5 Cosmobility: The Cosmopolitan Pattern of Mobility

In this section, I will discuss the second part of Malinka's life story and the life story of another of my respondents, Francis. Presenting these two narratives serves as illustrations for the pattern that I call *cosmobility*. Certainly, the cosmopolitan pattern of mobility contains heterogeneous life and mobility experiences. We will see that the mobility experiences to be analyzed here follow a different logic than the other patterns, particularly when it comes to the destinations: the places to which my respondents direct their mobility experiences. What is more, we will look at the circumstances under which mobility to various destinations come about and how these two individuals construct meaning around their movements. Malinka's life story is important in two respects: (1) her life story includes mobility practices that shift from one pattern to another (from transmobility to cosmoblity), and (2) it is exceptional insofar as it incorporates mobility as part of a lifestyle, by putting value on mobility as such, regardless of the destination. We will see that some biographical moments triggering mobility are specific to the German or rather the European context. Francis's case, on the other hand, is symptomatic—almost ideal-typical—for the construction of the pattern of cosmobility and provides space for contextual comparisons between other Toronto-based life stories (such as Anja's, ch. 3.1) and Montreal-based life stories (such as Oscar's, ch. 4.2). Examining these two life stories in depth will shed light on the cosmopolitan experience of mobility and on the differences between it and the two other patterns.

5.1 MALINKA, PART II: "THE ONE WHO DOES NOT WANT TO EMIGRATE"

In the previous chapter, I analyzed the first part of Malinka's narrative about her life. I have divided the analysis into two parts, identifying a key moment in her life that changed her outlook on the future and subsequently her (mobility) practices. While I described her life-changing experience in the previous chapter, I will now analyze the consequences of the key moment, Malinka's failed "immigration project" and the realization that she, in fact, no longer wanted to emigrate. That being said, Malinka continues to be on the move, but has changed her mobility practices from "transmobility" to "cosmobility."

Mobility as a Strategy for Disappearing

In 2003, Malinka came back from her second stay in the United States as she re-evaluated her "immigration project." (l.503) She would have been about twenty-four years old at the time. Being back in Berlin, Malinka needed to reorganize her life and rethink her plans. On an everyday basis, this became manifest in the changing of apartments: she moved out of her mother's place and moved in with a friend. She enjoyed being back in Berlin:

"It was good. I moved in with my friend right away […]. She had an apartment and I moved in there […]. She visited me at that point of time, I think. At some point, she was [in the United States] for a few weeks." (ll.504-507)[1]

In the United States, Malinka was already striving for a more independent way of life, which she found difficult to attain there. Leaving her mother's place and moving in with a friend in Berlin was a first step towards this goal, not least because she diminished the possibilities of "social control" on her mother's part. Having her own place, Malinka started studying in Berlin again. In her narrative, she is not specific about the field of study, though she mentions gaining psychology credits while simultaneously making it clear that psychology was not the field she was enrolled in. Malinka was still not admitted into her desired field

1 "Das war gut. Ich bin dann, glaube ich, auch gleich mit meiner Freundin zusammengezogen. […] Sie hatte eine Wohnung und ich bin dazu gezogen […] Sie hat mich dann auch besucht zu diesem Zeitpunkt glaube ich. Irgendwann war sie auch da für paar Wochen [in den USA]."

of study (ll.550-553). Soon she unexpectedly needed to look for another apartment:

"Hold on, I had lived with my friend for some time, right, with the one friend of mine. […] And one day I moved in with another friend. Well, I know that her boyfriend wanted to move in with her and then I moved in with another friend, in ****[district in Berlin, A/N], too. However, it didn't work out well. After one year, […] we gave up the apartment and I thought to myself OK, before looking for another apartment and so on, I'll go abroad again [laughter]." (ll.511-520)[2]

Malinka had not yet found her academic way at that point in her life and her living situation turned out to be complicated as she faced a third move within Berlin in a short period of time. Having to find—yet again—another place to stay played a major role in her decision to go abroad. In fact, Malinka presents these biographical circumstances as triggers for another mobility experience. She lived approximately two years in Berlin before leaving Germany, this time for Cuba. This decision appears to be another coping strategy, to avoid the challenges of looking for another apartment in Berlin (where the housing situation is quite challenging) and, importantly, not being able to study what she wanted to study:

"Yeah, I didn't have a place at university and I thought OK, perhaps I first/ and somehow, I wanted to go to Cuba. I had wanted to go to Cuba for a long time already by then and it was a rather spontaneous idea and I thought Oh. Hold on. I had already worked a lot by this time. I thought no, you go abroad for half a year and then you apply for a place at university just afterwards." (ll.554-557)[3]

2 "Wart mal, 'ne Zeit lang habe ich mit meiner Freundin, also mit der einen Freundin zusammengewohnt […] und irgendwann bin ich dann umgezogen mit einer anderen Freundin. Also, ich weiß sie hatte dann irgendwie einen Freund und er wollte mit ihr zusammenziehen und dann bin ich mit einer Freundin auch in [Berliner Stadtteil, eig. Anm.] zusammengezogen und das hat aber dann irgendwie nach einem Jahr doch irgendwie nicht so gut funktioniert und dann haben wir […] die Wohnung gekündigt und ich dachte OK, bevor ich mir dann eine neue Wohnung suche usw. gehe ich nochmal ins Ausland [Lachen]."

3 "Ja, ich hatte keinen Studienplatz und ich dachte naja ok, dann mache ich vielleicht erstmal/ und ich wollte irgendwie nach Kuba. Ich wollte schon länger nach Kuba und es war eine recht spontane Idee und ich dachte ach Moment mal, ich habe ja auch zu dem Zeitpunkt schon viel gearbeitet. Ich dachte nee, dann gehst du nochmal für ein halbes Jahr weg und bewirbst dich für das Semester halt danach."

This stay is restricted in time due to *a posteriori* reasoning. Malinka obviously learned a lesson from her former mobility experience when it comes to deciding on a time frame for her stay. She basically used her "free time" to go abroad with the intention of applying for a psychology program in Germany the following semester. And yet, it was a spontaneous decision. In order to highlight this spontaneity, Malinka narrates the circumstances:

"Above all, I organized my accommodation just in the last evening, because I had still so much to do and my mum asked me: 'Where are you sleeping there?'—'Yeah, no idea' […] but in the plane, I met two Englishmen and they suggested that I come with them, as they already had an accommodation. There might be something available there and it was just like that." (ll.564-571) [4]

Malinka did not plan or organize her stay in Cuba in so much detail as she had done for her two previous stays in the United States. She approached this mobility experience in a rather carefree manner. She did not even know where to sleep, which, arguably, indicates a certain fearlessness and thirst for adventure. Departing under such circumstances may have resulted from Malinka's previous mobility experiences insofar as she knew she was able to deal with situations as they came up. Malinka's choice to move to Cuba was also motivated by her wish to learn a foreign language:

"I've always wanted to learn Spanish. […] I had somehow worked a lot in order to save money. […] I also lived with my mum again for some time in order to save money and to prepare everything and then I went to Cuba for two months […] and then went to Argentina. […] I was gone for five months." (ll.522-534)[5]

4 "Ja, vor allem ich habe mir die Unterkunft noch am letzten Abend organisiert, weil ich einfach noch viel zu tun hatte und meine Mama fragte mich: 'Ja, wo schläfst du denn da?'—'Ja, keine Ahnung' […] aber im Flugzeug habe ich zwei Engländer kennengelernt und die meinten halt: 'Komm erstmal mit uns. Wir haben eine Unterkunft. Da wird sich bestimmt ein Zimmer finden' und so war das auch."

5 "Ich wollte ja schon immer Spanisch lernen. […] Dann hab' ich irgendwie noch ganz viel gearbeitet um Geld zu sparen. […] Dann [habe ich] 'ne Zeit lang wieder bei meiner Mama gelebt, also ich glaube ein paar Monate um auch Geld zu sparen und alles vorzubereiten und dann bin ich nach Kuba gegangen für 2 Monate […] und dann war ich in Argentinien […] Da war ich 5 Monate weg."

Her desire to learn Spanish determined the destination she went to. Fulfilling this wish was a priority in her approach to going abroad. However, in order to pursue this mobility experience Malinka needed to prepare, most importantly with regard to finances. From the quote, it becomes clear that Cuba was not to be her only destination. She combined a two month stay in Cuba with a three month stay in Argentina. Malinka was taking Spanish lessons in Cuba (ll.638f), yet her stay there was more a matter of private interest as she really wanted to see and experience this country. The purpose of her stay in Argentina, however, was to be more "meaningful." (l.653) That is why she organized an internship in Argentina (ll.652ff):

"And there I had an internship in a medical practice […] and they were specialized in phobias, right [laughter]. […] They rather worked in the field of behavioural psychology, which I liked very much and there I learned a lot of Spanish, too. Simply through listening I have learned a lot, right, because I could […] attend the meetings, the group sessions." (ll.522-534)[6]

For Malinka, a meaningful stay is apparently one in which she is able to gain additional qualifications. Her goal was to acquire the Spanish language and to acquire professional experience in the field of psychology. Malinka, obviously, combined the acquisition of so-called "soft-skills" with her mobility experiences. She shapes her experiences in such a way as to also be valid in professional terms. In both places, Malinka met new people and enjoyed her stay very much (ll.549f). Her stay in Argentina, however, was particularly insightful:

"Well, I learned a lot and I also met some other Germans who were doing internships as well, yet not in my area but in other areas. Oh, I attended language school. I made this internship through an organization and through it I somehow met new people." (ll.612-622)[7]

6 "Und da habe ich ein Praktikum gemacht in so einer Praxis […] und die sind dann spezialisiert auf Phobien [Lachen]. […] Die haben auch mehr gearbeitet in Richtung Verhaltenspsychologie und das hat mir ganz gut gefallen und da habe ich auch noch viel Spanisch gelernt. Auch einfach durch's Zuhören habe ich viel gelernt, genau weil ich konnte […] an den Sitzungen teilnehmen, an den Gruppensitzungen."

7 "Also, ich habe viel gelernt. Das war gut und da habe ich auch andere Deutsche kennengelernt, die da auch ein Praktikum gemacht haben, also nicht in dem Bereich aber in anderen Bereichen. Ach, [ich] hatte ja Sprachschule. Es war durch so eine Organisation habe ich das Praktikum gemacht und irgendwie habe ich die Leute dadurch kennengelernt."

In Argentina, Malinka expanded her knowledge, most importantly through the internship she completed there. What is more, the stay in Argentina seems to have been much more planned than the stay in Cuba. It was institutionally structured as Malinka was embedded in a larger organization that offered additional language classes and other activities. When the five months were over, Malinka returned to Berlin. She finally got admitted into a psychology program, though not in Berlin but in Greifswald (l.577).

Studying, Commuting, Going Abroad, and Travelling

Once Malinka was admitted into a psychology program, she was able to follow her desired professional pathway. She had studied in other disciplines before, but had not pursued these studies seriously. She never completed a degree, but the official status as a student was advantageous; it facilitated everyday life by providing reductions, for instance, for public transportation and for various cultural activities like visiting museums or going to the theatre. Malinka was happy to be admitted into the program, but it implied an internal (non-border-crossing) relocation of her center of life from Berlin to Greifswald, where she moved into a dormitory (l.677). At that point in time, she must have been around twenty-six or twenty-seven years old. This is—from a comparative perspective—relatively late to begin studying. Most students in Germany begin their studies at around the age of twenty. Malinka could finally pursue her desired studies, but she was not thrilled about the city:

"I found Greifswald not to be so exciting and that's why I always arranged my classes in such a way as to be in Berlin often. […] I didn't have many contacts with the people there, simply because I was in Berlin very often and just because I wasn't looking for it. Later in my advanced study period, I decided, no, I have to stay here for a while so that I can do my studies well. Right, to make it well, yeah. […] I also told myself OK, you need to try harder to make friends here and so on, establishing contacts and that's what I did. That was good." (ll.680-687)[8]

8 "Ich fand Greifswald nicht so spannend deswegen habe ich mir am Anfang die Kurse immer so gelegt, dass ich irgendwie ganz viel in Berlin bin. […] Ich hatte da auch nicht solche Kontakte zu den Leuten, einfach, weil ich oft in Berlin war und, einfach, weil ich sie nicht gesucht habe. Später im Hauptstudium habe ich beschlossen, nein ich muss schon ein bisschen hierbleiben damit ich das Studium auch gut machen kann. Also, gut machen ja. […] Dann habe ich mir auch bewusst gesagt: 'Ok du musst

Malinka had mixed feelings about living in Greifswald. Therefore, she practiced mobility again, but this time in the form of internal bi-local circulation flows. Interestingly, Malinka presents temporal immobility as a coping strategy. She associates this immobility with the establishing of social contacts in a particular place. After four semesters, she stopped commuting to Berlin and stayed most of the time in Greifswald to focus on her studies and to engage in the student life there. Not long before finishing her studies, Malinka decided, yet again, to go abroad. She again chose a Spanish-speaking country as a destination as she went to Granada, Spain. She wanted to improve her Spanish language skills (l.717) and used the Erasmus-program in order to make a student exchange there (l.729). Using the Erasmus-program is, certainly, a typical mobility experiences as far as my German-based interviewees are concerned. For going abroad, Malinka chose a point in time which best corresponded with her workload at university, meaning that she—as we have seen earlier—takes into account *when* to go. I asked her again about her motivations for going abroad. Her answer is instructive:

"Yes, I thought I want to go abroad […] Every few years I get kind of a craving, because I think I need to get away again and I simply considered this possibility. Well, I can take it, yeah [laughter]."(ll.735-793)[9]

Malinka points out that she feels an inner urge to go abroad from time to time, and this time she figured out that doing Erasmus would be a good option to do so, not least because she could combine her mobility experience with her studies. Malinka compares such "craving" moments with an addiction:

"It's just such a restlessness? I think it's a bit like an addiction. When you begin to travel and you like it, then I think it's like an addiction. Right, as if you would miss something, because you don't experience so much here. You experience so many new things abroad, you get to know so many new people […]. I think it enriches you enormously and […] I have also noticed that simply nothing changes here. So, that my friends are still here when

dich hier mit den Leuten ein bisschen besser anfreunden usw. Kontakte knüpfen' und das habe ich auch gemacht. Das war auch gut, ja."

9 "Ja, ich dachte ich will ins Ausland gehen. […] Ich bekomme alle paar Jahre irgendwie so ein Jieper, weil ich denke so ich muss wieder weg und ich dachte einfach an die Möglichkeit. Also, ich kann das nochmal mitnehmen, ja [Lachen]."

I get back. Right, I've been in touch with them. There's just little changes and being abroad, there you experience so much." (ll.749-756)[10]

Interestingly, Malinka does not relate her motivation with her CV or new "soft skills" anymore. She talks about being "addicted" to experiencing new things, getting to know new people, and learning. She feels enriched through her mobility experiences as opposed to always remaining in one place, because—as she points out—nothing ever changes there. In fact, being mobile prevents her from becoming dull:

"But always when I come back, I think I'm kind of more open, perhaps you can get a little dull/ maybe if you are in such an age that you get dull a bit, etc. And I think you appreciate many things more." (ll.770ff)[11]

During the interview, I asked her if she was aware of the fact that she was very mobile, probably more so than others. She answered that she is, indeed, aware of it. She thinks that other people may be afraid; they especially fear losing their social relationships at home (ll.762ff). Malinka is not afraid of that anymore. She realized that "the good friends that I have here, those who remain, they are there and my family as well." (ll.765ff)[12] She conceives of the maintenance of her long-established social relationships as relatively unbound from any specific location. To go abroad is a practice for Malinka in which she only gains new experiences rather than losing things, except for a few birthdays with friends (ll.768f). Although her friendships and familial relationships are more stable and

10 "Es ist halt so eine Unruhe? Ich glaube, es ist so ein bisschen wie so eine Sucht. Wenn man angefangen hat zu reisen und es gut findet, dann ist es—glaube ich—wie so eine Sucht. Also, als ob man wieder etwas vermisst, weil man erlebt hier nicht so viel. Man erlebt so viel Neues, man lernt so viele neue Leute kennen […]. Ich finde es bereichert einen enorm und ich habe auch festgestellt, dass sich hier halt einfach nichts ändert. Also, dass meine Freunde immer noch da sind, wenn ich wiederkomme. Also, ich habe mit ihnen ja noch Kontakt gehalten. Es ändert sich einfach so wenig und man erlebt da so viel."

11 "Aber ich fand immer, wenn ich wiederkam, war ich irgendwie viel offener. Man stumpft vielleicht so ein bisschen/ also, vielleicht, wenn man in so einem Alter ist, dass man so ein bisschen abstumpft usw. Und ich glaube man weiß viele Sachen viel eher zu schätzen."

12 "Die guten Freunde, die ich hier habe, die bleiben, die sind da und meine Familie ist halt auch da."

less affected by her mobility experiences, this is not necessary the case when it comes to her romantic relationships. Earlier in this analysis, I indicated that Malinka left her boyfriends behind when she went abroad. In leaving for Spain, she again practiced the "leaving behind boyfriends" -principle: "Funny, I had another boyfriend then. Somehow I always have a boyfriend when I go abroad." (ll.644ff)[13] Malinka notices that it seems to be a recurring pattern in her life. This, in turn, triggers a reflection about this matter. It is obviously not the first time she has thought about it:

"But I think it's also because when I know that I'm about to go away at that time, I can imagine/ I'm perhaps just more open then, maybe the idea of not needing to find the perfect man and then it may work out […]. I also talked about it with my supervisor when I was doing an internship in psychology. I had a good relationship with her and she was saying 'Yeah, you are simply more open then' and I thought yeah, it's true because always before I go abroad, I meet someone who I suddenly like and it just has to be me and that I have a more open approach then." (ll.648-656)[14]

In her self-reflection about the connection between her romantic relationships and her mobility experiences, Malinka suggests a causal relationship between these two occurrences. She assumes a psychological mechanism, which lies in herself: "it just has to be me." Malinka's mobility experiences have both positive as well as negative impacts on her romantic relationships. On the one hand, Malinka feels more open to beginning a relationship before she leaves; on the other hand, the relationship may fall apart due to distance. Malinka is no longer with the man she was with when she was about to leave for Spain. Whether this relationship ended because of her mobility experience is left unmentioned. At the time when I interviewed her, she was single.

13 "Witzig, da hatte ich irgendwie auch einen Freund. Irgendwie habe ich immer einen Freund, wenn ich ins Ausland gehe."

14 "Aber ich glaube es liegt auch daran, ich kann mir auch vorstellen, dass ich in der Zeit, wenn ich schon weiß, dass ich weg gehe/ ich bin dann halt einfach offener vielleicht, also vielleicht auch dieses ich muss nicht den perfekten Mann finden und es entwickelt sich dann […]. Ich habe auch mal darüber mit meiner [Praktikums-] Betreuerin [in Psychologie] geredet, also ich hatte mit ihr auch so ein ganz gutes Verhältnis und irgendwie meinte sie so: 'Ja, du bist dann auch einfach offener' und ich dachte so, ja stimmt, weil immer bevor ich ins Ausland gehe, lerne ich irgendjemand kennen den ich dann auf einmal mag und es muss einfach an mir liegen und dass ich offener rangehe an manche Sachen."

Eventually, Malinka returned to Greifswald. It took her another three years to finish her studies there. She graduated in 2013 (ll.795) when she was around thirty-two years old. After her studies, Malinka came across yet another mobility experience. This time we cannot say that she relocated her center of life as she was rather travelling, on a journey around the world. All in all, this journey lasted five months, but she did not establish a new everyday life at another place. She travelled as a leisure activity. She did not plan this world trip; it came out of certain opportunity structures she encountered at a specific point in time. She tells me about it:

"I didn't plan the world trip like that, but a friend of mine with whom I studied, and who also graduated at the same time as I wanted to travel again. She also likes to travel and asked me if I'd accompany her, but at that time I couldn't commit myself to it. And then she found on the internet/ she was looking for a travel companion in an online forum and found a girl from Switzerland and they had planned the trip together and then at the last minute I said, 'oh no, I'll come with you after all' and then I joined in." (ll.738-744)[15]

Malinka did not plan and organize the trip because she did not want to commit to this project at first:

"I think I just didn't know if I was going to finish my master's thesis, would it work out or not? I didn't want to commit myself. So, then I thought perhaps I will somehow get a job right away, or whatever. So, somehow, I didn't have a clear mind. Well, I was in the middle of my thesis and I just didn't know what would happen if I failed. Then I'd have to rewrite it." (ll.746-751)[16]

15 "Ich habe die Weltreise nicht so geplant, sondern eine Kommilitonin von mir mit der ich zusammen studiert habe und die auch zur gleichen Zeit ihren Abschluss gemacht hat, wollte nochmal verreisen. Sie reiste auch gerne und sie hat mich erstmal gefragt, ob ich mitkomme aber zu dem Zeitpunkt konnte ich mich noch nicht festlegen und dann hat sie im Internet, also im so einem Forum nach einer Reisebegleitung gesucht und auch ein Mädel aus der Schweiz gefunden und die haben zusammen die Reise geplant und ich habe dann im letzten Augenblick gesagt, ach nee, doch, ich komme doch mit und dann habe ich mich angeschlossen."

16 "Ich glaube ich wusste halt nicht, bin ich dann fertig mit meiner Diplomarbeit, klappt das oder nicht? Ich wollte mich nicht festlegen und dann dachte ich ja vielleicht werde ich dann doch irgendwie gleich danach anfangen zu arbeiten oder wie auch immer. Also, irgendwie hatte ich da den Kopf noch nicht so frei. Also, ich war da mitten in

The reason to not be able to commit herself and to plan the world trip lied in the future uncertainty that usually arises during the final stages of graduating from university. Malinka recalls that she did not have a "clear mind," which indicates her worries about the future and her inability to foresee what would come next in her professional pathway. At the end of the day, Malinka graduated and she did not get a job right away, so she decided to do this world trip after all. It seems as though she only took this mobility opportunity because she had no other opportunities or responsibilities that could have required her to be somewhere specific. Deciding to take a trip around the world spared her from looking for a professional position right away. Through the world trip, she postponed her search for employment.

The Exceptionality of Malinka's Mobility

Malinka's mobility practices are extensive and they require temporal and financial resources, though travelling costs have become cheaper. Her professional situation was on "stand-by" for a long time as she was only later admitted into the psychology program at a German university. However, she not only practiced mobility because she had time to do so, but also because she values it *as such*. Her mobility experiences are exceptional, I argue, for both contexts of Germany and Canada, but the biographical constellation under which her mobility experiences arose is specific to Germany, and even more so to Berlin for various reasons. First, Malinka mainly practiced mobility while she was enrolled as a student in Berlin. Despite her studies in psychology in Greifswald, she did not pursue her other studies seriously, so she used her time for earning money in different (temporary) jobs rather than attending classes. Following such a strategy was, at that time, possible in the German *Bundesland* Berlin, because it did not charge tuition fees for students in university, unlike most of the other German *Bundesländer*, which charged tuition fees (approx. 500€ plus social contribution approx. 300€ per term) from the mid-2000s until they were completely abolished in Germany ten years later.[17] In contrast, there are high tuition fees in Canada (on average 6.000 C$ per year, the highest rates are in Ontario with 7.868 C$ and the lowest in Newfoundland with 2.660 C$ and Quebec 2.799 C$). The rates get even higher for

der Diplomarbeit und ich wusste halt nicht, was ist, wenn ich durchfalle. Dann muss ich nochmal schreiben."

17 For further information, see the homepage of the Federal Ministry of Education and Research in Germany: https://www.bmbf.de

postgraduate programs (though more funding packages are available for graduate students).[18] In order to pay the high tuition fees and everyday life expenses, most students in Canada get into high debt by taking out student loans and credit cards. In both Germany and Canada, students usually work during their studies to support themselves, but while students in Germany may be better able to save money, students in Canada usually try to keep their debts as low as possible, not least, because most are not financially supported by their parents. What is more, many of my interviewees, such as Malinka, use the possibility of Erasmus for doing a semester or a year abroad at another university. The mobility stipends of Erasmus cover the tuition fees of the universities abroad, but the students need to cover the living expenses by themselves. Erasmus is, certainly, a moment, in which the EU becomes visible in students' everyday lives. Although Malinka does not explicitly state how she financed all her mobility experiences, she mentions having worked a lot during her "stand-by" period, and that she lived at (or moved back to) her mother's in order to save money, and arguably, her mother also supported her financially. Malinka's case is generally uncommon for both Germany and Canada, while the contextual differences in how students are financially supported or support themselves, makes Malinka's mobility experiences rather improbable—not to say almost unthinkable—in Canada.

Slowing Down: From Hypermobility back to Sedentariness?

In the course of her world trip, Malinka travelled to Asia, Australia, and the United States (ll.819-823). She had not been back from her world trip for a year when we met in Berlin. Despite being glad to be back in Berlin, Malinka faces challenges as she is not able to find a job and has yet to make up her mind about what she wants to do professionally. Her current situation is characterized by uncertainty and doubt:

"Yeah, then I returned to Berlin and it was somehow difficult, too, because during my studies I had some doubts. Ah, psychology, is it the right thing to do and so on? I think it was rather because of the studies and then I have also considered, OK, am I going to do

18 For further information, see the homepage of Statistics Canada: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/150909/dq150909b-eng.htm

the training, the psychiatric-therapeutic training? This is certainly not regulated very well; I find. (ll.829-833) [19]

Malinka struggled to decide if she should pursue an additional psychiatric-therapeutic training which would be important in case she wants to be professionally active in the realm of psychology. The institutional arrangements for this additional training are not very attractive. She tries to balance its advantages and disadvantages. A major drawback is the low income during the training (l.836). What is more, Malinka wishes to stay in Berlin. She applied for other jobs in Berlin, but had little success, not least because the labour market in Berlin is dense and competitive since many people apply from everywhere as Berlin is commonly appreciated for its diverse social life, making it a desirable place to live for young adults. She eventually made up her mind to apply for the training after all in order to stay in Berlin. She clearly sees her future in Berlin, although she did not always like it there:

"I know that for a very long time, I didn't even like Berlin. I was also a little bit like yeah, I want to get away from Berlin. I only really started to like Berlin when I returned from the United States for the second time. That was like oh Berlin is awesome. I was kind of searching for another city to live in, because when I was in the United States for the first time, because I knew I didn't want to go to Poland either, because where we live, it's very small and that was just nothing." (ll.902-907) [20]

Apparently, Malinka combined her search for a "city to live in" with her mobility experiences. At that time, she did not want to live in Berlin. The geographical space of Poland has evolved into a place she does not want to live in either. Here we notice that her perceptions about Poland changed: while she really wanted to

19 "Ja dann bin ich halt nach Berlin [zurück] und das war irgendwie auch eh schwierig, weil ich auch im Laufe meines Studiums ein bisschen Zweifel hatte. Ah, Psychologie ist das nun das Richtige usw.? Ich glaube es lag halt mehr so am Studium und dann habe ich auch überlegt, ok, machst du diese Ausbildung, die psychatrisch-therapeuthische Ausbildung. Das ist natürlich aber auch nicht so glücklich geregelt, finde ich."

20 "Ich weiss auch eine ganz lange Zeit mochte ich Berlin nicht. Ich war ja auch so ein bisschen, ja ich will weg aus Berlin. Ich mochte erst richtig Berlin als ich das zweite Mal aus den USA wiederkam. Das war so hoo, Berlin ist voll toll. Ich war ein bisschen auf der Suche nach einer anderen Stadt für mich zu leben, weil ich das erste Mal in den USA war, weil ich wusste nach Polen will ich auch nicht, weil da wo wir leben, das ist halt ganz klein und das war halt irgendwie nichts."

live in Poland in the early years of her life, it has become, for her, an undesirable place to live. This is, certainly, reflected in her evolving mobility practices, too: "It was not on my mind, even though Poland, certainly, has great cities like Krakow, etc. It somehow did not attract me so much." (l.915)[21] For Malinka, Poland is not an eligible place to live. Her mobility orientation thus developed beyond her "country of origin."

Meanwhile, however, Malinka's mother had moved back to Poland. It was about that time when Malinka came back from Cuba and Argentina in her mid-twenties (ll.886ff). Malinka implied that her mother separated from her Berlin-based husband and was now back with Malinka's father in Poland (ll.16f). Despite her early childhood, Malinka did not direct her mobility practices to Poland, although she now travels there four or five times a year to see her parents following her mother's return (ll.891). Other than that, she had not much "to do with Poland." (l.919) Her friends in Berlin (and elsewhere) are not Polish either—until recently, when Malinka started to be in touch with more people of Polish background. Malinka has a friend, one of my interviewees, through whom she got in touch with more Polish people:

"I like it. I think I've also noticed that it is good for me, a little like back to the roots. […] I then realize, yes OK, the older I get the more important it is for me. Maybe a little bit of this aspect." (ll.996-1000)[22]

The fact that Malinka got in touch with other Germans of Polish background was rather random (ll.1002). Only then she realized that not forgetting her roots may become more important to her as she gets older. Like many of my interviewees, she reflects on the differences between the Polish and the German cultures. She mentions that family life is more important in Polish than in German families. While German culture is more individualistic, Polish culture is more family-oriented, which—according to Malinka—may be related to the former Communist system (ll.1061-1081). She also sees differences with respect to religion. Malinka stopped going to church after her first communion and is very skeptical about the Catholic Church; she strongly separates faith from the church as an in-

21 "War nicht bei mir auf dem Zaun, obwohl Polen natürlich tolle Städte hat also wie Krakau usw. Irgendwie hat es mich da nie hingezogen."

22 "Es gefällt mir gut. Ich glaube, ich habe auch so gemerkt es tut mir auch ganz gut, so ein bisschen zurück zu den Wurzeln. […] Ich merke dann ja ok, vielleicht auch so ein bisschen je älter ich werde desto wichtiger ist das für mich. Vielleicht so ein bisschen dieser Aspekt."

stitution (l.1089f). Her critical stance on the Catholic Church is not well received within her family in Poland:

"I am very critical, and I express it, also in front of my family and also in front of my grandmother. For her it is, of course, very bad. She is ninety-six. Once I said, accidentally, that I would not want my children to be baptized. That was bad. Perhaps, I shouldn't have said that. It just slipped out. But I cannot do much with the church, especially with the Catholic Church. […] I think the church is just outdated and not very timely and I don't like the celibacy." (ll.1107-1119)[23]

All members of her family in Poland go to church regularly. Malinka sometimes talks with her mother about the Catholic Church. Although she understands Malinka's objections, Malinka's mother nevertheless goes to church as—according to Malinka—it is so much part of her everyday life. 1105). This, Malinka believes, keeps her from thinking critically about certain matters pertaining to Catholicism (l.1100). Apart from religion, Malinka also mentions aspects of Polish culture that she evaluates more positively. She, for instance, believes that Polish people are more open and "come out of their shell faster" than Germans. The latter are more restrained and need more time to "break the ice." (ll.992-995) Since Malinka juggles with (at least) two sets of cultural repertoires (as do most of my interviewees), her self-understanding is complex. For her, it is difficult to put how she feels into words (l.1005). In an attempt to explain, Malinka refers to her mobility experiences:

"When I am abroad, and someone asks me I realize I say, well I'm from Berlin. I don't say I come from Poland. I say, I'm from Berlin. When I did Erasmus, I know my roommate didn't know for a long time that I come somehow from Poland. He thought I was German because I said I was from Berlin. (ll.1008-1012)[24]

23 "Ich bin sehr kritisch und ich äußere das auch, auch vor meiner Familie und auch vor meiner Oma. Die findet das natürlich ganz schlimm, die ist 96. Das war eher zufällig, als ich mal meinte, nee also meine Kinder, die will ich nicht taufen lassen. Das war schlimm. Das hätte ich vielleicht nicht sagen sollen. Das ist mir so rausgerutscht. Aber ich kann damit nicht so viel anfangen mit der Kirche. Also, an sich, also vor allem mit der katholischen [Kirche]. […] Ich finde die Kirche ist halt veraltet und wenig zeitgemäß und mir gefällt das auch nicht mit dem Zölibat."

24 "Wenn ich so im Ausland bin und mich jemand fragt—merke ich—ich sage, ich komme aus Berlin. Ich sage ja nicht ich komme aus Polen. Ich sage ich komme aus Berlin. Als ich Erasmus gemacht habe, ich weiss der eine Mitbewohner, der wusste

Interestingly, Malinka cannot think of a way to describe her self-understanding other than to refer to situations when she is abroad. Obviously, her self-understanding in Germany is not so much challenged as opposed to when she is abroad, because then she needs to reflect more on the commonly asked question: "Where do you come from?" Malinka usually follows her feeling and refers to Berlin. In doing so, she does not refer to Germany as a whole, but to Berlin *specifically*. This city affiliation also signals that she does not necessarily see herself as "German," even though she describes herself as a "Berliner." Earlier we saw that Malinka insisted on her Polish origin, which intensified her belonging to Poland; once she is abroad, this belonging to Poland as one of her countries of origin fades into the background. This is what I have referred to earlier as a *contextualized self-understanding*. In this sense, she situationally constructs her "place of origin" which shifts from Poland to Berlin depending on where she is ("travelling origins," ch. 5.2). Malinka nevertheless sees herself as having a "Polish side," but she cannot really describe her feeling of belonging in words, so she relies on the perceptions of others, who would say to her: "You are not typically German." (l.1025)[25] We can assume that the regional affiliation she often puts forward provides a kind of solution for "not being typically German" because Berlin is also commonly known as not being a typical German city. As Germany's capital, Berlin is exceptionally cosmopolitan and international, attracting many people from Germany and everywhere else in the world. Compared to other cities, Berlin does not have the largest number of people with a migration background, but tourism in Berlin is far greater than in any other city. What is more, Berlin records a significant influx of mostly young and well-educated people who rejuvenate the city. At home and abroad, Berlin is popularly known as "cool" and "hip," promoting the regional identification: the vast majority identify as Berliners (Anheier/Hurrelmann 2014). The issue of language in Malinka's life story might also be brought to bear on this matter of "not being a typical German." Interestingly enough, Malinka met my other interviewee at the community college (*Volkshochschule*) where both women attended phonetics classes in order to get rid of their accent (the rolling "r") when speaking German (ll.926). Having an accent bothered her: "I think because it just bothered me so much […] Certainly, I can speak German better than Polish, but in German, I

ganz lange nicht, dass ich irgendwie aus Polen komme. Der dachte ich bin Deutsch, weil ich sage ich komme aus Berlin."

25 "Du bist nicht typisch Deutsch."

have, of course, this accent." (ll.954ff)[26] Learning that some of my interviewees attended phonetic courses in order to get rid of their accents came as a bit of a surprise. I did not imagine that an accent could bother people so much. Yet, the way you speak immediately tells others something about where you come from and since German immigration policies dictate assimilation as the ideal of integration and German society has come to expect this. As for the impact such policies and expectations may have on individuals, it is therefore not altogether surprising that only German interviewees attended phonetics courses to get rid of their accents. I have not encountered this phenomenon with my Canadian-based interviewees. Then again, having an accent when speaking the language of a current place of residency is a major topic in the narratives of almost all my interviewees. Oscar, for example, speaks three languages fluently, but none of them accent-free. While he did not encounter a general expectation of accent-free language proficiency in Canada, he complains that people cannot make out where he comes from whenever he speaks. Eventually, he accepted this trilingualism and incorporated it into his cosmopolitan identity. Malinka is still struggling with this situation:

"Yes, and I also have an accent in Polish. Somehow it bothers me, because I thought I have to speak at least one language [accent-free]. Well, it bothered me, but I think, because of this class, I thought, oh no, I just need to deal with it in a more relaxed way. It is like that. It is part of me. In a way, it is my story." (ll.958-961)[27]

Malinka tries to find a way to accept this "imperfection." This imperfection, however, is only an imperfection as far as the social expectation of assimilation is concerned. For Malinka and for others, it is, inevitably, part of their story. The fact that Malinka attends a phonetics class at that particular point of her life may also be related to her future plans, in which she, contrary to her past experiences, pursues a "life of immobility":

26 "Ich glaube, weil es mich einfach so gestört hat […] Ich kann natürlich Deutsch besser als Polnisch, aber im Deutschen habe ich natürlich schon so einen Akzent."

27 "Ja, und im Polnischen habe ich auch einen Akzent. Irgendwie stört mich das, weil ich dachte ich muss doch mal eine Sprache [akzentfrei sprechen]. Also, es hat mich gestört aber ich glaube gerade durch diesen Kurs dachte ich so, ach nee, ich muss einfach ein bisschen relaxter damit umgehen. Es ist halt so. Es gehört irgendwie auch so zu mir. Es ist auch so meine Geschichte."

"Let's just say, I really want to stay in Berlin. I'm already thirty-four and I have this like factor of OK, I really want to have a family and I also want to settle my life, so like getting an apartment and a job and then that I might hopefully find the right man and I think I want to stay in Berlin. It may, of course, be that something comes along, and I'd say 'Hey, let's go abroad again before planning a family is becoming more serious' [laughter]. But first, many areas of life are still to be worked on, especially getting a job and then we'll see for everything else." (ll.1153-1160)[28]

Malinka made up her mind about Berlin as a desirable place to dwell; the geographical space of Berlin changed meanings: from being the place she wanted to get away from at any cost during her childhood to being *the place she always comes back to*. She sees Berlin as the place she will remain. She now chooses to live an immobile life. In consideration of her life phase, Malinka would like to start a family soon. For her, living a settled life implies immobility. Truth to be told, she does not categorically refuse the possibility of further mobilities, but she does not want to be mobile alone anymore. In conclusion, we can say that her relocation from Greifswald to Spain and back to Berlin was the latest mobility experience, maybe not the last one. Similar to Malinka, Francis—whose life story I will introduce in the next section—is also an individual who started to be mobile early in life and is likely to continue practicing mobility.

5.2 FRANCIS: "THE ONE WHO JUST DOES NOT LIVE IN THE SAME PLACE"[29]

Francis's life story is the last one to be analyzed in depth in this chapter. He is a young adult of Polish descent whom I met in Toronto. When I interviewed him, he was twenty-five years old. Getting in touch with Francis is the result of a

28 "Ich will schon in Berlin bleiben. Ich glaube ich bin jetzt auch schon 34 und habe auch ein bisschen so den Aspekt, OK ich will schon eine Familie haben und ich will schon irgendwie mein Leben dann auch regeln, also halt eine Wohnung und dann einen Job und dass man vielleicht dann hoffentlich dann den passenden Mann kennenlernt und ich glaube ich will schon in Berlin bleiben. Es kann natürlich sein, dass sich halt immer wieder was ergibt und man sagt: 'hey, wir gehen dann doch nochmal ins Ausland bevor dann die Familienplanung nachher irgendwie ernst wird' (Lachen). Aber erst mal sind das ja Baustellen, vor allem der Job und dann alles Weitere: Mal schauen."

29 Parts of this chapter draw on Wieczorek 2016.

"snowballing procedure," that is, one of my other interviewees suggested I interview him. I subsequently contacted him, and we made an appointment right away. I interviewed him in his apartment in downtown Toronto on January 26, 2014. By inviting me into his home, Francis established an interview setting that is framed by his own life, allowing me to take a peek into one part of his current biographical experience. Francis was very courteous. Before I posed my initial question, we spoke about his friend from Montreal (Oscar, see ch. 4.2) and about my study. After I posed my initial question, Francis immediately fell into a narrative mode and started to tell me his story. The encounter with Francis comes close to an "ideal typical" autobiographical-narrative interview, or to put it differently: Francis made it easy for me to interview him. The interview lasted for one hour and 45 minutes.

Francis provided me with a detailed account of his life. We will see that the issue of mobility is of high biographical relevance to his life trajectory. Similar to Malinka, experiences of mobility arose early in his life course. Francis partly passively underwent and partly actively undertook several geographical movements, including various relocations of his center of life, and other mobility experiences such as travelling. These mobility experiences emerged under specific biographical occurrences at certain times in his life that are linked to familial networks and other social relationships. His biographical experiences need to be viewed with regard to his family history as he is a member of the same Polish diaspora of former aristocrats like Oscar. Being part of this network enables mobility experiences, but Francis's mobility practices differ from those of Oscar. This difference is due to the matter of language and, in particular a different sense of belonging to the Polish heritage culture. These are not as pronounced as they were in Oscar's life story, making Francis mobility experiences typical for the pattern of cosmobility.

Roots of Mobility in an Aristocratic Diaspora

If Francis cultural roots lie in Poland, no member of his core family including himself has ever lived there. He was there merely as a visitor a "handful of times." (l.565) Poland is thus not a significant geographical reference point for him as he has not been living there, nor does he intend to. Poland is nevertheless relevant to his story, because he uses it as a symbolic reference. In order to understand his life trajectory, we need to learn about Francis's family history and how it is related to the mobility experiences of past generations.

At the beginning of his narration, Francis frequently highlights the fact that his parents are of Polish origin, but that "neither grew up in Poland." (l.5) His

mother was born in Kenya to "two Polish parents" (l.6) and his father was born in Hungary to "a Polish father and a Hungarian mother." (ibid.) The precision with which he describes his grandparents' cultural roots legitimizes his description of his family and thus himself to be "of Polish origin." He is aware that the fact that no one in his core family was actually born in Poland distinguishes his family from others who would be characterized as "being of Polish origin," yet he does not see this as a contradiction and highlights this position. Francis does more than mention his family's migration background. He describes the members of each generation according to their *birthplace(s)* and their relevant Polish origins. His parents moved to Canada before Francis was born; they are, in a way, first generation "migrants" to Canada while his mother simultaneously belongs to the second generation in matters of her Polish origins as she was already factually a second generation "migrant" in Kenya, the place she was born. The example of Francis's mother shows how mobility, which has been ongoing for several generations, complicates classification by generation. Similarly, Francis's own story is a rather complicated one, refusing a simple categorization along the established concept of "generation." Factually, he belongs to the third generation of Polish "migrants" in respect to his cultural origin. However, he also belongs to the second generation of "migrants" in Canada as his parents were the first generation to move to Canada, but—remarkably—not out of Poland. The status of "migrant generation" in Francis's family is ambiguous due to a variety of practiced "secondary movements" (Moret 2015) or "onward migration." (Jeffery/Murison 2011) We see that experiences of mobility contain a history of their own since mobility reaches back a few generations in Francis's family history: Francis's father fled Hungary during World War II and came to Toronto, Canada, probably in 1943 with his family (l.8). His mother's family, i.e., Francis's grandfather and grandmother, fled Poland shortly after World War II:

"They fled the war or they fled […] Poland after the war, because the Russians would have locked them up […] my grandfather […] didn't go back to Poland until '88, so he left everything he had in Poland, his family, well his family left as well, but […] he left Poland after the war with his bride at the time, my grandmother, and they went to Kenya to start a new life […] then they had three daughters that were born in Kenya." (ll.31-36)

In order to conclude the story, Francis states that his parents met while his father was visiting Africa, once the couple got engaged, Francis's mother moved to Canada with her fiancé (l.36f). However, the maternal side of Francis's family did not actually leave during World War II, but right after it since "the Russians would have locked them up." (l.32) This is a clear reference to Francis's mater-

nal family's former aristocratic status. Here, Francis distinctively underlines his Polish roots by referring to his large-scale family network. This network consists of aristocratic families living in Montreal who are interrelated:

"What I noticed is that […] there were these Polish families, […] aristocratic families from Poland, that kind of all were interrelated […]. They all married and […] hung out with each other as well, it's kind of bizarre, so that's why we had so many relatives. It's just there is so many of them in Montreal. And then, truth be told, a lot of them, when they moved to Montreal, all married each other's cousins and friends and so that's how all the families became related." (ll.107-112)

These intermarriages led to a large network of Polish aristocrats living in Montreal, of which Francis is a member. I assume that this is the same network of Polish aristocratic families that Oscar mentions in his narrative, especially because Oscar arranged my contact with Francis.

Polish Nobility in Quebec

The noble class of Poland (the *Szlachta*) formed during the Middle Ages. It is commonly assumed that the *Szlachta* was different from the aristocracy in most of Europe, because in Poland a relatively high percentage of the population was considered to be noble (about 10%). The *szlachta* can be determined by socio-economic position, land ownership and titles. While there were noble landowners (*ziemianie*), who were wealthy and owned huge tracts of land, there also were some members of the nobility who were poor with little or no land (e.g., *szlachta zagrodowa*), but the latter eventually lost their right to be called noble. As members of the noble class, the aristocracy (*arystokracja*) was to be distinguished from the rest due to their titles and wealth. Later on, a small percentage of Polish aristocracy accumulated so much wealth, real estate, and land as to be considered magnates (*magnaci*), being more powerful than other noble families (Sanford 2003, Zmuda 2004, Zolyna Memorial 2005). In addition to privileges like freedom from taxation and the inviolability of persons and property (Sanford 2003: 63), the Polish nobility had rights and immunities that were not common in other countries, e.g., the power to meet and elect the Polish king. They thus possessed and exerted significant political influence (Zmuda 2004: 26f).

As for the context of this study, significant emigration of the Polish aristocracy mainly occurred during, but more often soon after, World War II. Both Nazi Germany and the Soviets persecuted Polish aristocrats. In the part

of Poland annexed by Germany, they were expelled from their estates and sent to labour and concentration camps, while in the German occupation zone of the General Government, aristocrats and landowners were allowed to remain on their estates, but not without regular payments and the presence of German overseers on their properties. Although under constant surveillance by the Nazi regime, many aristocrats were able to aid the guerrillas of the Home Army (AK) persecuted by the Gestapo and to hide Polish Jews. On the Russian-occupied eastern territories, aristocrats and landowners were also expelled, and a lot of them were sent to the so-called Siberian Gulags; the Soviet forced labour camps. After the war, the Communist regime forbade them from settling on their former estates and barred their children from attending colleges and universities (Gołembiowska 2014a: 2ff, my pagination). Facing such conditions, some Polish aristocrats decided to leave their home country mostly to other European countries, but "a small group of these chose multinational, immigrant-friendly Canada as their second homeland." (ibid.)

Canada was obviously a destination for this group, but numbers and estimates about the size do not exist. During my fieldwork, I encountered some of the descendants of Polish aristocrats in Montreal. There is almost no literature on this topic, except a book written in Polish by Beata Gołembiowska entitled *W jednej walizce: Polska aristocracja na emigracji w Kanadzie* (2011), which could be translated as *In One Suitcase: Polish Aristocracy in the Canadian Exile*, consisting of short personal recollections of emigrated Polish aristocrats and their descendants who live in Montreal, Rawdon, as well as Vancouver and Ottawa. Many aristocrats settled in the province of Quebec; most often in Montreal, because they usually already had a knowledge of the French language prior to arrival in Canada. In one of Gołembiowska's portraits about a former Polish count, she states—in the count's narrative perspective—that his family chose Montreal in Quebec as their emigration destination because all family members already had good knowledge of French (2014b: 4, my pagination). In fact, former aristocratic circles of the eighteenth century in Poland were significantly influenced by some aspects of the French Enlightment and the Polish Szlachta adopted French high culture, including reading, writing, and speaking in French:

"Under the Dutchy of Warsaw, French elite culture flourished still further as virtually all Polish aristocrats began to write poetry, take personal notes, and read political treatises in French rather than their native Polish." (Blackburn 2004: 6)

For those Polish aristocratic immigrants who left for Canada, we can assume that Quebec, and more so, Montreal was a favourable destination. Upon arrival in Quebec, the aristocrats, deprived of their belongings and their legal privileges, struggled, as they needed to build a new life right from the scratch. A former count, who immigrated with his parents to Montreal as a child, recounts: "It was very hard in the beginning. My father was a clerk in a large shop, my mother worked as a draughtswoman for engineers." (Gołembiowska 2014: 5, my pagination) For their retirement, many of them bought cottages in Rawdon, in a little city in Quebec located not far from Montreal, which has since developed into the biggest cluster of the former Polish aristocrats in North America (Gołembiowska 2011). It is thus not surprising that I came across particularly the younger generation of this group of immigrants in the popular metropolitan city Montreal.

This aristocratic network, however, is not only to be found in Montreal; by now members are dispersed all over the world. His grandfather in Kenya, for instance, is of particular importance to Francis, who lived with him for five years. His grandfather is a prominent figure in former Polish aristocratic circles as "he came from a very well-known family in Poland." (l.133) For Francis, artifacts in his grandfather's house in Kenya, such as "genealogies […] of all the princes […] all over the walls" (l.134ff), reinforce the former high status of his family. These possessions come from unspecified members of his aristocratic family ("they"), who got everything they could out of Poland before "it got destroyed by the Communists and Nazis." (l.136) Not only does the aristocratic status of Francis' family represent an identity-conveying momentum, making him value his Polish origin in a way that is linked to an upper class social status and most likely, his socialization, it also implies inherent mobility experiences in his familial history that have already been in place for a few generations. Mobility is induced and maintained through the aristocratic network. Therefore, it has relevance in Francis' family history and in his own life-path as we shall see in the following examination. Francis grew up and continued to live a highly mobile life with frequent geographical relocations of his life center.

Transnationality under the Condition of Mobility

Montreal is a central place for Francis. Not only was he born there and lived there as an infant with his two elder brothers (l.8f), it is also the place where he repeatedly experiences significant biographical events. He grew up in a multicul-

tural neighborhood, in which his childhood years proceeded rather uneventfully and normally. He started primary school in Montreal and encountered—as is the case for all of my Canadian-based interviewees—many fellow students from different ethnic backgrounds. He himself became good friends with a Russian-Canadian, with whom he spent much of his leisure time (ll.82-95). Remembering his childhood, he talks about playing hockey with his father and sports:

"My childhood as a Canadian was defined by hockey, I mean as a kid all I did was play hockey [laughter] […] I grew up in a very sporty, active family so I mean I was always running around playing sports and I still do." (ll.96-102)

Playing hockey was central to Francis at this point in his childhood "as a Canadian." This is not only a position on his self-understanding, but it is also a clear reference to what would happen next in the further course of his life. Early in Francis' life course, the family life in Montreal was shaken when a tragic and unexpected event occurred inducing his first mobility experience. To use his own words: "at the age of seven my father passed away, […] and I moved to Kenya with my mother." (l.9) From this moment on, Francis' life changed to a great extent: he not only lost a parent, but he also relocated his center of life to another continent. Francis sees this as direct consequence of his father's sudden death. In the course of the narration, he indicates that his grandparents' poor health also played a role in this relocation to Kenya: "So my mother wanted to return to Kenya to look after her parents and she took me with her." (l.130f) Family responsibilities are presented here as the major cause for moving. However, not all family members moved to Kenya after Francis's father passed away:

"My two elder brothers are ten and twelve years older than me, so […] that's why I was the only one who went to Kenya. My brothers were seventeen and nineteen and were starting university, so they stayed in Montreal." (ll.44ff)

Moving from Canada to Kenya can be seen as a coping strategy of Francis's mother for dealing with her husband's unexpected death. Francis, a seven-year-old child, experienced these events and their consequences as heteronomous. They marked a decisive turning point in his life:

"Initially when I was there as a child, I remember hating it. Because I remember it being very difficult for me as a Canadian, coming from a society like Canada with structure and being able to go and play on the street and go to your friend's house next door and then going to Africa where you can't do that, it's completely different […]. So, that was really

difficult for me at the time and I remember I didn't like it at all. But by the time I was leaving, I absolutely loved it and I still cherish it dearly today." (ll.148-153)

Once relocated from Montreal to Nairobi, Francis faced difficulties in adapting to the new location and, related to that, to the new life situation. As we saw, at first, he hated it and suffered, while he retrospectively underlines that his negative feelings changed over time. This mobility experience was not self-initiated and happened out of an unpredictable biographical event in the family.

All in all, Francis spent several years living in Kenya: "So I lived in Kenya for five years, so my childhood was in Africa, […] most of it, the childhood I remember. […] I was in Kenya for all of my primary schooling." (ll.9f) Kenya is a biographically relevant place in Francis's early trajectory as he mostly remembers Kenya when he thinks back to his childhood. Francis indicates that all his primary schooling took place there. In fact, he attended boarding school:

"My mother put me into boarding school, because she just couldn't/ living in Kenya as a child on this big property, I was going crazy and so was my mother, so she just sent me off to boarding school [laughter]." (ll.139ff)

Francis and his mother lived on the family's property, together with his mother's parents and her two sisters. That is the aristocratic side of Francis's relatives. When referring to his "being put into boarding school" Francis immediately justifies his mother's decision since he was "going crazy." We do not know what this remark specifically means, but we can assume that he did not behave in the way that he was expected to, thus overwhelming the family in Kenya:

"[…] 'cause I hated my aunt with a passion when I was a child, 'cause she was strict, I mean […] she didn't have any children, she's never had children, so she had a very short temper with me and my mother would get into huge arguments with her." (ll.246-249)

His mother got into arguments with her relatives about how to bring Francis up. Francis tells me that his grandfather and particularly his mother's elderly sister, Francis's aunt, were very strict about his table manners: as an eight-year-old kid he had to sit rigidly with a straight back, with "no elbows on the table ever" and he needed to learn to drink a soup by tilting the soup "towards you, not away from you." (ll.241-245) Disputes over this traditional aristocratic upbringing probably triggered the decision to send Francis to a strict boarding school:

"It was a British boarding school, so very strict rules and they really give you a proper upbringing and there was lots of sports, so I played all kinds of sports and that's where I started playing rugby […]." (l.153ff)

Francis claims that he got a "proper upbringing" there. Asking him what that means in the context of the boarding school, Francis refers to rules that had to do with manners: the students would have to do chores, polish their shoes, and clean up their bedrooms (ll.258-262). Yet, what was crucial for Francis were the sports on offer as one part of the curricular activities. It was there that he started to play rugby: "I picked up rugby [there], I fell in love with the sport." (l.162) Francis found his passion in playing rugby. Arguably, it gave him a new perspective on life in Kenya. It facilitated the process of localization, allowing him to enjoy spending his time there. He started to build first friendships with other students while attending this boarding school, too:

"The thing is, I built friendships there that are still very close, like, I still have very close friends that I went to school with in Kenya, […] that I […] don't see often, but we keep in touch […] none of them really lives in Kenya, they all live in England or some live in South Africa." (ll.172-176)

While Francis was in boarding school, he had close relationships with classmates, yet these relationships changed as they all began to move in different directions (ll.172). Francis is still in touch with them through modern technology, but personal face-to-face interactions are rare. His mobility experiences as well as the mobility experiences of this group of friends influenced the quality of the relationships. By the same token, he was not able to build long-lasting friendships at a young age, i.e., early in his life trajectory:

"From my group of friends in [elementary] school [in Montreal], […] I don't have any […] because I left at such a young age, at seven. […] I only have one […] friend that I've known since I was one-year old, besides […] all my close friends were from high school [in Montreal]. So […] I didn't build any relationships at that young age." (ll.77-80)

He explains the lack of friends from his early childhood years with the fact that he left Montreal at the age of seven. He evaluates *post-hoc* that his ability to build friendships results from his mobility experiences as, in fact, he developed closer and more long-lasting relationships only later in his childhood in Kenya and as a teenager in high school in Montreal. Being away from his grandfather's property, he would see his mother every three or four months (ll.145).

Francis and his mother would also keep in touch with the family in Canada through the practice of geographical mobility in the form of transnational mobility. As Francis started being mobile at a very young age, he was immediately involved in various transnational connections. His transnationality manifests itself in *two different ways*, which are intertwined with divergent social practices related to different geographical locations. The *first* form of transnationality is expressed through multicultural practices such as maintaining several elements of his heritage culture like eating Polish food, speaking the Polish language and listening to stories about the (aristocratic) family in earlier times. This kind of transnationality is culturally directed to Poland, but geographically linked with Kenya:

"I would say the biggest part of my life that was dominated by Polish culture and heritage was, when I was in Kenya, because […] I mean Polish was being spoken at the dinner table and […] it was my grandfather's, I mean my aunts and my grandfather, they speak countless languages, five, six each, but Polish is the language of within the home." (ll.176-180)

Francis followed Polish cultural customs and traditions predominantly while living in Kenya, because there he was more in touch with his Polish roots on an everyday basis through the family members he was living with. The family, obviously, had a multicultural stance on their heritage culture. At the same time, the *second* form of transnationality is directed towards Canada while he was in Kenya:

"[…] and then every summer […] I'd return back to Canada, so I'd spend summers in Canada, well two months in Canada and then back to school. […] We'd come back to our house, so my brothers and my mother […]." (ll.166-169)

This form of transnationality is directed towards Canada (and not Poland) and is realized by geographical mobility (and not by maintaining cultural elements). Francis travelled with his mother in order to see his older brothers, who after the death of their father had not moved to Kenya. The transnational connections are implemented between, on the one side, Poland and Kenya, and on the other side, between Kenya and Canada. His transnationality is directed towards multiple destinations. In contrast to Kenya, Francis conceives of Canada as "home." He constructs Canada as a place of belonging:

"I loved coming home to Canada in the summers, it was, like, what I looked forward to the most […] 'cause Canada was always home to me. So, leaving Kenya, I mean it was great, but I looked forward 'cause I came back to Canada." (ll.274-276)

The question of where "home" is, is often answered by referring to experiences of being away from "home." Francis's perception is unambiguous in this regard. He remains emotionally attached to Canada, and particularly Montreal, throughout his life trajectory, as we will see in the further course of the analysis.

"Polishness" and the Construction of Social Class

As already indicated, Francis most actively experienced his Polish heritage while he was living in Kenya. He associates food with being Polish (l.186), yet "being of Polish origin" also conveys a different meaning:

"For me as a child I came from a society where you don't have maids and servants and drivers and gardeners, right? And then you go to Kenya and you have a maid that cleans the house, you have a cook that does all the cooking, you have a driver that drives you everywhere, you have gardeners, you-when you sit at the dinner table, you're served by someone the food […] you have four forks and three knives and a dessert spoon and it's a four-course meal every night." (ll.187-189)

Francis equates this experience of dining with staff his grandparents employed in their house. For him, eating Polish food is a crucial condition for maintaining his Polish roots within the circle of his family in Kenya. In fact, Francis's grandparents and his aunts would have taught the family cook how to cook Polish food (ll.85f). We see here that his belonging to the Polish heritage culture is interrelated with a upper class status. When talking about what is Polish, he refers to his family's wealth and thus to his family's high social class. For him, it constitutes one of the biggest differences between his life in Canada and Kenya:

"I mean you don't see that at all in Canada, unless you're extremely wealthy. But even then, I don't really know if they would do it. But in Kenya it's […] I mean you just have staff that'll do it." (ll.196ff)

Wealth is obviously one factor than enables the family to live and dine like that. Then again, Francis concedes that it is not only wealth, but rather class-consciousness of aristocracy which his maternal family in Kenya maintains, not to mention the family's status as white people in Kenya. Were this aristocratic

consciousness absent, Francis is not sure whether other wealthy families, for instance, in Canada "would do it." The latter, arguably, refers to the way his family dines and how it keeps up its aristocratic way of life, for instance, by employing household staff. When Francis states that he and his family are of "Polish origin," he is not simply referring to his cultural roots, but also his class status. For Francis, "being Polish" also means "being of upper class." We see that the meaning of "Polishness" is completely dislocated from the geographical place of Poland, yet for him it has a strong symbolic power. While the geographical place of Poland does not convey strong meaning, "Polishness" does *a fortiori*.

A Sporty Souvenir from Kenya

Francis's second relocation of his center of life and thus another mobility experience occurred when he was twelve years old: he moved from Nairobi back to Montreal with his mother. He remembers that, as a child, he had expected this move back to Canada and that their stay in Kenya was only temporary:

"But I knew it was only temporary, which was 'cause I knew I would go back to Canada […] I wasn't gonna stay in Kenya. My mum didn't want to stay in Kenya. She wanted to go back and she wanted me to go back." (ll.283-292)

This relocation is, again, Francis's mother's decision: "once primary school had ended my mother wanted me to come back to Canada and […] get proper secondary education." (l.15ff) The reason presented here is education: both Francis and his mother suggest that "proper" education would not have been possible in Kenya and thus they needed to move back to Canada. Francis presents this occurrence and the explanation for it as inevitable. About a year after mother and son were back in Montreal, Francis's grandfather and, not long after him, his grandmother passed away (ll.293, 131f). Back in Montreal, Francis started high school. Right after the return, he experienced a challenging situation:

"Then when I moved back to Canada, I had a British accent and [the kids at school] all made fun of me like: 'This kid's weird. Why does he have a British accent?' [laughter], so that I quickly picked up a Canadian accent again." (ll.234ff)

Unlike Oscar, Francis was able to attend an English-speaking high school in Montreal (l.301). This may be due to his father who, having immigrated to Toronto, most likely followed his educational path there in English before moving to Montreal. This, in turn, would allow his children to attend English-speaking

schools in Montreal. Upon his return, Francis did not want to be made fun of for his British accent and responded to the situation quickly, adopting the local pronunciation. Other than that, Francis does not tell me about further difficulties in adapting to his new life situation. In fact, it was at that high school in Montreal that he made what he considers to be his "best group of friends." (l.307) Most of these friends are Anglophone Canadians/Anglo-Québécois (l.311) because Francis—even though he is probably embedded in the same aristocratic Polish network in Montreal as Oscar—would not "restrict [him]self to simply relating or being friends with just [people] within the Polish community." (ll.116ff) Francis has not exclusively lived in a "Polish bubble." Curious about Polish school, I asked Francis whether he attended as Oscar did. His answer is instructive:

"My mother, […] she was born in Kenya whereas [Oscar's] parents […] they were born in Poland, grew up in Poland and then moved to Canada. So, they're very Polish and they put all their kids into Polish schools, whereas my mother didn't have that affinity with Poland, because she grew up in Kenya. So, there was no pressure. Me and my two brothers, none of us went to Polish school. And my father, his Polish was fairly broken, 'cause he left Poland when he was two and moved with his parents here […]. So, that's why, I mean, I never went to Polish school just because my parents didn't put that pressure on me." (ll.527-581)

Francis implies that the complex mobility history of his parents, who have been living out of Poland for generations or at least for a long time, diminished their affinity with Poland and, particularly, their knowledge and regular use of the Polish language. Many Polish (immigrant) families in Canada send their children to Polish school—first and foremost—so that they might learn the language. Learning Polish while being back in Canada was not an issue in Francis's core family. In fact, Francis stopped speaking Polish after he left Kenya. He is "completely bilingual" (l.713), yet his bilingualism does not include Polish. He speaks French and English. He does not speak Polish anymore, but understands it (ll.567f). His lack of the Polish language is symptomatic for his Polish belonging: Francis has no distinctive belonging to the Polish culture. As indicated above, he relates, rather, his "Polishness" with social class. He did, however, observe cultural traditions like going to church and celebrating Christmas and Easter differently during his youth (ll.585-590), but Francis does not emphasize it as strongly as other interviewees. It is not biographically relevant to him. We can see that "Polish culture" lost significance once he was back in Canada.

What is important to Francis, is rugby. He continued playing it in Montreal. Since he started playing early, he was better than other kids. This was an im-

portant factor, obviously reconciling him with this second relocation of his life center:

"I was much better than everyone at it in high school, because I had been playing since I was eight and these other kids that I was in high school with hadn't played it yet […]." (ll.327ff)

At the age of fifteen, Francis became a part of the junior national team, where he "was playing provincially across Canada." (ll.330f) Once Francis finished high school, he decided to pursue his studies in Victoria, British Columbia. This mobility experience accounts for the third relocation of his center of life. In contrast to previous moves, it was he who initiated this relocation. He chose British Columbia as he could play rugby for the National Academy there:

"That's why I went to British Columbia 'cause I moved out there for the national academy and got to play a couple of matches for Canada with the senior men's […] which took me around the world, I traveled to Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Wales, Ireland, England, France just to play rugby." (ll.156-160)

In his narrative, he underlines that it was important to him to play rugby and to pursue his university education at the same time. Francis thus incorporates the external motivation for his second move from Kenya to Canada—education—into his personal life plan:

"The focus wasn't rugby, the focus was just being able to play rugby and to do school at the same time […] I felt strongly that I needed to focus on school and my academics rather than just drop everything and focus on rugby." (ll.398ff)

His aim was not to focus on rugby exclusively but to combine rugby with higher education. Francis decided against playing rugby professionally in the course of his studies. He gives two main reasons for this decision:

"Because […] I knew in my heart that I didn't want to drop everything for rugby, just as I knew where I stood with it. I'm good at rugby but once you get to […] the top level, you know where you stand, so I knew where I stood in the sense that I was good at it, but I wasn't like world class." (ll.402-404)

Francis was aware of his rugby skills. He knew that he was good at it, yet not good enough to choose it as a career path. On the other hand, experiences of others, who played rugby in Europe, also influenced his decision:

"I fully thought I could go, like, train and then just get there and just go, like, pro […] I-I've met enough people who have gone through it to see how it's really cut-throat in the sense that you can be on top one day and be at the bottom the next day […] the real reason was […] there were guys that were coming back from Europe. They played rugby there five, six years and they were coming back and truth was, they dropped everything when they were nineteen, twenty to go to Europe and play with no education and now they were coming back to Canada at twenty-seven, twenty-eight and they were doing their undergrad-degree, you know, the first degree and I just, I didn't want to do [that]." (ll.423-435)

His evaluation of having insufficient skills for an exceptional professional career as well as his fear of being left with nothing resulted into the decision to not pursue a professional career in sports. Instead, he focused on finishing his degree in economics and finance (l.394). He assesses this decision as the right one: "No, I don't regret it at all. I still love rugby. I still play it a lot; in the summers, I play." (ll.420f)

New Possibilities in a New Place

Obtaining a university degree and putting aside the idea of playing rugby professionally induced yet another mobility experience. After finishing his university education, Francis came back to Montreal where he started work as a mutual fund analyst (l.452). After one year (Francis was about twenty-three years old), his company went bankrupt. This, in turn, triggered the fifth relocation of his life center, this time to Toronto: "At which point I landed a job in Toronto, so I moved to Toronto, […] and that's where I am now." (l.22f) At first, Francis presents the reasons for this mobility as professional. Later, it becomes apparent that he chose Toronto as a place to apply for a new position:

"And then […] [my former girlfriend] finished her master's and was moving back to Toronto 'cause she's from here and […] my company had gone bankrupt and […] I wanted to move to Toronto, so it just worked out, just worked out well." (ll.506ff)

Not only his former girlfriend left Montreal for Toronto, but also a group of friends, originally from Montreal, had moved to Toronto, so this time the relocation of his center of life did not imply a loss of personal contacts. While moving

from Kenya to Montreal was triggered by the expectation that Francis would get a better education in Canada, his move from Montreal to Toronto was motivated by the expectation of having better career chances there:

"[…] of my close friends, there are eight of us in Toronto, […] they left Montreal. A large reason for that: there is way more opportunity here." (ll.667ff)

Several factors influenced this last relocation to Toronto. Not only did his girlfriend at the time move there, but also some of his friends. The more long-term groups of friends are the ones who also moved from Montreal to Toronto. Thus, the friends that Francis is (still) close with live in the same city. Then again, his family relationships are all long-distance relationships as his mother and his brothers are geographically dispersed: "I have one brother in Dubai and I have one brother in Ottawa and my mother […] is back and forth from Kenya." (l.514) All of his closest family members live in different places, which make personal face-to-face meetings less frequent. Nevertheless, Francis keeps in touch with them every two days by using new technologies (i.e., Facetime, Skype, SMS) (ll.521f). This high frequency of virtual interactions is focused on his core family, suggesting that the social practice of virtual interaction is linked with the social practice of mobility and the strong ties of his family unit.

Beginning a new job in Toronto, Francis first worked in the finance sector, just as he did in Montreal. After a little while, however, he changed his mind in terms of his professional pathway:

"When I first got here, I had a job lined up […] at a dynamic […] financial equities firm downtown, which I worked at for three months and then I quit [laughter]. […] I quit because I had a change of mind in terms of what I wanted to do and I landed a job as a commercial real estate broker and that's what I do now. So, I lease and trade real estate, commercial real estate, not residential, so office buildings, I don't do any residential, I just do office." (ll.463-467)

The relocation from Montreal to Toronto was a life-changing event not only in matters of mobility, but also in matters of his professional future. In this sense, it was biographically relevant for Francis as he re-oriented his professional aspirations. In fact, he was unhappy with his former job as he "hated what [he] was doing" (l.470) when working in finance, while "going into commercial real estate [he] had more of an opportunity to […] work for [him]self and see [his] direct work, see the results of [his] direct input." (ll.470ff) Relocating to Toronto and changing his professional path are self-determined decisions, giving Francis new

possibilities of orientation in his future life trajectory. For the time being, Francis wants to remain in Toronto (ll.630). In his life trajectory, we have seen that sooner or later, Francis always returns to Montreal. After Francis spent five years of his childhood in Kenya, he returned to Montreal. The same happened when he graduated from university in Victoria: he came back to Montreal and started his first job there, until he moved to Toronto. Being mobile and keeping up ties in the form of various transnational connections became a continuous social practice in Francis's life trajectory. The same holds true for the life of his family members: "Yeah, yeah, we don't stay in one place." (l.617)

Contextual Self-Understanding and Travelling Origins

The ongoing mobility experience in Francis's life, but also in his family history engenders a specific self-understanding in which he appreciates his Polish roots, but he understands himself as Canadian:

"I'm Canadian, yes. But no, I'm Polish though. It's like it's hard to/ see this is the disconnect between my generation and my mother's generation. My mother's generation, […] they're Polish […] It is my cousins and myself that were brought up Polish, we were brought up with Polish culture, Polish food, Polish in the house, we heard stories about Poland, but to me as great as that is and as proud as I am of my Polish heritage, I'm Canadian. I grew up playing hockey, I mean […] the thing you notice here in Canada, is because we are all immigrants of some sort or another at some point in time we came from somewhere else, we are all Canadian, but we're all incredibly proud of our heritage. I'm like incredibly proud of being Polish." (ll.552-561)

Francis struggles with an ambiguous cultural affiliation. He cannot adhere to only one country or one culture. The reason why he does not see himself as only Polish is based on the fact that he sees a disconnect between the generations. But then again, he is living in a country where multiculturalism and the appreciation of the inhabitants' various heritages make it possible for him to maintain more than one cultural affiliation, self-understanding, and sense of belonging. Francis understands himself in terms of his residence by putting forward his affiliation with Canada while appreciating his Polish cultural heritage at the same time. In situations abroad, however, Francis has noticed that he gives different answers to the same question, namely the question of where he comes from:

"[…] It's amazing though, 'cause […] if I go to Australia and they say like: 'Oh, so where are you from?' I say: 'I'm Canadian.' But if I'm here and people ask me: 'Where are you from?' I say: 'I'm Polish.'" (ll.544-546)

Francis actively responds to the question of his self-perception. Francis is aware that this situation is extraordinary. As already indicated in Oscar's and Malinka's case, we see here a *contextual self-understanding*, in which he, based on the geographical context he is in, decides what kind of self-understanding he puts forward. In addition, Francis experienced several situations where he indicates how others perceived him: "[…] it was [at boarding school in Kenya] that […] I was known as the Canadian kid, right." (ll.223-228) He reflects about possible reasons for that and assumes his choice of clothes to play a role:

"I mean I wore caps with Canada on it and I was Canadian, I was so Canadian and I was so proud of being Canadian […] it wasn't about being Polish, I was Canadian. I mean I had a Canadian accent, everyone there has a British accent." (ll.230-236)

Apart from the clothes he was wearing, his Canadian accent was also something distinct noticed by others. Francis presents himself as a very proud Canadian. In this particular situation abroad, his Polish heritage, however, did not play a role in the process of locating his cultural belonging, neither for him nor for the others. Once he practiced mobility to destinations other than Poland, his Polish sense of belonging faded into the background and his Canadian sense of belonging came to the fore. Then again, Francis would refer to himself as being Polish, but in other situations:

If I were to go to Poland […], I'd proudly say I'm Polish, but to them I'd likely be Canadian, I mean as my Polish is very poor." (ll.564-568)

Francis perceives language as the momentum establishing cultural belonging or the perception of others about it. He points to the fact that he is perceived by Polish people in Poland as Canadian. Canada was in fact the "country of arrival" for Francis' parents. It is, however, problematic to say the same for Francis, as I also have argued in other cases. Since Francis was born in Montreal and since neither he nor his family have lived in Poland for generations, the classical categorizations of "country of arrival" and "country of origin" commonly used in migration studies is simply inadequate. Canada is not Francis's "country of arri-

val,"[30] neither biographically nor legally. However, both Poland and Canada account for Francis's *countries* of origin, considering their roles in Francis's life story. In order to categorize this dual, or multiple, narrative of origin, I would like to introduce the concept of *travelling origins*. Highly mobile individuals often have several origins that structure and construct their life stories in a cumulative way. Francis's life story illustrates this "accumulation of origins "as he clearly sees his cultural roots in Poland, while his home is in Canada. This dual identity can also be felt by individuals with a migration background whose life stories involve fewer mobility experiences. Yet, I argue that the concept best describes the paradoxical situation in which cumulative origins travel as individuals travel. This becomes especially clear when Francis narrates that he is the Canadian in Poland, Polish in Canada, and the Canadian in any other destination that goes beyond one of his countries of origin, which is, arguably, determined by the perceptions of others as well as his own. Thus, the concept of travelling origins allows us to better grasp social practices that are specific to mobile life trajectories. *Travelling origins* are situationally constructed depending on the individual's geographical location, which determines the *contextual self-understanding* he or she puts forth. As Francis's life story demonstrates, when we—as scholars—assume that individuals have more than one origin, we are able to assign forms of transnationality directed towards multiple destinations. What is more, *travelling origins* enables us to understand in which context what kind of self-understanding the individual displays and accordingly, it emphasizes that "origin" is—in fact—*situationally constructed.*

5.3 COSMOBILITY: OPEN MOBILITY AND THE "HOMING-EFFECT"

The life stories of Francis and Malinka demonstrate how extensive mobility is constructed as a continuous social practice informed by certain biographical circumstances. We have seen that those respondents who practice cosmopolitan mobility attach different meanings to the locations relevant to them as well as to the experience of being mobile. The second part of Malinka's life story further strengthens the assumption that she uses mobility as a coping strategy to get away from unpleasant life situations she faces in Berlin. Using mobility as a coping strategy prevents her from making "serious decisions" such as finding an apartment in Berlin or deciding what to do academically or professionally. To

30 In the sense of a (second generation) "migrant."

construct her mobility experiences as meaningful, Malinka often acquires "soft-skills" such as learning a new language and doing internships during these temporally-restricted relocations of her life center. She constantly deliberates whether and when to go abroad. Here we see that knowing a (foreign) language is not only a precondition for mobility experiences, but also that the desire to acquire a new language triggers mobility as well. Mobility has become a habit, an integral part of her lifestyle, something Malinka describes as a craving, an addiction. In fact, her life-course involves twelve temporally-restricted relocations of her center of life. While she is clearly "hypermobile," she also consciously favours phases of immobility or dwelling during certain periods of time, for instance when she stopped commuting from Greifswald to Berlin or when she decided to stay in Berlin in order start a family and to live a "settled life"—though only through her mobility experiences has she come to realize where she wants to settle, namely in Berlin.

Francis's life-course also contains various spatial movements that he regards as meaningful. Right from the beginning, he relocates to places that are not related to Poland, the country of his cultural roots, unlike Malinka, whose mobility can, at least at first, be described as bi-local transnational between Poland and Germany. Francis's mobility, however, is directed to destinations other than Poland, such as Kenya and other Canadian provinces. The fact that Francis does not practice mobility to Poland is related to how he constructs his belonging towards his Polish heritage culture. For Francis, the geographical space of Poland does not matter as such. What matters, however, is the construction of belonging to his Polish heritage through the aristocratic diaspora. The status of former aristocrats enables Francis to give meaning to his "Polishness." For him, his Polish origin fulfills a symbolic function. Francis does not engage in an ethnic community life, he does not have many Polish friends and—unlike many other Canadian-based interviewees—he did not attend Polish school, which leaves him with a lack of spoken knowledge of the Polish language. We can see here that language skills play an important role. In fact, Francis, who never has been mobile to Poland, does not speak any Polish and places little value on observing certain Polish traditions.

As for Malinka, we have seen that her perception of Poland changes in the course of her life: while Poland was a desirable place to live at the beginning (ch. 4.3), it changed into an undesirable place. The fact of putting aside Poland as a possible mobility destination has to do—I assume—with her disagreeing with certain cultural values that are commonly upheld there. Malinka thus creates a cultural distance from Poland. What is more, in Germany, Poland is not valued as a destination in the same way as the United States and Canada. In the

course of her life, Malinka begins to look beyond Poland as an "eligible" place to relocate to. This is certainly one characteristic of the cosmopolitan pattern of mobility, emphasizing the fact that the individuals' mobility is directed towards destinations other than Poland—as is not seen in the pattern of transmobility (ch. 4). Worthy of mention is that in both life stories mobility exists in the individuals' family histories. In Malinka's case, it was her mother who was transnationally mobile before Malinka was born. The story of Francis's mother is a reminder that the path between Poland and Canada is not necessarily direct. His maternal family moved to other places (like Kenya) before his mother moved to Canada. Such complex mobility experiences complicate—as we have seen—the matter of categorizing according to "migrant generations." Complex mobilities clearly go beyond a one-time change of one's center of life. They are, rather, variations of transnationality or diaspora.

Malinka's and Francis's mobility experiences go beyond the geographical destination of Poland, demonstrating that cosmobility involves more open flows of spatial movements. This cosmopolitan mobility pattern differs from transmobility as its directionality does not include the country of origin, Poland. Malinka's case is especially instructive as it shows an evolvement from the pattern of "transmobility" to the pattern of "cosmobility": her mobility experience changes from bi-local transnational mobility flows to multi-local transnational flows in the course of her life, leaving Poland aside as a country of destination. Direction and durability are dependent upon the biographical circumstances under which the mobility experiences occur. They are not predictable as they may arise in an ad hoc manner. This form of mobility can be seen as "cosmopolitan" because the respondents are open to various geographical places. They embody the cosmopolitan notion of a "global citizen." (ch. 1.2) Generally, cosmopolitan mobility emphasizes that mobility experiences emerge out of the opportunity structures an individual encounters in certain life phases, which often come out of personal or professional connections, opportunities, or responsibilities. Yet, some mobility destinations are more likely than others. For instance, Francis's moving to Toronto is "a pattern within a pattern": it is not unusual that young adults trained in business and finance move to Canada's financial center, Toronto. Another interesting insight—which is hardly found in the literatures so far—is that biographical constellations and personal motivations for mobility do not necessarily need to be professional (i.e., better work possibilities). In fact, Malinka's mobility was—up until now—never professionally motivated because it was not linked to a professional position abroad, one that would offer her a better income.

Certainly, it also means that respondents whose mobility practices can be described as cosmopolitan possess a high motility. Motility refers to how an individual takes advantage of those opportunities that require him or her to be mobile (Flamm/Kaufmann 2006). It includes the aspects of language(s) (the lack, the acquiring, and using languages), social networks/family structures, as well as belonging/boundary-making with regard to the "root culture" and the encountered culture in the "country of arrival," place of residency, or another country of origin. These factors not only determine the cosmopolitan pattern of mobility, they, in fact, determine the emergence of each pattern in the course of an individual's trajectory. As also indicated in the two previous empirical chapters, these factors are based upon different constellations in each pattern. For the pattern of cosmobility, however, the acquisition of multiple (foreign) languages plays a significant role. In addition to Polish and German, Malinka speaks English and Spanish. She intentionally uses mobility as a strategy to learn new foreign languages, leaving her with a rather broad field of possible mobility destinations. Francis speaks English and French, enabling him to communicate in several different countries, too. What is less important, however, is the acquisition of Polish. In Francis's case we have seen that the lack of knowledge of (spoken) Polish, which is certainly related to a weak sense of belonging to his Polish heritage culture, hinders him from being mobile to Poland. In fact, he does not think of Poland as a country where he wants to live. As for family structures and social networks, we have seen how they biographically determine mobility experiences. Francis, for instance, may never have lived in Kenya had his maternal family not already been living there. Crucial is also the aspect of belonging and boundary-making. As mentioned earlier, both Francis and Malinka have a weaker sense of belonging to the Polish culture, and a stronger cultural belonging to either Canada or Berlin. That is why their mobility experiences show a unique characteristic, a kind of "homing-effect" towards a specific location, which constitutes the "home base;" that is, the specific location they return to after perennial or month-long life experiences in different places. While Malinka repeatedly comes back to Berlin, Francis returns to Montreal. Under conditions of such extensive mobility, not only do the individuals move, so do their "origins." I have pointed to this phenomenon by introducing the concept of "travelling origins." The experiences that I have conceptualized under the pattern of cosmobility are very specific and rarer than the other types. In fact, only the minority of my interviewees qualify for this pattern. The lack of literature in both migration and mobility studies also suggests that the empirical insights from these life stories may not be a completely new phenomenon, but a phenomenon that is newly recognized as such.