

**Health and Wealth: A systems psychodynamic exploration
of the migrant professional experience in Switzerland's
pharmaceutical industry**

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Abstract

Little is known of the professionals who dedicate their careers to advancing science in the pharmaceutical industry: What might it mean for them to leave home and join this industry with its double focus on health and wealth? This qualitative research explores the experiences of migrant professionals who go to work in Switzerland's highly regarded pharmaceutical industry, considering the question of how they take up their role given the concerns of health and wealth - easing suffering and creating profit. The question arose from my coaching work with migrant professionals where I noticed a pattern of addressing issues regarding role, power and authority through exploring the younger self whilst bracketing off the present self.

This study's research data draws from qualitative depth interviews with migrant professionals who work with or adjacent to the science. The lack of extant research opens up an opportunity for new ideas to be created using Biographic-Narrative Interpretive Method for data generation and Grounded Theory for analysis, and finally distilled into 3 ideas. The study looks at the research data through the lens of systems-psychodynamics, which, like a microscope, examines the less visible material, including unconscious communication. The ideas are:

1. *A permanent state of temporality:* competition and entry being regulated as migrant professionals contend with the tensions of health and wealth.
2. *The bonding of migrant professional and molecule:* the industry's health and wealth focus creating an intense relationship between migrant professional and molecule.

3. *Emotional refugeism*: a social defence against projections into the migrant professional and focusing on the task's 'uncontestable' good.

The implication for practice is a deepening view of social defences amongst migrant professionals in this industry. It may have relevance to sectors reliant on migrant professionals with a double humanitarian and financial task.

Keywords: migrant professional, pharmaceutical industry, social defences, Switzerland

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Declan, 2000-2020

May we always find the trace of you

CHAPTER 1: THE RESEARCH STUDY AND ITS MOTIVATION

1.1 Opening scene

As I sit here on a very hot day in Basel, Switzerland, to take my first steps into writing my doctoral thesis, my point of departure is the question, *what for? What am I doing this research for, and for whom?* Weighing heavy in my stomach as I sit at my kitchen table is a profound sense of loss - of my darling 20-year-old nephew who has left a hole the size of a meteorite in our family, and tears that never cease to flow from our porous wound. The prognosis is decades of the shallow breathing and crumpled faces that signal loss, pain and separation where there should have been enveloping love. Looking away from my own pain, I feel grief at the loss of safety in Ukraine, the loss of visibility and hope in Afghanistan perpetrated by the Taliban against women and particularly cruel in its eradication of teenage girls. Finally, sitting here next to my coffee cup is the tragicomedy of life summed up on Channel 4 Repeat last night by teenage girls' voices in the last episode of Derry Girls - Erin, Michelle, Clare, Orla and 'the wee English fella'. The depiction of their everyday teenage life in the Irish city of Derry in the 1990s shows so much more than *the Troubles* while also deftly illustrating the effects of the structures that created *the Troubles*: Michelle's silenced and misunderstood cousin - 'the wee English fella' - remains *in* the group but not *of* the group despite being integral to their escapades. Derry Girls confidently shows women and girls taking centre-stage, and in a BBC Radio 4 interview Siobhan McSweeney¹ eloquently praises the series for depicting women and girls in all their rightful colours, as *eejits*² in their own lives, as people

¹ Source: <https://twitter.com/BBCWomansHour/status/1528307178205069313> Siobhan McSweeney played the role of the indomitable Sister Michael in Derry Girls.

² "a slang term derived from a dialectal spelling of the Irish English and Scottish English pronunciation of 'idiot'. It is a word commonly used by natives of both Ireland and Scotland." Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eejit>

who *run* things whether schools or homes, as people who care deeply about their communities, families and who they are, while dancing a jig to the music of everyday life against the invasive flashes of British Army khaki. Derry Girls ends on a note of hope symbolised by the slim brochure explaining the Good Friday Agreement³ and Granda Joe`s translation of what it means to bring together communities: the freedom of choice to eat Tayto crisps, a fitting symbol for many other freedoms of choice.

1.2 Biographical elements at work and play

So how does this circle back to me and my research? In embarking upon this qualitative research effort, my motivations touch upon reparation, re-presentation and recounting untold stories. We live out our own lives alongside and intertwined with those of our family of origin. We hold our own mind and the mind of our community, which opens us up to some thoughts and feelings and may close us off to others⁴, shaping how we take up roles in various spheres of life. My Irish parents met in North London at the Galtymore Irish dance club in the 1960s, both economic migrants seeking a better life in England and a refuge from a strictly divided and controlled hierarchical society where they had both experienced the heavy weight of dogma coupled with an ambivalent sense of belonging. Sometimes I feel guilt that their hard graft, working like *navvies*⁵, is what enables me to sit at this kitchen table

³ Signed on 10th April 1998, the Good Friday Agreement was «a major development in the Northern Ireland peace process of the 1990s. It is made up of the Multi-Party Agreement between most of Northern Ireland's political parties, and the British–Irish Agreement between the British and Irish governments. Northern Ireland's present devolved system of government is based on the agreement.»

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Good_Friday_Agreement

⁴ A reference to Susan Long's presentation in a joint NIODA-Tavistock doctoral programme session, 2021

⁵ A Nавy is an abbreviation of **navigator** and is used to describe the manual labourers working in particular on the canals built in the late 18th century in Great Britain. It is a term often associated with immigrant Irish labour.

Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Navvy>

in Switzerland and take up the role of *migrant professional*, a person who has migrated for motivations of both lifestyle⁶ (“*skiing in Zermatt anyone?*”) and career (for me a *move from oil & gas, emphasising heating, lighting and energy – to pharmaceuticals, emphasising patients*). There are untold stories that deserve to be shared.

I was brought up to do good, to think of others, to be of service. My parents took this up in what they perceived as the roles available to them: a voluntary in-between role of caring for the many foreign bible-study students who came to their Baptist church and who needed a Sunday dinner, somewhere to go when they were lonely, someone to talk to, tea and cake. During my childhood, we had a steady and fascinating stream of people regularly come to our home who become friends: Kia from Malaysia, Teddy from Nigeria, Urban from Switzerland, Kazumi from Japan, Nancy from Singapore, the list goes on. In striking contrast, we didn’t have many English friends and experienced anti-Irish racism in the 1970s-early 80s. Our steady stream of guests-becoming-friends were generally well-educated professionals who had come to the outskirts of London in search of something related to higher purpose, united by a sense of humanitarian need. They had consciously exchanged familiarity and success in their homeland for a *foreign* situation to pursue a higher purpose.

When I in turn consider my career choices and my migration to Switzerland, I see some threads intertwining with and diverging from the choices of my parents: while

⁶ It could be said that I am a transitional generation who has made the transition from ‘navvy’ who can allow themselves no time for *felt experience*, to the leisure classes, who ski. Interestingly, during the writing of this thesis, I had the experience of eliding over the felt experience, as if it were a luxury that I didn’t feel I had time for, like the residual ‘navvy’.

my migration to Switzerland was not borne of economic necessity – for which I am hugely indebted to their commitment to our education - like them, I also take up an in-between role (albeit paid), as a coach and organisational consultant; I predominantly support the pharmaceutical industry as it works to find and create new medicines with the aim of easing suffering and prolonging life. Money, of course, is also made, which can also be said of these migrant professionals. The work, coupled with its high financial stakes, has the potential to foment primary anxiety (Armstrong & Ruskin, 2019), a strong undercurrent residing in the unconscious and surging forth to distort how work is done. Obholzer's (2019) comments regarding the British National Health Service may equally well apply to the defensive functions at work in Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry, the focus of this study:

In the unconscious, there is no such concept as 'health'. There is, however, a concept of 'death', and, in our constant attempt to keep this anxiety repressed, we use various unconscious defensive mechanisms, including the creation of social systems to serve the defensive function. Indeed, our health service might more accurately be called a 'keep-death-at-bay' service.

(p. 176)

My own biography plays into this interest as I identify myself as a migrant professional who came to Switzerland in 2010 to join the pharmaceutical industry. Since 2018 I have been working as an independent organisational consultant with these migrant professionals. In my client work, I have come across certain features in the transference which I elaborate upon later in this chapter⁷; I observed a fleeing from the emotional world which seems a normalised bracketing-off of self in the

⁷ Section 1.6, pp. 19 - 21

crusade of the industry task of preserving life with its relentless focus on mass, quantitative results. I wonder how this bracketing-off of the self as I have observed it relates to the taking-up of role and the related sense of authority required. When the client`s taking up of role is at issue, I have noticed a catapulting back to transference adolescent experiences, like falling back into a family-archive hand-held camera film from a seemingly remote homeland with questions of identity formation and familial detachment coming to the fore. This led me to reflect upon the relationship between industry task, taking up role and the migrant professional identity (formation).

In the next two sections I would like to deviate from biographical concerns in order to introduce some historical context regarding (I) Switzerland`s pharmaceutical industry, particularly as it relates to Basel, and (II) the State`s immigration policies, before returning to consider the origins of this study.

1.3 Scene-setting I: Switzerland`s pharmaceutical industry

According to Interpharma⁸ Switzerland`s pharmaceutical industry is most significant in the Basel region: “Around two-thirds of Switzerland`s total pharmaceutical value-added stems from the Basel region” (Interpharma, Pharmaceutical Hub Switzerland 2022, Basel Region, p. 11)⁹. The question of why there is a pharmaceutical industry in Basel therefore holds significance.

⁸ Interpharma, the association of Switzerland`s research-based pharmaceutical industry, was founded in Basel in 1933. Interpharma informs the public about issues that are important to the research-based pharmaceutical industry in Switzerland, including the pharma market in Switzerland, healthcare and biomedical research. Source: <https://www.interpharma.ch/ueber-uns/?lang=en>

⁹ Source: <https://www.interpharma.ch/shop/?lang=en>

A brief historical view illustrates that its existence in Basel is related to the 1857 French Patent Law. William Perkin, a British chemist, was seeking to synthesise quinine and instead made an unexpected discovery of the dye mauveine for which he filed a patent in 1856¹⁰. At this time, one of the most important new dyes for high fashion French clothing was aniline red or fuschine. The fuschine invention was patented by the Renard brothers (les frères Renard) in Britain and France in 1859, thus creating a monopoly. The patents were both an incentive to develop more dyes and a barrier which spurred further process innovation in the creation of new dyes. These dye patents started the patent wars between countries fighting for the high financial stakes and patent exclusivity. The teams of scientists who worked to overcome technical challenges in dye making processes were the forebearers of modern-day pharmaceutical companies and Basel came into the frame at this stage when French chemists moved across the border to Basel to escape the 1857 French Patent Law restrictions. This boosted the Swiss dye industry although it couldn't compete with the neighbouring German industrial scale and so it led to the Basel companies pivoting to high-end dyes and, more lastingly, pharmaceuticals as the Basel companies became an industrial cluster. The French company La Fuschine who had patented the fuschine dye became bankrupt in 1875 while the German dye industry, who had introduced more robust patent protection, fared well. (Yeoh, 2021)¹¹.

The vulnerability of unprotected patents echoes in the inevitable 'patent cliffs' of modern-day pharma (Hoon Song, 2016): When patent exclusivity is granted by the

¹⁰ Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Henry_Perkin

¹¹ Source: <https://www.thendobetter.com/investing/2021/3/9/why-1857-french-patent-law-made-basel-wealthy-and-birtherd-swiss-pharmaceuticals>

authorities, such as the FDA for the US market, it is from the outset bound up with the *loss* of exclusivity to produce and sell the compound. This inevitable loss of exclusivity signals the compound's change of status from patented to generic and opens the compound up to being produced and sold by other pharmaceutical companies, often leading to a lowering of revenue and profit for the originator company and a potential for broader societal access to the compound from a pricing perspective.

What strikes me about this historical rendering is the seeking and finding of a niche, a differential, a seam to be exploited to create higher value, of something that was previously unseen or unattended to. This focus on creating value resonates in contemporary commentary regarding Basel's pharmaceutical industry which employs over half of all people working in the Swiss pharmaceutical industry¹²:

The success of the pharmaceutical industry is primarily due to its high productivity. One employee in the pharmaceutical industry generates five times as much added value as the overall economic average. The key factor here is the industry's high research and innovation intensity.

(Interpharma, Pharmaceutical Hub Switzerland 2022, Basel Region, p. 7)

Finally, Dutfield (2020) writes about the tensions between what the scientist's view of their task may be as opposed to the CEO's and may give insight into what is inferred by productivity:

idealism plays very little part in the pharmaceuticals business. It may of course be very different for the scientists — the ones who deserve most of the credit for these amazing feats. The companies that employ those scientists —

¹² Source: <https://www.interpharma.ch/shop/?lang=en>

but be aware that a large proportion work outside of industry — strive to maximise shareholder value. That is their primary mission. CEOs good at this are handsomely rewarded with eye-watering salaries. In pursuit of such value accumulation, delivering cures may not be the best way; nor is making products accessible to all those needing them, if setting higher prices that exclude many people generates more profit. (p. 1)

1.4 Scene-setting II: Some notes on Switzerland's immigration policies

Further considering the theme of productivity and lifespans, I turn my attention to Switzerland's early immigration policies as they relate to productivity and value creation.

Given that Switzerland does not possess natural resources, the economic focus is rather on high productivity, on the process of converting or refining resources to increase their value. With this dearth of natural resources and the focus on innovation, the modern-day influx of educated *resources* in the form of migrant professionals could be considered another form of resource opportunity. It could be placed in a historical line traced from the post-War Guest-worker policies where the aim was to exploit labour that was *not* intended to form part of Switzerland's social fabric. This theme is explored in a working paper commissioned by the World Bank. Gross (2006) writes:

Enterprises' labor requirements are the major source of growth for the foreign population and workers are coming mostly from neighboring European countries. Yet competition for immigrants from Southern Europe is fierce among the wealthier European countries (i.e., Germany, The Netherlands, Belgium and France). Hence, recruiting offices are opened in source countries and bilateral agreements are signed with host countries. Most host countries prefer Italian workers, and the Italian Government uses its position to obtain

very early on a preferential treatment for its citizens and also to keep control over emigration. In 1948, Italy signs recruiting agreements with Switzerland and, Spain follows in 1961. Immigration is a way to improve the flexibility of labor supply and the system is based on the “rotation principle”. Foreign workers are seen as guests who need to make money and there is a strong belief that migrating is a transitory phenomenon in people’s life. (pp. 7-8)

In summary, these early twentieth century migration policies seem to have served as a regulating membrane for the Swiss state, to create benefit from the available labour from neighbouring countries while upholding the *integrity* of the Swiss identity as the Gast-Arbeiter was not permitted to stay beyond the 9 months of the seasonal permit (Gross, 2006).

By contrast, the nineteenth century Swiss borders were rather more permeable than those of the twentieth century Helvetic state; the latter adopted a highly regulated approach which, while still recognisable as an open system¹³, seemed to take a more inward-looking, protectionist stance with a series of tightly maintained bilateral agreements that enshrined the Gast-Arbeiter’s *non*-belonging and offered work and money in exchange for the giving up of some rights, such as the right to bring their families. This cements their role as *workers* and turns a blind eye to their other roles such as mother, father, provider of more than money.

In modern-day immigration policy, the migrant professionals are also granted permission to live and work in Switzerland based on their employment contract. They are first and foremost workers. The right to citizenship, to ordinary naturalisation,

¹³ Chapter 2, section 2.2.2, p. 27

materialises after a minimum of 10 years living in Switzerland and with further criteria to be fulfilled related to integration into the local community. In essence, this means that migrants, including the migrant professionals of this study, do not have automatic right to citizenship and thus forfeit their right to vote until citizenship is granted.¹⁴ Despite the migrant professional's seeming privilege on particular metrics such as education, lifestyle and economic power, they are placed in a form of social and invisible *compound* for a minimum of 10 years where they reside outside of local and national political life. They are *in* Switzerland and their localities but not *of* them.

Finally, Hercog and Cangià (2021) also challenge the notion of frictionless movement of migrant professionals: “Increasingly, research recognises that highly skilled migrants also face challenges of moving and living across international borders and questions the images of highly skilled mobile people as “free-moving elites” (Favell et al., 2006, p. 8) living in a frictionless world (Cangià & Zittoun, 2018; Yeoh & Huang, 2011).” (p. 3)

1.5 The personal and hidden work

Having explored the broader context of Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry and its immigration policies, I consider it important to reflect upon the industry task and where the anxiety of “keeping death at bay” is buried or located in my family system. My mum was a nurse specialising in geriatric care before becoming the manager of an NHS palliative care home for the elderly who were all in their last chapter of life. My mum was very dedicated - to a fault - and it was a regular occurrence that she

¹⁴ Source: <https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/en/home/integration-einbuengerung/schweizer-werden.html>

worked very long hours attending to dying patients and their families. We often waited and waited for her, not knowing whether to eat dinner or continue waiting, as Death *stole* our family time. During the COVID lockdown years, my 20-year-old nephew took his life and three years later, I still find it unspeakable and untellable, having had to watch his funeral online and hear my letter to him read out by another's voice. I have found both refuge in Switzerland as no one here knew him but at the cost of protracted difficulties in mourning him, as no one here knew him. I find myself in an isolated state of grieving, both wrestling with mourning for him while also seeking a transitional space (Winnicott, 1971) which could be defined as an attempt to put a regulating membrane in place. A desire to find in Switzerland *health, wealth and happiness incorporated*.

As I turn my attention back to this cohort of migrant professionals, I acknowledge that the move to Switzerland for many is an intertwining of lifestyle and career possibilities and I am curious to explore their lived experience. I have personally experienced the somewhat cut-off nature of Switzerland, behind a border of mountains, replete with tunnels and with invisible linguistic borders (Röstigraben¹⁵) where a sense of belonging is more often expressed in local rather than national terms and where citizenship belonging through ordinary naturalisation will take a minimum of 10 years¹⁶. Just as my parents each decided to migrate to a country where there were opportunities albeit coupled with a sometimes-lukewarm welcome, I decided to come to a country where there is much opportunity but where a sense of *actual* belonging is protracted and must be proven by loyalty to locality. In my client

¹⁵ Refers to the invisible linguistic borders within Switzerland which generally follow the Cantonal borders or clusters of Cantonal/regional borders, e.g., where French or Italian ends and Swiss-German begins.

¹⁶ Source: <https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/en/home/integration-einbuengerung/schweizer-werden.html>

work with migrant professionals, I have regularly noticed a cheerful acceptance of non-belonging or an ambivalence about wishing to belong in Switzerland, almost as if this stance attenuates and renders less potent the potential for feelings of betrayal to the homeland as any need to choose is thus *neutralised*. On becoming *Swiss*, this new identity is less visible for migrant professionals and may unfortunately bring with it the risk of being designated *Papierlischwizer*.¹⁷

1.6 Features of the transference in coaching

With these elements in view, I return to some features in the transference that I noticed in my coaching work that left me wondering what the unseen structures might be that connect these migrant professionals working in the pharmaceutical industry. I saw flashes of their untold stories which seemed to unite them like subterranean mycelium, of what it meant to leave their home and family of origin¹⁸, to gather around this sometimes-impossible industry task, to live in a politically neutral country at the heart of Europe where belonging can take on a tricky complexion. I had a sense of a time-lapse between the perception of what struck me in my client work and why I wanted to research it; I hypothesise that the nature of my in-between role left thoughts and feelings about others' lives available to me in my role but thoughts and feelings about my own life unavailable. Perhaps the 'navvy' shadow from my parents' lived experience, where there was no luxury of time to reflect, also contrived against the legitimising of reflection upon my own feelings.

¹⁷ *Papierlischwizer* is an exclusionary term for individuals who have become Swiss citizens through marriage or purchase of citizenship rather than having Swiss citizenship since birth. I elaborate further in Chapter 4 when presenting participant interview data.

¹⁸ There was a preponderance of focus on reparation of family narratives, ranging from being poor immigrants to 'too smart' at school and shunned by peers.

This research can be considered my attempt at reparation, at giving voice to untold stories and seeking out the unseen that precipitates events.

I noticed a pattern of transference where the coachees sought to take refuge in their coaching sessions and to extend them beyond the time boundary; it was as if they experienced these sessions which took place in a private meeting room as a refuge to keep the suffering at bay which erupted in tearful moments. This suffering was defended against in-role through keeping busy, seemingly to avoid negative capability¹⁹ and through a defensive routine of working very long hours. This was often accompanied by a return to unresolved adolescent concerns and a working-through of the coaching issues through this very optic. Adolescence represents a stage of life with a long future ahead full of potential for hope and growth and where the weight of worldly adult responsibility, authority and the need to take up roles in society is located in the future. Winnicott (1965) describes how adolescents are essentially isolates who do not wish to be understood. For healthy maturation into adulthood, the boy or girl needs to take up power hitherto unavailable: “How shall the adolescent boy or girl deal with the new power to destroy and even to kill, a power which did not complicate feelings of hatred at the toddler age” (p. 116). It caused me to wonder about the taking up of roles and power by migrant professionals working in the Swiss pharmaceutical industry.

¹⁹ As described by Keats in a letter: “I mean Negative Capability, that is, when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason” (in Bion, 1970, p. 125)

1.7 Professional origins of the research study

As a consultant working with the pharmaceutical industry in Switzerland I noticed further aspects of working with this industry that intrigued me, a highly successful, highly-regulated industry in a politically-neutral country at the centre of *Mitteleuropa* where 32.4%²⁰ of the working population are foreign labour. Where I mostly work (in Basel, North-Western Switzerland) the varied landscape of enduring *Big Pharma* organisations, together with a lively start-up scene of Swiss and immigrant organisations, has created a life sciences hub in the region, all fighting a laudable and crusader-like task to preserve life: “curing cancer! / saving babies! / combatting COVID-19!” In Switzerland there are humanitarian-oriented organisations with headquarters or major offices²¹, also pursuing laudable and crusader-like tasks. In my consulting work with the pharmaceutical industry, I wondered what Switzerland might offer migrant professionals seeking an identity in relation to a lucrative industry serving humanitarian aims, and how this might play out in a politically neutral country which has bilateral agreements with its European neighbours as opposed to EU *incorporation*. This key question was the starting point of my research quest. It led me to become deeply interested in how migrant professionals in this industry mobilise themselves to take up their roles in this task so infused with the primary anxiety (Armstrong & Rustin, 2019) of keeping “death at bay” (Obholzer, 2019) for patients who are distant from their daily work and where the research privileges the scientific, quantitative and positivist. I started to wonder how the task and attendant primary anxiety interact with the personal and professional narratives of these

²⁰ Share of foreigners in economically active population is 1.7 million (32.4%). Source: *Labour Market Indicators for 2020*. FSO. (p.4)

²¹ Geneva: International Committee of the Red Cross, United Nations, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), World Trade Organisation, World Health Organisation, World Wildlife Fund International. Cologne: World Economic Forum. Basel: Bank for International Settlements.

migrants who come to Switzerland to gather around this important humanitarian and potentially idealised task in a country which is also often idealised, can be difficult to know and where a sense of belonging is more located in the immediate locale. I was struck by the untold (and given the confidentiality ethics of my work, untellable) stories of these migrant professionals as they gathered around the twin tasks of health and wealth.

1.8 My position as a researcher

In closing this exploration of why I am engaged in this research and for whom, it remains for me to state my research position that has emerged, given the influence of my outlined experiences, choices, inherited familial field of action and divergence from it: The epistemological position from which I conduct my research is constructionist (Burr & Dick, 2017), in that I believe we construct our versions of reality and that individuals should be encouraged to engage with and tell their versions of their stories; this forms a critical plinth upon which my values and research sit. While this is not a feminist research study per se, the voices of women and girls, as heard loudly in Derry Girls and devastatingly silenced in Afghanistan, is a deeply held value for me and extends to the amplification of the voices of the lesser-heard *unusual suspects* including the seemingly elite. While my professional role of coach and organisational consultant is experienced by me as an in-between role, the newer role of researcher demands that I have a voice and a view in my writing and this researcher role lends the task authorial legitimacy.

From an ontological basis, my research position is grounded in critical realism (Bhaskar, 1975), a philosophical stance that posits that there are some known things and that there is a distinction between the *real* world and the *known* world. While the

world as we perceive and know it is constructed from our perspectives and experiences, unobservable structures cause events; I believe that our social world can be understood through seeking to understand and unearth the invisible structures that generate events and that the instruments we use to research that world need to be created, honed and rendered appropriate for the task rather than a priori accepted as *real* and *true*.

Through early experience of interviewing a migrant professional, I made the decision to focus my research on those migrant professionals who work directly or adjacent to the pharmaceutical science rather than in a more distant capacity. My own status as a migrant professional in Switzerland confers upon me the position of being a knowing subject, a knowing researcher which gives rise to certain biases and assumptions. My assumption is that working close to the molecule as it is discovered and developed, this powerful and hidden-to-the-naked-eye nano structure could be characterised as an example of a hidden structure to which these migrant professionals are uniquely bonded. I have a bias for qualitative research in the exploration of subject's lived experience and keep this in view given that all of the research participants are trained and work in quantitative research with its attendant focus on cause and effect.

My research is also grounded in the systems-psychodynamic perspective which seeks to consider organisational life as made visible through the interplay of forces exerted by context, structure, systems, the unconscious and emotional life of the organisation and those who work there. Particular attention is paid to the

mechanisms of splitting, projection and the depressive position²² in the attempts to manage anxiety provoking emotions arising from the work. The unconscious will be included in my research through exploring the lived experience of migrant professionals through both the said and unsaid.

1.9 Summary

To conclude, the motivations for my research are an intertwining of professional and biographical strands - my own, my clients', my family of origin's, Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry. My hope is to lend a qualitative, systems-psychodynamic lens to the macro and micro study of individual and industry hopes, dreams and outcomes in their crucial work.

²² as described in chapter 2, section 2.3.1, pp. 30 - 31

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Purpose and summary

The purpose of this literature review is to explore the current topography of writing that surrounds or abuts my initial research idea regarding migrant professionals in Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry, to find a foothold from which to venture forth and to provide sufficient belay for movement up into the territory of this research and theory. A further distinction of a literature review is its capacity to critique the various strata of extant research, differentiate and form linkages such that this new research both finds and creates a modest research crag. The climbing analogy seems fitting in Switzerland and in my dual new roles of researcher and sometimes-climber.

In this chapter, I have several aims: I will first stake out the underpinning systems-psychodynamic approach to studying organisations that I will apply in this research. This approach informs the final choice of literature that I will focus on and critique as it is the discipline upon which my research study is based. I will then outline the process by which I arrived at the search terms and their subsequent refinement and from this stance, the condensate of my research question will become clear. Finally, I will summarise and offer a critical review of this overall process in the belief that all theory must be subject to scrutiny and not become an end in itself, echoing the critical realist (Bhaskar, 1975) stance of seeking to unearth and understand the invisible structures that generate events while creating and honing the technology used to research that world.

2.2 Applying the systems-psychodynamic model to the study of organisations

Following from my initial counter-transferential experiences with coaching clients that piqued my interest in pursuing this research, my chosen frame of reference is the systems-psychodynamic approach to studying organisations. This evolving field of theory acknowledges the intertwining aspects of individual, group, system and society, working with the inner and the outer and viewing them as inextricable. The intertwining strands that are of relevance to my research study are elaborated as follows:

2.2.1 Institution-in-the-mind

The term ‘institution-in-the-mind’ was first coined by Pierre Turquet in relation to the institutional event, the part of group relations conferences where the nature of relatedness between members and staff is examined (Armstrong, 2005, p.3). David Armstrong (2005), who has written extensively on this subject²³, describes how Shapiro and Carr (1991) expand upon the term ‘institution-in-the-mind’:

[Any] organization is composed of the diverse fantasies and projections of its members. Everyone who is aware of an organization, whether a member of it or not, has a mental image of how it works. Though these diverse ideas are not often consciously negotiated or agreed upon among the participants, they exist. In this sense, all institutions exist in the mind, and it is in interaction with these in-the-mind entities that we live (Shapiro & Carr, pp. 69 – 70, in Armstrong, 2005, pp. 3 – 4)

I posit that the in-the-mind existence of Switzerland’s pharmaceutical industry in the migrant professionals in this research study will benefit from being explored. There

²³ Who later developed it further in ‘Organization in the mind’ – see Armstrong (2005) in references for full details

are distinct linkages with primary task and anxiety²⁴ as well as the mechanisms of splitting and projection²⁵ described in this chapter.

2.2.2 Open Systems theory

Open Systems theory originated in biology in the work of Von Bertalanffy (1930s)²⁶ and has a broad application, particularly considering the ebb and flow of organisational life. Kurt Lewin (1947) was one of the first to apply open systems theory to the study of organisations which, like biological organisms, rely on exchange with the external world for nutritive survival. The figure below represents an organisation as an open system:

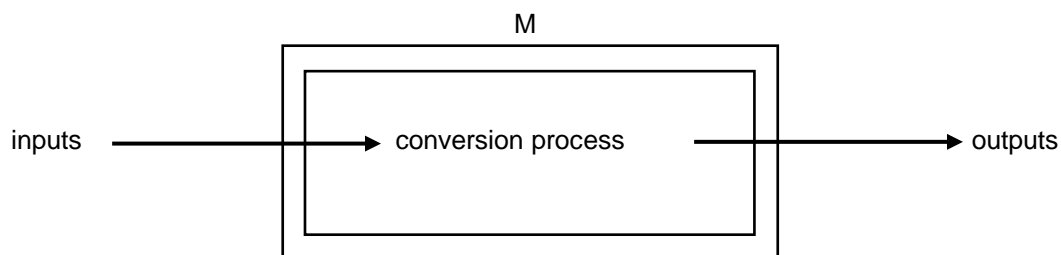


Figure 1: organisation as an open system

The organisation or organism needs to regulate inputs and outputs from the external world in order to receive nutrients and expel waste whilst also guarding against the entry of contaminants. Similar to an organism, an organisation receives and takes inputs from the external world and converts them into useful outputs. The membrane or boundary of an organisation requires management (M) so that the members can

²⁴ Section 2.2.3, pp. 28 - 29

²⁵ Section 2.3.1, pp. 30 - 31

²⁶ "[General systems theory](#)" (GST; [German](#): *allgemeine Systemlehre*) was coined in the 1940s by [Ludwig von Bertalanffy](#), who sought a new approach to the study of [living systems](#).^[36] Bertalanffy developed the theory via lectures beginning in 1937 and then via publications beginning in 1946. Source: Wikipedia.

focus on the *conversion process*, known in systems-psychodynamics as the *primary task* and defined by Rice in Zagier Roberts (2019) as the task it must perform in order to survive and compete. The primary task of the pharmaceutical industry can be characterised as ***easing suffering, prolonging and preserving life*** and the concept of the primary task is what Miller and Rice call a ‘heuristic concept’ that serves a purpose in defining and allocating resources to the work at hand. (Zagier Roberts, 2019, p. 39). There are and always will be other competing tasks within a complex organisation.

2.2.3 Primary task and primary anxiety

Extending the concept of primary task further, Gordon Lawrence, referenced by Zagier Roberts (2019), conceptualised the three levels of task that are perceptible and not always consciously known in an organisation (p. 39):

Task level	Descriptor
<i>Normative primary task</i>	The official task usually defined by the chief stakeholders
<i>Existential primary task</i>	The task pursued by the people in the enterprise; the meaning they put on their roles and activities
<i>Phenomenal primary task</i>	The task that can be inferred from their behaviour and of which they may not be consciously aware

Figure 2: the three levels of task

Given the potential for the two titan forces of humanitarian and commercial to but up against each other in pursuit of the pharmaceutical industry’s primary task, these

forces risk becoming seismic and difficult to contain; the task of easing suffering and prolonging life carries a high risk of finding itself the weaker in conflict with the commercial exigencies to make money for further investment and shareholder return. The concept of primary anxiety (Armstrong and Rustin, 2019) and social defences become significant in that distinct primary tasks such as that of the pharmaceutical industry foreshadow a corresponding primary anxiety which the seismic movement of the two oft-opposing forces may cause to come forth. As referenced in Chapter 1, the work could be said to be that of “keeping death at bay” (Obholzer, 2019).

2.2.4 Social defences as part of organisational life

The workings of primary anxiety and the construction of social defences against their anxiety-provoking effect was described in Isabel Menzies-Lyth's (1960) seminal study of trainee nurses in a London teaching hospital. The anxiety of the work, particularly for the student nurses - the confrontation of intimate physical contact, feelings of disgust and decay - were cloying in their daily work and psychic defence systems had been constructed unconsciously over time into the socially structured defence system of the nursing services to shore up the primal feelings of anxiety, disgust, guilt, uncertainty and doubt (Menzies-Lyth, 1960). This was at the cost of operational efficiency and patient-nurse cooperation as tasks were splintered in order to reduce patient contact and seek to disembody them, to keep death at bay. The overall efficiency of the work and the delivery of the primary task was significantly disrupted and the toll on the student nurses was severe with many cases of stress and high attrition. One of the key issues was the impact of socially structured defence systems that were borne of the paranoid-schizoid state where

splitting and projection are protective mechanisms deriving from early infantile experiences and catapulting forth into adult life when experiences and emotions feel intolerable. Menzies-Lyth writes:

An important aspect of such socially structured defence mechanisms is an attempt by individuals to externalize and give substance in objective reality to their characteristic defence mechanisms. A social defence system develops over time as the result of collusive interaction and agreement, often unconscious, between members of the organization as to what form it shall take. The socially structured defence mechanisms then tend to become an aspect of external reality with which old and new members of the institution must come to terms. (p. 101)

Thus we can surmise that the dismantling of social defence systems is intertwined with an understanding of the internal mechanisms at play in the structure of personality. This is where we turn our attention to the second part of systems-psychodynamics, namely the psychoanalytic influence.

2.3 Psychoanalytic theory

2.3.1 Klein

A cornerstone of the systems-psychodynamic study of organisations, built upon the seminal psychoanalytic work of Freud, writing from 1899 to 1940, is Klein's (1946-63) work, in particular her development of objects relations. Bion (1962) subsequently sought to extend Klein's work and is further explored in the subsequent section.

Klein's pioneering observational work with infants gave birth to theories of personal and interpersonal development at the primary stages of life. Her work on paranoid and schizoid anxieties and mechanisms brought to light how the external and internal experiences of the infant intertwine, particularly in relation to the mother: the infant seeks nourishment from the mother's breast and may have a satisfying – “good breast” or frustrating – “bad breast” - experience. These early experiences lead to libidinal or annihilation impulses towards the “good” and “bad” breasts being mobilised, the mother is fragmented and is internalised thus by the infant; the infant's objects relations are forming. These splitting and projection mechanisms represent the paranoid-schizoid phase of development which seeks to regulate feelings of love and hate (Klein, 1952a). In the paranoid-schizoid position the splitting off and projection of painful aspects and emotions such as guilt, doubt, fear, uncertainty by the infant into the mother is a mechanism to remain intact, to section off the death instinct in favour of the libidinal (love and life) instinct. We can thus see that the socially structured defence mechanisms in the London teaching hospital are prototyped upon the paranoid-schizoid, in their drive to “keep death at bay”.

In the subsequent depressive position development, the infant “reconstitutes” the mother from her fragmented parts and reconciles the “good” and “bad” as integral parts of the whole, both in self and in other. In healthy infantile ego development this phase brings forth two capacities: a) to mourn and grieve while b) still retaining the capacity to acknowledge the libidinal and annihilation impulses without resorting to splitting and projecting (Klein, 1946). In adult life, we oscillate between the paranoid-schizoid and the depressive positions, the former being activated when anxiety and painful emotions are experienced and when early feelings are re-experienced.

2.3.2 Winnicott

Winnicott's (1963) work builds upon Klein's work and his concept of the facilitating environment is, in essence, referring to the 'good enough' mother who is "given over to her job of infant-care, gradually, and only gradually, reasserting herself as an independent person" (1963). In this early phase, the mother is the facilitating environment which enables the infant to attend to the maturational process of personality integration. By degrees, the infant achieves a fuller separation between the facilitating environment, the mother, and its sense of self. The 'True Self' begins to exist "through the strength given to the infant's weak ego by the mother's implementation of the infant's omnipotent expressions" (Winnicott, 1960), through the mother's devotion. There appears to be a finely-balance symbiotic relationship with the False Self whose healthy functioning is described: "The False Self, if successful in its function, hides the True Self, or else finds a way of enabling the True Self to start to live" (1960).

2.3.3 Bion

Bion developed Klein's work in his concept of reverie and its links to the capacity for thinking (1962, p. 37). If the nursing mother has the capacity for reverie, to tolerate and take in ('contain') the infant's negative projections, fears, doubts, uncertainties when they experience the "bad breast" (the emotional experience), and to contain them with love associated either with the father or with the infant, the infant is supported in its capacity for tolerating emotions. If the infant's capacity to tolerate frustration is overextended, omnipotent mechanisms such as projective identification become mobilised in the infant's attempts to soften their frustration, this move in tandem, indicating its awareness of the value of a capacity to think. (Bion, 1962, p.

37). If the mother does not have the capacity for reverie, this burden is exported back to the infant despite their need for the mother to introject and contain it. The infant is thus doubly burdened with the intolerable emotions (the “good” or “bad” breast) and the toleration of this very frustration itself. The projective identification mechanism in the unburdening of intolerable psychic material as it relates to a capacity for thinking points to fundamental links in psychoanalysis between containment and thinking.

In conclusion, the multi-disciplinary approach of systems-psychodynamics is my frame of reference for this literature review and informs how I selected the writings for exploration and critique in this chapter.

2.4 Process and results

The literature search was based on a set of keywords and a snowballing approach, using electronic journal sources (EBSCOhost), Academia.edu platform, Google Scholar, references from the doctoral programme²⁷ at the Tavistock & Portman NHS Foundation Trust where I am a candidate, and my professional network. The first set of keywords used to search electronic sources and the refinement of these keywords is represented in the table below.

2.4.1 EBSCOhost search

Searches	Keywords	Nr. of references
1	Identity + work +migrat*	622, 357
2	Identity + work +migration	514, 893
3	Identity + work +migration + Switzerland	58, 759
4	Identity + migrant professional + Switzerland	17, 914
5	Identity + work + life sciences ²⁸	2306
6	<p>Identity and work + Swiss pharmaceutical industry + migrant professionals²⁹</p> <p>Refinement to sources from 1955-2022, in English</p> <p>The following subjects were selected:</p> <p>Nonfiction / International relations /</p> <p>Psychology / Social history / Globalization /</p> <p>Emigration and immigration / Quality of life /</p> <p>Anthropology / Ethnology / Immigrants /</p>	<p>1239</p> <p>319³⁰</p>

²⁷ Professional Doctorate in Advanced Practice and Research (Consultation and the Organisation) – D10D

²⁸ I changed *life sciences* to *pharmaceutical industry* as my interest was in the work to create medicines and therapies rather than on broader industry work such as medical devices.

²⁹ I changed *Switzerland* to *Swiss pharmaceutical industry* in order to more precisely reflect the field of focus. While Switzerland as a broader container is relevant, I deemed it too broad a reference for this study, risking dilution of the focus or leading to a geo-political, societal focus rather than organisational.

³⁰ 347 with exact replicas automatically removed

	<p>Citizenship / Culture /. Migration / Social sciences / Books / Gender / Switzerland / Diaspora / Foreign workers</p> <p>Outcome</p> <p>Only 3 of these articles were relevant or adjacent to migrant professionals in the Swiss pharmaceutical industry:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cross-cultural adjustment 2. Immigration and its impact 3. semiotics 	3
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Figure 3: EBSCOhost literature search 1

In a separate EBSCOhost search, the lead keyword was migrant professional:

Keywords	Nr. Of references
<p>Migrant professional + Switzerland + life sciences</p> <p>Outcome</p> <p>These sources were all technical reports and/or focused on medical healthcare. None of the sources were related to migrant professionals and Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry</p>	58

Figure 4: EBSCOhost literature search 2

As illustrated in the tables above, relevant sources for the literature review were somewhat difficult to locate, perhaps symbolically hidden behind the girdle of the Swiss Alps and pharmaceutical industry anxieties related to industrial espionage. The range of sources that I reference below emerged from Academia.eu searches,

recommendations from my Tavistock network, a snowballing approach and by more tangential exploration. This means that the search itself is difficult to reproduce, which may be hypothesized as significant given the potential for industrial espionage anxiety in the pharmaceutical industry regarding patent protection and re-production.

The final body of literature used as guide ropes to advance and refine my research question focuses on the following topography which I view as most illuminating for my initial research interest. In this chapter I will elaborate on each category and its importance to my research study:

- The migrant professional
- The taking-up of role
- Migration and identity formation
- The migrant professional's identity formation
- Place attachment and Switzerland (-in-the-mind)

2.4.2 The migrant professional

My initial research idea emanated from counter-transferential experiences with migrant professional coachees and I wished to explore this seam further in a way which made the untellable (for confidentiality reasons) stories, tellable.

For the purposes of my research, I seek to characterise the *migrant professional* as a person with higher education who has chosen Switzerland (in this case) as a destination for both career and lifestyle reasons with a long-term intention to remain.

This differs from the definition offered by Meier, as referenced by Bielewska, who describes migrant professionals as “those employed and working as skilled

professionals after their migration. It is well-educated group with privileges accepted in the country of destination” (Bielewska, 2017, p. 6). While the notion of privilege is significant, it could benefit from being problematised given the shadows of a regulating membrane previously alluded to³¹ and given the definition of migration by the Peruvian-Swiss analyst Mario Erdheim in Conci’s (2015) article: “in his essay ‘Fortune and Misfortune in Emigration’, [Erdheim] defined migration in terms of what Michael Balint called ‘new beginning’, and thus compared it to adolescence” (Conci, 2015)³². The resonance of migration-as-adolescence brings to mind Waddell’s (2002) delineation of the poignancy of adolescence and loss, “re-negotiating dreams, choices and hopes, whether self-generated or imposed from without. It involves tolerating opportunities lost, and roads not taken ... These sorts of losses test the capacity to mourn, to feel remorse, to take responsibility, to experience guilt and also gratitude. (p. 177). This capacity to mourn require a healthy functioning of the depressive position - to succeed in testing reality. Klein (1952b) writes:

Whenever grief arises, it undermines the feeling of secure possession of the loved internal objects, for it revives the early anxieties about injured and destroyed objects—about a shattered inner world. Feelings of guilt and persecutory anxieties—the infantile depressive position—are reactivated in full strength. A successful reinstating of the external love object which is being mourned, and whose introjection is intensified through the process of mourning, implies that the loved internal objects are restored and regained. Therefore the testing of reality characteristic of the process of mourning is not only the means of renewing the links to the external world but of re-establishing the disrupted inner world. Mourning thus involves the repetition of the emotional situation the infant experienced during the depressive position. For under the stress of fear of loss of the loved mother, the infant struggles

³¹ Chapter 1, section 1.5, p. 18

³² From the section of the article entitled “Psychoanalysis and Migration in Our Literature”

with the task of establishing and integrating his inner world, of building up securely the good objects within himself. ('The infantile depressive position', II)

Despite the outward appearance of privilege, the migrant professional has manifold untold stories which I believe necessarily problematises this very notion of privilege.

Furthering the working definition for this study, the migrant professional is distinguished from the expatriate who has the intention to leave at some point, or the lifestyle migrant whose primary motivation is thus. For the *migrant professional*, the dual issues of professional contribution and community integration may have a particular bearing on the taking-up of role in service of the industry task³³, particularly when questions of ontological insecurity (Laing, 1960, in Armstrong, 2010, p.111) raise themselves; there is a sense that the job security of this cohort of migrant professionals is intertwined with the molecule's commercial success.

³³ See Chapter 2, sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3, pp. 28 – 30 for more detail on task

2.4.3 The taking-up of role

The notion of role is significant in this study given that we are primarily known to an organisation based on the role(s) we take up; this is the person's entry point into an organisation or institution and also the entry point of an organisation or institution into the person (Sievers, 2000, in Newton, Long, Sievers, 2018):

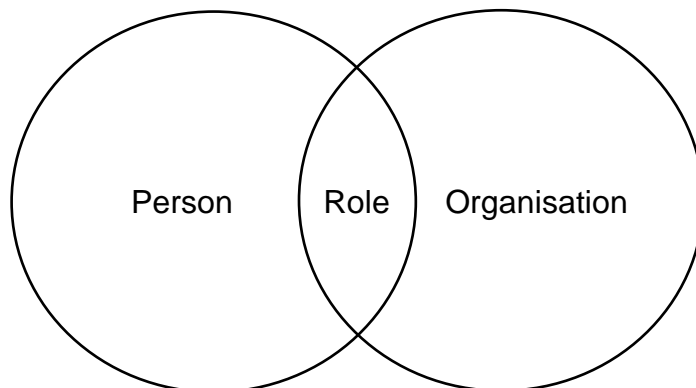


Figure 5: Person, Role, Organisation (Sievers, 2000)

I will further outline how I am employing the concept of *taking-up of role* which came into being through this literature review. I conceptualise it as being closely linked to a number of specific and inter-related writings:

- The first is Obholzer's (2019) work on power and authority where he describes the importance of taking up both power and authority in-role. The triumvirate forms of authority required in-role - above, below and within (pp. 49-52) - feel important to my research question, particularly the *within* as it relates to the migrant professional's quest for both meaning in-role through contributing to the laudable industry task and through identity (re) formation expressed through desires for migration. Obholzer writes "The attitude of such 'in-the-mind' authority figures is crucial in affecting how, to what extent and

with what competence external institutional roles are taken up” (p. 51). There is the crucial question of “How can I mobilise my resources and potential to contribute to the task?” (p. 54), recognising the boundary of one`s own role as related to other roles, plus the footprint of one`s own sense of authority. It is mostly in this footprint that I have witnessed this fleeing which I locate in both the inner theatre and the outer expression of that world through place attachment and relocation imaginings.

- The second concept is the Grubb Institute`s seminal work on Organizational Role Analysis (ORA), referenced and further developed by Newton, Long and Sievers (2018) and what it means to find, make and take a role. While the ORA process is for managers and leaders working at the boundary of a system in order to regulate it, the participants in my research study *may* instead be in network-influencing positions which require analysis different from ORA. However, the characterisation of taking up a role still holds validity considering that network-influencing roles in the industry nevertheless contribute to the overall task, particularly in the need for self-regulation and mobilising authority from within and particularly against the potential psychic background of adolescent ‘new beginning’ inflection points already referenced:

To take a role implies being able to formulate or discover, however intuitively, a regulating principle inside oneself which enables one, as a person, to manage one`s behaviour in relation to what needs to be done to further the purpose of the system within which the role is to be taken. So we speak of a person-in-role. While a person`s inner world has some largely stable elements, much of what is contained there is in

constant flux: understandings, insights, feelings, memories and recognitions continuously interact and affect each other. Similarly, the external world is not rigid but also changes and shifts. Thus, taking a 'role' is always dynamic: it is never a fixed response. (p. 46)

- Finally, research by Simpson and Carroll (2008) regarding roles as boundary objects in identity formation is illuminating, where role occupies an intermediary position open to the ebbs and flows of varying forces. It is a perspective that could offer insight into the effect of the migrant professional's travelled distance on the taking-up of role in a foreign context in the field of an anxiety-laden task. They point to the increased attention towards "becoming" rather than "being", echoing the ORA approach of the role-taking being a dynamic response:

The flux perspective conceives identities as more or less temporary stabilizations or congelations, abstracted from the ongoing constructive and reconstructive processes of identity work and narrative self-identity" (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003 in Simpson and Carroll, 2008, p. 31)

2.4.4 Migration and identity formation

I now seek to explore the figure of the migrant professional as they take up roles against the ground of migration research.

In consideration of migration and identity formation, while there is much existing research on expatriates, lifestyle migrants, second-generation immigrants in Switzerland (Ackerman & Freitag, 2015; Benson & Osbaldiston, 2014; Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Dia, 2010; Kwankam, 2010; Kübler, 2016; Maile & Griffiths, 2012;

McNulty, 2017; Richter, 2011 & 2012; Wessendorf, 2010), there is limited research on what I have termed *migrant professionals* beyond Meier's (2015) work on the experience of this group as it relates to identity and encounters in urban localities. There is no neighbouring writing on expatriates working in the pharmaceutical industry in Switzerland beyond research on scientific diasporas in Switzerland (Dia, 2010; Kwankam, 2010; Tejada, 2010) regarding their collective work on scientific developments to benefit both Switzerland and their countries of origin (India, South Africa, Colombia respectively). This set of studies referenced focuses on migration and related scientific-economic development and not the desires and individual experiences of the diaspora members.

A study which could be termed as in the vicinity is Sandoz's (2018) work on the role of intermediaries in Switzerland in how "wanted immigrants" come to be defined. Her study centres upon the role of intermediaries such as relocation agencies in defining who is a "wanted immigrant" in Switzerland. While migrant professionals working in Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry may form part of this cohort, the study's focus is more ethnographic and societal than organisational; it foregrounds the relocation apparatus (the ground) rather than the migrant (the figure).

The cited writings all have a more sociological perspective, the individual and group in relation to society and are grounded more in stories of economic migrancy. The gap I have noticed is regarding the migrant professional who travels for reasons more centred upon career and lifestyle and who is engaged in work which has a heavily loaded primary anxiety (Armstrong & Rustin, 2019, p. 13). While in many ways these individuals could be considered privileged or elite in terms of education,

avenues available to them for career and personal development, they are working to improve or save lives indirectly and exhibit a highly vocational attitude to their work. These narratives remain untold despite the hugely important work that they contribute to.

2.4.5 The migrant professional's identity formation

Given the educational and socio-economic profile of these migrant professionals³⁴, they can be considered through the optic of lifestyle migrant rather than expatriate – see McNulty (2017)³⁵ for an in-depth review of the expatriate terminology and derivations. In Benson and Osbaldistons` (2014) opening chapter on *New Horizons in Migration Research*, their writing situates lifestyle migrants as seeking an idealised place as part of the project of the self (p. 4) drawing on Gidden`s (1990) notion of ontological security³⁶ while seeking a place with pristine characteristics and a sense of escape (p. 6). I posit that Switzerland, encompassing the pharmaceutical industry, might serve as a *container* to help these migrants find the true self of Emerson and Thoreau and that this endeavour may find its footing more readily through the taking up of role, given the distinction between “people as citizens and people as corporate members” (Long, 2008, p. 29). Benson and Osbaldistons` paper evoked notions of the “organisation-in-the-mind” (Armstrong, 2005, pp. 5 – 9) or Switzerland`s pharmaceutical-industry-in-the-mind” of these educationally-elite migrant professionals. There is a potent argument regarding the triangulation of power,

³⁴ which can be inferred through their educational level: 58% of pharma employees have a tertiary degree (Interpharma Annual Report, 2019, p. 31).

³⁵ “We define business expatriates as legally working individuals who reside temporarily in a country of which they are not a citizen in order to accomplish a career-related goal, being relocated abroad either by an organization, by self-initiation or directly employed within the host-country” (McNulty, 2017, p. 19).

³⁶ «The confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of the surrounding social and material environments of action...it is an emotional, rather than a cognitive, phenomenon, and it is rooted in the unconscious” (Giddens, 1990, p.92)

knowledge and geography in how a place is represented, drawing from Edward Said (1978), and developed into an approach based on post-colonialism (p. 3). Said writes how Orientalism can be characterised as “the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it...in short Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient (p. 120): it could be applied to the containing capacity of the pharmaceutical industry in Switzerland, for professional migrants for whom belonging and *incorporation* is more easily achievable as corporate members than as citizens.

In Benson and O`Reilly (2009), lifestyle migration is explored as an analytical approach to explain “the relocation of people within the developed world searching for a better way of life” (p. 608) with most of the ethnographic work showing the narratives to be permeated with a sense of escape, freedom and balance. The view of lifestyle migration as “a search, a project, rather than an act, and it encompasses diverse destinations, desires and dreams” (p. 610) echoes the pharmaceutical industry task`s desire and dream to preserve and prolong life. In this vein, the taking up of role could be conceived of as a dynamic project rather than an act, with role-as-boundary-object as described by Simpson and Carroll (2008). There is a sense of constraint in the habitus of these migrant professionals with *non-joining* being *normalised*: working in corporate offices³⁷, communicating in International English, struggling with local dialects, private life - work life blurring based on access to communities, and shallow-rootedness surfacing when questions of ontological insecurity raise themselves:

³⁷ Or now in Zoom or MS Teams isolation

“I look in the mirror and see someone who is not myself” (Sennet, 2011, p. 52)

Considering the imagined Swiss spaces that professional migrants in my research may move towards and how they may construct these spaces both internally and externally, Maile and Griffiths` (2012) psycho-social study of Berlin is thought-provoking. It explores how the dominant tropes of Berlin are used both affectively and imaginatively to create meaning for individual migrants and “the unconscious emotional uses of a city and its symbolic representations” (p. 30). The references to a better quality of life imagined to be available in destination cities that Maile cites from Benson and O`Reilly (2009) prompted me further to consider the intersection of country (Switzerland), industry (pharmaceutical) and city-region (Basel), creating an available container in which these privileged, elite migrants would seek to inscribe their imaginings. Beyond the biographical, imaginary and emotional aspects that Maile and Griffiths pay attention to (p. 31), I wish to extend the line-of-sight to consider this in the context of task and taking up of role.

Finally, considerations of organisational identity (Albert and Whetten, 2006; He and Brown, 2013; Diamond, 2017) are important in relation to identity-formation from the perspective of object relations (Klein, 1975) significant for both institutions and migrants in the forming, cleaving and formation of identity that can take place through role.

The question of *incorporation* continues to exert significance when considering the taking up of role: Diamond (2017) describes self-identity as originating “in authenticity and spontaneity, what Winnicott (1971) calls the “true self” emerging out

of the “good enough” holding environment. In adulthood and organizational membership, true self is typically repressed and unconscious” (p. 46). He goes on to say that “organizational identity itself is a product of a compromise formation between members` conflicted needs for belongingness and independence, membership and separateness” (p. 53), requiring a sense of containment that may allow for the reverie of difficult feelings in flux to be processed.

2.4.6 Place attachment and Switzerland (-in-the-mind)

Given the significance in this research of told and lived experience, of desire for relocation in the professional identity formation and its function in the taking-up of role, I propose the importance of place attachment as it pertains to attachment behaviour.

Manzo and Devine-Wright (2014) point to place attachment theory`s maturation beyond Low & Altman`s early definition of “bonding of people to places” (p. 1) and thus having increased boundary porosity to incorporate other disciplines. Scannell and Gifford (2014) compare Bowlby`s (1969) theory of attachment behaviour with place attachment to consider points of commonality, lending an enlivening spirit to Maile and Gifford`s rendition of the interviewee`s (Paul`s) construction of Berlin in his psychic landscape connected with the past and with the mother-figure (p. 42).

Bowlby (1969) describes the function of attachment behaviour as protection from predators (p. 226) and safety regulation (p. 374), provoking thoughts regarding the migrant professional`s ontological insecurity in the face of the pharmaceutical industry`s unconscious anxieties regarding life and death. Coupled with the potentially shallow-rooted belonging, I started to consider how attachment behaviour

in relation to threats of predation in the workplace (high risk of failure/fear of failure) could be explored through a harnessing of place attachment theory and the containing capacities of Switzerland`s pharmaceutical industry.

Finally, Izod's (2016) examples of her clients' consideration of self-selected photos of significant places when introduced to the idea of role, revealed how this shifted their experience of place and further revealed how "place is a feature of how we find our own minds, and supports the way that we access our inner worlds and our capacity to negotiate with ourselves; to use the "I" as a resource for sense-making in groups, and taking up representational roles". (p. 8)

2.4.7 A broader perspective on the pharmaceutical industry

Before arriving at the research question, I wish to broaden the gaze toward the pharmaceutical industry, to consider the importance of health and wealth in the industry and the 'dark' side of the 'light'. While the work of the research scientists, as mentioned by Dutfield (2020) in chapter 1³⁸, may take its impetus more from the health-oriented desire to care and cure, the societal view of the industry has reason to focus more on the corrupting love-of-money 'dark' side: there are damaging practices that have been linked to the focus on wealth - at the cost of health. Those practices include patenting strategies to secure income from intellectual property (Amin & Mitchell, 2023; Gurgula, 2023; McDuff et al, 2021); procurement corruption and improper marketing relations (Salvoni et al, 2015) as well as questionable ethical practices regarding the industry's relationship with medical practitioners (Kommisaroff & Kerridge, 2002; Malik, 2023; Fickweiler, F., Fickweiler, W. &

³⁸ Section 1.3, pp. 14 - 15

Urbach, 2017). Some examples of medical science corruption include the process of ‘grafting’, which provides legitimacy to the industry research findings through grafting it onto non-industry medical science (Sismondo, 2021) and ‘pharmaceuticalization’, which is a term that is used to describe “a situation when a given phenomenon is not only started to be seen as a medical problem but also as a problem that requires treatment with drugs” (Kaczmarek, 2021, p. 35). Further, cases of clinical trial data falsification or withholding have been reported (Goetzsche, 2014) and some specific cases have received much media attention given the harm caused: the opioid addiction crisis in the US, motivated by the profit-drive of Purdue Pharma (Koh, 2022), has led to many addiction-related deaths and the owners of Purdue Pharma, the Sackler family, has been ordered to pay \$6bn for their role in the tragic and avoidable epidemic.³⁹

On a global scale, the COVID-19 pandemic renewed questions regarding intellectual property and access to essential medicines given the shortages that occurred in several countries during the pandemic (Campos-Rudinsky, 2021; Gurgula & Lee, 2021). Finally, environmental damage has also been caused through river pollution linked to the pharmaceutical industry (Wilkinson et al, 2021; Larsson, 2014).

Turning to the employee concerns, fatigue and burn-out appear to be predominant themes. Theofilou et al (2021) write “a general conclusion is that it seems a large number of employees in pharmaceutical companies are experiencing fatigue.” (p.6) In another survey “48% of pharma employees reported finding their work exhausting, with 30% feeling emotionally frustrated”⁴⁰, which echoes other survey findings:

³⁹ Source: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-60610707>

⁴⁰ Source: <https://www.fiercepharma.com/pharma/employees-novartis-gsk-astrazeneca-and-genentech-report-highest-compensation-satisfaction>

“72% of people admitting that their work is having a negative impact on their mental wellbeing”⁴¹. The industry’s primary task of easing suffering, preserving and prolonging life – the ‘health’ focus – is shown above to be embattled with the other task of making money – the ‘wealth’ focus.

2.5 Arriving at the research question

Arriving at the research question that I seek to address has at times been an elusive journey, feeling ephemeral and difficult to grasp while also powerful in its reach and deeply palpable in the work I do as an organisational consultant and coach. Echoing Susan Long`s (2018) description of the unconscious, it has felt both like “particles and waves” (p.32), shape shifting, fascinating and difficult to put on paper. The final research question for this study is a condensate of my initial research motivations coupled with this literature review and formulated as:

How does the migrant professional take up their role in an industry concerned with the primary task of easing suffering, prolonging and preserving life?

- A case study of the pharmaceutical industry in Switzerland
 - i. How do motivations and desires for relocation relate to their professional identity and the industry identity?
 - ii. How does the migrant professional position influence their institution-in-the-mind?

⁴¹ Source: <https://www.winningtemp.com/blog/exploring-the-employee-experience-in-the-pharmaceutical-sector>.

2.6 Summary: a critical review

In conducting my literature review, I did not locate any writings regarding the experience of migrant professionals in the pharmaceutical industry nor about their experience of taking up role. It appears to be a gap in current research which could have important revelations to offer about the unrecounted experiences of the project of the migrant professional: in conceptualising and actualising the taking up of role in this industry. It could bring into view the industry's quantitatively driven, positivist work through a qualitative, constructionist lens of those performing the work. In the first instance, it could be of value to social science migration researchers studying aspects of humanitarian-oriented industries. The research may also be useful to the branch of Human Resources studying new ways of working, such as career choices and may provide insight into instances of role take-up in specific migrant professional populations.

Finally, I would like to make the case that my research question initially stemmed from instances of countertransference during my consultancy work for which I have not found a frame through which to explore and understand its implications. The literature review sought to fill some gaps, did not succeed in finding material in this area and so my final research question also emerges from the professional doctorate approach of practice informing research and research informing practice.

CHAPTER 3: APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Aim and research questions

This chapter describes the way in which I approached the gathering and analysis of data for my research study and the attendant choices at each juncture. I reflect upon considerations of data, my overall experience, and my own reflexivity as a migrant professional and knowing researcher. My aim with this overarching research question is to explore the following research questions:

How does the migrant professional take up their role in an industry concerned with the primary task of easing suffering, preserving and prolonging life?

- A case study of the pharmaceutical industry in Switzerland
 - iii. How do motivations and desires for relocation relate to their professional identity and the industry identity?
 - iv. How does the migrant professional position influence their institution-in-the-mind?

My assumption is that the Swiss pharmaceutical industry task and its attendant primary anxiety⁴² may have an impact on how employees take up their roles, specifically, how migrant professionals relate to the task, anxiety and their roles, given the complexity of belonging and relocation.

⁴² Chapter 2, section 2.2.3, pp. 28 - 29

3.2 Considerations regarding data

I located the study to answer these questions and concluded that the best way to do this was to talk to people to find out about their lived experience. What I consider to be data in this study is largely focused on interviews, what is said, heard, inferred and felt. What I consider to be data are the utterances of the participant and my reflexivity in relation to them, particularly as a practitioner of systems-psychodynamics, as a knowing subject and as a researcher taking a constructionist stance⁴³. Given my choice to take up an interview method within a qualitative research frame, I decided to focus on depth research, thus interviewing a number of individual participants and with no claim for my findings to be broadly applicable to migrant professionals in Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry. As mentioned in chapter 2⁴⁴, it is an attempt to locate a modest research crag for further exploration.

Turning now to methodology, I wish to consider and evaluate potential data generation approaches in the light of what they might offer my research attempt to know something about the world and these migrant professionals' experience of it. I will conclude this section with my final decision on methodology for data generation.

3.3 Methodology for data generation

As stated, the research question is best served by talking to people to find out about their lives and thus the data collection methodologies considered are in this arena:

⁴³ Chapter 1, section 1.9, p. 23

⁴⁴ Chapter 2, section 2.1, p. 26

3.3.1 Free Association Narrative Interview (FANI)

The first methodology I explore is FANI ((Hollway and Jefferson, 2008). I had something of an expectation that the participants in my research study, and I as knowing researcher working with this industry, may be defended. FANI as a methodological approach focuses on unconscious dynamics and communication through transference, counter transference and projective identification. As my initial desire was to take an emancipatory approach, FANI seemed a relevant way to unearth data and create meaning. It also suggested itself as relevant given that my initial research interest was piqued by unconscious communication in my consultant work. FANI “necessarily involves conceptualizing both researcher and respondent as co-producers of meanings” (Clarke & Hoggett, 2018, p. 8) and this resonated as a healthy way to manage some of the risks involved in the study.⁴⁵ My main concern with using this methodology was the risk that important aspects may remain uncovered such as the participant’s biography in relation to the denser parts of the question regarding primary task and role. While it seemed an effective means to excavate something of value, it didn’t appear to underwrite my study’s capacity to answer the central question.

3.3.2 Biographic-Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM)

The other relevant data generation methodology in this arena is BNIM (Wengraf, 2001) and my final decision was to select BNIM with the following rationale: The structured nature of BNIM as a data generation methodology provides containment to the potentially defended participants and researcher, to shore up the risk of slippage into a consultancy stance with the desire to *fix*. For the participant it

⁴⁵Chapter 3, section 3.7, p. 65

offers space to be listened to without interruption or direction, with a single, broad question that creates emancipatory conditions in how they wish to explore it.

A key aspect and challenge which excites me is the cultivation of my imagination as a researcher and extending this invitation to the participants in the process of data analysis in reflexivity-checking (Clarke & Hoggett, 2018) - to grasp the “waves and particles” (Long, 2018, p. 32) of their experience in taking up their roles in service of the industry task from the position of migrant professional.

The structure of a BNIM interview starts with a Single Question to Induce Narrative (SQUIN), to create the conditions for the unconscious to surface for part one of interview one, in order to set the conditions for the participant to both *discover* and *create* their own narrative, in line with the constructionist position elaborated upon in chapter 1⁴⁶. My SQUIN is outlined below and follows the BNIM guidelines (Wengraf 2001). The underlined parts are those which are specific to my research study, beyond the standard form of a SQUIN⁴⁷. Thereupon follows a breakdown of the SQUIN to illustrate the purpose of each part.

3.3.3 The Question - the SQUIN:

“As you know I am researching experiences of working in the pharmaceutical industry here in Switzerland, so can you tell me the story of your life from when you first thought you would work in the pharmaceutical industry and how it has all developed for you up to now – all the events and experiences that have been

⁴⁶ Section 1.9, pp. 23 - 24

⁴⁷ Those parts of the question not underlined

important for you personally? I will listen and I won't interrupt. I will take some notes in case I have any questions for you when we have finished. Take as much time as you need and start wherever you like."

Sub-section of question	<i>Purpose of each sub-section</i>
<i>"experiences of working in the pharmaceutical industry here in Switzerland"</i>	<i>To access the participant's experience of performing their role in Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry</i>
<i>"Story of your life from when you first thought you would work in the pharmaceutical industry"</i>	<i>To hear the biographical story with motivations and desires to relocate and work in the industry</i>
<i>"How it has developed for you up to now"</i>	<i>To hear participant's perspective on self-in-role (told and lived) in current context</i>
<i>"All the events and experiences that have been important for you personally"</i>	<i>To uncover surprising/irrational/illuminating linkages of experiences that privilege participant's view of their relevance and importance</i>

Figure 6: SQUIN sub-sections and purpose of each

3.3.4 Particular Incident Narrative

Following the SQUIN which invites the participant's uninterrupted answer, there was a short break to review my BNIM notebooks⁴⁸ in order to select Particular Incident Narratives (IN-PINs) and continue with the second part of interview one. The IN-PINs' purpose is to delve into the selected particular narrative moments in the chronological order in which they occurred during part one. This provides an opportunity for the participant to enliven these narrative moments from the perspective of then *and* now, to uncover pointed narratives about their experiences of work and sense of identity as it pertains to their taking up of role in relation to the primary task.

Throughout the process, the keeping of a reflexive journal, recognising and working with the psychic material of transference, countertransference and projective identification with the aid of supervision helped me to stabilise the crystallisation and refraction processes.⁴⁹ Figure 7 below illustrates the data generation process.

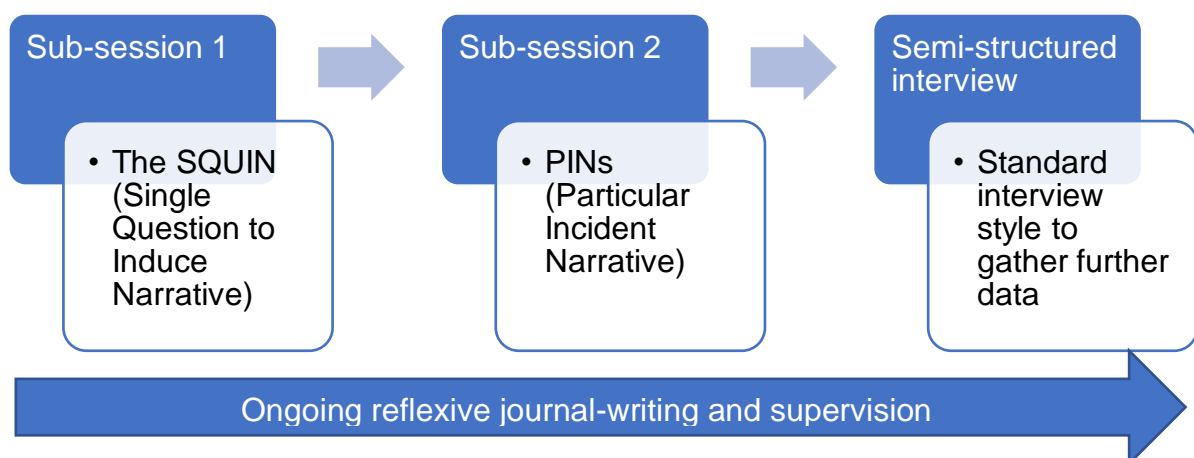


Figure 7: the data generation process

⁴⁸ Part of the BNIM methodology with the purpose to record Particular Incident Narratives in chronological order and in a frame which maintains the focus on narrative. An example can be found in Appendix 3, p. 191

⁴⁹ A more detailed account follows in section 3.6

3.4 Sampling process

An early task was to devise a profile of the type of participants I wanted to recruit for my study. As referenced in chapter 1⁵⁰, my particular interest was in the experience of migrant professionals who had come to work in Switzerland’s pharmaceutical industry either directly with or adjacent to the science and the molecule.

I solicited the help of my Basel pharmaceutical industry network to recruit a total of 7 participants for my data generation. My network readily supported me and the recruitment snowballed rather quickly. There was much interest from the potential participants, perhaps given the uniquely qualitative nature of the study in an almost-exclusively quantitative industry.⁵¹ The six criteria for participant recruitment were as follows:

Profile criteria description	Rationale
1. Does not know the researcher well, i.e., no existing friendship	<i>To avoid confusion of formal and informal roles</i>
2. Is currently working in the pharma industry in Basel region	<i>Participants all currently have industry experience in Basel</i>
3. Came to Switzerland specifically to work in the pharma industry	<i>Participants possess underlying motivation / desire for relocation</i>
4. Has intention to stay/is in Switzerland long-term (5+ years)	<i>Participants can be defined as migrant professionals vs expats⁵²</i>
5. Mother-tongue/fluent English	<i>Consistent language for research study</i>
6. Commits to being interviewed for up to approximately 3 hours	<i>Assurance that participants can accommodate time commitment required</i>

Figure 8: criteria for participant recruitment

⁵⁰ Section 1.9, p. 24

⁵¹ For example, Sylvia commented that “Well, this opportunity I’m having with you. I never talked directly to someone about my life unless for friends, just for communicating the life I’ve been carrying so far, because I always did it indirectly during the during job interviews but during job interviews, you’re not talking about what happened to you during life, psychological aspects, your thoughts»

⁵² Chapter 2, section 2.4.2, pp. 36 - 38

3.5 Participants

My primary concern was care for the participants, that they should feel sufficiently protected in terms of confidentiality to share their responses with depth, knowing that the final research would be published. An important step was the formulation of a participant information pack, details of which are outlined below in figure 9:

Participant information pack content	Dissemination
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the objective and use of the research • their explicit consent including permission • the respective roles of participant and researcher • the timeline for leaving the project • confidentiality measures • supporting structures should their experience be disturbing 	<p><i>Each participant received a copy of this pack and their questions were clarified during an initial individual phone call.</i></p> <p><i>A sample of this pack can be found in Appendix 2⁵³</i></p>

Figure 9: participant information pack content and dissemination

My aim for the participants was a liberating and engaging interview experience, particularly in the act of being listened to without interruption, a condition of the successful deployment of the SQUIN in particular. The participants are the primary actors in permission-granting and their profiles have been adequately anonymised.

In figure 10 below I provide a picture of the 7 participants as I experienced them on first contact prior to the interviews⁵⁴. The aim is to ground the reader adequately into the work at this stage, with richer individual portraits emerging in chapters 4 and 5,

⁵³ Pp. 188 - 189

⁵⁴ All names have been changed to preserve anonymity

with the presentation of the interview data (chapter 4) and my analysis (chapter 5). The participants come from a range of countries, are established in their careers and all work directly with or adjacent to the pharmaceutical science, the molecule. The process of recruiting and making first contact with the participants was a nexus point for me in my transition from organisational consultant to researcher and the implications for taking up my role and developing my authorial voice. It was a moment when I first became aware of moving from an in-between position⁵⁵ to an authorial position. I noticed that in the writing of this chapter, I frequently had the inclination to bracket off my reflexivity and locate it in the margins, in the footnotes, perhaps as an echo of what I had noticed in my coaching clients in chapter 1.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Chapter 1, section 1.6, p. 20

⁵⁶ Chapter 1, section 1.6, p. 20

Name	Country of origin	Gender	Age group	Role	Company size	First contact impression
Philip	United States	Male	Early 50s	Senior leader Epidemiology	Large	I experienced Philip as prompt and wishing to be helpful. He was swift and flexible in organising the first interview.
Sylvia	Italy	Female	Late 30s	Scientific trainer Development	Large	There were false starts in early contact. When interview one was confirmed, I experienced Sylvia as helpful and earnest.
Tim	United Kingdom	Male	Early 40s	Organisational strategy R&D	Large	Tim was prompt in responding, interested and enthusiastic. He seemed keen to contribute and was intrigued.
Rachel	Hong Kong	Female	Early 40s	Director Epidemiology	Large	Rachel was prompt in responding and efficient in her contact. She wished to support the work and was intrigued.
Gabriela	Mexico	Female	Late 30s	Senior scientist R&D	Large	Gabriela had data storage questions that needed answers. Thereafter I experienced her as helpful and guarded.
Eduardo	Italy	Male	Mid 50s	Development & Medical Affairs Rare Diseases	Mid-sized	There were false starts in the first contact and difficulty in scheduling interview one. I experienced Eduardo as helpful, detailed and elusive.
Elsa	Norway	Female	Late 40s	Senior leader Clinical Operations	Large	Elsa was prompt in responding, straightforward and helpful. I experienced Elsa as enthusiastic and open.

Figure 10: anonymised participant details and researcher's pre-interview impressions

3.6 Experience of conducting the interviews

In this section, I explore the experience of conducting the interviews from the perspective of the BNIM methodology – a chronological account, and my role as researcher including my own reflexivity.

3.6.1 Using the BNIM methodology

Timeline (2022)	Phases in participant process
18 th February	Started first part of two-part interviews with each of the 7 participants
6 th May	Started second part of interviews with each of the 7 participants
3 rd June	Concluded all interviews with 6 out of the 7 participants ⁵⁷

Figure 11: the BNIM interview process timeline

In line with the BNIM methodology, for each participant process, I wrote a series of Dated Situated-Free Association (DS-FA) memos at particular junctures. The purpose of a DS-FA memo is to record both the factual elements such as date and time (DS), in addition to the free association elements that illuminate the researcher's reflexivity (FA). As illustrated in figure 12, I wrote a DS-FA memo before and after these critical BNIM methodology junctures which occur in each participant process⁵⁸:

⁵⁷ One of the participants, Eduardo, was unreachable for unknown reasons. Following my initial experience of him as elusive, there are some reflections which I share in Chapter 5 regarding his disappearance.

⁵⁸ Following this more chronological account of the BNIM data generation process I followed, I will return to the DS-FA memos and expand upon their purpose, particularly in relation to my researcher reflexivity.



Figure 12: illustration of the BNIM data collection process per participant

During the first listening to interview one for each participant, I noted my associative thinking as illustrated in figure 13 below from Gabriela’s interview. I was struck by the extent to which the extracts were suffused with associations of life, death, health and curing, important aspects in my research question:

Transcript extracts	My initial associative thinking
<p><i>And, and this lady for example, she was just so happy. Like there was it was so shocking that the happiness you know, like and, and she was just so like amazed and and, I mean it was just this moment like when she was just saying how how grateful and how like happy she was that she was not in pain and these are like - I have a lot of stories like that in my in my head. Where you see it’s not just like the thing that the produce is like it’s what it makes for people, like this woman can have could have a life after you know like she could, she could move her hand she could touch things without like screaming in pain.</i></p>	<p>Years of pain and now it has gone. Emotional moment for the patient and I wonder what of Gabriela’s own pain she is talking about? The pain of finally being in the pharma system, of finally being accepted and not having to prove herself? Does this imply that her past pain was also referral pain, not real pain of rejection? Is her “referral pain” a projection from the past into the present? Is this why she jumps more to the future and moves between the past and future but not so much the present?</p>

<p><i>we were looking at like, how we can influence the immune immune system processes, er from from fabrication and then the part of what our part was like mechanical cues or mechanical guidances, it would seem like a little thing but it was the first time that I saw like is a small piece of a bigger thing. Because those guys are working on fabrication, those guys are working on cart-T cells. So these therapies that are now in the clinic you know? And then like everybody had a little piece of the puzzle.</i></p>	<p>Talking about the science, with the science at the centre but not a lot about the dynamics of the group. Everything seems subservient to the science.</p>
<p><i>It was an automation lab and I I restarted it again. I I restarted the whole concept, the machines, brought in people again, we started the lab again and then it caught attention and now this is growing into like a huge initiative on automation, when it was a topic that nobody wants to see was not interesting. And I brought it back to life and I brought it back to life because my boss believed in me, because I got like stuck after I came back from maternity leave and I said like “fine, blank slate. Give me the lab and I'm gonna bring it back to life”.</i></p>	<p>Bringing to life and light things that seemed dead and no one wanted to know about. Is this part of the keeping death at bay? Bringing something to light and life, just after returning to work from maternity leave. Who is she proving herself right to? What are the implied power dynamics?</p>

Figure 13: sample of associative thinking following first listening to interview recording (Gabriela)

Following the associative thinking first listening, I listened again to each interview make corrections to the automated transcript⁵⁹. I had decided to send each participant their transcript as a record of their first interview. I deemed this an important step given that the participants work in scientific domains of Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry where research is quantitative; I considered it important for them to have ownership of their own qualitative data, given the underpinning constructionist approach and privileging individual voices.

For the part-two interview, I repeated this process for each participant, again making corrections to the automated transcript and sending to the respective participant as a complete record of their interview process.

In line with the BNIM methodology, the first two-part interview⁶⁰ was underpinned by the SQUIN and IN-PINs. The part-two interview was semi-structured with a dual purpose:

- a) to ask narrative-pointed questions not raised in part one, (Wengraf, 2001, p. 205)
- b) to ask a consistent range of questions I had developed to test initial data analysis.⁶¹

3.6.2 Reflexivity as a researcher using BNIM

My general experience of conducting the interviews was an appreciation of BNIM's containing structure, helping me to remain in-role as a researcher and shore up the

⁵⁹ I used Otter ai to generate the raw transcript and to record the interviews. Given its limitations to recognise all accents, I corrected the transcriptions ready to send to each participant as a record of their own narrative.

⁶⁰ Sub-sessions 1 and 2 (Wengraf, 2001, p. 204)

⁶¹ I expand upon these questions and the process of their creation in sections 3.9.3 and 3.9.4, pp. 71 - 73

consultant tendencies to entertain hypothesis-creation from the data generated. The containment it provided also gave me a feeling of liberation, to follow the free associations which arose without immediately seeking to connect them into the research question.

The DS-FA memo-writing revealed my distinct anxiety about being a *good enough* researcher and doing justice to the BNIM methodology. This anxiety about *getting it right* was also exhibited at times by the participants.⁶² A strong association which emerged through the DS-FA memo-writing was the sense of space and calm bestowed through this structure and my feeling of taking it up as a listening researcher, becoming a *tabula rasa* which echoed how Basel/Switzerland became a neutral *tabula rasa* in a variety of ways for the participants: Philip described how Basel was a neutral space for his bi-national family; Rose described re-finding space to breathe on returning from Hong Kong having witnessed the civil unrest.⁶³

The associations that I made for self, which may have relevance to the participants' narratives, is the confusion and conflation of space and distance: in my memo-writing, I had the occasional feeling of distance from the material that risked confusing where space and a need to *not know* was felt, and where distance and a need to *re-search* and *re-find* was felt. There was an emblematic moment in writing a memo when I realised that *unveiling* helps, drawing back the voile curtain at my window, to see and be seen and to introduce some perspective, going from the shadowy behind voile, to the distinct.

⁶² "Is this stream of consciousness is that okay?" (Tim); "Does it answer your question or ..?" (Rachel)

⁶³ Chapter 4, section 4.4.8, p. 111

In one memo I had written that the participants' work and taking up of role seemed hidden or maybe indirect. I had gone on to write associative thoughts regarding my anxiety about really *picking out* the PINs that would harvest material for my research. Now with perspective, I have an association to microscopic-sized structures, the mycelium bonding these migrant professional participants as they work *with* and *for* molecules, seeking to *pick out* those that can be developed to ease suffering and prolong life, in the desire to create health, wealth and happiness.

At another point I experienced discomfort regarding my own notions of what constituted *real* work, feeling *as if* I were sitting at my kitchen table doing pretend work, feeling subject to anxieties arising in the gap between my official-agreed-with-supervisor-normative-task and the phenomenal-inferred-through-behaviour-task.⁶⁴ I wondered how to know when I was doing *real* work, reigniting questions regarding my privileged migrant professional status built upon the sacrifices of my economic migrant parents who worked like *navvies*. My memos captured the unseen and perhaps less muscular self-sacrifice despite the seeming privilege of migrant professionals: 'I feel very tired and haven't yet started. I just need to launch into it', continuing 'I feel like I need to step back and start to disappoint people; last night I disappointed [daughter's name] because I didn't make pancakes – it's the first time in a long time that I haven't made little sacrifices of myself and it may echo the self-sacrifice aspects of these migrant professionals' experience, turning a blind eye to our own self-abuse'.

⁶⁴ Chapter 2, section 2.2.3, p. 28

3.7 Ethical considerations

Before considering methodological choices for data analysis, I wish to turn my attention to questions of ethics and risks, which will further illuminate my choice of methodology for data analysis. Prior to commencing my research, I satisfied the requirement to consider all ethical aspects and was granted permission to proceed by the doctoral awarding body. The confirmation letter is attached in Appendix 1.⁶⁵ My objective in this research is to uncover something which I sense is the unthought known (Bollas, 1987), which has not yet been raised to consciousness. I wish to attempt to raise it to consciousness, with the final research being inscribed with the voices and imaginings of participants. With my study, my aim is to add to the qualitative research on the lived and told experience of migrant professionals in the industry, to provide containment such that my researcher-role is sufficiently separated from my consultant-role through the methodology and position I will take. The participants in this research are not representing their employers nor the industry.

3.8 Methodology for data analysis

The analysis of the data generated through the BNIM interviews leaves a number of analytical options open, which I explore below.

3.8.1 Conversation Analysis (Sacks, 1995)

The first under consideration is Conversation Analysis (CA) which has as its main objective the analysis of naturally occurring conversation in the spoken and non-spoken forms to determine the recurring patterns of interaction with no intervention

⁶⁵ P. 188

by the researcher while the conversation is taking place. The analysis of the conversation seeks to determine its meaningful features. A key feature is turn-taking, its analysis focusing on deciphering and encoding the main units of turns as well as how the units are spread between the interlocutors. In psychotherapy CA has been employed to look at how a person sees things and attempts to reformulate how they are seen, with a reparative objective. My research aims are emancipatory for the participants in the sense of exploring and giving voice to their conscious and unconscious experience-in-role; the aim is not to *repair* them. In this latter use, CA take the associations of the speaker in a discrete moment in therapeutic time, looks at the minutiae of the dialogue, turn-taking, pauses, breaths, formulations, and seeks to propose “a version of events which (apparently) follows directly from the other person`s own account, but introduces a transformation” (Antaki, 2008, p. 26).

This approach would not enable the biographical and narrative aspects of the research questions to be answered. It would limit the research data to extremely fine-grained exchanges dealing with the micro-level of utterances and their patterns. My research study has a certain density of questions to be explored which requires a greater degree of biographical travel.

3.8.2 Discourse Analysis (Foucault, 1969)

Secondly, I consider Discourse Analysis (DA). Like CA, DA is a form of narrative analysis and is in line with the narrative and meaning-making objective of my study through the epistemological stance of social constructionism. The power and usage of the discourse is the study, with talk “analysed with a focus on the functions it has within the specific interactional context in which it is produced, and the analysis aims

to investigate the discourses on which speakers draw from, the versions of reality they construct, and the subject positions they deploy” (Avdi, 2005, p. 498). It takes the multi-positional and postmodernist stance of there being more than one available reality (p. 501). From the perspective of how the professional migrant takes up their role and the relationship with the primary task, DA could be instructive in uncovering dominant discourses or those taken-for-granted and explore how “speakers draw from culturally available explanatory frameworks to construct the objects about which they speak and an array of subject positions” (Avdi, 2005, p. 498). The requirement for a close reading of conversation may risk the research leaving biographical details unexcavated which are of central importance to the exploration of the research topic. My aim is less about being a “friendly editor” (Avdi, 2005, p. 494) and more a container, following the Gestalt of the participant.

3.8.3 Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (Smith, 1996)

Thirdly, I consider Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). A central part of my study’s objective is the understanding and giving voice to the participants as persons-in-context, invoking Heidegger’s notion of *Dasein* - “always somewhere, always located and always amidst and involved with some kind of meaningful context” (Larkin et al, 2006, p. 106). In addition, given its idiographic positioning, it is more akin to the inductive nature of the research I am undertaking. While the specificity is important – the specific participants dealing with specific situations in relation to taking up role - I wish to balance this with the systemic nature of the study, namely the relationship of this cohort of participants to the taking up of role and assembling around a primary task in addition to the biographical strands regarding motivations and desires for relocation. The phenomenological stance helps reveal

the close approximation of what the participant's life and experience is like although resides in the context and may risk missing the "inner" experience through focusing more on the phenomena at hand: "any conclusions one draws about a research participant are possible only because they are primarily and always to be found amidst a world of already meaningful objects....Our conclusions do not find any inner experience, then: they simply acknowledge that the only way to find the subject is as a 'person-in-context'" (Larkin et al, 2006, p. 110).

3.9 The analytical frame: Grounded Theory (GT)

3.9.1 Choice and rationale

My final decision for the analytical frame was to employ Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2001). An important consideration for this choice relates to my literature review findings which uncovered little to no writing on the migrant professional's experience in Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry. I thus concluded upon a modest aim to stake the research landscape using Grounded Theory (GT) having evoked the free association through BNIM in data generation. I felt satisfied that the participants' untold stories had been provided with scope to tell themselves without risking distortion by the researcher's phantasies.

Given my decision to use GT specifically to treat data analysis while generating data using BNIM, I felt confident that the atomisation of data that occurs in GT at stages of collection, in order to reformulate and reconstitute it into a workable theory, would not present significant risks; this atomisation in GT runs counter to the psychoanalytic principles of Gestalt, of internal coherence that would be shattered if broken up (Cooper, 2014 unpublished).

The process of coding started with initial coding, progressing to focused coding and concluding with axial coding. Initial coding is grounded in the data and focuses on actions in order to avoid making conceptual leaps which can simply foreground our biases (Charmaz, 2014, pp. 116-17). Focused coding generally follows initial coding and has as its purpose to select the initial codes with the most promising analytic import. Focused coding enables the treatment of large amounts of data and to facilitate decision-making on potential paths for analysis and theory-creation (Charmaz, 2014). Axial coding helps relate categories to sub-categories, for example to group focused codes and bring data back together into a coherent whole (Charmaz, 2014).

3.9.2 Starting the GT data analysis

With interview two for the participants yet to be completed, my next step was to perform an initial coding of each first interview, looking particularly at the *process* and *action* of each sentence through the frame of the gerund (Charmaz, 2014). This first coding enabled me to identify themes in each interview and work across interviews to consider themes that seemed to have broader relevance and where material related to the research questions appeared to be absent. It unearthed aspects that were not visible using solely associative listening and note-taking as done for the BNIM process.

3.9.3 Initial coding

Having completed the initial coding across the part-one interviews, I will now elaborate upon how this initial coding informed the questions for the part-two interviews. The codings in figures 14 and 15 below serve as illustrative examples of:

- a) how question 4 was derived: *Please tell me about the overlap between who you are and what the organisation requires of you.*
- b) The data's relevance in answering the research question aspect of taking up role

Transcript	Initial GT coding
<p>Yeah, I mean, there was - there was - a day that I was really sick. I was really heavy cold. I was feeling dizzy all the time that I didn't dare to call in sick and .. then I was like struggling a lot and and then I didn't have time to cook and I made an instant, whatever lunch that's available at home and then after that I really couldn't do more and then I just without telling the company, I just crashed into the bedroom, took a nap because I really couldn't do more. (Rachel)</p>	<p><i>Vividly remembering a day of illness and trying to carry on working.</i></p> <p><i>Pushing herself hard.</i></p> <p><i>Giving into the illness and sleeping.</i></p>

Figure 14: example of how initial coding was arrived at (Rachel)

Transcript	Initial GT coding
<p>and then indeed I started to work in these in this company. It was really very hard work, actually. It was quite stressful. I was working 10 hours a day, like a research chemist I was doing bench work so all day long standing and carrying also heavy tanks of solvents. ...I was tired, I fell down at some point and I had an accident outside the work actually, and I had to stay home because the problem was my hands, I fell down like this, and I injured my hand and that couldn't work in the, in the laboratory. (Sylvia)</p>	<p><i>Describing hard, physical work and long hours.</i></p> <p><i>Falling down after work through exhaustion.</i></p> <p><i>Staying at home with injured hand.</i></p>

Figure 15: example of how initial coding was arrived at (Sylvia)

For Rachel, this initial coding revealed a vivid memory of a process: of pushing herself hard – of not wishing to give in – of giving in. For Sylvia, this initial coding revealed a memory of a process: of doing physically hard work over long hours – of tiring – of falling down – of injuring self and staying at home. The formulation of question 4 is derived from my interaction with this data, the processes described by the participants and the data’s significance in examining how role is taken up.

3.9.4 The second interview

The second and final interview followed the BNIM interview approach seeking to fill gaps in the narrative, explore inconsistencies and deepen examples and was coupled with a GT approach to test initial coding. The questions at this juncture are more specific and in the style of a semi-structured interview. In figure 16 below the formulated questions are listed. Their formulation followed the process as described above for question 4. These questions were judged by me to be pertinent to all 7 and focused on the research questions directly:

<i>1. How does your migrant professional narrative link to your parents’ narratives?</i>
<i>2. What was your original motivation for your career choice as?</i>
<i>3. What motivated you to join the pharmaceutical industry?</i>
<i>4. Please tell me about the overlap between who you are and what the organisation requires of you?</i>
<i>5. How do you enable yourself to do your work given the industry’s risks of failure?</i>
<i>6. Which aspects of the self were you happy to let go of coming to Switzerland?</i>
<i>7. Which aspects of the self did you need to let go of coming to Switzerland?</i>
<i>8. Who can you be in Switzerland / Basel? Who can you not be in Switzerland / Basel?</i>
<i>9. What do you wish to create in Switzerland / Basel?</i>
<i>10. While we all have our own minds, is there a mind that comes with your role, that opens you up to some thoughts and feelings and closes you to others?</i>

Figure 16: list of questions used in part-two interviews with participants

3.9.5 Administering the questions

My experience of administering these questions represented a change in tenor for me as a researcher, moving from a silent, listening party in part-one, to an interlocutor taking an editorial position in part-two. On reflection questions 6 and 7 had the impact of unintentionally corralling the participants into seeking out and providing answers, which some struggled to do. Some questions seemed to garner surprising responses, such as question 9, to which Elsa responded “Nothing! Absolutely nothing” and led to thoughts regarding the participants’ experience of roles eluding them which I will elaborate upon in chapter 4.⁶⁶ My overall experience of administering this question leads me to conclude that it did not make space for participants, such as Elsa, who didn’t have any particular ambition to create something as a migrant professional in Switzerland. It may also have closed down further thinking for other participants whose ideas had changed since the part-one interviews. Finally, question 10 was cumbersome to administer and confusing for the participants; it signalled a risk of me entering too deeply into my own biases regarding the potential for role to limit thinking. This was a useful warning sign in how I was taking up *my* role as researcher. Taking into account these reflections, I offer alternative versions of these four questions:

6. *Which aspects, if any, were you happy to let go of coming to Switzerland?*
7. *Which aspects, if any, did you need to let go of coming to Switzerland?*
9. *Do you feel any limitations on who you can be in Switzerland/Basel?
If yes, what might those limitations be?*
10. *Do you feel that your work role has an impact on how you see yourself in Switzerland? If yes, in what way(s)?*

⁶⁶ Section 4.4.1, p. 94 (Elsa)

3.9.6 Developing a theoretical framework

The initial coding listed in figure 18 yielded 71 codes following the removal of overlapping codes and those which were products of my biases rather than being grounded in the data:

- 1 Wishing to restore health to patients at large scale
- 2 Feeling different and distant from family
- 3 Struggling to get into Switzerland's pharma industry
- 4 Moving for jobs
- 5 Encountering unexpected difficulties
- 6 seeing others turn a blind eye
- 7 swallowing a bitter pill
- 8 seeming driven to repair family's past
- 9 feeling unexpectedly powerless
- 10 women and discrimination in Switzerland's pharma
- 11 Switzerland's pharma-in-the-mind
- 12 Work providing opportunity for home and belonging
- 13 Coming to Switzerland by chance
- 14 being a transitional generation
- 15 wishing to be a "good" migrant
- 16 Switzerland providing refuge and respite
- 17 negotiating the available roles in work and public spaces
- 18 Science containing and transforming failure
- 19 Communities that are available and sought out
- 20 Switzerland's (neutrality and) neutralising effect
- 21 Experiencing and combatting bullying/mistreatment
- 22 Experiencing discomfort with visibility and/or invisibility
- 23 Moving from 'dark' to 'light'
- 24 Feelings of attachment to the city
- 25 Feeling comforted by abundance of job opportunities
- 26 Breaking away from societal strictures / expectations
- 27 Not seeing self as a local
- 28 staying in Switzerland for a wealthier lifestyle
- 29 Having more space for living and thinking
- 30 relief that Basel is becoming more international
- 31 experiencing language as a barrier to involvement
- 32 seeing move to Switzerland as temporary
- 33 Frictionlessly joining international and bi-national communities
- 34 forging their own connection to purpose of work
- 35 giving and taking authority in role

- 36 expressing pride in Switzerland's pharma industry
- 37 experiencing self as feeling different / 'alien'
- 38 getting interested in science at school / university
- 39 wanting their work to have an application
- 40 checking if their interview answers are 'correct'
- 41 experiencing discrimination in Switzerland against 'south' / 'far' / 'distant'
- 42 feeling accepted in Switzerland, favouritism for 'north' / 'near' / familiar
- 43 failure used successfully to stop unproductive work
- 44 following the role and staying within its tramlines
- 45 *not* understanding language being integral to experience of belonging
- 46 comparing Switzerland with previous countries lived in
- 47 Holding the-Swiss-and-Switzerland-in-the-mind
- 48 feeling limited by the food consumer choice
- 49 being someone who works hard
- 50 finding Switzerland expensive and appreciating high quality
- 51 being in a state of not fully belonging
- 52 expressing regret at not speaking German well
- 53 viewing family of origin as fixed
- 54 appreciating family life emphasis in Switzerland
- 55 expressing a preference for being self-reliant (... independent, like CH?)
- 56 connections to home country loosening
- 57 missing aspects of social and culinary life from home
- 58 experience of being both integrated and not integrated
- 59 living in gilded cages
- 60 Switzerland-being-absent-from-the-mind
- 61 seeing self becoming Swiss (citizenship, habits and outlook)
- 62 feeling unexpectedly limited (food/restaurants/speaking DE/shops closed)
- 63 experiencing disorientation and culture shock
- 64 task anxiety being experienced in role
- 65 wanting to work with science & technology to solve healthcare problems
- 66 carrying previous generations' pain of exile / discrimination and loss
- 67 co-existence of privilege and struggle
- 68 yearning for community in Switzerland
- 69 not finding (access to) and feeling outside of Switzerland's social fabric
- 70 wanting to create something that that didn't exist before
- 71 telling the stories of individual patients

Figure 17: list of the 71 codes

The 71 codes above arose from my reading of the data as I sought to focus on what was being revealed in terms of processes and actions. In this respect, I may have abridged between initial and focused coding with the immediate use of the gerund. This phase felt arduous and took a very long time, again suggesting that I had condensed these two phases. I had decided to take an analogue approach, using pen and paper before transferring to Excel. While this was arduous, I had the sensation of ingesting the data and becoming more agile in its treatment as it resided in me as I proceeded with the coding.

3.9.7 Focused coding

In figures 18, 19, 20 and 21 below I provide examples of initial coding using the gerund which, in most cases, led directly to focused coding. While it may be argued that these examples could have been coded differently, my interaction with the data as I sought to answer the research question oriented the coding towards facets of role⁶⁷. As referenced by Charmaz (2014), this phase often moves quickly and deepens the initial coding while retaining the integrity of the participant's responses. The focused coding is used to "determine the adequacy and conceptual strength of your initial codes" (Charmaz, p. 140) in order to select those codes with greater analytical power. As illustrated in figures 18, 19, 20 and 21, there were some cases of minimal change and some cases where more interpretation was needed to move the code forward from initial to focused coding prior to the axial coding process and re-integration of the data.

⁶⁷ Further examples are included in Appendix 6, pp. 197 - 199

Data point	Initial coding	Focused code
<p><i>"So what I really wanted to pursue was a career as a researcher in pharmaceutical chemistry and pharmaceutical fields. Also, because I had some bad experiences in the family. Unfortunately, some some of my beloved died from cancer. So sometimes, you know, it's something that starts with the personal reasons that make an effect on your own sensibility and then based on personal ethnics, you then decide where to go, what to do in life" (Sylvia)</i></p>	<p>Showing connection between career decision and personal, family-related motivation</p>	<p>Nr. 8</p>
<p><i>"I think, especially with the kids being here, like ... we never talk about going to the UK ... For me, one reason is I don't really have like a strong sense of home. So my you know, when I grew up my we moved around quite a lot. Because my parents were teachers and my dad like when he got promotions, we moved to different areas ...so. I always find when people ask me where I'm from. I always kind of struggle a little bit to answer that, because I don't really feel like a deep sense of connection to any of those places ... a big thing is I think for our girls for [daughters' names], this is their home, it's where they, it's where they're where they're born" (Tim)</i></p>	<p>Ceasing conversations about return to UK on birth of children. Feeling a lack of connection to UK attributed to parents' frequent moves. Wishing children to feel connection to place of birth</p>	<p>Seeming driven to repair family's past</p>

Figure 18: example of how focused codes were arrived at (nr. 8)

Data point	Initial coding	Focused code
<p><i>"I think that, you know overall Switzerland is a place we live um, it`s our home. Career wise it`s also my, where I`ve had the longest duration of my career has been here. Could I live in any part of Switzerland? Maybe not. Basel is quite unique in its makeup of who lives here, and I`m sure that it`s tied to the fact that it`s also a pharmaceutical centre and has a large expatriate population and people of all different cultures and languages etcetera because of the pharmaceutical sector here." (Philip)</i></p>	<p>Confirming that most of career has been in Basel. Emphasising importance of pharmaceutical industry and expat population in feeling at home</p>	<p>Nr. 12</p>
<p><i>"I didn`t find settling in like getting a flat, getting a bank account. You know, I had help with all of that. I also had great people in my team that I worked with, that also helped along the way, you know, like, you have no idea how much resource research was done on how to get me the best fondue pot. I know that sounds crazy, but I had everyone helping me find the best fondue pot, so I didn`t find it that difficult work-related and friends-related to get settled in quite easily". (Elsa)</i></p>	<p>Settling in quickly with work-related aspects of life in Switzerland and feeling supported by colleagues</p>	<p>Work providing opportunity for home and belonging</p>

Figure 19: example of how focused codes were arrived at (nr. 12)

Data point	Initial coding	Focused code
<p><i>"I think the sense of belonging is really, it's really high to the place. Maybe a different question is kind of like a sense of belonging to the society. And that would be a lot weaker, to like feel very at home but don't really feel like an active part of the Swiss or the local society. Maybe feel part of this kind of expat or hybrid society that there is". (Tim)</i></p>	<p>Negotiating the available roles in work and public spaces</p>	<p>Nr. 17</p> <p>negotiating the available roles in work and public spaces</p>
<p><i>"The the upside and understanding I would remain in the same field working with the same people but on a different - with a different speed. No longer I – although they still consider me as their peer in place, but more I was from the industry side and they were working on the academic side." (Eduardo)</i></p>	<p>Negotiating the available roles in work and public spaces</p>	
<p><i>"We have wonderful friends here, who as I was saying, most of our Swiss born friends are actually tend to be Jewish, here in Basel. Either we sought it out or they sought us, or just it happened that way. I don't know. So that's been excellent for us to see" (Philip)</i></p>	<p>Feeling grateful to have met Jewish, Swiss friends. Pondering whether conscious decision</p>	<p>Nr. 19</p> <p>Communities that are available and sought out</p>
<p><i>"And this is why I like this job and this work environment, because it's also nice - the last thing - that you go out for grabbing a coffee and you have the opportunity to have such nice talks with other scientists from other industries such very brilliant exchanges. I think this is unique in Basel, yes, and this I love and I would really like not to move anymore" (Sylvia)</i></p>	<p>Describing pleasure and ease to meet informally with other scientists</p>	

Figure 20: example of how focused codes were arrived at (nr. 17 & nr. 19)

Data point	Initial coding	Focused code
<p><i>"I grew up watching like American cartoons and TV shows and the English TV shows on the Norwegian TV so I think that's what it was. I think I saw this great world that wasn't in Norway, and then I thought I'll go there. But obviously, it's not the same when you get there. But yeah, I think that's what kind of inspired me to think that's where I want to go, because that's all I had on my TV screen was just this big world out there with the skyscrapers and you know, I think that's what it was that planted the seed. Let's go somewhere else" (Elsa)</i></p>	<p>Being captivated as a child by TV images of a great world beyond Norway</p>	<p>Nr. 23</p> <p>Moving from 'dark' to 'light'</p>
<p><i>"I remember every evening eating outside on the balcony, which was just again totally novel coming from especially since we've been in the [region] of England before - you just couldn't do that. You know, we bought a barbeque. Just eating outside every night was awesome" (Tim)</i></p>	<p>Feeling huge excitement at eating al fresco compared to UK limitations</p>	
<p><i>"after the divestment of the main two assets to [COMPANY NAME], I joined [COMPANY NAME] and I'm now in charge of both clinical development and medical affairs with lots of synergies ... it synergizes a lot with the clinical development and that was one of my prerequisites to consider moving" (Eduardo)</i></p>	<p>Giving and taking authority in role</p>	<p>Nr. 35</p> <p>giving and taking authority in role</p>
<p><i>"So so that's why after ... after half - no after three months. When I pass my probation I say I'm not gonna work this many hour I'm gonna finish work at six. So I work eight to six that's it. Take it or leave it and then he agreed." (Rachel)</i></p>	<p>Giving and taking authority in role</p>	

Figure 21: example of how focused codes were arrived at (nr. 23 & nr. 35)

Following the analysis above, I now offer a brief review of these verbatim data points from initial to focused codes:

Focused code Nr. 8, Seeming driven to repair family's past shows Sylvia and Tim identifying a connection to their decisions in the light of their own experience in their family of origin, decisions which seem underpinned by a reparatory drive.

Nr. 12, Work providing opportunity for home and belonging exhibits Philip and Elsas' confirmed sense of comfort and belonging that has been achieved through the world of work.

Nr. 17, negotiating the available roles in work and public spaces as a focused code didn't undergo any changes from the initial coding, particularly the sense of negotiation in Tim and Eduardos' data points.

Philip and Sylvia express a comforting sense of ease with the communities that they merge with in **Nr. 19, Communities that are available and sought out** where minimal effort is required.

For Elsa and Tim there is a movement towards an ideal state in **Nr. 23, Moving from 'dark' to 'light'**, leaving behind the lived experience of limitations.

Finally, in **Nr. 35, giving and taking authority in role**, Eduardo and Rachel have both expressed a sense of bartering, of giving away their authority in-role at one point in time, in order to regain it for more advantageous career development.

In the following sections 3.9.8 to 3.10, I focus on the process and experience of analysis leading to axial coding, which takes the data closer to reconstitution.

3.9.8 Axial coding

This phase sought to consolidate and group focused codes together into coherent sub-groups and enabling progress towards theory creation. Figure 22 maps the process from initial to axial coding:

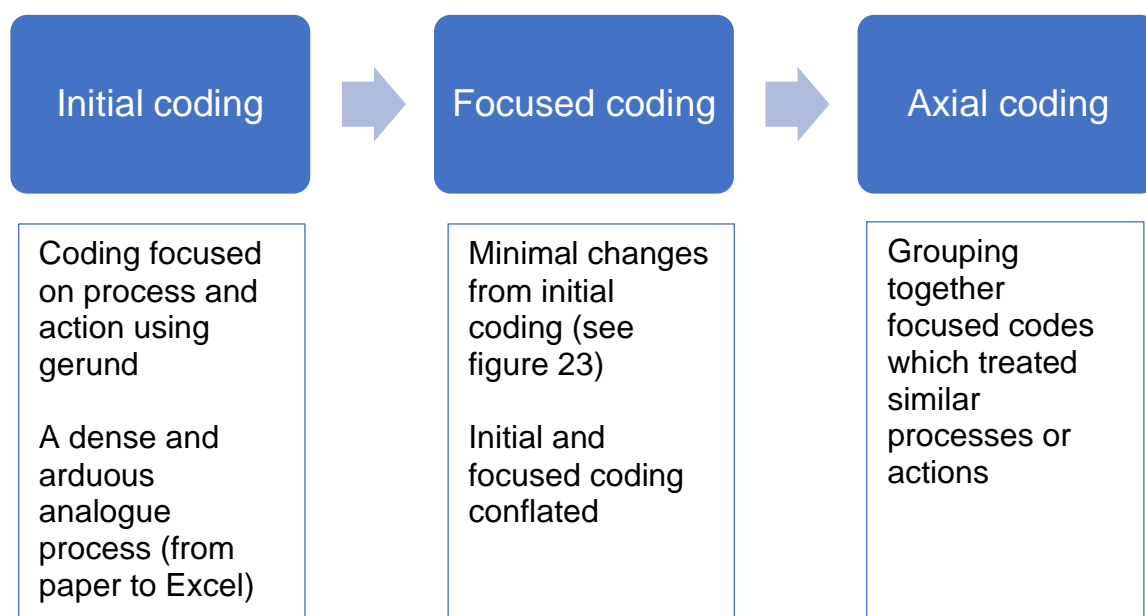


Figure 22: process map from initial to axial coding

To illustrate the grouping process in the axial code creation, I focus below in figure 23 on the axial code “A state of belonging negotiated”. The Excel table was the result of sifting through the focused codes to identify what united them and would possess the greatest analytical import and capacity to answer my research question. The focused codes below express for example aspects of belonging needing to be negotiated, being conferred with little effort and being seemingly denied. They are united in their focus on seeking a sense of belonging through negotiation, with ease

or failing to find this sense of belonging. The aspect of negotiation implies the necessity for agency on their behalf:

focused coding ref.	Focused coding	axial coding
17	negotiating the available roles in work and public spaces	A state of belonging negotiated
19	Communities that are available and sought out	A state of belonging negotiated
24	Feelings of attachment to the city	A state of belonging negotiated
29	Having more space for living and thinking	A state of belonging negotiated
30	relief that Basel is becoming more international	A state of belonging negotiated
33	Frictionlessly joining international and bi-national communities	A state of belonging negotiated
37	experiencing self as feeling different / 'alien'	A state of belonging negotiated
46	comparing CH with previous countries lived in	A state of belonging negotiated
51	being in a state of not fully belonging	A state of belonging negotiated
55	expressing a preference for being self-reliant (... independent, like CH?)	A state of belonging negotiated
56	connections to home country loosening	A state of belonging negotiated
57	missing aspects of social and culinary life from home	A state of belonging negotiated
58	experience of being both integrated and not integrated	A state of belonging negotiated
63	experiencing disorientation and culture shock	A state of belonging negotiated
68	yearning for community in CH	A state of belonging negotiated
69	not finding (access to) and feeling outside of CH social fabric	A state of belonging negotiated

Figure 23: example of grouping in axial code creation (a state of belonging negotiated)

This process was employed to analyse all 71 focused codes in Excel, sifting and sorting them through the emergent code description while also refining it as the axial codes formed. The final axial coding resulted in the following set (figure 24), each with illustrative descriptions.

Axial coding	Description	Focused codes	Illustrative Data Point
A state of belonging negotiated	seeking, finding, being eluded by, a sense of belonging and using past experiences to illuminate that sense	16	<i>I think the sense of belonging is really, it's really high to the place. Maybe a different question is kind of like a sense of belonging to the society. And that would be a lot weaker</i>
Power and powerlessness at work	the ways in which migrant professionals experience power in the industry	7	<i>the whole team is very dedicated, etc. But then, of course soon, I realize it's not sustainable. And it's also given me the ... feeling that we are being slaved</i>
Privilege reconsidered	the experience of and relationship with privilege for migrant professionals	12	<i>...they acknowledge we are the most important programme they ever had ... It doesn't matter at the end of the day ...because you have to fight for - every time to survive.</i>
Following the work	the agentic properties of the work upon self and career	4	<i>until you feel that you belong to a place you have to feel like you overlap with a place - where can I overlap? I can overlap with the work - first it's always the work.</i>
Working in science, for life	the impact of the motivations, desires and potential for science in the industry	9	<i>I've always been more technically driven so so it was kind of like a perfect mix of saying like, wow, you can impact somebody's life.</i>
His-and-Her-story: authoring the family narrative	the relationship with the family narrative and its activation in the present day	6	<i>what I really wanted to pursue was a career as a researcher in pharmaceutical chemistry ... Also, because I had some bad experiences in the family. Unfortunately, some of my beloved died from cancer.</i>
Distance from Switzerland and the Swiss	the experience of distance from and difference between the migrant professional, the Swiss and the Switzerland they inhabit	4	<i>one thing I noticed is that Swiss they are very polite or they don't speak their mind so directly (laugh). So I need to learn that too.</i>
Out of sight, out of mind	the double-sided experience of visibility and invisibility for migrant professionals	6	<i>we, my wife, and I probably would agree that we found it easier to build our life with our children in a place where neither of us were from.</i>
Fitting expectations	feelings and actions centred on the desire to be accepted and to belong	7	<i>So yes, I mean, I I have to say that I will still say someday I will master this language of German and hopefully someday I will become a real Swiss citizen.</i>

Figure 24: the 8 axial codes with respective description, number of focused codes and illustrative data point

3.9.9 Reflexivity during coding and analysis

As I started the initial coding, I noticed that I was experiencing unconscious anxiety through dreams, of growing old in Switzerland and perhaps what that means regarding identity: *am I a migrant professional or a migrant?* This may echo some of the participants' own anxieties, which I shall expand upon in chapter 4.

Through journalling and supervision, I was attending to my own reflexivity and what this work may mobilise in me, given my own status as a migrant professional supporting Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry. During the coding phase the dreams I experienced regarding my status in Switzerland and a fear of dying in a foreign country may not have been exclusively my own. A step I took to bolster reflexivity was to set up a supervisory panel in order to explore a particular interview extract, from one of the interviews with Gabriela⁶⁸. The associations made during the research panel echoed the dream anxiety I had experienced about life and death and belonging and a problematising of privilege, of being highly educated yet not allowed in. For the GT analysis phase, the methodology proved to be containing of my own risk of becoming highly interpretive and biased. Working with my supervisors, I was able to examine data extracts and my GT treatment of them to ensure that the coding was faithful to the data and focusing on those with the greatest analytical power.

⁶⁸ Explored in more depth in chapter 4, sections 4.5.1 to 4.5.2, pp. 112 - 114

3.10 A critical evaluation of the approach

My evaluation of the approach taken to data collection (BNIM) and analysis (GT) is that it provided me with a double lens on the data and its potential meaning; BNIM providing containment for me as a new researcher within which the participants had space to roam and create with unlimited listening. While for some participants the spectre of *getting it right* loomed, towards the end of the interview process most had transitioned into *authorship* and had metabolised their role in authoring their story rather than taking a role *for* the researcher. It echoes my original difficulties with arriving at a research question⁶⁹ where my in-between stance of consultant was hindering my researcher role. The GT coding provided an inroad into the data which was otherwise unavailable and unearthing less visible communication from the participant.⁷⁰

3.11 Summary

In summary, employing BNIM and GT methodologies I arrived at 9 axial codes which form the basis of my theory creation in the following chapters. With these codes, I will in the following chapters present the data and start to look at the relevance for my research question.

⁶⁹ Chapter 1, section 1.6, p. 20

⁷⁰ A transcript excerpt with initial GT coding can be found in Appendix 4, p. 192

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present the resulting 9 axial codes first introduced in chapter 3 in more detail and with illustrative examples. Then I will consider my reflexivity as researcher and provide a concluding summary for this long chapter.

4.2 The 9 axial codes and contribution per participant

Having found this work to be arduous as referenced in chapter 3, the final 9 axial codes are outlined below in figure 25. They are shown as distributed across the participants, with a description and illustrative data point⁷¹. In total there were 1161 individual data points across all interviews that constitute the 9 axial codes. The intense-to-light-blue key indicate a very-high-to-medium frequency of data points per participant. The intense-to-pale-red indicate a low-to-very-low frequency of data points per participant.

The axial code with the highest number of data points is ***a state of belonging negotiated*** and the lowest is ***fitting expectations***.

⁷¹ By data point, I am referring to any verbatim interview extract from any of the BNIM interviews completed for this research study with the 7 participants.

axial coding	Description	Nr. of focused codes	Nr. of references	Tim	Sylvia	Gabriela	Philip	Eduardo	Elsa	Rachel	Illustrative Data Point
A state of belonging, negotiated	seeking, finding, being eluded by, a sense of belonging and using past experiences to illuminate that sense	16	243	29	18	25	73	11	53	34	<i>I think the sense of belonging is really, it's really high to the place. Maybe a different question is kind of like a sense of belonging to the society. And that would be a lot weaker</i>
Power and powerlessness at work	the ways in which migrant professionals experience power in the industry	7	176	14	29	22	10	34	18	49	<i>the whole team is very dedicated, etc. But then, of course soon, I realize it's not sustainable. And it's also given me the ... feeling that we are being slaved</i>
Privilege reconsidered	the experience of and relationship with privilege for migrant professionals	12	165	26	19	25	17	17	46	15	<i>...they acknowledge we are the most important programme they ever had ... It doesn't matter at the end of the day ...because you have to fight for - every every time to survive.</i>
Following the work	the agentic properties of the work upon self and career	4	153	28	37	14	30	22	11	11	<i>until you feel that you belong to a place you have to feel like you overlap with a place - where can I overlap? I can overlap with the work - first it's always the work.</i>
Working in science, for life	the impact of the motivations, desires and potential for science in the industry	9	119	9	29	33	13	26	5	4	<i>I've always been more technically driven so so it was kind of like a perfect mix of saying like, wow, you can impact somebody's life.</i>
His-and-Her-story: authoring the family narrative	the relationship with the family narrative and its activation in the present day	6	83	18	17	8	25	0	6	9	<i>what I really wanted to pursue was a career as a researcher in pharmaceutical chemistry and pharmaceutical fields. Also, because I had some bad experiences in the family. Unfortunately, some some of my beloved died from cancer.</i>
Distance from Switzerland and the Swiss	the experience of distance from and difference between the migrant professional, the Swiss and the Switzerland they inhabit	4	81	4	4	15	10	0	29	19	<i>one thing I noticed is that Swiss they are very polite or they don't speak their mind so directly (laugh). So I need to learn that too.</i>
Out of sight, out of mind	the double-sided experience of visibility and invisibility for migrant professionals	6	81	5	13	10	17	7	9	20	<i>we, my wife, and I probably would agree that we found it easier to build our life with our children in a place where neither of us were from.</i>
Fitting expectations	feelings and actions centred on the desire to be accepted and to belong	7	60	11	11	1	10	2	11	14	<i>So yes, I mean, I I have to say that I will still say someday I will master this language of German and hopefully someday I will become a real Swiss citizen.</i>
		71	1161	144	177	153	205	119	188	175	

Figure 25: distribution of the 9 axial codes across participants with illustrative data points

4.3 The 9 axial codes become 8

As depicted in figure 25 above, the axial code “Fitting expectations” has a low level of intensity in relation to participant references, as illustrated by the lack of blue-coloured cells. Based on this result and on it seeming to have a lower analytic import for my research question, my decision is to exclude it from this study.

4.4 The 8 axial codes with selected focused codes

In the following section, each of the 8 axial codes is represented by a sub-set of most frequently occurring focused codes that I have selected as possessing the highest analytic import for my research question⁷². The number of references in figures 26 to 33 below is related to the sub-set, accounting for the difference as compared to the number of references in figure 25. For each axial code, I have considered utterances from a range of participants that represent its core. I experienced and followed my strong desire to be generous in airing the participants’ utterances in this chapter, to ‘emancipate’ them and their thinking and to bring them to the forefront of the reader’s mind as acquaintance is made.

⁷² The complete table for each axial code with associated focused codes is in Appendix 6, pp. 197 - 199

4.4.1 A state of belonging negotiated

Focused code ref.		Nr. references
17	negotiating the available roles in work and public spaces	34
46	comparing Switzerland with previous countries lived in	34
19	Communities that are available and sought out	25
33	Frictionlessly joining international and bi-national communities	24
37	experiencing self as feeling different / 'alien'	23
		140

Figure 26: a state of belonging negotiated - with selected focused codes

This most frequently occurring code is constructed upon two aspects:

- i. the communities and roles which are available and unavailable to these migrant professionals in Switzerland
- ii. the location of self via reflection and refraction through the 'other'

I explore below the axial code further through the utterances of participants:

Tim:

Tim has a cheerful acceptance of non-belonging and this may even *form* part of the belonging:

I can't be a local. I can't be, you know, a Swiss person or a Basler. I think I'll always even if I eventually get Swiss nationality, I'll always be you know a Brit, an Ausländer.

He goes on to differentiate between where the sense of negotiated belonging takes root and where it fails to:

I think the sense of belonging is really, it's really high to the place. Maybe a different question is kind of like a sense of belonging to society. And that would be a lot weaker, to like feel very at home but don't really feel like an active part of the Swiss or the local society. Maybe feel part of this kind of expat or hybrid society that there is.

Eduardo:

Introducing Eduardo, he is able to belong to both the clinician and industry communities and move between them. Describing his transition from academia to industry, he comments:

The the upside and understanding I would remain in the same field working with the same people but on a different – with a different speed. No longer I – although they still consider me as their peer in place, but more I was from the industry side and they were working on the academic side.

Philip:

With Philip, there is an emphasis on choosing a Jewish community to create enough of a foothold as a migrant professional as he compares himself with the “real Swiss” with their “funny Swiss German”.

A lot of our friends here are American, are British, and then everything else. Swiss too, most of our Swiss friends also happen to be ... Jewish, which is sort of interesting. Maybe we pursued that? Maybe not, I don't know, but it's certainly a cultural community that we feel comfortable in here, that sort of – people who are Swiss, born and bred here but were probably immigrants at

some point to Switzerland. Not back to the 13th Century, more recently, that's 18th or 19th or 20th Century, from different part of Europe – these, these Swiss

Philip goes on to describe his tendency to be observant and to assimilate – “*probably I assimilated my whole life. So I grew up in a very WASPy area, etc. So I was very preppy as a kid*”, in stark contrast to his mother, a French-speaking Jewish refugee from Levant⁷³ who settled in the US. The feeling of not fitting in, of being uncomfortably different or ‘alien’ emerges:

I mean I so much wanted to fit the mould of where I went to high school and I didn't. I mean I think I had a class of 150 kids and they were you know like one black person, a couple of Asian and maybe three Jewish people. That was it, the rest were sort of quite typical East Coast”, going on to add “so I did a lot to appear ‘That Way’. I played a lot of tennis, skied a lot (laugh), you know whatever, went to their country clubs.

His mother was in contrast:

quite um, a little bit more flamboyant, not sort of reserved East Coast in that she always had streaks – you know she always had her hair done and I'd never seen her wear a pair of – well now she does – but until she was probably 50 she never wore a pair of flat shoes in her life – she was always in heels and she liked to ‘dress’

⁷³ Today, "Levant" is the term typically used by archaeologists and historians with reference to the history of the region. Scholars have adopted the term Levant to identify the region due to its being a "wider, yet relevant, cultural corpus" that does not have the "political overtones" of Syria-Palestine. The term is also used for modern events, peoples, states or parts of states in the same region, namely Cyprus, Egypt, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria and Turkey are sometimes considered Levant countries.

Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Levant>

Gabriela

The experience of feeling alien was also palpable in Gabriela's story as she considered her own experience of negotiating for available roles. Again there is a stark familial contrast with her oft-ignored indigenous Mexican grandmother embodying a warrior-like determination:

Like, I wasn't called on that symposium, er shit I have to do better, so you're always trying to find ways to improve yourself because you think it's on you. And curiously, it's been when colleagues of mine started to tell me 'why didn't they call you?' That's when I started to realise that it was not me. It was not me, like falling short. I was just not being called, you know?

Elsa:

For Elsa, negotiating a state of belonging is refracted through comparisons with previous countries lived in and illustrates her frustrations in not finding the consumer role where money being exchanged for goods confers a dynamic, agentic societal role. Elsa seeks this agency through small purchases:

But how can you not have skimmed milk in a country? I don't get this like seriously. Where's the milk? The selection of milk?

and more costly purchases:

Oh yeah, that's another thing here right? You can't just walk into a car dealership; you have to make an appointment. I think that is that's also hysterical. You know, in the US and UK you could go into any car lot and you get a car

4.4.2 Power and powerlessness at work

Focused code ref.		Nr. references
11	Switzerland's pharma-in-the-mind	41
35	giving and taking authority in role	41
7	swallowing a bitter pill	27
21	Experiencing and combatting bullying/mistreatment	23
64	task anxiety being experienced in role	22
		154

Figure 27: power and powerlessness at work - with selected focused codes

This axial code had the second highest frequency of references and its core strikes me as being an economy of win/lose oscillation:

- a) Feeling or accepting powerlessness in exchange for future power such as job marketability
- b) Gaining power through the Swiss-pharma-in-the-mind⁷⁴ potency
- c) Using power in role to fight for others

Rachel

Rachel recalls a memorable incident of feeling powerless and without choice in her first job in Basel:

So this small company, ... The only problem which is the ... main reason that I left the company was that they require you to work insane hours. Insane means like 16 hours a day ... Yeah, I mean, there was – there was – a day

⁷⁴ Chapter 2, section 2.4.6, pp. 46 - 47

that I was really sick. I was really heavy cold. I was feeling dizzy all the time that I didn't dare to call in sick and .. then I was like struggling a lot and and then I didn't have time to cook and I made an instant, whatever lunch that's available at home and then after that I really couldn't do more and then I just without telling the company, I just crashed into the bedroom, took a nap because I really couldn't do more. And then I felt better.

She goes on to reflect upon the experience and motivation to swallow the bitter pill:

This way of management is scary, right? I mean, it was my first job and I don't want to lose it because that's kind of my stepping stone to the next company. So you know all these reasons makes me feel like 'okay, I should – I need to handle it'.

Sylvia

Sylvia's experience is also redolent with sacrifice and fatigue:

The particularity of this job is that you have to work for 10 hours a day and it's a lot. It's too much. This is what I was doing during my PhD and with more actually but I knew that it was just for three years and this would have led me to the job of my dreams.

Tim

Tim's experience holds Swiss-pharma-in-the-mind, in contrast with the UK, as a source of pride and energy:

I felt like I was on a bit of a sinking ship. And then coming to Switzerland, coming to [company name] it felt completely different. It felt like doing something really important.... Just the way it felt to work in pharma in in Switzerland and it still feels like that

Elsa

A further contrast emerges as Elsa mobilises her power at work to fight for a perceived injustice:

Let's have a meeting. And I'm like 'bring it on, bring it on'. So I came prepared to that meeting with all the facts that I had, you know, because I kept a track on which salary had who. Otherwise I had the evidence straight in front of me and I just walked in there and I said 'listen, this is what you've been doing for the last six months, you've been offering men more salary than the women and there's no excuse for it'. And she had nowhere to go. She had nowhere to go because I had all the information.

The desire to fight injustice for others stemmed from her childhood dreams:

So I knew from an early age, again, probably watching TV, that I wanted to be a lawyer ... I wanted to be a divorce lawyer. That's my, my dream was to defend the people that were cheated on.

Eduardo

In a similar vein to Elsa, Eduardo uses his power to fight for the powerless, describing a particular drug trial that he was leading:

And the result was spectacular. And I told, I pushed again and say 'why don't we go back to FDA⁷⁵?' Why – it's - by the time, if we just wait for the link for the last – the classical double blind randomized placebo, we have to wait another couple of years, because recruitment was very very difficult. I don't know how we managed in the end to complete the study. But it was really

⁷⁵ The Food and Drug Administration is responsible for regulating many aspects of drug development destined for the US market, including approval. <https://www.fda.gov/about-fda/what-we-do>

really really difficult. So we had stellar results, we had results that are spectacular, unequivocal. I really pushed to go to FDA: 'Oh but it's an effort'. 'I don't care, this is – are you depriving the US patients of this opportunity?'

4.4.3 Privilege reconsidered

Focused code ref.		Nr. references
22	Experiencing discomfort with visibility and/or invisibility	35
67	co-existence of privilege and struggle	25
23	Moving from 'dark' to 'light'	22
		82

Figure 28: privilege reconsidered - with selected focused codes

This code has as its core the notions of privilege being problematised, where these migrant professionals oscillate between being visible and invisible, moving between 'dark' and 'light'.

Eduardo

Eduardo focuses primarily on his work role as he considers this oscillation:

in many companies, most companies at the end of the day you want to be visible, visible to senior management to go the most – to be involved in the most glitzy, in the glitziest clinical programme. We were not, so if you really wanted to stay in the programme, you really had to live in the programme because we were considered to be a Cinderella ... And it's different now because in [new company who acquired the programme] we are the limelight of the company purpose ... it doesn't matter at the end of the day. But it's it's really – it's really a different facet. Because you have to fight for – ever every

time to survive. It was like one of these you know reality show where they say, 'who is the last survivor?'

Eduardo's description of the joy following the struggle in his work brought to mind the life-giving parental struggle of birth, of giving life:

so when I saw the data, oh my goodness, that was really the big surprise. And this makes you extremely happy and you, you completely forget all the difficulties, all the rest that makes your life hard, and all the issues you have to face on a regular basis and move on.

Elsa

Elsa's comparison again focuses on her consumer experiences in Norway and Switzerland:

you walk into a shop, they say hello but the Swiss, when you walk into a shop, they don't even say hello. So they don't know if I speak German or not

Reflecting back upon early thoughts, there is a sense of pathos in her comment that:

my parents say as soon as I could basically crawl I will touch the TV like put the TV on ... And always I grew up watching like American cartoons and TV shows and the English TV shows on the Norwegian TV ... I think I saw this great world that wasn't in Norway, and then I thought 'I'll go there'. But obviously, it's not the same when you get there.

Tim

In contrast, Tim's experience is full of warmth and light:

It just felt like being on holiday. So we we moved into this apartment in [name of location] and it was like super modern. You know, all like glass walls and much bigger than the house we'd lived in actually in [UK location] ... I remember every evening eating outside on the balcony, which was just again totally novel coming from especially since we'd been in [region of England] before – you just couldn't do that... Just eating outside every night was awesome.

Gabriela

Gabriela reflects upon the dissonance between the outer semblance of privilege and the inner sense of emptiness:

I cannot be part of the social fabric. Because it this doesn't exist to the extent where where the magic happens ... so to me, it's – things can only become an achievement or personal achievement when you see that they have an impact on your group. And if the achievement is just for yourself, it's not really an achievement ... it doesn't get to the point of the feeling of magical until you bring it back to your community, until it has that community impact, until it has an influence on the groups that you're embedded with or the people that get affected by your actions ... but if you never get to that point, then that achievement is empty. So there's no magic. You just can write another two lines in your CV or you can pat yourself on the back and raise some more money and get yourself a nicer holiday. But you never close the loop.

4.4.4 Following the work

Focused code ref.		Nr. references
4	Moving for jobs	53
34	forging their own connection to purpose of work	51
12	Work providing opportunity for home and belonging	36
		140

Figure 29: following the work - with selected focused codes

This code strikes me to be a close neighbour of the code “Privilege reconsidered”; there is a gain to be made both in financial terms and in the creation and anchoring of identity through work. “Following the work” appears to be an alibi for security and stability while requiring sacrifice.

Tim

Tim brings up the connection between belonging and work and the absence thereof. It brings to the fore the identity question of ‘am I a migrant *professional* or a *migrant?*’:

another thing that’s really certainly for me kind of makes Switzerland feel like home is work. So yeah, my career at [company name] has been really exciting

going on to add –

one thing it’s totally random, I won’t dig into it. One thing that’s interesting is what we will do in the future, you know, after after work, you know it’s quite some years off but like retirement. Kind of interesting to see if I then whether we want to, because then we’ll have the freedom again, right? There won’t be a link to work

Philip

Philip expresses similar sentiments regarding belonging and work:

Overall Switzerland is a place we live um, it's our home. Career-wise it's also my, where I've had - the longest duration of my career has been here. Could I live in any part of Switzerland? Maybe not. Basel is quite unique in its makeup of who lives here, and I'm sure that it's tied to the fact that it's also a pharmaceutical centre

and yet -

we sometimes don't know so there's that 'yes, I'm here and this is my home', but I don't know that my home will be here in 15 years' time.

Moving for jobs is seen by Philip as deeply rooted in his family and Jewish history:

so my mother in particular is always been – raised me – or us – me in a way of 'get educated so that you can always fall back on something' and financial security was always a major point of discussion and contention in my house. So I probably have never made decisions – my decisions have always been driven a little bit like 'will I be financially secure after making that decision?' And so as an adult that kind of meant 'job', yeah.

His mother's sudden refugee status – a change in identity – inhabits his

consciousness:

being middle class maybe upper middle class let's say growing up and then having nothing because you couldn't take – they couldn't take any money or anything that why they were trying to smuggle jewellery out to sell ... I haven't – I've never – I've never moved before because 'Oh I'd like to live there'. I don't know that I could.

Sylvia

Sylvia's movement for jobs was motivated by a personal desire to help:

So what I really wanted to pursue was a career as a researcher in pharmaceutical chemistry and pharmaceutical fields. Also, because I had some bad experiences in the family. Unfortunately, some some of my beloved died from cancer. So sometimes, you know, it's something that starts with the personal reasons that make an effect on your own sensibility

There is also a desire to locate a sense of belonging:

I always had the feeling that the place where I was staying was not the last one. And I was always wondering, 'what's next?' Because of fellowships, temporary contracts, because of conditions of life ... until you feel that you belong to a place you have to feel like you overlap with a place – where can I overlap? I can overlap with the work – first it's always the work.

Gabriela

Similarly, Gabriela displays a strong motivation for the reparative drive inherent in the work, to 'close the loop':

And I love – I want to see some medicines out – that's my, that's what drives me is like, I want to see in 5-10 years when the molecules that I'm working on today, I hope that some of them make it to the clinic and really have an impact on some patients and and then, like, I count myself as lucky – it's like it was worth it.

Eduardo

Finally, Eduardo, who became unreachable after the part-one interview, expresses what the work means to him:

You know, from a – your ego perspective, getting a license, it’s rewarding but when you see this applied to patients and patients come back ... Not only the one in clinical trials, but in clinical practice is really what makes you move on, continue advancing science and move on and find new alternative and new option for these patients.

While this reference could arguably be positioned in the axial code below, “Working in science, for life”, what distinguishes it as Eduardo “Following the work” are two factors:

- a) the sense of movement inherent in his utterance regarding progress and movement,
- b) his ‘disappearance’, as *if* he is following science and work in a literal sense.⁷⁶

4.4.5 Working in science, for life

Focused code ref.		Nr. references
39	wanting their work to have an application	31
		31

Figure 30: working in science, for life - with selected focused codes

⁷⁶ Eduardo had expressed frustration at his current role and considerations of next career steps.

This axial code may have fewer quoted references compared to others given its potential for such references to be siphoned off and placed elsewhere – such as in the example above. The core of this code is the desire for their work to be applied to healthcare problems, directly confronting the primary task of the industry:

Sylvia

Sylvia describes the physically challenging work which is absent of meaning but which enabled her to move to Switzerland. This brings to mind poignant images of Primo Levi (1947) in his memoir of incarceration in Auschwitz, '*Se questo è un uomo / If this is a man*', where his admittance to work in the chemical laboratory is deemed fortunate. There is a necessary and defensive disconnection from the work as described by a fellow prisoner Claussner: "Ne pas chercher à comprendre" (p. 93). The work is punishing despite its initial view as bringing hope:

Finora, i vantaggi di essere nel Kommando Chimico si sono limitati a questi: gli altri hanno ricevuto i cappotti e noi no; gli altri portano sacchi di cinquanta chili di cemento, e noi sacchi di sessanta chili di fenilbeta. Come pensare ancora all'esame di chimica e alle illusioni di allora?⁷⁷ (pp. 121 - 22).

Returning to Basel, Sylvia recounts:

I started to work in this – in this company. It was really very hard work actually. It was quite stressful. I was working 10 hours a day, like a research chemist I was doing bench work so all day long standing and carrying also heavy tanks of solvents. It was quite quite hard as work but it was doing what

⁷⁷ My translation: "So far the advantages of being in the chemical department are limited to the following: the others were given coats and we were not; the others have to carry 50kg sacks of cement and we have to carry 60kg sacks of phenyl beta. How can we even think about the chemistry exam and our illusions?"

I l've always done actually synthetic work. It just – the problem for me was that I couldn't see the the final, the reason, the motivation why we were synthesizing those compounds.

Gabriela

Gabriela describes leaving Mexico where there is “no culture of research” to pursue her PhD in Switzerland:

I didn't want to stay in academia, I really wanted to do something like very impactful and where I could really use my my skills you know, and have an impact, sort of like at the larger scale with patients and yeah, it just sort of - everything came together

4.4.6 His-and-Her-story: authoring the family narrative

Focused code ref.		Nr. references
8	seeming driven to repair family's past	33
		33

Figure 31: his-and-her-story: authoring the family narrative - with selected focused codes

The focus of this axial code is the mobilisation of the Switzerland-and-work combined experience in the enterprise of repairing the family’s past. I conceive of it as strongly related to the reparatory drive:

Tim

Tim's narrative seems to trace a train of thought regarding reparation:

I don't really have like a strong sense of home. So my you know, when I grew up my – we moved around quite a lot. Because my parents were teachers and my dad like when he got promotions, we moved to different areas ... so I always find when people ask me where I'm from, I always kind of struggle a little bit to answer that, because I don't really feel like a deep sense of connection to any of those places

This is in contrast with his drive as a parent wishing to give:

the kids some roots and a bit of a stable upbringing I would say it wasn't really until we had kids here that we really feel now you know, now we feel very much part of the community. But that was probably the turning point.

Philip

Philip's reparatory drive could be traced to his frequently referenced maternal family of origin:

My mother is originally from Levant and she emigrated to the US in 1960. In '56 she left, she was expelled – she was a Jewish person. Jews were expelled from Levant in 1956 ... so she came as she left as a refugee ... so she's always had the sort of international feel a bit – my house always felt a little bit strange in that we never had any food in our refrigerator because she grew up with very much a European construct: it was 'just buy fresh'

In the part-two interview Philip describes his leadership style, seeming to hold traces of this past:

my style of leadership is more bringing the groups who perhaps are like-minded and we move forward on it. I'm not that comfortable being the spokesperson ... if you have all spokespeople, you end up in dictatorships (laugh) and war but again if you have only groups trying to move forward, maybe it just take a lot longer.

4.4.7 Distance from Switzerland and the Swiss

Focused code ref.		Nr. references
47	Holding the-Swiss-and-Switzerland-in-the-mind	49
		49

Figure 32: distance from Switzerland and the Swiss - with selected focused codes

What struck me in this axial code was the sense of differentiation and 'other' alluded to, life in Switzerland being experienced as rigid and homogenous.

Elsa

Elsa describes two sides of her experience:

Everything's punctual. People are qualified here; you know you don't get I mean maybe you do get dodgy plumbers. I don't know. But you know, the electrician I paid a fortune for I mean, it looks immaculate. I mean, they spend so much time putting the lights up, you know, you know, they're experts, you know they're trained

This contrasts with a Swiss neighbour at a friend's moving-in party:

she invited all her neighbours to say we're gonna have a party in her building. So we weren't - we weren't too noisy. So her neighbour's come right, she said 'welcome, I'm moving in' da da da. And one of her neighbours left at 11pm and called the police because after 11pm no more party. I mean who does that?

Rachel

Rachel's experience seems to centre upon the notion of control, from external sources:

Everything is controlled and not everything, you still have some freedom but like it's very controlled if you go to the recycle station on a Sunday, people will come and tell you that you cannot recycle on Sunday. Right so it's restrictive. So we cannot do things the time or not except for a particular time. So that's that's the frustration, because like, I don't have a lot of time.

There is also a sense of internal self-regulation which feels constrictive:

So one thing I noticed is that Swiss they are very polite or they don't speak their mind so directly. So I need to learn that too. Sometimes I just say what I think directly and people may, may feel strained ... I feel that I have to try to look polite, smiley, you know, quite different way so to not upset people

4.4.8 Out of sight, out of mind

Focused code ref.		Nr. references
20	Switzerland's (neutrality and) neutralising effect	26
		26

Figure 33: out of sight, out of mind - with selected focused codes

Finally, this code seems to hold three distinct ideas:

- a) The opportunity to be in a third place to establish family
- b) The neutralising power of Switzerland against rampant consumerism
- c) The refuge and space provided from difficulties in home country

Philip

Philip's experience centres upon wishing to belong:

I guess another important point to mention is on a personal level, we, my wife and I probably would agree that we found it easier to build our life with our children in a place where neither of us were from ... it's somehow easier to define it

This appeared to be catalysed by negatively felt experience in the UK:

But already those comparisons were starting, of the housing, the education that you know, that – typical topics that seem to occupy everybody's mind and we – that's really important to mention – that we were amazed that when we moved to Switzerland – that education and housing was never the topic that we would have in social settings ... that just never seemed to be the topic of

conversation when we moved here, for which we were very thankful and found it much more relaxing.

Rachel

Rachel relates her relief at room to think and breathe in Switzerland:

Maybe I feel that I ... I don't know if it's right or wrong but I feel less burdened by the more recent political ... debate in Hong Kong. I feel I have some room for breathing away from that ... I was in Hong Kong when when this demonstration thing happened ... I was there and it was very heavy ... And I felt a bit suffocated because I cannot manage the, so much information is very heavy. So when I came back here, I feel that 'okay, I have some room to breathe. If I really feel I don't manage, I can stay away from you for some time'. Not to forget but like to, to have some room to breathe

4.5 Reflexivity and transferential data

Through my own process of reflexivity, I noticed some patterns that I would like to reflect upon. One important transferential pattern was regarding a need for emotional distance. I found myself becoming quite analytical with the data and struggling to journal on my own experiences which I seemed to have bracketed off in favour of 'the work'. This parallels the approach of a number of participants: Sylvia exhibited little self-reflection and had occasion to talk in the second person, relating 'your' experiences. In analysing the emotional impact of the work, it was as if she was discussing a molecule project. With Tim, there was a seeming inflation of the positive, many things being 'awesome' which was set against a disinclination to explore, 'I won't dig into this but ...'. I experienced deep fatigue during some interviews where the participants were seeking to keep emotions at bay, adopting a rational approach and – like me – a refuge in the role.

When I came to the coding phase of the work and sifting through such a high volume of 'active' material, I experienced anxiety about being a 'good enough' researcher, just as the participants had regularly checked with me during the interviews that their answers were what I was seeking. As mentioned in chapter 3, there was a feeling of accustomed invisibility which could usefully be unveiled.⁷⁸ This was my role and also required me to step more fully into the authorial researcher role in order to focus on this task.

4.5.1 Further checking reflexivity through peer group discussion

In order to check my reflexivity further beyond my own reflections, I presented a data extract to a group of peers from my doctoral candidate year group. I presented them with a brief pen portrait⁷⁹ and interview extract with the request for a 'work discussion group' approach where they would initially discuss their ideas and associations. I would listen and take notes before joining the discussion. The presented interview extract and the peer group's associations and ideas are presented below:

Interview extract (Gabriela):

R⁸⁰: And who can you not be here?

G⁸¹: Well, I guess I cannot be ... I cannot be part of the social fabric. Because it - this doesn't exist to the extent where where the magic happens let's say ... you see everybody's trying to produce something in their lives or to achieve things or to create things. And is - there's always like a motivation for that. And, and, and usually is related to a certain feeling of, of achievement. But then ... so to me, it's - things can only become an achievement or personal achievement when you see that they have an impact on your group. And if the

⁷⁸ Section 3.6.2, pp. 64 - 65

⁷⁹ Appendix 7, p. 200

⁸⁰ Researcher

⁸¹ Gabriela

achievement is just for yourself, it's not really an achievement. In my view, I know it's different for a lot of - a lot of people but, but to me, that's the magic that you achieved something. But it's, it is not - it's not - it doesn't get to the point of the feeling of magical until you bring it back to your community - until it has that community impact, until it has an influence on on on the groups that you're embedded with or the people that get affected by your actions and your hope that then - that what you do has a positive effect on those - on those groups, you know. But if you never get to that point, then that achievement is empty. So there's no magic. Do - you just can write another two lines in your CV or you can pat yourself on the back and raise some more money and get yourself a nicer holiday. But you never close the loop. It doesn't - you don't get that feeling of "Wow. That was worth it. Isn't like look, this was awful and now it's better. And I contributed to that." And this is precisely this closing that loop to get that rewarding feeling like the deep one. Not the fast reward. You're not - nothing like the deep sense of reward that people when they finished when or when they reached the end of the line. They say 'wow, I had a good life. I have a feeling I contributed - was my stay in the world - was more than it's coming from closing that cycle'. But it's very difficult to do that if this social fibre is not there to receive.

Peer group associations:

Social fabric/fibre -

- *Social fabric sounds odd and cold. What does she want to receive?*
- *Image of something you can wrap around yourself to make yourself warm; feeling of being safe seems missing*
- *A search for nourishment, being able to be connected and a tying together*
- *Elastic, stretched and maybe a frayed sense of belonging. It's really hard even if you have a good job, there is a constant yearning. From Switzerland to Mexico is a very stretched elastic band.*

- *Sociology of immigration: first generation migrants will always feel alienated and not feel part of society. Gabriela doesn't seem happy or satisfied despite Swiss wealth and lifestyle. She doesn't feel let in. Switzerland is progressive yet astonishing lack of progress on, e.g., women's voting rights.*
- *She is a mother: what is the identity of her children? How do you allow children to have a complex identity? She can only survive by being congruent.*

Magic -

- *What's the search and what's she searching for?*
- *Is the magic about the family system and a lack of acknowledgement from parents plus sibling rivalry?*
- *Is the magic the colours and warmth of Mexico, of magical realism?*
- *is there a link between magic and primary task? Bringing health to the world and expanding world capitalism.*

Circle not being closed/closing the loop -

- *Infused with death and living a good life.*
- *A preoccupation with death and not having made a mark despite being relatively young.*
- *Wondering about her family and loss associated with moving to a different continent, working in a different language and being married to a Swiss man.*
- *Seems to be a lack of congruence between her purpose at work versus her life. Does she feel the purpose at work?*
- *Closing the loop is intrinsic and also and external sense – what did she leave behind that meant the loop doesn't get closed?*

4.5.2 Reflections on the peer group discussion

In the discussion comments above, there were differences and similarities to my treatment of the data:

- Similarities include the associations of death and anxiety related to the primary task as well as anxiety regarding what was left behind in becoming a migrant professional. The negotiated state of belonging is apparent in the commentary regarding the social fibre. Finally, there is a sense of her family in the background, of them being both hidden and then foregrounded at moments where she oscillated between being visible and invisible.
- Differences and extensions include the commentary regarding the links between magic and primary task. Is bringing health and expanding capitalism anxiety-provoking and needing a refuge in magical thinking? The search for nourishment and the physical nature of the description led me to consider further how these migrant professionals might take refuge from their emotions and section them off into a rationalisation, or, as is the case with Gabriela, in a search for magic.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have sought to introduce the 8 axial codes along with salient data points that illuminate the narratives of the participants and start the process of constructing an answer to my research question. Rather like the drug discovery process, the starting point is a high volume of molecules / 1161 interview data points

which gradually become refined to a much lower target number / 8 axial codes with higher probability of therapeutic success / analytic import.

In the following chapter (5), I will consider the relationship between the axial codes in the light of their capacity to answer my research question prior to introducing the discussion and moving more fully into my authorial researcher role.

CHAPTER 5, SENSE-MAKING

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will focus on the sense-making of the data presented in chapter 4, to convey the life experiences of these migrant professionals working in Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry. In section one, I will consider the inter-relatedness of the 8 axial codes and the importance of a primary axial code in my research. I will investigate my own reflexivity in this process, of my motivations and biases before finally considering the role of the unconscious in the sense-making work ahead. In section two, I will explore the first question in my research study: why come to Basel, Switzerland to work in this industry? In section three, I will explore the second question, how do they take up their roles? I will seek to reconstitute the narratives using the axial codes and a systems-psychodynamic lens to explore these questions before finally laying out my three ideas.

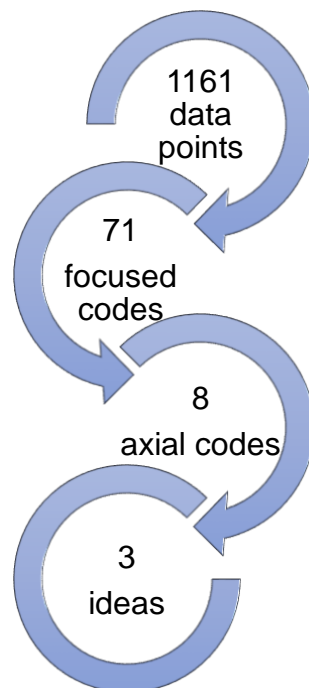


Figure 34: simplified version of sifting and sorting process from 1161 data points to 3 ideas

5.2 Section one: the 8 axial codes

5.2.1 The 8 axial codes and their inter-relatedness

In this section I wish to consider the 8 axial codes' analytic import in relation to my research question and how I view the inter-relations between these codes. If I compare them to discovered molecules, I posit that "a state of belonging negotiated" is a primary candidate axial code with a higher analytic import compared to the other 7, which I will elaborate upon further in the next section. There is a desire amongst these migrant professionals to find belonging as a means of finding self in the present and of resuscitating or resolving the familial past, such as the repairing of family dislocations. This is a theme that recurs in this sense-making chapter.

As a reminder, the 8 axial codes are listed below in figure 35:

Axial coding	Description
A state of belonging negotiated	seeking, finding, being eluded by, a sense of belonging and using past experiences to illuminate that sense
Power and powerlessness at work	the ways in which migrant professionals experience power in the industry
Privilege reconsidered	the experience of and relationship with privilege for migrant professionals
Following the work	the agentic properties of the work upon self and career
Working in science, for life	the impact of the motivations, desires and potential for science in the industry
His-and-Her-story: authoring the family narrative	the relationship with the family narrative and its activation in the present day
Distance from Switzerland and the Swiss	the experience of distance from and difference between the migrant professional, the Swiss and the Switzerland they inhabit
Out of sight, out of mind	the double-sided experience of visibility and invisibility for migrant professionals

Figure 35: the 8 axial codes in order of frequency, with descriptors

As I was sifting through the analysed data, I became aware of the gravitational pull of the most frequently occurring axial code 'a state of belonging negotiated' on some of my coding choices.

In figure 36 below I seek to illustrate how the 8 axial codes inter-relate and how 'a state of belonging negotiated' seems to siphon off or incorporate elements from other axial codes. Each of the orange boxes is one of the 8 axial codes. The blue arrowed lines indicate the magnetising effect and each one describes key actions or processes that the migrant professionals experience. These descriptions arise from the grounded theory coding work that led to these axial codes.

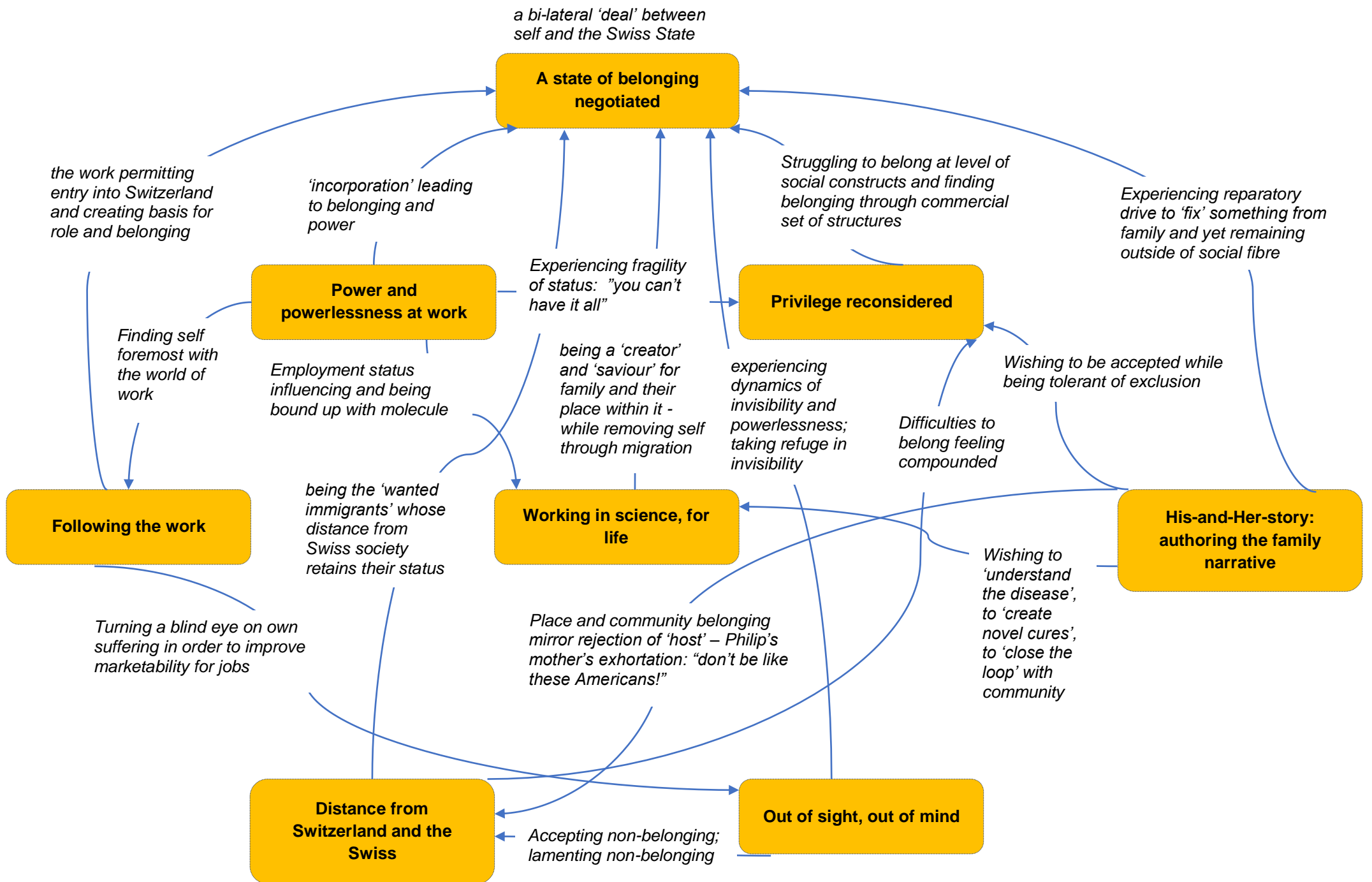


Figure 36: map. of inter-relations between the 8 axial codes

5.2.2 Siphoning off into 'a state of belonging negotiated'

When considering these codings' inter-relatedness, in particular with 'a state of belonging negotiated', the predominant concerns (actions or processes) amongst them which I identified were the following: i. *entry*; ii. *seeking belonging*; iii. *incorporation*; iv. *influencing and following*; v. *creation*; vi. *taking refuge*; vii. *reparation*.

In the coding process, there were decision points on multiple occasions where the available paths had to be weighed up to determine how to code the data. For each of the predominant actions and processes referenced above, I illustrate my decision-making regarding the siphoning of data into the primary candidate axial code as a means of exploring the experiences of these migrant professionals in Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry:

i. *Entry*:

Tim's process of entry into Switzerland is through a job offer, enabling him to abandon the 'sinking ship' and regular lay-offs in the UK and take up a role in Switzerland full of possibilities, to move from dark to light and a state of belonging:

I got this call. And I'd almost given up on it because it'd been so long since even my second interview ... and yeah, suddenly got this call. And they gave me the salary offer which was like three times what I was earning at [COMPANY IN UK] I mean, I didn't quite understand that like the cost of living difference as well but even so, I mean, it was - that was really good. But most

of all it was super exciting to ... yeah, get an offer to go and work at another company in another country.

- Tim

ii. Seeking belonging:

The implicit negotiation of where belonging is desirable and possible is central to Philip's considerations of living and working in Basel, and he describes seamlessly joining an available community:

We have wonderful friends here, who as I was saying, most of our Swiss born friends are actually - tend to be Jewish here in Basel. Either we sought it out or they sought us, or just it happened that way. I don't know. So that's been excellent for us to see and for our children to see that type of cultural construct, and therefore help them to figure out their their identity.

- Philip

iii. Incorporation:

Elsa recognises the apparatus that helped her to become incorporated into the organisation and to become a 'wanted immigrant' (Sandoz, 2018). Like Philip, incorporation into an available domain is seamless and requires little effort:

I think [NAME OF COMPANY] made it easy for expats, you know, I had the relocation package and someone helping me get a flat so I didn't find settling in like getting a flat, getting a bank account, you know, I help I had help with all of that. I also had great people in my team that I worked with, that also helped along the way you know ... so I didn't find it that difficult work related and friends related to get settled in quite easily.

- Elsa

iv. Influencing and following:

Eduardo's negotiated belonging is possible through his work, and his role opens up a high level of influence as described below in his interactions with the FDA:

we had a lot of interaction with FDA after they accepted and then when I took over a new programme, because once the submission was done, I took up a new programme ... because of the new setting, because of the proposal to go with real world evidence, we had met - we met FDA three - four times. I was commuting between Basel and Washington because they were very much interested.

- Eduardo

He goes on to lament the seeming inevitability of following the molecule programme when sold to a new owner and with belonging, through the divestment negotiations, being transferred:

I then realised it was not what I had expected, I was still very much frustrated. But really that was one of the main reason – also for the programme. And of course I was passionate to the programme despite it was my first baby as if you try the second baby and then a third baby. Of course I feel very much affectionate to these programmes.

- Eduardo

v. Creation:

Sylvia's focus on the 'creator' possibilities in taking up the role of researcher implicitly satisfies productivity demands inherent in Switzerland's immigration policies⁸²:

⁸² Chapter 1, section 1.3, p. 14

I felt myself like without any power to help - without any power and just listening the doctors because the only thing that you can do in this case is just following the doctor's instructions, you can't do anything else. At the time I was I was already studying my university studies I was ... Yeah. So I felt even more motivated over time. And the only way to help people in this regard is actively helping, studying. You have to study there to have - to be a researcher if you - if you really want to help in a long way all the people because if you're a doctor, you can just apply the the medicines – the therapies we we have already learned. We cannot create therapies. But you can do actually if you are a scientist - this you can do - You can research.

- Sylvia

vi. Taking refuge:

Rachel describes leaving Hong Kong and finding relief back in Basel. The state of belonging she experiences enables her to take refuge from what Sennett (2011) describes as the foreigner's dilemma: "The foreigner must confront memories of home; memory must be displaced, refracted, so that he or she is not suddenly seized by the past, acting out the injuries received long ago, now playing instead another role in that old drama" (p. 86). Rachel describes the calm state she seeks in Switzerland:

But you know, I was in Hong Kong when - when this demonstration thing happened, started in Hong Kong, right, I was there and it was very heavy. That you see it on the news, adults talking. People are reluctant, reluctant to talk about it because you don't know what kind of consequences you have, I mean, but of course I - it was difficult to be there and observe these sad things that's so close to you. And I felt a bit suffocated because I cannot manage the, so much information - is very heavy. So when I came back here, I feel that okay, I have some room to breathe. If I really feel I don't manage I

can stay away from you for some time. Not to forget but like to, to have some room to breathe.

- Rachel

vii. Reparation:

Gabriela describes her experience of a reparatory drive to ease suffering, prolong and preserve life as an intern in a Mexican hospital, spurring on her scientist career choice in the pharmaceutical industry. This contrasts with her lament of not being able to find the 'social fibre' in Switzerland⁸³:

she could, she could move her hand - she could touch things without like screaming in pain. It's like we take it for granted but it makes such a huge difference to people you know, and to me this is - this is also this experiences. It's not so much the technical know how that you get in an internship especially when I was doing internships in hospitals. It was - it was to see the what for, the meaning of your work – what for? What am I gonna do? not not for me but because I - it's so powerful and you know like if you can do something like that and and change somebody's life is like wow I can see that happening like a more like personal life, I mean in my family, there's a lot of cancer. So I've lost a lot of family members because of cancer, but I've also seen some of them recovering thanks to immunotherapies for example

- Gabriela

5.2.3 Researcher reflexivity in this process

In my researcher reflexivity, it is important for me to consider the location of the industry task in my family system and how it became an object of study for me. My interest in this task has much to do with legacy, of what I inherited from my family of

⁸³ Chapter 4, section 4.5.1, p. 113

origin where, as described in chapter 1⁸⁴, my mum was seeking to ease suffering and, in viable cases, prolong the lives of the elderly patients in the care home that she managed, as we waited late into the evening for her to come home when a patient had died⁸⁵. The task also found expression in the in-between roles that my parents took up: Our family system became highly permeable as they supported Urban, Teddy, Kazumi et al to take up a task with a humanitarian goal and which seemed to be moved by an invisible and powerful force – faith – as opposed to the invisible and powerful force of the molecule. While I admired their commitment, I often had a feeling that thinking was inhibited and given over to faith, which was frustrating for a child who asked a lot of questions. Whether faith or molecules are at play, both endeavours grapple with the existential threats against life, whether in the mortal coil or in a belief in everlasting heavenly life.

Returning to my axial code analytical process, I reflected further on the discussion with my peer group referenced in chapter 4⁸⁶ where Gabriela laments the cost of non-belonging. The panel discussions pointed to her preoccupation with death and not having made a mark. As I write this section, I am experiencing a parallel concern regarding this thesis: *can I make something worthwhile of it?* The writing process is feeling like a ‘difficult birth’. The powerful, invisible forces of faith and molecules come to mind and lead me surprisingly to the theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity, disposing the individual to live their life in a morally good manner⁸⁷. This echoes Gabriela’s preoccupation and my childhood view of my parents’ in-between role and may be a defence against envious attacks upon the industry. The question

⁸⁴ Section 1.5, p. 18

⁸⁵ My favourite literary work from school days was about endlessly waiting: Beckett’s “Waiting for Godot”.

⁸⁶ Sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2, pp. 112 - 114

⁸⁷ Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theological_virtues

of 'who is the task for?' raises itself and the answers are difficult: Patented medications are for those countries who have money to pay for them and the industry earns vast sums of money from the sale of these products. Working hard to show engagement in a good task may become a defence against these attacks and lead to working even harder to prove it. My current mental gymnastics are testament to this.

5.2.4 The role of the unconscious in sense-making

What I would like to foreground prior to the sense-making sections is the role of a third powerful and difficult to see force which is fundamental to the systems-psychodynamic approach, the unconscious. As described by Obholzer (2019)⁸⁸, life and death are inherent in this primary task and inhabit a particular space in the unconscious, the ground where social defences are produced against the primary anxiety of the task. In seeking to ease suffering, preserve and prolong life, the invisible and powerful force of the unconscious can be detected in the third level of task as outlined in chapter 2, the phenomenal task⁸⁹. The unconscious organisation of these social defences against the task anxiety is counterproductive (Menzies Lyth, 1960)⁹⁰ and these ultimately unhelpful defences and the lack of containment they provide (Bion, 1962)⁹¹, diminish the capacity for thinking. The unconscious is a useful and fertile ground in this study, in the exploration of the 1161 data points, distilled to 71 focused codes, then to 8 axial codes and finally forming the 3 ideas. In the sense-making of the migrant professionals' experience, I will use the model of

⁸⁸ Chapter 1, section 1.2, p. 11

⁸⁹ Section 2.2.3, p. 28

⁹⁰ Chapter 2, section 2.2.4, pp. 29 - 30

⁹¹ Chapter 2, section 2.3.3, pp. 32 - 33

social defences as described in chapter 2⁹², to explore whether they are defending against experiences from the past and present as they live out their working lives in Switzerland to ease suffering, prolong and preserve life.

5.3 Section two: Why come to Basel, Switzerland to work in this industry?

In this section, I wish to explore the motivations and desires for relocation to Basel, Switzerland to work in the pharmaceutical industry, the question of *why* before considering in section three the role-related question of *how*. I will explore specific axial codes through the reconstitution of the participant's narratives and consider them through a systems-psychodynamic lens as referenced in chapter 2⁹³. I consider the following 3 axial codes as most closely linked to the question of why come to Basel, Switzerland, to work in this industry?

- *His-and-Her-story: authoring the family narrative*
- *Working in science, for life*
- *Following the work*

5.3.1 His-and-Her-story: authoring the family narrative

When considering motivations and desires for relocation, identity questions abound in the participants' narratives with most of them foregrounding their family stories as psychic material that shape their identity through reactivation or resolution. In their negotiations towards entry and belonging, all participants but Eduardo invoke their family narrative.⁹⁴ Through this code, I will explore identity and incorporation into

⁹² Section 2.2.4, pp. 29 - 30

⁹³ Section 2.2, pp. 26 – 33

⁹⁴ On this point, Eduardo is curiously absent as none of the interview material referenced his family of origin, neither directly nor indirectly.

Switzerland and its pharmaceutical industry focusing on the narratives of Philip and Gabriela and applying the lens of splitting and projection, which is an integral process of object relations as described in chapter 2.⁹⁵

'Her-story' I: Philip

In considering this axial code, I was struck by the experiences of both Philip and Gabriela as they each re-work a family 'Her-story'. Philip re-works his Jewish mother's refugee narrative⁹⁶ of falling prey to the *disease* of nationalistic dictatorship in 1950s Levant, while Gabriela re-works her indigenous warrior-like grandmother's story of rising from invisibility to status. Philip's mother was *downgraded* and *degraded* from 'upper middle class' to refugee status:

They had no passports because their passports were ripped up at the airport, but I only found out that more later in life

Gabriela's grandmother rose up from obscurity in Mexican society to status:

I kind of see, I don't know, especially people like my grandmother, they were like warriors. So they went against everything that was established. So she was a young woman without formal education. And she started a business from scratch. And she ended up building a monster of a company and she also made a lot of money. And so she was basically paying for everybody's life ... So if she would go to the bank, they wouldn't welcome her because she was indigenous-looking, you know, but she just stood there and she just waited. And then someone, the boss of the bank realised she was waiting, and he would come and apologise, you know, like, tell everyone like 'why the hell are you not bringing Mrs [NAME] inside of the room and offering her something?'

⁹⁵ Section 2.3.1, pp. 30 - 31

⁹⁶ Chapter, 4, Section 4.4.1, pp. 92 - 93

Philip's mother splits off her traumatic experience and instead preserves her version of Levant-in-the-mind⁹⁷ like the 'good breast' of Klein's (1946) paranoid-schizoid position: "*she always glorified the time – the living in a beautiful apartment*". His mother creates a 'bad breast' (Klein, 1946) of the 'host' - the US and conjures up a lost 'good', European world reminiscent of Said's (1978) Orientalism⁹⁸: she authorizes and makes statements about being European (rather than Middle-Eastern) while on a family holiday in her 'host' country, the US where an argument about sandals ensues:

Everyone's wearing Docksidors like that's the – my mother's like "you need to wear these sandals". I was like "I will – Never will I wear these sandals ever again" and it was this huge fight about - she forced us to like, wear these sandals out to dinner and you know, we – we just looked different (laugh) because nobody else was wearing these sandals – I was horrified. Um now I understand it because she was just like "you look great! And you you look European! Fantastic! Don't look like these Americans!" So she would say things like that when we were little, which probably makes – explains why we live in Switzerland. "Look European! Don't look like these Americans!" (laugh)

While Philip's mother wished to stand out, it is as if his epidemiologist self has studied the effect of the *dis-ease* on his mother and that it has activated in him a desire to liberate his adult self from the societal exile and scrutiny which his mother had suffered. His own family move from London's Jewish community to Basel was to escape being an outsider to established friend quotas: "*there's no more room for more friends*" and property ladder conversations, a metric of success:

⁹⁷ Chapter 2, section 2.2.1, pp. 26 – 27 (institution-in-the-mind)

⁹⁸ Chapter 2, section 2.4.5, p. 44

certainly in hindsight we realised “oh my God that was – seemed to be a relief”, a release to not have - have that dominate our choices ... so that for sure was in our, either consciously or unconsciously in the feelings that we were having when we made this choice for Switzerland

While Philip has not reproduced the paranoid-schizoid position of his mother, he seems bound up in the power of ‘Her-story’ in choosing to become an epidemiologist whose task is to understand the disease:

As an epidemiologist, we actually think about disease before we think about drug or vaccine. And whether or not a programme, a compound or marketed product is successful, is actually – comes second to understanding the disease, which comes first as epidemiologists. So, in some instances, that’s – that’s given us – given us some job security (laugh)

His mother’s Levant-in-the-mind acts as a defence against thinking about and understanding her own *dis-ease*, of the nationalism that caused her to be violently split off from her family home. In this rupture the paranoid-schizoid position is grasped at with both Levant-in-the-mind and Europe-in-the-mind being glorified. They seem to serve as social defences or perhaps even as a psychic retreat (Steiner, 1993) against the brutal reality of a fractured identity and help her create a flamboyant presence in the ‘host’ country but at the cost of being seen as ‘*weird*’. Steiner (1993) describes the nature of a psychic retreat in relation to his clinical patients (which is a different context to that of Philip’s mother) where the individual is cut off and typically experiences the psychic retreat as a location representing an area of safety but at the cost of isolation. The retreat is described by Steiner as idealised, and an “ideal haven” and “clung to as preferable to even worse states

which the patient is convinced are the only alternatives“ . (p. 2). The worse state in his mother’s case is being “like these Americans”.

Philip, on the other hand, takes comfort in his documented proof of legitimacy as Swiss, having become, in North London speak, *kosher*.

*I can be myself in Basel but I just don’t – maybe I can’t always be who I am.
But I do have some security that I can pull out my Swiss – my ID and say ‘I’m Swiss so ... no matter what you think I do belong here’ (laugh)*

In contrast, his mother splits and projects (Klein, 1946) in order to form a protective carapace against the violent rupture. While Philip exhibits and expresses a desire to belong in a low-key register, his work as an epidemiologist provides cover from the emotional difficulties of the industry task of easing suffering. There is a sense of Philip being driven to relieve suffering (rather than to re-live it) while also being distant from it. There is a sense that his work in quantitative science is looking at numbers without being emotionally in touch with the disease he is studying and the suffering it causes. It could be argued that, through and because of his mother’s ‘Her-story’, Philip maintains distance from the emotional weight of the work.

‘Her-story’ II: Gabriela

The axial code’s focus on the re-working of family narrative is foregrounded in Gabriela’s related experiences through her warrior-like indigenous Mexican grandmother. Gabriela’s determination to prove herself (in contrast to Philip’s desire to create distance) stems from her experience of family background, poor and indigenous on one side and wealthy European on the other:

You mix a world where somebody has to fight for everything with another world where you have access to a lot of opportunities, you know, so so I guess that was kind of like the influencing factor that you say like ‘well, if she did that, and I have on top of those opportunities, like what’s gonna stop you’, you know?

The motivation and desire to leave Mexico are inspired by her grandmother’s achievements and her own need to find a fertile ground in which to prove herself:

there’s not really a culture of research and there’s not a lot of opportunities for academic research ... so at some point, I was really like, ‘okay, I need to do something else that really would get me to’ – at the time I wanted to do spine fixation devices

There is an early desire to fix fundamentals, echoing her grandmother’s drive on behalf of her community. Gabriela’s early focus is on fixing the vertebral column, which could also be read as a general desire to help society ‘get some backbone’. Her sense of internal splitting becomes problematic when she experiences the invisibility lamented in chapter 4⁹⁹: While wishing to leave a scientific legacy through her work, proving herself seems to *become* the work as she struggles to find belonging, in order to do the work. The overriding need to prove herself acts as a social defence against the work and she seems caught in a version of her grandmother’s narrative:

As a Latin American person, er we deal with a lot of – so I have to prove that I’m – that can do the things not only I can manage the things, I have to prove

⁹⁹ Section 4.4.1, p. 94

that I can do it extra extra extra better than colleagues that are like coming from like, European background

going on to say –

If there's like a panel, they would rather choose your colleague next to you. But they won't say it, it's not even conscious in their brain. They will just go and ask my colleague – French, good looking, to join the panel, you know?

The lamented loss of the 'social fibre' in the move from Mexico to Switzerland has revived preoccupations from the adolescent state¹⁰⁰ where inner turmoil still needs to settle and where being an isolate is to be expected (Winnicott, 1965). Gabriela expresses her need to leave Mexico to pursue her career and to escape societal expectations, to 'grow up' in her own way. Waddell (2002) writes of the struggle of the adolescent:

For adolescents the psychic agenda is a demanding one: the negotiation of the relationship between adult and infantile structures; the transition from life in the family to life in the world ... in short, the capacity to manage separation, loss, choice, independence, and perhaps disillusionment with life on the outside (p. 140).

Gabriela's 'social fibre'¹⁰¹ and her search to be nourished instead finds a frayed sense of belonging and loneliness in Switzerland. It is this sense of non-belonging which seems to become a defence against the emotional difficulty of the work and instead sees her remaining preoccupied with what was lost and left behind in Mexico¹⁰²:

¹⁰⁰ And which was an initial feature of the countertransference in my coaching work, leading to this study. Secondly, the adolescent tone was commented upon during the discussion with a group of doctoral candidate peers.

¹⁰¹ Discussed in the peer group, chapter 4, sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2, pp. 112 - 115

¹⁰² I experienced a parallel process during early contact with Gabriela, having to work hard to prove my ethical and researcher credentials before the work could eventually start.

And this is a very clear difference here. So life is much much more lonely because everybody's just in the world, doing their things. I don't know they - the closest nuclear is the nuclear family, you know, like a mum and dad and the kids, that's it and then the other side, like satellites, and that's not like that in Mexico, you're embedded completely in a community.

It seems to provide a defence against the mess and uncertainty that experimentation through introjection brings, testing one's own 'backbone': Waddell (2002) elaborates this important process for adolescents:

Thus, in some respects, during adolescence projective tendencies, if moderate, can in a more positive way ease the conflicts. For if there is a certain flexibility and fluidity in terms of the aspects of the self that are being projected, and then re-introjected, a degree of self-exploration can occur. Parts of the self can be related to in the other, and can then be owned or further disowned by the self. (p. 147)

The focus on being different and pushing for visibility is an integral part of her lived experience as a 'wanted immigrant', contrasting with her grandmother's quiet and powerful waiting.

Concluding thoughts

While Philip seeks a degree of invisibility in Switzerland in his efforts to find a sense of belonging, Gabriela occupies herself with becoming visible and proving herself despite the absence of 'social fibre'. They both mobilise and are caught up in their family narratives which simultaneously open up and keep distant the capacity for reparation and emotional connection with the work. Gabriela's preoccupation with becoming visible and Philip's preoccupation with the disease act as social defences

against the work itself and could be viewed as an unconsciously expedient move to partial belonging, which has both shortcomings and perhaps even merit.

5.3.2 Working in science, for life

The axial code 'working in science, for life' offers rich data in the exploration of the question, 'why come to Basel, Switzerland to work in this industry? There are two aspects that arise from the interview data and relate to the migrant professionals' motivations and desires to work in this industry. Those two aspects, which I shall explore in this section, are: (i). *The double weight of institutional authority*; (ii). *Being a 'saviour' and 'creator'*; (iii).

The double weight of institutional authority

The punitive weight of institutional authority is felt by Rachel when describing her parents' experiences during the Chinese cultural revolution. Like Philip, she is an epidemiologist:

my parents suffered a lot when they were in mainland China in that – in, because there was a time of cultural revolution. There was a time they were very hungry and there were fights everywhere, even at school, some of them very well learned. They were very poor. They don't have enough clothing or shoes in deep winter. You know, of course, things improve when they move to Hong Kong, but this this understanding or this this memory about how how the Chinese government managed people and made them think that maybe Hong Kong is not the best place to stay for a long time. Because ultimately, Hong Kong is going back to China and is now in China's hand.

- Rachel

A transference is detectable between the familial lived experience and her own Swiss-pharma-in-the-mind when she describes fearing punishment for being ill:

And I felt that I had no other choice or is also kind of personality. I mean, I think for me if I call in sick they cannot force me anything right but just knowing the way - knowing that their style. I just don't want to kind of – how to say – give in?. Didn't want to show my weakness to them.

- Rachel

The lived experience of suffering and the crushing weight of the Chinese institution upon her parents' survival seems to set up in Rachel a dynamic oriented towards incorporation through science. The authority of science serves as a means of protection from human conflict felt so keenly in her industry experiences of 'slaving bosses'. The quantifiable 'real science' provides her with a defence, a protective carapace, like Philip's mother's, through the mechanisms of splitting and projecting:

Maybe the desire to be right. I want to be correct. I want to get it right. And with qualitative thinking it is hard to tell whether you're right or wrong or it's based, is the feeling of backed by authority ... I mean there are textbooks - are the ways to do statistics, to do the math. And if you follow them, you will be correct. I mean, rather like qualitative thing, you - whatever you say there could be people challenge that: 'no, this is not right.' You know? Yes, maybe the desire to be right and and have something backing me up. Maybe the textbook or some authority in the field. Yeah, maybe something like that.

- Rachel

The weight of institutional authority alive in her is redirected into her work with 'real science'. It could be said that she experienced herself as *in* the institutional authority but not *of* it. Her desire to be right through her work with this reassuringly quantitative

science suggests that institutional authority was rather *in* her than *of* her.¹⁰³ Both Philip and Rachel wish to find protection behind the authority of '*real science*', to understand the disease and to be right while avoiding the *dis-ease* of entering into the fray of debate. 'Working in science, for life' could be seen as functioning both as a defence mechanism against the life-threatening dictatorial destruction recounted in family narrative and also as a distance regulator, behind the voice of scientific authority, from the anxiety of the industry task and envious attacks. This enables the bracketing off and neutralising of emotionally-laden experiences that appear as '*slaving bosses*' and '*dictatorship*', keeping the envious attacks out of view.

Being a 'saviour' and 'creator'

'Working in science, for life' has as a key feature the action of being a saviour and creator, a more active role than what may be possible under the institutional weight of authority.

Life, death and survival catalyse Eduardo's move into the industry with the impermanence of university research grants, his professor's retirement and the lack of remuneration available in his research area. The pharma industry, considered "the other side", came into view with the impending threat to his academic clinician role:

You know, you're no longer the eternal Peter Pan, don't get eternal money for research. What is going to happen now when [NAME OF HIS PROFESSOR] goes, goes to retire? Somebody goes here that does obesity. I don't like obesity. I don't like diabetes. It's not - I don't like - ... I mean pituitary is completely different ... And then when I realised I could do the same job

¹⁰³ This line of thinking draws from Armstrong's (1997) reflections on 'institution-in-the-mind' and his example of working with a school headmaster.

maybe working with the same people who had very - very established very good relationships. They - that was – something again clicked. And I was able to accept it and to get on it and that's why I said yes, I give it a try ... And it was funny because when I joined and as I mentioned, I never regretted joining pharmaceutical, a few professor came to me said “why haven't you told us that you were planning to leave academia? I would have given you a post - a position in my department”. “Thank you very much. You could have told me that before. I'm not changing right now.”

- Eduardo

The switch from earning a living as an academic clinician to saving the Peter Pan of self (who was not saved by the academic milieu) enables Eduardo to continue a career focused on easing suffering, prolonging and preserving life although “on the other side”. This brings up a sense of necessary separation of the two worlds both concerned with the same primary task, although with money playing a different role. In the transfer to the “other side”, Eduardo focuses on doing good through his work and its personal cost which helps buffer against the more difficult questions levelled at the industry regarding access and high profits:

the scientific curiosity, the scientific intrigue in finding new medicines for patients that really drives you despite all the difficulties ... at the end of the day, my my – our own objective is to advance science and make new medicines available for patients or when it's not new medicine, the very first medicine available for this patient

- Eduardo

The role of ‘saviour’, taking the weight of her family’s grief and sublimating it into a relentless drive to create and save, is alive in Sylvia’s narrative. Again, there are no references to the difficult questions regarding access and money:

My goal and motivation was always helping people. The first thing that you experience are things you experience in your family - in your family environment ... So the - we had - we had the - we had a few bad experiences in terms of health, in in my family. And so this brought lots of suffering in my family and of course, I was - I was learning from this experience to - to want to make something good for everyone, not just for my family and parents. So this is why, this is the first reason why I wanted to go to this direction

- Sylvia

In her decision to work in science, for life, there is an unconscious characterisation of self-as-molecule, going through a gruelling round of trials:

I didn't choose directly to come here in Switzerland but in my view Switzerland was always on the top for the things that medicinal chemists who wanted to work in pharma could get. It was always in my ideal and somehow, I'm here so maybe I was also attracted because I moved so much but I don't know, somehow I was attracted. I mean in terms of I created those conditions, the optimal conditions for me to come here, to be hired here.

- Sylvia

She is at once the creator - the chemist who created the conditions - and the successful molecule “*out of 1000s of applicants*” who has the chance to be incorporated. It is one of the only references to competition and implications of envy, which is significant given the difficult questions regarding who benefits from this industry's work. Sylvia becomes a molecule in-the-mind while Eduardo takes the form of Peter Pan, flying off into the night. Both embody magical and almost imperceptible entities wishing to keep death at bay, working even harder to prove themselves through their work.

The aspect of ‘creator’ and ‘saviour’ is alive in Gabriela’s narrative, in being “given a shot”, a chance, and perhaps also its twin meaning of antidote. Despite her high-calibre qualifications, she assigns credit for power-of-entry to her boss who gave her ‘a shot’ to bring a laboratory back to life following maternity leave:

Like, I got given a lab that was like basically it was completely stuck. It was an automation lab and I - I restarted it again. I - I restarted the whole concept, the machines, brought in people again, we started the lab again and then it caught attention and now this is growing into like a huge initiative on automation, when it was a topic that nobody wants to see – was not interesting. And I brought it back to life and I brought it back to life because my boss believed in me, because I got like stuck after I came back from maternity leave and I said like “fine, blank slate. Give me the lab and I’m gonna bring it back to life”. And she believed me she said like, “Okay, go do it fine. Okay, fine. You prove them right.”

- Gabriela

There is the sense that her boss becomes the ersatz ‘social fibre’ who provides the ground upon which the figure of Gabriela can act to find purpose and belonging through work in taking up the twin embodiments of creator – giving maternal life, and of saviour – of a disregarded laboratory. In both Gabriela’s and Eduardo’s¹⁰⁴ experiences, their task takes on biblical proportions of creators and saviours fighting against death and destruction.

Gabriela, like Eduardo and Sylvia, has a desire for visibility yet that very visibility is confounded by the images they project: Sylvia as a molecule, Eduardo as Peter Pan and Gabriela hidden in an ignored laboratory. Their lack of visibility seems to

¹⁰⁴ Elaborated on in section 5.4.2, pp. 149 - 151

increase their drive to be seen by their authority-in-the-mind who can perhaps protect them from the envious attacks regarding industry privilege and wealth. Eduardo derives an energetic feeling of being wanted by both the university professors who regret his departure and by the ‘chase’ of the pharmaceutical executives wishing to hire him; Gabriela is fired up by the gaze of her boss who spurred her on to “go do it”; and Sylvia’s worth is validated in being allowed to touch the highly prized quality of the Swiss industry. While they derive energy from the images they project, these images also seem to act as a defence against the more attacking questions levelled at the industry to do with profit-making from illness.

Working in science, for life: Concluding thoughts

‘Working in science, for life’ takes up various forms in these migrant professionals’ narratives: labouring under the double weight of institutional authority creates a desire for incorporation through the practice of quantitative science, to be right ‘for life’ and to defend against envious attacks. The capacities and perhaps fantasies of creating and saving are expressed in the hope of being incorporated, like a clinically and commercially viable molecule which requires sacrifice and is fuelled by the hope and fantasy of leading to large-scale easing of suffering. This hope and sacrifice neutralises and defends against criticism, and provides a sense of immunity. There is an experience of potency derived from invisibility, which also protects against society’s vilification of the industry¹⁰⁵ and the prevailing difficult questions.

¹⁰⁵ There is ample justification for society’s view of the ‘dark’s side of the industry, as outlined in chapter 2, section 2.4.7, pp. 47 – 48.

5.3.3 Following the work

The final part of section one considering the question of ‘why?’ refracts the narratives through the axial code of ‘following the work’ which is occupied with the agentic properties of the work upon self and career. In this section I will consider these narratives through the lenses of Winnicott’s (1963) work on facilitating environments¹⁰⁶ and Bion’s (1962) work on containment¹⁰⁷. Both concern themselves with the role of maternal devotion for the infant to help develop their capacity to tolerate emotions and avoid omnipotent mechanisms which I consider to be significant given the scientist’s task of nurturing and developing the molecule to go out into the world and given that their recounted experience is biblical in tenor and circling around themes and anxieties of creation and destruction. Winnicott’s facilitating environment and Bion’s reverie provided by the mother further relate to the infant’s developing capacity to keep in mind the value of thinking.

In considering the axial code ‘following the work’, I will explore two actions evidenced in this code when work is followed: to fight for others, and to save others.

Following the work - to fight for others

In Elsa’s narrative, there is an early view of self as different and as a fighter. Like Sylvia and Philip, Elsa sees herself as separate from her family¹⁰⁸, “*the odd duck in the family*“, with a vivid sense of the need to leave:

¹⁰⁶ Chapter 2, section 2.3.2, p. 32

¹⁰⁷ Chapter 2, section 2.3.2, pp. 32 - 33

¹⁰⁸ Sylvia had to move repeatedly to study and pursue her career dream; Philip was ‘babied’ by his mother and different from his brothers

I knew growing up - growing up that I didn't want to be in Norway, I always wanted to be in the UK or US - that was my dream ... So yeah, I was never gonna stay in Norway.

- Elsa

She uses the Other in the television set to locate and develop a sense of self:

as soon as I could basically crawl I will touch the TV like put the TV on ... And always I grew up watching like American cartoons and TV shows and the English TV shows ... I think I saw this great world that wasn't in Norway, and then I thought I'll go there. But obviously, it's not the same when you get there. But yeah, I think that's what kind of inspired me to think that's where I want to go, because that's all I had on my TV screen - was just this big world out there with the skyscrapers

- Elsa

The identification with the Other in the TV set influences her paths to meaning and career choices and I am struck by the poignant image of a young child feeling contained and stimulated by the TV set's cathode ray, where a response is stimulated but which perhaps defends against the need to think, instead presenting in black and white, a version of her future-self conjured up in the TV set, fighting for others:

Oh. I, I I'm very decisive. I'm very black and white. So I was - for me. It's never 'I have to think about things to work it out'. So I knew from an early age, again, probably watching TV, that I wanted to be a lawyer or I wanted to be a psychologist ... That was my dream ... I wanted to be a divorce lawyer. That's my, my dream was to defend the people that were cheated on. That's how - I have a feeling that it sounds a bit silly now but that was kind of where I wanted to go

Her subsequent description of following the work to Basel is at odds with the image of 'fighting the good fight' for underpaid team members as described in chapter 4¹⁰⁹; the move to Basel described below has an unthinking quality to it, as if she is back in the TV set seeing herself reflected in and perhaps created by its images:

Okay, so I ended up in Switzerland by pure fluke. I never thought about Switzerland. I never had any ideas about Switzerland ... So, [NAME OF COMPANY] was doing a massive recruitment drive at the time, I think they must have had some new compounds coming through. And my friend was with a recruitment agency in the UK ... so he said 'just contact them and get yourself on the list', which I did. And then it was really quick actually, they flew me over for an interview. And I met the team. And then I came back and I got offered the role. So this is quite quick, the process - they're very efficient [NAME OF COMPANY], the relocation package was great. They packed me up and ... it took three months but I remember it is no issue at all

Following the work - to save others

This aspect of the axial code focuses on the agentic notion of saving others. As discussed in chapter 4¹¹⁰, Sylvia's childhood experiences set her on course to repeatedly move, to hone her skills and continue with the sacrifice:

I call then my parents, "hey, I'm happy here and I have a great opportunity to improve my skills ... And I really would like to join the lectures in this university, and I will not go home this summertime". And my parent again, told, "you know, it's a sacrifice", that I'm telling all these things because just to

¹⁰⁹ Section 4.4.2, p. 97

¹¹⁰ Section 4.4.4, p. 103

put a frame that this career expect a lot of sacrifices in terms of money, in terms of feeling distance from your beloved

- Sylvia

Like the molecule programme which has been selected for financial investment and is emotionally invested with the hope of relieving suffering, Sylvia's choices require her to follow the work as success is predicated upon separation, being singled out which necessitates leaving behind family and brings in potential for competition and envy. There is a strong identification with the work which creates a container and also a form of defence against difficult questions to the industry:

I always had the feeling that the place where I was staying was not the last one. And I was always wondering, what's next because of fellowships, temporary contracts, because of conditions of life ... until you feel that you belong to a place you have to feel like you overlap with a place - where can I overlap? I can overlap with the work - first it's always the work

- Sylvia

Following the work: concluding thoughts

There is a stark contrast between Sylvia-as-molecule, with the attendant hope, self-sacrifice and singularity, and Elsa-as-new-recruit, incorporated through mass recruitment to support an important clinical trial, and where meaning is less visible in the day-to-day operational pace. Sylvia hopes for incorporation; Elsa is incorporated in a contract focused on usefulness and utility. Both lend themselves to the industry's enterprise for an agreed deal: sublimation and reparation for Sylvia; fighting the good fight and getting things done for Elsa. It seems to mirror the tasks of their respective roles as research scientist and clinical trial lead, with the related anxieties.

The 'following [of] the work' traced in these narratives opens up possibilities of identity evolution, the process that started with the early cleaving from the 'facilitating environment' while relying upon the same for steadiness in order to find Winnicott's (1960) true self and avoid engulfment by the false self or protection by it in traumatic circumstances. Work is the general means to incorporation where belonging is more readily available through a set of commercial structures than through ordinary naturalisation as a citizen where a flow of 'permanent foreign residents' (Gross, 2006) is the objective. They become like an ersatz natural resource who benefit from the arrangement through lifestyle and career motivations at the cost of retaining some invisibility and distance from political and community life. At the same time, this invisibility in relation to the industry task can both protect them from envious attacks while requiring them to work even harder to prove they are engaged in 'good work'. It could be said that their seeming stance of neutrality is a phantasy as is Switzerland's current stance of neutrality.

5.4 Section three: How do they take up their roles?

5.4.1 Introduction

In the final section of this chapter, I will lay out my findings regarding the central research question of how migrant professionals take up their roles in an industry with the primary task of easing suffering, prolonging and preserving life. Through the axial code, 'a state of belonging negotiated', I will reconstitute elements of the narratives to frame my ideas regarding my research question. These narratives will be explored through the model of social defences as a cohering lens, as referenced in chapter 2.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Section 2.2.4, pp. 29 - 30

5.4.2 A state of belonging negotiated

This key axial code is concerned with 'seeking, finding, being eluded by, a sense of belonging and using past experiences to illuminate that sense'. I will explore facets of this code through the narratives of these migrant professionals as they depict their life cycle in the industry: entry into the industry; the relationship with the molecule; fighting the good fight; existential threats related to patent expiration; and finally, status change risks for 'wanted immigrants'.

A difficult entry

There is a sense of a difficult entry into the industry for both Sylvia and Rachel, with a movement from dark to light which emphasises and necessitates the experience of dark in relation to light. Both seek incorporation into the industry in Basel, entering initially through roles which are disappointingly devoid of purpose and damaging to their health¹¹². It is curious that both relate the suffering with an emotional detachment and acceptance of difficulty as the price to pay for career progression. During the interview with Sylvia, the sectioning-off of her own emotional responses expressed itself through countertransference experiences of sleepiness that engulfed me. She seemed to transform herself into her own chemistry experiment, grounding her sense of belonging through the work and keeping the focus on saving lives as a defence against the more difficult aspects of the work regarding access and making money. Their hard work, right to the edge of physical health, illustrates the belief that a career in this industry requires sacrifice and can also be seen as a protective carapace; there is an envious attack taking the form of "we envy your

¹¹² (Sylvia) Chapter 4, section 4.4.5, pp. 105 – 106; (Rachel) Chapter 4, section 4.4.2, pp. 95 - 96

money and you're doing good" which requires them to work all the harder and prove the doing of good.

In both Sylvia and Rachel, there is a sense of them holding on for dear life and career, seeing opportunities for survival and thriving through the desire to save lives and to be on the right side of authority. For Rachel, being on the 'right side' also buffers her from engaging in debate, particularly considering the difficult questions of access to patented medicines and making money. It could also be seen as a way of buffering self from further bad experiences with '*slaving bosses*', who are the flipside of seeing authority as the 'right side', as someone has to become 'wrong'.

Comingling with the molecule

In the case of Eduardo, there was an elusive quality and I lost sight of him as he disappeared, Peter Pan-like, from my research study¹¹³. His taking up of role had a high awareness of both power and responsibility in the development of and access to the patented medications. There was also a dual quality of steering the molecule programme while being steered by it, like a comingling of person and molecule which is given birth to and necessitates devotion¹¹⁴. He describes his passion for and devotion to these programmes, seeing them as "*my first baby*" and then "*you try [for] the second baby and then a third*". His taking up of role was characterised by the image of creator of life and birth-giver, with management and bosses painted as biblical figures representing creation or destruction. He talked of being in a hybrid role straddling the divide between academia and industry, to flit between them while avoiding the question of belonging. I had a view of him being out ahead of his peers

¹¹³ Chapter 4, section 4.4.4, p. 103

¹¹⁴ Winnicott's facilitating environment which requires devotion: chapter 2, section 2.3.2, p. 32

and an object of their envy as he reshaped the conventional ways the role had been take up. His taking up of role for the discovery and preparations for drug launch are described as Edenic, which presages the *Fall*:

And everything was I would say parad... was like being in Eden - was really idyllic until, you know, the the [NAME OF BUSINESS UNIT] business unit became to be, the company then basically they made [NAME OF BUSINESS UNIT LEADER] leave the company and also, my boss [NAME] to leave the company and then the, the philosophy of the company - the approach changed quite dramatically.

- Eduardo

In this Garden of Eden he experiences the creation and development of the compound (the forbidden fruit from the tree of knowledge¹¹⁵) followed by the unexpected and abrupt banishment of the male business unit leader (the figure of 'Adam') and of one of his direct reports, Eduardo's female boss (Adam's 'helper', Eve). Thereafter a new boss appears "*who clashes with everyone*" (the serpent?) and a new world is created.

Fighting the good fight

A distinct sense of fighting the good fight is present in Gabriela's and Elsa's narratives. Gabriela has a sense of defeat in failing to find the 'social fibre' or to 'close the loop'. Elsa cannot easily access the consumer role and brings her combative approach to defending others at work. While a source of frustration for both, it provides them with a state to struggle and fight against which in turn forms

¹¹⁵ "You may eat freely of every tree in the garden, but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, ye shall not eat. For in the day you eat of it, you shall die (Genesis 2 :15)

part of their respective identities, as female Latina scientist and non-integrating 'wanted immigrant', both permanently on the margins. There is the sense that, once the 'good fight' has been won, what will be left?

In some contrast to Gabriela, Elsa takes up her role with authority and power and uses them for the good of others whether as the leader of a department or in her relentless pursuit of quality, pace and decision-making in clinical trial work. In the Swiss context, like Gabriela, the sense of agency is impoverished, and she finds herself up against a seemingly closed system where entry into or finding the social fibre is elusive. The most obvious public role of consumer is strangely difficult to access despite the availability of money, demonstrated in the arduousness of both small purchases such as milk, or large purchases such as a car.¹¹⁶

Careering towards the edge

Tim, on the other hand, openly admits to being seduced by the company purpose and describes the whole experience as 'awesome', focusing on the uncontested good, in his eyes, of the industry task. He has a cheerful acceptance of non-belonging and comments that this non-belonging is an integral part of his experience. It is significant that he is the only participant not currently working directly with the science although he had done so until recently. There is an identification with institutional power and a strong sense of belonging, of seeing the power of the molecule being activated while eschewing the difficult questions of privileged access to medication and making money. The sense of purpose is more grounded in personal growth, intellectual curiosity and being recognised both

¹¹⁶ Chapter 4, section 4.4.1, p. 94

individually and as an industry for the life-giving task it pursues. Throughout the interviews Tim had a reticence to express his emotions, preferring to stay within the register of 'awesome'. Difficulties were downplayed and there was a sense of emotional avoidance resulting from splitting and projection. In Tim's narrative we see the dangers of careering towards the edge as he relates early work-life experiences of how a patent cliff caused pharmaceutical workers to *career* towards the edge of their livelihoods:

It was that time of the patent cliff. It's when the big - the big sellers were coming off patent. So ever since I joined [COMPANY NAME] ... like almost every year there'd been a round of redundancies in one department or another ... So it's like very early on, like an experience of people losing their jobs ... But then the department that I was in ... I went through, like certainly 2 rounds of redundancies, where, you know, there was some times where you're worried about your job and certainly colleagues lost their positions.

- Tim

During the patent's lifespan, the originator company has exclusivity to produce and market the successful molecule with careful attention paid to lifecycle management, to optimise its *promise* both primary task-related and to create capital through sales for reinvestment into further research for the next generation of molecules. It is known from the outset that the molecule has a defined shelf-life, experienced by Tim in terms of lay-offs at the point of patent cliff. The molecule is generally much more profitable when on-patent; the migrant professional is generally a more 'wanted immigrant' when productively in-contract and earning money. Elsa wryly comments "*And you're really welcome if there's an opportunity to make money. But not so much when you don't make the money.*" Tim separates himself from the industry task

through his role's distance from the hoped-for patented product, the focus on here-and-now decisions and his own sense of fleetingness in an industry where molecule development takes over a decade.

From migrant professional to migrant

The spectre of downgrading from 'wanted immigrant' to 'generic' looms over Philip's narrative in his bid to remain viable. He asserts that he could only ever move for a job, a legacy of financial instability in his childhood. Philip locates his professional purpose as understanding the disease, which affords him some buffering from the industry primary task and the difficult questions to do with money, access to medication and competition. He is sheltered from the molecule's potency to deliver the industry task by his role's closeness to disease and distance from the commercial task of the system. His taking up of role as an epidemiologist may provide cover from the anxieties inherent in the dual tasks of creating patented medicines and making money. While metaphorically carrying a placard for things that he finds important, he assembles a group around him and leads through them thus avoiding the dangers of being a spokesperson who may morph into a dictator and catalyse war and destruction¹¹⁷.

These migrant professionals both influence and follow the fate of the molecule.

When the molecule is launched, it is imbued with hopes of becoming powerful and lucrative and this power fades as the patent expiration date closes in. At this point, the migrant professionals may also be faced with a fading of power through status, from migrant professional, Sandoz's "wanted immigrant" (2018), to simply *migrant*,

¹¹⁷ Chapter 4, section 4.4.6, pp. 107 - 108: Philip describes his aversion to spokesperson role and what it can lead to

from privileged and exclusive to *generic*. Philip expresses uncertainty regarding his own status post-working life and his relationship with the Swiss locality:

Overall Switzerland is a place we live um, it's our home ... Could I live in any part of Switzerland? Maybe not. Basel is quite unique in its makeup of who lives here, and I'm sure that it's tied to the fact that it's also a pharmaceutical centre

and yet –

we sometimes don't know so there's that 'yes, I'm here and this is my home', but I don't know that my home will be here in 15 years' time.

- Philip

These reflections echo Sennett's (2011) ideas on what it means to be a foreigner, describing how Venice had become a wealthy city in the twelfth century which has resonance with Basel whose wealth is built upon its status as a life science hub.

Sennett writes: “the spice trade was a good example of the kind of commerce which had made Venice wealthy, at the price of attracting Jews and other foreigners to the city” (p. 10). He goes on to consider the effects of modern nationalism on the foreigner who “would have to find a meaning for their lives in the very fact of their displacement, in being foreigners” (p. 57). This resonates with Gross's (2006) description of Switzerland's immigration policy, where: “the target for Swiss immigration policy has been the level of *permanent foreign resident population* [my italics].” (p. 5)

5.4.3 A state of belonging negotiated: Concluding thoughts

In considering the taking up of role by these migrant professionals, I am struck by the denial and splitting off of anxieties related to death and destruction. Eduardo, Elsa and Gabriela are each engaged in their own 'good fight', splitting off those who destroy, cheat and who appear not to care about improving lives. They strive for visibility and singularity and this 'good fight' seems to keep them at a distance from finding a state of belonging.

Philip and Rachels' splitting-off of anxieties takes the form of wishing to be on the right side of authority through their practice of 'real science' which enables them to avoid conflictual debates with bullying bosses. They do not seek visibility and accept the complexity of their negotiated sense of belonging rather than fight against it.

Sylvia sublimates anxieties about death into her own self-sacrifice to the task. She wishes to be visible and incorporated, like a molecule, and, while hard-won, it is her only source of belonging. Finally, Tim splits off anxieties through his register of 'awesome' and not wishing to 'dig into' aspects of his experience in Switzerland which have a more emotional complexion. This reticence compounds his stance of intellectual curiosity which he satisfies through the challenge of the work while remaining more distant from the emotional experience. He achieves belonging through work and a sense of incorporated visibility.

5.4.4 3 Ideas

In considering the experiences of these migrant professionals as they live in Switzerland and work in the pharmaceutical industry, I would like to offer my 3 ideas regarding how they take up their role with all the possibilities and limitations in this

enterprise and with all of the expressed and unexpressed desires for reparation and resuscitation. These ideas stem from the generation and analysis of the interview data, my associations and working with the waves and particles of the unconscious and an exploration of these narratives using in particular the model of social defences. The 3 ideas that coalesce at this stage of my research are:

- A permanent state of temporality
- The bonding of migrant professional and molecule
- Emotional refugeeism

A permanent state of temporality

First of all, I offer that Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry provides these migrant professionals with what might be termed *a permanent state of temporality*. Like Switzerland's relation with the European Union, the migrant professionals are *in* but not *of* Switzerland and are regulated by permits. While this may be said of any migrant in Switzerland, this permanent state of temporality serves a particular purpose in this context: it is a way to regulate competition and envy through the construction of an only-just open system which siphons off or welcomes these migrant professional 'resources' who both benefit and suffer from this tightly negotiated state of belonging. They appear doubly subjected to ongoing renewals, for permission to stay and work in Switzerland, and for patent extension through innovative new indications which keep the patent cliff at bay. These ongoing renewals and risks to status are played out at a national level with Switzerland's regular bi-lateral agreement renegotiations with its European Union neighbours. For the migrant professional, it plays out in the downgrading potential from migrant professional to migrant when work life expires. There appears to be an overlap between the task and its risks and the task to make money, survive and keep your job.

Considering how this idea intersects with the axial codes, I suggest that *a permanent state of temporality* is most clearly visible in the code 'a state of belonging negotiated' and serves as a defence against the migrant professionals' welcome or 'wanted immigrant' status being conditional on their productivity. Working in this defended way can lead to the predomination of a mindset where a blind eye is turned to their own suffering or bullying which is rationalised as a necessary bitter pill

in order to make a career, as in the case of Rachel and Sylvia. It can also lead to a siege mentality where their sense of security is affected: Philip has a view of himself in his mind's eye brandishing his Swiss passport and declaring 'they' can't tell him to leave. Elsa expresses a sense of being policed, that 'they' are always watching.

The bonding of migrant professional and molecule

Considering the invisible and potent force of the molecule in this industry, I suggest that its power may be influenced by and influence in turn the migrant professionals working in this field, creating an unconscious bond - which could be said to have multiple layers of meaning: a relational bonding as between parent and child; a chemical bonding as those bonds holding together molecules; a bonding to labour that could compromise freedom. There appears to be a comingling which has several consequences: As explored in the axial code 'working in science, for life' the molecule both incorporates and is incorporated by the migrant professionals and held up as a symbol of hope for the future. It is discovered and developed to ease suffering, prolong and preserve life which requires its own self-sacrifice to this purpose, and to the purpose of making money while enjoying patented status. At the same time, the migrant professional's status of 'wanted immigrant' seems underwritten and the molecule, like a dependent infant, requires their devotion and commitment. The migrant professional seems impelled to find a source for their devotion and commitment in order to deliver productivity through the measurable, quantifiable science that this industry is famed for. This source of devotion and commitment seems to arise from the unconscious, from resuscitating and resolving familial narratives and fantasies of creating and saving. While there are no natural resources in Switzerland, the migrant professional's devotion, as well as their scientific know-how, contribute to the dual task of creating health and wealth through their comingling.

The bonding of migrant professional and molecule can be perceived most clearly in the axial code 'working in science, for life' and functions as a defence against the

anxieties of ill health and suffering, through the work to save lives. The belief in the power inherent in the molecule can be seen, like faith, to be a social defence against the threat of annihilation and results in splitting and projection. Eduardo splits between those who wish to create and those who wish to destroy. Sylvia splits between those who understand and can touch the high-quality Swiss science and those, such as her parents, who don't understand but can support emotionally. Continuing to work in this defensive way can create a blindness to the attendant reality, perpetuating a closed system approach which can be said to defend against external interaction and influence and, poignantly for the migrant professionals, it may risk their dialogue with self.

Emotional refugeeism

Finally, I suggest that with Switzerland being in but not of Europe it both endures and benefits from societal projections, particularly into its pharmaceutical industry, which is conversely more linked to a sense of pride in Switzerland. For these migrant professionals who are permitted entry into Switzerland on the basis of their work, *emotional refugeeism* could be viewed as a form of social defence. Taking refuge from their emotional world may provide them with a regulating membrane against these projections and against thinking about the difficult questions inherent in the task regarding access to the patented medications they are involved in developing and the money made. In the focus on task, there is a sense of its goodness being uncontestable which then becomes an emotional defence against the less palatable aspects of making money and being in competition across the industry. While the doing good inherent in their work is laudable, it can become a cover. There is an envious attack taking the form of “we envy your money and your doing good” against which the migrant professional seems to work all the harder to do good and to prove that they are doing good. The regulating membrane of *emotional refugeeism* enables these migrant professionals to take up a position in relation to these difficult questions which parallels Switzerland’s position in relation to Europe: these difficult questions are in them but not of them, kept out of awareness by this membrane.

This third idea is most visible in the axial code ‘following the work’, and it provides a defence against envious attacks on the industry and the complexity of making money out of illness. When engaging in this defensive way, the migrant professionals could become enmeshed in the cover of the work being uncontestably good. While this defensive way of engaging may provide relief from operating in multiple systems

across industry and Swiss society, the assumption that positivist science is a closed system¹¹⁸ may again stymie self-reflection and debate. It brings to mind Philip and Rachel hiding behind the institutional authority of science and refusing to engage in the mess and fray of debate.

¹¹⁸ Positivist science as a closed system is elaborated upon in chapter 6, section 6.2, p. 166

CHAPTER 6: IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS AND APPLICATION

6.1 Implications for the research question

Returning the focus for the final time to my research question, I wish to consider some of the implications that these three ideas may have in how migrant professionals take up their role given the primary task of the industry and why they decided to come to Switzerland in pursuit of this task. While I have sought to sift out the elements of my findings into three distinct ideas, the reality is that they are not so containable and intermingle one with the other. The division into three ideas may seem somewhat artificial and represents my best attempt to isolate their essence.

In this study, I have attempted to explore the lived experience of migrant professionals who came to Switzerland to work in the pharmaceutical industry with its pursuit of humanitarian and commercial outcomes. I hope to have done justice to the participants' narratives, under the microscope of systems-psychodynamics, to foreground that which is less visible to the naked eye and which represents the powerful force of their unconscious life. From the initial 1161 data points I have analysed, sifted and sorted into 3 ideas. These 3 ideas would benefit from further examination across different aspects of the migrant professional's lived experience. This study is offered as a modest start.

The motivations and desires for relocation seem to be a moving-towards in most cases, towards a reconciliation or reworking of a family narrative and this drive finds expression in a recent article by Bose (2023) quoting Shapiro in how a family's social mission is consciously or unconsciously taken up: "Whether we consciously grasp the family's social mission or not, we are all mobilised by it, and we learn in the

family setting about institutional life, mission, membership, and roles” (p. 201). This positive drive is in relationship to its shadow which is manifested in the more unconscious drives to escape: from familial or social pressures to conform or from feeling different and unlike (Elsa, Gabriela); to become visible and significant in relation to the industry’s task (Eduardo, Sylvia, Tim); to remain within the crowd and behind the voice of authority (Philip, Rachel). Despite Switzerland being united as the Helvetic State, the sense of belonging is negotiated locally which perhaps lessens the focus on achieving a fuller sense of belonging for these migrant professionals in their *compounded* state¹¹⁹. Their status, primarily mediated through the role of worker, enables Switzerland’s pharmaceutical industry to fashion itself as international whilst retaining this migrant professional population as a stratum whose belonging is through the industry and profession rather than through a sense of societal belonging. Although there are mutual advantages to this negotiated sense of belonging, when working life comes to an end, it can present an upheaval to these migrant professionals in (re) establishing themselves: when the economic contract no longer holds and they find themselves displaced from the original home community that they left behind, what can be done with all that has been experienced, accumulated, achieved? This strikes me as a question worth exploring.

The unconscious mechanisms that prompted them to migrate, for reasons of reconciliation or reworking, have an impact on how they take up their roles, particularly in the comingling with the molecule. On arrival to Switzerland and embarking upon the industry task, the social defences that form a regulating

¹¹⁹ Chapter 1, section 1.4, p. 17

membrane are to do with immersing self in the ‘uncontestable good’¹²⁰ of the task while also keeping in view difficulties related to relocation rather than to industry projections. The difficult questions regarding access to patented medicines and the money made are, as we have seen in the study data, largely bracketed off and neutralised, left at the tightly controlled border of the only just open Helvetic system. I suggest that the sense of self is modified in order to accommodate the maturational processes of the molecule, in a way reminiscent of Winnicott’s (1963) description of the creation of the facilitating environment by the mother, so that invisibility for a time, is preferable:

The maturational process only takes effect in an individual infant in so far as there is a *facilitating environment* ... The characteristic of the facilitating environment is *adaptation*, starting almost at 100 per cent and turning in graduated doses towards de-adaptation according to the new developments in the infant which are part of the gradual change towards independence. When the facilitating environment is good enough (this always means that there is a mother who is at first given over to her job of infant-care, gradually, and only gradually, reasserting herself as an independent person) then the maturational process has its chance. (section 21)

Once the molecule has ‘grown up’ and has become a patented medicine, the question arises of how the migrant professional can gradually reassert self when their devotion has steered the molecule which has, in turn, steered them. When the patent expires for the ‘grown up’ molecule, how does the migrant professional experience their “baby’s” transition to generic? Do they manage to disentangle from the comingling? Do they disappear from view like Eduardo? What use and misuse

¹²⁰ As seen by the participants

do they make of the social defences described? How is emotional refugeeism used and misused? How is the power of the molecule used and misused? Finally, how is a permanent state of temporality used and misused? What are the associated anxieties and what happens when they continue to engage in this defensive way? In the next section, I will consider these questions in the light of my research study findings.

6.2 Relevance to practice

The relevance to practice brings the study full circle back to chapter 1 where the counter transferential communications with the migrant professional coachees illustrated the envious attacks, their attempts to defend against them and to return to an adolescent state where being an isolate and misunderstood is to be expected. It is a life stage characterised by growing awareness and fear of one's own potency coupled with both a desire for and fear of separation, what Winnicott (1965) terms "defiance and dependence" (p. 117). These migrant professionals work either directly with or adjacent to quantitative science and this positivist approach to science assumes a closed system. Lyons and Chamberlain (2017), referencing Corcoran, write: "As a philosophy of science, positivism is monolithic, not accepting or acknowledging alternate ways of knowing, which are so important to critical approaches seeking to revision understanding and move beyond individual reductionism" (p. 539). Working in the closed system of positivist science and living in the only just open system of Switzerland¹²¹ perhaps drives these migrant professionals to find relief from the experience of living in systems that operate on many different levels: the family narrative reworking is applied to the devotional

¹²¹ Chapter 1, section 1.4, pp. 15 - 17

nurturing of the next generation of molecules, to provide hope and industry.

Emotional refugeeism furnishes a regulating membrane to keep questions of envy out of awareness. Finally, the *permanent state of temporality* further serves to defend against competition and envy, keeping them tightly in-role even, as Rachel comments, when work is over:

always struggling and questioning whether we are giving a good enough family life to our daughter as the other family because we're both working in pharma - is a job that tend to have a lot of stress. So even when we are all at home in the evening, you sometimes just cannot forget about work. You cannot do it - you still have the lingering stress

- Rachel

In considering potential applications of these findings, I wish first to consider the questions that arose in the previous section. When the patent expires for the 'grown up' molecule or when it is divested, there is the question of how the migrant professional experiences their "baby's" transition to generic. We observed Eduardo following the molecule programme from one company to the next and then disappearing from view during the research study. There was a poignancy in his comparison of working on his molecule programmes with trying for a baby, an emblem for life and hope. He firmly places himself on the side of those who create rather than destroy, as do Gabriela and Sylvia. In considering the use that these migrant professionals make of the social defences described in the 3 ideas, there surfaces the question of how these defences are used and misused.

6.2.1 Relevance to practice - a permanent state of temporality

Firstly, in consideration of how a *permanent state of temporality* is used and misused, there is a bracketing off of self which has been explored in this research study through the axial code of 'a state of belonging negotiated'. The welcome for these migrant professionals is conditional on productivity. Being productive meant in some instances, working very long hours to the point of ill health, such as in the cases of Rachel and Sylvia.¹²² Being productive left its destructive traces in other comments regarding being bullied but at least not losing my job (Philip); giving up my holiday to progress work (Eduardo); having to prove myself repeatedly as a non-European (Gabriela); conceding that people are tied to the industry by golden handcuffs (Elsa). There is a turning of a blind eye to self and to the care of self, almost as if they are downgrading self in anticipation of the 'great downgrading' that threatens them when the work contract ends and the anticipated dread of no longer being viable. There is a sense that they are already living in a self-regulated siege state in anticipation of what is to come. As this clock ticks, it appears that the capacity to negotiate a state of belonging diminishes, just as the originator company's capacity to negotiate a patent extension diminishes as the patent cliff approaches.

6.2.2 Relevance to practice – the bonding of migrant professional and molecule

Turning now to *the alliance of migrant professional and molecule*, the related anxiety which is being defended against is death and suffering through ill health. The migrant

¹²² (Sylvia) Chapter 4, section 4.4.5, pp. 105 – 106; (Rachel) Chapter 4, section 4.4.2, pp. 95 - 96

professional's choice to engage in 'working in science, for life' is both for their own lifelong enterprise and their sense of keeping death at bay in favour of life. The other side of this axial code coin is working to preserve life through science which is central to the industry task and redolent with anxiety. When engaging in this defensive way of working, there is a faith and trust in the name of science, in its authority and perhaps its authorial power to change the fate of those suffering from illnesses that can be treated with the patented medicines. The risk may be that the faith becomes unquestioning and blind, particularly when set in the context of a quantitative industry seeking conclusions and caught in the double bind of creating health and wealth.

6.2.3 Relevance to practice - emotional refugeeism

Finally, in considering the idea of *emotional refugeeism*, the regulating membrane that it provides enables the migrant professionals to keep envious attacks and difficult questions of access to patented medicines and the money made, out of awareness. Given that we learn about institutions and roles from our family experience as written about by Bose (2023), this social defence can be said to originate from the reparative drive stemming from family experience. While the complications from making money out of suffering and illness are sectioned off, the focus remains on the uncontested good of the task. 'Following the work' enables a sense of belonging for these migrant professionals while also potentially limiting the capacity to belong. It necessitates a separation from family while simultaneously taking up the family enterprise whether in seeking financial stability in the case of Philip, being on the right side of authority in the case of Rachel, finding a cure for cancer in Sylvia's case or establishing a sense of belonging for Tim and his family.

The causes they pursue are noble and selfless and the question arises of what will happen when 'following the work' is no longer an option.

I suggest that there may be a radical relationship between issues regarding access to patented medicines and the potential for *emotional refugeeism*: It may be illuminating to explore whether there exists a relationship between the function of the regulating membrane of *emotional refugeeism* and the pharmaceutical industry's difficult questions of patented medicine access that can be ignored and defended against through working harder and ploughing self into the uncontested good of the primary task. Could it be that Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry is also ploughing itself into hiring these highly skilled scientific migrant professionals to work and contribute to the uncontestedly good task while bracketing off the potential for their downgrading of status through job loss or retirement? Could this risk leaving them untethered and again looking for a form of refuge, a place where all that they have acquired in their career in Switzerland can make sense? Does the status change which could be said to come when the economic contract ends signal a poignant sense of transience for these migrant professionals, where the keeping death at bay is no longer possible?

6.3 Possible next steps

Some possible next steps could be to explore the 3 ideas in relation to specific contexts of these migrant professionals, for example during a patented medicine launch or expiry, a divestment or acquisition, to explore the conscious and unconscious mechanisms at play and how they inter-relate with the taking up of role. There may also be some merit in exploring these 3 ideas in the light of migrant

professionals in other sectors who relocate to pursue work which is both humanitarian and commercial in nature, where money plays a complicating role and where the goodness of the work can seem unimpeachable.

Finally, it may be revealing to explore these 3 ideas in pharmaceutical companies with a differing governance and task, such as discovery engine companies whose task is to nurture new start-ups and then separate. An example of this could be Ridgeline¹²³, which is backed by Versant Ventures healthcare venture capital. This could be viewed as a radical change to the industry's traditional task as the primary anxiety regarding keeping death at bay is attenuated and located in the newly created company. Where the migrant professional's role in big pharma could be characterised as being 'nanny', in discovery engine companies, it could be described as 'foster parent'.

6.4 Using qualitative research to explore a quantitatively oriented industry

Perhaps one aspect of this study which is unusual is the employment of a qualitative research methodology to explore the work of a quantitative research industry, where, as stated, positivism assumes a closed rather than open system. During the interviews, there were frequent comments from the participants asking if they were on track and whether their answers were what I was looking for. From a qualitative researcher's perspective, I didn't know what answers I was looking for nor what material would be uncovered. In the participants there was a preoccupation with being right, which is a fantasy, and contrasts with their eliding over difficulties or

¹²³ <https://www.ridgeline-discovery.com/>

difficult thoughts. My goal was to give an emancipatory opportunity to these participants, to tell their own stories from whichever starting point and meandering path that arose for them, in line with the epistemological tenets of social constructionism.

6.5 Concluding statement

This study is at the early stages of idea-forming and may have the potential to become useful theory. It is by no means positioned as widely applicable to all migrant professionals working with pharmaceutical science in Switzerland but rather is representative of experiences in relation to this sector. The study could however have some relevance for this sector, particularly in considering the contribution of migrant professionals to the industry's success and how individual experiences cut across and interplay with the focus on mass, quantitative research. My research is drawing attention to the fact that the pharmaceutical sector has the opportunity to pay attention to individuality, history and the individual's experience; what is emerging from this research is that the individuals who work with the science, the molecule, have an emotional life that is linked to the task. We can see traces of this in how Elsa was recruited to work in Basel for a task that was concerned with efficiency, the recruitment of high volumes of clinical trial participants, fast processing and a 'time-is-money' mindset. A further question could focus on where else in the sector does this linkage between emotional life and the task manifest itself.

The 3 ideas appear to operate as social defences against thinking and feeling for these migrant professionals as they work amongst and with the tensions between

health and wealth: The social defence function of a *permanent state of temporality* is against the difficult feelings associated with being unwanted given their ‘wanted immigrant’ status is conditional on productivity. They are *in* but not *of* Switzerland and Switzerland is *in* but not *of* them. The functioning of this defence against thinking and feeling sees them turning a blind eye to their own suffering in order to uphold the status of being productive, thus ‘wanted’, and leads to a siege mentality with thinking becoming inhibited¹²⁴. In the second idea, *the bonding of migrant professional and molecule*, the flight from thinking is detectable in the proclaimed faith in the molecule and hope that it brings¹²⁵. Similar to the first idea, the molecule is *in* them but not *of* them and can lead to them being inhabited by a blind faith in the molecule’s healing power. Compounded by the urgency created by the first idea, action can be foregrounded and thinking demoted, particularly protestations against the ‘uncontestable good’ of the task. Finally, the third idea, emotional refugeeism provides a defence against the emotional aspects of making money from illness. In combination with the other two ideas in action, these migrant professionals could experience a further compounding effect, taking refuge from these difficult questions, taking up the mantle of moving for jobs and working even harder to prove the doing of good. Rather like the risk of blind faith in the molecule, there is a risk of blind faith in the inherent good of their scientific work.

¹²⁴ As evidenced in Philip and Elsa, p. 158

¹²⁵ Eduardo’s comparison with having a baby, p. 123

CHAPTER 7: FINAL THOUGHTS

The inception of this study occurred through my coaching and consulting day-job, where I noticed, while coaching migrant professionals, their return to adolescence to address issues. It was difficult to understand given their seniority and highly regarded skills and seemed to form something of a pattern which went beyond their individual experience. Having embarked upon a literature review to explore my emerging study question, I found no extant research in this vicinity beyond the writing referenced in Chapter 2.¹²⁶ Given that there seemed to be a pattern which extended beyond individual, discrete cases, I wanted to make a modest inroad into creating ideas which may lead to theory in support of the of sense-making process.

My first exploration of depth interview methodology led me to conclude that the migrant professional participant focus would be on those who work directly with or adjacent to the science. There seemed to be a hidden power residing in the molecule which interplayed with the migrant professionals' taking up of role. It was from here that the study design accelerated. My research question of how they take up their roles given the primary task of the industry was an attempt to cover off angles of the individual experience set in the context of the inherent tensions in Switzerland's pharmaceutical industry. While the initial SQUIN harvested much rich material, the BNIM process supported me to remain in the researcher role focused on narrative rather than being seduced into early analysis of this rich material.

¹²⁶ Section 2.4.2, pp. 36 – 38; section 2.4.4, pp. 41 – 43; section 2.4.5, pp. 43 - 46

During the participant recruitment process, there was much interest in being interviewed and in supporting the study; it was as if I was part of an implicit researcher community who recognised each other and wished to help progress the work and the pursuit of knowledge. The general comments from the participants were that they found the interview process to be cathartic and therapeutic, which was a new and unique experience for them.

Following the data generation through BNIM, the analysis was approached as an analogue task, largely based on printed pages of interview transcripts with associative thinking written on the left and initial grounded theory coding on the right. My kitchen table was awash with these pages printed on different colour A4 paper for analogue coding. A meticulous and at times arduous task of excavating these notes, drawing linkages, dismissing linkages and finally building up a set of 71 focused codes saw me lurching back to Excel for a time. Once this phase of sifting and sorting in Excel had been completed, I returned to analogue and large rolls of paper on the kitchen table to build up a picture of interlinkages between those 71 codes, arriving finally at 8 axial codes. By this phase, I had read the interview notes many times and ingested much of them. My growing, internalised sense of these migrant professionals was supported by multiple notes and a simple Excel table.

I had an amusing association of how I was working, seeing myself as the French chef Colette from the animated film, 'Ratatouille', with sleeves rolled up, elbows tucked in and maintaining order as I *cooked*. This animated alter ego used to ring in my ears at times as I sought to make the transition to academic researcher:

You think cooking is a cute job, eh? Like mommy in the kitchen? Well, mommy never had to face the dinner rush when order come flooding in, and every dish is different and none are simple, and all have different cooking time, but must arrive at the customer's table hot and perfect! Every second counts, and you *cannot be mommy!*

While I cannot be 'mommy', I suspect the seduction into role of 'mommy' for the migrant professionals presents them with problems regarding the responsibility to create a facilitating environment which requires the bracketing-off of self, as opposed to other nurturing roles of 'nanny' or even 'foster parent'.

My final thoughts as I write this final chapter are in the potential for the 3 ideas to be useful. While my use of grounded theory was to construct ideas which could be useful theory, the intention also returns to the spirit of critical realism where the tools are honed as they are used in their exploration¹²⁷. As with molecule programme development, the initial phase had many codes drawn from the interview data, which through analysis and sifting has resulted in 3 ideas in relation to 3 key axial codes. These ideas need to be tested further in a range of scenarios to see if they bear fruit and support the process of sense-making. It could be a useful next step in a research journey.

¹²⁷ Chapter 1, section 1.8, pp. 22 - 23

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Ethics approval

The Tavistock and Portman 
NHS Foundation Trust

Quality Assurance & Enhancement
Directorate of Education & Training
Tavistock Centre
120 Belsize Lane
London
NW3 5BA

Tel: 020 8938 2699
Fax: 020 7447 3837

Siobhain Smiton

By Email

12 January 2022

Dear Siobhain,

Re: Trust Research Ethics Application

Title: An exploration of the migrant professional experience in Switzerland's Pharmaceutical industry

I am pleased to inform you that subject to formal ratification by the Trust Research Ethics Committee your application has been approved. This means you can proceed with your research.

Please note that any changes to the project design including changes to methodology/data collection etc, must be referred to TREC as failure to do so, may result in a report of academic and/or research misconduct.

If you have any further questions or require any clarification do not hesitate to contact me.

I am copying this communication to your supervisor.

May I take this opportunity of wishing you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely,



Paru Jeram
Secretary to the Trust Research Degrees Subcommittee
T: 020 938 2699
E: academicquality@tavi-port.nhs.uk

cc. Course Lead, Supervisor, Course Administrator

Appendix 2: Participant information sheet

Participant information sheet

Research title: An exploration of the migrant professional experience in Switzerland's Pharmaceutical industry

You are invited to participate in the above-named research study. It is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. This document outlines the purpose of the study and what you can expect during the interview process. It will also outline how the research data will be used and the final outcomes of the project. This project is being sponsored by the Trust and has been approved by the Tavistock and Portman Research Ethics Committee (TREC).

Project Description

The purpose:

This is a research project being conducted through the Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust towards a doctoral degree in 'Consulting to Organisations'.

This study aims to explore the experience of migrant professionals who come to Switzerland to work in the Pharmaceutical industry. There has been very little research on the experience of this group and how they experience their role in this industry as it relates to the combination of professional and personal challenges. This group represent a significant percentage of employees in the Swiss labour force.

With this study I aim to explore how the underlying anxieties of the industry in helping to prolong life, reduce suffering and cure disease relate to the migrant professional experience who come to Switzerland to work in this industry. I hope to provide insight into the challenges from both an organisational and individual perspective which may be of use to other humanitarian-oriented organisations who hire a significant proportion of migrant professionals.

Your role:

Your role in the study is voluntary. If you decide to proceed after reading this information sheet, I will give you a consent form to sign. You may withdraw at any point and do not have to explain your reason for withdrawing from the study. If you choose to withdraw from the study altogether you must do this within 4 weeks of the final interview. This is the point at which analysis begins. Once analysis has begun it will not be possible to exclude your data from the data set. All your information will be kept confidential and in reporting back, all data will be anonymised. You will participate in a maximum of 3 interviews totalling up to 3 hours. The interviews will be recorded for research purposes. I will offer you a copy of your interview should

you desire it. The interviews will take place either at your place of work or in a hired meeting room (hired by the researcher).

Risks and benefits of taking part:

There are very few risks in taking part in this study. It is unlikely that these interviews will cause you distress or that you will find them disturbing. I am hopeful that you will find the interview experience interesting and provide you with an opportunity to reflect on your own journey within the pharmaceutical industry in Switzerland. However, should you feel distressed and require counselling support I can direct you to the the United Kingdom Council for Psychotherapy where you can find the relevant resources that you may need. <https://www.psychotherapy.org.uk/>

Confidentiality:

Any identifiable information pertaining to you or the organisation(s) you work for will remain strictly confidential. The transcripts and any written reports relating to your interviews will substitute your information to ensure that it is completely unidentifiable. The audio files will be encrypted and stored in a secure online location only accessible by the researcher. In line with the 5th principle of the Data Protection Act (1998), your personal data shall not be kept for longer than is necessary for the purposes for which it was collected.

Results of the study:

The results of this study will be written up into a research report as a part of my doctoral programme at the Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust. Subsequently this work may be submitted to academic journals for publication and will be written into a book. All names, locations and organisations will be anonymised.

Ethical approval:

This project has been approved by the Tavistock and Portman Foundation Trust's Research Ethics Committee (TREC). Should you have any further questions on the conduct of this study please contact Paru Jeram, Quality Assurance Officer Tel: +44 (0)20 8938 26

Research Supervisor:

Dr. Judith Bell

JBell@Tavistockconsulting.co.uk

Appendix 4: Transcript excerpt with initial GT coding (Tim)

Associative thinking	Transcript	Initial GT coding
<p>Kids born in CH which changed everything and now feel very settled.</p> <p>Work: Company made it feel like home.</p> <p>A sense that the jumping around in the story is expressing the remembered sense of not feeling settled</p>	<p>Okay. We 2014 we originally were living in [REDACTED] which is like really a suburb of Basel. And for some reason, I can't really remember why I think we got sick of car noise, we decided to move up to the countryside. So we really moved to the Swiss countryside and did that for a couple of years. And that was very peaceful but very awkward, very isolated. And that kind of drove us a bit crazy. So maybe that was even a point where maybe we could have ended up going back to the UK at that point. I think the things that kept us in Switzerland were the jobs like I was really loving my job and my wife got a position she really enjoyed as well, working on late stage clinical trials. And then the big thing was we decided to start a family so we had both our daughters now, [NAMES REDACTED] were born in Switzerland. And that, you know, that really changed everything ... it's really right from the start. It seemed like just a great place to bring up kids. And we made a new group of friends really through you know, the sort of yeah, just as you do when you have children, my wife you know, meeting other mums and that's just meeting other families with young kids. And then jumping around a little bit now but as they started nursery and kindergarten, now school again, that's just really helped us to settle, to jump to the end you know now in 2022 We feel like very, very settled very much at home here</p>	<p>Places self on timeline and geographically. Trying to remember why they moved to countryside. Moving into CH countryside for some years.</p> <p>Describing the up and down sides of living in CH countryside.</p> <p>Reflecting that the decision to leave the countryside was probably a decision point regarding which country to live in.</p> <p>Surmising that they decided to stay based on job satisfaction.</p> <p>The bigger reason confirmed as having daughters in CH.</p> <p>Continuing to add to timeline with daughters` births.</p> <p>Acknowledging that this changed everything for them. Evaluating CH as good place to bring up a family. Pointing out that he is not being sequential in his story.</p>

Appendix 5: Focused code tables

Data point	Initial coding	Focused coding
<p><i>“Switzerland wants to attract the best candidates from all over the world actually, because they aim to quality because Switzerland wants to deliver quality. We are costly but we make the difference, we make impact” (Sylvia)</i></p>	<p>Expressing view of industry as demanding and high quality</p>	<p>Nr. 11</p>
<p><i>"it's much. More difficult to create these social awareness when everybody's just in the - in the race to be the best you know. So then you come and you say like 'guys, why don't we just help each other?' and they're like 'What? Are you kidding me? We're in this race, you know. What are you talking about? Like, shut up. and make the best, make the best'" (Gabriela)</i></p>	<p>Expressing view of industry as individualistic and competitive</p>	<p>Switzerland's pharma-in-the-mind</p>

Data point	Initial coding	Focused coding
<p><i>"Now sign on bonus, you should only get if you move from a company to another company. It's not internal, right? I'm like 'what the hell?' So again at this HR meeting because I have people in my group that have been at the director level for many years and got paid a lot less ... I managed to get everyone in my team up to salary. So everyone got a massive payout. Because of that, because it's not fair. Right, but I never noticed it anywhere else where I worked" (Elsa)</i></p>	<p>Combatting mistreatment of team and winning on their behalf</p>	<p>Nr. 21</p> <p>Experiencing and combatting bullying/mistreatment</p>
<p><i>"So I got the sympathy from everyone, but still the fact doesn't change that I'm under her until there was a breaking point that we had an argument – she wasn't reasonable, at least from my perspective and then I requested very strongly that I don't report to her anymore, then I changed the manager" (Rachel)</i></p>	<p>Receiving sympathy from colleagues. Arguing with boss and requesting a different boss</p>	

Data point	Initial coding	Focused coding
<p><i>"you always hear about maybe the doctor who was involved in the trial, but you. never hear that there's like a pharma company involved who, you. know, where you've got 1000s of people kind of putting years of their lives into developing these medicines " (Tim)</i></p>	<p>Expressing frustration at contribution not being seen or known about</p>	<p>Nr. 22</p>
<p><i>"So what I tend to do is lead others and facilitate others who probably are aligned with an agenda I might believe in. And we go as a group, as opposed to me carrying the placard saying 'I think we should do X or Y' I'm not that comfortable being the spokesperson" (Philip)</i></p>	<p>Describing how he leads through others in a more hidden way. Admitting discomfort at being in the leader spotlight</p>	<p>Experiencing discomfort with visibility and/or invisibility</p>

Data point	Initial coding	Focused coding
<p><i>"Realised then in the US that maybe Switzerland wasn't so bad after all, that everything being on time, you know the quality of the food, having the holidays that we have, actually not a bad thing after all" (Elsa)</i></p>	<p>Staying in US and realising that Switzerland is not so bad. Appreciating punctuality, holidays and quality</p>	<p>Nr. 46</p> <p>Comparing Switzerland with previous countries lived in</p>
<p><i>"the rural part of Hong Kong is still. More exciting than the Basel city, or even more exciting than Zurich. That's also – was one of the main struggle that I had the first few years before we had kids. So boring here, it was really painfully boring here " (Rachel)</i></p>	<p>Comparing Basel negatively to Hong Kong. Finding Hong Kong more exciting than Swiss cities</p>	

Appendix 6: Axial codes with related focused codes & number of references

		Nr. references	
Nr. 'A state of belonging negotiated'		243	
Focused codes	17	negotiating the available roles in work and public spaces	34
	46	comparing Switzerland with previous countries lived in	34
	19	communities that are available and sought out	25
	33	frictionlessly joining international and bi-national communities	24
	37	experiencing self as feeling different / 'alien'	23
	51	being in a state of not fully belonging	21
	24	feelings of attachment to the city	14
	58	experience of being both integrated and not integrated	14
	57	missing aspects of social and culinary life from home	12
	69	not finding (access to) and feeling outside of Switzerland's social fabric	11
	56	connections to home country loosening	8
	29	having more space for living and thinking	7
	55	expressing a preference for being self-reliant (... independent, like CH?)	5
	30	relief that Basel is becoming more international	4
	63	experiencing disorientation and culture shock	4
	68	yearning for community in Switzerland	3

		Nr. references	
Nr. 'Power and powerlessness at work'		423	
Focused codes	11	Switzerland's pharma-in-the-mind	41
	35	giving and taking authority in role	41
	7	swallowing a bitter pill	27
	21	experiencing and combatting bullying/mistreatment	23
	64	task anxiety being experienced in role	22
	3	struggling to get into Switzerland's pharma industry	12
	10	women and discrimination in Switzerland's pharma	10

		Nr. references	
Nr. 'Privilege reconsidered'		165	
Focused codes	22	experiencing discomfort with visibility and/or invisibility	35
	67	co-existence of privilege and struggle	25
	23	moving from 'dark' to 'light'	22
	9	feeling unexpectedly powerless	20
	5	encountering unexpected difficulties	13
	25	feeling comforted by abundance of job opportunities	12
	62	feeling unexpectedly limited (food/restaurants/speaking CH DE/shops)	10
	28	staying in Switzerland for a wealthier lifestyle	7
	59	living in gilded cages	7
	26	breaking away from societal strictures / expectations	5
	50	finding Switzerland expensive and appreciating high quality	5
	48	feeling limited by the food consumer choice	4

		Nr. references	
Nr. 'Following the work'		935	
Focused codes	4	moving for jobs	53
	34	forging their own connection to purpose of work	51
	12	work providing opportunity for home and belonging	36
	32	seeing move to Switzerland as temporary	13

		Nr. references	
Nr. 'Working in science, for life'		673	
Focused codes	39	wanting their work to have an application	31
	1	wishing to restore health to patients at large scale	16
	36	expressing pride in Switzerland's pharma industry	15
	65	wanting to work with science and technology to solve healthcare problems	14
	71	telling the stories of individual patients	13
	70	wanting to create something that that didn't exist before	11
	18	science containing and transforming failure	9
	38	getting interested in science at school / university	8
	43	failure used successfully to stop unproductive work	2

Nr. 'His-and-her-story: authoring the family narrative'		Nr. references	
		521	
Focused codes	8	seeming driven to repair family's past	33
	2	feeling different and distant from family	14
	66	carrying previous generations' pain of exile / discrimination and loss	12
	14	being a transitional generation	9
	54	appreciating family life emphasis in Switzerland	9
	53	viewing family of origin as fixed	6

Nr. 'Distance from Switzerland and the Swiss'		Nr. references	
		357	
Focused codes	47	holding the-Swiss-and-Switzerland-in-the-mind	49
	41	experiencing discrimination in Switzerland against 'south' / 'far' / 'distant'	14
	31	experiencing language as a barrier to involvement	12
	27	not seeing self as a local	6

Nr. 'Out of sight, out of mind'		Nr. references	
		195	
Focused codes	20	Switzerland's (neutrality and) neutralising effect	26
	6	seeing others turn a blind eye	19
	16	Switzerland providing refuge and respite	15
	60	Switzerland-being-absent-from-the-mind	14
	13	coming to Switzerland by chance	4
	45	<i>not</i> understanding language being integral to experience of belonging	3

Appendix 7: Pen portrait of Gabriela shared with doctoral peer group

Gabriela

Gabriela is in her 40s. She is from Mexico, is married to a Swiss man who she met at university in the UK and they have 2 young children. Gabriela left Mexico to go to the UK for her first degree and then came to Switzerland where she continued her studies and attained her PhD. She has lived in Switzerland for 15 years and has been employed at the same large pharmaceutical company since completing her PhD. She is currently working as a senior scientist in early-stage development. Gabriela holds Swiss citizenship.

Prior to the interview, Gabriela was keen to have assurances regarding the ethical storage, treatment and dissemination of the interview data and I felt that I had to prove myself to be a competent researcher. During the interview process, the theme of failure and where to locate failure came up in many guises. Gabriela spoke repeatedly about her frustration of having to prove herself to be as good as her European counterparts. I was struck by the difficulty to get a sense of her work, as if that door was firmly shut and admittance to a *non-scientist* like me was not permissible. There was a sense of being invited in but only partially, much as she feels partially included in the scientific professional world that she inhabits. I started to wonder where the lines between projections of ambivalent inclusion and protection from industrial espionage were being drawn; are these lines purposely blurred and then perverted, in order to keep open the options for where to locate failure? Similar to [another participant], Gabriela seemed rather bound up in previous generations' narratives of rejection, success, visibility, community responsibility.