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Biculturalism, Cosmopolitanism and Migration: Exploring the Narrative of International Students Cultural Identity.

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ABSTRACT

The main aim of this research study was to explore what impact migration has on cultural identity. This study is seeking to show how this manifests itself in international students in terms of cosmopolitanism and biculturalism. How an individual navigates themselves through a culture and place is cosmopolitanism (Hazner, 1996). Biculturalism focuses on two cultural influences, the dominant and heritage culture, in order to understand the effect of migration (Schwartz and Unger, 2010). A multitude of qualitative methods were implemented which included participatory photography and ethnographic semi-structured interviews. Five international students, who had been living in Manchester six months or longer, were interviewed. The transcripts were analysed using narrative analysis, in order to understand the individual experience of each participant in a meaningful way (Phoenix et al., 2010). It is claimed that identities are portrayed and created through narratives (Phoenix et al., 2010). Three narratives were extracted from the data including 'Home Away from Home', 'Ethnography of Food' and 'Narrative of Migration'. There were aspects of both cosmopolitanism and biculturalism in each narrative. This emphasises the need to incorporate two terms and thus an interdisciplinary approach. Future research could build on this study to produce a full perspective of influences on cultural identity upon migration.

KEY WORDS:	MIGRATION	COSMOPOLITANISM	BICULTURALISM	IDENTITY	NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

Introduction

Cultural identity: A Brief Overview

Culture is becoming a wide spread discourse due to globalization, with diversity entering our everyday experiences (Kashima, 2016). Understanding the process involved in cultural change as well as psychological change is becoming more significant (Kashima, 2016). Culture itself has a spectrum of definitions, being one of the most elusive constructs (Chiu, 2014). Adams and Markus (2004:199) proposed that:

> Culture consists of explicit and implicit patterns of historically derived and selected ideas and their embodiment in institutions, practices, and artifacts; cultural patterns may, on one hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other as conditioning elements of further action.

This dynamic definition captures the multi-dimensional construct of culture in the modern world (Miranda et al., 2015, cited in Adams and Markus, 2004). This is particularly relevant in a world where the cross-cultural boundaries are becoming blurred and intercultural relations are increasing (Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013). Suggesting individuals are capable of holding not just one cultural entity but, after exposure to multiple cultures, developing numerous knowledge systems (Friedman et al., 2012). Immersion in a cultural setting different then a previously established personal culture can enhance cultural development (Hains et al., 2013). This develops cultural knowledge and may result in being able to think react and adapt to a chosen culture (Hains et al., 2013). This seems to suggest international assignments can impact on identity transformation and therefore cultural identity (Daskalaki, 2012). Identity is defined '…by one's place in the social system, including one's roles and attachments', in short terms '…who the person ends up being' (Baumeister, 2011:49). However identity is not stable and is always interactive and unfinished (Grossberg, 1996). This research supports the focus of this study highlighting self-actualization and self-image of cultural identity and its coping mechanisms.

Coping with Cultures, Cosmopolitanism

One way of dealing with a multitude of different cultures is 'cosmopolitanism' (Hannerz, 1990). According to Sobré-Denton (2011:80) cosmopolitanism is defined as '…a state of identity without borders that is accessible to those able to engage in voluntary migration across multiple cultures…'. The identity of a cosmopolitan includes many fragments of culture that co-exist in a single person (Waldron, 2000). It appears more humanistic, emphasizing how people are property of a place, how 'place' is an idea, concept and '…way of being-in-the-world' (Cresswell, 2004:20). Another definition, which helps portray the multi-dimensional nature of cosmopolitanism is '...an ability to incorporate, the manners, habits, languages and social customs of cities throughout the world' (Scruton, 2007:146). This underlines how cosmopolitan individuals are '…citizens of the world…' as they seek international consumption patterns wherever they reside (Grinstein and Wathieu, 2012:337; Datta, 2009). Cultural differences are being eroded by the availability of

material goods and ideas from other cultures (Thompson, 2012). Cosmopolitan identity develops through new social spaces and imageries, giving epistemology to the environment (Anheier and Juergensmeyer, 2012). It also depends on how a person navigates themselves through localities and cultures (Hazner, 1996).

A cosmopolitanism identity puts an emphasis on the contributions of the city or cultural aspects of a place in forming behaviour (Waldron, 2000). Research argues that place is something more complex than a human construct but is crucial to being human (Cresswell, 2004). Furthermore, migration and more permanent residence are different experiences from simply being a tourist (Grinstein and Wathieu, 2012; Sobré-Denton, 2011). Moving to a new place initially is a temporary displacement although it is still a constant disturbance to a previous life (Daskalaki, 2012). Relph (1976, cited in Seamon and Sowers, 2008) encouraged the impact of a location in understanding the phenomenology of a place, however the influence of migration and flow of movement are absent. Datta (2009) also found that the essence of cosmopolitanism was built through everyday places. However, Datta (2009) argued that cosmopolitan manners and behaviours come about from both a need to survive and a taste for cultural goods. Therefore the structure of cosmopolitanism varies for each individual because its content is made up of different cultural worlds (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). Learning to navigate through interstices of a new place is key (Hiebert, 2002). This suggests that places are key to forming a cosmopolitan identity, but it also depends on how the individual interacts with them.

However before settling in to their new environment, a difficult phase of intercultural adjustment occurs (Grinstein and Wathieu 2012; Sobré-Denton, 2011). During this period they must maintain and support a strong sense of themselves in order to have some continuity from their previous situation (Sobré-Denton, 2011). Nevertheless cosmopolitan individuals are better able to adapt to a second culture than the average person (Kosic, 2002). Alternatively cosmopolitanism could be argued to be more of a combination of many cultures by picking the best aspects of each (Tadmor et al. 2009; Gillespie et al., 2010). How this comes about and first hand accounts of adjustment could be better incorporated into cosmopolitan research (Grinstein and Wathieu, 2012). However, Oikonomidoy and Williams (2013) found that international students had a change in character of their ethnic identification. Although they also found that there was some initial struggle to integrate into social formations of their host country peers. Research suggested that cosmopolitan students talked more sympathetically about their own culture and less so for the host culture. Thus their cosmopolitanism was built not on contrasting ideals but a strong national identity (Oikonomidoy and Williams, 2013). Daskalaki (2012:437) supported this and found that self- transformation into a cosmopolitan identity is affected by a number of factors '…including cultural features of localities…, social aspects… and organization specific characteristics…'. Emphasising that perhaps there is an alteration in identity when moving to a new city, but this is not without some adjustment.

Two cultures one person, Biculturalism

A more psychological approach to a multitude of cultures is biculturalism, focusing predominantly on two cultural influences. Biculturalism can be defined as the integration of dominant and heritage cultural behaviours, principles and identities

relating to each of the two cultures (Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013). This more stilted and generic approach is '…the simultaneous awareness of oneself as being a member and an alien of two or more cultures' (Dubois 1961, cited in LaFrombise et al., 1993:395). The identification, values and cultural practices are limited to heritage and intervening cultural inputs (Schwartz and Unger, 2010). Therefore this mesh of cultures is perceived as more irregular and uncooperative versus a combination of cultures (LaFrombise et al., 1993). Hence it could be described as a negative experience, resulting in maladjustment and marginality (Gordon, 1964; Rudmin, 2003; Vivero and Jenkins, 1999). However it is subject to change and individual differences based on personal cultural experiences (Cheng and Lee, 2013). Some describe it positively reporting advantages of this interlock of cultures (Berry et al., 2006; Phinney et al., 2001). It has even been suggested that bicultural individuals have higher health and well-being scores compared to others (Yamaguchi et al., 2016).

Not all in a bicultural environment can be categorized as bicultural, as there is a degree of agency and intentional action (Schwartz and Unger, 2010). According to Schwartz and Zamboanga (2008) in London, Paris, Amsterdam and Sydney, where there are a large number of immigrants, it is an advantage. However, in more monoculture areas, such as Northern England, being bicultural may actually be a disadvantage (Schwartz and Zamboanga, 2008). In his context, it has been suggested that it may actually be more adaptive to think and behave in ways that are more consistent with the dominant culture (Schwartz and Unger, 2010). Fielding and Harbon (2013) found when looking at student's bicultural identity that some stated they were connected to two cultures. Conversely, all students that were interviewed stated that they were also connected to cultures that were not the dominant or heritage ones but others within their school settings (Fielding and Harbon, 2013). This perhaps indicates that being 'stumped' between two cultures is not representative of all multi-cultural individuals (Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013:1).

Interdisciplinary Approach

Biculturalism is a deeply routed approach within psychology; cosmopolitanism is described as a humanistic geographical approach. In order to get a better understanding of the international student's experience, it is necessary to implement an interdisciplinary approach. This creates a common ground between concepts and creates a more comprehensive understanding (Arvidson, 2014). Therefore, it is important to look at both terms to better understand the different aspects which best suit the international student's cultural experience. Despite being from two different areas of research, there are a number of similarities between cosmopolitanism and biculturalism (Gillespie et al., 2010). One prominent link is that they are both seen as positive entities, encouraging group membership (Goldberg, 1941; Green, 1947). In addition, individuals who are seen as either bicultural or cosmopolitan are more likely to be well adjusted, and have secure self-identities (LaFrombise et al., 1993; Nash and Shaw, 1962). They both have influences from multiple cultures; this is advantageous because they have access to several resources to help them cope (Ward and Rana-Deuba, 1999). Furthermore, it allows more open-mindedness and positive thinking (Grinstein and Wathieu, 2012). Controversially, both terms could be described as acculturation statuses as they are able to cope with more than one culture (Gillespie et al., 2010). However Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2013) oppose

this view as they don't include cosmopolitanism as an acculturation strategy, the ones used are more restricted. Nevertheless, if both are included within this category then both are free from cultural binders and look beyond accepted consensus and cultural norms (Cannon and Yaprak, 2002).

These two terms also have some noteworthy differences between them. Biculturalism could be considered a more restrictive term because it only includes two cultural influences (Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013). Therefore acculturation must take place to avoid negative repercussions in mental health and interpersonal relations (Berry, 2006). Cosmopolitanism on the other hand is classified by its interaction with a multitude of cultures, through things such as nomadic migration (Sobré-Denton, 2011). This is portrayed as a less restrictive label, by adapting to more cultures for a global lifestyle or '…citizens of the world' (Sobré-Denton, 2011; Grinstein and Wathieu, 2012:337). Furthermore, cosmopolitanism examines the reconstructions of identity from the temporary inhabitation of places (Daskalaki, 2012). It particularly involves the interaction with people from different cultural backgrounds and effects of their views and ideas (Sobré-Denton, 2011). Gillespie et al. (2010) supports this as they found that Mexican managers in America who rated themselves as strongly on both cultures as bicultural, whereas if they rated themselves low on similarity between both cultures, as being cosmopolitanism (Gillespie et al., 2010).

Research Aims and Objectives

The aim of this research study is to understand how cultural identity manifests itself in an international student using cosmopolitanism and biculturalism perspectives. Therefore getting a grasp on what it means to be a multi-cultural individual. This interdisciplinary approach is to better understand international students' narrative of migration through not just a psychological perspective but also geographical. Consequently, it aims to discover how cultural identity adapts during migration, and what part if any outside cultural influences, and place affect this. The objective of this study was not only discovering the influences of their cultural identity, but to understand the narrative of their journey. In this case the journey that links these individuals together is the migration from one country to another in order to get a higher education.

Research Questions

Therefore some research questions include:
- How did migrating to a new country affect the international students cultural identity?
- What influence has the place of Manchester being a multi-cultural city had on the international students?
- Does the student feel split between two cultural worlds or affected by a multitude of different cultural influences?

Methodology

Ethnographic Semi-Structured Interview

The use of phenomenological life worlds, or everyday experience makes it possible to investigate areas of psychology by doing ethnographic research (Berry, 2011). Ethnographic research includes many approaches; irrespective of the method used it is conducted in the '…natural context' (Serrant-Green, 2007:4). It offers a chance to step out of a constricted cultural background, allowing the world to get a perspective of individuals who live by different meaning (Spradley, 1979). This iterative-inductive research draws on methods based on the contact with human agents, within the context of their daily lives (O'Reilly, 2005). Ethnographic research therefore creates a chance of discovering something new, due to the coincidental nature of the research (Rivoal and Salazar, 2013). The serendipity of ethnography also known as '…accidental wisdom' consists of surprise from unexpected discoveries (Rivoal and Salazar, 2013: 178). It also attends to sensory needs as the research is done while walking or even eating (Pink, 2009). The present study was ethnographic in that the participants chose a location that was culturally significant to them in Manchester. These places were incorporated within their lives in some way and produced memories of their arrival.

A semi-structured interview was the main approach of collecting information from the participants. Using qualitative interviewing is a flexible tool, which makes sense of, and gives meaning to people's experiences (Rabionet, 2009). Using semi-structured interviews allows for specific topics to be covered while at the same time permitting the individual to tell their stories (Rabionet, 2009). According to Barriball and While (1994) it allows for the exploration of opinions regarding complex issues and probing for more information. Offering participants a chance to explore issues which they feel are important but in a conversational manner (Clifford et al., 2016). The researcher can follow up angles, which they deem important (Brinkmann, 2013). It also allows the use of prompts to keep the participant on topic and talking (Leech, 2002). The focus can be maintained on conversations and issues, which are significant to the research project (Brinkmann, 2013).

Ethnographic research and interviewing both include a number of different approaches (Serrant-Green, 2007; Brinkmann, 2013). The two terms provide some structure but also allow for flexibility and spontaneous discoveries (Brinkmann, 2013; Rivoal and Salazar, 2013). They could be described as serendipitous in nature however Fine and Deegan (1996) argue that ethnography is about creating and finding new connections. Therefore disputably there are differences between the two research methods, as ethnographic research focuses on location and surroundings of the environment (O'Reilly, 2005). Whereas interviewing techniques emphasise the use of questions rather than stimulus from the environment (Barriball and While, 1994). Consequently in the spirit of using an interdisciplinary approach throughout, an ethnographic semi-structured interview (See Appendix 1) appeared the most appropriate method. An ethnographic interview is an interview led by the ethnographer during their research in the field (Spradley, 1979). This technique is considered as individualistic and '…idiosyncratic in nature' (Walford, 2007: 145). It allows the participants to be part of the research, giving them influence and control where possible (O'Reilly, 2005). Furthermore one of the core beliefs of ethnography is that a multitude of methods should be used, hence the semi-structured interviewing was incorporated (Walford, 2007).

Getting the Full Picture: Participatory Photography

The third methodology, which was included to enrich and complement data from other sources, was participatory photography (Gotschi et al., 2009). Participatory photography has developed as a way to understand the lived experience (Prins, 2010; Aldridge, 2007). This method entails using cameras to represent perspectives on a given subject (Prins, 2010). It illustrates influences of a place, and can be used to express the photographer's inner emotions (Schwartz, 1989). Hence it was used in the current research study as it provides an ideal way to get the perspective of a cultural other (Robinson, 2011). Mizen and Ofosu-kusi (2010) used participatory photography for children who live and work on the street in Ghana to look at the link between photographs and knowledge. They discovered that photographs combine knowledge, the understanding of the everyday experiences and the reality of others. Robinson (2011) used in addition to photography, handwritten text from the participant. This has been implemented in this study by getting a quote written by the participants in order for them to express personal thoughts about the photographs. This enables the participants to have a voice, allowing them to play active parts in the research (Gotschi et al., 2009). Kagan (2012) also contends that this provides the participants with empowerment through participation. They have an interactive part, and a way to reflect upon their experiences. In this study, it was used to get an emic perspective, as the participants themselves took the photos and gave personal narratives of what it represented (Fresque-Baxter, 2013).

Researcher Parallels to the Participants

Over time ethnographic research has developed from studying the unfamiliar to making sense of the familiar aspects of our world (Serrant-Green, 2007). Traditionally ethnographers worked as outsiders looking to gain entry to participant groups (Berry, 2011). More recently, they share common ground and operate as insiders. This is a known area for the researcher as she was an international student herself in Manchester. Multi-sensory, overlapping experiences between the researcher and participants is encouraged (Pink, 2009; Moles, 2008). This shared experience may prompt participants to express their opinions more easily, thus increasing the chance of discovering something serendipitous (Rivoal and Salazar, 2013). The participants of this study were chosen based mainly on their international student status. However, they were also required to have lived in the UK for at least six months, and to have moved Manchester for higher education. Some of the participants were known to the researcher, and therefore were e-mailed an invitation letter to take part (See Appendix 2) attached was the participant information sheet (See Appendix 3) on the details of the study. Being a close community of international students meant after contacting one student, many of their friends were willing to take part.

Collecting the Data

Once the participants agreed to take part, they chose a location that was significant to them upon moving to Manchester. This for most of the participants was their university campus, unsurprisingly since they moved for higher education. For others, it was cafés or restaurants they visited frequently. Allowing participants to be in their natural context helped them feel comfortable and thus prompted more in depth and

meaningful conversations (Serrant-Green, 2007). Once a location and date had been organised, the researcher would provide the participant with a consent form (See Appendix 4). Thus, they were aware of their rights, as well as the ability to withdraw. The interview was recorded on a mobile phone with the participants consent to later be transcribed. The participants were asked at the end of the interview to take a photo of something significant to them in Manchester, which they could later send to the researcher. Once the interview was terminated the participants were given a debrief form (See Appendix 5).

Analysing the Data

In this research study, the participants' transcripts were analysed using narrative analysis. This type of analysis means understanding the transcripts as stories through which the participants construct accounts of themselves (Povey and Angier, 2014). Phoenix et al. (2010) describe narrative analysis as provisional discourses and clear sequential order, which link events in a meaningful way. As a result this approach offers an insight into individual experiences (Phoenix et al., 2010). There are various definitions of narrative analysis, however a constant is that identities are portrayed through narratives (Phoenix et al., 2010). This emphasises that we are relational beings, who have a storied nature to our lives (Phoenix et al., 2010). As this study is examining identity, narrative analysis was appropriate, as an identity without narrative would lack meaning (Daskalaki, 2012). Narrative analysis discourages imposing pre-given meanings on transcripts, but rather examining details of the material (Emerson and Frosh, 2004). It enables careful and grounded claims in the context of what is actually said (Emerson and Frosh, 2004). Therefore while analysing the data, an inductive approach was taken, allowing the data to dictate areas of discussion (Elo and Kygäs, 2007).

According to Lyons and Coyle (2007) there are six analytical steps, which are necessary to carry out a narrative analysis. The first step is reading and understanding the data. Secondly, important concepts are identified including themes, tones and imagery (Lyons and Coyle, 2007). The third step is to identify a 'narrative tone', then the fourth is to identify imagery and themes (Lyons and Coyle, 2007: 139). The fifth step is weaving it into a coherent story, and finally the sixth step is writing it up as a research report (Lyons and Coyle, 2007). To get a better understanding of these concepts, McAdams (1993) examines the main aspects in detail, tone is the manner in which the story is told. Imagery involves paying attention to the kind of language, which is used in describing key events (McAdams, 1993). Themes are described as central motivations in the story (McAdams, 1993). These steps can be seen in the analysis of the participants' transcripts (See Appendix 6).

Ethical considerations and Risk Assessment

The ethical issues of this study were first covered in the Application for Ethical Approval Form (AEAF) (See Appendix 7) and were approved before the study could commence. The participants in this research study were given full anonymity, so pseudonyms were used. Any identifiable information such as the recordings of their interviews was stored on a password-protected phone, and once they had been transcribed the recordings were destroyed. Confidentiality on the other hand could

not be guaranteed, as there is a possibility the report could be published. Nevertheless, the information is not traceable to the individual so it will not reveal their identity.

Initially the participants were given an information sheet and a consent form. These stated the main aims and research areas of the study, therefore ruling out any deception. In addition the participants were made aware in the consent form that should they wish to withdraw were able to do so at any point up to the end of February 2017. The participants were not subject to any harm physically or psychologically that they would not encounter in their everyday lifestyles. If difficult or uncomfortable areas did come up, the researcher would move on to the next question, or terminate the interview. Once the interview was finished, the participants were given a debrief form which stated the details of the universities counseling service should they wish to discuss any problematic topics.

As well as making sure the participants were safe, the same was ensured for the researcher. The researcher was vulnerable due to working alone, especially as the participants were not well known. To avoid any issues, a third party was made aware of the researchers whereabouts. Furthermore, all interviews took place in public areas, to ensure the safety of the interviewer.

Analysis and Discussion

Through analysis of the five transcripts, three main narratives were deducted. These included 'Home Away from Home', 'Ethnography of Food' and 'Narrative of Migration'. All will be explored thoroughly using narrative analysis by deducting the tones, imagery and themes that were found within these stories.

'Home Away from Home'

A surprising revelation theme was participants 'making friends with other international students' in similar situations. These included like-minded people of the same nationality or other nationalities. This appeared to make them more comfortable and at home.

> "[…] everybody is really nice but I don't think it's as welcoming as being with other international students […]" (Maria, lines 87-88).

> "[…] even in first year I was mainly hanging out with Asians […]" (Alexa, lines 88-89).

According to Sobré-Denton (2011) when moving country a strong sense of self must be maintained, so there is some connection from the previous life. A lack of connection with the previous culture may leave feelings of vulnerability and anxiousness (Sobré-Denton, 2011). Gomes et al. (2014) also found that international students group together when they have common factors such as culture or personal interests. A home identity was also sustained through joining societies with similar people. In Jay's case for example, the Indonesian society helped maintain a home away from home.

"[…] competitions has Indonesian food it's full of Indonesian people but it's in Manchester so it's quite odd" (Jay, 178-179).

Oikonomidoy and Williams (2013) also found that cosmopolitanism was built on a strong national identity. Although, Grinstein and Wathieu (2012) suggested that this was a sign of maladjustment, as cosmopolitan individuals find themselves experimenting with local choices and experiences.

Alternatively the participant's tone suggested that being involved in these international societies or groups was a positive experience and encouraged them to be more multi-cultural. Heidi in particular was enthusiastic and passionate when she spoke about the international society.

"[…] is to create friendship and understanding and combat racism […] is so enlightening and so lovely […]" (Heidi, 109-192).

This is true perhaps because identity is influenced by the interactions with others, and this multitude of cultures produces a multi-cultural network allowing for a cosmopolitan perspective (Sobré-Denton, 2011). However Gomes et al. (2014) implied that contact with the host culture did not prevent identity adjustment. Nevertheless, finding international friends appeared to make the participants at ease. However, the imagery seemed to oppose this narrative of 'home away from home' as for all the participants the landscape was so different from their original country.

"[…] the biggest most confronting difference was the landscape and the weather [...]" (Heidi, 12).

This emphasises what a difference place and climate can make when adjusting to a new city. Daskalaki (2012) found that places cause identity to reform in an area that is different from their previous life. This is where cosmopolitanism is built through everyday places (Datta, 2009). Conceivably this is why it was the biggest difference according to Cresswell (2004) is place, as an event marked by openness and change rather than boundaries and permanence. The connection between an area and the individuals in it will constantly be used in the construction of self (Cresswell, 2004). This implies that is one of the most influential contributors of cultural identity adjustment.
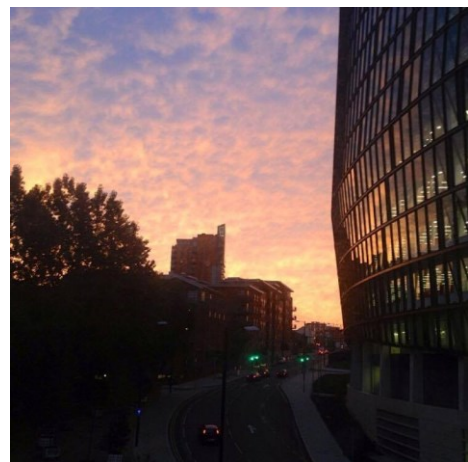
Figure 1: Jay "The picture signifies a new life away from home. The picture was taken out of the flat of my first student accommodation when I started uni!".

'Ethnography of Food'

For many of the participants food was a large part of their adjustment to a new country. Thus the theme 'differences in taste' involved the comparison between the foods from their home countries and Manchester. They also tried to find their local foods in Manchester with limited success.

"[…] unless I go to a […] Malaysian restaurant but even then it's the food has been changed to cater to western taste buds […]" (Alexa, 44- 46).

"[…] they are owned by a Mexican…but still they're prepared in a way that is still way too British […]" (Maria, 154-155).

There are links between food, culture, and society, which implies food viscerally connects individuals and social bodies (Cherry et al., 2011). This may also be a way for the participants to once again sustain aspects of their previous life and maintain a piece of themselves (Oikonomidoy and Williams, 2013). Cherry et al. (2011) supports this as they found that the consumption of food was linked to identity. Furthermore Almerico (2014) also discovered that the relationships people have with food and the choices they make reveals personalities and group identity. Perhaps, this is why for Heidi food was not a large part of her acculturation process as her diet was quite similar before migration and after.

Figure 2: Alexa "The hustle and bustle of university life has prevented me from slowing down to de-stress myself. This place has helped me to wind down when I really need it the most; especially after an assignment deadline. I will miss this place which has helped to heal my soul when I leave the country".

"[…] think because my culture and ideology and the way that I eat is so similar to the UK […]" (Heidi, 78-79).

They did try local English food as well, however this was spoken about less than their original foods. Furthermore, their tones changed when talking about their home culture food and food they've tried in Manchester. They went from talking about their heritage food in a reminiscent and proud way, to the local English food in a sarcastic and comical way.

"[…] and then you ask people like oh what is British food… and of course they give the reasonable classics fish and chips…kidney pie… but then they start oh curry…but that's not British! [laughs]" (Maria, 145-147).

"[…] well yeah the weather the food…[laughs]" (Katie, 45).

This links with a cosmopolitan approach of a need to survive in a new culture by acquiring a taste for cultural goods (Datta, 2009). As food consumption can be a practice, which impacts our sense of place (Bell and Valentine, 1997). This divide in the way they talk about foods is conceivably more bicultural with a dominant and heritage culture trying to blend together in an uneven and incompatible way (LaFrombise et al., 1993). The imagery portrays this difference in description such as in Maria's case where she enlightens the senses by describing the bright colours of her Mexican food.

"[…] so you have to put like the bold peppers but you have to put the red the yellow and the green so that you have different colours […]" (Maria, 180-181).

Food demonstrates the importance of space and place in identity formation (Bell and Valentine, 1997). Bell and Valentine (1997) indicate that ethnic minorities in host countries are labeled as different, consequently they try to either maintain that difference or erase it. They use their attitudes to food to either reinforce their differences or try to integrate into the test culture (Bell and Valentine, 1997). So their willingness to try new foods indicates that they are trying to adapt (Scholliers, 2001). It is also an attempt for them to enter a new cultural group as food can break down social boundaries (Scholliers, 2001). In Maria's case the way she describes her national food with admiration suggests she still is holding on to a strong aspect of her national identity. However she is prepared to try new foods, although this could be attributed to the unavailability of her home foods.

'Narrative of Migration'

One main connection, which unites all the participants, is the process of moving from one place to another. The difference however is the unique nature of the participant's interaction with their new environment. This played a key role in the theme 'forming cultural identities'.

"[…] my experience of Manchester has been really multi-cultural because of my involvement in the international society […] (Heidi, 62-63).

"[…] because I've gone to an international school cause I've got a lot of friends from different cultures I've become a lot more malleable…I can just form myself to different cultures […]" (Jay, 100-102).

This suggests that although there were transitions in their cultural identity, the experience and reasons behind it were different. Gómez- Estern and de la Mata Benítez (2013) examined the effect of migration on personal identity construction. Comparably they found that personal stories played a role in cultural identification, challenging the constricting boundaries which psychology normally imposes (Gómez- Estern and de la Mata Benítez, 2013). This research study also has a geographical approach to avoid any constraints. For Heidi, this was due to her experience with the International Society, and for Jay this was due to coming from an International school. This portrays a cosmopolitan experience incorporating the phenomenology of a place, similar to Relph (1976, cited in Seamon and Sowers, 2008). However it adds to it the impact of movement and transition that Relph (1976, cited in Seamon and Sowers, 2008) lacked. Furthermore, it also supports Gillespie et al. (2010) who discovered cosmopolitan individuals incorporate different aspects of unfamiliar cultures.

Migration for the participants was very different from just being a regular tourist. This was confirmed through imagery of the movement of participants around Manchester. They felt as if being residents they needed to know how to navigate themselves in order to develop a cultural link to the locals.

> "[…] whereas with this you actually live here you're gonna have to know the ins and outs of the actual city […] which connections you have to take in the tram…or in the bus […]" (Jay, 235-237)

Being able traverse through this new space is to the participants what separates them from tourists. Places are more than an area to pass through but have mobile, sensory meaning as well (Stevenson, 2015). Stevenson (2015) examined newly arrived narratives for international students in Manchester. Stevenson (2015) unearthed the meaning of places made through mobile engagement. Place making for the students is not just about residing in an area but actively moving around it (Stevenson, 2015). Through movement, formation of routes and the process of residing students imitate locals in their movement rituals and mobility thus developing cultural integration (Stevenson, 2015). Finally none of the participants saw migration to a new cultural environment as a disadvantage. This was portrayed through their tone, which was joyful and encouraging.

> "I feel like its just broadened all the possibilities for my life" (Heidi, 166).

Cosmopolitan individuals perceive having a multitude of cultural influences as a constructive benefit. Similar to what Daskalaki (2012) found that cosmopolitanism is an effective way of dealing with openness and uncertainties of life, for example the unpredictability of moving to city, or place. Equally Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2013) also found this to be the case for bicultural individuals. They found a strong and positive link between biculturalism and adjustment (Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013). Conversely, biculturalism could be understood as a negative experience, according to Rudmin (2003) it causes maladjustment and marginality. Furthermore, Kazmierska (2003) reiterated this by looking at Turkish women that had migrated to Germany. These individuals saw adaptation to new social and cultural environments as a problem (Kazmierska, 2003). This suggests biculturalism and cosmopolitanism have varied effects on the individual. Thus incorporating both terms may help to better understand the international student experience.

Summary

This research study has added to previous literature by examining both migration and the international student experience. It has added another layer of analysis by incorporating the geographical term of cosmopolitanism instead of biculturalism alone. This was evident in the narrative analysis as it emphasised the incorporation of personal stories and experiences to get a clearer understanding of each participant's cultural identity formation. This included aspects of the place such as how they navigated through it, and other cultural influences from international friends. The participant's personal experiences and their interaction with their new society was important. All the participants unexpectedly found international friends, some joined international societies. These brought about other cultural influences to their cultural identity, breaking the constraints of the heritage and dominant cultural impacts. There was a strong reluctance to relinquish the heritage culture as evidenced by their eating habits and connections with likeminded and culturally similar individuals. This appeared to portray a more bicultural. There were aspects of both cosmopolitanism and biculturalism, at times simultaneously throughout the analysis. However, there were mostly elements of cosmopolitanism. Using two

cultural adjustment terms was necessary as it avoided constraining or trying to type cast multi-cultural individuals experiences.

There were evident limitations as only five participants were used in this research study. Therefore the findings are not conclusive to every international student, and not general as each experience was unique. Additionally, some of the participants were known to the researcher and therefore may have been slightly biased. Nevertheless, this provides a platform for future research and sets the standard of using an interdisciplinary approach. To build on this research, it may be useful if future research looked at cultural identity formation using a multitude of influences and factors, including their previous background.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity in a research study is a strategy for quality control and understanding how this is impacted by the characteristics and experiences of the researcher (Berger, 2015). I personally have experienced migrating from Thailand to the UK as an international student and therefore have similar experiences with the participants. Although I am a British national, I had never lived in the UK, so moving to Manchester was a new experience. This allowed me to take the role of an 'insider' which had a number of advantages such as being able to understand and discuss the experiences of the participants more easily (Berger, 2015: 222).

A multitude of methodological techniques were used to better understand the participant's experience. Using participatory photography, interview techniques and ethnography gave the participants an active role in the research to address issues, which affected them personally (Kagan, 2012). Participatory photography was not going to be used, however when a participant unexpectedly sent me a photograph, I couldn't help but incorporate it. Kagan (2012) supported that participants should have a control the methods included. Using participant led research allows for creative and unexpected responses from the participants (Stevenson, 2015). The result of using participant action research is that the participants learn more about themselves and are transformed (Kagan, 2012). This allows the participants to be active participants and benefit from the research. This question was given to the participants 'have you got anything out of participating in this research study?'. The response was generally positive,

> "Yeahhh definitely it's nice to pause and reflect…on our own experiences […]" (Maria, 387).

This technique of including the participant encourages an inductive approach to the method, allowing me to get to know the participants better. Although upon reflection, using an inductive approach is subjective to bias, as I am focusing on the areas of the analysis, which are personally important. This posed the dilemma of whether to take an emic perspective by focusing on particular cultures or idiographic approach by focusing on the unique individual experience.

Overall, this research study allowed me to reflect on personal experience. Before starting, I considered that I was bicultural, part Thai and part British. However the more I examined cosmopolitanism the more I began to relate to it. Not only do I have

influences from these two cultures but also having many international friends myself have realised that perhaps my own culture identity is a mix of the influence many international cultures.

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