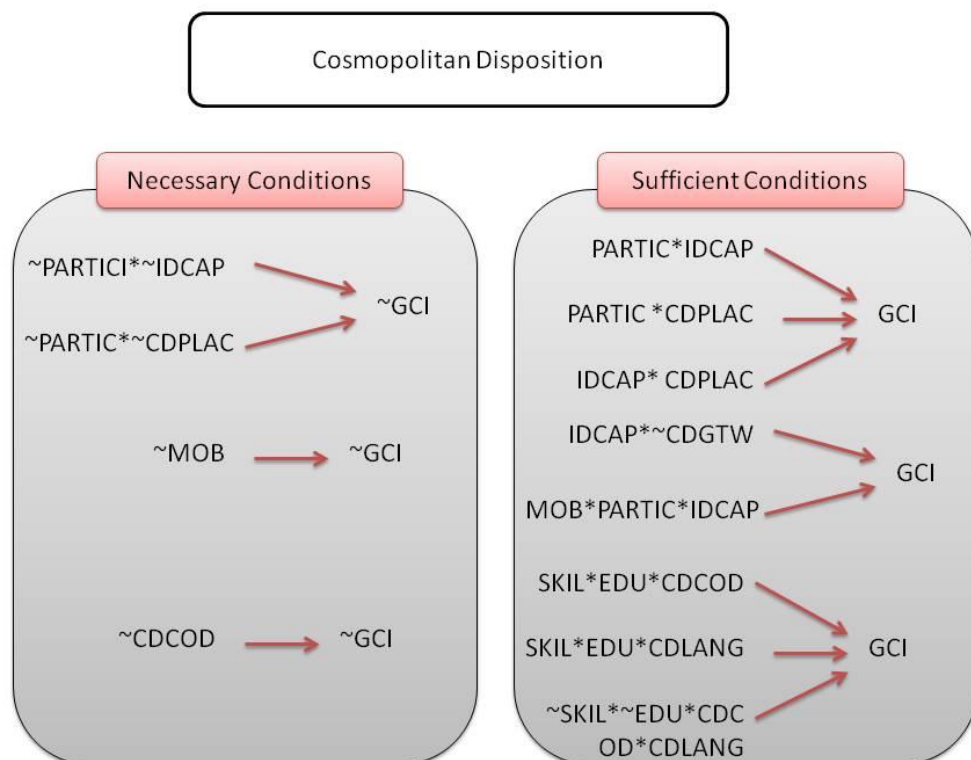
'Cosmopolitan disposition' making of global cultural specialist

The second set of hypotheses tested with the aid of QCA is based on the typology of Kendall et al. (2009) and focuses on types of cultural as well as individual dispositions that are associated with the emergence of cosmopolitan individuals. In that sense cosmopolitanism is perceived as 'globalisation from below' (Yuval-Davis 2006), thus representing the features of a global-scale process as occurring within the individual. Kendall et al. (2009:104) suggest that 'being cosmopolitan is itself a cultural location that affords individuals the capacity to see, and to "consume", otherness in ways which reproduce patterns of cultural power'. This capacity is rooted within an individual set of cultural dispositions, often taking on the shape of cultural and symbolic capitals, allowing a given individual to navigate, make sense and make use

of culturally complex situations, which are of particular relevance to the biographical experiences of transnational individuals.

On top of the skills and qualities capable of dealing with cultural diversity, cosmopolitanism as operationalised by Kendall et al. (2009) implies a positive status and prestige associated with this specific set of dispositions. 'Cosmopolitanism is a tendency to view otherness and cultural difference as something desirable, and that cosmopolitanism always involves a cultural mode of seeing and valuing difference based on moral attribution' (Kendall et al 2009:105). In these terms, cosmopolitan individuals possess the knowledge, ability and the motivation to overcome the traditional and celebrate difference. The individual who fits the outlined characteristics represents 'an ideal type of symbolic specialist, someone in possession and command of the cultural knowledge and skill to discern, appreciate and use the field of cultural difference' (Kendall et al 2009:109). In my study this 'symbolic specialism' is based on three cultural dimensions: a symbolic disposition, a degree of individualism and a cultural repertoire, all of which can be found in the biographical narratives of transnational individuals, see figure 6.5.

Figure 6.5 Necessary and sufficient conditions for cosmopolitan disposition



Cosmopolitan disposition

Cosmopolitan disposition, loosely based on the concept of habitus by Bourdieu, is defined by Kendall et al (2009:105-6) as a 'set of self-orienting practical dispositions that incorporates structure into everyday practice ... cosmopolitanism should be understood principally as an attitude of "openness" towards other cultures'. In biographical terms, the cosmopolitan disposition has been calibrated as a set of conditions: firstly, a type of identity capital (IDCAP) found among individuals who 'actively strategise to maximize their life-course outcomes' (Cote 1996:424), here seen as a range of attitudes described by the metaphor of being a 'driver' (1) or a 'passenger' (0) in terms of biographical logics of action; secondly, contact with places where the individual can be exposed to cosmopolitan culture as well as a cosmopolitan set of values (CDPLAC); and finally the profound desire of the individual to participate in the foreign culture (PARTIC), which in terms of Buzard (1993) distinguishes the 'traveller type' (1) from the 'tourist' (0).

The set-theoretic analysis of these three conditions indicates that in terms of sufficient condition solutions there are three combinations which shape the type of cosmopolitan disposition relevant to this hypothesis (solution coverage 0.77). The first indicates an interaction between exposure to 'cosmopolitan places' and the need to participate in the culture of the place. This is found in the life story of Zula who, by participating in a European organisation and through her willingness to live in and get to know diverse European cultures, clearly nurtured her cosmopolitan disposition. The second combination of conditions also indicates the will to participate but this time in interaction with a strong individual motivation to act. This can be seen in cases such as Kinga's, whose willingness to shape her own life and explore foreign culture led to her becoming an English teacher in China, where she spent more than a year getting to know the people and culture. The third combination of conditions involves the same need to be a 'driver' in one's own life with exposure to places that carry certain cosmopolitan cultural traits, as in the case of Luke, the artist born and raised in South Africa, currently living with his wife in Ireland, whose involvement in the performing arts opened cosmopolitan places,

allowed freedom of expression, and gave him the strength to pursue his dreams far from the country of origin.

The QCA analysis of the necessary conditions (with the solution coverage 0.8) highlights the most relevant combinations of conditions providing the opposite outcome to cosmopolitan disposition. Firstly, a low level of participation in the foreign culture characterised by rather short-lived and superficial 'tourist' experiences, together with a rather passive life style, is more likely to focus the individual on local dispositions. This can be illustrated by cases such as Dean's, whose work as an international humanitarian worker is based on quick fixes in the problematic area rather than exploration of cultural diversity. At the same time low confidence and decision power prevent him from having this type of 'cosmopolitan disposition'. Secondly, the same lack of participation can be found in connection with restricted access to cosmopolitan places. This brings into question the disposition of the transnational individual, illustrated by the case of Igor whose international studies (a PhD in engineering) do not expose him to cosmopolitan culture, and whose choice to live with other Italian students stops him from reaching beyond his cultural comfort zones of academia and Italian friends.

Individualism

According to Kendall et al, individual orientation refers to 'more flexible application of a cultural outlook focused on strategically discerning and appreciating difference in relevant social setting' (2009:107). In biographical terms individualism is represented by previously used identity capital (IDCAP) and willingness to participate in the foreign culture as well as additional intensity of mobility (MOB) and individual ability to find the proper cultural gateways (CDGTW) that would allow organised access to the new society and new culture without previous social ties. This element of cosmopolitan disposition is the way to capture the individual's power in gaining the point of entry in a society that does not necessarily recognise the transnational individual's status and experience.

The QCA analysis of the sufficient configurations of conditions, with solution coverage of 0.77, indicates two main pathways for obtaining the level of

individualism sufficient for biographical cosmopolitanism. The first path focuses on identity capital – the ability to plan and execute individual schemes of action, without following the institutional gateways provided by the state to service a transnational population. In these terms the type of individualism which leads to the emergence of cosmopolitan dispositions follows the given scheme of action in a lonely rather than organised manner. Across cases such as Carmen's, Alexandra's or Daniela's, transnational mobility is an individual decision, paid for with a great deal of social alienation. The second path highlights the interaction between the mobility's intensity, willingness to participate in the culture rather than pass through it and the importance of individual agency reflected by the identity capital variable. Cases such as Reni's, Pauline's and Sarah's with their increase in mobility see the narrator become more individualistic and more aware of the opportunities and chances provided by their transnational lifestyle.

The consideration of the conditions for the emergence of the type of the individualism necessary for cosmopolitan dispositions to emerge indicates, with the solution coverage at 0.74, a strong association with the mobility pattern. The lower type of mobility, usually to one country only, is a main condition for the type of individuality necessary for cosmopolitan dispositions not to emerge. In all cases displaying a lower level of mobility, namely Monika's, Nora's, Agata's, Igor's, Alexandra's and Jakub's, the analysis indicates that the likelihood of becoming local rather than global is very strong.

Cultural repertoire

The final element of the cosmopolitan disposition based on the theoretical considerations of Kendall et al. (2009:107) is the issue of cultural repertoire or a 'toolkit of habits, skills and styles from which people develop strategies of action' (Swidler 1986; 2003). Becoming a cultural specialist requires the abilities to communicate, here coded as the number and use of foreign languages (CDLANG), and to switch between cultural codes, to understand and adjust smoothly to emerging circumstances (CDCOD). Additionally, the level of education (EDU) and professional qualifications (SKIL) are conditions which influence the cultural

repertoire in a more formal way, building both the communication skills and access to professional and educational networks.

In the QCA analysis of the sufficient conditions for the emergence of cosmopolitan dispositions three combinations of conditions appear as significant (solution coverage 0.78). The first combination highlights the interaction between a high level of education, professional qualifications and an ability to switch with ease between cultural codes and adapt to change. This is the case with professionals such as Andrew, Dean and Frederick, whose first and major language is English or whose transition to a different language context was smooth enough to play down the role of language differences. In order to highlight the fact that languages form an important part of one's cultural toolkit, the second combination of conditions emphasises formal education, professional qualifications as well as language proficiency. The cases illustrating this particular pattern belong to transnational individuals who make an effort to acquire a number of languages, such as Reni, Gwilym, and Helen. The third pattern, which captures the diversity between the cultural toolkit and formal education, indicates that without higher education and professional qualifications the combination of soft skills such as an ability to switch between cultural codes and to communicate (even if not entirely correctly) in itself is sufficient for the emergence of a cosmopolitan disposition. This can be seen in the case of Sarah, who without a degree and with the ability to follow her own biographical project, was able to develop the same level of cosmopolitan awareness as all the others.

The analysis of the necessary conditions, with solution coverage of 0.84, highlights the importance of a single key factor which encourages local dispositions to emerge in transnational situations. Inability to switch between cultural codes, to adjust and blend in, is the best predictor that the transnational biography remains local. In cases such as Agata's, who insists that her life in the UK should look exactly like the one she has left behind in Poland, and Igor's, whose Italian loyalties and sense of belonging prevent him from fully engaging with the international context of the university, this pattern becomes quite clear.

The QCA analysis of 'cosmopolitan dispositions' has been resolved at three different levels. Firstly, the analysis suggests that 'cultural specialists' have a strong need to participate in foreign cultures, additionally enhanced by the individual's curiosity and agency (PARTIC*IDCAP) and/or their exposure to social environments carrying elements of cosmopolitan culture (PARTIC*CDPLAC), which confirms the first element of the cosmopolitan dispositions suggested by Kendall et al. (2009). Secondly, the analysis indicates that whereas mobility is necessary (MOB) for the disposition to emerge, cultural specialists rather avoid institutional patterns of mobility (IDCAP*~CDGTW) and aim to participate and explore the new culture on their own (PARTIC*IDCAP*MOB). This confirms the hypothesis claiming the stronger individuality of cosmopolitans. Finally, the ability to switch between cultural codes and to adjust to new situations is a necessary disposition (CDCOD), but it can be further influenced and enhanced by formal education and professional experience (SKIL*EDU*CDCOD) as well as by the ability to speak foreign languages (SKIL*EDU*CDLANG). Interestingly, formal education as well as professional experience can be compensated by the ability to adjust as well as by fluency in languages in the development of cosmopolitan dispositions (~SKIL*~EDU*CDCOD*CDLANG), thus confirming Kendall's hypothesis regarding the cultural repertoire of cosmopolitan 'symbolic specialists'.

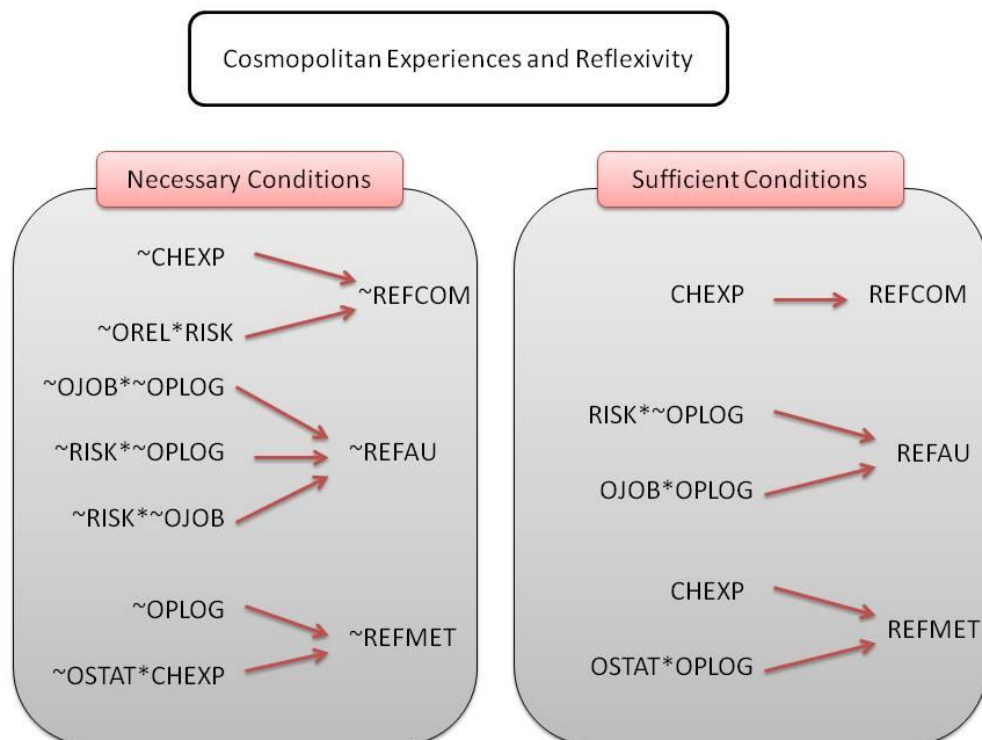
Cosmopolitanism as a specific type of reflexivity

A third set of hypotheses to be tested in this chapter builds on the concept of reflexivity introduced and developed by Margaret S. Archer (2007). Reflexivity, here defined as 'the regular exercise of the mental ability, shared by all normal people, to consider themselves in relation to their (social) context and vice versa' (Archer 2007:4) is the key to understanding how people perceive and understand the world around them, and how they are inclined to act upon it. Archer (2007) notes that 'the subjective powers of reflexivity mediate the role that objective structural and cultural powers play in influencing social action and are thus indispensable to explaining social outcomes' (2007:5). In the context of transnational biographies, the focus on individuals' mental abilities to tackle the changing social and cultural

context will influence the understanding of social realities as well as social actions which make for a specific type of cosmopolitan individual.

In her work, Archer (2007) focuses on three main types of reflexivity – communicative, autonomous and meta-reflexive. Within 25 biographies under investigation all three of them have been calibrated between 1 – cosmopolitan – and 0 – local – based on the existence of relevant biographical experiences and transnational practices. The set-theoretic analysis of the modes of reflexivity and their connection to relevant biographical dimensions such as childhood experiences or job opportunities is based on Archer's work. This stage of analysis forms the basis for investigating the role of experiences in developing specific drivers for individual action, here seen in terms of reflexivity. The final stage of hypothesis testing investigates the set-theoretic relations between all three modes of reflexivity and the overall cosmopolitan shape of the life stories and brings them into the discussion with Archer's (2007) 'new cosmopolitans'. The analysis results are summarised in Figure 6.6.

Figure 6.6 Necessary and sufficient conditions for cosmopolitan experiences across types of reflexivity



Reflexivity modes and cosmopolitan biography

Communicative reflexive

Communicative reflexivity (REFCOM) characterises those individuals who, in order to act, need external confirmation and acceptance of their actions. With regards to transnational individuals as well as others, this type aims to restore contextual continuity and is focused on the reproduction of traditional cultural patterns. Individuals of this type are evasive in confrontations, and their associated action orientation is focused on self-sacrifice. According to Archer (2007), communicative reflexive individuals can be characterised as socially immobile; as their logic of action requires constant validation they do not aim to change their social situation. This type is quite passive, family and relationship orientated, in need of others who are able to ensure an often traditional mode of action. In terms of transnational biographies the set of conditions under investigation includes: the significance of early childhood experiences which expose the individual to cultural patterns that are reproduced in adult life, including transnational mobility (CHEXP); the type of relationships the individual has been involved in (notably aspects such as cross-national marriages and plans for bringing up children – OREL); and willingness to take risks and undertake biographical projects that may lead the individual in the direction of transnational mobility (RISK).

The analysis of communicative reflexivity patterns reveals that early childhood experiences are a sufficient condition for the emergence of cosmopolitan traits across communicative reflexive individuals, with solution coverage quite low at 0.7. When looking at the particular biographical cases indicated in the analysis, such as Reni's, Dean's or Zula's, early childhood mobility has had a formative impact on their world view. During childhood these individuals were socialised into the idea that mobility is a part of adult life and communicative reflexivity patterns were used as external validation for choosing a transnational lifestyle. Mobility, however, is not the only type of childhood experience accounting for a cosmopolitan outcome. The immigrant backgrounds of Sarah (Brazilian, but father was from Italy) and Daniela (born in Romania, but into a family with strong German historical connections) and also the cases in which one of the parents is an immigrant, such as Helen's (her

mother was German), or situations where the narrators were in contact with international significant others, like Joanna, are sufficient for the outcome.

The analysis of the necessary conditions, on the other hand, has higher solution coverage (0.86). It also highlights the significance of childhood experiences when the outcome of communicative reflexivity is local. Thus in cases such as Agata's, Andrews's or Matilda's, upbringing highlighted a traditional and locally-embedded world view which, if the causal effect was consistent, should cause them to stay local. This indicates that in these cases the individual does not have external validation for undertaking transnational mobility. Across the cases biographical patterns of 'breaking out' can be seen, for example in the case of Agata who was forced to move to the UK by the economic situation but only did so with the support of her family. Additionally, there is yet another path indicated as a necessary condition for not becoming a cosmopolitan, and this one indicates the significance of personal relationships and the willingness to take risks. If relationships are local and the risk of pursuing the personal project is high then communicative reflexivity keeps the individual locally grounded.

Autonomous reflexive

The second type of reflexivity – autonomous (REFAU) – characterises those individuals 'who sustain self-contained internal conversations, leading directly to action' (Archer 2007:93). In their decision-making these individuals mostly rely on their own internal reasons and motivations. They are strategic, productive and disciplined in their attempts to achieve their goal. Archer (2007) identifies this type of reflexivity as crucial for upward mobility. Individuals with a strong autonomous type of reflexivity are the drivers of change, act on their own plans and do not require external validation for their actions. Autonomous reflexive individuals follow the logic of the project (RISK), of high risk action leading to a specific outcome to be accomplished and start anew. Especially in their career patterns (OJOB) they are more interested in following their interests and becoming proficient than in securing their employment continuity. Additionally, due to the fact that autonomous reflexivity is driven by the individual's project, the ability to follow the logic of

opportunity (OPLOG), such as the ability to find and use funds and grants to aid one's career development, was investigated.

The analysis of the sufficient conditions for the cosmopolitan elements carried by the autonomous type of reflexivity, with solution coverage of 0.86, indicates two possible combinations of conditions leading to the given outcome. Firstly, the combination of willingness to take a risk and unwillingness to follow the logic of external opportunities is sufficient for the emergence of a cosmopolitan outlook amongst the autonomous reflexive type. In cases such as Sarah's, Gwilym's or Carmen's the transnational individuals consistently follow their personal projects. In Sarah's case her life plan to live in Italy was accomplished against the odds – she did not speak the language – and personal sacrifices. These individuals, however, create opportunities for themselves rather than follow already existing patterns and opportunities. Secondly, the solution involving the combination of work opportunities and following the logic of opportunities is sufficient for cosmopolitanism to emerge across the autonomous reflexivity type. In Joanna's, Jakub's and Luke's cases, transnational mobility is the outcome of their job trajectories and, within those jobs, the structures of opportunities. For Joanna, her move to Germany was always part of her personal plan, but the opportunity of professional training and job prospects provided by an international internship facilitated the mobility.

With slightly lower coverage (0.8) the analysis of necessary conditions highlights that for local patterns to emerge within the autonomous reflexive type three combinations of causal conditions are significant. Firstly, when the individual is not open to an international career and sees their opportunities within a local, rather than global, framework the autonomous mode of reflexivity will incorporate the mobility, assuring however the individual's ability to remain grounded. This is the case with Gwilym, a Welsh doctor who moved to Sweden with his family for 10 years, but made sure that he could continue his career in the medical profession. Secondly, when transnational individuals are not eager to take a risk and their opportunities are orientated towards local environments, such as in Majka's case, autonomous reflexivity will stray from cosmopolitan towards local patterns – her husband's career

is very local and her own opportunities are locally embedded. Thirdly, when neither jobs nor the ability to take a risk are fulfilled, autonomous reflexivity as the lack of internal validation for action will keep transnational individuals local. Helen, a scholar in modern languages, is a point in case. She sees her job as well as professional security within the context of British academia rather than at an international scale.

Meta-reflexive

Thirdly and finally, the meta-reflexive type characterises those individuals 'who are critically reflexive about their own internal conversations and critical about effective action in society' (Archer 2007:93). This mode of reflexivity actively observes and modifies both internal interests and external conditions. As the situation changes meta-reflexives 'are committed to particular values which they pursue as end in themselves. By conducting their internal conversations alone, they resist the influence of contextual conventionality' (Archer 2007:301). This type of reflexivity is subversive when faced with external constraints and opportunities; it guides the lateral type of social mobility. Meta-reflexivity is focused on re-orientation and self-transcendence allowing for flexible navigation in a changing context. In the case of transnational individuals meta-reflexivity (REFMET) can direct individuals in the direction of global or local logics of action and depends strongly on the perception of status (OSTAT), thus revealing the individual's perception of what goal is worth pursuing, as well as their biographical exposure to transnational cultural patterns (CHEXP) and ability to follow available structures of opportunities (OPLOG).

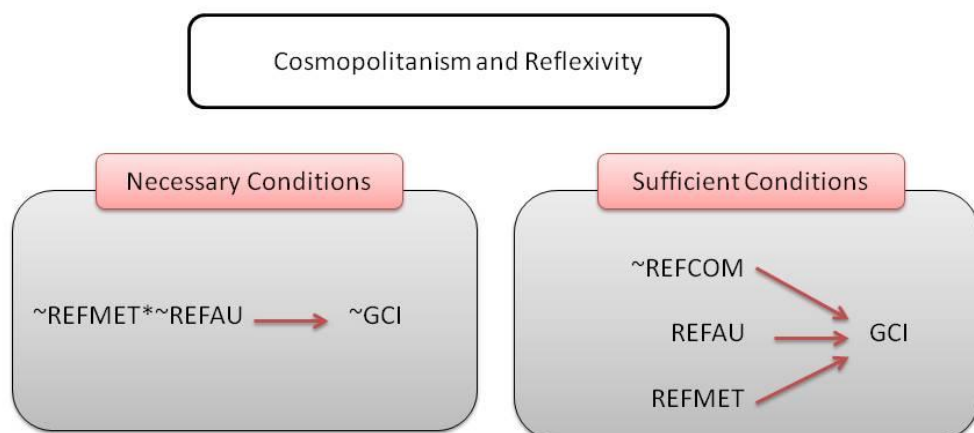
The set-theoretic analysis of the sufficient conditions indicates two pathways for the emergence of cosmopolitan patterns via a meta-reflexive type of decision-making. With the high solution coverage of 0.9, the first pathway indicates a strong causal relation with childhood experiences of transnationalism. This seems a natural outcome considering that internal goals and values are the product of socialisation. It is found in transnational narratives such as Sarah's, Carmen's and Daniela's, whose contact with transnational cultural patterns involved either physical mobility, parents' migration background or the influence of important transnational others within their lives. The second pathway involves the interaction between status and logic of opportunities. This type of meta-reflexive individual navigates towards the

cosmopolitan aspects of biography as an indicator of personal and professional status. They skilfully use the structures of opportunities, such as higher education exchanges (Igor, Gosia, Zula), overseas work programmes (Kinga), or international institutions (Dean) in order to fulfil their plans and goals.

The analysis of the necessary conditions, relevant for understanding local elements occurring in meta-reflexive narratives, has lower solution coverage than the sufficient conditions (0.79) but also focuses on two main sets of conditions. The first path indicates a lack of 'cosmopolitan' opportunity structures, which leads individuals towards local rather than global environments. In the cases of Alexandra, Gwilym and Majka, for instance, the structure of opportunities is focused on the local environment. In most of the cases this is due to the profession. For Gwilym as a medical doctor or Majka as an academic neuroscientist the career trajectory is embedded in a specific local context. The second path highlights that in the case of meta-reflexives local childhood experiences together with awareness of status stemming from international experiences become a set of necessary conditions leading to cosmopolitan awareness. This is evident in the biographies of Frederic and Daniela, who did not experience childhood mobility, but have a stronger sense of higher status due to mobility.

Cosmopolitanism and the type of reflexivity

Figure 6.7 Necessary and sufficient conditions for reflexivity types and cosmopolitanism



Having explored the causal relation between biographical experiences and modes of reflexivity in terms of mediation between local and global, the final stage of hypothesis-testing involves a set-theoretic analysis of the roles which all three types of reflexivity – communicative (REFCOM), autonomous (REFAU) and meta-reflexive (REFMET) – play in the overall cosmopolitan biography (CGI) seen here as the outcome. This analytical model is based on Archer's (2007) description of 'new cosmopolitans'. In her line of argument Archer (2007) defines 'new cosmopolitans' in terms of individual-specific features, which are reflected in their biographies as well as the type of reflexivity. She focuses on their rejection of 'traditionalism', especially in terms of socialisation, a commitment to biographical projects and following the logic of opportunity as opposed to the continuous and traditional patterns of personal development and professional career. New cosmopolitans, according to Archer (2007:61), 'are not Bourdieu's people, but aliens to his theory in their quest to make positions for themselves and to remake themselves for positions in the new globalised world. But they are not Beck's people either, because the personal biographies and social identities they are forging are not subject to capricious narrative revision or reducible to the superficiality of self-presentational life-styles – for all, they have been far too strenuous and costly for that'.

In terms of reflexivity and navigation between internal plans and external conditions, new cosmopolitans are 'required to diagnose these [constraints and enablements] in relation to what they cared about, to deliberate strategically about how constraints could be circumvented and enablements harnessed to their concerns, and, finally to determine upon courses of action that they believed were sustainable and that they could sustain as a *modus vivendi*' (Archer 2007:.60). Furthermore, new cosmopolitans would focus mostly on their own 'dispositional replication' rather than 'positional reproduction' (Archer 2007:61) thus clearly favouring internal validation for individual action over external validation. Following this argument the types of reflexivity which facilitate cosmopolitan aspects of transnational life stories would require from their narrators an ability to navigate in a complex, changing environment, which is clearly the domain of the meta-reflexive, and an ability to pursue independent and self-determined projects expressed strongly in the

autonomous mode of reflexivity, supporting the thesis of Archer (2011) about reflexive imperative in late modernity.

The analysis of the sufficient conditions, with solution coverage of 0.89, indicates that cosmopolitan experiences in both autonomous and meta-reflexive modes of reflexivity are found in biographies displaying the strongest cosmopolitan elements. Autonomous 'cosmopolitans', such as Kinga, Andrew or Igor, clearly follow their own personal projects and do not require external validation for their actions. This can be observed in Kinga's case, whose project to go to China to teach English was clearly planned and executed, but who encountered the biographical consequences of disrupting her professional career as well as personal life. The meta-reflexive 'cosmopolitans' such as Zula, Carmen and Reni are more eager to follow external opportunities leading in the direction of a cosmopolitan lifestyle as a symbol of status. In Zula's instance, joining an international organisation facilitating inter-European mobility was a way of overcoming the limitations imposed by her immigrant origin and ethnic background. Communicative reflexivity, on the other hand, is diversely associated with cosmopolitanism. The analysis indicates that the more independent the individual and the less dependent they are on external validation, the more likely they are to pursue a cosmopolitan lifestyle. The narrators displaying this condition are, amongst others, Kostek, Monika and Nora, whose inability to find validation in their own environment pushed them to explore new opportunities – Nora in a non-traditional type of relationship, Monika in moving her whole family to Ireland in order to escape but also to prove herself to her mother.

The analysis of the necessary conditions has quite low solution coverage (0.65) but it confirms the important character of the autonomous and meta-reflexive mode of reflexivity. The membership score close to local in both of them is a necessary condition for not displaying biographical cosmopolitan features. For instance, Matilda, Agata and Helen clearly place themselves in a local rather than cosmopolitan environment. Matilda as a nun in an international convent still sees her work at grass-roots level; in spite of her mobility Agata has managed to reunite her entire family and almost transplant her social world into a different country.

The QCA analysis of the cosmopolitan elements across three types of reflexivity highlights the importance of biographical experiences for 'new cosmopolitans'. Firstly, communicative cosmopolitanism is associated with transnational childhood experiences (CHEXP) and the type of transnational relationship which did not involve risk, such as having a foreign parent (OREL*~RISK), thus confirming the first elements of Archer's (2007) hypothesis. Secondly, the autonomous type of cosmopolitanism is associated with transnational jobs and employment. The autonomous reflexive transnational individual tends to weigh job opportunities (OJOB*OPLOG) with possible risks (~OPLOG*RISK) in making an informed decision, which also agrees with Archer's (2007) characteristics of 'new cosmopolitans'. Thirdly, meta-reflexive cosmopolitans tend to follow transitional opportunities, because they associate them with better status (OSTAT*OPLOG) or they have been exposed in their childhood to transnational lifestyles and have learned to pursue them (CHEXP), which also confirms Archer's hypothesis.

The overall balance of reflexivity patterns across the biographical cases indicates that cosmopolitanism is strongly associated with meta-reflexive and autonomous modes of reflexivity (REFMET*REFAU). Both orientations are choosing the logic of action originating within the individual and are committed to developing personal life projects. The communicative reflexive (~REFCOM), although able to reproduce a cosmopolitan outlook and values, is too dependent on acceptance by the external social context to pursue the active and risky orientation which is the hallmark of a cosmopolitan type of orientation.

This chapter has provided an account of the fsQCA application for the research of cosmopolitanism using biographical narrative data. The study has tested three 'cosmopolitan hypotheses', namely 'cosmopolitan practices', 'cosmopolitan dispositions' and 'cosmopolitanism and reflexivity'. All three hypotheses have been confirmed, but in some of them irregularities and inconsistencies have been detected. The evidence from this study suggests that more focused research, especially directed personal motivations and possibly also on a larger sample, would

further deepen the understanding of cosmopolitanism and transnationality. Furthermore this study has extended the application of the fsQCA analytical model to biographical narrative data and confirmed that a configurational comparative type of analysis offers an useful tool for analysis of narrative units, even though it cannot be generalised to the wider population. For the purposes of this thesis the fsQCA analytical model has been employed as one strand of a bigger mixed-methods research design. The final outcomes of the study will be discussed in chapter 8, while a discussion of the methodological implications is carried out in chapter 7.

Chapter 7

Lessons from the Field - Analytical Models in Narrative Research

The methodological aspect of this study focuses on the ability of various analytical models to uncover and explore the potential for social inquiry embedded in autobiographical narrative material. Throughout the study, three analytical models – namely formal structural analysis, narrative ethnography and fuzzy set qualitative comparative analysis – were applied in order to capture the multi-dimensionality of transnational identifications, but also to study the three methods themselves separately as well as in the interaction with each other. The design of the study was anchored in the assumption of multi-dimensional logic, following the argument that 'different methods and approaches have distinctive strengths and potential which, if allowed to flourish, can help us to understand multi-dimensionality and social complexity' (Mason 1996:10). This approach can be located within the methodological pluralism discourse and aims to develop qualitative research methodology. This can be achieved through an extent of methodological openness which makes possible a creative exchange between analytical approaches that are sometimes very similar and sometimes very different. This chapter illustrates the 'inner dialogue of the researcher that is designed eventually to be continued in a

dialogue with an external audience as a part of general commitment to fallibilistic, open-minded debate about the merits of research-based propositions' (Seale 2004:383). The evaluation of analytical models, their explanatory power and limitations as well as the consequences of the tensions between them are the main discussion points of this chapter. The specific questions to be addressed are the following:

- What are the similarities and differences in analytical approaches to autobiographical narrative data?
- What is the character of findings obtained via specific types of analysis?
- Do the methods complement or contradict each other?
- How can different methods capture different levels of narrative experiences?
- How well does biographical narrative data capture the social, political, economic and cultural characteristics of transnational social worlds?

The evaluation of the application of three analytical models, their quality, integration and impact on each other, is undertaken by discussing validity of the research procedures and outcomes. Validity is understood not as standard procedures of quality assurance but as a process of identifying and assessing 'threats to the validity of arguments, and then designing (always provisional) solutions to these threats' (Seale 2004:383, see also Campbell and Stanley 1966). The key 'threats' stemming from the use of three different analytical methods focus on issues such as establishing the research question, the multi-dimensionality of interpretative practice, presentation of findings as well as the epistemological basis for theory building between the three core empirical studies employed for the purposes of this thesis.

The outline of this thesis focuses on three distinct aspects of the methodological discussion. Firstly, the research design evaluation is presented in terms of construct, internal and external validity. Secondly, the implications of the study for the development of methodological cosmopolitanism will lead the discussion of the

methods in relation to issues such as the agency- structure problem as well as the prospects for a theoretical framework capable of capturing events which take place beyond and above the national level. Finally, the issues relating to the dissemination of the findings, future developments and implementation will be outlined.

Research design evaluation

The three analytical models used for exploring transnational identities were selected according to their technical ability to work with biographical narrative data – they are all designed to deal with small-n studies and acknowledge the unstructured and deeply qualitative character of the narrative text. Formal structural analysis is the method developed to complement the biographical narrative interview technique used in this study to gather the data. For that reason it is perceived, at least within more conservative biographical research circles, as the main analytical method. Exposure to different approaches to narratives, however, often associated with an anthropological approach as presented by Gubrium and Holstein (2008) in particular, offered a tempting alternative to formal structural analysis. Its ability to capture the internal-external dynamics of identity formation (Jenkins 2008) in the form of narrative ethnography afforded explanatory possibilities which were absent from formal structural analysis. As the analysis of the data moved forward, an opportunity to investigate the complex set of relations and associations between emerging categories from both types of analyses was identified in the form of a QCA approach. This model's ability to capture formal features of biographies – such as intensity of mobility, gender, age and education, which were integral categories in the biographical accounts – and to examine the configuration of conditions – the categories identified in the biographies and converted into specifically set relations to each other – by using computer software allowed testing theory-driven hypotheses on biographical narrative data, thus revealing underlying patterns.

The basic aim in applying the three analytical models was not to achieve a perfect fit between the models, but rather to explore the tensions and agreements between them, thus opening the floor for a creative discussion as well as an evaluation of the narrative methodologies. The assumption was that the dialogue between them, with

regard to their inherent assumptions, strengths and limitations, would offer more dynamic reflections on the subject in question as well as shed light on new ways of researching the subject and exploring narrative data in the future. The internal dialogue between the models leads to an exchange of concepts and categories, and a theoretical understanding of the structure and content of narration itself, which would not have emerged through the standard type of analysis. The analysis procedures applied within this study have a cumulative character. Each model addresses the main 'concerns' of biographical narrative research in its own unique way, but together they provide a multidimensional picture of the phenomenon in question. Whilst each empirical chapter explores one analytical model¹¹, the categories and findings from each study remain in dialogue, influencing and reinforcing the other types of analysis¹².

The narrative logic of inquiry and research question

Because of their unstructured character, biographical narratives rarely come with a research question clearly defined in advance. As a qualitatively deep unit of analysis, biography consists of what the narrator considers relevant to the story, and how significant the narrator deems this to be (Schütze 2008; Gubrium & Holstein 2009). Biographical researchers have limited control over the form and content in which the life story is presented to them. When the story takes the form of narrative text, however, the choice of the most appropriate analytical model or approach becomes a key aspect of investigation. The choice of model of analysis determines inquiry logic as well as the aim of the study and research question. The core distinction between the three analytical models used for the purpose of the present study is based on their particular logics of inquiry - inductive, deductive and abductive. These in turn determine the range of the research questions that each method can and cannot address as well as the character of the findings (see Table 7.1).

¹¹ See chapter 4 for illustration of formal structural analysis, chapter 5 for illustration of narrative ethnography and chapter 6 for illustration of fsQCA model.

¹² For the discussion of findings see chapter 8.

Table 7.1 Operationalisation of the research question across the analytical models

Formal Structural Analysis	Narrative Ethnography	Quantitative Comparative Analysis
<p>What is the relation between the experience of transnational mobility and the structure of personal and social identifications in the new society?</p> <p>Which elements of the transnational experience are incorporated into the main framework of the narrative?</p>	<p>What is the character of local and global narrative adjustment scenarios across autobiographical narrative cases?</p> <p>How do the adjustment scenarios modify and legitimise transnational types of identifications?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hypothesis 1 'Cosmopolitan Practices' <p>The form of geographical mobility and biographical age influence cosmopolitan biographies.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hypothesis 2 'Cosmopolitan Dispositions' <p>Cosmopolitan individuals are cultural specialists characterised by specific types of dispositions, individuality and cultural skills.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hypothesis 3 'Cosmopolitanism and Reflexivity' <p>Cosmopolitanism is the domain of a specific type of reflexivity.</p>

The first analytical model to be considered, formal structural analysis, applies an abductive logic of inquiry. Rooted in the pragmatic method of Charles S. Peirce (1933), abduction follows three analytical steps: firstly, the researcher derives from an empirical phenomenon all possible hypotheses; secondly, these are verified by follow-up hypotheses or follow-up phenomena; at the end, the final outcome is again empirically tested (Rosenthal 2004).

Methodological abduction requires constant dialogue between theory and empirical data at every stage of the analytical process. In this study of transnational biographies, analysis focused on the narrative passages related to experiences of transnational mobility, with the hypotheses following the theoretical pattern of

process structures as outlined by Schütze (2008). Textual forms, such as action schemes, biographical metamorphosis and trajectory of suffering, are the mode of distinction between three types of transnational stories (see chapter 4), which formed the basis for further examination of the biographical cases. Logical abduction was the procedure used to examine the relationship between a particular type of experience – here transnational mobility – and the process structures of self-definition of the transnational individual, thus capturing the impact on the individual's perception of their social position in the new social structure.

Narrative ethnography, the second analytical model used in my study, follows an inductive logic of inquiry. Methodological induction, here presented in the form of grounded theory procedures, aims 'to develop a well integrated set of concepts that provide a thorough theoretical explanation of social phenomena under study' (Corbin and Strauss 1990:5). The narrative ethnography analysis of the transnational biographies utilises the concept of narrative environment as a basic unit of analysis, focusing on biographical concerns, such as relationships, jobs, local cultures, organisations and status (Gubrium and Holstein 2009). In the process of 'comparing incidents and naming like phenomena' (Corbin and Strauss 1990:7) a grounded theory approach serves to develop more abstract and theoretically sophisticated categories that capture the properties, dimensions and social dynamics of the phenomenon under investigation. The final category of identity adjustment scenario, with its global and local dimensions, outlines the process of individual adjustments towards changing transnational contexts, expressed via biographical narration, which are then incorporated into the performance of identities. These inductively derived categories focus on change processes, here specifically the aspects of transnational everyday life, thus indicating how these types of experiences change an individual's sense of belonging (see also chapter 4). The outcome of this type of analysis offers a snapshot of the transnational's social world and the everyday realities encountered by transnational individuals.

The final analytical model, qualitative comparative analysis (QCA), applies a deductive logic of inquiry. QCA analysis requires theoretical assumptions about the nature of association between concepts or conditions, here represented by a set of

testable hypotheses. Logical deduction is then a theory-driven process searching for confirmation or rejection of a specific statement when tested against empirical data (Ragin 2008:14). In this study the theoretical anchor was theories of cosmopolitanism, which were split in the process of analysis into a set of measurable indicators applied to the biographical narrative data. The QCA type of analysis allowed testing of the patterns of age and geographical mobility (hypothesis 1), types of individual dispositions (hypothesis 2), and variations in reflexivity patterns (hypothesis 3) across a sample of transnational individuals. According to this deductive logic the overall research question focused on the likelihood of the emergence of a cosmopolitan type of identity which, across the scientific literature, is considered to be an outcome of the social changes brought about by transnational mobility as well as processes of globalisation (see chapter 6).

The different logics of inquiry across the analytical models account for the first 'threat to the validity of argument' experienced throughout the study. In order to fulfil the epistemological requirements, all three studies required specific alteration. At the study design level it usually required an altered sample size, but the most significant challenge to the study came in the form and content of the specific research questions (see table 7.1). This raised questions about construct validity of the study and the extent to which 'the constructs or theoretical interests [were] successfully operationalised in the research' (Hoyle et al. 2002:33). The spectrum of interest – from individual mobility experiences and transnational practices to theories of cosmopolitanism – required the use of multiple operational definitions without losing the overall integrity of the concept in question. The scientific focus of the study was to develop the concept of transnational identity as well as the methodology for investigating it. At the level of the concept, the application of the three analytical models aimed to capture the varied dimensions of transnational identifications – from the individual perception of power relations within the new society, to the new types of everyday practice and relations with people as well as organisations, to the personal skills and characteristics determining the specific position in the new society. This multidimensional character of transnational identities allows for further theoretical discussion considering the transnational logic

of actions and the relevance of transnational individuals within political, economic and social debate in communities at a local, national and European level. The methodological comparison shows how the application of the three analytical models can tap into different layers of narrative data increasing construct validity of the study and consider dimensions of the phenomena that would otherwise remain unexplored.

The three analytical models that have been applied to measure the different dimensions of transnational identity are not completely independent throughout the study. The analytical procedures had a sequential character, starting with formal structural analysis and finishing with fuzzy set analysis, but the concepts and theories considered and used at the different stages of analysis inevitably overlapped. The types of stories distinguished in chapter 4 provided a platform for analysis of the specific narrative environments presented in chapter 5. Furthermore, the local-global division applied in order to understand various adjustment practices and motivations were used as a template for calibrating some of the fuzzy set conditions, such as the general cosmopolitan index (GCI).

This cumulative character as well as application of multiple operational definitions adds significantly to the study's construct validity (Hoyle et al. 2002:35). Considering various aspects and representations of transnational identifications, the study demonstrates that individual, non-objective narrative biographical data has great empirical and theoretical potential that should be accessed with an analytical repertoire capable of capturing the complexity and multidimensionality of the data.

The interpretative practice

The second 'threat' or creative tension observed during analysis of narrative data is rooted in the interpretative practice applied by the given analytical models. As outlined in the ontological and epistemological discussion concerning biographical narrative data (see chapter 1), the account of the narrator's life story does not aim to be an objective report on the sequence of biographical events. It is indeed due to its non-objectivity that researchers can investigate both the 'what's of the transnational life and 'how's of the narrative process, but as Polletta et al. (2011) highlights, the

non-objectivity of the biographical accounts has much wider implications. As much as there is a willingness to accept the story as being subjective, the notion of the non-objective researcher is much more difficult to justify and discuss; after all, objective observation is what constitutes scientific inquiry. Within biographical research the issue is especially prominent in the area of interpretation where knowledge of context is involved. Each analytical model, with its unique logic of inquiry, has a different take on the issue; together they are creating a platform for 'inner dialogue' concerning with internal logic (Seale 2004:380), here taking form of discussion on the internal validity of the study.

Formal structural analysis, with its explicit focus on 'how' the story is told, focuses entirely on the narrative textual form. To ensure objectivity of the study it insists on the researcher suspending previous assumptions and knowledge of the subject in order to fully see the world from the narrator's point of view. The procedures, rooted in ethnomethodology, are there to ensure the practice characterised by Övermann (1979) as objective hermeneutics, a process in which a group of researchers discusses and cross-examines their interpretative practices in order to ensure the most unbiased analysis. When dealing with transnational stories and within an international research group, however, the issue of context becomes more prominent. Where the group of researchers have diverse cultural backgrounds themselves, their own knowledge of context usually allows for better identifications of cultural, language patterns and aspects of experience which would otherwise go unnoticed. For instance, during a EuroIdentities project meeting, a phrase used by Luke was discussed: 'Europe is a state of mind'. Many researchers found this turn of phrase in the case of someone born outside of Europe to be a statement of Europeanness; looking at the context, however, the time and the profession of the narrator, the interpretation could be very different. Being a performer and artist, Luke borrowed his phrase from the popular song 'Empire state of mind' by Alicia Keys (2009), which is regarded as an anthem of the artist who can survive and thrive in a

hostile and competitive place¹³. Whether it is possible then to claim objectivity where knowledge of the context – as trivial as knowledge of the latest music hits – may alter the interpretation of findings is a question which should not be easily dismissed.

Narrative ethnography takes full responsibility for the non-objective character of the interpretative practice and to some extent places it at the centre of analytical inquiry (Holstein and Gubrium 2011). It claims that the most accurate interpretation of social reality presented in the narration is actually in the interplay between the context and the individual's interpretation of events. The concept of the narrative environment – the context shaping and influencing the narrative patterns – becomes a key interpretative principle. In this sense the account of Jakub, which focuses on professional life in the context of a corporation, benefits from the recognition that this specific social context uses narratives in order to elicit a specific type of identification and loyalty. The researcher still sees the narrative as a subjective account of events but at the same time keeps in mind that the personal stories and events narrated are the reflection of the bigger corporate narrative. Thus Jakub's account of being headhunted for a new job by his friend Radek can be interpreted as an illustration of personal networking. This is definitely the case, but at the same time a familiarity with the corporate context identifies this type of action as poaching/patronage practice, in which bringing new highly qualified specialists into a corporation is rewarded – Radek receives a financial incentive. Yet it also indicates a system of social control: Radek will, at least in the beginning, be responsible for Jakub's induction and conduct. By acknowledging the context (Holstein and Gubrium 2004: 267-281) in the form of narrative environment and focusing on the 'what' as well as the 'how' of the narrative, the narrative ethnographic approach improves

¹³ Lyrics of the song are as follows:

Grew up in a town that is famous as the place of movie scenes
Noise was always loud, there are sirens all around and the streets are mean
If I can make it here, I can make it anywhere, that's what they say
Seeing my face in lights or my name on marquees found down on Broadway

I'm gonna make it by any means, I got a pocketful of dreams / Baby, I'm from New York
Concrete jungle where dreams are made of
There's nothing you can't do / Now you're in New York
These street will make you feel brand new
Big lights will inspire you / Hear it for New York, New York, New York!

understanding of the causality patterns, thus increasing the internal validity of the study.

The final analytical model, which focuses on the comparison of the internal configuration of conditions between narrative cases, tackles the issue of non-objectivity of the data and variations between the contexts in an entirely different way. The deductive character of the study imposes on the researcher the task of identifying objective conditions – present in every case – which can then be systematically compared within different configurations (Ragin 2008). To the extent that the conditions are derived from theory rather than the researcher's individual interpretation and are applied to every case, the objectivity of the analysis increases. The configuration of the conditions, seen as a measurable application of theory to the cases, treats the variety of contexts across the data as a condition in itself. The intensity of mobility for instance (MOB condition) distinguishes between the cases where transnational mobility was sporadic (binational) or intensive (multinational), and childhood experience of transnational events (CHEXP) differentiates between those who were exposed to such events and those who were not. Systematic analysis highlights a system of associations between cases and examines the relations between the configuration of conditions and a given outcome, thereby increasing significantly the study's internal validity.

The cumulative character of the study and the use of three analytical models adds to the internal validity of the study (Hoyle et al. 2002). Where questions and concerns are raised about the role of the researcher and interpretative practice, cross-validation between models ensures that the weaknesses of one method are counter-balanced by others, at least to a degree. Whilst qualitative comparative analysis ensures the strength of associations and conditions across the data, formal structural analysis and narrative ethnography explain the direction and internal dynamics of causation in complex transnational experiences, thus both guiding and guarding the argument's inner logic. Due to the researcher's engagement with all three models of analysis, the issue of non-objectivity of interpretative practice is not only brought to the forefront of the methodological discussion but it influences analytical practice,

aiding the development of best practice for narrative methods as well as methodological openness towards new models of approaching narrative data.

Presentation of the findings

Following on from these issues relating to the strengths and limitations of interpretative practice, the analysis of the three analytical models leads to yet another threat to the external validity of argument, which highlights issues around the presentation of findings, addressing their methodological (replication) and theoretical (generalisation) merits as well as expectations and reception by possible readers (dissemination). In order to fulfil the obligations of scientific rigour and to avoid biases, a transparent account of analytical procedures and reasoning should form an integral part of the presentation of findings in academic practice. Enabling possible replication of the study is considered a measure of good quality in research. The account of procedures as well as the depth of analytical reasoning and findings is influenced, however, by the external conditions – the publishing requirements and the characteristics of the target audience. Each analytical model in this study has its own specific way of tackling these particular issues.

Starting the discussion with the qualitative comparative model (QCA), which follows the deductive method and allows the testing of hypotheses, the account of analytical practices is relatively transparent and easily replicable as most of the calculations and procedures follow a mathematically established and computer-based algorithm. However, the procedure of establishing the set of measurable conditions (or variables)¹⁴ and, further on, calibrating the data by converting the qualitative narrative material into a set of numbers¹⁵ can be contested (DeMeur et al. 2008). For instance, in the case of the 'general cosmopolitan index' (GCI) used as an outcome for QCA analysis, the calibration process is based on the interplay between the experiences of geographical mobility and the narrator's linguistic self-positioning within or outside of the story. Where the mobility – binational or multinational – is easily justified, the narrative practice – use of the linguistic forms such as

¹⁴ For illustration of the process see Appendix 3.

¹⁵ For the calibration spectrum of each condition see Appendix 4.

comparisons and argumentations – falls into a less transparent category. It can be argued that this particular condition has been informed by the analytical processes employed in the structural formal analysis. The entire process of identification of analytical categories or analytical transparency in specifying conditions can be questioned, especially when the investigation procedures are read separately from the other two models.

An additional difficulty with the QCA model lies in the fact that most of the conditions have been converted into numerical values to represent presence or absence of the conditions. Especially for the lay reader, these numbers are, however, not seen for what they represent. This is especially visible when discussing the value 0.5 in the calibration. The number is seen in the ordinal measure as a half of the value, rather than the 'maximum ambiguity' measure indicating a situation where in the given condition is neither in nor out of the given set. As is the case in any statistical analysis, the ability to read QCA analysis outcomes, especially where the full output report is presented, requires relevant training. The presentation of numerical values as well as the measure of coverage and consistency may not be immediately clear to a lay audience. This is due to the fact that the numbers used are part of the Boolean algebra system, not arithmetic values. Still, the logic of testing theoretically-derived hypotheses is a familiar one. Whether lay or academic, the audience is able to grasp the idea of rejecting or confirming the hypothesis based on the empirical evidence, and even without in-depth understanding of the logical operations the deductive way of reasoning appears relatively scientific and transparent, thus being more convincing in communication to external audiences than other analytical models.

The inductive model, on the other hand, poses a set of challenges based on entirely different aspects of the study. Following the guidelines of grounded theory (Corbin and Strauss 1990), the analytical categories derived from the complex process of comparing similar or different observable concepts are much more difficult to present in an objective way. Concepts such as adjustment scenarios surface during the reading and re-reading of the narrative material through inductive reasoning from text structure and content. The way they appear is based on the similarities and

differences between the narratives, but the justification for their use is often intuitive. The thick description (Geertz 1977) of the data and attention to details may be used as a possible solution for that problem. However, especially in the current academic fashion where concise texts are in favour, this way of presenting the analysis as well as findings is often a challenge in itself. The differences are clearly visible in side-by-side reading of the empirical chapters. When reporting the procedures and findings, the researcher has to make a judgement to report either analysis or empirical evidence to keep the required balance. In the case of narrative biographies, the actual quotes from the transcript illustrating an issue take up a lot of space, and in most of academic writing forms, such as articles, chapters and even monographs, the word count is strictly limited.

At the same time, the categories derived from the data, often addressing the author's original contribution, are open to question by both lay and academic audiences. Without the support of well-established theoretical grounding and with limited space for justification, both the categories emerging from the data as well as the attempts at theorising are difficult to convey convincingly. Persuading the reader that, in spite of the difficulties in presenting all the empirical evidence, the findings are relevant is often based on other factors, such as style and content of writing. The reader's attention then steers in the directions of familiar, interesting or exceptional stories; the unusual or counter-intuitive narratives on the other hand are often contested. Additionally, the academic status of the author presenting the findings from the position of an expert in a given discipline lends weight, thus creating external validation of the study not based on the empirical and critical content but on the form of presentation and the source of the findings.

Using logical abduction with its dynamic relation between the empirical evidence and theory, formal structural analysis may seem to inherit both the deductive and inductive sets of problems. It is based on the presentation of lengthy empirical evidence in the form of narrative quotations and bases the analysis on the type of theory rooted in the structure of the textual expressions which may be a way of thinking that is difficult to comprehend for the uninitiated reader. As in the inductive type of analysis the question of the selection of the presented evidence prevails,

reinforced additionally by the relatively small number of cases under investigation (Domecka et al. 2012). After absorbing one long quote the reader usually questions any conclusions drawn from only one case, arguing that other stories may present different types of experiences. For instance when a narrator such as Agata describes her arrival to the new country as a culture shock expressed by her dislike of the landscape, food and people other than her immediate family, one may argue that others can (and indeed some do) have a different experience. However, narrative researchers would argue that it is the linguistic form of the narrative that should be the main focus and not so much the events described. The ways in which Agata experiences otherness in the most basic aspects of life, such as food, signify a familiar 'comfort zone'. It is her way of saying that the experience of otherness has affected not only cognitive and emotional aspects of her life, but also that her body could not get used to the difference. The point is, however, that not every audience is familiar with this type of engagement with data. Due to their construction as well as wide use, stories in general and life stories in particular are designed to convey knowledge about circumstances and actions. To look at them from a linguistic and analytical perspective is counter-intuitive and the presentation of empirical evidence as well as findings are open to more or less deserved critique.

The form of delivery of both clear analytical procedures – replicability and reliability of findings (Hoyle et al. 2002) – differs greatly across the three models. However, the question is whether in combination the three of them increase these indicators of the quality of the study. As argued above, each model requires a different set of analytical skills from the reader in order to assess the quality of methods as well as the way of reasoning. Some of the audiences may be more familiar with, or more likely to accept, certain type of analysis or evidence than others. Among different academic traditions and schools of thought the assumption that one approach is superior to others can often be at the heart of methodological critique. In this regard the politics of science become a key factor as to how effectively the findings as well as innovations in methods will be externally communicated. However in the spirit of dialogue and methodological openness, if the quality of one study can be used as a mode of cross-validation for others, there is a chance - assuming a positive

assessment - that both the findings of the study as well as the methodological procedures will reach a much wider, multi-disciplinary audience.

The practical dilemmas of deduction-abduction-induction are also present in the more abstract discussion about the role of empirical narrative data in developing sociological theory. The aim of empirical research - whether inductive, deductive or abductive - is to add substance to theoretical considerations which aid the understanding of the 'how', 'what' and 'why' of social aspects of reality. Whilst the practical discussion focuses on transparency of procedures and presentation of empirical evidence, the theoretical discussion highlights the difficulties with generalisations which draw on biographical narrative material and their implications for theory building. Holstein and Gubrium (2011:492) note that '... it is one thing to show in interactive detail that our everyday encounters with the reality are ongoing accomplishments, but it is quite another to derive an understanding of what the general parameters of those everyday encounters might be'. In the case of biographical narratives, the analytical distance between the story of one and the theory aiming to explain the actions of hundreds, thousands and millions of people cannot be ignored. The question of how to generalise findings to the larger population thus forms a key aspect representing the assessment of the external validity of every study.

Due to the effort and time demanded for analysis, the narrative biographical method deals inherently with small-n samples. For that reason alone, the external validity of almost any biographical study is relatively low. The focus of interpretative practice aimed at the individual perception and world view of the narrator is designed to answer research questions of a 'how' and 'what' nature. The 'how' questions address the issues of subjective perception of the transnational context and the processes of upholding the individual sense of continuity and coherence through changing circumstances. The 'what' of transnational realities investigates the patterns of individual actions presented through the stories of everyday life in the foreign country. Generalisations can then possibly be extended to these areas of transnational self-identification and practices of others with similar experiences. The outcome of understanding 'how' and 'why' can then become a means for middle-

range theory building (Merton 1968). By addressing the specific situation and specific group, concepts such as the story of displacement, exploration and transformation, local and global adjustment scenarios as well as cosmopolitan repertoire and reflexivity can then be used independently from the empirical data they originally derived from. Their adequacy and usefulness can be further explored using other data as well as other methods.

The main difficulty of this study in creating a 'grand' theory of transnationalism is its inability to address the question of 'why?'. Grand scale patterns and trends of international and global migrations are interrelated with the complex political, economic and social processes associated with the impact of globalisation on individual lives and transnational lives in particular, but 'why' they happened, when and where, as well as what consequences they are carrying lies beyond the perception and interest of the individual narrator, and thus beyond the scope of this particular study.

Methodological cosmopolitanism and global social science

The research design of the study, with its strengths and limitations, aims to capture the multidimensionality of the transnational identity concept, and in particular 'cosmopolitanism'. From a methodological point of view, the study was designed to use traditional as well as innovative methods of analysis and observe the internal dynamics between them as well as their ability to generate subject-specific findings. The study in itself, however, can be placed within a larger trend of methodological discussions regarding the shortcomings of research at a transnational scale. These are rooted in the debate on methodological nationalism, whose impact on research is currently widely discussed (Beck 2002a; Beck & Grande 2007; Beck et al. 2009). My study aims to understand the impact of global social forces on individuals where most experiences take place in more than one national context and are directly linked to the political, economic and cultural forces associated with globalisation. The shortcomings of methodological nationalism lie primarily in its premise – coming into view only when seen from outside the national context – that each individual and each individual's actions are defined primarily by national characteristics. This

standpoint employs an analytical perspective that uses the analytical categories and methodological reasoning applied to the national context, to the social mechanisms taking place beyond and between national communities. According to Beck and Sznaider (2006:3):

'Methodological nationalism takes the following premises for granted: it equates societies with nation-state societies and sees states and their governments as the primary focus of social-scientific analysis. It assumes that humanity is naturally divided into a limited number of nations, which organize themselves internally as nation-states and externally set boundaries to distinguish themselves from other nation-states. And it goes further: this outer delimitation as well as the competition between nation-states represent the most fundamental category of political organization'.

Methodological nationalism then limits the scope of social inquiry. It focuses on theoretical assumptions proven to have explanatory power at a national level and aims to extend them to a global context. It assumes that it is possible to explain global social reality by aggregating – comparing and contrasting – national data and deriving conclusions beyond a national level. This can be observed at a practical level in the example of national statistics. In the European context for example, each state has its own way of collecting data, including the specific time frame, techniques and topics covered. The type of information gathered is context specific, based on the language and culture, historical traditions as well as state of knowledge within a given national community. Yet, for the purpose of international research, the findings, often derived from different research traditions, are compared and contrasted with each other in order to obtain information about social, cultural, economic and political trends across the EU and beyond. Without questioning the validity of this approach it is becoming evident that the international sphere of social life instigates qualitatively different patterns and phenomena, bringing a new set of challenges to the social sciences. According to Beck and Sznaider (2006:4) 'social sciences can only respond adequately to the challenge of globalization if they manage to overcome methodological nationalism and to raise empirically and theoretically fundamental questions within specialized fields of research, and thereby elaborate the foundations of a newly formulated cosmopolitan social science'.

This biographical narrative study of transnational individuals endorses the argument of methodological cosmopolitanism, going beyond a simple use of the word 'cosmopolitan'. It aims to obtain relevant data, applying innovative analytical models and developing a theoretical framework capable of capturing the complexities of transnational social worlds. The methodological developments directing the study's discussion towards methodological cosmopolitanism focus on the use of biographical data, obtaining the primary source of information directly from the social agent and the re-examination of theoretical concepts that would capture the 'global' character of the phenomena free from cultural and linguistic associations of the national level.

Building a cosmopolitan theoretical framework

Biographical narrative research, as argued before in chapter 1, focuses on an individual's account of transnational experiences. In these terms the method responds to the main critique of quantitative research techniques which claims, as Hitlin (2011:728) puts it, that 'too little sociological research follows the same actors across time and space yet makes strong claims about the essential nature of social practices'. By focusing entirely on one actor's account, the biographical method opens an unobstructed view into the constitutive elements of transnational social worlds, social practices, power relations and self-positioning of the transnational individual in changing social circumstances. The narrative uncovers the systems of knowledge as well as patterns of interaction which, when seen separately outside of the national context, can be used to explore and investigate a new type of transnational reality and people whose lives are taking place above and beyond national boundaries.

At a transnational level, the analysis of biographical narratives requires re-definition of the terms and concepts which social scientists typically use in their analytical framework. Similarly, as in the relation between the data and context, academic terminology is not entirely free from linguistic and cultural connotations associated with the national discourse. Some of the abstract concepts cannot be easily applied to the transnational individual context, especially when they relate to the hierarchies and elements of the national system. The term class, for example, is very specific to

its national context. The concept clearly refers to the distribution of cultural and symbolic capitals, distribution of economic wealth as well as prestige across society. The variety of meanings limits the term's use within the analysis of the transnational context. Difficulties however create a new opportunity for social sciences to re-assess and re-evaluate theoretical as well as methodological frameworks in order to adjust and deepen our understanding of the contemporary world. Within the scope of this thesis such a re-evaluation attempt was made for the theoretical concepts and perspectives of social belonging and identity and the way these can be addressed within the framework of individual biographies.

The power of the story

The implications of using biographical data to inquire into transnational social worlds and the impact of biographical research on the development of methodological cosmopolitanism are significant for the dissemination of the findings and engagement with the public. A story in itself is the means of conveying knowledge, tacit and implicit norms of behaviour, value systems and cultural codes of practice. It is designed to capture the listener's attention and to communicate conventions and laws across society. One story can be used to change the world, lead to revolutions or present the trauma of an entire nation. Stories, including life stories, are a vital part of social life; they are the fabric of social relationships, facilitating connections between the agent and the social structure in the form of identifications, a sense of self-definition. In social sciences, however, the power of one story is often undervalued. The focus on numbers, looking at one hundred, one thousand life stories, becomes the foundation for social inquiry. This is based on the reasoning that only if some elements occur over and over again the given phenomenon becomes a fact. The number behind each concept is what makes it more powerful, perceptibly more objective and detached from the narrative structure of common cultural knowledge and thus more easily accepted as scientific. It also takes the expertise on social life away from the people who actually live it.

The in-depth study of the story itself falls between the two opposites. On the one hand, research should not be carried out on the unique individual story and based

only on its content. The focus should be rather on the mechanisms of the story which activate specific logics of action, shape perception and signpost the cultural and institutional pathways of a new social context. At the same time the complexity and particularity of each and every story makes it difficult to capture objective regularities across a number of cases. The events and experiences are, after all, very different. The process, however, the way of telling the story, introduces the possibility of comparing and contrasting individual transnational cases. This study's contribution lies in exactly this place, between one and hundreds of stories. With the aid of its diverse multidimensional design it explores the complexities of story construction as well as their powerful impact on the relation between the transnational agent and the social structure at the level of local, national and global communities.

According to Seale (2004:380), 'good-quality work results from doing a research project, learning from the things that did and did not work, and then doing another, better one, that more fully integrates creativity and craft skills of the researcher, and so on until a fully confident research style is developed'. The aim of this chapter was to investigate the impact of the study's research design on research practice and to assess the quality of the procedures as well as outcomes obtained with the use of three diverse analytical models applied to the biographical narrative data. The study has shown that, when performed correctly, the use of multiple analytical models employing different operational definitions of the concept increases concept validity as well as the internal validity of the study. The ability to generalise in the case of biographical small-n studies is in general quite limited. However, the use of diverse inquiry logics – inductive, deductive and abductive – which has a significant impact on the formulation of research questions, analytical procedures, presentation of data as well as implications for theory building, is shown to be beneficial. It offers the ability to target diverse academic and policy audiences with the findings, thus facilitating an interdisciplinary discussion, and adds to the growing scope of knowledge attempting to understand the relation between methods of analysis and scientific outcomes. For the further development of the field using biographical narratives there are analytical methods - including BNIM, as well as sociolinguistic

and discursive methods - which could be included in more complex study designs.¹⁶ A larger sample size could be applied, but if more researchers are to be involved in the process the need will grow for standardised guidelines of practice as well as an environment which facilitates methodological openness, allowing for creative tensions to emerge and then be addressed. This study can be considered a first step towards the development of a whole range of analytical procedures that would be able to make best use of the codes of the social fabric which are embedded in individual life stories.

¹⁶ For detailed discussion see chapter 3.

Chapter 8

Contesting Cosmopolitanism

The methodological approaches applied within this study, as discussed in the previous chapter, have significant implications for both the type of findings and for theoretical generalisations and discussion. The study used three analytically independent models, applied to the same type of biographical narrative data. The types of findings generated by each model were related to different theoretical categories: transnational stories, adjustment scenarios and cosmopolitan dispositions. The results of each study can thus be read as stand-alone empirical outcomes, but the larger challenge of the study was to logically connect the different empirical outcomes to the multidimensional study of transnational and cosmopolitan identities, thus answering the main research question of the study:

How do configurations of identity change through transnational mobility experiences as captured in the autobiographical narratives of transnational individuals?

This chapter first provides a brief overview of the empirical findings, systematized according to the logical model of plural actor theory. Subsequently, key biographical

elements of cosmopolitan theory are discussed in terms of issues of mobility, openness, reflexivity and cultural repertoires. Finally, changes in the structure of identifications are outlined, focusing in particular on the changing position of national identity and the potential of cosmopolitanism to become a type of social categorisation which, in the long run, might have the potential to be the basis for a new 'we' group.

Plural Actor in the transnational context

The key point of inquiry of this thesis focused on identity changes brought to light by mobility experiences. With the aid of the various analytical models applied to the biographical narrative data it was possible to capture different dimensions of these changes. The use of multiple analytical models was intended to develop methodological approaches towards biographical narrative research, but also posed an interesting theoretical challenge. During the analysis a number of independent categories and concepts also had to be developed in order to systematize and analyse the data. These concepts, such as various stories of mobility (see chapter 4), adjustment scenarios (see chapter 5) and cosmopolitan practices, characteristics and reflexivity (see chapter 6) were compatible with the specific analytical models but often derived from different theoretical traditions, posing the challenge of how to discuss the findings not as the outcomes of three independent studies but as one study with three distinct analytical dimensions.

The findings of all three models, as outlined in table 8.1, can be seen as three perspectives of biographical patterns of adjustment aiming to restore a sense of biographical continuity and coherence during times of biographical change (Apitzsch & Siouti 2007). The experience of transnational mobility, here the main catalyst of identity change, can be seen from the perspective of the individual agents who (1) possess certain types of capital and dispositions, (2) evaluate their social position within the new society and (3) choose the optimal course of action to restore the biographical balance between an individual sense of self and the new social circumstances that the mobile individuals find themselves in. The use of the concepts representing all three analytical models provides a unique chance to see every

transnational individual as a type of plural actor (Lahire 2011), a modern type of individual capable, to different extents, of navigating through and adapting to changing social contexts as well as personal circumstances. The same processes will apply to any significant biographical events but by highlighting mobility this thesis aims to link the discussion of individual agency, here represented by the outcomes of analysis of the biographical narrative data, with the broader context of the theoretical discussion about cosmopolitanism.

Table 8.1 Theoretical categories used for analysis of all three empirical studies

Formal Structural Analysis	Narrative Ethnography	QCA
<p>Mobility phrased as the story of:</p> <p>Displacement - transnational individuals place themselves outside the new social environment, the motives for mobility take form of escape.</p> <p>Transformation - transnational individuals are a part of the transnational organisations, they develop collective identity along the institutional lines.</p> <p>Exploration - transnational individuals who use their social and symbolic capital to enter the specific place in new society and only partly adjust to the new society.</p>	<p>The adjustment scenarios:</p> <p>Local - aims to restore the biographical sense of coherence and continuity by modifying the framework of identifications to correspond with local contexts</p> <p>Global - aims to manage some degree of biographical discontinuity and adjust the framework of identifications towards transnational, global social spaces</p>	<p>Individual characteristics of cosmopolitans:</p> <p>Cosmopolitan practices associated with: Intensity of mobility Lifecycle</p> <p>Cosmopolitan characteristics of the individual: Dispositions Individualism Cultural Repertoire</p> <p>Cosmopolitanisms as a type of reflexivity: Communicative Autonomous Meta-reflexive</p>

The concept of the plural actor – an individual who has during their lifetime accumulated 'several repertoires of schemes of actions' (Lahire 2011:36) or habits that coexist in silent form within the individual until the moment when external circumstances activate a particular action scheme – is particularly useful for

systematising the outcomes of the three models of analysis. Firstly, it captures the variation within the social, cultural and economic background of the individual, without using categories such as class or national culture that, in a comparative approach, are often too superficial and nationally different in order to allow systematic, methodological control over all the complexities and the interplay of individual experiences before and during mobility experiences. Secondly, it captures the particular biographical circumstances activating individual change – here transnational mobility. Finally, it acknowledges the complexity of the specific schemes of action and their change, taking into consideration dimensions such as a moment in the life cycle, the social universe and the social micro-situation.

QCA and available sets of individual dispositions

The QCA analysis, which focused on the configurations of biographical conditions that may facilitate the emergence of a cosmopolitan lifestyle and cosmopolitan practices, indeed traced the patterns of coexisting habits and repertoires used by individuals to make sense of new social and cultural circumstances. However, the range of repertoires or biographical experiences one can draw upon when faced with a challenging situation is not the same across the cases. There is a certain set of individual experiences that tend to be more compatible with a transnational lifestyle. The life stories of the most transnational cases often outline childhood experiences of cultural diversity – family friends as well as travels, the presence of transnational role models in family or school, exposure to and awareness of cultural differences. Lahire (2011:48) notes that 'the more such actors are the product of heterogeneous or even contradictory social forms of life, the more the logic of the present situation plays a central role in the reactivation of the part of the experiences embodied in the past'. The QCA analysis of the biographical data arrives at similar conclusions. The configuration of the mobility experiences, depending on the lifecycle as well as autonomy, individualism and symbolic capabilities, is crucial in the discussion of how people react in a situation of transnational mobility and what this means for their sense of self.

Formal structural analysis and the initial reaction to a new social context

The degree of culture shock associated with mobility as well as the general patterns of adjustment to a new situation cannot be explained merely by the fact that transnational individuals either have or don't have a pre-existing set of skills and schemes of action. The particularity of a mobility experience is crucial for understanding the scope and direction of identity changes within the individual. Here 'the nature of the context that we are led to pass through determines the degree of inhibition or repression of a smaller or greater part of our reserve of competences, skills, knowledge and know-how, ways of speaking and doing of which we are bearers' (Lahire 2011:56). The formal structural analysis, and the distinction between three different types of transnational stories, reveals the process of individual self-positioning in the new social system, the individual's perception of the power relations between him- or herself and the context. The formal structural analysis of the biographical narrative data offers exactly this perspective. By using specific process structures, the transnational narrator indicates the level of culture shock and individual perceptions of change, from the painful and unbearable to the challenging and fulfilling, that are required to regain a biographical sense of continuity and to balance the new sense of identification and belonging.

Narrative ethnography of the transnational social worlds

The habits, schemes of action and the individual's self-perception in the current situation are reflected in the types of activities and practices which constitute the everyday life of the transnational individual (Lahire 2011:57). The analytical model employing a narrative ethnography approach was used to closely investigate the choices as well as challenges of transnational life, including the relationships between individual agents and their social context in terms of intimate relationships, involvement in the community, organisations and work relations. The narrative ethnography model provides two ideal types of identity adjustment scenario, which in more or less perfect form represent the way individuals attempt to structure their own practices and identifications to either locally embedded, traditional patterns or more innovative, but also biographically challenging, global patterns.

Cosmopolitans and their social worlds

The theory of the plural actor allows logical systematization of the different levels of findings obtained by using multi-dimensional operational definitions of the transnational identity concept. However, understanding the impact of mobility on the framework of individual identifications, as reflected in the transnational biographical narratives, does not answer the question whether there is any aspect of the transnational lifestyle that creates a new, or at least significantly different, identification category, such as cosmopolitan identity. In modern times every individual can be considered a plural actor, but is there something significant in the act of transnational mobility, which would constitute the emergence of a new level of individual identifications and thus restructure the framework of individual identifications? This is the final topic in this discussion.

Across a variety of theories and approaches attempting to tackle the issues of transnational mobility and supra-national identifications, theories of cosmopolitanism are the most influential. As discussed in chapter 2, however, the term cosmopolitanism has a long and often complicated history which spans a variety of public and academic discourses. In order to distinguish the types of biographical indicator able to help with the operationalization of cosmopolitanism a number of definitions and theories were reviewed and compared with each other (Turner & Rojek 2001; Beck 2002b; Szerszynski & Urry 2002; Beck & Sznaider 2006; Delanty 2006; Appiah 2007a; Beck & Grande 2007; Urry 2007; Kendall et al. 2009). Four main elements appear in most cosmopolitan definitions – mobility, openness, reflexivity and cultural dispositions – and all of them can be found in different forms across the three analytical models presented in chapters 4, 5 and 6. It is important, however, to understand that 'the indicators of cosmopolitanism go beyond shifts in identity to wider discursive and cultural transformation' Delanty (2006:42). They are the outcomes of socio-cultural mediation between individual choices and changing social contexts; thus, based on the discussion of biographical indicators of cosmopolitanism, it is possible to draw further conclusions about the social context facilitating their emergence and the social realities they constitute.

Mobility

The experience of movement – of not only crossing borders but also traversing cultural, political, social and economic systems – is what exposes an individual to cultural diversity and widens intellectual and axiomatic horizons. Most definitions of cosmopolitanism require expansive mobility experiences (Szerszynski & Urry 2002; Delanty 2006; Kendall et al. 2009) in terms of both the mobility's intensity and duration (Urry 2007). The study of biographical narratives using QCA analysis confirms that multiple and extensive mobilities, along with the ability to map one's own society and culture amongst others as well as the ability to take and manage the risks associated with mobility, are necessary conditions for cosmopolitan practices to emerge (see chapter 6). This cosmopolitan attitude to mobility is additionally fuelled by an eagerness to explore and consume a variety of places and cultures.

The relationship between mobility and cosmopolitanism, however, goes beyond simply stating the logical association between these two elements. For the analysis of the biographical data it is more interesting to consider mobility in both its horizontal and vertical dimensions. Its horizontal dimension traces the depth and intensity of an individual's engagement with a number of places and people, with widely defined otherness, and the individual's motives for mobility, whereas the vertical orientation is concerned with different strata of spatial belonging between localities, regions, nations and global dimensions of transnational movement. Looking at the data with these dimensions of mobility in mind reveals interesting social dynamics. According to Beck (1998:28), as the number of international activities and connections increases, the aspects of contemporary social life take place within a local-global dialectic. When applied to biographical data, some of the individual lives belong to the local dimension, whilst others are rooted in the global framework. The local aspect of biographical narratives highlights continuity and coherence, assigns a specific place and set of roles naturally translated into the configuration of social identities. With transnational experiences, however, especially those that are persistent and long-term, the main aspects of life, some of the individuals never establish new connections with their new locality; their networks are built along global rather than local lines.

In biographical terms the type and intensity of cross-national movement also depends on the narrator's age, thus influencing what it means to be cosmopolitan as a young adult – associated with the process of education – as an adult – with emerging family commitments – and as a mature individual with widening international awareness. These elements form the basis for analysis based on the narrative ethnography model (see chapters 5 and 6). The choice of either local or global mobility destinations is, above all, based on the type of social connections – relationships and jobs – that constitute the individual's primary network (Massey et al. 1994). What keeps people mobile at a young age is their involvement in international exchange programmes or work internships with the additional benefit of new transnational relationships often characterised by intimacy and friendships. Relationships between two people from different countries force them to renegotiate their local attachments and establish new global ones, thus activating a specific type of identity adjustment. Among mature narrators, where the local attachments such as job and career are firmly established, intimate transnational relationships become a key motive for mobility. However, this need has to be strong enough to break their local attachments. Personal relationships are the most powerful social inhibitors drawing an individual towards a transnational lifestyle. Those relationships that follow a global, transnational logic create a new social form: international marriages and international families as in the case of Gwilym, where different members of his family choose to live and work in different countries after the mobility.

The area of employment is of particular significance for both young and adult narrators. Young people go abroad and add an international dimension to their life by participating in educational and work-experience programmes. As an adult, however, family responsibilities typically render crucial the issue of jobs and career. Depending on availability the idea of a career can anchor an individual in one place or, as in the case of globally driven individuals, can focus him or her on job projects that are much more difficult to maintain (adjusting both qualifications as well as employment to the overall aim to move). This type of project orientated career is illustrated in the case of Reni, an international academic, who has built her career

along the lines of international academia with different levels of studies and professional work completed in academic institutions around the world.

The type of mobility favoured by cosmopolitans can be characterised in terms of negotiations of attachments. On the one hand, cosmopolitan individuals crave the connection with the local culture; they aim to explore and engage with the other, seeing themselves as travellers rather than tourists (Buzard 1993). On the other hand, they avoid situations threatening their independence in pursuing their individual life projects. Thus the biographical narratives of cosmopolitans are often discontinuous, divided by time periods (Szerszynski & Urry 2002), by country, by jobs and by relationships. The alternative here is to stay local, to embed oneself in the local context and harmonise the biographical narrative with one's specific local context.

Openness

Another key aspect of every cosmopolitan definition is the intellectual and aesthetic notion of openness towards the widely understood 'other'. According to Szerszynski and Urry (2002:468), 'cosmopolitanism involves the search for, and delight in, the contrasts between societies rather than a longing for superiority or for uniformity'. This philosophical stance of openness is, however, the most elusive aspect of cosmopolitanism and is most difficult to operationalise. The distinction between the familiar and the other lies at the core of every social identity, and otherness is the key element to the definition of every 'me' and every 'us' identity format. Appiah (2007b:24) suggests that 'one thing identity provides is another source of value, one that helps us make our own way among those options. To adopt an identity, to make it mine, is to see it as structuring my way through life'. Across biographical situations it is the positive value attached to the familiar, which enhances one's sense of solidarity and facilitates social cohesion. The positive value assigned to otherness is a specific paradox in the identity discourse. It is built on a sense of curiosity about others, but at the same time comes with a decreased value of sameness, of the group one actually belongs to.

Sense of belonging is rooted in an individual's perception of sameness with others and with the wider axiomatic community. In terms of biographical research, sense of belonging and identity sync the individual's life story with the grand narrative of social structures – family, community and nation. Identity thus acts as a social anchor. What comes with an assigned place in the social structure is a sense of biographical continuity and coherence, a sense of safety and security. Gilroy (2011s:301) suggests that throughout life 'identity is seen as essential and unchanging, fixed and determined by primordial forces, perceived as outside history and culture, and unaffected by the superficialities of politics. Difference, in these conditions, represents a threat; there is safety only in sameness'. In that sense the virtues of cosmopolitanism (Turner & Rojek 2001:225), such as acceptance of cultural hybridisation, commitment to dialogue and scepticism to grand narratives and social patterns, remove individuals from their own social safety net and disturb their sense of personal coherence. The biographical costs of this type of openness leading to cosmopolitanism, however, are counterbalanced by the benefits, the strengthening of human agency. As Appiah (2007b:268) notes, 'cosmopolitanism values human variety for what it makes possible for human agency, and some kinds of cultural variety constrain more than they enable ... cosmopolitan love of variety; indeed as I say, it is the autonomy that variety enables that is its fundamental justification'. The questions about cosmopolitan identity focus on the process of value change – from similarity to difference – and identity change facilitated by this process.

If agency is truly at the centre of the philosophical notion of cosmopolitan openness, issues such as autonomy of the decision to go abroad as well as the mechanism of dealing with the situation's insecurities can be considered indicators of cosmopolitanism. The use of formal structural analysis on the biographical narrative data provides some insights into these patterns. The analysis reveals three types of transnational stories (see chapter 4). Firstly, the story of displacement follows the pattern of biographical escape; the mobility is forced on the individual due to economic or political reasons, and the patterns of adjustment take the form of a trajectory of suffering, indicating that the individual is losing their sense of control over the situation and feels out of place. The decision to undertake mobility is not

autonomous; in many cases it is forced by circumstances or by family networks, and the sense of insecurity is compensated by re-establishing and strengthening one's connection with the familiar, bringing over family members and connecting with one's ethnic community – a counter-example to the delight in variety and difference described by Szerszynski and Urry (2002). Secondly, the story of biographical transformation can be distinguished on the basis of the process structure taking the shape of biographical metamorphosis, wherein the individual placed in a specific transnational environment grows up to play a specific role in the overall institutional structure. In this type of story transnational mobility is secured but also prescribed by the function one is due to fulfil. It would be difficult to claim particular openness and cultural hybridity in the institutions which, whilst being transnational, constitute quite a uniform environment themselves.

The type of story most promising in terms of cosmopolitan openness is the story of exploration. The analysis of the biographical stories indicates that this type of transnational narrative is framed in the structure of action schemes. It highlights the individual's commitment to pursue a non-traditional logic of action, to perceive transnational options as a means to explore the world of difference placed away from the safety of the familiar. The logic of the action scheme of committing to one's individual life project becomes the main driver of cosmopolitan identifications. This is especially significant in cases such as Sarah's, whose need to explore her Italian roots and fulfil the project of living in Italy takes her and her family on a journey through its language and culture. Her choices and motives are not always fully understood by Sarah's relatives and friends. Furthermore, the biographical costs, such as changing jobs and qualifications as well as the periods of separation from her son and husband, are the price she is willing to pay for pursuing her individual life project. The story of exploration thus highlights the individuality and agency of the cosmopolitan individual, their commitment to autonomous decision-making in emancipation from traditional social scripts.

Reflexivity

Along the issues of mobility and openness, reflexivity is the third individual characteristic highlighted as crucial for understanding and conceptualising cosmopolitanism (Delanty 2006; Archer 2007; Kendall et al. 2009). Reflexivity comes with the ability to recognise the complexities of the modern world, to see oneself as an independent agent in relation to the social structures shaping the individual's reality, but above all reflexivity is the ability to use that particular knowledge in order to achieve particular biographical objectives. According to Archer (2007:5), 'the subjective powers of reflexivity mediate the role that objective structural and cultural powers play in influencing social action and are thus indispensable to explaining social outcomes'. Reflexivity is therefore about negotiating between internal plans and external constraints for each individual action. Based on her own research, Archer (2007) distinguishes three different types of reflexivity¹⁷. Autonomous reflexivity is attributed to individuals driven by their own internal motives and plans, even against structural constraints and pressure from their social context. Communicative reflexivity is the exact opposite and denotes individuals whose life choices and life projects are defined by their place within the social structure. Meta-reflexivity, the third type, can be placed somewhere in between these two polar opposites. In this case individuals negotiate between individual plans and available opportunities, often following current fashions and trends.

With regard to the cosmopolitan discussion, reflexivity raises an interesting question: are the elements of cosmopolitan identity the function of a specific cosmopolitan social structure, or are they rather a specific configuration of dispositions embedded in the individual agent? The QCA analysis of the biographical narrative material indicates that cosmopolitan practices are the domain of autonomous reflexive and meta-reflexive individuals, highlighting that cosmopolitan lifestyles are anchored in individual choices and aspirations. For autonomous reflexive individuals this is the case when the individual, committed to his or her transnational biographical project, is able to overcome the constraints often resulting in the disruption of biographical

¹⁷ The issue of fourth type of reflexivity, namely fractured reflexivity (Archer 2011) is not a subject of this study.

continuity and coherence in order to achieve his or her individually established goals. The meta-reflexive case is slightly different as it requires external reinforcement for the development of a cosmopolitan project. In those instances, by placing themselves in specific places such as big cosmopolitan cities or organisations or by being exposed to diverse cultural and social patterns transnational individuals will aid the emergence of a cosmopolitan biographical project. Both types of reflexivity lead to 'scepticism towards the grand narratives of modern ideologies' (Delanty 2006:42), irony representing distance from local history and culture (Turner & Rojek 2001) and a detour from what is considered as 'traditionalism' (Archer 2007).

The case of communicative reflexive individuals is an interesting paradox. Intuitively, there is an assumption that in certain types of social environment, such as diplomatic services, the social structure's cosmopolitan elements should be reproduced throughout the communicative patterns. Children with a cosmopolitan upbringing should grow up to be cosmopolitan, even if they are not particularly project-driven. This would indicate that cosmopolitan identities as well as lifestyles should reproduce themselves via specific social structures. However, the data analysis indicates that this is not necessarily the case. The individual's drive to 'their own development by becoming pilots of their own destinies, to the extent that this is realistically possible' (Cote 1996:423), is a necessary condition for the emergence of cosmopolitan identities; cosmopolitan social structures are merely a sufficient condition that can help facilitate the process, especially in the case of meta-reflexives, but by themselves are not a guarantee for the emergence of cosmopolitan identifications.

Cultural dispositions

The last element of cosmopolitan definitions deals with the individual's ability to communicate and engage with 'the other'. This element seems as straightforward as the notion of mobility. The ability to speak many languages or to orient oneself when faced with cultural diversity are almost intuitively associated with being cosmopolitan. These particular sets of skills are also what tie the discourse of cosmopolitanism to the discourse of transnational elites. Seen in the form of

particular types of cultural capital, such as a high level of education and languages, professional skills as well as international opportunities and exposure to 'cosmopolitan' lifestyles, cosmopolitanism in that form can be reproduced by those particular groups and particular social environments. The notion of the cosmopolitan as a 'cultural specialist' highlights the skills and cultural repertoires which allow interpretation of and orientation towards complex cultural contexts (Hannerz 1990; Szerszynski & Urry 2002; Kendall et al. 2009). The analysis of the biographical narratives using QCA highlights the significance of one's ability to switch cultural codes and blend in with the new social and cultural environment. This can be accomplished with the ability to communicate effectively, mostly by learning the language, or by acquiring the set of professional skills granting access to specific cosmopolitan environments.

With regard to languages, the key aspect is communication. The choice of language is here driven by its communicative function. In many cases this implies learning the language of the new country, as in the case of Sarah, who in her desire to live in Italy focuses her educational as well as personal efforts on mastering Italian. According to Sarah, only by speaking the language could she possibly bridge the cultural differences and embed herself and her family within their new cultural context. There is, however, an uneven power relationship between different languages, and the hegemony of English in transnational contexts would be difficult to ignore. Within professional environments, such as academia as well as transnational institutions, fluency in the dominant language, namely English and to a lesser extent French, grants similar access, even if sometimes conditionally. In the case of Reni from Bulgaria it was precisely English, and not many of the other languages she is able to speak, that unlocked for her the educational and career opportunities she craved. Being able to use the 'lingua franca' is thus a sufficient element for entering a foreign context and dealing with cultural diversity, but it can also become a type of trap, mimicking the cosmopolitan environment but threatening the overall sense of cultural openness and individual autonomy.

Inability to communicate in the local language can enclose the individual within a specific 'cosmopolitan bubble', thus restricting access to the local culture as well as

local networks. It creates social spaces built around the notion of multiculturalism and transnationalism, generating the illusion of security as well as belonging, almost sheltering the individual from their specific local context. This is especially the characteristic of specific institutional and professional transnational social spaces, visible particularly in the cases of Erasmus exchange students but also professional networks such as transnational corporations in the case of Jakub or humanitarian organisations in the case of Dean. The illusion of cosmopolitanism in this context becomes more of a lifestyle aligned to specific institutions than a reflexive and autonomous choice to engage with and comprehend the other.

According to the QCA analysis of the biographical narratives, cosmopolitan individuals use their skills and cultural repertoires to achieve three main elements of cosmopolitan biographical experience. Firstly, cosmopolitans aim to participate in the foreign culture rather than move past it. This facilitates the development of a professional project – as in the case of Gwilym who, after moving to Sweden, re-established his career as a medical doctor – or the building of relationships with people from other cultures. These ties allow cosmopolitans to enter their new social context and engage with it at a much deeper level. Secondly, cosmopolitans rather avoid forming their identity according to institutional patterns; they are aiming to develop multiple social connections, to fully explore life in a given country. And last but not least, cosmopolitans value autonomy and agency, freedom of choice and avoid standard social scripts.

Cosmopolitan optic

The transnational biographical experiences and choices not only introduce elements of cosmopolitanism to the framework of identifications, but also modify the overall structure of individual identifications. The changes in the identity structure entail a change of the hierarchies of social connections, especially the issues of national identification, the specific contexts in which cosmopolitan identities are evoked and the emergence of new, cosmopolitanism-associated 'we' and 'other' groups that shape new forms of social bonds and attachments. These elements of identity redefinition have a significant impact on the individual biographies as well as their

social and cultural aspects. They outline the direction of changes in the matrix of individual and social connections caused and reinforced by transnational mobility.

From a national to a transnational optic

The key alteration in the structure of identifications can be characterised by a change of the position or level of national identifications. By its very definition, the nature of crossing a national border becomes a distinction category of key significance. Owning a national passport, which signifies official citizenship status, shapes the structure of opportunities, such as free movement areas as well as restrictions via visa regulations. It constitutes the dominant formal identity of transnational individuals, placing them in the field of internationally regulated institutional structures and culturally constructed public and private social discourses. Whilst the external significance of national identity increases, individual perception of nationality causes some important dissonance within the overall structure of identifications. Transnational individuals either fight against the idea of being perceived as a member of exclusively one national group or embrace a new meaning of nationality. The emergence of a cosmopolitan category, next to a national one and other systems of individual attachments, helps to keep 'national identity' in proportion with others. One of the biographical narrators, Daniela, clearly states in her narrative that the fact that some people hold the same passport as hers, does not immediately make them friends; there are other people she knows, from all over the world, who are closer to her than her compatriots.

The attempt to counterbalance the increasing significance of national with cosmopolitan elements is often expressed in a decreasing commitment to one's national project, and reduced participation in its political and social practices. According to Kendall et al. (2009: 112), a 'cosmopolitan feels little or no ethical and political commitment to local and national contexts and in fact is likely to show an irony, almost bordering on suspicion, toward their own national myths and discourses'. This attitude and value placed on global attachments and sense of belonging places cosmopolitans opposite the other transnational individuals who aim to build a local type of attachment. Transnational individuals with local attachments

aim to restore biographical continuity and harmonise their individual story with the story of their new context; they modify attachments rather than negotiating them, thus using the mobility as a tool for improving their life situation rather than treating the mobility as a goal in itself.

Strong national and local narratives, often expressed through the assimilation discourse, are built around the issues of risk and protection. They focus on the continuity of national culture, which transnational individuals should adopt and become a part of via coherent and stabilising processes, such as language and culture acquisition, community participation and a stable history of employment. Global narratives, which often follow a multicultural discourse, allow for an eclectic ensemble of relationships, community and job relations, thereby questioning the sense of 'national' culture but not the state. The multicultural discourse allows cultural individualism but then needs to handle the multiplicity of perspectives reaching far beyond the control of the state. The hidden aspect of the transnational discourse, however, lies not in the power of policy-making and the national cultural context but in the independent decisions of millions of people around the world who independently make sense of cross-cultural experiences and who act and react upon challenging circumstances, thus creating new types of culturally eclectic identity.

The role of the nation state as a dominant social reality regulating and embedding the individual, at least from the perspective of ever increasing transnational mobility, is decreasing. Some scholars, such as Beck (2002:62), go even further, claiming that 'as more processes show less regard for state boundaries – people shop internationally, work internationally, love internationally, marry internationally, research internationally, grow up and are educated internationally (that is multilingually), live and think internationally, that is combine multiple loyalties and identities in their lives – the paradigm of societies organised within the framework of nation-state inevitably loses contact with reality'. Transnational life stories are spread across multiple social spaces, both local and global; they provide an account of how nation states shape the institutional context of everyday life but do not hold the sole power to understand and frame the individual identities. Even with the decrease of the nation state's significance and the growth of individual aspirations to

become cosmopolitan, national identifications are a crucial element of every individual identity, if not in the area of emotional attachments at least in the case of citizenship rights.

Cosmopolitans depend on their citizenship rights – mostly in the form of a passport granted by a specific national entity – in order to pursue their transnational lifestyle. In this case it is hard to ignore the fact that only some travellers, associated with the politically influential countries of the global north, can engage with the mobility patterns favoured by cosmopolitans, whereas others cannot (Massey et al. 1994; see also Buzard 1993). For that reason transnational individuals engaged in a cosmopolitan lifestyle and practices tend to be associated with a specific 'western' or 'northern' elite, privileged and protected by the political systems they feel ambivalent towards, whilst others who are denied the opportunities and security are thus forced to search for them in their local context, by building local networks and struggling for recognition. Thus cosmopolitanism, seen from the perspective of the global political and economic world order, is not always a positive reflection on the individuals able to navigate beyond national borders, often playing the national systems in those ways that seem most beneficial for them, but not for the systems themselves.

'We - Cosmopolitans'

The emergence of cosmopolitan elements within an individual's structure of identifications not only creates new hierarchies of social and cultural attachment, but also provides new types of category, based here on shared transnational experiences, lifestyle and worldview, which may form the base for the emergence of new shared identities, new 'we' groups. It would be difficult to clearly identify cosmopolitans as one coherent group. As it is, none of the narrators interviewed for the purpose of this project clearly stated 'I am a cosmopolitan'. The category itself seems expressed rather in the form of the ideal – something to become rather than be – but within biographical narratives it is possible to distinguish a contrast group: 'the others' who answer the question of 'who is not a cosmopolitan'. These are the individuals who are not mobile, autonomous, open and able to comprehend and

consume cultural difference, or at least display some configuration of these elements. In that context, Szerszynski and Urry (2002:467) note that 'cosmopolitanism is often constructed at the expense of the local and local peoples who are presumed to be narrow, insular and parochial in their patterns of mobility and in their ethics'. In the academic as well as popular discourse it is especially the elements of mobility and the philosophy of mobility that constitute the two main contrast groups of cosmopolitans and locals.

The hierarchies, however, appear even between different transnationally mobile groups. The first group of contrast focuses on individual 'migrants' pursuing a one-off mobility project concerned with assimilation and improving their material conditions. In the cosmopolitan discourse, such a group lacks the ethos of openness and appreciation of cultural difference. In his narration, Jakub, an international consultant, outlines that there are two types of Polish transnationals in Paris. There are international professionals like him and young girls, who work as au pairs trying to find a rich husband. Their attempts to develop local links and a sense of belonging set them apart from the implied nonchalance of the cosmopolitans. The second contrast group engages with the mobility in terms of short-term and holiday-like events. What sets them apart from what is perceived as cosmopolitanism is the lack of autonomy and ability to pursue a mobility project. According to Buzard (1993), the divide between traveller/cosmopolitan and tourist becomes a line of cultural distinction and taste. For Daniela, an international Erasmus student in Denmark, the fact that other students lived together in an international group was perceived as a significant limitation in her need to engage deeper with Danish society and culture. As an ethos, being cosmopolitan seems to mean a more adventurous and autonomous type of mobility.

If being cosmopolitan means not being a local, migrant or tourist, the question arises whether it is enough of a social category to constitute a distinct group, an imagined community of people with a shared ethos, taste, values and biographical experiences. The academic literature focuses in particular on the concept of cosmopolitans as an elite – the 'new global elites' (Friedman 2000); 'international business elite' (Marceau 1989); or a 'transnational capitalist class' (Van Der Pijl 1998;

Sklair 2000). Common associations and intuitive definitions of cosmopolitanism point towards a group of people 'out there', leading a life committed to their career or hobby project, following their own career or relationships to discover new places and getting to know new people. The biographical material, however, does not support any of these quite romanticised notions. Sometimes, as in the case of Reni, a certain group of people will enclose themselves in cultural, elitist types of bubbles (Lasch 1995), but in most of the cases the idea of an exclusive elite runs counter to the notion of autonomy and openness.

The cosmopolitan category is employed as a linguistic 'general extension', an all-encompassing notion of some unspecified transnational experiences, additionally supported by a positive connotation of the term. Calling someone a 'cosmopolitan' is a form of compliment but also signals that the speaker lacks a common frame of reference with his or her counterpart, a shared experience able to structure the exchange of information. It provides a seemingly easy solution to the complexity of biographical experiences and a lack of easily communicated identity labels. This brings the discussion back to the metaphor of 'the second question' outlined in the introduction, in which the answer to the question 'Where do you come from?' is too complex to be explained in a casual conversation. Being cosmopolitan simply means 'it is complex'.

This chapter has provided an account of the empirical findings gathered across three analytical models – formal structural analysis, narrative ethnography and qualitative comparative analysis. The chapter's aim was to systematize the findings. With the use of Lahire's plural actor theory the findings were systematized in a logical structure – as a set of predispositions and capitals, the individual's perception of their mobility situation and, finally, their identity adjustment. Next the empirical findings were discussed in the light of cosmopolitanism theory. Firstly, key biographical elements of cosmopolitanism were discussed, namely dimensions of mobility, the philosophical and ethical notion of openness, reflexivity and different types of cultural skills and repertoires. Finally, wider changes in the overall structure

of identifications were outlined. Special emphasis was placed on changes in the individual's position on national attachments, their sense of belonging and the emergence of new social categorisations that could potentially be the foundation for the emergence of new types of cosmopolitan identification.

Conclusion

This study was designed to investigate the question: *'What are the changes in identity formations caused and reinforced by transnational mobility experiences captured in the autobiographical narratives of transnational individuals?'* The research was designed to apply three distinct analytical models – formal structural analysis, narrative ethnography and fuzzy set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) – to a sample of 25 biographical narrative interviews collected mostly as part of the FP7 EuroIdentities project. A methodologically innovative analytical approach was employed in order to capture the multidimensionality of identity changes brought on by experiences of transnational mobility. The research question reflected the combined aims of the study – methodological and theoretical. This short conclusion chapter summarizes the main findings of the study (see table 9.1 and 9.2) and considers the possibilities for improvement as well as implications for further studies.

Methodology

Firstly, the methodological aspect of the study was an object of investigation. Comparison between research procedures, operational definitions and indicators revealed that each of the analytical models has its own distinct ability to tap into different layers of the biographical links between the individual and social structure, expressed in the form of more or less internationalised identity categories. By

applying three distinct analytical models it was possible to use multiple operational definitions, thus increasing the study's concept validity. It enabled the concept in question – here the framework of identifications – to be observed from multiple perspectives (see also table 9.1). Reflection on the practical application of the three analytical models leads me to a generally positive evaluation, although it was not without initial challenges. In cross-examination the outcomes of the three analytical methods confirm the initial findings. The analytical models can also take the investigation in a different direction than expected. The baseline for a successful application of the different analytical models in the biographical study was a good understanding of the data and methods, but above all methodological openness, an ability to go where the findings led and determination to avoid the temptation to treat one model as more valuable than the others.

Table 9.1 Key findings in methodology

Methodology
Every analytical model taps into different layers of the biographical framework of identifications
Their interplay enhances concept validity through the use of multiple operational definitions
Methodological openness is required to keep all analytical models on an equal footing
Other analytical models would be possible, such as BNIM, Grounded Theory as well as sociolinguistic types of discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis, thus setting the stage for an interdisciplinary discussion of biographical narratives.
Increasing the sample size, especially in order to enhance representativeness of cases across a particular geographical distribution or within the sensitised concepts, would be desirable but requires a larger group of researchers and possibly international collaborative projects.

Within the framework of this particular research design it would be possible to add or replace some of the models with alternatives, such as the BNIM method or a more sociolinguistic type of discourse analysis. There is also some room for using computer software like NVivo for the purposes of coding and data management, as well as packages such as ATLAS, which would facilitate analysis of geographical distributions.

The use of advanced data management software would be necessary in order to address another important improvement opportunity – an increase in the size of the data sample. A larger number of interviews would enhance reliability and the ability to generalise from the data, thus increasing the potential for the emergence of new categories and identifications of patterns and trends. An enlarged sample would make it possible to control for standard research categories, such as gender, age and mobility patterns, thus facilitating a more systematic analysis of the biographical data.

Theory

The second aspect of the study focused on the investigation of identity changes caused by transnational mobility, with special emphasis placed on theories of cosmopolitanism. Each of the analytical methods used a theoretical framework relevant for that particular model as well as innovative analytical categories, such as transnational stories, adjustment scenarios and cosmopolitan competences and practices. The study’s key theoretical challenge was to systematize the findings and assemble them in one coherent theoretical framework, anchored in the dialogue with the theories of the plural actor, transnationalism and, above all, cosmopolitanism (see table 9.2).

Table 9.2 Key theoretical findings

Theory
The use of theoretically vague concepts such as identity and cosmopolitanism requires theoretical discipline.
The use of multiple operational definitions and three analytical models captures multidimensional configurations of transnational identifications as a structure of individual dispositions, the sense-making processes stimulated by transnational mobility and the perception of self-positioning and adjustment to one’s new society.
The theory of the Plural Actor allows systematization of the findings according to a logical sequence - dispositions - perception of mobility - adjustment scenario.
The findings of the three analytical models can be used in the discussion of the theory of cosmopolitanism: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investigating biographical indicators of cosmopolitanism • Investigating cosmopolitanism as an outcome of restructuring one’s identity framework.

The study found four main biographical features to be essential for the emergence of cosmopolitan elements in the individual framework of identifications - extensive mobility (both horizontal and vertical), openness, autonomous reflexivity and a specific set of cultural and linguistic skills. These biographical elements restructure the hierarchies of individual identifications, especially affecting the national level of individual attachments, but they are not powerful enough to constitute a coherent 'we' group feeling among cosmopolitans. The category of cosmopolitan is, however, present in the discourse of the contrast with the 'other' – both the non-cosmopolitan and cosmopolitan 'other'. It is used as a 'general extension' (Korzybski 1951), a uniform label in the social and cultural discourses where there is not enough common ground and the experiences are too different in order to fully engage with the other without investing more time and more attention.

The results from the study suggest that transnational experiences do modify the individual's framework of identifications, and thus change the lives of individuals, communities and societies. This type of inquiry, engaging with deep level or even unconscious levels of individual attachment, was only possible with the biographical narrative data used for the purpose of this study; it could, however, be improved in parts. The use of a clear comparison group, such as people who work for international corporations but do not travel extensively, could help distinguish a baseline for measuring degrees of cosmopolitanism. However, the problem lies in the definition of the local, which is not much clearer than the cosmopolitan. Indeed, even people without mobility experiences are exposed to global cultural trends and in some way develop some sort of global awareness.

Studies of identities, sense of belonging and social attachments form a vital part of social sciences. They investigate how individuals make sense of the complexities of the modern world, navigate through changes and challenges. As the field of identity research develops and applies more sophisticated methodological approaches, the academic community discovers how much we do not know about how people make decisions, form their emotional and cognitive attachments and navigate through the world. This calls for further inquiry into biographical narratives, for the development of analytical repertoires capable of capturing the complexities of individuals and their

social worlds as well as for theoretical frameworks able to conceptualise and express national differences to transnational audiences, taking into consideration the complexities embedded in language and academic traditions.

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Appendix I - List of the interviews

Case No	Case	Age	Country of Origin	Country of destination	Sensitized Group	Name of Interviewer
1	RENI	42	Bulgaria	Hungary, UK, Germany	Educationally Mobile	Nevena Dimova – Bulgarian Academy of Science
<p>Adult (female) - Historian with Cambridge PhD. Her academic qualifications are difficult to utilise in Bulgaria's education system. Reni uses her skills in intercultural communication as well as languages to build her career. She is married with one child and a stable career in academic development in Bulgaria, but keeps her options open. Currently working for an international project and grant acquisition.</p> <p>Mobility - Multi-national, cross-European: Bulgaria (main place), Hungary (MA studies), UK (Cambridge PhD Studies), Germany Postdoctoral fellowship, now back in Bulgaria.</p>						
2	JOANNA	24	UK	France and Germany	Educationally Mobile	Anja Schröder-Wildhagen – University of Magdeburg
<p>Young adult (female) - not married, without children. Still in the phase of her studies and training.</p> <p>She uses German as a soft tool for her professional work. She works as an English language teacher in Germany. In relationship with a German, currently in an International internship in a German publishing house, planning to study international journalism in the UK.</p> <p>Mobility - Bilateral, cross-European - between UK and Germany, but very intensive (work and studies). She also has some attachment to France and the French language.</p>						
3	PAULINE	31	Northern Ireland	Denmark	Educationally Mobile	Markieta Domecka – Queen's University Belfast
<p>Young adult (female) - educationally mobile, Erasmus and then international working programmes. Married to a Danish husband with one son. They have travelled between Ireland and Denmark, got married in France. She develops an appreciation for difference - food and lifestyle. Undertakes a psychology degree that can be used in the overall European educational framework.</p> <p>Mobility - Multi-national, N.Ireland - France (5 weeks), Belgium - Au Pair (one year), France - Erasmus (6 months), USA (6 months), Sweden (6 months), Denmark, Ireland (5 years), Denmark.</p> <p>She has work experiences from all over the world, research grants and now PhD studentship in Denmark.</p>						

4	CARMEN	68	Germany	France, Italy, Spain	Transnational Worker	Anja Schröder-Wildhagen – University of Magdeburg
<p>Senior (female) - she was a child of the war, forced to resettle with her entire family. She was sent to Paris for an apprenticeship. She is a teacher in German history and with her ability to learn languages fast she was able to secure employment in international schools (mostly at high school level). She has been married three times. She followed her second husband internationally to the UK, Italy and Spain.</p> <p>Mobility - Multi-national, to Germany (raised, born in Poland), Switzerland - till she gave birth to a baby, Germany - till first divorce, France - apprenticeship, UK (Erasmus), Italy working as a teacher, Spain and at the end Germany. She took into consideration to live in the USA.</p>						
5	FREDERICK	66	United States of America	Republic of Ireland	Civil Society Organisations	Markieta Domecka – Queen’s University Belfast
<p>Senior (male) - He was educated in international boarding schools. He started his career as a war correspondent. He mentions that writing has always been his passion; he had some experience in the news business as editor and journalist. He has written some travel books as well. He was married to an Irish girl and moving there for her. Resigned from his American citizenship. He is a widower now, with adult children. He is an environmental activist and involved in a number of small projects.</p> <p>Mobility - Multi-national - USA (childhood and part of education), Switzerland and UK (education as well as family relations), Asia - work, N. Ireland (last 20 years).</p>						
6	JAKUB	32 (app.)	Poland	France	Educationally Mobile	Agnieszka Gurdała – University of Łódź
<p>Young adult (male) - not married and without children. He has an international education in France. He has a Polish girlfriend and his family is mostly in Poland. He is an international software consultant.</p> <p>Mobility - from Poland to France (education and career - permanent stay), with a corporate lifestyle and work for short contracts in Russia, Poland, and in international centres.</p>						
7	AGATA	28	Poland	UK	Transnational Worker	Marta Eichsteller – Bangor University
<p>Young adult (female) - married, working in the UK and pregnant at time of the interview. She had a long-distance relationship with her Polish husband, who was working in Sweden, but now they are together in the UK. She has found employment in the UK on her own and without speaking the language.</p> <p>Very basic education - currently working as a cleaner.</p> <p>Mobility - Bilateral - Poland and the UK.</p>						

8	SARAH	44	Brazil	Italy, UK	Transnational Worker	Marta Eichsteller – Bangor University
<p>Mature adult (female) - Born in Brazil to a family of Italian immigrants. She is married to a Brazilian and has one adult son. She was working internationally as an air hostess, air retailer; she trained as a nurse, was a waitress while studying in the UK. She is currently completing a degree in three modern languages.</p> <p>Mobility - International - spread between the South and North Americas as well as Europe - Italy, the UK and France.</p>						
9	DEAN	46	UK	Ireland	Transnational Worker	Marta Eichsteller – Bangor University
<p>Mature adult (male) - he was travelling a lot as a teenager to his father who was in the British Council. He is married, with two children. He is an international consultant on the issue of domestic child workers for a number of UK based charities as well as the UN. He is currently involved in organising his own charity. He has an MA in international law.</p> <p>Mobility - Multi-national but focused along the UN networks - UK/USA and the Third world countries. He was living in Bangkok for two years with his family.</p>						
10	GWILIM	55	UK	Sweden	Transnational Worker	Howard Davis – Bangor University
<p>Senior (male) - He is married to a Swedish wife and has three adult children. They live in the UK and Sweden . He has been a medical doctor both in UK and Sweden, where he spent 10 years together with his family.</p> <p>Mobility - Bilateral - Wales, England, Sweden, Wales.</p>						
11	KINGA	31	Poland	China, UK	Transnational Worker	Marta Eichsteller – Bangor University
<p>Young adult (female) - she was travelling as a child, currently she is studying in the UK. Kinga is a qualified English teacher with international experience, which gave her the chance to work in China. Now divorced, she had a Japanese husband.</p> <p>Mobility - Multi-national - Poland (born and raised), one year in China, one year in Japan, long-time stay in the UK.</p>						
12	ZULA	23	Mongolia, Germany	Finland	Educationally Mobile	Anja Schröder-Wildhagen – University of Magdeburg
<p>Young (female) - born in Mongolia, but raised in Germany. She is still a student in Germany. Not yet in a relationship, she has strong ties to her Mongolian parents. She is planning an international career in European institutions.</p> <p>Mobility - Multi-national - Germany - Mongolia (holidays), Finland - student exchange.</p>						

13	MAJKA	26	Poland	UK	Educationally Mobile	Marta Eichsteller – Bangor University
<p>Young adult (female) - she is currently working and studying as a neuropsychologist in the UK. She is married to a Pole but has not started a family yet. She has taken part in educational mobility programmes, such as Erasmus.</p> <p>Mobility - Bilateral, cross-European - Poland to the UK, Erasmus in Holland.</p>						
14	KOSTEK	32	Poland	UK	Transnational Worker	Agnieszka Gurdała – University of Łódź
<p>Young adult (male) – as a child her travelled to Kenya with his family; finished high school in the USA. He attempted various career projects, such as travel agent, marketing officer and in international banking. He has a Polish girlfriend and plans to open his own tourist business.</p> <p>Mobility - Multi-national - Lived in Kenya (age 3), USA (13), Poland, UK. Travels with tourist company - India, Mexico, Egypt (travelling as a hobby). Bilateral in work experience - Poland - UK.</p>						
15	DANIELA	28	Romania	Germany	Educationally Mobile	Marta Eichsteller – Bangor University
<p>Young adult (female) - was born in Romania but at the age of 11 she moved to Germany on a basketball scholarship. She is not married, but is in a long-term relationship with a German. She is currently studying and working. Right now she aims to be in the field of education - as a trainer. She has a social work degree. She speaks 5 languages fluently.</p> <p>Mobility - Multi-national - Romania, Germany - education and now permanent stay, Denmark.</p>						
16	GOSIA	25	Poland	Germany, USA, UK	Educationally Mobile	Marta Eichsteller – Bangor University
<p>Young adult (female) - born in Poland, but raised in Germany. She is currently a student in the UK. She is in a relationship with a Welshman. She has extensive educational mobility experience, has studied in Poland, the UK and the USA.</p> <p>Mobility - Multi-national - Poland, Germany, France school exchange, USA - year abroad and the UK.</p>						
17	MATILDA	64	UK	France, Ireland	Cultural Contact	Sally Baker – Bangor University
<p>Adult (female) – she comes from rural Wales and quite a poor family. She is working for an international convent. She is a French teacher in convent schools across the UK and Ireland.</p> <p>Mobility - Multi-national - between UK, Wales, she studied in France and worked in Ireland.</p>						

18	ALEXANDRA	30	Poland	UK	Transnational Worker	Kaja Kazimierska - University of Łódź
<p>Adult (female) - she left Poland when she was an adult, she escaped quite difficult personal circumstances. She is married to an Englishman and has one son. She completed her NVQ qualifications and is working in a pharmacy.</p> <p>Mobility - Binational - between Poland and the UK. She does not want to come back.</p>						
19	IGOR	25	Italy	Holland	Educationally Mobile	Pasquale Musella – University of Napoli
<p>Young adult (male) - he was born and raised in Italy, but for his postgraduate degree in aeronautics he moved to Holland. He is very close to his Italian family. He aims for a career in engineering, at least in an academic dimension.</p> <p>Mobility - Bilateral - between Italy and Holland, currently he is living and studying in Holland. Short exchange with Thailand.</p>						
20	ANDREW	41	South Africa	Northern Ireland	Civil Society Organisations	Dirk Schubolz - Queen's University Belfast
<p>Adult (male) - born in the South Africa, during his travels he was engaged in the political activities promoting reconciliation. His interests lead him to Northern Ireland where he met his wife. He is living in Ireland for the last 20 years with his family. He works at the university.</p> <p>Mobility - Two main countries are South Africa and Ireland, but international type of work</p>						
21	MONIKA	35	Poland	Northern Ireland	Transnational Worker	Markieta Domecka – Queen's University Belfast
<p>Adult (female) - born in Poland she decides to follow her husband to the UK for both economic and personal reasons. She has three sons. She holds a cleaning job and is a carer.</p> <p>Mobility - Bilateral - from Poland to Ireland, but with some family relations to the USA.</p>						
22	LUKE	36	Zimbabwe	Northern Ireland	Civil Society Organisations	Maruska Svastek - Queen's University Belfast
<p>Adult (male) - he was very mobile at a young age within Africa, quite independent. He attended a number of boarding schools, but always wanted to be a performer. He moved to Northern Ireland, met his Irish wife there and now has two children. He is an art and dance performer as well as a journalist.</p> <p>Mobility - Global - within Africa (South Africa) and then to Northern Ireland.</p>						

23	MATYLDA	26	Poland	France	Educationally Mobile	Agnieszka Gurdała – University of Łódź
<p>Young adult (female) - she was studying in France for a year but now she travels around the world with international friends. She has extensive experience of educational mobility. She has held many small jobs in different countries, and is now aiming to do some international development work.</p> <p>Mobility - Multi-national - Europe mostly France but also international traveller.</p>						
24	NORA	34	Italy	Germany	Cultural Contacts	Antonella Spano - University of Napoli
<p>Young adult (female) - born and raised in Italy, but married to a German. She is working for the university with international students and organisations.</p> <p>Mobility - Bilateral - within Italy and some visits to Germany.</p>						
25	HELEN	50	UK	Germany, France	Educationally Mobile	Sally Baker – Bangor University
<p>Adult (female) - she was born in Scotland, but her mother was German. Helen is an academic in modern languages. During her studies she visited Germany and Spain, her job requires a comparative perspective. She is currently married to an Englishman.</p> <p>Mobility - Multi-national – across Europe, UK, Germany, Spain.</p>						

Appendix II - EuroIdentities Project

'The Evolution of European Identity'

Using biographical methods to study the development of European identity

Framework 7 Collaborative Project

Grant Agreement No. 213998

EuroIdentities is a Framework 7 'Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities' Collaborative Project funded between March 2008 and February 2011 under activity code SSH-2007-5.2.1: 'Histories and Identities – articulating national and European identities'.

The co-ordinator of the EuroIdentities project: **Prof. Robert Miller**, Queen's University Belfast

Web site: <http://www.euroidentities.org/>

Organisation of the project and sensitized groups

The EuroIdentities project collected approximately 200 autobiographical narrative interviews across a number of sensitized groups. Each group aimed to gather an agreed number of autobiographical narratives in each category, employing mostly a theoretical sampling focussed on transnational individuals. These interviews were conducted by project teams and transcripts were shared across the project. The autobiographical narrative method was the key methodology chosen by the EuroIdentities project in order to capture the bottom-up processes of the emergence and evolution of European identifications. The biographical data's open and unstructured character aimed to provide researchers with insights into the grass-roots dimension of everyday life and, following the logic of grounded theory, reveal previously unexplored patterns of identifications and belonging across Europe. There have, however, been concerns that Europe may not appear spontaneously in the life stories of the average European population. The solution to this potential problem was to select interviewees who were assumed to be sensitized with respect to the idea of Europe. The

range of experiences with the potential to introduce a European dimension into an individual's life story became the basis for distinguishing seven sensitized groups.

- **Lodz University, Poland**

The fact of short- or long-term employment in a foreign country added to individual biographies a perspective on Europe's common labour market and constituted the sensitized group of **transnational workers**. Interviewees within that group represented both manual workers and international professionals.

- **Bangor University, UK**

International education experiences constituted the **educationally mobile** sensitized group. Within that group a variety of language, Erasmus and international students were interviewed, including international academics.

- **Bulgarian Academy of Science, Bulgaria**

Access to Common Agricultural Policy funding provided by the European Union and widely used across the EU constituted the sensitized group of **farmers**.

- **University of Magdeburg, Germany (1)**

Reconciliation work, especially with regards to the past conflicts between Germany and Poland and in Northern Ireland, as well as environmental activism create arenas for international co-operation and exchange of ideas. Those activities constituted the sensitized group of **civil society organisations workers**.

- **University of Naples, Italy and Technical University of Tallinn, Estonia**

International marriages and relationships have become a type of experience that sensitizes interviewees towards more open, European perspectives. Those experiences constituted the group of **intimate relationships**, which included traditional types of relationships, such as marriage, but also non-standard types of experiences, such as the emergence of gay networks.

- **University of Magdeburg, Germany (2)**

Participation in international exchange organisations, such as voluntary services and gap year exchanges abroad, constituted the sensitized group of **cultural contacts**.

- **Queens University Belfast, UK**

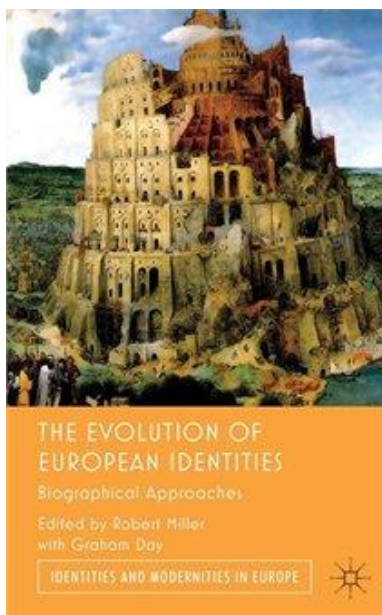
Over the course of the project an additional group of interviewees became apparent: Individuals born outside the European continent who, for various circumstances, happened to live in Europe as well as European-born individuals who spent a significant time on other continents constituted the sensitized group of **Outside Europe**.

Procedures in EuroIdentities

Each international team was responsible for gathering the data within their country and across a number of sensitized groups. Autobiographical narrative interviews were transcribed (and translated into English where necessary) according to transcription guidelines provided by the project management. In order to manage the large amount of narrative material, research teams prepared shortened versions – sequential reports – describing the main events and narratives. Especially in the cases where English translations were not available, English sequential reports offered an insight into the events described in the narrative and allowed a limited inquiry into the biographical material. Work on the specific sensitized concepts took place within each national team.

The EuroIdentities project placed great emphasis on understanding the material gathered and the collective work. This required intensive international co-operation and frequent meetings. For that reason a number of international workshops were set up, during which selected cases were discussed among all teams involved. These workshops assured the quality of analysis, understanding of the issues discussed and introduced a diversity of theoretical and methodological perspectives. Additionally, the workshops provided excellent training opportunities for the younger researchers.

During the period of the project, the findings were presented at international conferences and published in international journals. The final product of the project was published in book format in 2012 and contains the project's key findings.



Book: Miller, R., Day, G., (2012) *The Evolution of European Identities: Biographical Approaches (Identities and Modernities in Europe)*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

My role in the project

I joined the EuroIdentities project as Research Officer at Bangor University's team in 2008. During the project I took part in all EuroIdentities workshops and conferences, receiving training in the autobiographical narrative method as well as practically learning from senior and more experienced researchers. I took part in all technical activities of the research project, such as conducting interviews, transcribing, translating and writing sequential reports. I was also involved in the data analysis as well as presenting the findings, both individually and as a member of the Bangor team. Based on the project findings I contributed to the following publications:

- Eichsteller M.J (2011) 'International Pathfinders: The biographical dimensions of internationalisation of higher education' *Polish Sociological Review (Przegląd Socjologiczny)*, Vol.60, No.1, pp.93-114
- Domecka M., Eichsteller M.J. et.al (2012) 'Researching Biographies – Views from the Kitchen' In: Robert Miller (ed.), *The Evolution of European Identity*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Eichsteller M.J. (2012) 'Identity process under construction: European identity and educational mobility in the case study of Majka' In: Robert Miller (ed.), *The Evolution of European Identity*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Davis H.H., Day G., Baker S., Eichsteller M.J. (2012) 'International Education in Life Course'. In: Robert Miller (ed.), *The Evolution of European Identity*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Parallel to the project I started my individual PhD project under supervision of my EuroIdentities team leader, Professor Howard Davis.

Appendix III

Example analysis of SARAH's interview

Following analytical categories are used for the analysis of SARAH case.

Method	Analytical categories
FSA Formal Structural Analysis	<p>Narrative structures: Preamble / Pre - Coda / Coda</p> <p>Process structures: Action Scheme / Institutional Action Scheme / Metamorphosis / Trajectory of Suffering</p> <p>For description of the analytical categories see Chapter 3</p> <p>The illustration of the analysis see Chapter 4</p>
NE Narrative Ethnography	<p>Analytical concepts: Relationships / Local culture / Organisation / Jobs / Status</p> <p>Analytical categories: GS - Global Adjustment Scenario LS - Local Adjustment Scenario</p> <p>For description of the analytical categories see Chapter 3</p> <p>The illustration of the analysis see Chapter 5</p>
fsQCA Fuzzy Set Qualitative Comparative Analysis	<p>Conditions used for analysis:</p> <p>GCI - general cosmopolitan indicator</p> <p>AGE1/2/3 - The cosmopolitan elements in biography at young / adult /mature age</p> <p>MOB - type of mobility</p> <p>PERNA - narrator's perspective (outside-insider) in the biographical narrative</p> <p>OREL - Openness on the transnational relationships</p> <p>OJOB - Openness on the transnational career</p> <p>OSTAT - Openness on the transnational status</p> <p>PLACON - Space orientation and consumption of many places</p> <p>RISK - Willingness to take a risk</p> <p>IDCAP - Identity capital and the logic of action dominating the transnational practices</p> <p>CDLANG - Cultural disposition for learning languages</p> <p>CDPLAC - Cultural disposition and the contact with cosmopolitan spaces</p> <p>CDGTW - Cultural dispositions and ability to find institutional gateways</p> <p>CDCOD - Cultural disposition, ability to adjust to new situations</p> <p>PARTIC - Desire to participate in foreign culture</p> <p>EDU - The formal level of education</p> <p>SKIL - Professional qualifications and skills</p> <p>REFCOM - Cosmopolitan elements displayed in the communicative mode of reflexivity</p> <p>REFAU - Cosmopolitan elements displayed in the autonomous mode of reflexivity</p> <p>REFMET - Cosmopolitan elements displayed in the meta-reflexive mode of reflexivity</p> <p>CHEXP - Early childhood experiences of transnationalism</p> <p>OPLOG - Following the logic of opportunity</p> <p>For description of the process of calibration between 0.0 - 1.0 see Chapter 3</p> <p>For the illustration of the analysis see Chapter 6</p> <p>For software output see Appendix 4.</p>

Sequence of Biography	FSA	Narrative Units Analysis	NE	fsQCA
<p>Sarah starts her life story with her affiliation to two countries: Brazil and Italy. She mentions that Brazil is the country she spent most of her life in. She comes from a rough family and considers herself Latin, as opposed to European. She mentions that being Latin means seeing the world from a long time perspective, whereas Europeans are usually short sighted.</p>	Preamble	<p>The running theme through Sarah’s biography is the fact that she has two countries – Brazil, her country of residence, and Italy, her country of origin.</p> <p>She identifies herself as Latin and often uses this to differentiate between Latin and European.</p>	<p>Family history and relationships</p> <p>GS</p>	<p>PERNA 1.0 Outside Perspective</p>
<p>Sarah mentions that she grew up in a hectic city and at the time of great historical transformations in Brazil. In her eyes Brazil was a military state, which greatly influenced her father’s career.</p> <p>Sarah comes from an intellectual family. Her father was a lecturer at university; she mentions that he had problems to publish his works. She was accompanying him to lectures and she remembers that he was very committed and loved by his students.</p> <p><i>Sarah says: So for the 7 years of my life I had a very interesting life ... my father was Italian, like me.</i></p>	<p>Description of the background</p> <p>Description of family background</p>	<p>Historical time and place: Brazil</p> <p>Sarah mentions the historical background, military dictatorship, hyperinflation and restrictions in professional development. Social class of the family – intelligentsia</p> <p>Important other – father Sarah mentions her childhood through the father figure; she mentions that he was the source of her Italian sense of belonging. He was also the role model she has aspired to be like.</p>	<p>Historical context Local culture</p> <p>Social class</p> <p>Father figure - relationships</p> <p>GS</p>	<p>OREL 0.8 International Background</p> <p>CHEXP 0.6 International background</p>
<p>From the age of 7 Sarah says that she had a new life. Her father died in a car accident and her mother was left with seven children (three died), Sarah was the youngest.</p> <p>Sarah mentions that her mother was left with four very demanding children. Her brother had Asperger’s syndrome, and all of the children, Sarah included, had to grow up very fast.</p> <p>Sarah is very critical of the rest of her siblings, she harshly judges the attitudes and positions of her brothers and sister, she also attributes their failures in adult life to their inability to sacrifice and work</p>	Trajectory of suffering – death of the father	<p>Death of the father</p> <p>Sarah makes a very clear distinction between her life before and after the accident. She marks very clearly the borderline for her childhood. Her mother has never recovered from that trauma, and the status of the family deteriorated. Sarah mentions that as the youngest she had to grow up very fast.</p> <p>Argumentation – judging siblings Sarah judges her family quite harsh, she mentions that the trauma destroyed any family relations they used to have and made everyone focused only on themselves.</p>	<p>Change in family dynamics - Relationships</p> <p>Siblings</p>	

<p>together. Sarah mentions that her mother tried to deal with the situation, she went to work but it took a great toll on her and at some point she broke.</p> <p>Sarah mentions that from the age of 9 she was fully responsible for her own well-being. She was a survivor – she worked, went to school, organised payments for the flat.</p> <p>She says: <i>My studies, the house, the tenancy, I started to work, I started to do my own things and looking after my own business because it was the way for us to survive such a pain, such – this breaking point in our lives, the death of my father.</i></p> <p>Sarah mentions that the trauma also influenced her cognitive skills, she was not good at school.</p> <p>Sarah mentions that her family was not dysfunctional, it was just sad. She mentions that there was no family actually, just a group of people where everybody needed to take care of themselves.</p> <p><i>I do remember myself always working, doing something about my life, projects, so trying to do -ehm- something, let's finish the school, or let's start to, to learn how to play, or how to dance, whatever. I had so many, how can I say, so many – wishes and desires when I was young like that. Some I managed to achieve others not, and now it's too late complain or cry about it. That's it.</i></p>	<p>Metamorphosis</p> <p>Pre-coda</p>	<p>Metamorphosis – shaping Sarah From the age of nine Sarah becomes an independent person, a survivor who is able to handle all aspects of life. But at the same time she is aware of the costs:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Education is one of the aspirations she could not realise at that moment of her biography. 2. But at the time she has a strong desire to make something out of her life, not to follow the pattern of despair. <p>She enters into the rhetoric of the project making. Step by step she sets herself a goal and achieves it, as a way of distinguishing herself from the other family members. Due to this way of thinking she collects skills and achievements, which in the end build up her self-esteem.</p> <p>Pre-coda – Latin point of view</p>	<p>GS</p> <p>Life as a project GS</p>	<p>RISK 1.0 Advanced</p> <p>GCI 1.0 Life as a project</p>
<p>Sarah mentions that her father was a very enlightened man. She mentions that he was lecturing geography and he was preparing his lectures very thoroughly. For Sarah travelling and seeing abroad was part of her childhood. She mentions that this is important because now all of her living three siblings are living abroad and taking care of themselves in different cultures.</p>	<p>Background construction – father figure</p>	<p>Important other and role model – father as we traveller Sarah binds her need to travel and search for a place to the idealistic vision of her father – well educated, enlightened and Italian. She mentions that there must have been something in the family because all of her siblings moved around the world. She has always had a rich cross-national perspective on things.</p>	<p>Role model GS</p>	<p>OSTAT 0.6 International mobility and education</p>

<p>Sarah mentions that at the age of 11 she had already visited 16 countries. She wanted to find the profession which would be compatible with her world-view and she decided to work for an airline company.</p>	<p>Comparison – global framework</p>	<p>Global framework of reference – comparison Sarah could not continue her education, even though this would have been one of her father’s expectations. She compares the opportunity structures in Europe and South America, assessing that Europe has it easy compared with the rest of the world</p>	<p>Lifetime of mobility GS</p>	<p>PLCON 0.8 Consumption of many places</p>
<p>At the age of 17 she started to work for an airline company, she did not have a chance to go to university. Being the youngest and without any state support she was not able to continue her education. Sarah mentions that Europeans tend to complain about their opportunities, but from her point of view they have it much easier than the rest of the world.</p>	<p>Action Scheme – becoming air hostess</p>	<p>Action Scheme – the airline company. In the financial situation of the family Sarah could not go to study, she chose to work with an airline company which fit to her vision of life as a traveller. She was spending her weekends in the USA and travelled all over the world, but she is also aware of the personal cost of that lifestyle – lost friends and connections.</p>	<p>Jobs GS</p>	<p>OPLOG 0.4 Organisation REFMET 0.4 Opportunity</p>
<p>Sarah made travelling her way of life, she had tickets for free and she tends to spent more time in NY than in Brazil. She mentions that because of her lifestyle she has started to lose the connections to people she grew up with.</p>			<p>Status GS - transnational lifestyle</p>	<p>OSTAT 0.6 Only travel</p>
<p>Sarah mentions that her background in Brazil was quite diverse; she mentions that Brazil is an immigrant country. In her neighbourhood were people with German, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian backgrounds.</p>	<p>Description – ethnic mix in Brazil</p>	<p>Background construction – diversity in Brazil She describes her own environment in Brazil as multicultural, she says that it was community of immigrants where you were Italian rather than Brazilian – this is why her Italian roots are so important and strong.</p>	<p>Local culture - outcomes of GS</p>	
<p>At the age of 19 Sarah had no attachments to any place in particular, but she was lucky to find the man of her life. He was working for the airline company as well.</p>	<p>Institutional Action Scheme</p>	<p>Sarah met her husband at the age of 19, they were working for the same company and shared the same lifestyle. After 3 years of the relationship Sarah got pregnant and became a mother.</p>	<p>Relationships GS/LS</p>	<p>OREL 0.8 Relationship apart, but committed to motherhood</p>
<p>At the age of 22 she gives birth to her only son. She mentions that it was an accident to get pregnant and that she was not prepared for motherhood. She mentions that she was surprised by the fact that she needed to bend her lifestyle and career to be a mother. She mentions that she is not</p>		<p>Motherhood Sarah had to bend her personal and career plans to be a mother, she mentions that she was not prepared for that but she did her best.</p>	<p>Motherhood LS</p>	

<p>sorry for the compromises she had to make.</p> <p>Sarah describes her son as a high maintenance boy and acknowledges that she did everything possible to make him happy. She becomes a full-time mother for a while. She said that she taught him about everything, about abroad and his roots. She said that she has no regrets for sacrifices and now her son is a god young man.</p>	<p>Argumentation</p>	<p>The upbringing of her son has been another life project for her. Especially knowledge of his cultural roots, her attempt to give him the best education and opportunities are very strong in Sarah's biography.</p>	<p>REFAU 0.8 Cultural project</p>
<p>Sarah was a full-time mother for three years, and she mentions that at that time she was quite frustrated.</p> <p>She set up a business with her husband, but after 4 years they decided to 'come back' to Europe. They chose to go to Italy, to show their son his mother's and her father's cultural roots and expose him to a 'European education'.</p> <p>Sarah mentioned that when going to Italy they should have been more prepared. She found the Italian reality in 1995 quite shocking. Her expectations of high culture were shattered, she especially complains about a backwards mentality. She mentions that as a Latin she had a straight mind and she found the position of women in Italian society very behind. Also, the education system was very behind, and her son was slapped by teachers at school, which she was outraged about. She mentions that she had a naive image of European culture before that event.</p>	<p>Action Scheme</p> <p>Trajectory of suffering</p>	<p>Italy project</p> <p>Three years after giving birth Sarah returned to the labour market. Later on she joined her husband's business.</p> <p>In the form of an individual action scheme Sarah and her husband decided to try to live in Italy. The reasons:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Search for cultural roots 2. European education for her son <p>Trajectory of suffering – Italian disappointment</p> <p>Sarah found Italy very backward. She says that she was not prepared for what she came across:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The language appeared to very important and she did not speak any Italian. 2. The education system for her son was not up to standards 3. She found Italian mentality very narrow and hostile. 4. Culturally the position of women was very low. 	<p>Jobs - LS</p> <p>Local culture - inability to adjust to LS</p> <p>MOB 1.0 IDCAP 0.8 She is independent</p> <p>RISK 1.0 Advanced</p> <p>CDGTW 0.4 Problem with adjustment</p> <p>PARTIC 0.6 Need to belong</p>
<p>The same year they decided to move to the USA, to Florida where she was working as a tour guide for Brazilian tourists.</p> <p>She was familiar with American culture, but she mentions that consumption is a cultural aspect difficult to digest. She</p>	<p>Action Scheme</p> <p>Argumentation</p>	<p>The USA project</p> <p>After their failed Italian project Sarah and her family moved to the USA, to Florida. She was working as a tour guide.</p> <p>Negative associations with consumption culture in the USA and the US education system</p>	<p>Moving to more familiar local culture LS</p> <p>MOB 1.0 IDCAP 0.8 Driver</p> <p>SKIL 0.6 Good inter-</p>

<p>mentions that the USA is very money orientated.</p> <p>An additional problem was once more her son's education. As a foreigner he was classified as a less smart kid, and school was quite traumatic for him. After the holidays in Brazil he refused to go back to the US.</p> <p>Sarah says: <i>After 15 days I have received a phone call ... and he said to me I don't want to go back anymore, I will live here, and I say that's my life fell apart again.</i></p>	<p>Trajectory of suffering – moving to Brazil</p>	<p>In the US Sarah had a good life but her son had a problem with the education system. He could not find himself in the new environment. After holidays in Brazil he decided to stay there.</p> <p>Moving back to Brazil Sarah once more put her son's happiness above her own and decided to go back to Brazil.</p>	<p>Relation- ships LS</p>	<p>personal skills</p> <p>OREL 0.8</p> <p>REFCOM 0.6 decision made due to family circumstances</p>
<p><i>When asked about the language:</i></p> <p>Sarah mentions that she did not need English while living in USA. Brazilian Portuguese was enough for her to live and work. She mentions that this was also the reason they did not succeed in Italy.</p> <p>Sarah says: <i>[Language] is the only key to open the gate – The gateway is the language.</i></p> <p>Sarah mentions that after his traumatic experiences in the USA her son refused to speak English for a while.</p>	<p>Argumentation</p>	<p>Role of the language</p> <p>Sarah mentions that it took her a while to understand that language is important. She mentions that she failed in Italy because of the language and even though she was living so long in the USA she still did not know any English.</p>	<p>Local culture LS</p>	<p>CDLANG 1.0 Motivation to learn language</p> <p>REFCOM 0.6</p>
<p>Brazil – Second chance</p> <p>Upon their arrival in Brazil the country had changed. It had become a democratic country which made Sarah hope for a better future. They bought a house there and their son started in a very good school.</p> <p>The failed project of living in Italy left Sarah with some frustration.</p> <p>She says: <i>once I get back here and try to get engaged again with my roots, because when you have two different - roots in our minds in our lives. For a while it was complicated for me to deal with because once someone came to talk to me you have to decide which nationality you want and I felt it was quite offensive and I kept</i></p>	<p>Description – historical context</p> <p>Trajectory of suffering – identity bridge</p>	<p>Changing political context in Brazil</p> <p>Sarah mentions that the political system in Brazil had changed into a more democratic one, which made her look forward to the future of this country.</p> <p>The failed project in Italy left Sarah frustrated. Some of her previous identifications were challenged. How can she be Italian and fail to live there?</p> <p>She mentions that in her childhood she always was the Italian one, as much as others were Germans, this causes the identity bridge very much in the form of a trajectory of</p>	<p>Local culture - context</p> <p>Local cultures LS</p>	<p>CDPLAC 0.6 Multicultural back-</p>

<p><i>thinking about it, actually I don't need to make a choice, I have a choice of which nationality I want to be. Actually, it's me, because it's part of us. Actually, my family, we are like that so I deal with it really well right now, in the past no. Actually no, it was complicated for me because I grew up in Brazil and people used to say look at the Italians, look at the Italians and they were Brazilians so it was quite complicated look at the Germans, look at the Germans, they are funny.</i></p> <p>The frustration drove Sarah to undertake yet another project. She started to learn Italian through television. She says that she learned more Italian in Brazil than she ever did in Italy. In Italy nobody ever had the patience to teach her and she needed to speak Italian to link with her roots.</p>	<p>Action Scheme – learning Italian</p>	<p>suffering.</p> <p>Action Scheme – learning Italian In response to those questions she attempts yet another project – she starts to learn Italian by herself, through television. She mentions that it was quite a successful project. She discovered that in order to link to her roots she needed to learn the language.</p>		<p>ground</p> <p>CDLANG 1.0 Learning process</p>
<p>In Brazil she had a really good job with an airline company. She became a career woman. She had the chance to travel all over Brazil and advanced to a very high professional position.</p> <p>After 9/11, however, the airline company got into financial trouble and made Sarah redundant. She mentions that it was only fair – it was either her job or four other people.</p> <p>After redundancy she was unemployed for 2 years. She mentions that it was a hard time for her. She mentions that she had depression or a mental breakdown. Her life before was very intense and at the end she could not figure out what she should do with her life.</p> <p>As a way of starting new career she undertook yet another project. She went to study nursing. She mentions that it was a real challenge for her, it was something absolutely different. She was the no.1 student and mentions that she had a practical placement at a hospital in the poor communities in Sao Paolo. She had contact with very poor and difficult people</p>	<p>Institutional Action Scheme</p> <p>Trajectory of suffering</p> <p>Actions Scheme</p>	<p>Career trajectory Sarah treated her career in the airline company again, this time in trade. She rose very high in the hierarchy.</p> <p>Time marker – 9/11</p> <p>Redundancy</p> <p>Sarah understood the reasons behind her redundancy, but she took it hard. For two years she was unemployed and she acknowledges that it was a desperate time for her. In order to move out of the trajectory she attempted another action scheme.</p> <p>Nursing course The Italian project which drives her caused her to undertake yet another project. Employment policy of Italy was searching for medical staff and Sarah decided to study nursing in order to get into that position.</p>	<p>Jobs / Organisation GS</p> <p>Time marker-context</p> <p>Jobs - LS</p>	<p>OJOB 1.0 Job project</p> <p>SKIL 0.6 Building new qualifications</p>

but she learned a lot.				
<p>European Project – the UK</p> <p>Sarah and her husband never stopped to peruse the Europe project. In the meanwhile Sarah’s sister, living in the UK, got pregnant and invited her to come to help her. Sarah was planning to stay in the UK for 2, 3 months and join her husband in Italy afterwards.</p> <p>She found her sister in a very difficult position. She was pregnant and soon they found out that the baby was going to have Down’s syndrome and a serious heart condition. Additionally the father left her sister after the news. Sarah mentions that she just could not leave her sister like that. Sarah mentions that she had not even realised that 6 months had passed by.</p> <p>In meantime her husband was still in Brazil, they had problems to sell their house. She says that 6 months turned into one year without her family, without a job and without a house only to help her sister.</p> <p>At that time her son joined her in the UK. Sarah mentions that she was not ready for him to come; she mentions that he was not the boy she knew but a young man (16 years old) who was very difficult to handle. She was working just to keep her hear clear. She says that she was keeping her life on hold for a year while waiting to go to Italy, and for her it was like going from one bad place to another.</p>	<p>Institutional Action Scheme</p> <p>Trajectory of suffering</p>	<p>Action Trajectory – the Europe Project continues</p> <p>Sarah is asked to help her sister who is pregnant. Sarah follows the pattern of family bonds and when asked decides to help her sister during her pregnancy.</p> <p>Primary she treats travel to the UK as a prelude on her way to Italy, but unfortunately a turn of events brings her into a difficult situation with her sister in trouble.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. When she finds out that the child is going to be disabled and that the father has run away she is unable to leave her sister behind. 2. During that event Sarah has a sensation of time passing by, she is drifting and living in limbo – unable to take on any decision and regain control over her own life. 3. The family is once more split – husband and son in Brazil, still waiting to go to Italy and her stuck in the UK, in a very hard personal situation. 4. Arrival of her son is an additional concern, she is forced to provide and take care of him as an additional strain. She also mentions that she found her son grown up and difficult to deal with. 5. Her career was also put on hold, she tried to keep in touch with the Italian language and found a job in catering but for her it was a step down → professional status downgrade. 	<p>Relation-ships GS</p> <p>Difficulties to adjust to local culture LS</p>	<p>MOB 1.0</p> <p>REFCOM 0.6 Moving because of family</p> <p>CDCOD 0.6 She can adjust well</p>
She says that she was working a real life. She was working in catering with Italians, because she wanted to stay in touch with	Description – Italian	Life in the UK Sarah lives in the Italian bubble in the UK, she only speaks Italian and has	Local culture LS	PARTIC 0.6 Internati

<p>her people. She was living in the UK for two years speaking only Italian. Only three years ago she had started to learn and use English. She mentions that learning the language at her mature age is difficult, and that the brain does not take in information so easily.</p>	bubble	<p>started to learn English only three years ago.</p>		<p>onal Bubble REFMET 0.4 She opposes to what others are doing</p>
<p>She mentions: <i>My life was broken again, we were living apart, it was complicated for me and my family to face one more time this kind.</i></p> <p>They wanted to go to Italy but their son had already started higher education in the UK. Sarah says that it would have been unfair for him to move again and remove him from his environment. At the end her husband joined them in the UK and they decided to start another project together.</p>	Argumentation	<p>Sarah mentions that this was one more situation when she finds herself out of control. On the way to Italy but stuck in the UK.</p> <p>6. Additionally her son started to bond in the new environment (at school) which once more held her Italian project.</p>	Relationships LS	OREL 0.6
<p>At work Sarah was working with nice people but in a nasty environment. She says: <i>for me to do this job in this country was something quite offensive at the beginning. It was a downgrading ... So, I did that and I said OK, if I have to do that, I have to be a very good manager, which I achieved.</i></p>	Institutional Action Scheme	<p>As a way from trajectory of suffering Sarah and her husband work on yet another project which would allow them to stay in the UK.</p>	Jobs LS	OJOB 1.0 OPLOG 0.4 Lack of agreement to situation
<p>In the end Sarah was managing 25 employees. Now she is studying languages. She says that the choice of university was an accident. She said that she pushed her life forward. She was a queen and a servant and she came to terms with the fact that right now her life will be in the UK. She is trying to keep in touch with her Italian friends and culture.</p>	Argumentative commentary – Italian project in hold	<p>Career in the UK</p> <p>The career in catering was very downgrading for Sarah, but she made the best of it. Based on her business experience, even without proficiency in English, she managed to achieve a manager position.</p>	Status LS	OSTAT 0.6
<p>Two years ago Sarah travelled to Paris for 15 days. Sarah explains that it was</p>	Action Scheme	<p>Argumentative commentary – queen and slave</p> <p>There is some acceptance of the choice to stay in the UK, she mentions her present situation as a student and assures that her Italian project is only on hold – she still keeps in contact with Italian culture.</p>	Local culture GS	PLCON 0.8 New

<p>something special for her to do. She was amazed by the language and culture. She mentions that there is something special in French culture.</p> <p>She says: <i>I don't know how to explain exactly.. If you say I love Italy, I think Italy – and Italians I love since my birth, places and people it is my blood I can't deny, ... but I have something about French. French lives, I don't know how to explain it, and I decided to change my life again to turn my life into positive way to succeed again but within an intellectual environment. Because I was going crazy to work with those – how can I say, this casta. This level of people in catering industry. Honestly it is not for me to be owner of Michelin restaurant. I don't want to be in catering.</i></p> <p><i>... I am going to France, to try my life there without language, without anything obviously.</i></p>	<p>Argumentation</p>	<p>As a way of regaining control over her life and prove her that she can still go and do whatever she wishes. She takes on a small project – goes to France and falls in love with French culture. She finds it inspiring and enchanting.</p> <p>It also took her out of the trajectory of suffering, allowed for some closure. She reflects on her employment situation and realises the source of her discontent.</p>	<p>place of significance</p>
<p>The France trip was a sobering experience for Sarah; she decided to go back to study. She found a British university in Paris, but she could not be accepted because she did not have the equivalent to A-levels.</p> <p>She found a course in Wales, which allowed her to choose three different languages to study. She calls her studies a new project. She mentions that now she is 44 and soon she is going to be over fifty. She is aware that there are not that many jobs running for that age.</p> <p>Sarah says: <i>I know what I want to do in the future. My main concern is just to keep the language and speak the languages, but maybe to do that I need a business. To have my own business as a translator or whatever and to work in the international environment. I don't know how and where or if there is a place like that. If there is no place like that I will create my own so that is the idea.</i></p>	<p>Action Scheme</p>	<p>She reveals that she cannot go to Italy; she can follow a different path and continue her education in the Italian language and culture as well. She encounters some problems with recognition of her educational credentials – she is not allowed to study in France, but as compensation she finds a university degree which allows her to study:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Italian – her 'father tongue', 2. French – which she has a great passion for, 3. German – her brother is a professor in Germany, so there is some biographical connection as well. <p>Sarah's plans for her future would be focused on languages and potentially keeping them alive and if there is no place like that she will create it → statement of control over biographical events.</p>	<p>Status project GS</p> <p>OSTAT 0.6</p> <p>EDU 0.6</p> <p>CDLANG 1.0</p> <p>AGE 2 0.8</p> <p>REFAU 0.8 Autonomous in following a project</p>
<p>She mentions that it is very hard to be a student at that age. But this is her life as</p>	<p>Pre-coda</p>	<p>Pre-coda Sarah brings her life story to the</p>	

well as her husband's right now.		present and narrates from the point of view of the student.		
Sarah reflects that studying also has an impact on the relationship with her husband. She mentions that she is one kind of student and he is the other one.	Coda	Student life Sarah is currently a student together with her husband; this is a language project for both of them. This causes some problems, because Sarah is ambitious and often feels in competition with her husband.	Relationships LS	CDGTW 0.4 International institution
She is happy as a student, but academic work is challenging for her. She mentions that in her life she has been a survivor – mother, executive and now she needs to survive being a student. She treats it as an opportunity.	Institutional Action Scheme	Action Scheme – being a student For Sarah being a student comes with a cost, as well as being executive or mother, this is a project she aims to master. But her 'survival' language indicates some working trajectories of suffering.	Organisations LS Status LS	REFCOM 0.6 Student environment
Sarah is very frustrated when she does not succeed. She is used to giving 150% of herself to a task, but she is also a high-achiever. Problems with mastering all three languages to meet her level of ambition are a source of disappointment. Now when she has three more years of studying ahead she reflects that she needs to learn how to deal with them better.		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. High achiever – Sarah does not deal very well with situations where her effort is not rewarded; she has not fully grasped the specifics about student life, and the ways of learning. This leads to many disappointments. 2. Additionally, because of generational differences she is not able to connect with other students. 		
She complains that in certain languages she cannot understand the level of expectations and this also influences her ability to focus on other languages (she has failed French because of German). She also struggles with the younger students – kids, she calls them – who do not understand the reality and harshness of the conditions she went through. She sees student life as a protected place.	Argumentative commentary			
Sarah says: <i>Because I do like to do my very best, because I learned how to survive as being <u>the best one</u>, especially in the very competitive place like Brazil.</i>				
Sarah is financing her studies herself. She mentions that: <i>... but at least I am having an opportunity to put my life, the real life in hold, and to get the knowledge and to recreate my chance to get a nice life. A better opportunity to live in the UK. Because as I said it is not so good in here. I</i>	Argumentative commentary	Personal motivation for studying Sarah mentions that for her learning languages is about two major themes: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Proving herself, keeping her mind sharp and fulfilling her academic ambitions. 		IDCAP 1.0 Driver

<p><i>have all good intentions to have another project here, the project to work with the people. I don't know or to work here for good, to help people. Because the love [to languages] is not just about ego, it is about want to help people as well. That is my vision of those languages if I have an opportunity to go in the humanitarian mission and to help there I would be more than happy to do that, to help people, because the translation is about it, helping people. Not just to be outstanding, not just a matter of being clever or intelligent. Sometimes language is more than that. And I can with my experience that's why it would be fantastic, philosophically speaking, for me in a year's time to get all my background, my experience and my knowledge and to increase it in to be a very unique and to make a difference. That is my idea.</i></p> <p>Now Sarah can speak three languages, she mentions that she still needs to master English, but right now she is studying the foreign languages in English. She has an ambition to be outstanding in languages as well as help people.</p> <p>She has her first success in that area; she secured a summer job at a hotel in Germany. She wants to improve this language in particular. She mentions that the part she does not yet understand in language she is able to connect with people on an emotional level. She believes that this is her advantage over other people who may have similar plans to her. She builds on her life experience and considers it the greatest value.</p>		<p>2. Using her language skills to help people to communicate.</p> <p>Both of those skills she would like to use in her professional job after her studies.</p> <p>Sarah mentions that her dream starts to fulfil, she is already living an international lifestyle. She got a summer job in Germany and speaks three languages. But she also builds a confidence in her skills – a cultural toolkit of sort – which would allow her to cope and live in any place she chooses.</p>	<p>Status GS</p>	<p>CDLANG 1.0</p>
<p><i>When asked about her formal education:</i> Sarah mentions that in Brazil school is mandatory up to the age of 14. In her family she was the only child who did not attend university. Her husband has an engineering degree as well.</p>	<p>Comparison</p>	<p>Description of the educational system in Brazil as compared with the European system of opportunities.</p> <p>She mentions that all members of her family have higher education, she was the only one who was denied this privilege, later in life this is what she wants to catch up with.</p>	<p>Local culture - context LS</p>	<p>PLCON 0.8 Multi-national background</p>

<p>Sarah mentions that at the same time education is not as necessary to make a good career. In Brazil commitment and life skills are more important than formal education.</p>		<p>Sarah mentions that in Brazil, as a developing country, it was commitment and life skills which helped more in making a career than education. She is, however, aware that this is not true any longer.</p>		
<p><i>When asked about what exactly she was doing in airline companies:</i> Sarah mentions that she has always been in the sales department. She has a commercial background; she was selling new connections, offers – she negotiated contracts with American Express as well as planes. Sarah mentions that her executive post was with a firm that produced small aircrafts for very high profile clients. She mentions that she managed negotiations with sheiks. She says that if she had worked for commission she would be very rich.</p> <p>Sarah also mentions that during that period she often thought that she was not prepared to have this high function. She says: <i>I was very good, but I think again I'm postponing my studies, I need to study, you see what I mean. I say wow, I had such a good excuse to do things, but I don't, I wasn't prepared, fully prepared and it was on my mind.</i></p>	<p>Argumentation</p>	<p>Career achievements</p> <p>Sarah mentions that she has a commercial background, which is the set of skills that allowed her to make a career in different countries, even without language skills.</p> <p>At the top of her career she was on the executive position, she was dealing with sheiks, but she always felt that in order to really understand and make the best of the situation she should have a sufficient education.</p>	<p>Status GS</p>	<p>OSTAT 0.6 Being international as success</p>
<p><i>When asked about living in the Italian world in the UK and English language:</i> Sarah mentions that after two year she was asked by her Italian co-workers to help with writing menu. She mentions that she was surprised by the fact that that person was living in the UK for eight years and was not able to communicate in English. Sarah mentions that this was a wake-up call for her. Especially considering that in the UK, differently than in Brazil, there are a lot of opportunities and free programmes which allow you to learn the language. She mentions that she enrolled for a course and did six months of introductory English. Sarah reflects that she was not aware that writing in English is so difficult.</p> <p>But English helped her also in her search for new job opportunities. She says: <i>The</i></p>	<p>Argumentation</p>	<p>English Language and work in the UK</p> <p>Sarah mentions that she realised quite late that in order to achieve her goal she needed to learn English. She only realised that when her Italian friends who had been living in the UK for 8 years asked her for help. She mentions that this was a wakeup call for her.</p> <p>She used the educational opportunities provided by the UK government. She did not anticipate that spelling will be that difficult and mentions that at her age learning languages is not that difficult.</p> <p>Poor English did not stop her from reaching higher than her fellow</p>	<p>Jobs LS</p>	<p>OJOB 1.0 Another job project</p> <p>EDU 0.6 BA in Modern Languages</p>

<p><i>English, what I learned there was enough for me to get some jobs, I think what came first for me it was my background, because obviously I had very good CV in writing. I started to hand it in and straight away I had head hunters. So then they regardless of my fluency, or not they thought that I should be worth something to take her on board you know ... and I actually opened their first restaurant in Sheffield.</i></p> <p>Sarah also mentions that it was a very stressful moment for her; she had some health problems with arthritis. She had an operation in the UK, which according to her has very low health care standards. She just could not afford to go to see a good specialist in Brazil.</p>		<p>workers. She managed to master the catering business to the level of manager – she opened a restaurant.</p> <p>Medical problems The stress of the situation also took its toll on her health; she had to have an operation. She mentions that medical care is much better in Brazil → she relates to Brazil as a framework of reference.</p>	Local culture LS	
<p><i>When asked about what the difference is between European and Latin:</i> Sarah says: <i>I need to explain better because I don't think it's Europeans, because what I know about Europe is not, but I know Portuguese because my mum is Portuguese, I know Italian, because I'm Italian, I know Spanish people because in South America there are many Spanish people there who in South America was colonised by those people. ... And I know America because we had such approach in my education, and I know now - a little more about you British people. I don't know about Polish people.</i></p> <p>Sarah mentions that she had Polish people working for her and she describes situations when their reactions were completely different that those of other nationalities. She mentions a situation when someone passed away in the restaurant and the Polish girls' reactions were plainly 'what a shame' and the Italian person fainted in the kitchen, whereas the British just refused to face the situation. She mentions that the real difference is in the reaction and attitudes and she can see the differences between the nations as well as between Latin and Europeans. The same she sees in her language courses</p>	Argumentation	<p>Multi-national perspective</p> <p>Sarah is able to contrast the patterns of behaviour across many countries. She mentions that she knows Italian, Brazilian, Portuguese, American and British. But the reactions of people in different situations always surprise her, but she managed to work and be a good manager to all.</p> <p>She often operates within European-Latin distinction, even though she is not able to operationalise it without going into national stereotypes.</p>	Status GS	<p>PERNA 1.0 Global perspective</p> <p>GCI 1.0 Cosmopolitan perspective</p>

<p>when she has classes with the native speakers and lectors.</p>				
<p><i>When asked about her son:</i> Sarah mentions that he is studying business, he wants to go to the US for some time in order to try himself, but Sarah thinks that the UK is his country of choice.</p> <p>Sarah says: <i>Would you like to know something more about my family. Anything about jobs, studies, my goals, my attitudes, my dreams, my desires, why I am so excited about the life with the right people, and I think all the very interesting people, human beings, never, ever, regardless of where they come from, you know what I mean, and the challenges to deal with, to know people to understand people first, I think is my idea about life. That is why I like very much and I like it my life and I like to live, when I don't live very well I am getting frustrated. ... Yeah, the best. An so far I think I had a very unique and different, very hard life, but it was my life, my story, so far, and I'm proud, Marta, in a way, I'm proud, because we did all those things without any financial support.</i></p> <p>She mentions that it all comes at a price. She says that she is not as fit as she used to be a couple of years ago. She also mentions that communication problems both fascinate and frustrate her. She mentions that even in Portuguese, Brazilian and European dialects are completely different.</p> <p>Sarah says: ... <i>the wider measure of the day the point of all the discussion you know is to survive another day and to understand the other, different needs, mindsets and whatever, but nowhere, things like that does happen. We have it, frontier. We have the borders, because you live in Poland, and I am living there.</i></p>	<p>Argumentative commentary</p>	<p>As a summary of her life Sarah mentions that she is pleased with her life. She has a family, she finally studies – languages, which is a big challenge for her – and she is planning to connect her new skills with the rest of her life into a new career project.</p>	<p>Relationships LS</p>	<p>OREL 0.8</p>

Appendix IV

fsQCA Analysis Report

1. Hypothesis 1 - Cosmopolitan Practices

Conditions

Code	Condition Description	Calibration
GCI*	General Cosmopolitan Indicator - cultural eclectics	Cosmopolitan (1) Local (0)
AGE 1*	The cosmopolitan elements in biography at the young age, focused on travelling and working internationally	Cosmopolitan (1) Local (0)
AGE 2*	The cosmopolitan elements in biography at the adult age, focused on duties, responsibilities and care	Cosmopolitan (1) Local (0)
AGE 3*	The cosmopolitan elements in biography at the retirement, focused on sense of wider connection	Cosmopolitan (1) Local (0)
MOB	Type of mobility	International (1) Binational (0)
PERNA	Narrator's Perspective in the biographical narrative	Outside perspective (1) Insight perspective (0)
OREL	Openness on the transnational relationships	Non-traditional and international (1) Traditional and national(0)
OJOB	Openness on the transnational career	Non-traditional and international (1) Traditional and national(0)
OSTAT	Openness on the transnational status	Non-traditional and international (1) Traditional and national(0)
PLCON	Space orientation and consumption of many places	Global (1) Local (0)
RISK	Willingness to take a risk (projects, discontinuity)	Advanced (1) Minimal (0)

* Used as an outcome for the analysis

1.1 Cosmopolitanism and biographical age

Outcome AGE1

Solution OREL*OJOB*OSTAT

orel	ojob	ostat	number	age1	raw consist.	PRI consist.	SYM consist
1	1	1	10	1	0.796610	0.720930	0.746032
0	1	1	6	1	0.775000	0.653846	0.688889
1	0	1	2	1	0.741935	0.619048	0.696970
1	1	0	2	0	0.689655	0.526316	0.666667
0	0	1	2	0	0.678571	0.500000	0.655172
0	1	0	2	0	0.620690	0.421053	0.642857
0	0	0	1	0	0.565217	0.285714	0.590909

Conditions	Analysis Output	Distribution among the cases																																
Sufficient	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 1/Hypothesis 1.csv Model: age1 = f(orel, ojob, ostat)</p> <p>Rows: 7</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1</p> <p>--- COMPLEX SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.741935</p> <table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>raw</th> <th>unique</th> <th></th> </tr> <tr> <th></th> <th>coverage</th> <th>coverage</th> <th>consistency</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>orel*ostat</td> <td>0.670886</td> <td>0.075949</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>0.815385</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>ojob*ostat</td> <td>0.708861</td> <td>0.113924</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>0.767123</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>solution coverage:</td> <td colspan="2">0.784810</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>solution consistency:</td> <td colspan="2">0.784810</td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		raw	unique			coverage	coverage	consistency	orel*ostat	0.670886	0.075949		0.815385				ojob*ostat	0.708861	0.113924		0.767123				solution coverage:	0.784810			solution consistency:	0.784810			<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term orel*ostat: RENI (1,1), KINGA (1,1), PAULINE (0.8,1), GOSIA (0.8,1), ANDREW (0.8,0.4), LUKE (0.8,0.6), MATYLDA (0.8,1), JOANNA (0.6,0.6), SARAH (0.6,1), DEAN (0.6,1), GWILIM (0.6,0.6), ALEXANDRA (0.6,0)</p> <p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ojob*ostat: ZULA (1,0.8), ANDREW (1,0.4), JOANNA (0.8,0.6), PAULINE (0.8,1), KINGA (0.8,1), LUKE (0.8,0.6), MATYLDA (0.8,1), RENI (0.6,1), CARMEN (0.6,1), JAKUB (0.6,0.8), SARAH (0.6,1), MAJKA (0.6,0.6), KOSTEK (0.6,1), GOSIA (0.6,1), ALEXANDRA (0.6,0), IGOR (0.6,0)</p>
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Necessary	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 1/Hypothesis 1.csv Model: ~age1 = f(ostat, ojob, orel)</p> <p>Rows: 2</p>	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~ostat*~orel: MATILDA (0.8,1), AGATA (0.6,1), DANIELA (0.6,0.2)</p>																																

	<p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1 0 Matrix: 0L Don't Care: -</p> <p>--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.724138 Assumptions:</p> <table style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">raw</td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">unique</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">coverage</td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">coverage</td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">consistency</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3" style="text-align: center;">-----</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">~ostat*~orel</td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">0.500000</td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">0.500000</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">0.741935</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> <p>solution coverage: 0.500000 solution consistency: 0.741935</p>	raw	unique		coverage	coverage	consistency	-----			~ostat*~orel	0.500000	0.500000		0.741935		
raw	unique																
coverage	coverage	consistency															

~ostat*~orel	0.500000	0.500000															
	0.741935																

Outcome AGE2

Solution OREL*OJOB*OSTAT

orel	ojob	ostat	number	age2	raw consist.	PRI consist.	SYM consist
1	0	1	2	1	0.962963	0.875000	0.577778
1	1	1	7	1	0.913044	0.833333	0.656250
0	1	1	5	1	0.885714	0.714286	0.596154
1	1	0	2	1	0.857143	0.600000	0.571429
0	1	0	2	1	0.857143	0.555555	0.558140
0	0	1	2	0	0.846154	0.500000	0.550000
0	0	0	1	0	0.818182	0.200000	0.514286

Conditions	Analysis Output	Distribution among the cases
Sufficient	File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 1/Hypothesis 1.2.csv Model: age2 = f(ostat, ojob, orel) Rows: 6 Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1	Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ojob: SARAH (1,0.8), KOSTEK (1,1), ANDREW (1,0.8), LUKE (1,1), JOANNA (0.8,0.4), PAULINE (0.8,0.8), FREDERICK (0.8,0.2), MATILDA (0.8,0.6), RENI (0.6,0.8), CARMEN (0.6,0.8), JAKUB (0.6,0.2), MAJKA (0.6,0.6), DANIELA (0.6,0.2), ALEXANDRA (0.6,0.4), IGOR

	<p>0 Matrix: 0L Don't Care: -</p> <p>--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.857143 Assumptions:</p> <table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>raw</th> <th>unique</th> <th></th> </tr> <tr> <th></th> <th>coverage</th> <th>coverage</th> <th>consistency</th> </tr> <tr> <th></th> <th>-----</th> <th>-----</th> <th>-----</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>ojob</td> <td>0.870968</td> <td>0.193548</td> <td>0.782609</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ostat*orel</td> <td>0.725806</td> <td>0.048387</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>0.900000</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>solution coverage:</td> <td colspan="3">0.919355</td> </tr> <tr> <td>solution consistency:</td> <td colspan="3">0.780822</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		raw	unique			coverage	coverage	consistency		-----	-----	-----	ojob	0.870968	0.193548	0.782609	ostat*orel	0.725806	0.048387		0.900000				solution coverage:	0.919355			solution consistency:	0.780822			<p>(0.6,0.6), NORA (0.6,0.4) Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ostat*orel: RENI (1,0.8), PAULINE (0.8,0.8), ANDREW (0.8,0.8), LUKE (0.8,1), JOANNA (0.6,0.4), SARAH (0.6,0.8), DEAN (0.6,1), GWILIM (0.6,0.8), ALEXANDRA (0.6,0.4)</p>				
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Necessary	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 1/Hypothesis 1.2.csv Model: ~age2 = f(ostat, ojob, orel)</p> <p>Rows: 4</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1 0 Matrix: 0L Don't Care: -</p> <p>--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.785714 Assumptions:</p> <table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>raw</th> <th>unique</th> <th></th> </tr> <tr> <th></th> <th>coverage</th> <th>coverage</th> <th>consistency</th> </tr> <tr> <th></th> <th>-----</th> <th>-----</th> <th>-----</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>~ojob*~orel</td> <td>0.558140</td> <td>0.116279</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>0.857143</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>~ostat*ojob</td> <td>0.627907</td> <td>0.186047</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>0.771429</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>solution coverage:</td> <td colspan="3">0.744186</td> </tr> <tr> <td>solution consistency:</td> <td colspan="3">0.744186</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		raw	unique			coverage	coverage	consistency		-----	-----	-----	~ojob*~orel	0.558140	0.116279		0.857143				~ostat*ojob	0.627907	0.186047		0.771429				solution coverage:	0.744186			solution consistency:	0.744186			<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~ojob*~orel: AGATA (0.6,0.8), MONIKA (0.6,0.4), HELEN (0.6,0.8) Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~ostat*ojob: MATILDA (0.8,0.4), FREDERICK (0.6,0.8), DANIELA (0.6,0.8), NORA (0.6,0.6)</p>
	raw	unique																																				
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solution consistency:	0.744186																																					

Outcome AGE3

Solution OREL*OJOB*OSTAT

orel	ojob	ostat	number	age3	raw consist.	PRI consist.	SYM consist
1	1	0	1	1	1.000000	1.000000	0.625000
1	1	1	2	1	0.937500	0.857143	0.625000
1	0	1	2	1	0.900000	0.666667	0.562500
0	1	1	1	1	0.900000	0.666667	0.562500
0	1	0	1	0	0.666667	0.250000	0.545455

Conditions	Analysis Output	Distribution among the cases												
Sufficient	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 1/Hypothesis 1.3.csv Model: age3 = f(orel, ojob, ostat)</p> <p>Rows: 5</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1-L</p> <p>--- PARSIMONIOUS SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.900000</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>raw coverage</th> <th>unique coverage</th> <th>consistency</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>orel</td> <td>0.904762</td> <td>0.142857</td> <td>0.863636</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ostat</td> <td>0.809524</td> <td>0.047619</td> <td>0.772727</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>solution coverage: 0.952381 solution consistency: 0.769231</p>		raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency	orel	0.904762	0.142857	0.863636	ostat	0.809524	0.047619	0.772727	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term orel: FREDERICK (0.8,0.8), SARAH (0.8,1), GWILIM (0.8,0.4), ANDREW (0.8,0.6), DEAN (0.6,0.8)</p> <p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ostat: ANDREW (1,0.6), CARMEN (0.8,0.4), DEAN (0.8,0.8), SARAH (0.6,1), GWILIM (0.6,0.4)</p>
	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency											
orel	0.904762	0.142857	0.863636											
ostat	0.809524	0.047619	0.772727											
Necessary	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 1/Hypothesis 1.3.csv Model: ~age3 = f(orel, ojob, ostat)</p> <p>Rows: 5</p>	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~ojob: DEAN (0.6,0.2), GWILIM (0.6,0.6)</p> <p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~orel: MATILDA (0.8,0.8), CARMEN (0.6,0.6)</p>												

	<p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1-L</p> <p>--- PARSIMONIOUS SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.800000</p> <p style="text-align: center;">raw unique coverage coverage consistency -----</p> <p>~ojob 0.571428 0.142857 0.800000 ~orel 0.785714 0.357143 0.846154 solution coverage: 0.928571 solution consistency: 0.812500</p>	
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1.2 Cosmopolitanism and Space Orientation

Outcome GCI

Solution MOB*PERNA*PLACON*RISK

mob	perna	plcon	risk	number	gci	raw consist.	PRI consist.	SYM consist
1	0	0	1	1	1	1.000000	1.000000	0.583333
1	1	1	0	3	1	1.000000	1.000000	0.651163
1	1	0	1	1	1	0.961538	0.928571	0.675676
1	1	1	1	10	1	0.945455	0.923077	0.764706
1	1	0	0	2	1	0.884616	0.727273	0.605263
0	0	1	0	1	1	0.857143	0.333333	0.521739
1	0	0	0	1	0	0.842105	0.500000	0.551724
0	1	0	0	1	0	0.833333	0.500000	0.555556
0	0	0	1	2	0	0.750000	0.166667	0.517241
0	0	0	0	3	0	0.692308	0.111111	0.514286

Conditions	Analysis Output	Distribution among the cases
Sufficient	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 1/Hypothesis 1.csv Model: $gci = f(mob, perna, plcon, risk)$</p> <p>Rows: 10</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1-L</p>	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term plcon: RENI (1,0.8), ZULA (1,0.8), KOSTEK (1,0.4), PAULINE (0.8,1), CARMEN (0.8,1), SARAH (0.8,1), GOSIA (0.8,1), ANDREW (0.8,1), MATYLDA (0.8,1), FREDERICK (0.6,0.8), JAKUB (0.6,0.4), DEAN (0.6,0.8), KINGA (0.6,1), LUKE (0.6,1)</p> <p>Cases with greater than 0.5</p>

	<pre> --- PARSIMONIOUS SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.857143 raw unique coverage coverage consistency ----- plcon 0.734177 0.000000 0.892308 mob*perna 0.848101 0.050633 0.893333 mob*risk 0.734177 0.012658 0.935484 solution coverage: 0.860760 solution consistency: 0.850000 </pre>	<p>membership in term mob*perna: SARAH (1,1), KINGA (1,1), KOSTEK (1,0.4), GOSIA (1,1), RENI (0.8,0.8), PAULINE (0.8,1), CARMEN (0.8,1), FREDERICK (0.8,0.8), DEAN (0.8,0.8), ZULA (0.8,0.8), DANIELA (0.8,0.4), ANDREW (0.8,1), LUKE (0.8,1), MATYLDA (0.8,1), JOANNA (0.6,0.4), HELEN (0.6,0.4) Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term mob*risk: SARAH (1,1), KINGA (1,1), KOSTEK (1,0.4), GOSIA (1,1), RENI (0.8,0.8), PAULINE (0.8,1), CARMEN (0.8,1), LUKE (0.8,1), MATYLDA (0.8,1), GWILIM (0.6,0.8), DANIELA (0.6,0.4), ANDREW (0.6,1)</p>
<p>Necessary</p>	<pre> File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 1/Hypothesis 1.csv Model: ~gci = f(mob, perna, plcon, risk) Rows: 10 Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1-L --- PARSIMONIOUS SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.833333 raw unique coverage coverage consistency ----- ~mob 0.760870 0.173913 0.795455 ~perna*~risk 0.652174 0.065217 0.909091 solution coverage: 0.826087 solution consistency: 0.775510 </pre>	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~mob: AGATA (1,1), MONIKA (1,0.6), NORA (1,0.6), ALEXANDRA (0.8,0.8), IGOR (0.8,0.6), JAKUB (0.6,0.6), MAJKA (0.6,0.6) Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~perna*~risk: MATILDA (0.8,1), JAKUB (0.6,0.6), AGATA (0.6,1), MAJKA (0.6,0.6), MONIKA (0.6,0.6)</p>

Hypothesis 2 Cosmopolitan Dispositions

Conditions in analysis:

Code	Condition Description	Calibration
GCI*	General Cosmopolitan Indicator - cultural eclectics	Cosmopolitan (1) Local (0)
MOB	Type of mobility	International (1) Binational (0)
IDCAP	Identity capital and the logic of action dominating the transnational practices	Driver (1) Passenger (0)
CDLANG	Cultural dispositions Languages	Fluent multilingualism (1) One language (0)
CDPLAC	Cultural dispositions. The contact with cosmopolitan spaces, such as global cities, universities and international organisations	Yes (1) No (0)
CDGTW	Cultural dispositions the ability to find institutional gateways into the society or the independence.	Institutional access (1) Individual access (0)
CDCOD	Cultural dispositions - ability to adjust to new situations.	Smooth (1) Difficult (0)
PARTIC	Desire to participate in foreign culture	Yes (1) No (0)
EDU	The formal level of education	Higher education (1) Lower education (0)
SKIL	Professional qualifications and career	Professional (1) Non-professional (0)

* Used as an outcome for the analysis

2.1 Cosmopolitan disposition

Outcome GCI

Solution IDCAP*CDPLAC*PARIC

idcap	cdplac	partic	number	gci	raw consist.	PRI consist.	SYM consist
1	0	1	1	1	1.000000	1.000000	0.680000
1	1	1	12	1	0.941176	0.911765	0.738462
0	1	1	1	1	0.916667	0.833333	0.647059
1	1	0	2	1	0.911765	0.800000	0.620000
1	0	0	5	0	0.885714	0.733333	0.607843
0	1	0	3	0	0.821429	0.642857	0.621622
0	0	0	1	0	0.807692	0.545454	0.583333

Conditions	Analysis Output	Distribution among the cases																																				
Sufficient	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 2/Hypothesis 2.csv Model: $gci = f(partic, cdplac, idcap)$</p> <p>Rows: 6</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1 0 Matrix: 0L Don't Care: -</p> <p>--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.911765 Assumptions:</p> <table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>raw coverage</th> <th>unique coverage</th> <th>consistency</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>partic*cdplac</td> <td>0.620253</td> <td>0.012658</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>0.907407</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>partic*idcap</td> <td>0.708861</td> <td>0.101266</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>0.949153</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>cdplac*idcap</td> <td>0.658228</td> <td>0.050633</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>0.896552</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>solution coverage:</td> <td colspan="2">0.772152</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>solution consistency:</td> <td colspan="2">0.884058</td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency	partic*cdplac	0.620253	0.012658		0.907407				partic*idcap	0.708861	0.101266		0.949153				cdplac*idcap	0.658228	0.050633		0.896552				solution coverage:	0.772152			solution consistency:	0.884058			<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term partic*cdplac: ZULA (0.8,0.8), ALEXANDRA (0.8,0.2), RENI (0.6,0.8), JOANNA (0.6,0.4), PAULINE (0.6,1), CARMEN (0.6,1), SARAH (0.6,1), KINGA (0.6,1), MAJKA (0.6,0.4), GOSIA (0.6,1), ANDREW (0.6,1), LUKE (0.6,1), MATYLDA (0.6,1)</p> <p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term partic*idcap: KINGA (1,1), GOSIA (1,1), PAULINE (0.8,1), ZULA (0.8,0.8), RENI (0.6,0.8), JOANNA (0.6,0.4), CARMEN (0.6,1), SARAH (0.6,1), GWILIM (0.6,0.8), ALEXANDRA (0.6,0.2), ANDREW (0.6,1), LUKE (0.6,1), MATYLDA (0.6,1)</p> <p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term cdplac*idcap: ZULA (0.8,0.8), LUKE (0.8,1), RENI (0.6,0.8), JOANNA (0.6,0.4), PAULINE (0.6,1), CARMEN (0.6,1), JAKUB (0.6,0.4), SARAH (0.6,1), KINGA (0.6,1), KOSTEK (0.6,0.4), GOSIA (0.6,1), ALEXANDRA (0.6,0.2), ANDREW (0.6,1), MATYLDA (0.6,1)</p>
	raw coverage	unique coverage	consistency																																			
partic*cdplac	0.620253	0.012658																																				
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solution consistency:	0.884058																																					

Necessary	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 2/Hypothesis 2.csv Model: $\sim gci = f(\text{partic}, \text{cdplac}, \text{idcap})$</p> <p>Rows: 4</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1 0 Matrix: 0L Don't Care: -</p> <p>--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.678571 Assumptions:</p> <table border="0" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">raw</td> <td style="text-align: center;">unique</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">coverage</td> <td style="text-align: center;">coverage</td> </tr> <tr> <td>consistency</td> <td style="text-align: center;">-----</td> <td style="text-align: center;">-----</td> </tr> </table> <p>$\sim \text{partic} * \sim \text{idcap}$ 0.586957 0.152174 0.750000 $\sim \text{partic} * \sim \text{cdplac}$ 0.652174 0.217391 0.697674 solution coverage: 0.804348 solution consistency: 0.698113</p>		raw	unique		coverage	coverage	consistency	-----	-----	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term $\sim \text{partic} * \sim \text{idcap}$: AGATA (1,1), MATILDA (0.8,1), DEAN (0.6,0.2), HELEN (0.6,0.6) Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term $\sim \text{partic} * \sim \text{cdplac}$: AGATA (1,1), IGOR (0.8,0.6), MONIKA (0.8,0.6), FREDERICK (0.6,0.2), DANIELA (0.6,0.6), NORA (0.6,0.6)</p>
	raw	unique									
	coverage	coverage									
consistency	-----	-----									

2.2. Individuality

Outcome GCI

Solution: IDCAP*CDGTW*PARIC*MOB

mob	idcap	cdgtw	partic	number	gci	raw consist.	PRI consist.	SYM consis
1	1	0	1	6	1	1.000000	1.000000	0.705882
1	1	1	1	6	1	0.977778	0.966667	0.745763
1	1	0	0	3	1	0.925926	0.846154	0.641026
0	1	0	0	2	1	0.900000	0.500000	0.529412
0	1	0	1	1	1	0.888889	0.600000	0.551724
0	1	1	0	2	0	0.850000	0.500000	0.548387
1	0	1	0	3	0	0.826087	0.692308	0.655172
0	0	0	0	1	0	0.777778	0.200000	0.518519

Conditions	Analysis Output	Distribution among the cases															
Sufficient	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 2/Hypothesis 2.csv Model: $gci = f(mob, idcap, cdgtw, partic)$</p> <p>Rows: 8</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1</p> <p>--- COMPLEX SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.888889</p> <table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>raw coverage</th> <th>unique coverage</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>idcap*~cdgtw</td> <td>0.545455</td> <td>0.077922</td> </tr> <tr> <td>0.857143</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>mob*idcap*partic</td> <td>0.701299</td> <td>0.233766</td> </tr> <tr> <td>0.981818</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>solution coverage: 0.779221 solution consistency: 0.882353</p>		raw coverage	unique coverage	idcap*~cdgtw	0.545455	0.077922	0.857143			mob*idcap*partic	0.701299	0.233766	0.981818			<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term idcap*~cdgtw: KOSTEK (0.8,0.4), RENI (0.6,0.8), CARMEN (0.6,1), FREDERICK (0.6,0.8), SARAH (0.6,1), GWILIM (0.6,0.8), DANIELA (0.6,0.4), ALEXANDRA (0.6,0.2), MONIKA (0.6,0.4), LUKE (0.6,1), MATYLDA (0.6,1), NORA (0.6,0.4)</p> <p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term mob*idcap*partic: KINGA (1,1), GOSIA (1,1), PAULINE (0.8,1), ZULA (0.8,0.8), RENI (0.6,0.8), JOANNA (0.6,0.4), CARMEN (0.6,1), SARAH (0.6,1), GWILIM (0.6,0.8), ANDREW (0.6,1), LUKE (0.6,1), MATYLDA (0.6,1)</p>
	raw coverage	unique coverage															
idcap*~cdgtw	0.545455	0.077922															
0.857143																	
mob*idcap*partic	0.701299	0.233766															
0.981818																	
Necessary	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 2/Hypothesis 2.csv Model: $\sim gci = f(idcap, cdgtw, partic, mob)$</p> <p>Rows: 8</p>	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~mob: AGATA (1,1), MONIKA (1,0.6), NORA (1,0.6), ALEXANDRA (0.8,0.8), IGOR (0.8,0.6), JAKUB (0.6,0.6)</p>															

	<p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1-L</p> <p>--- PARSIMONIOUS SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.833333</p> <p>raw unique coverage coverage consistency -----</p> <p>~mob 0.744186 0.744186 0.780488 solution coverage: 0.744186 solution consistency: 0.780488</p>	
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2.3 Cosmopolitan toolkit

Outcome GCI

Solution: CDLANG*CDCOD*EDU*SKIL

cdlang	cdcod	edu	skil	number	gci	raw consist.	PRI consist.	SYM consist
0	1	1	1	4	1	0.909091	0.823529	0.652174
1	1	1	1	10	1	0.905660	0.848485	0.705882
1	1	0	0	1	1	0.875000	0.777778	0.666667
1	0	1	1	4	1	0.833333	0.600000	0.588235
0	0	1	1	4	0	0.757576	0.466667	0.581395
0	0	0	0	2	0	0.611111	0.222222	0.550000

Conditions	Analysis Output	Distribution among the cases
Sufficient	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 2/Hypothesis 2.csv Model: $gci = f(skil, edu, cdcod, cdlang)$</p> <p>Rows: 6 Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1 0 Matrix: 0L Don't Care: -</p>	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term $skil*edu*cdcod$: ANDREW (1,1), PAULINE (0.8,1), CARMEN (0.8,1), DANIELA (0.8,0.4), RENI (0.6,0.8), FREDERICK (0.6,0.8), JAKUB (0.6,0.4), DEAN (0.6,0.8), GWILIM (0.6,0.8), KINGA (0.6,1), MAJKA (0.6,0.4), GOSIA (0.6,1), LUKE (0.6,1),</p>

	<p>--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.833333 Assumptions:</p> <table> <tr> <td></td> <td>raw</td> <td>unique</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>coverage</td> <td>coverage</td> <td>consistency</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>-----</td> <td>-----</td> <td>-----</td> </tr> <tr> <td>skil*edu*cdcod</td> <td>0.683544</td> <td>0.075949</td> <td>0.900000</td> </tr> <tr> <td>skil*edu*cldlang</td> <td>0.670886</td> <td>0.063291</td> <td>0.828125</td> </tr> <tr> <td>~skil*~edu*cdcod*cldlang</td> <td>0.177215</td> <td></td> <td>0.037975 0.875000</td> </tr> </table> <p>solution coverage: 0.784810 solution consistency: 0.837838</p>		raw	unique			coverage	coverage	consistency		-----	-----	-----	skil*edu*cdcod	0.683544	0.075949	0.900000	skil*edu*cldlang	0.670886	0.063291	0.828125	~skil*~edu*cdcod*cldlang	0.177215		0.037975 0.875000	<p>MATYLDA (0.6,1) Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term skil*edu*cldlang: RENI (0.8,0.8), JOANNA (0.8,0.4), PAULINE (0.8,1), CARMEN (0.8,1), JAKUB (0.8,0.4), DANIELA (0.8,0.4), GWILIM (0.6,0.8), KINGA (0.6,1), ZULA (0.6,0.8), KOSTEK (0.6,0.4), GOSIA (0.6,1), LUKE (0.6,1), MATYLDA (0.6,1), HELEN (0.6,0.4) Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~skil*~edu*cdcod*cldlang: SARAH (0.6,1)</p>
	raw	unique																								
	coverage	coverage	consistency																							
	-----	-----	-----																							
skil*edu*cdcod	0.683544	0.075949	0.900000																							
skil*edu*cldlang	0.670886	0.063291	0.828125																							
~skil*~edu*cdcod*cldlang	0.177215		0.037975 0.875000																							
Necessary	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 2/Hypothesis 2.csv Model: ~gci = f(cldlang, cdcod, edu, skil)</p> <p>Rows: 6</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1-L</p> <p>--- PARSIMONIOUS SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.750000</p> <table> <tr> <td></td> <td>raw</td> <td>unique</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>coverage</td> <td>coverage</td> <td>consistency</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>-----</td> <td>-----</td> <td>-----</td> </tr> <tr> <td>~cdcod</td> <td>0.847826</td> <td>0.847826</td> <td>0.709091</td> </tr> </table> <p>solution coverage: 0.847826 solution consistency: 0.709091</p>		raw	unique			coverage	coverage	consistency		-----	-----	-----	~cdcod	0.847826	0.847826	0.709091	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~cdcod: MONIKA (1,0.6), AGATA (0.8,1), MATILDA (0.8,1), ALEXANDRA (0.8,0.8), IGOR (0.8,0.6), HELEN (0.8,0.6), JOANNA (0.6,0.6), ZULA (0.6,0.2), KOSTEK (0.6,0.6), NORA (0.6,0.6)</p>								
	raw	unique																								
	coverage	coverage	consistency																							
	-----	-----	-----																							
~cdcod	0.847826	0.847826	0.709091																							

Hypothesis 3 Reflexivity and Cosmopolitanism

Conditions in analysis:

Code	Condition Description	Calibration
GCI*	General Cosmopolitan Indicator - cultural eclectics	Cosmopolitan (1) Local (0)
REFCOM*	Cosmopolitan elements displayed in the communicative mode of reflexivity	Yes (1) No (0)
REFAU*	Cosmopolitan elements displayed in the autonomous	Yes (1)

	mode of reflexivity	No (0)
REFMET*	Cosmopolitan elements displayed in the meta-reflexive mode of reflexivity	Yes (1) No (0)
OREL	Openness on the transnational relationships	Non-traditional and international (1) Traditional and national(0)
OJOB	Openness on the transnational career	Non-traditional and international (1) Traditional and national(0)
OSTAT	Openness on the transnational status	Non-traditional and international (1) Traditional and national(0)
RISK	Willingness to take a risk (projects, discontinuity)	Advanced (1) Minimal (0)
CHEXP	Early childhood experiences of transnationalism	Yes (1) No (0)
OPLOG	Following the logic of opportunity in terms of international and national options	International (1) Local (0)

* Used as an outcome for the analysis

3.1 Communicative Reflexive

Outcome: REFCOM

Solution: CHEXP*OREL*RISK

chexp	orel	risk	number	reocom	raw consist.	PRI consist.	SYM consist
1	0	0	2	1	1.000000	1.000000	0.588235
1	1	0	3	1	1.000000	1.000000	0.585366
1	0	1	3	1	0.880000	0.666667	0.578947
1	1	1	3	1	0.833333	0.600000	0.588235
0	0	0	6	0	0.696970	0.333333	0.560976
0	1	1	8	0	0.625000	0.250000	0.555556

Conditions	Analysis Output	Distribution among the cases																				
Sufficient	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 3/Hypothesis 3.csv Model: refcom = f(risk, orel, chexp)</p> <p>Rows: 4</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1 0 Matrix: 0L Don't Care: -</p> <p>--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 2.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.833333 Assumptions:</p> <table style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>raw</th> <th>unique</th> <th></th> </tr> <tr> <th></th> <th>coverage</th> <th>coverage</th> <th>consistency</th> </tr> <tr> <th></th> <th colspan="3">-----</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>chexp</td> <td>0.700000</td> <td>0.700000</td> <td>0.711864</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>solution coverage: 0.700000 solution consistency: 0.711864</p>		raw	unique			coverage	coverage	consistency		-----			chexp	0.700000	0.700000	0.711864	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term chexp: RENI (1,0.8), DEAN (1,0.8), ZULA (1,1), KOSTEK (1,0.2), DANIELA (1,0.4), GOSIA (1,0.4), CARMEN (0.8,0.8), FREDERICK (0.8,0.6), HELEN (0.8,0.6), JOANNA (0.6,0.8), SARAH (0.6,0.6)</p>				
	raw	unique																				
	coverage	coverage	consistency																			

chexp	0.700000	0.700000	0.711864																			
Necessary	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 3/Hypothesis 3.csv Model: ~refcom = f(chexp, orel, risk)</p> <p>Rows: 6</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1-L</p> <p>--- PARSIMONIOUS SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 2.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.760000</p> <table style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>raw</th> <th>unique</th> <th></th> </tr> <tr> <th></th> <th>coverage</th> <th>coverage</th> <th>consistency</th> </tr> <tr> <th></th> <th colspan="3">-----</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>~chexp</td> <td>0.738461</td> <td>0.430769</td> <td>0.727273</td> </tr> <tr> <td>~orel*risk</td> <td>0.430769</td> <td>0.123077</td> <td>0.823529</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>solution coverage: 0.861538</p>		raw	unique			coverage	coverage	consistency		-----			~chexp	0.738461	0.430769	0.727273	~orel*risk	0.430769	0.123077	0.823529	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~chexp: PAULINE (1,0.8), JAKUB (1,0.6), AGATA (1,1), MATILDA (1,0.2), ALEXANDRA (1,0.4), IGOR (1,0.6), NORA (1,1), MAJKA (0.8,0.4), MONIKA (0.8,0.8), MATYLDA (0.8,0.2), GWILIM (0.6,0.6), KINGA (0.6,1), ANDREW (0.6,0.6), LUKE (0.6,0.8)</p> <p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~orel*risk: CARMEN (0.6,0.2), KOSTEK (0.6,0.8), DANIELA (0.6,0.6)</p>
	raw	unique																				
	coverage	coverage	consistency																			

~chexp	0.738461	0.430769	0.727273																			
~orel*risk	0.430769	0.123077	0.823529																			

3.2 Autonomous Reflexivity

Outcome: REFAU

Solution: OPLOG*OJOB*RISK

oplog	ojob	risk	number	refau	raw consist.	PRI consist.	SYM consist
1	1	1	9	1	0.946429	0.896552	0.662500
0	1	1	4	1	0.914286	0.750000	0.581818
1	1	0	4	1	0.911765	0.727273	0.574074
0	0	1	1	1	0.880000	0.571429	0.550000
1	0	0	2	0	0.846154	0.500000	0.550000
0	0	0	2	0	0.750000	0.300000	0.538462
0	1	0	3	0	0.742857	0.307692	0.541667

Conditions	Analysis Output	Distribution among the cases																				
Sufficient	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 3/Hypothesis 3.csv Model: refau = f(risk, ojob, oplog)</p> <p>Rows: 4 Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1 0 Matrix: 0L Don't Care: -</p> <p>--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.880000 Assumptions:</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td></td> <td>raw</td> <td>unique</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>coverage</td> <td>coverage</td> <td>consistency</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>-----</td> <td>-----</td> <td>-----</td> </tr> <tr> <td>risk*~oplog</td> <td>0.445946</td> <td>0.081081</td> <td>0.891892</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ojob*oplog</td> <td>0.783784</td> <td>0.418919</td> <td>0.920635</td> </tr> </table> <p>solution coverage: 0.864865 solution consistency: 0.901408</p>		raw	unique			coverage	coverage	consistency		-----	-----	-----	risk*~oplog	0.445946	0.081081	0.891892	ojob*oplog	0.783784	0.418919	0.920635	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term risk*~oplog: CARMEN (0.6,0.4), SARAH (0.6,0.8), GWILIM (0.6,0.6), ALEXANDRA (0.6,0.6), NORA (0.6,0.8)</p> <p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ojob*oplog: KOSTEK (1,1), JOANNA (0.8,0.8), PAULINE (0.8,1), KINGA (0.8,0.8), ZULA (0.8,0.4), MATYLDA (0.8,1), RENI (0.6,0.4), JAKUB (0.6,0.6), DANIELA (0.6,0.8), GOSIA (0.6,0.8), IGOR (0.6,0.6), ANDREW (0.6,0.8), LUKE (0.6,0.8)</p>
	raw	unique																				
	coverage	coverage	consistency																			
	-----	-----	-----																			
risk*~oplog	0.445946	0.081081	0.891892																			
ojob*oplog	0.783784	0.418919	0.920635																			
Necessary	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis</p>	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term</p>																				

<p>3/Hypothesis 3.csv Model: ~refau = f(risk, ojob, oplog)</p> <p>Rows: 6 Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1 0 Matrix: 0L Don't Care: -</p> <p>--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.840000 Assumptions:</p> <pre> raw unique coverage coverage consistency ----- ~ojob*~oplog 0.529412 0.039216 0.870968 ~risk*~oplog 0.705882 0.215686 0.878049 ~risk*~ojob 0.549020 0.058824 0.848485 solution coverage: 0.803922 solution consistency: 0.836735 </pre>	<p>~ojob*~oplog: AGATA (0.6,1), GWILIM (0.6,0.4), HELEN (0.6,0.6) Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~risk*~oplog: MATILDA (1,1), MAJKA (0.8,0.8), HELEN (0.8,0.6), FREDERICK (0.6,0.6), AGATA (0.6,1) Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~risk*~ojob: AGATA (0.6,1), DEAN (0.6,0.8), MONIKA (0.6,0.4), HELEN (0.6,0.6)</p>
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3.3 Meta-reflexive

Outcome: REFMET

Solution: CHEXP*OPLOG*OSTST

chexp	oplog	ostat	number	refmet	raw consist.	PRI consist.	SYM consist
1	1	0	1	1	0.944444	0.666666	0.531250
1	0	0	1	1	0.928572	0.666667	0.541667
1	0	1	3	1	0.884615	0.571429	0.547619
1	1	1	6	1	0.878049	0.666666	0.580645
0	1	1	8	1	0.846154	0.625000	0.589286
0	0	1	3	0	0.774194	0.222222	0.521739
0	0	0	3	0	0.703704	0.111111	0.513514

Conditions	Analysis Output	Distribution among the cases																																
Sufficient	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 3/Hypothesis 3.csv Model: refmet = f(ostat, oplog, chexp)</p> <p>Rows: 6</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1 0 Matrix: 0L Don't Care: -</p> <p>--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.846154 Assumptions:</p> <table style="margin-left: 40px;"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>raw</th> <th>unique</th> <th></th> </tr> <tr> <th></th> <th>coverage</th> <th>coverage</th> <th>consistency</th> </tr> <tr> <th></th> <th>-----</th> <th>-----</th> <th>-----</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>chexp</td> <td>0.650794</td> <td>0.079365</td> <td>0.694915</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ostat*oplog</td> <td>0.825397</td> <td>0.253968</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>0.812500</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td colspan="3">solution coverage: 0.904762</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td colspan="3">solution consistency: 0.695122</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		raw	unique			coverage	coverage	consistency		-----	-----	-----	chexp	0.650794	0.079365	0.694915	ostat*oplog	0.825397	0.253968			0.812500				solution coverage: 0.904762				solution consistency: 0.695122			<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term chexp: RENI (1,0.8), DEAN (1,0.4), ZULA (1,0.8), KOSTEK (1,0.4), DANIELA (1,0.6), GOSIA (1,0.6), CARMEN (0.8,0.6), FREDERICK (0.8,0.8), HELEN (0.8,0.4), JOANNA (0.6,0.4), SARAH (0.6,0.4)</p> <p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ostat*oplog: RENI (0.8,0.8), JOANNA (0.8,0.4), PAULINE (0.8,0.8), KINGA (0.8,0.6), ZULA (0.8,0.8), GOSIA (0.8,0.6), MATYLDA (0.8,0.2), JAKUB (0.6,0.6), DEAN (0.6,0.4), KOSTEK (0.6,0.4), IGOR (0.6,0.4), ANDREW (0.6,1), MONIKA (0.6,0.6), LUKE (0.6,0.6)</p>
	raw	unique																																
	coverage	coverage	consistency																															
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chexp	0.650794	0.079365	0.694915																															
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	solution coverage: 0.904762																																	
	solution consistency: 0.695122																																	
Necessary	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 3/Hypothesis 3.csv Model: ~refmet = f(ostat, oplog, chexp)</p> <p>Rows: 6</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1 0 Matrix: 0L Don't Care: -</p> <p>--- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.846154 Assumptions:</p>	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~oplog: MATILDA (1,1), MAJKA (0.8,0.6), ALEXANDRA (0.8,1), NORA (0.8,0.4), HELEN (0.8,0.6), CARMEN (0.6,0.4), FREDERICK (0.6,0.2), AGATA (0.6,0.6), SARAH (0.6,0.6), GWILIM (0.6,0.8)</p> <p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~ostat*chexp: FREDERICK (0.6,0.2), DANIELA (0.6,0.4)</p>																																

	<pre> raw unique coverage coverage consistency ----- ~oplog 0.709677 0.516129 0.830189 ~ostat*chexp 0.274194 0.080645 0.850000 solution coverage: 0.790323 solution consistency: 0.830509 </pre>	
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3.4 Reflexivity modes across biographical cases

Outcome: GCI

Solution: REFCOM*REFAU*REFMET

refcom	refau	refmet	number	gci	raw consist.	PRI consist.	SYM consist
1	0	1	4	1	1.000000	1.000000	0.652174
0	1	0	3	1	0.918919	0.812500	0.618182
1	1	0	4	1	0.916667	0.823529	0.634615
0	1	1	9	1	0.911111	0.840000	0.672131
0	0	0	1	1	0.827586	0.545454	0.571429
1	0	0	4	0	0.781250	0.533333	0.595238

Conditions	Analysis Output	Distribution among the cases
Sufficient	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 3/Hypothesis 3.csv</p> <p>Model: $gci = f(\text{refcom}, \text{refau}, \text{refmet})$</p> <p>Rows: 6</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey</p> <p>True: 1-L</p>	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~refcom:</p> <p>AGATA (1,0), KINGA (1,1), NORA (1,0.4), PAULINE (0.8,1), KOSTEK (0.8,0.4), MONIKA (0.8,0.4), LUKE (0.8,1), JAKUB (0.6,0.4), GWILIM (0.6,0.8), DANIELA (0.6,0.4), GOSIA (0.6,1), IGOR (0.6,0.4), ANDREW (0.6,1)</p> <p>Cases with greater than 0.5</p>

	<pre> --- PARSIMONIOUS SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.827586 raw unique coverage coverage consistency ----- ~refcom 0.607595 0.012658 0.738461 refau 0.759494 0.101266 0.810811 refmet 0.721519 0.113924 0.904762 solution coverage: 0.898734 solution consistency: 0.763441 </pre>	<p>membership in term refau: PAULINE (1,1), KOSTEK (1,0.4), MATYLDA (1,1), JOANNA (0.8,0.4), SARAH (0.8,1), KINGA (0.8,1), DANIELA (0.8,0.4), GOSIA (0.8,1), ANDREW (0.8,1), LUKE (0.8,1), NORA (0.8,0.4), JAKUB (0.6,0.4), GWILIM (0.6,0.8), ALEXANDRA (0.6,0.2), IGOR (0.6,0.4), MONIKA (0.6,0.4) Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term refmet: ANDREW (1,1), RENI (0.8,0.8), PAULINE (0.8,1), FREDERICK (0.8,0.8), ZULA (0.8,0.8), CARMEN (0.6,1), JAKUB (0.6,0.4), KINGA (0.6,1), DANIELA (0.6,0.4), GOSIA (0.6,1), MONIKA (0.6,0.4), LUKE (0.6,1), NORA (0.6,0.4)</p>
<p>Necessary</p>	<p>File: C:/Users/Marta Eichsteller/Documents/DATASET/Hypothesis 3/Hypothesis 3.csv Model: ~gci = f(refmet, refau, refcom)</p> <p>Rows: 2</p> <p>Algorithm: Quine-McCluskey True: 1 0 Matrix: 0L Don't Care: -</p> <pre> --- INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION --- frequency cutoff: 1.000000 consistency cutoff: 0.750000 Assumptions: raw unique coverage coverage consistency ----- ~refmet*~refau 0.652174 0.652174 0.769231 solution coverage: 0.652174 solution consistency: 0.769231 </pre>	<p>Cases with greater than 0.5 membership in term ~refmet*~refau: MATILDA (1,1), AGATA (0.6,1), DEAN (0.6,0.2), MAJKA (0.6,0.6), HELEN (0.6,0.6)</p>