

ANJA SCHRÖDER-WILDHAGEN,
FRITZ SCHÜTZE
University of Magdeburg, Germany

HOW TO DEAL WITH AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE INTERVIEWS IN THE EUROIDENTITY RESEARCH PROJECT

Abstract

The article contains a report of the second research workshop of our Euro-Identities project. The workshop took place immediately after collecting first data (pilot interviews). On the base of the digital recording of all sessions, the protocol carefully attempts to reconstruct the proceedings of the research workshop as a social arrangement for the generation of analytical knowledge. Therefore it can be read as a reconstruction of – in the sense of Alfred Schütz’ perspective of “Making Music Together” – “how to do together” analysis of autobiographical narrative interviews. The report dwells on the questions of how to get a first impression of the interviews, of how the European phenomenon is addressed in them and, of how to do the research steps of formal text sort analysis, structural description, analytical abstraction including the reconstruction of the overall biographical structuring and contrastive comparison. Although at this stage of analysis it is not dealt with the research step of constructing a theoretical model, phenomena of social worlds and social arenas, of European opportunity structures, of networking and establishing of social relationships, of transnational comparison, of transgressing cultural borders, of new professional initiatives and professional hybridization and of a non-essentialist self-identification with Europe are found.

Key words: Collective identity, European identity, biography analysis, overall biographical structuring, contrastive case comparison, social worlds, professional hybridization, non-essentialist self-identification

The following is the report of the second research workshop on dimensional analysis of the whole Euroidentities research team. It took part quite early in the history of the Euroidentities research project, immediately after collecting our first data (which was five to six month after the start of the project). The workshop dealt with the question how to treat the empirical data in order to get analytical insights (dimensional analysis). Hence, the report dwells on how to get a first impression of the interviews, how the European phenomenon is addressed in them, how to do the research steps of formal text sort analysis, structural description, analytical abstraction including the reconstruction of the overall biographical structuring and contrastive comparison (cf. Schütze, 2008: 25–75). It does not deal with the research step of constructing a theoretical model, since the workshop took part too early in the arc of work of the research project. However, there are the phenomena of social worlds and social arenas, of European opportunity structures, of networking and establishing of social relationships, of transnational comparison, of transgressing cultural borders, of new professional initiatives and professional hybridization and of a non-essential or “situational” self-identification with Europe. All these phenomena, especially in their systematic relationship to each other, later on became features of the European mental space as one of the central theoretical concepts of the research workshop.

On the base of digital recording, the protocol carefully attempts to reconstruct the proceedings of the research workshop as a social arrangement for the generation of analytical knowledge (Riemann and Schütze, 1987; Reim and Riemann 1997, Hoffmann and Pokladek, 2010). Therefore it can be read as a reconstruction of how to do together (in the sense of Alfred Schütz’ perspective of “Making Music Together” – Schütz, 1964a) an analysis of autobiographical narrative interviews, especially those one of especially dealing with the relationship between individual biographical identity and collective phenomena (of collective identities and other collective phenomena not fitting within an “identity language”). At the same time, the protocol introduces into the biographical importance of the European entity for persons with lots of circumspectness and initiative as we later especially saw in the field of transcultural civil society activists and creative professionals working within the frameworks of civil societies.

We basically did not change the wording of the protocol as a meticulous report of three days of working together and doing text analysis. We just reworded a few unclear passages. And we eliminated two and half pages at the end of the protocol dealing with the features of the action scheme of autobiographical narrative interviewing, since they do not address issues and tasks of analysis. However, the distributed report quite often referred to a protocol of the German

research team two months earlier (dated June 5, 2008). These text passages of the earlier protocol of the German team were put in (instead of our remarks on interviewing) at the end of the presented report. It seemed legitimate doing so, since the protocol of the German team was part of the knowledge base to which the workshop quite often referred to.

Of course, not all the insights of the workshop started from the scratch. In addition to the mentioned protocol of the German group, there were short introductions into the overall biographical structuring of the interviews with Kate, Caren and Wiard. And there were some other prepared longer commentaries. These some bit pre-arranged contributions were marked for authorship by the initials of the first and second name, e.g.: M.D. = Martin Dreher, Professor of ancient history. However, most of the work of generating analytical knowledge was “emergently” done in the whole research group together, and therefore all the participants are creators of the first steps of analysis done in our early workshop on dimensional analysis in August 2008.

Workshop Participants were:

Johannes Angermüller (Magdeburg) (JA)	Ulrike Nagel (Magdeburg) (UN)
Sally Baker (Bangor) (SB)	Liis Ojamäe (Tallinn) (LO)
Howard Davies (Bangor) (HD)	Dona Pickard (Sofia) (DP)
Ivaylo Dimitrov (Sofia, Brussels) (ID)	Gerhard Riemann (Nürnberg) (GR)
Markieta Domecka (Belfast) (MDO)	Ronny Scholz (Magdeburg) (RS)
Mariana Draganova (Sofia) (MDR)	Anja Schröder-Wildhagen (Magdeburg)
Martin Dreher (Magdeburg) (MD)	(AS-W)
Lena Inowlocki (Frankfurt) (LI)	Fritz Schütze (Magdeburg) (FS)
Werner Kallmeyer (Mannheim) (WK)	Magda Telus (Magdeburg, guest) (MT)
Marta Kowalska (Bangor) (MK)	Katarzyna Waniek (Lodz) (KW)
Robert Miller (Belfast) (RM)	

1.	Wednesday, August 20, 9.00-10.30
	Open dimensional discussion of the Kate interview of the German team regarding European phenomena; experiences from interviews of other national teams regarding European phenomena

FS is chairing the session.

In an open dimensional discussion of the Kate interview with regard to European phenomena the following topics were focussed:

Language

– For Kate, the English language is a cultural capital she can use. The English language is a precondition of her new career since English appears to be the central lingua franca in Europe.

– On the other hand, the use of the English language can become a biographical trap as it may hinder access to the autochthonic national cultures in European countries.

Mentioning of national and European categories/stereotypes; becoming European

– In the case of Kate, there is an explicit mentioning of, and self-identification with, “Europeanness”: “*I’ve become European*” (p. 23: 33). It was discussed that this wouldn’t be a traditional form of self-stereotyping since this self-categorization wouldn’t be just a shallow mentioning. The context in which Kate mentions this indicates that a European orientation is biographically important to her. It was said that sensitivity for such *contextualization markers of European identity* that are specified in terms of biographical importance would be crucial for analysis.

– The concept of the “*professional stranger*” was discussed: would this be a relevant category to describe the process and maybe even stages of becoming European in the sense of becoming competent in handling cultural contexts that are different to the culture of origin? A comparison of the interviews of Kate (British), Caren (Danish) and Alexandra (Polish) show the following referrals to collective identities: Kate says: When I am in Germany I feel more European than I would feel in Great Britain. There, in the UK, I feel more British. Caren says: Being in Germany I feel much more Danish whereas being in Denmark I would feel much more European. Alexandra is not addressing European topics as such but is trying to undergo a total conversion – going from her Polishness to some sort of Britishness, having in mind the concept of getting a new collective identity.

It was agreed that there are to be found three *different types of attitudes* to national identity and European identity. In the case of Alexandra there is a change from one national identity to another (at least on Alexandra’s own conceptual level); she is interchanging one abstract concept of national collectivity for another – a very simplified abstraction process of belonging. In the case of Caren, the condition of being in another country is still a quite new and fresh experience: like the stranger of Alfred Schütz (1964b) she has to find social categories for the new experiences, and there is still the feeling of being under a social constraint

to orient to the country of origin as one's own "real" national collective identity seen in contrast to the country of immigration, and it happens – what is quite normal – that she still has the feeling of being more connected to the country of origin. Caren's abstraction and search-for-identification process indicates that she is doing collective work of abstract social categorization: she is identifying with the country of origin abroad and distancing from it at home. In the case of Kate, this simplifying abstraction process of collective categorization would not work anymore. Being experienced as a professional stranger, she has learnt not to be prone to undergo Alexandra's or Caren's quite simplifying abstraction processes of dealing with collective identities.

Being theoretically sensitized by the concept of the professional stranger, one could say that Alexandra is not a professional stranger, but she is trying to undergo a conversion process involving high biographical costs. Instead, Caren was said to be a step forward as she would be in the course of accomplishing a normal process of going abroad. That means she would start to use the other language and to embark on abstraction processes while categorizing the new experiences and doing stereotyping/hetero-stereotyping (including the production of images of the pictures that others would have on one's nation of origin). By the necessity of a natural development, she would still be very much enmeshed and entangled in these processes of over-generalizing and simplifying abstraction whereas Kate would have overcome these simplifying tendencies and would act cool in dealing with collective identities. (Kate experiences a biographical situation which is being at home in England and feeling more British in England, on the one hand, and which is being in other parts of Europe and feeling more European there abroad, on the other hand; whereas the "fresher" immigrant would feel much more identified with her or his nation of origin when being abroad than when being home). Kate went into the situation of the professional stranger or quasi-ethnographer but this doesn't mean suffering of alienation as the ordinary stranger experiences: "In Europe I'm not a stranger (in the sense of a suffering human being – A.S.-W./F.S.). It's my own tool in a certain sense". This condensed quotation is an expression of professional coolness, and professional coolness is an essential feature of the professional stranger as quasi-ethnographer.

To summarize, as a first conclusion it was said that the process of going abroad can show three stages though this would not be an universal sequential scheme: At a *first stage* migration may start with a process or an attempt to undergo some sort of cultural immersion and to partially put into brackets one's own national culture (or even identity) and getting into another national culture involving high biographical costs. In many cases – but not that often than it was usual in former

days – there can also be witnessed attempts of real immigration that may start with an attempt to accomplish a conversion and leave behind one's former national identity and acquire the new national identity of the country of destination. Very often this cultural immersion or even conversion of national identity doesn't work automatically, and the immigrant then is thrown back into a situation of being an essential stranger with high allegiance to one's country of origin. This is the *second stage* of being intensively emotionally connected with one's nation of origin and using simplifying abstraction processes for understanding the events in the country of immigration. In a *third stage* one would start to deal with these abstraction processes circumspectly and one would learn to act cool with national collectivities, i.e., they would not be skipped totally but be used in a relativistic way and played with, treating them as handy biographical resources as in the case of Kate. This latter attitude would allow place for a European self-identification on top of the national self-identification(s). All agreed that Kate would have a quite developed European attitude.

Discussed then were different *conditions* that would promote development especially of the attitude of undergoing a *conversion*.

- Going from a poor to a (by necessity) affluent country could be one condition for conversion (in Alexandra's case: feeling forced to hide her Polish identity in the U.K. as it could lead to a dramatic loss of social status and could provoke strong socially degrading stereotypes – although other social conditions might be decisive in this case, too).

- As in the case of many Germans having gone to America: the decisive condition for conversion would be to flee the impact of recent German history and to get rid of guilt questions and collective responsibility connected with German national identity – especially regarding the holocaust crimes.

The attitude of conversion might hinder the development of a European identity/orientation, going from one national collectivity to another. At a certain stage the two other attitudes – *firstly, of feeling national in a biographical situation abroad, on the one hand, and of feeling European at home on the other; and, secondly, of feeling national in the home context, on the one hand, and feeling European abroad, on the other*, – would support a European thinking, albeit not by necessity a European identity; however, European orientations such as fitting into the social arrangement of a European arena might be developed.

Remarks on the form of the interview, level of detailization

At the end of the session the format of the interview with Caren that throughout shows quite a strikingly high level of detailization, was discussed. The detailization level rose after the interviewer (AS-W) had stepped in when the informant Caren was about to skip the report of her experience of having been in England during High School. It was discussed whether or not this interruption where the interviewer asked for further detailization established a sort of compulsory situation for the informant. It was discussed that there are indications that this was not the case: Firstly, Caren is not reluctant to follow the request of the interviewer, and secondly, at the end of the interview, she would assess her interview as being a unique and valuable experience because she would have never told her life story before. Finally, the interview proceeded according to the epistemic rules of the autobiographical-narrative interview (Schütze, 2008: 5–25) proved by the fact that Caren was not losing the red thread of rendering in her narration/thematization. However, the informant's usual differentiation between various levels of detailization at different phases of the interview and the informant's elementary biographical work of assessing the life relevancies by selecting and "harnessing" different levels of narrative detailization is somewhat missing. Generally speaking, it might sometimes be necessary to encourage the informant to be quite detailed about what she or he did experience. In any case, it must be avoided to cut the red thread of the informant's narrative presentation which would occur when the interviewer would insert other topics into the narrative rendering of the informant or change the scheme of communication (provoking argumentation through reacting with manifestations of doubt to the informant's narrative rendering). That would produce chaos in the communication process – so to speak a "scheme salad" of a chaotic mix of narration and argumentation, which would be highly difficult to analyse later on.

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2.	Wednesday, August 20, 11.00–12.30
	Structural descriptions of parts of the "Kate" interview from the sensitized group of transnational workers (concentrated on a few pivotal segments), especially regarding European identity features and European habitus features

GR is chairing the session.

It was explained that the structural description of the text is the basic analytical work which needs to be done to arrive at such an understanding of the text in which the biographical development of the informant can be grasped. The analytical step

of structural description (Schütze, 2008: 29–37) requires the segmentation of the interview text. This step is about paying attention to formal and content features of the text and of using them as keys to understand the experiential quality and order of the biographical development.

Further remarks on segmentation were as follows: Segments are being introduced with segmental markers such as “and then happened” or the like. In addition, they encompass an event or experience in the course of biography with a specific experiential quality (referring to outer events as well as to a change of inner identity). Segments are introduced, then detailed, and quite often there is to be found a kind of summary statement of the narrator and biography incumbent at the end of the narrative unit which is often connected with an argumentative commentary, before a new narrative unit starts referring to a new (set of) event(s).

It was agreed to have a closer look at three text passages: the first one is about Kate’s travelling to Italy; the second one is about her getting married to her first husband and the third one is about the ending or, more precisely, the pre-coda text passage of the main narrative.

First text part, p. 1:46 – 3:12 (topic of travelling with special attention to the text passage up to p. 2, line 38, when it is told that Kate goes to Italy)

Starting with: “*Ehm... and ehm... I can’t actually say where my – desire to travel first started...*” until “*Ehm and ehm I really worked hard with these four children and eh teaching them English and helping in the house and whatever.*” (/// = marker of beginning and end of the text clipping)

N: Eh yeah - as a secretary yeah young secretary.

I: hm

N: /// Ehm and ehm - I wasn’t really turned on - by this job. Ehm ... and ehm ... I can’t actually say where my - desire to travel first started because as a child - we never went abroad. I never went abroad with my parents. Again we didn’t have the money.

I: hm

N: And in those days in the UK it wasn’t so common.

I: Yeah

N: Ehm ... ehm so we // my father in those days only had two weeks holiday - every year we would go off - somewhere nice. Every year of my life - I had a holiday. This was always a big event.

I: Yeah

N: Ehm ehm this is one reason why I am still I still get excited when I go on holiday - even now. I’ve never lost this#

I: #yeah ((laughing a little bit))

N: feeling. - Ehm but we all used to go to ehm [place] in the southeast of England or Scotland later. - Wales and so on. - We always had a lovely holiday. Sometimes it was camping when I was little girl. - And later on we would stay in bed and breakfast and these sort of things.

- I: hm yes
- N: My parents never had a lot of money so, you know, it wasn't anything extravagant and never went abroad. - And ehm I was involved in lots of things. - As a child I was a member of the red cross and eh#
- I: #hm
- N: became one, the sort of leader of this this group and ehm something like ehm - the girl guides. Ehm - but it was called the [name].
- I: hm
- N: Ehm and it was a similar organization to the girl guides but ehm (you know) something different and eh they did the same sort of things. You know you went once a week and you learned all sorts of - useful and not so useful things
- I: ((laughing a little bit))
- N: that you needed in life ehm and it was attached to the church and so on. And I was always involved in different things ehm ehm at school and ehm subsequently as I was getting older. +And somewhere along the line+ ((louder)) I - decided quickly I wanted to travel. - I really wanted to travel. And eh so ... without anybody really knowing I am - looked in the paper and I thought 'Well the easiest thing to do would be for me to go - abroad to teach English or something like this.(/)
- I: hm
- N: And eh I applied for - several jobs in the Times newspaper and ehm - got a job as a - eh sort of Au pair-cum English teacher -
- I: hm
- N: in an Italian family, in the north of Italy.
- I: Aha interesting
- N: And they had four children.
- I: ((laughing a little bit))
- N: Ehm - got the job and off I went. Everybody was shocked, you know, that I was doing this and eh - you know, having never being abroad and ehm on my own. But - you know this is what I wanted to do.
- I: Yeah.
- N: And I#
- I: #Sorry. - How old were you then(?)
- N: Eighteen.
- I: Eighteen. Sorry.
- N: I did one year - work. Yeah eighteen to nineteen, I think. I did one year nearly one year in this job. - Decided it wa wa wasn't anything to me long term and - this was the time to do the travelling.
- I: hm
- N: And ehm so off I went. And ehm I think it was about eighteen months. And I had a (bort?). - I had a (bort?). I was wonderful. I - love Italy. I still do. - Ehm it was ehm ... easy to get to know the people. It was very warm ehm not not in temperature but the people were very warm.
- I: hm
- N: And ehm... it was just a very nice experience. - The downside was the fact that eh the family ehm - really worked me hard. They had four kids. Two, four, six and eight. - And this is probably why, one of the reasons why I never had children. - Cause it put me off a life I think
- I: hm

N: of having kids. - Ehm and ehm I really worked hard with these four children and eh teaching them English and helping in the house and whatever. /// - And ehm ... then I came back. [...] After eighteen months and ehm ... got started looking for a job ehm and ehm

The following was discussed with regard to content as well as to formal features:

– In the beginning of the interview (p. 1:6–38): The main topics would be going abroad and the connected question of money. Kate would tell about the *narrowness of the conditions of her growing up*. In terms of biographical processes (Schütze, 2008: 190f and 197–202) she would tell about the fact of getting hindered to develop a metamorphosis process (Schütze, 1994) of not being able to go to grammar school, and, regrettably for her, thus becoming just a secretary.

Seeing it in the sequential order of textual rendering (and thereby doing an empirically substantiated text interpretation) and, at the same time, in the sequential order of biographical unfolding Kate feels restrictions in her personal development when working as a secretary. In terms of biographical planning she wants to do a lot of travelling; in many types of autobiographies travelling is connected to changing one's life situation. In between telling about these two items of becoming a secretary and developing the action plan of travelling she puts in two additional segments on the level of the main-story rendering: one is about travelling with her parents, and the other is about her first networking experiences, being attached to the Anglican Church and to the Red Cross. With looking at these inserted segments (however, both being on the level of the rendering of the main story) it becomes clear that Kate is trying to explain in biographical terms her desire to travel as well as her new, her second work position and partial new occupation in a travel agency (about which she tells in the following segment). The in-between segments tell that she learnt to travel and how she started and accomplished networking; and connected with these experiences she found her first biographical central topic: going abroad, travelling, and undergoing different experiences. Kate cannot explain her first central biographical topic with the help of argumentative commentaries in a circumspect way, but at least she reports the life context in which this topic biographically developed. The mentioning of narrowness and scarcity in the life of her family shows that Kate is dealing with the biographical topic of a blocked biographical metamorphosis process that could have developed into a trajectory process.

It was talked about the *methodical importance* of the way how Kate's contextualizing of the narrated events guided the listener or reader to arrive at a complex and circumspect understanding of her biographical development. For

doing contextualization, narrator and listener need some sort of *suprasegmental markers* (Schütze, 2008: 188–191) – the money topic which pops up three times in this segment is functioning as such a suprasegmental marker that indicates that Kate was in a blocked metamorphosis process and how she overcame this difficulty.

Other remarks on the topic of travelling were:

– London as a stimulating experience for forming the new topic of travelling;

– Kate’s being a member of social institutions: Red Cross, church, being a girls’ scout guide, being involved in social networks with a basic institutional framing structure as a first general capacity and social mode that would develop in Kate’s early youth and would be continuously followed up by her in later life;

– It was mentioned that Kate would not address classical cultural interests or trivial scholarly-touristic interests when talking about travelling. Kate’s deeper going interest for “countries and people” would also have been a precondition for her forming a European identity in the sense of a cultural identity. On the other hand, Kate’s sense of Europeaness might be especially related not to explicitly cultural topics, but to experiencing something new and something different as well as finding personal freedom. As being an au-pair she saw a chance in the mid-60s to get out of her confined structural life context of lower English middle class in order to be personally free; her embarking on learning another language was a resource for becoming free in her limited life situation in the U.K.

Second text part, p. 3:40 – 4:11 (experience of suffering)

Starting: “*Ehm ... during this time ehm I met my first husband*” until “*So hence the fact that I stayed – with the travel agency I liked the job very much, got married, ehm and here we are eight years later.*” (/// = marker of beginning and end of the text clipping)

N: All the staff were travelling all over the world on educational tours - to experience ehm the ehm - the travels so they could sell it better to the clients of course. - Ehm and I stayed for eight years. /// Ehm ... during this time ehm I met my first husband.

I: hm

N: Ehm ... who who apart from ehm his job was ehm... actually a drummer in a jazz band.

I: hm

N: And ehm ... we subsequently got married (few/four?) years later. I was still very young. Ehm and ehm (6 seconds) was there something in between this (?) ehm ... oh yes. Sorry I should have said also that I ... when I came back from Italy I had the intention of going back.

I: hm

- N: Ehm but I thought I need to get some money ehm and so I needed a job. So I got the job in the travel agency of course not knowing I would stay there for eight years at that particular time.
- I: hm
- N: Ehm and ehm and then about a year later, after I'd been there about a year and I was sort of thinking well you know if I am gonna go back to Italy I had to go now.
- I: hm
- N: Ehm I met him - and then really the decision was made that I wasn't gonna go back to Italy. Because you know I met this man - and it was quite serious and so - I wouldn't get back to Italy. So hence the fact that I stayed - with the travel agency I liked the job very much, got married, ehm and here we are eight years later. - /// Ehm by this time I decided ehm - // oh no, I didn't decide to move on. The company the travel agency was relocating its head office to - [city] which was the Midlands. The middle of England.

The text passage appeared confusing, somewhat chaotic in presentation, but was considered to be an interesting formal textual phenomenon:

– The text passage would show the *phenomenon of suffering*. However, the experiences of suffering would not be focused by Kate since she wouldn't dwell on this probably very painful experience of being made redundant and of the breaking up of her first marriage. Would she intentionally avoid telling a narrative of suffering? – It was agreed that it seems to be important for Kate to present herself in an action mode. Therefore, the textual disorder in the narrative presentation would be due to her attempt of avoiding to get too deeply re-involved within the experiences of suffering during this phase of her life by virtue of the lively recollection activated through extempore story telling. (Hence, Kate's underlining of her action mode must be seen as an intentional attempt to avoid detailed recollection of her suffering; but this was accomplished quite automatically or "seen but unnoticed" in the understanding of Harold Garfinkel, 1967: 36.) However, finally Kate did not fade the experiences of suffering out of her awareness; instead she feels obliged to correct her attempt at easygoing presentation as implausible when she tends to present herself as being always in control of what is going on.

– Then the formal feature of two background constructions in the text was addressed and how this feature would be analysed. The first background construction (Schütze, 2008: 42–51) in the text passage was found on p. 3:45 to 4:11, starting with: "*Was there something in between?*"; the second background construction starts on p. 4:12, where Kate corrects herself.

Generally speaking, in a *background construction, which is inserted into the course of a narrative unit*, the narrator interrupts him-/herself in order to make the story told up to here and now more plausible. Since in narrative units

micro phenomena of larger social and biographical processes are dealt with and background constructions are insertions of narrative units that deal with chaotic phenomena of these processes, background constructions are always a special chance to do micro analysis of complicated biographical phenomena. Background constructions are signs of disorder of remembering which stem from one or the other sort of disorder in the biographical development of the narrator.

Undergoing a *metamorphosis process* with its new and creative developments, which carry along essential features of biographical disorder of innovation, might be expressed through a background construction since in the beginning of such processes the affected person/informant cannot understand her or his new inner developments coming along with totally new types of social categorization within the orientation framework of a new social world, the acquisition of which would change her/his identity. In addition, it is quite difficult to remember more elementary or more primitive categories one would have had in one's mind before that change of identity. Thus, generally speaking, the former stages of biographical development before undergoing a metamorphosis change of identity are very difficult to remember.

In addition, background constructions often show up in trajectory (Riemann and Schütze, 1991) sequences. *Trajectories of suffering* are processes in which there are harmful and yet very powerful conditions so that the affected person cannot intentionally act anymore but is forced to just react. One of the trajectory disorders could be severe suffering: what happened to her or him would be very difficult to remember, since a lively recollection would bring the overburdening pain back; in any case it would be a painful and/or guilt-stricken and/or shameful matter for the informant's biographical thematization and biographical development, and therefore it is faded out of one's awareness. The informant would anticipate that she or he could feel burdened with pain/or sorrow; or that she or he would feel ashamed or guilty, and therefore she or he tends to skip it out of her or his focussed memory and awareness.

It was asked why the story of Kate's first marriage is partially put in a background construction? – In her attempt of recollection Kate is dealing with the difficult biographical problem of bringing together, on the one hand, her own occupational development (the biographical line of her occupational success) and, on the other, her life as a life partner of somebody else. Since her private life was not successful and since she is very much success-oriented and would like to control all important aspects of her life and make it successful, she experiences great difficulties in the cause of her autobiographical rendering in bringing the two lines of private and occupational life together. Since it had already happened two

times that Kate got into lots of difficulties in her private life when being married, she cannot easily put these two lines of her life together in her autobiographical presentation. In Kate's case – and this supposedly applies to many women in Western societies in that they are dominated by men – the very fact of getting married is a very infelicitous condition for pursuing her biographical plans for developing a professional career line. In addition, as said already, this happens two times in Kate's biography: The first husband hinders her to go back to Italy; the second husband takes her to Germany when she is living in the UK and is in a well developed career situation. Kate, who likes to be a good housewife and a good marriage partner, follows him. Then the marriage breaks down. Even in her recollection this topic is harmful for Kate – not only because of the divorce as such but because she was not able to harmonically bring together the two divergent lines of her biography. Feelings of shame and even some feelings of guilt are connected with this experience of failure and the remembrance of it. The combination of the tendency of fading out of memory and actual awareness the conflict between her plan to return to Italy and to develop her intimate relationship, on the one hand, and to reconstruct the vanishing memory through a background construction on the other, reflect the following social constellation: Kate, on the one hand, does not like to remember her deep biographical problem of the two life threads in disharmony, but that she, on the other, is a very cooperative and authentic interview partner and would like to look at these experiences in an emotionally distanced and neutral way. That is also the reason why Kate would correct herself in the second background construction where she is renouncing her first attempt to present herself as a very active career person, who follows up her biographical action scheme of becoming a human resource manager via looking for another job (and therefore quitting the old one by her own free will), however informing within the background construction that she had actually gotten fired.

**Third text passage, p. 11:21 et seqq.
(features of the extended pre-coda segment)**

Dealing with *coda and pre-coda phenomena* is dealing with the overall order of biographical rendering and the overall order of biography. (/// = marker of beginning and end of the text clipping)

- I: N: So this is where I pop in. There probably aren't many Kate Wilsons - if any, in Germany - with with my background. So it's and the // I really believed that the the way forward now is to specialize - in the field that I am in. - /// So my long term aim now is to stay in my business - I don't want to become a language school. I am very very ehm passionate about this. - I run a small professional language business but I am not a language school. - But I am

looking to steer my business - in the direction of getting one of my trainers to do a lot more work and take some of my commercial English away from me so that I can take on more and more human resources work - and begin to specialize totally in that. That's that's the route that I want to go in. I am also developing some work in France actually in human resources. Ehm I may be doing one or two workshops in France later in the year. - Ehm and of course I had my qualification still in the UK which I retained. - And ehm my ehm membership of my professional organization is great. It's a fantastic organization. - If I go back (there) ehm I can go to the library. I could spend a day there. They've got a fantastic library with everything you need, and computers and the whole lot. And it's very it's a very supportive organization if I want books or information ehm I can ehm you know either contact them ehm (I actually) can contact them by phone - to get stuff. So it's ehm - you know the whole thing is sort of - it's excellent really.

I: hm

N: Ehm - and it's opened up lots of new doors. - Ehm because there aren't many people specializing in my field.

I: hm

N: Ehm... so businesswise you know things have been very successful. I am very pleased with the decision I made. It was a risk.

I: hm

N: I didn't know whether it was going to work. Ehm but ehm unfortunately women do these stupid things. - They give up their career for their husband or whatever just like I did. And afterwards you'd think this was a mistake perhaps. But anyway, it got me - to Germany. Ehm and ehm ... it was you know when my // when I knew we were heading for a divorce it was a question am I gonna go back to the UK to pursue my human resources career or am I gonna stay and pursue my new business.

I: hm

N: And I always wanted to run my own company. I had long term, even in the UK, I had long term ideas about running my own business. I I wouldn't have wanted to// I couldn't probably stayed a human resources manager for ever cause it's it's very stressful.

I: hm

N: And ehm ... so I decided 'No, I'm gonna stay here'. By this time I was really over the age to go back.(/)

I: hm

N: I I passed - the height of my career age wise. - It would have been very difficult. I knew what was happening because I've got friends at the same sort of age in the UK. - Ehm and they told me how difficult it was to get jobs - ehm over a certain age. - Ehm and ehm several of them had gone into (interim) management in human resources because they - had been made redundant and - they couldn't find // nobody would employ them at 45 or 50 or whatever. - Ehm and so I thought - this is gonna be really tough. - You know how do I (earn) and get a job and what am I gonna do if I don't in human resources. And much // ok I could run an English language training business in the UK. But it wouldn't be the same.

I: hm

N: Here I'm a, I'm a small fish in a big pool. [Note, this is not a transcription mistake.]

I: hm

N: In the UK it would be the other way around. And that's because a lot of people are doing it. So - I dug my heels in and - eh said to my husband as he still was then -

- I: hm
- N: ehm I'm I'm not going. - 'You you do what you like I'm staying here - and I'm gonna develop my business.' This was a bit of a shock to him of course but that was - that was his problem. He was the one he ... actually went off with somebody else, a friend of mine
- I: oh
- N: ehm in the end and ehm so that was his problem. But ehm ... yeah so, you know, I really sort of started to develop things and it was - sort of in the first year of being in Bremen that ehm - I ehm looked around to see what - networking I could do. Well there was an American women's club here. There still is ehm but this is very much for women who don't work. Most of the things are social and they are during the day. Because ehm most American women can't work because they can't get visas ...
- I: American women(?)
- N: Yeah they have to have visas. Americans have to have visas. Ehm and unless they come with a job -
- I: oh ok
- N: if they are transferred to Germany with a job they get a visa. - But if they're here with the husband and the spouse is working.
- I: I always thought it's the other way round that it would be problematic to go to go there as a German./()
- N: It is - also.
- I: This is also#
- N: They make it as difficult for you as you make it for them#
- I: #oh#
- N: #it's, but it's tit for tat#
- I: #(I thought ... ok)#
- N: No, it's tit for tat.
- I: ok - ok
- N: Absolutely. - And so very few of American women - can work here unless they really pursue the visa which is very difficult to get and so on, a working permit or whatever it's called. Ehm - and so most of these things were during the day and so this wasn't the right medium for me. I was totally bored and uninterested in all these American things they were talking about.
- I: Yeah
- N: It was always very American somehow and it's // even though Germans say 'Oh well you both speak the same language', the culture is totally different.
- I: Of course.
- N: Ehm - you know, in some respects I'd say there's more similarities between Germans and Brits than there is between Americans and Brits actually. - The language is the common factor but maybe not a lot else.
- I: hm hm
- N: Ehm... and ehm - so the American's women club wasn't for me and then I did look around and ehm - none of the - business women's groups in Bremen were international. Again when asked 'How many international members have you got' which is of course one of the first questions I ask. 'One - maybe two'.
- I: hm
- N: That's not my idea of international.
- I: hm

- N: Even though some of them say 'Well, course we've got branches in other other countries.'
- I: hm
- N: But that's not what I am concerned about.
- I: Yeah
- N: I mean - you know, I am I am concerned with with what's going on an international basis here. Ehm - and I have to tell I didn't find Bremen and I still don't actually find Bremen very international.
- I: hm
- N: I find it very limited in that respect. - The people of Bremen think they are very international - but I've never found them very international.
- I: hm
- N: You know this hanseatic ... ehm approach that a lot of people have is not is not international in my view.
- I: hm
- N: But ehm ... anyway ehm - so then one or two people said 'Well if you've got the concept why don't you start something yourself'. I thought 'Well maybe this is right'. So that's what I did, to cut to cut the story again.
- I: Please don't cut ((little bit laughing))
- N: Ehm - and I I started it from my own home. - Actually - (???????) originally. And it, when it got to about 15 or 20 women it became too big. - And so I then had to go out and looked for a venue and I realized there is a lot of interest in there. So there was a lot of interest from German women -
- I: hm
- N: because this was new. Something different. Networking, what's networking(?)
- I: Yeah right
- N: And it fact you know this was 1993 - I started it and you know there weren't so there wasn't // some of these groups existed but there weren't - so well known amongst women.
- I: hm
- N: Ehm - and perhaps they had a slightly different concept - and they certainly weren't international. - So German women were interested. They also wanted to speak English. This was also an attraction. - And just mixing with an international group was (what) (appealed) to them. - So we realized we had a niche - a sort of market here. And I then - when it got sort of unmanageable - on my own, I then said - you know, I need some people to help. We must form a small committee and so the first committee I had was myself, Lisa -
- I: hm
- N: who you may remember who is also British. - Ehm a Dutch eh not a Dutch ehm a Danish - woman who is, I am still in touch with and an American
- I: hm
- N: who's actually been away for eight years but came back at the beginning of this year ehm to live in Bremen and ehm - and a German. They were five or so. - Very international committee.
- I: Yeah
- N: And we started to build it up and I pushed it, I pushed and I pushed very hard ehm ran it until 2000, of the early 2000s, probably 2001 or something. I then decided to step down. It was time to someone else to run it. - You know I'd been doing it long enough. Someone else would have new ideas - and anyway I wanted to develop my business.

- I: hm
- N: Ehm... and so that's what I did. And ehm I didn't really get too involved - for two or three years because I didn't want them to think I was I was poking my nose in.
- I: Yeah
- N: Ehm - you know and I wanted them sort of get on with it.
- I: Yeah yeah
- N: Ehm... yeah so I sort of developed my own business. I was also on the committee of an international - ehm commercial English training organization. The mother sort of organization of which is in the UK. - But it's for members worldwide. - Ehm and eh so I used to travel around Europe to these meetings - about four times a year we// I still I am still I'm not on the committee anymore - since ehm 2005 2006. - But ehm - I am - I am still a member of the organization so this this, there are several conferences a year and it's all educational for commercial English presentations and workshops and what (have you) - and I do presentations at these conferences as well.
- I: hm
- N: So I was on the committee of that. - So I was able to sort of - you know not have do the International Women's Club work but did the other committee work - which was quite considerable. - Ehm - in the meantime I'm - I'd got divorced of course. The divorce was very difficult and we we did it out of the UK - because this was less complicated. Cause we were both from the Britain. - Ehm ... and we didn't want to get involved with German law and what (have you). - So the divorce was through and ehm - you know I am really had to concentrate on building up the business so that I could live decently.
- I: hm
- N: Ehm - and so really I mean I, you know, I I - had ten hard years of pushing eh and not many holidays and so on ehm you know ehm really working hard. Ehm - and I still am. I am still working eighteen hours a day actually. This is not ideal. Ehm at all. Ehm I have to find a solution.
- I: yeah
- N: But ehm that's ehm another story ehm and ehm - yes so we sort of come more to the current day. Ehm in 19// in 2005 - I received a notification that the International Business Women's Club was calling a special meeting with the view to closing down.
- I: oh
- N: I knew that lots of members had left. - Ehm and ... I said 'over my dead body'. - I'm not, you know#
- I: #Yeah
- N: after all the work#
- I: #of course that was your (work)
- N: #the life I put into this - over my dead body.
- I: Yes
- N: So of course I went to the meeting. There were about - 15 people there. One or two of the older - and I actually got one or two of the older members, long term members to come - ehm - as well and ehm - the whole committee (wanted out). Ehm - they felt - lots of people had left. They didn't feel they were getting support at meetings ehm so on and so forth. And so - ehm ... eh - I st// (you) know, we had any suggestions. So I suggested setting up a working party - if three or four people would join me. And we would spend a few months in 2006 discussion what we should do so - ehm in fact this is what happened. And I had think six people who

came - on the working party with me. And we spent about eight months discussing the future and decided there was just as much need for... the same concept - in international business women's networking group ehm as there had been in 1993 when I first set it up. There was still a lot of international women here. - Maybe a few more than there were then in a way. And a lot of German interest and so we decided that we would go for it then and try to reestablish ehm it on the networking scene but of course I realized at this stage that the only person who was gonna take the chair again would be me.

I: hm

N: And to there I promised myself faithfully I wasn't gonna do this. - I said 'Ok, well, you know there is no other alternative; I'll do it for a couple of years.' Well, two years is already gone actually but ... that's not a (here nor there). Ehm I said 'I'll take it on for a couple of years, if at least two or three of you join me on the committee - and that's what happened.'

I: hm

N: So I'm running it at the moment with three committee members - three Brits and a - German.

I: hm

N: Ehm ... and that was Lisa, Joanne and Marie who wasn't at the - meeting so you didn't meet her at our last meeting. ... Ehm yeah and we've been pushing quite hard and since ehm the end of 2006. So it's a year and quarter really and we're really pleased with what we're doing.

I: hm

N: Ehm the the membership is increasing slightly. The guest list we've got is 150 or more. - And a lot of guests are coming along. From these guests you always get your members. They might come three times. They might come 20 times and then they might join or they recommend other people - so this is your life blood, your guest list.

I: hm hm

N: Ehm and so that's ehm going well really. We we're pleased with what's eh what's happening. Ehm we had a lot of interest from - you know international women recently. (She was) Scandinavian and from Finland and Denmark and Sweden. Ehm - so it's good. ... // Ehm yeah it's now up to day really.

I: hm

N: What have I not said what that I should say or(?)

I: Just that was perfect ((little bit laughing)) ///

The pre-coda starts on p. 11:21 "*So my long term aim now is to stay in my business*" and goes up to p. 15:49 "*What have I not said what that I should say or?*" The context presented by Kate in the pre-coda is about developing the idea of connecting teaching business English with her longstanding topic of human resources work, through which she is creating a new field of transdisciplinary work.

It was talked about that in the pre-coda context Kate tells how she would develop her company for teaching business English and secondly how to connect this work of language teaching with some contents of her (former) human resource work, thus creating some sort of hybrid professional endeavour. Kate is very much drawn to the latter human-resource topic when she looks back on her biography and when she is focused on keeping and sustaining the red thread of her

occupational life, and then she asks herself: could her attempt of combining the teaching of business English with human resource work be assessed as a success or not in terms of business, vocational and especially biographical development? From p. 11:40 on she starts to reflect upon this question. She juggles the two options she had at the time when she decided to stay in Germany after the split with her husband. The broader biographical question at this point of time in her life was of course whether or not the development of her career line of teaching business English would be only some sort of accidental and frantic rescue activity (instead of a longstanding systematic biographical action scheme – Schütze, 1981) to get out of her former difficult (trajectory) situation after having been left alone by her former husband. While doing this complex reflection Kate eventually comes to the conclusion that she did a lot of considerable work for developing her language enterprise into the driving force of a very successful business career – and more than that: of a very successful biographical action scheme. Also, she starts to ask herself what other social and biographical developments in her life had been enticed and promoted this successful biographical action scheme. With regard to the latter biographical process one could say that Kate started her new biographical action scheme of founding a new economic existence and a new professional field when learning and successfully doing networking in a British, a German and later on in an international club for business women. There she not only learnt to get access to some sort of basic opportunity structure for acquiring social and occupational contacts, but also to establish and enhance social relationships. Out of this comes her occupational work of language teaching and her founding of an entrepreneurial firm for teaching business English. This and the network activities enforce each other mutually.

As regards *biographical work* it was said that in rehearsing her biographical development Kate came to the conclusion that it was not just a reactive rescue action scheme for getting out of her post-divorce trajectory difficulties to stay in Germany and develop a language enterprise, but that this was a new biographical development with a value in itself. The production of the just discussed pre-coda element in conjunction with the coda evaluation (p. 16:3–16:14) is biographical work that Kate is actually doing at the time of the interview: Kate is dealing with the central question whether or not she made the right decision, and whether or not she actually was able to personally develop as a professional who is accomplishing successful business work or whether she was just being forced to do this pressured by outer conditions and just reacting to overwhelming trajectory situations. When looking at the creative developments in her life, especially at the latter one of developing the business language teaching enterprise in Bremen,

Kate can say ‘yes’ to herself: that her life indeed had and still has a red thread and reveals an overall positive development. Through this reflection Kate is able to put her life, as Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin (1988) would call it, into a new biographical shape (and this is what she is actually doing in the pre-coda part and in the commentary connected to the coda; these presentation activities address her various biographical assessment possibilities to the interviewer). Generally speaking, the basic means and incipient activity for doing biographical work is, then, starting to tell to oneself and to others one’s own life history.

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3.	Wednesday, August 20, 14.00–15.30
	Biographical overall structuring of the Kate interview and other aspects of analytical abstraction; first general features of the sensitized group of transnational workers

AS-W is chairing the session.

Discussed were – however not in this sequential order – features of doing analytical abstraction (1.); the biographical overall structuring in the case of Kate (2.); European phenomena in Kate’s biographical action scheme of connecting teaching of business English and human resources work (3.) as well as conditions that, on the one hand, promote the creative biographical development in Kate’s life history (4.) and conditions that, on the other hand, would promote the trajectory of suffering in Kate’s life (5.).

1. Features of analytical abstraction

It was explained that after having done the segmentation and structural description of the text units of the narrative interview, the biographical development of the informant is to be assessed by identifying the various biographical process structures that emerge in the life history of the informant and to understand their connection and hierarchical order. In addition, for many autobiographical interviews, through analysing the autobiographical self-thematization in the pre-coda passage and coda phase it might become clear what would be the dominant process structure of the biography as a whole – at least as seen from the perspective of the informant, since she or he is juggling with the options of seeing one or the other of these biographical process structures in the pre-coda and/or coda phase of the main narrative in order to get an overall evaluation of her or his life. Generally speaking, research on biographies has shown four general biographical process structures: These are the biographical action scheme, the trajectory of suffering,

the orientation towards institutional expectation patterns and the undergoing of a metamorphosis of one's personal identity (Schütze, 2008: 188–191). Whereas action schemes and metamorphosis processes emanate from the inner sphere of the informant and thereby support self-decided and/or creative identity developments, the process structure of the trajectory of suffering emerges due to the constraint of powerful outer conditions that force the informant to react. In the process of the unfolding of a trajectory of suffering the informant loses more and more the capacity to act, and she or he undergoes a harmful process of self-alienation. E.g., a strict orientation of the informant towards institutional expectation patterns (when following up a career track for example) bears the risk to transform into a trajectory process if expectations of the institution cannot be met by the informant who is restricted through life circumstances (e.g. not having time and/or the corporal health energy to study) or if, for example, organisational/social changes of a career ladder destroy the orientation and promotion patterns that were taken for granted by the informant.

Biographical process structures and how they are established, repeated, related to others, becoming dominant, subordinated or ceasing, are the insight-generating principles that allow to identify conditions that bring either productive or, to the contrary, detrimental biographical developments about. By doing analytical abstraction and identifying the overall biographical structure as well as their social conditions it becomes possible to understand what 'being European' means on an empirical ground. Such differentiated understanding would not be possible by just residing on one's own restricted private experiences or on broad explanatory contexts of collective discourse we can think of or have heard about.

2. Overall biographical structuring of the Kate interview

(Tentative overall biographical structuring, notation of AS-W before the session)

As regards the process structures in Kate's biography: There is the action scheme of travelling by which Kate is to discover new and different life contexts and to develop new activities and biographical perspectives that allow her to be free and creative. Travelling is a biographical theme that forms a red thread in Kate's life: Going to Italy as an au-pair, later on working in a travel agency and being fascinated by the people working there on travel topics and having lots of cultural experiences as well as privately travelling with her second husband on a large scale and finally following her second husband to Germany – all of these action schemes are framed by the topic of travelling.

Another biographical theme in Kate's life is her human resources work. Working in human resources departments and developing this professional work field is followed up by Kate as a biographical action scheme after she had become unexpectedly involved in human resources work while being employed in the travel agency. In the travel agency Kate's boss functions as a "midwife" and "enabler" of biographical metamorphosis as he is letting her do skilled human resources work and thereby allows her to build up an insight-knowledge of personnel work. While gaining that kind of substantial work experience in the travel agency Kate gives up her former action scheme of going back to Italy, since she is getting married at that time and decides to stay in the UK with her first husband.

An action scheme of gaining a responsible position in a human resources department and circumspectly working there is intentionally developed and pursued by Kate after an incisive biographical crisis experience when she has been made occupationally redundant after a relocation of the head office of the travel agency and an extensive rationalization process connected with that. Then Kate self-confidentially applies for a position as a human resources coordinator in an institute of chartered surveyors where she can begin to realize her action scheme of working in the professional field of human resources development (Schröder, 2010). During that period in her life, which lasts for (another) eight years, she gets especially professionalized by her endeavour to pursue the task of acquiring further qualification. This qualification procedure (learning from high ranking human resources managers and learning from the self-reflection of one's own work) apparently helps her to develop a critical-reflective perspective on human resources topics and experiences and also enables her on formal grounds (i.e. through an examination in front of high ranking human resources managers) to legitimately follow up a career in the field of developing and organizing human resources. This action scheme is also imbued with the quality of becoming quite career-oriented. At the time when Kate is getting close with her later second husband (by this time being divorced from her first husband) in the company of chartered surveyors (the British combination of real estate agency and notary) she works at, she feels forced to find a new employer (in order to avoid any type of nepotism). She is successful in finding a position as head of human resources in a renowned law firm.

One aspect of Kate's career and biographical development during that time of her life is that the marriage relationship with her new partner seems to be a supportive social background for her to follow up her intensive interest in travelling. With her new partner Kate shares experiences of hitherto unknown cultural and social settings and activities. Another aspect with regard to her occupational

development at this time is a strong professional orientation: Kate is aware of the specific difficulties of those professionals working in the field of human resources in law firms: There seems to be a systematic lack of information in many law firms so that personnel professionals do not have a broad knowledge base on wages and working conditions of staff in law firms; connected with this seems to be a horrendous over-estimation of firm partners regarding their own abilities in human resources knowledge and work. This makes it difficult for personnel staff to get things done – especially when working next to powerful partners (and owners) in law firms. Kate embarks on the action scheme of initiating, developing, maintaining and chairing a professional network of human resources personnel management in law firms. She develops a sort of a new social sub-world (Strauss, 1979, 1982, 1984; Schütze, 2002) of human resources personnel working in law firms that takes part in the new association from all over England. This social sub-world reveals an expansive dynamics and functions as an arena where work issues in the hybrid field of the intersection of human resources work and law work are debated and reflected upon, where information is gathered and transferred and an up-to-date knowledge base is built.

Now, the great change in Kate's life that drives her into the difficult structural condition of being cut off of this very productive biographical development in her occupational life is connected with her decision to follow her husband to Germany who is to open up an office in Munich. On the one hand, Kate considers coming to Germany to be quite right for her at that very point of time in her life because there is a lot of pressure in the personnel department of her London law firm (and in that firm throughout). On the other hand, she is concerned about going to Germany as she sees herself at the high point of her career and is doubtful whether it would be possible for her to recommence her career in human resources work after a decision to leave the firm. However, Kate finally decides to go to Germany with her husband, relying upon her marital relationship and also seeing it as a new chance for her to travel and to change places.

Going to Germany, then, actually transforms into a trajectory of suffering for Kate as she –additionally to being cut off of her former high ranking and professionally dense British work context – is being exposed to adversative heteronomous conditions of life after arriving in Germany at Munich. Firstly, she is not able to work occupationally because of language problems and because of her not being capable to adapt to a different kind of work arrangement in the field of human-resources management in Germany which doesn't provide for professional autonomy so much as it is the case in the United Kingdom. In effect, in the beginning of her stay in Germany Kate doesn't have a fair chance to

recommence her former career line. Kate is socially isolated in her new German neighbourhood in a rich living quarter of Munich and feels alienated. In addition, in the beginning not being able to speak the German language is a condition that narrows down alternative biographical perspectives for her. Kate becomes heavily irritated by these unexpected social constraints and by being cut off of her successful and creative work in the UK. These trajectory experiences are encroaching upon her private life and leading to a process of alienation in the relationship to her husband. The high point of this trajectory process of suffering is marked by the break-up of her marriage and by the seeming loss of perspective for pursuing a human resources career.

The process of overcoming this alienation trajectory becomes dominant when Kate's husband plans to go back to Munich (after having moved a second time in Germany, i.e. having lived with his wife for a while in Bremen). In her and her husband's new living place Bremen Kate has already started to slowly develop a new vocational perspective of teaching business English for which she can make use of her natural language and teaching capacity. At that point of time, when her husband has left her for Munich and for another female relationship (with a former good friend of her), Kate figures she would experience great difficulties going back to the UK having to find a new job in the field of human-resources management. In addition, to follow up an alternative career as a (specialized) business English teacher in the UK would be much more difficult in the UK than it would be in Germany. So Kate decides to stay in Germany and Bremen.

In addition, Kate is building up a social network with business women from Europe who have a common interest in relating to each other, sharing experiences and finding out about job opportunities in Europe and of course especially in Bremen. Kate sees her chance to use her English language teaching competence in continental Europe where English is becoming the lingua franca and where's a need for English language competencies in different work fields. Kate follows up a new biographical action scheme of developing her business English language enterprise and while doing so she is slowly connecting – or personally reconnecting – human resource topics with it (for example by teaching business English, by counselling for job interviews in the English speaking human resources field in Germany and elsewhere Europe, and by informing by German human resources personnel about conventions of job interviewing in the Anglo-Saxon working sphere). In the course of realizing this occupational-biographical action scheme of interconnecting two different professional social worlds (Strauss, 1984 – that one of language teaching and that one of human resource development) Kate is expanding her highly specialized teaching activities of business English by virtue

of their conjunction with human resources topics in Europe (for example through teaching such a hybrid course in France).

A central text passage as regards formal features of the interview that sheds light on Kate's current biographical situation is the pre-coda segment of her main story line (p. 11: 40– 15: 49). Generally speaking, the pre-coda segment of an autobiographical-narrative interview is a systematic text position for autobiographical self-thematization (Schütze, 2008: 175– 181). Kate's autobiographical self-thematization in which she assesses her current biographical situation (at the time of the interview) is quite ambivalent. The central question that Kate tries to answer in this text passage is whether or not coming to and staying in Germany should be seen as a biographical mistake? In order to find an adequate answer to this question Kate looks back on her biography: On the one hand, she considers that she "couldn't probably stayed a human resource manager forever (be)cause it's it's very stressful" (p. 12, l. 2–3 – also see the background construction on page 8, lines 4–27, especially lines 7–27). On the other hand, she reassesses the options she had at the time when she decided to stay in Germany – that she was over the age to go back to the UK and, in addition, wanted to follow up her own business. While reflecting on her former decision and biographical development from that time on she starts to think about her networking activities (p. 12: 29) that was and apparently still is an important part of her biographical development until the present day. She is then quite extensively talking about her networking work (Latour, 1996, Akriche et al., 2004) and the growth of her personal capacity in this regard (until the coda on p. 15: 49). Networking and the accompanying growth of capacity in doing social relating and building up social arenas can be identified as a very creative biographical development.

The striking formal feature is of course that this important biographical development is not told in the former parts of the main narrative but just in the almost final pre-coda segment. This is a formal indication for the remarkable fact that Kate does not see her social networking work and the related arena competencies as being of central biographical relevance; compared to the development of her language business she does not consider her – just para-occupational – networking activities and the arena of social contacts built up by her as being fully acceptable professional-occupational achievements in her life.

To sum up, there is a severe trajectory experience for Kate after having come to Germany that is a cut in her life which is not totally overcome until the present day. However, the overall biographical structuring, then, is continued by a metamorphosis process becoming more and more dominant. This indeed is the

case, although the highly productive, creative biographical development in Kate's later time in Germany which is essentially connected with her networking work is underestimated by Kate herself. Her networking work is internationally (and de facto European) oriented, and she is also making use of it for the productive pursuit and expansion of her business language enterprise as her long-ranging biographical action scheme. By doing biographical work, as Kate does in the pre-coda segment, she finally becomes able to see and understand that her networking work is part and parcel – and a central metamorphosis condition – of her creative biographical action scheme of business language teaching which she is able to reconnect more and more with human resources topics. And this conjunction is another feature of the underlying metamorphosis process.

3. Overall biographical structuring with special regard to European phenomena in Kate's biographical action scheme of connecting business English and human resource work

Especially with regard to European phenomena and European habitus features in the overall biographical structuring of the Kate interview, the following was said:

On p. 9:7–26 Kate addresses the topic of a new biographical action scheme of staying in Germany and building up a new career line of teaching business English. She is juggling the options of whether or not she should enter a German company for doing human resources work. After some deliberation she decides not to try because she thinks there are lots of differences between German and Anglo-American human resources work (to her, the German one seems to be less socially minded than the British one). She postpones her plan to resume human resources work but does not destroy this topic for her possible further biographical development in that direction. Instead, she is pursuing the new biographical action scheme of developing the field of business English and, step by step, putting in more and more human resources work (p. 9:26 – p.11:22).

As regards how Kate starts up her new biographical action scheme one could say that first of all she collects practical work knowledge when going to, and working for, private language schools in order to learn how to do and how to organize the language teaching business and how to position it in the market of services for managers and entrepreneurs. Then she starts networking and begins to overcome the difficulties of relating to Germans. In the interview Kate talks about the phenomenon of a special aloofness of Germans and how to overcome that hurdle for networking. Having accomplished this successfully, she launches

a new type of professional teaching work: through the hybridization strategy of putting together language courses with human resources work. The identification with this hybrid type of professional work biographically develops into a metamorphosis process where Kate is establishing a new transdisciplinary field (p. 11:26–28). She is unfolding an incipient European social world of human resources work (in France, in Germany, in Great Britain and in other places) which is very much connected with finding and developing felicitous conditions for international encounters. This grand master plan is the deeper sense for her endeavour to do networking, which she must squeeze into the confines of her own small resources of working from her private home.

Becoming able to do this work type of *European social relating* (going to various women's clubs, to conferences in all parts of Europe, doing language courses) is a condition for Kate's European professional work which is to develop into a hybrid arena of putting together teaching of business English and of human resources work. The achievement, that Kate overcame her isolation after getting divorced as well as her suffering related to the divorce and to the biographical assessment of not having had a successful marriage is very much connected with her development of a European stance which could be formulated as follows: 'I will stay here and I have a right to stay here. I will take profit from the very European situation that many persons have to use English as the lingua franca for doing her or his professional work, and I will make something out of this situation of collective necessities'.

Kate is able to find and build up a special type of social relating in order to get and keep all the networks going she founded or worked on and to develop European professional arenas for her work. The *European framework* is a pivotal condition for Kate's getting a distance to that painful experience of divorce and of being unsuccessful as a marital partner and also for her impressive ability to develop such professional arenas. And vice versa: since the European horizon makes so much biographical sense to her, she is very creative regarding the practical development of this important European framework of social networking and social arenas.

As regards Kate's *European dimension of her networking activities*: Kate refers to social situations of relating, contact opportunities, places, arenas (Wiener, 1981; Clarke, 2005), where people from various European nations come together and deal with topics of professional work, especially with topics of human resources work and of teaching business English and with the questions of connecting these two realms of professional work. Such social arrangements are connected with crossing borders and overcoming the confines of the various

national cultures. For the promotion of this kind of social arrangements Kate develops new activities and strategies of doing relationships and organising these social activities in social arenas. The arena structure is defined by a centripetal mental and social orientation of awareness toward rounds or stages “where the focussed action is” as well as by fuzzy fringes, i.e. not having exactly defined membership and no exactly defined borders of who is in and what topic is in, on the one hand, and who is out and what topic is out, on the other (Strauss, 1979, 1982; Schütze, 2002). One could maybe say that the fuzziness of Europe resembles the fuzziness of these social phenomena of doing social relationships and doing arena work.

4. Conditions of the trajectory of suffering when coming to Germany

Discussed were:

- the trajectory condition of losing the occupational path (in the field of human resources) which had been Kate’s medium for a creative biographical development, before she came to Germany with her second husband;
- the ambivalence of the English language: it can be capitalized by Kate but can also be the medium for a pull-back: it could crystallize into a trap of not being able to reach out into German and other national cultures and social arenas;
- the problem of not being a fully competent speaker of the German language, at least in the first years of Kate’s stay in Germany;
- the problematic impact of the very cumbersome organizational context of Kate’s last work position in England, i.e. in the London law firm, that entices, fosters or at least conditions an action scheme of flight or rescue in Kate’s biographical planning;
- the danger of a marital social arrangement of total personal dependency when Kate is following her husband to Germany and not being able to work;
- the difficult social situation of living in a big German city where all the expatriates dwell in a rich and quite secluded neighbourhood; this is a very isolating social-ecological arrangement, where Kate doesn’t have many chances to get into contact with the neighbours, may they be non-German or German;
- Kate’s experience that Germans are not very easy to relate to as a structural hurdle for doing social networking;
- Kate’s problem of initially not being able to get occupationally engaged in Germany, which is very much due to the initial lack of having the German language;

- the dynamics of the self-alienating and self-immobilizing trajectory process encroaching on Kate’s private life being more and more in emotional distance to her husband, who was unfaithful to her by starting a relationship to one of her best friends, and at the same time materially and socially depending on him;
- the limiting condition that Kate develops her business just on her own, starting just from her own small resources and having extremely long working days with the potential of psychic burn-out, and
- the self-confusing condition of being – so to speak – “fixated” or super-focussed on just business-related aspects of one’s social relationships (and therefore “colonizing” the private ones) what makes Kate lonely.

5. Conditions of the creative biographical development in Germany; relevance of a European stance

Discussed were:

- Kate’s use of the international and even more European work opportunity structure to make a career line out of her teaching of business English in the context of the economical globalization and Europeanization process with English as lingua franca;
- Kate’s European perspective as a biographical frame work of orientation that promotes an open stance for new communicative situations and arenas and for establishing new working opportunities in different cultural contexts, in contrast to being confined to a xenophobic, nationalistic perspective which would be a mechanism of fading out and veiling Kate’s capacity of dealing with action difficulties, especially in coping with new social situations and cultural differences. However, just self-identification as being European is not enough in order to develop a European action competence (comparable with Antonina Kłoskowska’s cultural valence – Kłoskowska, 2001). In addition, there must be the experience of being successful in transnational networking and arena work as well as building up that professional sub-world of combining teaching business English and (at the same time) dealing with human resources work for actors and clients within the European economical and labour markets. Nevertheless, self-identification as being European is a first step in the direction of building up an action-competent European stance. And, in addition, in the beginning of Kate’s stay in Germany it contributes to making up for Kate’s early deficit in the process of becoming competent in the German language and culture as well as in German social relationships, since the self-understanding of being European helps to overcome the early social isolation;

– Kate’s understanding of the need for having new cultural contexts and new social arrangements of living and working and of becoming socially embedded in her neighbourhood;

– Kate’s flexible action scheme of creating a new vocational line and a new incipient social world (the international/European women’s club) and her capacity of having the resources for pursuing an international/European career by cultivating the appropriate use of the English language in Germany and by teaching business English;

– the relevance for Kate of a European social network and social arena of English speaking business women as a solidarity platform, i.e. as a base of social support and vocational help, which is internationally oriented but de facto European-oriented, since American women cannot work in Germany; the self-identification as *international* would be important in order to encourage possible participants to make individual use of such a social support platform without feelings of obligation regarding defined transnational bodies and polity institutions (as brought into play by the term “European”); Kate’s further acquisition and her final perfection of such a social networking competence;

– the relevance for Kate of learning the German language in order to have the chance to follow up at least certain aspects of the former career path in human resources work and to consider possibilities for related biographical action schemes (which might be then re-embarked in a somewhat different, probably more creative way);

– EU occupational work registration devices and labour market procedures that enable members of the European union to find and enter the opportunity structure of finding work in other European countries and to pursue relevant biographical topics such as – with regard to Kate’s case and to other cases – travelling, personal freedom as well as occupational and professional development;

– Kate’s competence of being able to control the dangerous mechanism of doing simplifying abstractions of individual and singular experiences (some from the hearsay) towards categories of collective identities (national collectivities and smaller ones); when Kate is drawing generalizations towards collectivities she conceptualizes these in a very circumspect way based on her very own experiences; there is the urgency to realize – and Kate accomplishes it – that these collective, especially national, abstraction phenomena and abstraction activities can be very powerful in simplifying or even utterly misleading orientation towards collective phenomena; Kate is able to deal with them in terms of situational contextualizations; and

– the relevance of doing biographical work: When looking back on her biography Kate can finally understand that her networking work is a creative supporting condition for the commencement and realization of her new biographical action scheme of bringing together the teaching of business English and the pursuing of human resources topics; Kate’s biographical work task of re-looking at and reappraising her former and present networking endeavour is thus highly relevant for her future creative biographical development of establishing the new hybrid profession of teaching and counselling how to accomplish human resource work in European frameworks using the language medium of English as the European lingua franca.

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4.	Wednesday, August 20, 16.00-17.30
	Contrastive comparison, minimal and maximal strategy: looking at an interview with a person from the intersection of two different sensitized groups, i.e. the migrant workers group and (more than that) the sensitized group of educationally mobile persons: the “Caren” interview of the German team; first ideas regarding general features of the sensitized group of educationally mobile persons, especially regarding European identity features and European habitus features

LI is chairing the session.

Discussed was the Caren interview which is from the sensitized group of the educationally mobile persons, but also allows a minimal comparison with the Kate interview, since the young Danish lady Caren has also become a transnational worker. In the first part of the session the striking trajectory experience of Caren having been raped during a stay with her family in the US and its impact on her biographical development as well as productive features in her biography – especially with regard to “Europeanness” – were reflected upon.

The case of Caren

As regards the trajectory experience of being attacked and raped and its biographical impact:

– The tragic happening in the US has an impact on Caren’s life style which is the contrary to her normal type of attitude that is being outgoing, open, interested, crossing all types of borders and thresholds. After being intimidated and victimized by rape Caren builds up a self-protective rigid time structure so that her mundane expectation patterns of daily life affairs would already break down when it just comes to a minor deviation from that normal expectation pattern for a short while,

especially in terms of time delays (for example if she misses the shuttle train from Copenhagen to her home place after the university lecture – p. 35, line 13–22). In addition, for a while she is quite demanding in permanently asking for the support of her significant others; in this sense she is self-centered. But the biographical development of Caren is of that sort that although it is quite a long way from this schematic handling of minor mundane affairs immediately after the rape attack up to her later going abroad again, this time to Germany, and then being open again in her mundane expectation patterns, she finally overcomes this severe biographical problem by her basic change in attitude towards life. She becomes modest and circumspect again and is able to undergo and handle many difficult situations when being in the new cultural context of Germany.

– As already alluded to, for a certain while the atrocious experience of the rape has the biographical impact that Caren is becoming the “ill child” that is somewhat spoiled. For a certain while she develops and fosters the tendency to put some pressure on her parents and friends, and feels the right to expect and even to demand certain things from the other family members and friends. But after some while she overcomes this almost unavoidable phase of a misleading reaction in the aftermath of the rape.

– One felicitous condition for Caren’s starting and pursuing biographical work with regard to the atrocious rape experience is the relationship to her new boy-friend who is always able to listen to her.

– Caren herself is fighting against the tendency of being defined in terms of the tragic rape experience happening by her significant others and starts to focus on other (new) topics in her life and takes chances to experience something new (in her study courses, in her practicum within the Danish parliament as well as in her stays abroad later on).

As regards the creative biographical developments and their impact on becoming European:

– It was seen as striking how early in her life and fostered by her parents the topic of going to school in England or going abroad with an educational intention in general and meeting people from other European countries turned up in Caren’s life story. It started when she was ten years old. (Caren says it was an “of course” in Danish families to entice their children to go abroad for a year and learn another language.) Her parents started early in Caren’s primary socialization to address this topic of letting their child having international experiences and practicing the English language, and for consequently following up their educational plan they used their established social network abroad, i.e. English

friends. The parents selected the type of school, a European one, too, and cared for the establishment of an incipient social network of her daughter in England. To put it short: they created an encouraging social arrangement as a support base for Caren to find an individual way for her further life in England and to enable her to make new cultural experiences.

– Caren has the social capacity to make use of the European framework offered by the European school and its students: she is doing social networking and finding special places where to meet people from other nations: for example, when she is riding the bike to Oxford or visiting the cinema. Caren and the other students start to relate to each other; in addition, Caren's working together for school during the nights with a Polish student who lives in the same guest family is characteristic in this regard.

– In order to acquire transcultural competence, which is very important for working and living together in Europe, it is pivotal to create intense experiences of being in culturally strange situations, i.e. to be exposed to culturally different social contexts in “flesh and blood” through living abroad for a while; it would not be sufficient just to attend an international school or European school in one's home county, where just foreign languages and related cultural contents are to be learned: instead, the concept of Europeanness must be filled in and concretized by the truly European experience of living in culturally different contexts, exploring cultural strangeness and nevertheless – and exactly through this – experiencing felicitous cooperation.

– Just having come back from her school year in England Caren develops a very individualized life style which is some sort of natural outcome of the specific also has to do with European living option of pursuing one's individual life as a permanent traveller. This highly individualized life style is causing some difficulties for Caren's parents and probably for some of her friends, too. Caren must get tuned in again into the Danish home culture with its everyday family shores and social expectations.

– The interview reveals that the teachings in school turn out to be successful in regard of promoting a European orientation in Caren's life. Caren follows up some European topics in school and builds up a vague, but nevertheless powerful orientation regarding working for Europe and combining this with politics. Already in High School she develops a vague but driving biographical action scheme of working for Europe; step by step it is becoming more and more concrete and precise. She pursues this vague biographical action scheme during her stay in the US, too (after being at first resistant to going to America at all), since she is taking math courses and courses in political science with a European outlook

and economics in order to meet requirements for studying political science in Denmark later on. Hence, in this American school context she indirectly addresses European topics, too.

– Caren develops attitudes that make it easier for her to go abroad again (e.g. to Germany). She has realized the necessity that when undergoing different cultural experiences, openness to new situations and social relationships would be crucial; one would have to be a humble learner of the culturally new, and, in addition, in the country of immigration, one would have to build up a professional and social status anew. In addition, one would have to know that the new life situation in the country of migration would be different from the life situation in one's home country. In this regard Caren is comparing herself with her mother, and she is quite critical with the latter, since in her opinion her mother would have had developed wrong conceptions of living in a foreign society (when going to the US). Unlike her mother's lack of preparation for the stay with her husband and children in the US, Caren already starts networking before migrating to Germany: to some extent she is dealing in advance with the requirements of getting work and of having to relate to other persons in Germany. And in advance she deals with the intricate question, how all of this could be accomplished.

– Although Caren is much younger than Kate she has similar competencies regarding networking, openness for learning, and of being interested and sensitive in undergoing strange cultural experiences. She also puts into relationship and compares features of life at home and in Germany and in the other countries she has visited and/or lived in. However, Caren is much more prone to the tendency of producing simplifying collective abstraction in drawing these comparisons. For Caren, dealing with the bureaucracy in Germany is an almost devastating experience at first (e.g., regarding the difficulties with her attempt to collect her Danish unemployment money through German authorities), and this leads her to the classical stereotypes of German strictness. But step by step she learns to overcome the tendencies and difficulties of abstract and simplifying social categorization and starts to learn to control shallow abstraction processes towards other national collectivities.

– By way of networking (e.g., at sports places) and through following up invitations (in her German neighbourhood) Caren learns very quickly local categorization devices (Sacks, 1972) of her German environment. That is impressive for her neighbours who see Caren as being competent in local German culture and as someone who should be integrated in the neighbourhood.

For a general assessment of the Caren interview:

Remarks were made that, although the trajectory experience of being raped is becoming quite dominant in her autobiographical rendering, Caren would put a lot of other topics into her narrative (e. g., those with reference to Europe) and that the interview reveals the power of Caren's biographical work that is to contextualize and to downgrade the importance of the rape as the one central topic in her life. As regards foreign cultural and European experiences Caren has taken chances to have international and European experiences. It is clearly detectable how she developed her competencies of going abroad in her adolescence already (e.g., in her school year in England). Even the rape is connected to this overall biographical topic of crossing national and cultural borders and of going to other countries and undergoing related difficult experiences. It is one central feature in the chain of events that lead to the rape that other family members including the former boy-friend of Caren, Rasmus, would not carefully make out and understand the risk profile of the foreign society of urban California. With regard to Alfred Schütz one could say that "the stranger" Rasmus would use the Copenhagen type of expectation pattern of relating to others in one's own former everyday world. Therefore he reacts and relates with a general trust attitude to unknown young people coming into the house during the night; he doesn't notice the different type of foreign risk profile when he naively opens the door of the Californian house of Caren's family to an unknown man, when her parents and her sister are out of the house on a visit to Europe. Looking at this event in a contextualized way, the atrocious event constellation of the rape is a devastating experience of too naively going into another country and making mistakes caused by inadequate everyday expectations brought from one's home country into a different cultural context.

As regards educational experiences:

Caren's educational experiences are in-built into her very international and very individualized educational career. She experiences a biographical moratorium in order to undergo culturally new and strange experiences, and her parents support the hidden curriculum that Caren should see something really new, and be deeply influenced by it, when going abroad. Caren has relevant social contacts: learning from autochthonous peers, learning from peers of other countries with their different cultures, learning from her English teacher who is counselling her, learning first activities of social connecting and networking which she practices when coming back from England, becoming sensitized for the importance of further new cultural experiences (e.g., being back in Denmark in choosing a new

school that offers travels). And all of this is a good preparation for working in an European context of English language teaching.

Comparison with the case of Kate

In order to compare the educational experiences of Kate and Caren of going abroad: In the case of Caren, the first experience of going abroad to England is a very rich and dense experience of coming across new types of social categorizations, learning to do contacts and elementary forms of arena work as well as undergoing a biographical process of change of inner status. Kate in comparison is almost in prison in her Italian family; she is being exploited as an au-pair and not finding a supportive educational arrangement, although in later life she still loves the Italian culture and language to the utmost. Compared with the Caren interview, this is a different biographical situation: not only in terms of the severe suffering, but, in addition, in her case the educational experience of living abroad is not in-built into her formal educational career. It is more or less chaotically interspersed within the sequence of having jobs. – But in both cases the experience of going abroad has a strong biographical impact. It becomes some sort of a mystical aim for both informants to return to the experiences of being abroad (especially in the case of Kate), and both are learning a lot through undergoing culturally different experiences by their everyday live abroad.

As regards the structure of the life course: When comparing the two cases of Kate and Caren the following was said: Both women open themselves up again for new influences after having had severe trajectory experiences. Their own analysis and working through of these experiences of misassessment, disappointment and suffering is in later life a central condition for coping with the biographical impact of living within culturally strange collectivities new to them. In both cases the dominant process structure is *metamorphosis*, interspersed with severe trajectory experiences. In order to be biographically sustained, the metamorphosis process has to be organized by specific biographical action schemes. In the case of Caren there is the problem of the paradox of the “organisation” of a creative education by significant others: that significant others cannot force a metamorphosis process but can just construct biographical conditions and social arrangements in which such a creative learning process may happen. The parents help to promote metamorphosis experiences by sending her daughter abroad into a culturally strange life situation and, at the same time, by providing a “shelter” of emotional support, interpretation and counselling through their English friends. Instead, Kate has to organize such an action scheme just by herself – an action scheme of establishing a social arrangement for having new experiences and undergoing

a metamorphosis process, since her parents have not made the experience and do not have the sensitivity for preparing such a condition for creative education through cultural strangeness. To organize the social arrangement for one's own metamorphosis might organizationally be much more difficult, but in terms of biographical preparation it might be less paradoxical than the learning arrangement prepared by significant others.

The metamorphosis processes reveal the involvement in, and inticement through, all different sorts of social connections, social relating, using platforms for getting into encounters, constructing arenas, acquiring and supporting new orientations in social worlds. Both interviews show how *social categorizations* are used, especially local categorizations as in the case of Caren: playing around with them and impressing the locals through this capacity. Something similar is to be found in the case of Kate's bringing her father as a former member of the British forces in World War II every year to Dresden partially in order to do private reconciliation work (regarding the bombing of Dresden by the British Airforce at the end of World War II). During these periods, Kate and her father are drawing comparisons between the West and the East Germans and impress both sorts of Germans by the insights stemming from them.

Both interviews make risks and dangers of going abroad and experiencing difficulties in the new country observable and understandable: Kate is being exploited by the heavy work load as an au pair in her Italian family. She also is totally dependent on her partner after having accompanied him into his German work situation. In the case of Caren, parts of her family did not understand the risk profile of the foreign society, which they would live in for a while, or of the special social surroundings in the other society. Other topics of difficulties are: dealing with bureaucracy, especially with social security and tax requirements, and having difficulties with medical doctors as well as with insurance companies. These are restrictions and difficulties when going abroad. Astonishingly, almost all of this bureaucratic work is still imposed on the citizens of the EU by the administration of the other member states, as if there would not be the common EU frame of orientations and institutional provisions at all. The national bureaucracies of Europe can be very atrocious regarding people coming from the other member states.

With regard to the text structure: There are unclear and puzzling text parts in the Caren interview in comparison to the Kate interview which is quite clear in terms of text structure: For example, the text passage about Caren's grandfather first being a farmer and teaching his granddaughter about animals and nature and later on about the people's view on politics (41, 43–42, 15) might be an

indication of a metamorphosis potential in her early socialisation process that is re-addressed in her later biographical work that supports her reflection on her own deeply ingrown, i.e. biographically early crystallized, proneness and competence potential for developing a biographical action scheme of teaching. The sequential contextualization of the Caren interview indirectly or formally refers to a connection between the biographical topics of becoming a teacher, of dealing with mergers (in private companies and in the public sector, e.g. Europe), of collecting new experiences through a biographical moratorium and so finding out about the question what could be the creative potential of oneself as well as of travelling abroad (1, 18; 41, 36–48; 38, 37; 41, 29/30; 42, 1–5; 42, 16–21; 44, 11–25). There might be hidden “sense-making”–relations of these biographical topics revealed by their sequential contextual connections hinting at an extended metamorphosis process in Caren’s identity development. This metamorphosis process is nurtured by dealing with the cultural strange, connecting diverse cultural features in orientational frameworks like Europe, and teaching about their fitting together and about the cooperation potential involved in it.

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7.	Thursday, August 21, 9.00-10.30
	How to analyse sequential reports of interviews (“shortened versions” of interviews): the analysis of the interview with the North Frisian farmer Wiard of the German team - as well as additional contrastive comparisons between the two interviews (“Kate” and “Caren”) from the sensitized groups of the transnational workers and the educationally mobile persons, on the one hand, and an interview (“Wiard”) from still another sensitized group, i.e. the farmers group, on the other hand; maximal strategy of contrastive comparison; first ideas regarding different and common features of “Europeanness” among the three compared sensitized groups ¹

FS is chairing the session.

General introduction of the research steps of contrastive comparison and of the writing of sequential reports.

The following qualificatory remark on the research step of contrastive comparison was made: that between the Kate and Caren interview a minimal comparison would be possible whereas the comparison with the interview of the North Frisian farmer Wiard would allow a maximum comparison, since there would be differences in terms of the occupational field, the structural frame of work,

¹ The protocol of this session had to be shortened due to page limits of the article. Thus we can only present the introduction to doing analysis of sequential reports.

the opportunity structures and the outlook of the biographical developments of the informants. In both cases dealt with first (Kate and Caren) social contacting, networking activities as well as building up and support for organizing social arenas are extremely important; in addition, the topic of crossing borders and experiencing other cultures are pivotal. In contrast, these features are not to be found in the life history of Wiard. However, Wiard's work and life is very much formed under the conditions and the opportunity structures of Europe, too.

Remarks on the format of the sequential report

– If done in indirect speech it would probably not exceed four to five pages. (F. S., the author of the Wiard report, decided to use direct speech, since he felt, that he would not be perfect in selecting the right verbal forms for English reported speech.)

– An important requirement would be that the sequential report shows how the interview developed in terms of the unfolding of the communicative interaction work between the interview partners as well as in terms of the actually ongoing presentation work of the informant, i.e.: there should be no change of sequential order between the activities of verbal presentation in the interview and the steps of textual presentation in the sequential report. The sequential order in the use of the communicative schemes of narration and argumentation as well as the occurrence of obvious pauses and their sequential position should be reported. Perspectives of the various interaction partners told about in the narrative rendering and of the various biographical phases of the informant (and biography incumbent at the same time) should be differentiated. Argumentative commentaries of the informant should be formally marked, for example by putting them into brackets. In addition, background constructions should be marked. They can be even easily detected when listening just to the tape and thereby observing the following empirical phenomena: the voice would change, there would be a pause, and the text passage would be introduced with formulations for self-correcting devices like: "*Oh, I forgot to tell that...*".

– It was discussed that doing transcriptions would sensitize for the formal markers of the interview (a long pause or a changing voice that indicates that the informant is about to do something else as he did before in his narrative rendering: starting to argue, giving a commentary or inserting a background construction.) If there is something missing in the course of the unfolding of social and biographical processes when rereading the sequential report, it might be necessary to listen more closely and to start the transcription of such unclear and "incomplete" sections of the interview. Usually one would have to listen

more carefully to the tape again if a passage in the sequential report appears to be a riddle. Then one or two pages of transcription should be done and inserted into the sequential report.

– It was emphasised that the sequential report is not analysis. The sequential report would be a device to show how the interview and its communicative activities of rendering developed (including obvious formal features as background constructions) and what the content of the interview is. The sequential report would be approached in the same attitude as a transcription: to find out the sequential order in the unfolding of the biographical process structures as well as the sequential order in the follow-up of the biographical process structures and/or their simultaneous competition within the overall biographical development of the informant, i.e. within the overall biographical structuring, through the sequential structure, obvious formal features of the interview text (like long pauses and background constructions), and the content of the text of the sequential report.

– In the sequential report, there would be the absolute necessity of clearly stating the communicative interventions of the interviewer: When the interviewer would ask questions or insert interruptions that would set powerful conditions or give new options for the informant's answers, it would be extremely important to make this interviewer's intervention clear within the sequential report.

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8.	Thursday, August 21, 11.00–13.00
	Experiences with difficulties of analysis in other national teams, especially regarding European phenomena (protocol partially shortened and some other pieces added)

UN is chairing the session.

In this last session the following questions were thoroughly discussed, although the discussion of them will not be reproduced here:

- Questions and remarks on how to collect/analyse autobiographical-narrative interviews and how to elicit narrations.
- Questions and remarks on the interactional situation in which autobiographical-narrative interviews take place.

But there were two discussed issues that are of special interest for the analysis of the text data of autobiographical narrative interviews and of with generating theoretical categories from empirical data:

- The issue of the reliability and the “truth” of the told experiences and event constellation (a); as well as

– The issue of a specific sociolinguistic perspective on the analysis of autobiographical-narrative interviews (b)

The discussion of these two topics shall be reported at the end of this contribution. The considerations mentioned there transcend some bit the usual sequential analysis of Grounded theory in dealing with autobiographical texts. The remarks to the second point allude to, what will be possible to look at when one also takes into regard the formal linguistic structures of the text. One class of phenomena is the communication of social style, the other is hidden (or seen, but unnoticed) features of biographical work.

a) The issue of the reliability and the “truth” of the told experiences and event constellation

MD raised the question of how to assess the realistic quality of the informant’s construction of the overall “story *gestalt*” and of the reconstructed event constellations connected with it in the narrative presentation from a historical point of view: Would it be true what an informant says? (The same question would also apply to Herodot’s story telling.) What would be criteria to check the informant’s construction; are there text-internal criteria of truth or trustworthiness? Would there be a need for an objective “historical” knowledge in the form of empirical evidence coming from the outside world of the narrative rendering as it unfolds in the ongoing interview situation, (e.g. financial data of the success or failure of the farm business in the case of the North-Frisian farm of Wiard) or a network of approved historical facts based on written empirical sources or archaeological specimens – objective knowledge that could be used as a realistic point of reference for assessing the empirical validity of the narrative construction? – Reacting to this series of questions, the methodological relevance to distinguish between argumentative and narrative parts of the informant’s textual rendering was emphasized. The most basic and elementary textual reference to empirical data in the interview analysis itself would be what people are telling in the interview within the narrative scheme of communication. Usually objective context data are freely and even automatically inserted in the narrative rendering by the informant when she or he realizes or assumes that the interviewer would not know about them. In reading the transcription of the narrative rendering they can then scrutinised in terms of their text-internal plausibility, and in addition, they can be used as first hindsight for the collection, checking and analysis of historical and social data. In addition, the narrative scheme of communication accomplishes the reconstruction of a life-historical context and the related biographical experiences.

Thus, experiential data are brought into a context of sequential and co-occurrent, competing “historical” line and interface of events, that can be analyzed regarding their logic (and plausibility) of unfolding. In addition, some experiential events are expressed that are “seen but unnoticed” by the informant. Towards these phenomena, the epistemic procedure of pragmatic refraction of a sociolinguistic analysis taking into account the formal phenomena of the text can be harnessed (Schütze, 2005:217f., 2008: 170–172). Instead of just focussing the content of autobiographical linguistic presentation activities and taking them at face value, they should be pragmatically refracted (the first term stemming from the Greek word “to pragma” = “action”, “activity”, which is here generally understood as all sorts of human activities of any kind – so, for example biographical work the latter term metaphorically understood in analogy to the refraction of light through a prism), in order to use a general methodological term of qualitative research. “Pragmatic refraction” means that naturally occurring verbal formulations should be analytically related to their contexts of experiential background, their contexts of production and use as well as to their contexts of later application, social function and meaningful overall (biographical or actional) structurization. By consideration of their several types of embedding, i.e. pragmatic refraction, a more circumspect understanding of life-historical unfolding and biographical work is possible. Even the understanding of experiences, which the autobiographical informant her- or himself recollect only dimly, does not understand correctly or doesn’t understand at all, becomes possible.

b) The issue of a specific sociolinguistic perspective on the analysis of autobiographical-narrative interviews

First observation (WK): The question of a sociolinguistic perspective on the analysis of autobiographical-narrative interviews

How is ‘Doing Europeaness’ reflected in the interviews, not only with regard to the content of the story told but *in the way* the story is told? Are there markers of a specific style of narrating and self-presentation which could be methodically linked with each other in order to show that the informant is a European person? How are phenomena of the style and kind of speech production linked to the demarcations and possibilities of social categorization of doing and for doing Europeaness? And how can we see the incipient change of a dominant (self-) categorization to be somebody (British, European, traveller, language teacher, cultural liaison worker, human resource worker, inventor of a new type of trans-disciplinary hybrid work field in putting together several professional disciplines, e.g., language teaching and human resource work, creatively successful business

women, less successful manager and protector of a marriage relationship, female person with small chances to successfully follow up the occupational and the marital course of life at the same time, etc.)?)

WK explained that in the more recent development of linguistics as well as in sociolinguistics the focus has been on the vagueness and the flexibility of social categorization within the course of social interaction. A fruitful concept in this respect would be the *communication of social style*. Style is to be conceived by all of us, the members of the everyday world, as a combination of means of expression on various levels, going from pragmatic patterns, specific semantic constructions and lexical meaning shifts down to phonetic features. Are there systematic combinations of such speech elements that show stylistic patterns of the communicative behaviour of the informant and to what extent do these combinations of speech behaviour seem to be stable and to be repeated beyond the confines of the interview presentation? Might it be possible to link an explicit scientific-analytical categorization of sociolinguistics to such speech elements?

With regard to the Kate interview, the analysis, insofar as developed yet, brought about features in her narrative rendering that would provide meaning for the category or label of becoming European. However, further elements, especially small elements of speech production, had not been focused in the sequential analysis as accomplished up to now. An additional linguistic perspective additionally doing this can detect expressions of Europeaness as communicative style. The following example shows a meaning shift in Kate's usage of certain words:

"I can't actually say when my desire to travel started because as a child we never went abroad."
(p. 1:45–47)

For Kate "to travel" would mean – but what she does not explain that – "to travel *abroad*". From the autobiographical narrative's beginning onwards 'to travel' is put by Kate into a contrast to going on holiday with her parents. This contrast frame is a constant phenomenon throughout Kate's interview. Travelling abroad becomes more and more dominant in Kate's autobiographical rendering, although there is always kept and recollected the basic joy of travelling that was firstly experienced in the holiday trips with her parents (in the UK) and later on with her second husband (Kate's interview page 2, line 6. f; page 7, line 25 to 47). Thus, in the Kate interview, on the one hand, we can observe a change of meaning of the relationship between the two topics of travelling for a holiday trip and travelling abroad (as the "real travelling") and, on the other, a deeply underlying *shared basic* meaning of the two categories of Kate's travelling experience. The *sociostylistic effect* of Kate's putting emphasis on the 'real' travelling (in

her perspective: going abroad) could be that this term would serve as a means of self- and hetero-identification: people in the same group or social category (of professional transnational workers especially addressed to “European matters”) could present themselves and recognize each other by this term and communicative style.

WK further explained that the present day occurrences of such small elements of meaning shifts, incipient activities of formulation or formula-like expressions or patterns of lexical use which are not explicitly and intentionally presented as European in their meaning but are just happening (and then contextually or indirectly meant and understood to be European), could mean that there is a newly *developing style of being this type of European person*. This style makes a communicative behaviour of being European accountable for other people.

A second point of a sociolinguistic analysis would be the study of textual vagueness. – What to make out of certain vague elements in the texts? WK emphasized it would be necessary to look closely at leitmotifs such as Kate’s motive of travelling (Kate’s interview page 1, line 47; page 2, line 27/28; and *passim*). The other leitmotiv would be variability and difference of engagements as presented in the following text passage “*I was involved in different things*” (page 2, line 25/26). There is a characteristic vagueness, but at the same time deep relatedness, in the connection between the text parts of these different leitmotifs. The question coming up regarding such a vague, loose connection of leitmotifs would be how to *assess the meaning and relevance* of it in terms of biography and social framing (e.g., as regards an incipient world of specifically European minded professional transnational workers). For following up the methodical question of how to analytically reduce the fuzziness of the connection of leitmotifs, one instrument of the most recent linguistic theory developments that could be analytically exploited would be semantic frame theory. This theoretical approach might help the sociolinguistic researcher to analyze, and to decide on, the quality of the mentioned vague text connections. It helps to find out about the question to what experiential qualities such fuzzy, vague, statements and their relationship refers to. There could be semantic frames imbued with, e.g., more positive or more negative evaluation. As regards Kate’s case: would the vague connection between the leitmotifs of travelling and of involvement within “different things” refer to the positive side (travelling) or would it indicate an involvement within maybe less useful things or even the danger to lose topical or biographical focus? A linguistically sensitized analysis would also scrutinize whether or not such a vague connection structure of two separate leitmotifs would be a prefiguration of an open and active pattern of outlook and attitude to the world and one’s biography

(i.e., a first – still vague – imprint of a metamorphosis process of biography or biographical action scheme – A.S.-W./F.S.).

Second observation (A. S.-W. and F.S.): Formal features of the Kate interview, especially dealing with suffering, metamorphosis and biographical work

The following aspects were brought into the workshop throughout all of the sessions and focussed at the end of it again. They had been developed in a meeting of the German research team (June 11, 2008) for preparing the workshop, and they were distributed to all the national research teams before the start of the workshop.

The following distinctive formal features in the interview were discussed:

– *Biographical work in the pre-coda segment:*

It is peculiar that a large part of Kate's current occupational activities, her initiative and engaged work in the women's network, is not told in the main narrative line but is embedded *in the pre-coda segment as a supplementing narration* (11, 22–15, 48). This formal feature indicates that Kate sees her network work and her involvement in the network as a biographical development that is not totally acceptable for her as it is not what she originally intended to do. In the pre-coda-segment she is "juggling options" (Anselm Strauss, 1958) as regarding her former far-reaching decision to come to Germany and to stay there after her marriage broke down and what alternatives there had been for her at this time. In this argumentative passage it becomes clear that Kate feels an inner force to legitimize this earlier biographical decision. The explanation why this biographical development is not presented before the pre-coda-segment is that this development is deeply connected with Kate's severe trajectory experience of disappointment with her former husband and the undergoing of a process of alienation. This experience of heteronomy is the reason why Kate at first avoids recollection of this painful episode in her life. However, while she is balancing reasons that would legitimize her former decision to stay in Germany she is trying to figure out whether her new career path as a business language teacher can be considered as a productive biographical development or whether it must be seen as being nothing but a long-lasting unwanted contingency solution. In this reflective process during the interview Kate begins to realize that there was a creative development for her, especially regarding her network work, that she then starts to present. This biographical development shows that Kate has not only been driven by heteronomous conditions but developed and pursued own impulses of a biographical metamorphosis process after coming to Germany.

– *Background construction of dealing with trajectory suffering:*

It is noticeable that Kate handles her recollections in a very cautious way. It can be seen *that she corrects her biographical presentation in background constructions* several times. For example:

N: [...], ehm and here we are eight years later. - *Ehm by this time I decided ehm - // oh no, I didn't decide to move on.* The company the travel agency was relocating its head office to – [city] which was the Midlands. The middle of England.

I: hm

N: And I had no intention of moving to the Midlands.

I: hm

N: I wanted to stay in London and pursue my human resources career

I: hm

N: by this time. Ehm - and so I ehm - was the last person in the human resources department actually to leave -

I: hm

N: I I saw everybody out - of London, up to [city]. Lots of people were made redundant -

I: yes

N: because there weren't jobs for them or - they didn't want to move. - Ehm - I went up to [city] I think for two months and commuted every day. Ehm ... and ehm by this time I was living in East Sussex which is also south of London but it's sort of a different area to where I was brought up ehm with my husband. Ehm and I was I commuted to [city] for a couple of months and then there was the cut. *I was I was also - redundant*

I: hm

N: And was looking for another job. (transcript, p. 4, line 11–30)

In this text passage Kate is talking about a life situation where she was working as a personnel assistant in a travel agency and was then discharged and forced to look for another job. Kate starts out her narration by framing this event as being an intentional decision (to look for another job). She then interrupts herself (first text passage in italic) and self-corrects herself in that she explains that the step of looking for another job had actually followed her dismissal. Thus it becomes clear that Kate wasn't following up an intentionally formed action scheme but was being forced to find a new occupational orientation. This example shows that Kate is very carefully handling her recollection of biographical processes. She is in a way observing her own presentation from a, so to speak, lateral perspective that systematically supports this kind of self-correcting interventions which then break up her tendency to harmonize and embellish biographical developments. After that self-correction she is then able to go on with her straight-forward narrative rendering (second text passage in italic).

– *Hidden National and European topics connected with biography:*

Without being specifically asked about European topics and initiated just by herself Kate mentions that during her more than fifteen years of life in Germany she has become European (page 23, line 33). At the same time she feels very British, too, which in her perspective is no contradiction (page 33, lines 28–40). However, the context of life abroad (i.e. in Germany) is more connected with Europeanness than is the context of life during her visits in England. Being back in England, Kate has to be circumspect or even cautious not to get into troubles with her native friends, when she would openly show pro-European attitudes and would naively or routinely take and treat as an “of course” European trivial topics like the Euro currency.

At first, Kate’s statement of having become European seems not to be very much semantically filled. Locally seen, it is rather a vague “biography-deictic” utterance just expressing a change of biographical identity (and the partial and passing changes of identity in traveling from Germany to England and back again: the alternation between the feeling of being less European in England and more European in Germany – page 23, lines 45/46). The confession of being European on page 23 could be misunderstood as a quite shallow remark of political correctness without any real biographical import. But the contrary is the case: First of all, on page 23 Europe is freely mentioned by the informant herself and not elicited by the interviewer. Secondly, the remark becomes indirectly semantically filled through the impact of the wider textual and biographical context: Europe is connected with traveling (p. 23, 45); with living in culturally different countries (p. 33, 36); with the realization of work opportunities one could not realize in one’s country of origin (often one even would not find out about these opportunities at all – p. 33, 1–27); with the English language as the European lingua franca or even standard idiom (p. 10f, 19f); with feeling the much greater cultural differences to Americans than to Germans (p. 13, 7/8); with the suffering connected to being alienated, isolated and losing one’s status of a professional (p. 20, 45f; p. 21, 32), but making new creative experiences in the course of the suffering and engaging on the European project of teaching business English as the European lingua franca (p. 33, 1–27); with winning new understandings of the complex characters of social relationships in having social encounters in clubs of European business women (e.g., of friendship or of the demarcation line between the private and the occupational sphere – page 21, 28f); with being the friendly stranger and understanding outsider regarding problematic topics in Europe and Germany, e.g. regarding the tensions between East and West Germans (page 34f);

and especially with the historical reconciliation work (e.g., Kate's and her father's compassion with the fate of Dresden – page 36ff).

End of Workshop: Conclusion - Expressions of European identity

At the end of the workshop it was generally agreed that the expression of European identity would be observable in autobiographical-narrative interviews on the levels of

- *identity development,*
- *frames of social organisation like arenas,*
- *habitus formation and work practice as well as,*
- *communicative style.*

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*Anja Schröder-Wildhagen
Fritz Schütze*

**PRACA NAD AUTOBIOGRAFICZNYMI WYWIADAMI NARRACYJNYMI
W PROJEKCIE EUROIDENTITY**

(Streszczenie)

W artykule przedstawiony został drugi warsztat badawczy poświęcony analizie materiałów w projekcie Euroidentities. Spotkanie, które miało miejsce zaraz po ukończeniu zbierania wywiadów pilotażowych zostało nagrane i dzięki temu możliwe było sporządzenie dokładnego protokołu. Zapis warsztatu jest przykładem rekonstrukcji – w rozumieniu Alfreda Schütza – ‘jak robić razem’ analizę wywiadów biograficzno-narracyjnych. W artykule została zwrócona uwaga na następujące kwestie: znaczenia pierwszego wrażenia z lektury wywiadu, odpowiedzi na pytanie badawcze w jaki sposób pojawia się w nim temat Europy, jak realizować procedurę badawczą – strukturalny opis tekstu, analityczną abstrakcję, porównania kontrastowe. Chociaż na tym etapie pracy nie tworzy się modeli teoretycznych zwrócono uwagę na takie zjawiska jak: światy i areny społeczne, europejskie struktury możliwości, tworzenie sieci relacji społecznych, specyficzny typ identyfikacji europejskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: tożsamość zbiorowa, tożsamość europejska, analiza biograficzna, porównanie przypadków kontrastowych, światy społeczne.