TRANSCULTURAL BROKERAGE: THE ROLE OF COSMOPOLITANS IN BRIDGING STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL HOLES*

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ABSTRACT

The growth and proliferation of global systems and transnational cultures have generated larger and more diverse types of cosmopolitans, all of whom span conventional social boundaries. Understanding this diversity is increasingly important because cosmopolitans often bridge across a wide range of transnational and global networks within and across global organizations. Drawing on multiple disciplines, we conceptualize cosmopolitanism as an embodied disposition characterized by high levels of cultural *transcendence* and *openness* that are manifested in and enacted along varied trajectories of *cultural embeddedness* in one's own culture and *cultural engagement* with the cultural Other. We then propose an analytical framework for the influence of cosmopolitan disposition on transcultural brokerage processes, specifically on bridging structural and cultural holes. Finally, we present a typology of cosmopolitan brokers and their corresponding practices and activities as they engage in transcultural brokerage. By recognizing the diversity of cosmopolitans and their respective dispositions, we significantly expand the pool of "global talent" beyond the traditional focus on expatriates, and we challenge the conventional wisdom on who counts as talent in an interconnected world.

Keywords: cosmopolitanism; transcultural brokerage; global talent; structural holes; cultural holes

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INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades, the growth and proliferation of global systems and transnational cultures have generated larger and more diverse types of cosmopolitans. Processes of "cosmopolitanization" of everyday life (Beck, 2002), intensified awareness of the world as a whole (Tomlinson, 1999), and daily encounters with "the global" have provided an increasing number of people with the opportunity to experience cultural multiplicity (e.g., Szerszynski & Urry, 2002), interact across cultural boundaries (e.g., Mau, Mewes, & Zimmermann, 2008), and develop social ties that span cultural and national boundaries (e.g., Levy, Peiperl, & Bouquet, 2013). Furthermore, different cross-cultural and transnational experiences are now recognized as cosmopolitan (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Beck & Sznaider, 2006), including those that are mundane, unprivileged, or unintended (Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Cohen, 1992; Werbner, 1999). Thus, a wide variety of cosmopolitans now exist across classes and geographies, as an inherent feature of a global world (Werbner, 2007).

Understanding the variety of cosmopolitans, their "state of mind", practices, and network ties is important for two reasons in particular. First, they often bridge across a wide range of transcultural and global networks within and across global organizations. Cosmopolitans may act as cultural brokers (Peterson, 2010), facilitate knowledge acquisition in transnational teams (Haas, 2006), broker export transactions (Ellis, 2000), and use their social capital to promote the international growth of local firms (Prashantham & Dhanaraj, 2010). Thus, cosmopolitans broker transactions between clusters of disconnected actors who are separated by structural holes (lack of ties between actors) (Burt, 1992) and by cultural

holes (dissimilarity or incompatibility between cultural forms) (Pachucki & Breiger, 2010).

Second, a better understanding of cosmopolitans can provide new and important ways of

thinking about global talent. The global talent workforce is one of the most competitive

battlegrounds in business, as the quality of talent and human capital is central to the

internationalization strategies of multinational enterprises (MNEs) (Collings & Scullion,

2006; Schuler, Jackson, & Tarique, 2011), knowledge flows (Brewster, 2012; Moore &

Birkinshaw, 1998), and competitive advantages (Campbell, Coff, & Kryscynski, 2012;

Scullion, Collings, & Caligiuri, 2010). Increasing globalization and its web of complexity are

traditionally dealt with, normatively, by creating expanding categories of skills (Osland, Bird,

& Mendenhall, 2012) and prescriptive lists of criteria for talent identification that include

education, cross-border experiences, and mobility willingness (Caligiuri & Tarique, 2012).

We suggest, however, that macro-environmental transformations require us to expand

our thinking horizons when it comes to "global talent" by broadening the concept of who

counts as talent in an interconnected world (e.g., Collings & Isichel, 2017). That is, the

current models of global talent based on expatriation, traditional competencies, and linear

careers may not supply a sufficient number of people to meet the increasing demand and may

also exclude people who are equally able to contribute, but lack the "appropriate" background

to be selected in the first place. Thus, we propose a mode of thinking that goes beyond

traditional indicators and experiences, e.g. personified by an individual with a cosmopolitan

disposition and limited international background. This is important because limited social

mobility (see Lott, 2012) and a traditional focus on geographical and national borders, which

have dominated international business (IB) (Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Caprar, Devinney,

Kirkman, & Caligiuri, 2015; Jonsen, 2016; Stahl & Tung, 2015), have constrained our

thinking and research. In other words, with connections less dependent on geographical

proximity, structural advantages may, over time, be less correlated with physical mobility and more with each person's cosmopolitan disposition.

Cosmopolitanism represents a complex and multilayered concept that elaborates the social, cultural, political, and moral consequences of globalization, exploring the interrelations between the local and the global across multiple social spheres and social levels (Beck, 2006; Held, 1995; Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). While cosmopolitanism has gained significant attention in the management literature in recent years (e.g., Dahlander & Frederiksen, 2012; Janssens & Steyaert, 2014; Levy, Beechler, Taylor, & Boyacigiller, 2007; Maak, 2009; Riefler, Diamantopoulos, & Siguaw, 2012), the understanding of this phenomenon lags significantly behind. Contemporary processes have expanded the social bases of cosmopolitanism beyond the global elite (e.g., Kanter, 1995; Sklair, 2000) and highly mobile professionals (e.g., Colic-Peisker, 2010; Nowicka & Kaweh, 2009) to include a variety of strata in the social structure (Hannerz, 2005; Mandaville, 2003; Szerszynski & Urry, 2006). Furthermore, cosmopolitanism as a "state of mind" or "openness toward divergent cultural experiences" (Hannerz, 1990: 238) has become increasingly more multifaceted than simply an attitude of openness to foreign others and cultures. Thus, contemporary developments call for a new model that theorizes the complexity and multiplicity of cosmopolitan disposition and its influence on bridging across transcultural and global networks, and thereby revises the definition of potential talent for MNEs.

In this article, we seek to address these gaps first by developing a conceptual framework for cosmopolitanism as an individual-level construct. We conceptualize cosmopolitanism as an embodied disposition characterized by high levels of cultural *transcendence* and *openness* that are manifested in and enacted along varied trajectories of *cultural embeddedness* in one's own culture and *cultural engagement* with the cultural Other. Cultural embeddedness reflects the extent to which an individual is anchored in a specific

culture, which is typically the culture in which he or she was born and raised and views as his

or her "own culture." The notion of cultural embeddedness challenges the traditional idea that

cosmopolitanism is inherently defined by detachment and mobility and recognizes the reality

of a host of "rooted cosmopolitans" (Cohen, 1992), such as "cosmopolitan patriots" (Appiah,

1997), "working-class cosmopolitans" (Werbner, 1999), and "Chinese cosmopolitans" (Ong,

1999; Ralston, Kai-Cheng, Wang, Terpstra, & We, 1996). Cultural engagement reflects the

idea that engaging with the cultural Other[1] is a competence that can range from "thin,"

"surface," and "banal" (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002) to "thick," "deep," and "reflexive"

(Hannerz, 1990) and manifest itself in a wide repertoire of practices. Thus, our

conceptualization suggests that while all cosmopolitans are high on transcendence and

openness, their paths may diverge depending on how they relate to their own culture and to

other cultures.

     Our framework further suggests that cosmopolitan disposition has consequences for

transcultural brokerage, defined as the behavior by which an actor introduces, influences,

manages, or facilitates interactions between other actors across cultural boundaries (Obstfeld,

Borgatti, & Davis, 2014).[2] Specifically, we propose that cosmopolitan disposition influences

two distinct transcultural brokerage processes: bridging structural holes and bridging cultural

holes. A key aspect of such bridging processes is that actors on opposite sides of the hole are

culturally dissimilar because they either operate in different or multiple cultural contexts or

culturally displaced altogether as a result of globalization processes (Dacin, Ventresca, &

Beal, 1999; Hinds, Liu, & Lyon, 2011). Cultural dissimilarities create ambiguity and

uncertainty for the transacting parties and, thus, influence a wide variety of cross-cultural

activities (Ravlin, Ward, & Thomas, 2014). Thus, as global work increasingly occurs

between parties of widely varying cultures, bridging over structural and cultural holes is key.

We argue that cosmopolitans are in an ideal position to act as bridge-makers because they

develop and maintain expansive transnational social networks (e.g., Kennedy, 2004; Mau et al., 2008) and routinely engage with culturally diverse social contacts using a broad repertoire of practices.

Our distinctive contribution is threefold. First, we develop a conceptual framework of cosmopolitan disposition and transcultural brokerage that is situated at the intersection of macro-level dynamics and individual experiences. We suggest that cosmopolitans are positioned in between the social and cultural worlds, bridging across a wide range of transcultural and global networks. Further, we highlight the diversity of individuals who can be considered cosmopolitans even though they may not possess the classic cosmopolitan curriculum vitae (CV), thereby significantly broadening the pool of potential global talent in IB. Second, we extend network theory by demonstrating that network dynamics and brokerage processes in a global context are influenced not only by the structural properties of networks (Burt, 1992) but also by culture and agency, specifically the cross-cultural capacity of brokers to bridge across globally dispersed clusters of actors. Thus, this new framework for transcultural brokerage processes holds great promise for better understanding the dynamics of transcultural interactions and the multiplicity of actors who facilitate them. Third, we bring IB and human resource management (HRM) closer together by recognizing the role of cosmopolitans in bridging across structural and cultural holes, and by expanding the global talent pool (Collings & Isichel, 2017). As transactions increasingly occur between parties across cultural boundaries, the proposed framework underscores the importance of cosmopolitans' network ties and competencies in bridging across cultural boundaries. We also extend international management research, which has traditionally focused on competence-based constructs (e.g., cultural intelligence, global mindset, global competencies), by showing that bridging across cultural boundaries is affected not only by the actor's ability but also by his or her cultural embeddedness and network configuration.

Our approach is distinctively interdisciplinary (see Cheng, Henisz, Roth, & Swaminathan, 2009), and we draw on the key literature on cosmopolitanism, globalization, and transnational cultures (e.g., Hannerz, 1990; Skrbis & Woodward, 2007), network theory in sociology and organizational studies (e.g., Burt, 1992; Obstfeld et al., 2014), and research on global work (e.g., Hinds et al., 2011; Brannen & Peterson, 2009) and international and human resource management (e.g., McNulty & Hutchings, 2016; Schuler et al., 2011). Based on these research streams, we first propose a model of cosmopolitanism as an embodied disposition. Second, we develop an analytical framework for the influence of cosmopolitan disposition on transcultural brokerage processes. This framework then provides the conceptual building blocks for a typology of cosmopolitan brokers that explores the complex interrelationships between cosmopolitan disposition and transcultural brokerage processes. We conclude with a discussion and implications for theory, practice, and future research.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The concept of cosmopolitanism has resurged in the last two decades, spanning multiple disciplines from sociology to anthropology, political science, philosophy, and management, to name but a few (see Levy, Peiperl, & Jonsen, 2016, for a comprehensive review). This resurgence is largely attributed to globalization across economic, political, and cultural domains; cosmopolitanism was to provide an alternative set of social, political, and moral principles that could provide the foundation for collective action in an interconnected global world (Beck, 2006; Harvey, 2000; Held, 1995). Consequently, cosmopolitanism now represents a complex, multilevel, and multilayered phenomenon manifested in a variety of social spheres (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002).

Cosmopolitanism has been viewed as "a philosophical and moral world view of universal ethic and inclusiveness" (e.g., Appiah, 2006; Dallmayr, 2003), "a political project

of democracy and transnational governance" (e.g., Archibugi, 2004; Held, 1995; Nussbaum, 1994), and "an orientation to the world and diverse cultures" (e.g., Beck, 2002; Delanty, 2006; Hannerz, 1990; Szerszynski & Urry, 2002). These diverse conceptual trajectories largely fall under three distinct perspectives: *political, moral,* and *cultural* (Levy et al., 2016). Political cosmopolitanism, or cosmopolitics, discusses cosmopolitan democracy and inclusiveness that enables world politics to transcend the interests of nation states (e.g., Archibugi, 2004; Beck, 2002, 2006; Held, 1995). The political perspective builds on the moral perspective, which emphasizes the "shared moral commitment to all humanity" irrespective of race/ethnicity and citizenship/country of origin (Nussbaum, 1994). The cultural perspective focuses on cultural openness (Delanty, 2006; Hannerz, 1990), cultural consumption (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002), and enjoying and learning from different cultures (Hannerz, 1990; Ong, 2009).

We draw on the cultural perspective and focus on interrelations between macro-level dynamics and the cosmopolitan experiences of individuals. The cultural perspective recognizes that recent historical events (e.g., the end of the communist era, the rise of China, and the expansion of the European Union), the intensification of global economic activity, and unprecedented developments in communication and transportation technologies have opened up opportunities for ordinary individuals to travel and work in previously unreachable political, economic, and cultural territories, both physically and virtually. Even individuals who do not (or cannot) enact global mobility themselves are still subject to an accidental and/or forced exposure to a variety of world cultures due to the media as well as an expansive flow of goods, ideas, and people across the globe (Lee, 2014). In sum, the past two decades have afforded a growing number of people the opportunity to experience the cultures of others, thus expanding the social base of cosmopolitanism to include a variety of "new" cosmopolitans, many of whom, unlike previous conceptualizations, are "non-elite," "rooted,"

"common," or "ordinary." Against this background, and building upon research in multiple disciplines, in the next section we develop a model of cosmopolitan disposition.

COSMOPOLITAN DISPOSITION

We define cosmopolitanism as an embodied disposition characterized by high levels of cultural transcendence and openness that are manifested in and enacted along varied trajectories of cultural embeddedness in one's own culture and cultural engagement with the cultural Other. Elaborating on this definition, our conceptualization has three complementary aspects. First, cosmopolitanism *is* an embodied disposition and as such it involves *thought and action together.* We thus highlight the interplay between "state of mind" and practice that together engender cosmopolitanism as an embodied disposition. Second, cosmopolitan disposition is characterized by two core properties: *transcendence of cultural boundaries* and *openness to other cultures;* these are the defining characteristics of cosmopolitans. Finally, cosmopolitan disposition varies along two distinct dimensions: *cultural embeddedness* and *cultural engagement*, the former dimension captures one's relation to a specific culture, typically his or her own culture, and the latter to other cultures. We thus suggest that while *all* cosmopolitans are high on transcendence and openness, the contemporary landscape promotes diverse enactments of these characteristics, thereby creating discernable variations in the ways in which cosmopolitans relate to their own culture (i.e., cultural embeddedness) and to other cultures (i.e., cultural engagement). Ahead we discuss the notion of embodied disposition and then the defining characteristics of cosmopolitanism. We then propose a two-dimensional model of cosmopolitanism as an embodied disposition.

Cosmopolitanism as an Embodied Disposition

We conceptualize cosmopolitanism as an embodied disposition situated at the intersection of self and other involving thought and action together that are manifested through and reside within a set of discernible practices and practical capacities (Schatzki, 2001). Thus, cosmopolitanism involves a reflexive "state of mind" or an orientation toward one's own culture and toward other cultures that is enacted and re-enacted through a repertoire of practices. Accordingly, cosmopolitanism also entails a mode of performance (Phillips & Smith, 2008) or repertoire of practices and competencies used 'to make one's way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting, and reflecting' (Hannerz, 1990: 239).

To understand the construct of embodied disposition, we draw on the socio-structural notion of *habitus*, understood as a generative structure of practical action (Lizardo, 2004). According to Bourdieu (1977: 83 – emphasis in original), habitus is a "… system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a *matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions* and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks…" Habitus can thus be viewed as a set of socially structured cognitive and cultural principles and procedures that generate and organize practice(s) in a specific field of action (Woodward, Skrbis, & Bean, 2008). In his earlier work, Bourdieu (1971: 401) viewed habitus predominantly in as a set of cognitive dispositions, describing it as "deeply interiorized master-patterns" through which thoughts are organized and mental processes are governed. Gradually, however, he came to reject the distinction between cognitive dispositions and their practical and embodied manifestations (Bourdieu, (1977), thereby eliminating the dichotomy between cognition and action (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011). Therefore, the notion of embodied disposition encompasses mental and discursive processes, as well as practical and corporal, Further, it encapsulates the interplay between culture, cognition, and practice, which generates practical capacities to act in a manner congruent with an emergent situation.

Defining Characteristics: Transcendence and Openness

We view transcendence of cultural boundaries and openness to other cultures as mutually reinforcing defining characteristics that capture the tendency to reflect on one's own cultural boundaries and to appreciate the cultural Other, respectively. These two core properties embody both thought and action of cosmopolitans, thus constitute the defining characteristics of cosmopolitans. Transcendence captures an individual's capacity to go beyond his or her own cultural tradition and, thus, reflect on it from a distance (Lee, 2014). Transcendence therefore creates the psychological space and resources for individuals to take in and experience the cultures of others (Delanty, 2006). The second defining characteristics of cosmopolitanism—openness to other cultures—reflects an appreciation of "…people, places, and experiences from other cultures" (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002: 468) and is considered by many to be a core property of cosmopolitan disposition (Hannerz, 1990; Lee, 2015; Levy et al., 2007; Skrbis, Kendall, & Woodward, 2004; Skey, 2012; Skrbis & Woodward, 2007). Moreover, transcendence and openness can be enacted through a variety of transnational practices and activities such as keeping abreast of world news, consumption of many places and environments, networking and interacting across borders, and transnational mobility (including physical, imaginative, and virtual), among others (Beck, 2002; Szerszynski & Urry, 2002; 2006). These enactment processes thus can lead to diverge cosmopolitan trajectories involving varied manifestations of transcendence and openness in practice. It is important to note that while transcendence and openness are conceptually distinct, they are likely to enhance each other. Specifically, openness to unfamiliar cultural systems, ideas, and people can further induce reflection on one's own culture and provide opportunities to observe and experience one's own culture from afar. In turn, the resulting reflexivity is likely to further foster one's openness.

We note that while the personality construct of openness—as well as other individual differences such as tolerance of ambiguity (Budner, 1962), empathy (Mehrabian & Epstein, 1972), and need for cognitive closure (Webster & Kruglanski, 1994)—may affect cosmopolitan openness, the two constructs are distinct, because cosmopolitan openness is defined specifically in relation to the cultural Other rather than as a generalized tendency of curiousness and broadmindedness (Barrick & Mount, 1991). We further acknowledge the concept "openness to diversity," which captures a broad range of diversity strands in the workplace, from demographic categories of gender, age, and ethnicity to work values, informational background, and expertise (Härtel & Fujimoto, 2000; Hobman, Bordia, & Gallois, 2003; 2004). In contrast, the notion of cosmopolitan openness distinctly focuses on "the cultural Other."

Variety of Cosmopolitan Disposition: Two-dimensional Model

We suggest that cosmopolitan disposition, while commonly characterized by high levels of transcendence and openness, varies along the two dimensions of cultural embeddedness in a specific culture and cultural engagement with other cultures. These two dimensions are independent of each other, although they may be correlated.

Cultural embeddedness. Cultural embeddedness broadly reflects the extent to which individuals are anchored in a specific culture, ranging from relatively embedded to disembedded. Individuals who are culturally embedded share similar taken-for-granted assumptions and norms with those around them, which in turn shape their thoughts and actions (Dacin et al., 1999; Goldberg, Srivastava, Manian, Monroe, & Potts, 2016; Hess, 2004).[5] In contrast, individuals who are culturally disembedded do not have a principal cultural influence in their lives. Thus cultural embeddedness is related to the predominant cultural context in one's life, which is typically the specific culture into which one was born

and views as one's "own," although we acknowledge that in some instances more than one culture shapes one's life, as in the case of biculturals and immigrants. As such, cultural embeddedness both enables and constrains the thought and action of individuals (Dacin et al., 1999) through regulative (norms, values, routines), constitutive (taken-for-granted assumptions, categories, scripts) (DiMaggio, 1994), and embodied (attitudes, practices, capacities, tastes, preferences) forms of culture (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural embeddedness thus underscores the importance of "the cultural imprint or heritage of actors" that influences their behavior "at home" as well as "abroad" (Hess, 2004: 177). However, individuals who enact multiple transcendence and openness experiences, may destabilize the "cultural imprint", thereby somewhat diminishing their embeddedness in a particular culture.

Traditionally, cosmopolitans were defined by cultural detachment and geographic mobility (Hannerz, 1990), as if they were standing above cultural particularism (e.g., Kanter, 1995). However, contemporary perspectives suggest that cosmopolitans can be embedded in a specific culture (Lee, Masuda, Fu, & Reiche, 2017) while developing a web of social networks and ties, some of which are local and territorial, others are transnational and de-territorialized (Appiah,1997; Cohen, 1992). Appiah (1997: 618), for example, suggests that a cosmopolitan can be "…attached to a home of one's own, with its own cultural particularities, but taking pleasure from the presence of other, different places that are home to other, different people."

Consistent with these emerging views, we propose that cosmopolitan disposition can vary in the degree to which individuals are embedded in a specific cultural context that characteristically exerts significant influence over their lives (Haller & Roudometof, 2010; Lee, 2014; Olofsson & Öhman, 2007). Cosmopolitans who are culturally embedded are likely to be anchored in a specific culture, share similar taken-for-granted assumptions and norms with those around them, embrace culturally specific models, and act in accordance with *the*

established norms and values. They are also likely to self-categorize themselves as members of a specific culture and interact with others under this premise. Further, they are also likely to be embedded in a tightly knit social network and maintain close ties with their "own people." However, cosmopolitan embeddedness should not be confused with local embeddedness that would usually entail an all-embracing non-reflexive immersion in a specific cultural context. Distinctively, embedded cosmopolitans are likely to challenge the taken-for-granted and reflect on their culture from afar. In this respect, embedded cosmopolitans maintain reflexive distance from their own culture that enables them to interact across cultural boundaries. Further, this level of measured cultural embeddedness also leads embedded cosmopolitans to engage in a wide variety of transnational practices (see Szerszynski & Urry, 2002) and maintain transnational relations and networks that supplement their localized ties (e.g., Mau et al., 2008; Phillips & Smith, 2008).

If cultural embeddedness is considered the norm, cultural disembeddedness is viewed as a defining characteristic of post-traditional societies and the result of globalization—a process that presumably strips individuals of their localized cultural traditions and allows for the emergence of the disembedded reflexive self (Dacin et al., 1999; Giddens, 1991). Specifically, culturally disembedded cosmopolitans step back, outside the relatively coherent and often unquestioned cultural tradition, and carve out for themselves an individualized amalgamation of cultural worldviews, practices, and preferences (Adam, 2003). They most likely project either an idiosyncratic, individualized cultural identity or a hybridization of multiple cultures. As a result, others may perceive their identity as incoherent and find it hard to sort them into a particular cultural category. For Giddens (1991), the individualized self is one of the consequences of reflexive modernity, as if reflexivity has vacated the self from layers of cultural tradition and normalized aspects of the self (Adam, 2003). At the extreme, disembedded individuals are completely detached from their cultural origins and localized

context of interactions and maintain decontextualized, de-territorialized, and "de-cultured" social networks (Giddens, 1990; 1991).

Cultural engagement. Cultural engagement broadly reflects a generalized capacity to cross cultural boundaries and "…make one's way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting, and reflecting" (Hannerz, 1990: 239). This capacity to engage with the cultural Other varies, ranging from "thin," "banal," or "consumerist" to "thick," "deep," or "reflexive" (Hannerz, 1990). We use "thin" and "thick" to denote the level at which cosmopolitans engage with the cultural Other—a "thin" level of engagement refers to the surface level of consumptive and aesthetic openness and appreciation of other cultures (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002), whereas a "thick" level of engagement refers to the openness and appreciation at a deeper level of cultural cores including social customs, norms, and values of other cultures (Hannerz, 1990). Thus, cultural engagement is promoted by purposefully enacting multiple transcendence and openness experiences.

"Thin" cosmopolitanism is primarily associated with lifestyle, cultural consumption, and an acquired taste for foreign and exotic cultural artifacts from around the world (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). Thus, cosmopolitans characterized by a "thin" level of engagement have heterogeneous tastes, enjoy consuming products, arts, music, and lifestyles of other cultures, and feel at ease with people from diverse cultures and in diverse cultural settings (Lee, 2014). Thus, they have an ability to traverse, consume, appreciate, and empathize with diverse cultural symbols and practices (Skrbis et al., 2004). In this sense, cosmopolitans may be considered cultural omnivores who are open to appreciating everything (Peterson & Kern, 1996) and have an ability to value and discern repertoires and rules associated with cultural symbols or forms that originate across cultural boundaries (Skrbis, et al., 2004).

While the appreciation of a wide variety of cultural objects and goods is common to both "thin" and "thick" levels of engagement, "thick" engagement goes beyond cultural consumption and manifests itself as a willingness to engage with the cultural Other at deeper levels of meaning (Lee, 2014). At times, it also entails a political and moral commitment that transcends local affinities and interests (Skrbis et al., 2004). For "thick" cosmopolitans, cultural openness involves appreciation of and receptivity to social customs, norms, and values of other cultures and conscious familiarization with people and places that are culturally distant from their own local or national context (Kendall, Woodward, & Zlatko, 2009: 112). It can manifest itself as "social eloquence" (Pearce, 1994)—a set of communication practices that facilitates bridging cultural boundaries, which means coordination without deprecating another's way. This includes modified listening, asking the right questions, frame-shifting, recognition of biases, showing respect and interest in different people, and striving for meaningful and non-judgmental interactions (see Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012).

Cosmopolitan Disposition and Related Constructs

Our conceptualization of cosmopolitan disposition is related to, yet distinct from, other constructs such as biculturalism, cultural intelligence, global identity, and global mindset. For example, biculturals[3] are individuals who have deeply internalized two or more distinctive cultural schemas, and thus possess two or more culture-specific knowledge frameworks and identities (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Fitzsimmons, 2013; Lee, 2014). Thus, biculturals are anchored in specific reference cultures and are seen as cultural "insiders" even when they do not identify with these cultures or have disengaged from them altogether (i.e., marginals).[4] Conversely, cosmopolitans relate to multiple, non-specific cultures, captured by the abstract notion of the cultural Other; they remain "outsiders" to these multiple, non-

specific cultural worlds, even if they feel "at home in the world." Further, biculturals have a socially established affiliation with their cultural groups due to citizenship, residency, or the cultural heritage of their family, whereas cosmopolitans lack such status. Cosmopolitanism is also distinct from cultural intelligence (CQ), a construct that focuses on an individual's capability to adapt successfully to new cultural settings (Earley & Ang, 2003: 9) without taking into consideration structural contingencies and constraints. Yet, one could argue that having a higher level of CQ could facilitate the development of engagement with the cultural Other. The notion of global identity (Erez & Gati, 2004) emphasizes a sense of belonging to and identification with a supposedly coherent yet imaginary "global culture," whereas cosmopolitanism highlights the multiplicity, hybridity, and fluidity of "actually existing" cultural forms (Robbins, 1998). Finally, cosmopolitanism conceptualized in terms of external orientation and openness is considered a key underlying characteristic of global mindset, a construct that focuses on cognition and information processing in a global context (Levy et al., 2007).

TRANSCULTURAL BROKERAGE PROCESSES: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, we develop an analytical framework for the influence of cosmopolitan disposition on transcultural brokerage processes. Transcultural brokerage is best described as a set of dynamic processes whereby a broker initiates, influences, manages, or facilitates interactions across cultural boundaries (Obstfeld et al., 2014). These processes reflect a "union strategy" (also called *tertius iungens* from the Latin verb *iungere,* to join, unite, or connect)[6] (Obstfeld, 2005; Collins-Dogrul, 2012; Long Lingo & O'Mahony, 2010; Shi, Markoczy, & Dess, 2009) and are common across a wide variety of global interactions and work settings, including creating ties between disconnected organizational units in multinational corporations (Reiche, Harzing, & Maria, 2009), bridging between local and

transnational actors (Mato, 2000), knowledge sharing in globally distributed teams (Agterberg, Van Den Hooff, Huysman, & Soekijad, 2010), and facilitating collaboration between individuals working around the globe (Fleming & Waguespack, 2007). Common to all these situations is that actors are separated by cultural and national boundaries, and this creates a valuable context for transcultural brokerage.

We focus on two distinct transcultural brokerage processes — bridging structural holes and bridging cultural holes — and specify the effect of cultural embeddedness on bridging structural holes and the effect of cultural engagement on bridging cultural holes. Bridging structural holes is defined as creating a tie between otherwise disconnected actors (Burt, 1992) that operate across global networks (Castells, 1996; Dicken, Kelly, Olds, & Yeung, 2001); bridging cultural holes is defined as connecting between cultural forms that are separated, dissimilar, or incompatible (Ingram & Silverman, 2016; Pachucki & Breiger, 2010). We note that although structural holes and cultural holes may be closely intertwined empirically due to the cultural contingency of network structure, these two types of holes are conceptually distinct (Breiger, 2010), with the former denoting a gap in the social fabric and the latter a gap in the cultural fabric. Consequently, the primary mechanisms that facilitate bridging each type of hole are also conceptually distinct (Hedström & Ylikoski, 2010; Obstfeld et al., 2014). Specifically, bridging structural holes is primarily a function of network structure and network position and often involves brief and discrete episodes (Burt, 1992). In contrast, bridging cultural holes is primarily a matter of cultural repertoires and cultural practices and often requires a more sustained engagement (Lizardo, 2014).

Our framework therefore describes the *crucial* effects of cultural embeddedness and cultural engagement, suggesting that cultural embeddedness affects the capacity of cosmopolitans to bridge structural holes through shaping the configuration of their social networks, whereas cultural engagement affects their capacity to bridge cultural holes through

shaping the bridging practices available to them. We thereby develop the conceptual building blocks for constructing more complex causal relationships between cosmopolitan disposition and transcultural brokerage processes involving joint effects and interactions. We capture this interdependent web of relationships in the next section where we develop a typology of cosmopolitan brokers (Cornelissen, 2016). Thus, our analytical framework offers rigor and precision in identifying the unique contribution of cultural embeddedness and cultural engagement to bridging structural holes and bridging cultural holes, respectively, whereas our typology captures more complex interrelations between the constructs (Delbridge & Fiss, 2013). Figure 1 provides an overview of our analytical framework.

Bridging Structural Holes and Cultural Embeddedness

The notion of structural holes generally refers to lack of ties or a "separation between nonredundant contacts" (Burt, 1992). An individual who connects between otherwise unconnected actors or between clusters of densely connected actors that are separated from one another is said to occupy a brokerage position; by creating a link between unconnected actors, he or she bridges the structural hole between actors (Burt, 1992; Marsden, 1982; Gould & Fernandez, 1989). Further, the larger the number of disconnected contacts in an individual's personal network, the richer his or her network in structural holes. Individuals whose social network spans structural holes (they are variously called network brokers, connectors, hubs, or entrepreneurs) have information diversity, timing, and arbitrage advantages (Burt & Merluzzi, 2016). Thus, a structural hole is a potentially valuable context for action that can be beneficial to both the broker and the actors on opposite sides of the hole. Prior research suggests that the individuals who span structural holes are more likely to come up with good ideas (Burt, 2004), are more creative (Fleming, Mingo, & Chen, 2007), and can adapt better to changes in the task environment (Gargiulo & Benassi, 2000). As Burt

(2005:18) argues "…people with networks rich in structural holes are the people who know about, have a hand in, and exercise control over more rewarding opportunities."

Our focus is on bridging "global" structural holes where actors on opposite sides of the hole are separated by cultural and national boundaries, including within multinational corporations (e.g., Reiche, Harzing, & Kraimer, 2009) and across firms and markets (e.g., Griffith & Harvey, 2004). We propose that the degree of cultural embeddedness shapes the interpersonal network of cosmopolitans and influences their capacity to bridge across "global" structural holes. Specifically, as individuals are embedded along multiple social dimensions, cultural embeddedness is related to structural embeddedness—the configuration of interpersonal networks and the extent to which individuals are anchored in relatively cohesive social communities (Goldberg et al., 2016)—through homophily and social influence mechanisms that create mutually reinforcing linkages between cultural embeddedness and structural embeddedness (Carley, 1991; DellaPosta, Shi, & Macy 2015; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). In fact, culture and social relations empirically interpenetrate with and mutually condition one another so that it is almost impossible to conceive of the one without the other (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994; Lizardo, 2006; Vaisey & Lizardo, 2010).

As the capacity to bridge across structural holes is primarily a function of network structure and network position (Burt, 1992), the influence of cultural embeddedness on network configuration is crucial. Specifically, as cosmopolitans transcend conventional cultural boundaries and enact a measured embeddedness and distance from their cultural mooring(s), they tend to be involved in a variety of transnational interactions and activities, including physical and virtual mobilities (e.g., Canzler, Kaufmann, & Kesselring, 2008; Kennedy, 2004), participating in the activities of international or global organizations (e.g., Beaverstock, 2005; Kesselring & Vogl, 2008; Larsen, Axhausen, & Urry, 2006), and

interacting with culturally diverse people and communities using technological platforms (e.g., Sobré-Denton, 2016; Tarrow, 2005). Consequently, cosmopolitans develop and maintain private and professional transnational social networks of weak ties (low-density networks of acquaintances) (Levy, et al., 2013; Mau et al., 2008; Werbner, 1999). Weak ties tend to be extensive and diverse, serving as a bridge between people who are otherwise disconnected and embedded in different cultural and social worlds. They provide access to new and non-redundant information from disparate parts of the network (Burt, 1992; Granovetter, 1973). This network structure in which social ties are not connected to one another (i.e., non-redundant) is commonly referred to as "network brokerage" (Burt, 1992).

Moreover, levels of cultural embeddedness and the consequent structural embeddedness further shape the network structure of cosmopolitans. Specifically, we suggest that in addition to their transnational network of weak ties, culturally embedded cosmopolitans are also likely to maintain a network of strong ties and deep involvement with a specific cultural group. This network structure of strongly interconnected social ties is commonly referred to as "network closure" (Burt, 1992). Thus, embedded cosmopolitans enact network strategies that entail a mix of brokerage and closure, simultaneously combining brokerage beyond their cultural group with closure inside the group (Burt, 1992, 2005). In contrast, culturally disembedded cosmopolitans are less likely to maintain a tight social network that is culturally specific and relatively homogeneous, and thus their network strategies can be described as "brokerage only" (Burt & Merluzzi, 2016).[7]

We therefore propose that the network structure of embedded and disembedded cosmopolitans is likely to promote a particular set of brokerage opportunities and constraints and has implications for bridging structural holes (Burt, 2004). Specifically, as embedded cosmopolitans have a network structure characterized by a mix of brokerage and closure, they are likely to bridge across structural holes between their own cultural group and globally

dispersed actors. In contrast, the network structure of culturally disembedded cosmopolitans is characterized by brokerage only and therefore likely to promote brokerage opportunities that span global networks. Consequently, disembedded cosmopolitans are likely to bridge across structural holes that span globally dispersed actors. We should, however, note that degree of embeddedness and the resultant network structure determine the *primary* context of transcultural brokerage rather than the *exclusive* context. Thus, embedded cosmopolitans who would typically bridge between their own cultural group and global actors may also trade on other gaps in the social structure, and disembedded cosmopolitans who would typically bridge between and across globally dispersed actors may also operate in more local contexts.

Bridging Cultural Holes and Cultural Engagement

The notion of cultural holes generally reflects dissimilarities between forms of culture or a lack of a shared system of meaning (Pachucki & Breiger, 2010). Such dissimilarities can range from an extreme value incompatibility (e.g., Ingram & Silverman, 2016) to different ethics (Donaldson & Dunfee, 1999) to disconnected patterns of cultural choice (Lizardo, 2014). Whereas structural holes denote a disconnect between people in the social network, cultural holes represent a disconnect between cultural forms (Lizardo, 2014).[8] An individual who connects between otherwise unconnected cultural forms or between cultural patterns that are separated, dissimilar, or incompatible with one another bridges cultural holes (Pachucki & Breiger, 2010) and can be viewed as a "cultural broker." As Pachucki and Breiger (2010: 216) note, "The notion of cultural holes points to the structuring of boundaries and the lack of complete connections among cultural forms…" which in turn creates bridging opportunities.

Our focus is on the effect of cultural engagement on bridging cultural holes where actors on opposite sides of the hole are culturally dissimilar because they either operate in different cultural and national contexts (Hinds et al., 2011), straddle multiple cultural

contexts (Dacin et al., 1999), or culturally displaced altogether as a result of globalization processes (Giddens, 1991). Further, cultural holes can vary in their level of complexity, ranging from relatively simple to complex. A relatively simple cultural hole involves dissimilarity between largely explicit, observable, and accessible forms such as codified cultural knowledge (e.g., stories, myths, current affairs), cultural artifacts (e.g., music, food, arts), and rituals. A moderately complex cultural hole involves dissimilarity between more tacit, unseen, and less accessible forms such as norms, attitudes, and the underlying meaning of observable cultural forms (Lam, 1997). Finally, a complex cultural hole involves dissimilarity across all layers of culture, including between deeply held cultural values and taken-for-granted assumptions. Bridging cultural holes thus involves creating a "tie" between these dissimilar cultural forms. Moreover, the more complex the cultural holes are, the more involved the practices that are required to bridge them.

For analytical purposes, we distinguish between three primary bridging practices—transfer, translation, and transformation, following Carlile (2004). Bridging a relatively simple cultural hole largely requires *transferring* bridging practices whereby the broker shuttles cultural forms between actors without necessarily having an in-depth understanding of the specific form, the underlying meaning, or the cultural whole. A moderately complex cultural hole, which involves more tacit and unseen cultural forms, requires *translation* practices whereby the broker not only ferries the cultural forms from one actor to the other but must also translate the meaning of observable forms such as artifacts and rituals in a way that the other actor can understand. This may involve, for example, explaining why certain rituals are commonly practiced by explicating the underlying meaning behind such observable practices. Finally, bridging complex cultural holes requires *transformation* practices that involve explicating deeply held cultural values and taken-for-granted assumptions of cultural forms and recontextualizing (Brannen & Peterson, 2009) them in the

other actor's cultural context in an acceptable manner. This is considered the most complex of the three types of bridging practices.[9]

We further propose that the level of cultural engagement influences the capacity of cosmopolitans to bridge cultural holes, through shaping the repertoire of practices available to them for creating "ties" between cultural forms. Specifically, we propose that the level of cultural engagement—from "thin" to "thick"—corresponds to a different set or combination of transferring-translating-transforming bridging practices across cultural holes. Hall (2002: 26) suggests that cosmopolitans draw upon and enact practices, vocabularies, and discourses from a variety of cultural repertoires. These repertoires are developed through experience and engagement with the cultural Other, and the deeper the engagement, the more multifaceted and varied the consequent cultural repertoires. Further, these repertoires can be viewed as a "toolkit" of resources from which cosmopolitans can construct diverse action strategies (Swidler, 1986). Thus, cosmopolitans characterized by "thin" cultural engagement are likely to develop narrower repertoires that will enable them to traverse, consume, and appreciate relatively explicit and observable cultural forms without necessarily delving into their profound cultural meaning. Consequently, they are likely to primarily bridge simple and moderately complex cultural holes by enacting a narrower repertoire of bridging practices and using a more limited range of transfer and translation bridging practices. In contrast, cosmopolitans characterized by "thick" cultural engagement are likely to develop more multifaceted and varied cultural repertories that enable them to navigate across cultural levels and cultural forms. As a result, they are likely to effectively bridge a wider variety of cultural holes—from simple to complex—by enacting a broad repertoire of bridging practices and using the full range of transfer, translation, and transformation as necessary.

A TYPOLOGY OF COSMOPOLITAN BROKERS: THE JOINT EFFECTS OF CULTURAL EMBEDDEDNESS AND CULTURAL ENGAGEMENT ON TRANSCULTURAL BROKERAGE PROCESSES

Typologies are considered a key tool for making distinctions between complex examples of new phenomena such as the recent emergence of larger and more diverse types of cosmopolitans (Delbridge & Fiss, 2013; for recent discussion of typologies in a global context see Reiche, Bird, Mendenhall & Osland, 2016). Building on our earlier discussion, we explore the joint effects of cultural embeddedness and cultural engagement on transcultural brokerage processes by developing a typology that distinguishes among four ideal-typical cosmopolitan brokers and their corresponding network configurations, cultural repertoires, and bridging practices (see Figure 2). These two dimensions serve as conceptual building blocks of the four ideal-types, each constituting a unique combination of attributes that influences transcultural brokerage processes (Doty & Glick, 1994). From an analytical perspective, cultural embeddedness can be viewed as a structural building block, and cultural engagement as a cultural building block of this typology, which hence underscores the interdependent web of relationships between network and culture in a global context (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994). Our typology further highlights the complexity of the global context as we explore how embedded and disembedded brokers operate between and across global networks that span both culturally homogeneous and culturally heterogeneous actors.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Embedded Brokers

The two types of culturally embedded brokers—the *rooted operator* and the *rooted coordinator*—are positioned in the gap between a tightly knit network and global networks. Being anchored in a specific cultural group, embedded brokers enjoy the benefits of shared understanding, trust, and information-rich relationships (Reagans & McEvily, 2003), as well as a relatively coherent social identity and clear social expectations (Podolny & Baron 1997). Further, their position between closure and brokerage affords embedded brokers access to both privileged high quality information derived from their tight social network and non-redundant information derived from their transnational and global networks (e.g., Wang, 2015).

As cultural embeddedness shapes the configuration of social networks — the primary context for brokerage action (Burt, 2004) — embedded brokers are likely to operate in the gap between closure and brokerage and to bridge between their own culturally homogeneous group and global actors who may be culturally diverse. Collaborations between culturally homogeneous and culturally heterogeneous parties bring a unique set of challenges. Specifically, embedded brokers have to bridge between culture-specific mental models, identities, and work practices brought to the collaboration table by the culturally homogeneous group and hybridized or idiosyncratic mental models, identities, and work practices of the culturally heterogeneous parties. These challenges may be further compounded because embedded brokers are relationally, socially, and informationally closer to one party than the other and therefore have to manage potential or perceived bias that might arise from their affiliation with one party, or because these brokers might think and act in a biased manner as a result of their cultural embeddedness and affinity with their cultural group (Gould & Fernandez, 1989; see also Stovel & Shaw, 2012). Below we explore how embedded brokers bridge over structural and cultural holes and facilitate collaborations across global networks.

Rooted operator. We conceptualize the *rooted operator* as an ideal-type that involves high level of cultural embeddedness and "thin" level of cultural engagement (see Figure 2). This ideal-type of an embedded broker has a transnational network with many weak ties that span multiple cultural worlds. The rooted operator seeks to experience diverse cultural offerings and develops broad knowledge of products, arts, music, current affairs, and trends from around the world. At the same time, the rooted operator feels "at home" in a specific culture and thus maintains close ties to the people and affairs of his or her cultural group. The rooted operator type thus depicts a new, emerging profile of contemporary cosmopolitans largely captured by the terms "cultural omnivores" (Peterson & Kern, 1996) and "cosmopolitan consumers" (Cannon & Yaprak, 2002; Hiebert, 2002; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). They consume a wide variety of cultural forms and routinely use "culture talk"—the deployment of cultural knowledge associated with aesthetic goods in conversations—as a resource to connect across cultural and social groups (Lizardo, 2016).

The network configuration of the rooted operator type enables him or her to bridge structural holes by recognizing information gaps between tightly knit and global networks. He or she can access both local information and globally dispersed non-redundant information and relay it back and forth between his or her two distinctive networks. For example, the rooted operator may broker international exchanges between local and foreign firms (Ellis, 2003), be involved in international alliances for introducing foreign cultural products, arts, and trends to his or her own cultural group (Riefler et al., 2012), and bridge between local grassroots organizations and foreign corporations (Mato, 2000). While the network position of the rooted operator allows the broker to exploit information gaps by mediating exchange flows between cultures and locations, his or her "thin" engagement style may limit the richness of the information.

This engagement style also has implications for bridging cultural holes and facilitating collaborations, especially because the rooted operator is likely to bridge between the somewhat complex cultural hole that lies between a relatively homogeneous party (his or her own cultural group) and relatively heterogeneous party (global actors). This brokerage situation presents significant challenges because the former party is likely to have consistent identities (Roccas & Brewer, 2002), maintain relatively strong ingroup-outgroup boundaries (Tajfel, 1982), and hold a large trust gap between ingroup and outgroup members (Yoshikawa, Lee & Harzing, 2016), whereas the latter party may be less than consistent in its cultural forms. Using his or her somewhat limited cultural repertoires, the rooted operator is likely to bridge over cultural incompatibilities, for example, by identifying a set of interests and work practices that are common to both parties and matching them (Kellogg, 2014). Further, he or she is likely to focus on transferring and translating surface cultural forms while discounting and glossing over cultural dissimilarities at a deeper level. Thus, the rooted operator may be less than proficient in bridging complex cultural holes where in-depth understanding and immersion is required.

Although swift in relaying multitudes of information in the gap between tightly knit and global networks, the rooted operator is susceptible to bias because he or she is closely affiliated with one of the parties (Gould & Fernandez, 1989; Stovel & Shaw, 2012) and therefore may have to actively manage perceived and/or enacted bias during the brokerage process. In an effort to establish impartiality and credibility, for example, he or she may avoid advocating or protecting the interests of his or her own cultural group, and thus may modify a selection of possible shared interests to a limited set that may be seen as unbiased by the other party (Friedman & Podolny, 1992).

Rooted coordinator. We conceptualize the *rooted coordinator* as an ideal-type that involves high level of cultural embeddedness and "thick" level of cultural engagement. This

ideal-type of an embedded broker works across two main networks—a network of strong ties, which are anchored in a specific culture, are based on shared cultural, social, and historical experiences, and are typically long-lasting and a network of weak transnational ties. Segments of the latter network, however, may evolve into more committed engagements with cross-border contacts on the basis of common interests in global issues (Beck, 2006) and common values (Werbner, 2007). The rooted coordinator thus engages with some segments of his or her transnational network with the same intensity and commitment typically reserved for one's own cultural group. This type is often referred to as "rooted cosmopolitans" (Appiah, 2006) or "rooted global citizens" (Lee et al., 2017).

The configuration of his or her network, coupled with high intensity and high commitment interactions, enable the rooted coordinator to bridge structural holes that involve complex, multilayered, high quality information. A deeper level of engagement across the networks can build stronger or better quality social ties, which in turn result in more valuable sources of information (Lord & Ranft, 2000) and a greater ability to obtain knowledge from these sources (Reagans & McEvily, 2003), compared with an embedded broker whose cross-cultural engagement is rather superficial. The engagement of the rooted coordinator with diverse cultural others can also affect his or her "absorptive capacity," which can help to sort higher-quality knowledge from lower quality, as well as manage the information-overload challenges associated with bridging structural holes (Haas, 2006). Furthermore, information advantages associated with a high level of engagement can also partially offset the effects of the relational and cognitive constraints associated with a high level of cultural embeddedness, namely habitual reliance on information sources that are culturally or physically proximal or whose knowledge and expertise are well known to the broker (Borgatti & Cross, 2003; Smith, Menon, & Thompson, 2012).

Therefore, the rooted coordinator is particularly effective when bridging complex culture holes and facilitating collaborations that requires in-depth understanding and engagement not only with one's own cultural group, but also with the culturally diverse global party. Since the collaboration between culturally homogeneous and culturally heterogeneous parties can become bogged down by cultural dissimilarities and incompatibilities, the rooted coordinator's interpretative and reflective mode of managing meaning provides clear advantages, as it enables him or her to choose from and enact a multifaceted repertoire of bridging practices, including such demanding tasks as transforming and recontextualizing highly complex and tacit forms of knowledge (Hsiao, Tsai, & Lee, 2006). Thus, rather than focusing on matching existing interests that appear similar on the surface, the rooted coordinator can decipher common and compatible values and beliefs by relying on his or her cultural knowledge and affinity with his or her own cultural group and by deeply engaging with the other party. Further, the rooted coordinator is likely to promote an open dialogue between parties and encourage them to transform their entrenched interests rather than use buffering strategies (Kellogg, 2014). Finally, the rooted coordinator can tailor his or her bridging strategies in ways that are meaningful for each party, for example, transmitting culturally tacit knowledge to his or her own party while working toward transforming the expectations of the other.

The rooted coordinator is a highly engaged transcultural facilitator, bridging the structural and cultural holes between his or her culturally homogeneous network and global actors. Although susceptible to bias due to the closeness to one party (Gould & Fernandez, 1989), the rooted coordinator's ability to engage deeply with global actors can help in attenuating the potential bias. However, the rooted coordinator's committed presence across networks, while providing advantages in deeper and often longer involvement in collaboration, can cause "double-agent" dilemmas when the two collaborating parties diverge

in interests and, thus, demand a clear and unequivocal stance. As Krackhardt (1999) indicates, brokerage can become a liability when a broker is caught up between the two cliques, each imposing its normative and role expectations, and this leads to identity ambiguity and imbalance.

Disembedded Brokers

The two types of culturally disembedded brokers—the *global connector* and the *global integrator*—occupy a "brokerage only" position and largely operate between and across global networks. Their structural position affords significant informational benefits and brokerage opportunities. Spanning multiple cultural worlds, however, can come at a cost as it may lead to their projecting an incoherent social identity, which can evoke suspicion and distrust (Podolny & Baron, 1997). Further, disembedded brokers may lack the benefits afforded by strong ties and cohesion, such as access to high-quality or proprietary information (Bian, 1997).

As cultural disembeddedness affects the configuration of their network, disembedded brokers are likely to operate primarily within and across global networks, bridging between culturally diverse actors. Facilitating collaboration between global parties presents unique challenges as each party is likely to hold idiosyncratic work practices and identities and norms that have evolved over time and across space. Below, we explore how disembedded brokers bridge over structural and cultural holes and facilitate collaborations.

Global connector. We conceptualize the *global connector* as an ideal-type that involves low level of cultural embeddedness or disembeddedness and "thin" level of cultural engagement. This ideal-type of a disembedded broker has an expansive transnational network with many weak ties, but apparently few strong ties (see Beaverstock, 2005; Kennedy, 2004; Kesselring & Vogl, 2008; Larsen et al., 2006). The global connector "sees" and "knows"

many people and many new people pass through his or her life, but these encounters tend to be casual and transient, yet intense (Larsen & Urry, 2016; Wittel, 2001). Wittel (2001) refers to this style of network ties as "network sociality," in contrast with traditional long-lasting ties based on shared cultural, historical, and personal experiences. Network sociality reflects social relations that are primarily transactional and informational, based on information exchange, data transfer, and "catching up." These encounters tend to be culturally diverse, but rather homogeneous when it comes to lifestyle and class. In this respect, the global connector, probably more than any other type of broker, represents the familiar image of the cosmopolitan as the high-flying mobile professional (Micklethwait & Wooldridge, 2000).

The network configuration of the global connector type has direct implications for bridging structural holes. Due to expansive transnational networks, he or she is likely to be privy to non-redundant information and recognize information gaps between clusters of globally dispersed actors. Further, his or her exposure to diverse sources of information and cultural models can foster a sense of ease with considering multiple perspectives and communicating in different "languages" (Reagans & McEvily, 2003, 2008). The global connector is therefore likely to get involved in multiple episodes of information transfer, introduction, and matchmaking between globally dispersed actors. Thus, the global connector may be involved in bridging activities such as enabling firms to influence industry standards (Dokko & Rosenkopf, 2010) and identifying international exchange partners (Ellis & Pecotich, 2001). However, while the network position of the global connector has many information benefits, his or her rather "thin" style of engagement constrains the quality and richness of the information. Further, the decontextualization of ties and "thin" sociability can lead to the rather rapid decay of ties and the associated burden of constantly replenishing the stock of ties.

The structural position of the global connector type also has implications for bridging cultural holes. As mentioned earlier, the global connector is likely to facilitate collaboration between culturally heterogeneous parties. In such situations, the cultural hole between parties can be moderately complex because each party is likely to adhere to a unique set of cultural forms that have emerged within the group over time rather than being derived from any established cultural tradition. The initial challenges are to map out each party's emergent cultural forms, identify commonalities and dissimilarities, and communicate these to the parties. Typically, the global connector is a consummate decipherer of cultural forms, especially those that are relatively visible and observable, as he or she is constantly exposed to and consumes diverse cultural experiences. The global connector can thus quickly notice cultural symbols and pick up cues and make sense of them on the fly. It is this sort of fluid cultural exchange that enables the global connector to create ties between cultural forms and between people across a cultural hole. These ties may not go deep into cultural meanings and assumptions, but given that the parties may have a rather nascent culture, such cultural transfer may suffice to facilitate collaboration. Further, the global connector is likely to streamline the collaborative effort and introduce "best practices" (Sidhu & Volberda, 2011) as a way to reduce the need for in-depth engagement. Thus, the global connector may sidestep certain facilitation tasks altogether, such as forming shared identities and transforming existing interests, and adopt a solution-focused approach.

The global connector enjoys significant informational advantages and brokerage opportunities due to his or her expansive transnational network, fluid if facile engagement style, and ability to bridge over cultural boundaries expeditiously and expertly. However, the global connector is not without limitations, especially when he or she facilitates collaborations across complex cultural holes where the cultural dissimilarity between parties requires more than a cursory engagement. Further, the global connector may be viewed as

instrumental and opportunistic due to the limited investment in parties, lack of coherent cultural identity, and fleeting social ties.

Global integrator. We conceptualize the *global integrator* as an ideal-type that involves low level of cultural embeddedness or disembeddedness and "thick" level of cultural engagement. This ideal-type of a disembedded broker has a transnational network of weak ties, as well as an active transnational network of contacts that are cemented by shared interests in global issues and global risks (e.g., climate change, global inequality, global financial crises) (Beck, 2002; Tarrow, 2005). Thus, the global integrator engages with others across cultural and national boundaries with emotional and moral/ethical commitments (Skrbis et al., 2004). According to Skrbis et al. (2004), this engagement style entails empathic, aesthetic, and intellectual affinity with other cultures, coupled with a distinct ethical orientation. The global integrator type thus represents a brand of ethically committed transcultural engagement, often captured by the terms "global citizen" (e.g., Szerszynski & Toogood, 2000) and "homeless global citizen" (e.g., Lee et al., 2017).

The global integrator type maintains transnational networks that in some respects straddle "weak commitments" characteristic of low-density networks and "moderate commitments" based on shared concerns (Anjos & Reagans, 2013). This network configuration enables the global integrator not only to bridge structural holes between globally dispersed actors but also to have insight into more tacit issues such as the quality of the exchange partners and the value of the resources they may control. He or she is therefore likely to get involved in matchmaking where the quality of the information and the ability to build trust with global actors is paramount, as is the case, for example, in cross-border venture capital investments (e.g., Madhavan & Iriyama, 2009).

The in-depth cultural engagement of the global integrator is particularly important when bridging over complex cultural holes or facilitating complex, conflictual, or ill-defined

collaborations between culturally heterogeneous parties. In such a context, parties often struggle to develop a shared understanding of the collaboration's goals, essential tasks, and appropriate processes. Further, the lack of readily identifiable cultural models and identities, which presumably create space for emergent understandings, compounds the problems because it creates what can be viewed as a "weak situation" that lacks clear normative expectations. The global integrator thus faces the thorny task of transferring and translating rather ambiguous and incompatible cultural forms between parties. However, the global integrator may opt to bridge over these incompatibilities by encouraging parties to transform their divergent interests and reach mutually acceptable solutions. Further, in the absence of culturally specific group identities, the global integrator has an opportunity to promote a relational identity (Sluss & Ashforth, 2007) that cuts across parties by highlighting commonalities among members across parties (Hogg, Van Knippengerg, & Rast, 2012).

The global integrator is a consummate transcultural facilitator who largely operates in the global arena. He or she shares a common set of values, attitudes, norms, and behaviors with other committed actors in the global village, which can provide access to quality information through transnational friendships (Kennedy, 2004) and membership in transnational communities (Morgan, 2001). The global integrator, however, can find him- or herself involved in rather sticky situations in which the cultural dissimilarities between parties are intractable and unbridgeable. In such cases, the global integrator can become bogged down in a protracted and unproductive collaboration.

DISCUSSION

In this study, we offer a theoretical framework for cosmopolitanism as an embodied disposition characterized by high levels of transcendence of cultural boundaries and openness to other cultures and people. We further suggest that while all cosmopolitans are high on

these characteristics, enacting transcendence and openness across transnational social spaces and social networks creates discernable variations in the ways in which they relate to their own culture and to other cultures. We suggest that cosmopolitans are positioned in between social and cultural worlds, spanning conventional social boundaries and bridging across a wide range of transcultural and global networks. Therefore cosmopolitan disposition has consequences for transcultural brokerage processes.

Specifically, our framework further suggests that cultural embeddedness shapes the interpersonal network of cosmopolitans, thereby affecting their capacity to bridge across "global" structural holes. Cultural engagement influences the breadth and depth of the cultural repertoires available to cosmopolitans, thereby affecting their capacity to bridge across cultural holes. Finally, we explore the joint effects of cultural embeddedness and cultural engagement on transcultural brokerage processes by developing a typology that distinguishes among four ideal-typical cosmopolitan brokers and their corresponding practices and activities while bridging across structural and cultural holes and facilitating collaboration. Our approach has major implications for theory, practice, and future research.

Theoretical Implications

First, we advance the international management literature by developing a conceptual framework of cosmopolitan disposition that is explicitly situated at the intersection of macro-level dynamics and individual experiences in a globalized world. Our approach draws on the cultural perspective on cosmopolitanism that underscores the pervasive effect of macro-level forces of globalization on ordinary individuals who are now able to travel and work in previously unreachable political, economic, and cultural territories, both physically and virtually (Beck, 2006). Related constructs such as cultural intelligence (Earley & Ang, 2003), global mindset (Levy et al., 2007), and global competencies (Bird, Mendenhall, Stevens, &

Oddou, 2010), although informed by the global context, are largely independent of historical and structural dynamics. Consequently, they do not address the increasing diversity of individuals who experience cultural multiplicity and interact across cultural boundaries. Moreover, these constructs tend to have individual-level motivational, experiential, and developmental factors as antecedents and shy away from cross-level and macro-level dynamics. Our proposed framework, by contrast, is inherently situated in a broader social and economic context and underscores the formative force of globalization, which has become part of the everyday compressed time and space experiences of individuals. Thus, we explicitly draw links between contemporary globalization processes and individual-level dispositions and highlight the diversity of individuals who may be considered cosmopolitans even though they may not have the classic cosmopolitan CV.

Second, our framework has implications for the study of network dynamics and brokerage processes in a global context. Brokerage is central to a host of intraorganizational and interorganizational processes such as collaboration, knowledge acquisition and transfer, and innovation. Further, bridging across structural and cultural holes can ultimately affect the ability of organizations to innovate and collaborate, as well as other aspects crucial for performance and competitiveness. This brings cosmopolitans to the forefront of managerial attention because culture and agency are likely to influence brokerage dynamics in the global context. Thus, our perspective integrates insights from structural brokerage theory (i.e., Burt, 1992; Gould & Fernandez, 1989) and reflexive cosmopolitanism (i.e., Delanty, 2006; Hannerz, 1990) to demonstrate that a cosmopolitan disposition can have a significant bearing on transcultural brokerage processes. Therefore, we highlight the interplay between culture and social networks, two areas that have developed independently of one another (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994).

Further, culture has traditionally been viewed as either a contingency factor or inconsequential for brokerage behavior (Burt, 2005). Our framework suggests, however, that culture exerts significant influence on brokerage processes in transcultural settings. As a collective-level phenomenon, culture can serve as a bridge, as well as create a hole between parties. At the individual-level, culture relates to a wide range of social affinities that can both enable and constrain the broker. Thus, the particular cultural profile of the broker, as well as his or her position vis-à-vis the transacting parties, can influence his or her ability to facilitate interactions across cultures. Therefore, distinctive types of cosmopolitans, with their unique qualities, practices, and network positions, can advantageously bridge across different structural and cultural holes.

Third and finally, our framework has implications for the notion of talent in an increasingly globalized world as it draws attention to the multiplicity of actors who span cultural boundaries. Thus, we suggest it is necessary to expand our thinking horizons when it comes to global talent, in order to match macro-environmental changes and the changing interconnected world. Although employers today are looking for global citizens (e.g., Schuler et al., 2011), talent is of limited strategic value when it is not properly identified and if researchers and managers remain narrowly bound to traditional approaches, such as sending more people abroad (Dewhurst, Pettigrew, & Srinivasan, 2012). Moreover, a different way of thinking about global talent could help reduce costs due to a potential reduction in expatriate assignments as one of the primary qualifiers for the development of global talent.

Implications for Practice

In essence, we seek to advance a multidisciplinary approach to deciphering the *lived* experiences of cosmopolitans and to provide guidance for organizations wishing to identify global talent. We argue that the "right" to be a cosmopolitan has moved from being ascribed

by status of birth or early socialization to what groups of new generations experience, practice, and choose for themselves. In other words, cosmopolitanism is reflected in the set of categories that individuals sense and enact—acknowledging the subjectivity and variability of human experience and mindset, which are not necessarily related to physical experiences such as travel or geographical location.

Thus, our model suggests there is no "one-size-fits-all" approach for global organizations when identifying and selecting individuals to serve as transcultural brokers or boundary spanners because the diversity of cosmopolitans indicates that we should learn to look beyond traditional profiles (McDonnell & Collings, 2011; McNulty & Hutchings, 2016). We therefore propose that in addition to more usual identification methods such as mechanical "CV plowing" looking for traditional indicators of cosmopolitan characteristics, including nationality, formal education, and time abroad (Hannerz, 2005), global managers could benefit from being able to detect attitudes, potentials, and practices—especially of local employees who may not have the surface-level credentials of global experience. For example, during interview processes or performance appraisals and development dialogues, well-informed managers could probe for concrete practices of collaboration, matchmaking, information sharing, and other interactions to help determine what type of cosmopolitan the person might (or might not) be. In particular, by asking about the nature, geography, and quality of a candidate's network(s), how they might have experienced specific situations (using their own examples), and what their reflections were, managers (HR or other) could gain a clear sense of an individual's engagement style and how he or she picks up cultural cues and make sense of them.

We further suggest going beyond the traditional emphasis on a particular set of experiences such as "international work experience," and "living and working in a foreign environment" as key to the development of cross-cultural competencies (Leung, Maddux,

Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008; Li, Mobley, & Kelly, 2013). While such experiences are important, they are not an accurate predictor of cross-cultural competencies because they are typically measured using quantitative indicators such as duration and/or number of countries in which one has worked and lived. The CQ literature, for example, recognizes that it is the quality of experiences rather than their quantity that truly matters, indicating that an agent's internal readiness, curiosity, and thirst for learning are the real driver for developing cross-cultural competencies (Eisenberg et al., 2013; Stahl & Brannen, 2013). Therefore we suggest expanding the way we think about and operationalize valuable cross-cultural experiences, because these can also reside in other forms of contact, such as participating in virtual communities of practice (e.g., Fleming & Waguespack, 2007) and in virtual teams (e.g., Erez et al., 2013).

Furthermore, an increasing number of organizations are searching for individuals with a particular international and cultural profile to appoint as international negotiators, post-merger integrators in cross-border mergers and acquisitions, or facilitators of global alliances. Our framework outlines how to identify a variety of cosmopolitans for such roles. For example, embedded cosmopolitans, e.g., local managers and executives working for global organizations, are likely to be effective in transcultural knowledge sharing if they have certain experience and connectedness in other cultures. In the IB and HRM literature, expatriate managers are typically seen as transcultural boundary spanners or as an ideal conduit for international knowledge sharing. Yet, there is increasing awareness that being structurally located in a certain position does not always lead to the expected boundary-spanning performance, which is considered vital for IB (e.g., Barner-Rasmussen, Ehrnrooth, Kovelshnikov, & Mäkelä, 2014; Butler, Zander, Mockaitis, & Sutton, 2012). By recognizing the diversity and complexity of cosmopolitans and their respective dispositions, we expand

the "global talent" pool significantly beyond the traditional expatriate focus, and balance the picture of potential profiles that can enhance the bridging capabilities of global organizations.

Finally, we argue that conventional practices and perspectives on talent in international businesses may lead to the creation of two-tiered systems (Shweder, 2000) in which some employees are deemed cosmopolitan or "global" and, therefore, entitled to be identified and nurtured as global talent (perhaps with increased remuneration), and others simply remain in a "local" category. Recognizing the diversity of cosmopolitans, some of whom are "rooted" or do not possess the classic cosmopolitan CV, can counteract this trend, not only allowing for better individual and organizational performance but also reducing social inequality on a global level (Igarashi & Saito, 2014).

Directions for Future Research

Our conceptual framework for cosmopolitan disposition and its influence on transcultural brokerage processes points to a number of important future research directions in the areas of global talent, cultural capital, and culture and network.

How can embracing a cosmopolitan perspective illuminate "invisible" global talent? Our thinking about global talent is split between the IB literature and HRM research, and this gap will remain if we do not expand our research mindsets on expatriation and international assignments (Welch & Björkman, 2014). Thus we suggest closing this gap by adopting a cosmopolitan perspective and introducing an expanded view of cosmopolitans, their dispositions and practices. This could encourage a fundamental re-evaluation of the way we define the talent pool and sourcing options, which is still dominated by classic views on candidates with the right education, mobility willingness, and already acculturated talent (Farndale, Scullion, & Sparrow, 2010). Further, re-evaluation of how we manage global talent (Schuler et al., 2011) could be revitalized by taking a cosmopolitan perspective.

Given the demand for people who can bridge the globalization strategy of multinationals and SMEs in the years to come, the key is to ensure that the so-called talent war expands from serving the few—typically men already in power and with linear global career paths (Tatli, Vassilopoulou, & Özbilgin, 2013)—to include "local" executives (Dewhurst, Pettigrew, & Srinivasan, 2012). By doing so, we challenge the traditional view that has created a polarity between cosmopolitans and locals (Hannerz, 2007). We would encourage future research to expand the focus from a select few—be they expatriates, global executives, or high potentials—to explore a wide pool of potential global talent. Despite recent findings that heavy reliance on too many formal job tests might reduce workforce diversity (Dobbin, Shrage, & Kalev, 2015), we recognize the increasing use of "big data" (McAfee & Brynjolfsson, 2012) and the use of quantitative approaches in new talent identification. In this light, we suggest developing innovative tools to identify those employees who do not qualify as global talent under such screening and evaluation systems. Combined with a clear understanding of the context in which a new role may sit, this could then serve as a basis for discussions with the (potential) employee.

Is cosmopolitanism the new cultural capital? While we have highlighted the positive role of cosmopolitans in bridging structural and cultural holes, recent research also indicates that cosmopolitanism constitutes a new form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Levy & Reiche, 2017) that is used instrumentally to construct status distinctions and symbolic boundaries between individuals and groups (e.g., Bourgouin, 2012; Bühlmann, David, & Mach, 2013; Igarashi & Saito, 2014; Kim, 2011). [10] Thus, cosmopolitans may claim and maintain a dominant position in a globalized world by framing various forms of cross-cultural knowledge and experience as valuable and delegitimizing other cultural resources by labeling them as local, parochial, or outdated (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). Further, cosmopolitans may solidify their position as transcultural brokers for personal gain by using

distancing rather than bridging brokerage practices. For example, they might manipulate or "sculpt" cultural holes between parties in order to generate advantages. In other words, the broker can establish and reassert his or her brokerage position by using symbolic and cognitive resources to construct social and symbolic boundaries between parties (Lamont & Molnár, 2002) and by redefining his or her role and the value of the broker in bridging this newly created divide. Therefore, we encourage future research to explore the antecedents and conditions under which cosmopolitan brokers might construct boundaries between individuals and groups as opposed to acting as bridge makers.

What is the role of culture in structuring transnational and global networks?
Traditionally, a social networks perspective has focused on brokerage strategies that emerge out of the structural property of the network (Burt, 1992), to the exclusion of culture and agency (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994; Gulati & Srivastava, 2014; Obstfeld et al., 2014). We have proposed that culture and agency influence brokerage dynamics and play a crucial role in shaping the type and quality of transnational and global networks. We therefore encourage future research to explore the interplay between the cultural and structural aspects of transcultural brokerage as these two domains have evolved with little cross-fertilization (Weber & Dacin, 2011). Further, we suggest exploring which type of cosmopolitan broker— each representing a different combination of cultural and structural resources and constraints—might be more or less effective while operating in an increasingly complex and diverse global context (Gelfand, Aycan, Erez, & Leung, 2017). Thus our typology provides a research opportunity to empirically test whether or not the "fit" between the broker type and the collaboration context indeed yields successful brokerage outcomes.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] In the cosmopolitanism literature, the "cultural Other" is conceptualized as the counterpart entity for defining the "cultural home(s)." The cultural home(s) is where one's cultural competence is undisputed (Hannerz, 1990: 248), as opposed to other cultural spaces that may feel unfamiliar, foreign, or strange, and thus non-home.

[2] Transcultural brokerage is related to, yet distinct from, boundary-spanning. While both facilitate interactions across boundaries, boundary-spanning usually refers to formal organizational boundaries and formal roles, whereas transcultural brokerage emerges out of the network position and intercultural competence of the broker and can occur either within or across formal groups and organizations (see Fitzsimmons, Vora, & Thomas, 2015).

[3] Multicultural individuals who have more than two distinctive cultural schemas are treated as an extension of biculturals in the literature (see also Fitzsimmons, 2013, Morris, Chui, & Lui, 2015).

[4] Biculturals vary in their relations with the two or more cultures of which they are a member. For detailed discussions on the variations in bicultural identity, see Berry (1997), Fitzsimmons (2013), and Hong, Morris, Chiu and Benet-Martinez (2000). Irrespective of how much they identify with one or both cultural worlds, including marginals who do not identify strongly with either of them, biculturals have formal cultural affinity to the reference cultures (for a discussion of marginals, see Fitzsimmons, Lee, & Brannen, 2013).

[5] While initially the concept of "embeddedness" was used to denote, very broadly, that economic processes are contingent on social context (Granovetter, 1985; Zukin & DiMaggio, 1990), it since has been used in multiple ways (Krippner & Alvarez, 2007). We follow Goldberg et al. (2016) and others (e.g., Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993; Uzzi, 1997) and conceptualize embeddedness as one's degree of anchoring in a social context.

[6] Union strategy is often contrasted with "disunion strategy" (also called *tertius gaudens*, a "third rejoicing" from the Latin verb *gaudere*, to be glad or to rejoice) whereby a broker manufactures, maintains, or exploits a disconnect, conflict, or competition between two parties with the intention of extracting personal benefits (i.e., information advantage, profit, control, power, dependency) (Simmel, 1950; see Burt, 1992: 30–32, for review).

[7] The relative benefits of simultaneously occupying positions of closure and brokerage versus brokerage only has been a major focus in recent research (See Fleming et al., 2007; Fleming & Waguespack, 2007; Reagans & McEvily, 2008).

[8] The distinction between structural holes and cultural holes is akin to the one made in the knowledge and innovation literature between the social network of collaborations between researchers and the knowledge network composed of linkages between knowledge elements. The two networks are considered decoupled (e.g., Wang, Rodan, Fruin, & Xu, 2014).

[9] To illustrate the degree of complexity across the three practices, consider a hypothetical greeting ritual between two culturally distant parties where one party practices "shaking hands" and the other party practices "gazing into the eyes" (see also Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012). The broker teaches these two different greeting rituals to other parties (transfer). If the different practices are acceptable to both, the two parties may adopt one or the other, and the broker would then have successfully bridged the cultural hole. However, if these greeting practices are perceived as very strange by the other parties, the broker may explain why people shake hands or gaze into the eyes (translation), and both parties finally understand the meaning behind the rituals and reach an agreement on how they should greet each other. Or if, after the meaning and rationale behind different greeting rituals have been explained, the parties still feel uncomfortable practicing the other's ritual, the broker may facilitate the two parties to come up with a new greeting ritual that is neither one party's nor the other's but a new one, comfortable and acceptable to both parties (transformation).

[10] According to Lamont and Molnár (2002: 168), symbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, and practices. Symbolic boundaries also separate people into groups and generate feelings of similarity and group membership. They are considered an essential medium through which people acquire status and monopolize resources.

Figure 1

Analytical framework for the influence of cosmopolitan disposition on transcultural brokerage processes
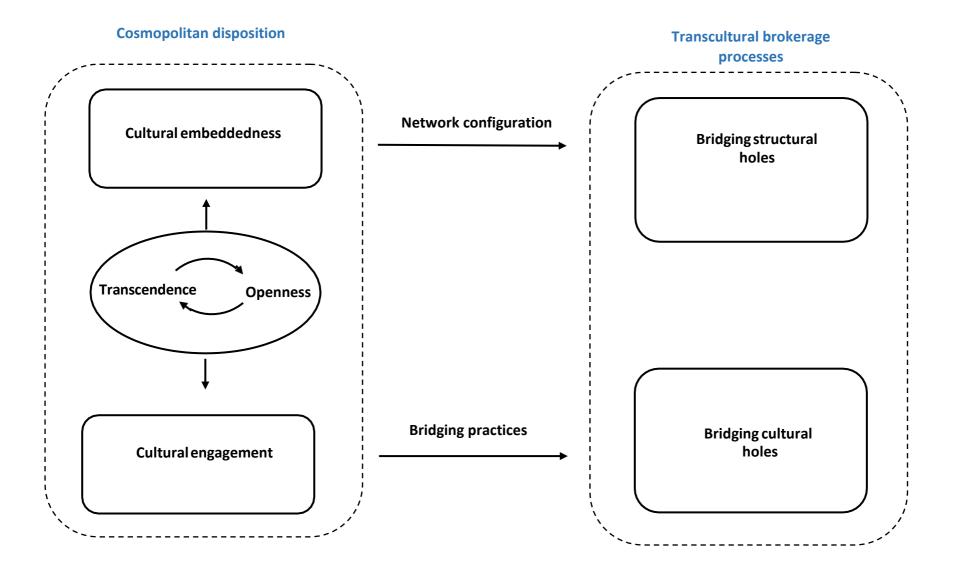
Figure 2

A typology of cosmopolitan brokers

	GLOBAL CONNECTOR	**GLOBAL INTEGRATOR**
Disembedded	*Network configuration* • Expansive transnational network of weak ties • Network rich in global structural holes *Brokerage opportunities* • Primary brokerage opportunities lie between clusters of globally disconnected actors and often involve trading on information gaps. *Brokerage practices* • Bridging cultural holes by transferring and translating a wide range of different cultural symbols and cues *Unique challenge* Managing perceived instrumentality due to lack of coherent cultural identity and fleeting social ties	*Network configuration* • Expansive transnational network of both weak ties and high commitment ties based on shared interests in global risks • Network rich in global structural holes *Brokerage opportunities* • Primary brokerage opportunities lie between clusters of globally dispersed actors and often involve tacit information and high-stakes matchmaking *Brokerage practices* • Bridging complex cultural holes by transferring and translating ambiguous cultural forms and by transforming divergent interests to mutually acceptable solutions *Unique challenge* • Managing protracted and unproductive collaborations
	ROOTED OPERATOR	**ROOTED COORDINATOR**
Embedded	*Network configuration* • Local network of strong ties anchored in a specific culture and transnational network of weak ties • Network rich in local-global structural holes *Brokerage opportunities* • Primary brokerage opportunities lie between local and global actors as a result of recognizing information gaps between tightly knit and global networks *Brokerage practices* • Bridging cultural holes by transferring and translating surface cultural forms *Unique challenge* • Managing potential bias due to close affiliation with one of the parties	*Network configuration* • Local network of strong ties anchored in a specific culture and transnational network of both weak ties and high commitment ties bound by common values • Network rich in local-global structural holes *Brokerage opportunities* • Primary brokerage opportunities lie between local and global actors and often involve complex, multilayered, high quality information *Brokerage practices* • Bridging complex cultural holes by using a broad repertoire of practices and transforming highly complex and tacit forms of knowledge *Unique challenge* • Managing the "double-agent" dilemmas when the two parties diverge in interests

Cultural embeddedness (vertical axis label)

Thin   **Cultural engagement**   Thick