

GLOBALIZATION, COSMOPOLITANISM, AND THE NEW GENERATIONS:

GROWING UP WITH GLOBAL TIES

by

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ABSTRACT
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There is a notion that the rapid globalization of the recent decades results in more cosmopolitan outlooks among the people, specifically the new generations, around the world. Indeed, the new generations could become the agents for a generational change in that direction. Using the data from World Values Survey (WVS) along with blogs analysis and interviewing, this study asks whether or not the new generations are becoming more cosmopolitan. The results show that the new generations are more cosmopolitan in number, but more importantly, there is a qualitative difference between newer and older generations. The new generations' cosmopolitan experiences are more reflexive (experienced directly), while the older generations' cosmopolitanism is more objective (conceptual). There are also many variant forms of cosmopolitanism existing today. This study also tries to find a global methodology for social research and to get out of the limitations of traditional national frameworks.

KEYWORDS: Globalization, Cultural Globalization, Cosmopolitanism, Generations, Generational Change, Cultural Identity, Belonging, Postmodern Values, Reflexive Cosmopolitanism, World Citizen, World Values Survey (WVS)

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To my parents,
who made me able to study

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Introduction

There has been a rapid globalization in the past decades. We are now living in a greatly interconnected world. People can easily connect with distant places on the earth using the great communication technological developments that have taken place in the recent decades. They can get news from almost anywhere around the world just on time, communicate with each other readily from distant places, and take part in activities happening far away. The developments of televisions, cell phones, and the Internet among many other things have facilitated these activities for many individuals around the world and therefore have changed their lives dramatically. While these transformations are happening, there are also new generations coming of age. They have never seen the world prior to this and without these conditions. They have always heard news from the media and also from adults about other parts of the world from the very beginning of their childhood, communicated with others around the globe online in webpages and chat rooms, and even may have traveled considerably to other parts of the world or have seen diverse cultures in their own places through travelers, immigrants, businesses, or products.

The consequences of this might be varied from different perspectives, but one of the important ones is its effects on the belongings of these new generations to places. People mostly used to build great attachments to their local places, nations, or regions, based on the blood connections or religious commonalities, but an initial idea might say that the new generations would develop more broadened belongings today, as they have always had a greater reach in their everyday life. This means that more individuals from these generations would develop a sense of belonging to the whole world rather than to a

locale or nation. However, there might also be another viewpoint arguing that the more interconnectedness of the world would result in more conflicts between cultures and hence prior attachments and sources of identity would be heightened as a result of globalization. Therefore, the younger generations would not become more attached to the whole world.

While these forces might be or not be in action, there are also other factors that could be effective on the formation of cultural and territorial identities in individuals. Education is an important factor in the formation of the attitudes of younger generations. The politics are also in effect as they could change the experiences individuals would encounter. Living in large cities and metropolitan areas could be another effective factor as they would provide more exposure to different cultures and global connections for the people. Social status, economic wealth, and generally, the conditions of the societies, communities, and families in which the individuals grow up are also very important factors that could affect the territorial and cultural attachments of individuals.

Considering them all, would the new generations become more attached to the world as a result of the recent rapid globalization or not? This is the main question that this study aims to answer. The main purpose is to discuss whether or not a generational change is taking place regarding what has been called “cosmopolitanism.” I first look at the existing body of literature around this topic and then clarify more the research question and the methodology that has been used for this study.

Literature Review

The starting point for this research is “globalization.” The term was first discussed in academic debates more from economic standpoints, such as the increase in global flows of goods, capital, information, and the people themselves. (Friedmann, 1986; Friedmann and Wolff, 1982; Sassen, 1991; Wallerstein, 1979) However, a new set of scholars started to view the concept more from cultural perspectives, beginning from the late 1980s. (Appadurai, 1996; Giddens, 1990, 1991; Harvey, 1989; Robertson, 1992; Tomlinson, 1999) What were concerning them more than the globalization of economy were the great global interconnectedness and the compression of time and space in the last decades of the twentieth century. However, their definition of globalization had some minor differences with each other, and thus, there was a contention that what exactly it is and when it has been started in the time.

Hopper (2007) has suggested a general and inclusive definition for globalization. He has argued that we should not consider cultural globalization of the recent decades as an absolutely separate era from the past but as a continuing process that has been accelerated over time and through different phases. Therefore, he believes that it has been started so long ago from the early civilizations through cross-cultural encounters such as migration, trade, and world religions, but, broadly speaking, it has been accelerated once around 1500 AD with the rise of the modern era in Europe and another time after 1945 with the rapid developments in transport and communication technologies. (2007: 13-30) Robertson (1992) has also suggested a categorization for different phases of globalization but in more details starting from the early fifteenth century. He has categorized it into five phases, of which the last one begins in 1960s with the heightening of global

consciousness, the sharp increase in the number of global institutions and movements, the acceleration in means of global communications, the increasing problems of multiculturalism in societies, and the rising interests in world civil society and global citizenship. (1992: 58-9) Later, Rantanen (2005) has added a new phase to his classification, as it might not be update anymore, starting from the late 1990s with the expansion of the global media and the emergence of the Internet facilitated by new digital technologies. (2005: 19-22) This era saw the commercialization of global television and the rapid growth of cross-border advertising, trade and investment with the reduction or elimination of many of the traditional and institutional legal barriers. (Herrmann and McChesney, 2001)

How this cultural globalization affects the life of the people, then, was a key debate among scholars. One of the first impressions was that the motor behind globalization is western or American capitalism and the spread of its consumerism culture would result in the westernization, Americanization, or as some have named it, McDonaldization of other cultures and thus the emergence of a “global culture.” (Latouche, 1996; Ritzer, 1998; Wallerstein, 1990) However, Robertson (1992), has shown that the global forces should deal with local contexts in a two-way interaction in shaping cultures, and it might be better to speak of “glocalization,” that is the global outlook interacted with local conditions, rather than globalization and global culture. The result would then be a more hybridization of different cultures rather than homogenization, and it could even result in the search for fundamental, unique identities throughout the world.

Many scholars agree that the people are acquiring a more global awareness at the time of globalization, and that their everyday experiences are not necessarily coming from local or national sources. The reflexive modernization of the late modern era, gives the individual more authority in choosing identities, values, and cultural associations, and therefore produces a global sense of society and cosmopolitan identity. (Beck, 2000; 2006; Giddens, 2000; Urry, 2003) How this affects other ties, such as local, national, ethnic, or religious, would then be an important question. Arnett (2002) believes that the more global awareness of the individuals leads them to develop a global identity beside their local (including national) ones resulting in the development of bicultural or hybrid identities. Many, however, have argued that globalization and cosmopolitanism would undermine national and local ties as these are having less control over the flows of information among their citizens now. (Delanty, 2000; Tomlinson, 1999) On contrary, some others also have claimed that the national and local feelings would be heightened as a reaction by the increasing global flows and interconnectedness such as are the case in the Middle East and Balkans, and it can even lead to serious clashes between cultures and civilizations. (Barber, 1996; Huntington, 1993)

Appiah (2002, 2006) has gone beyond this duality¹ by conceptualizing “rooted cosmopolitanism” against an unrooted one in which the latter disregards the national tie and could lead to the weakening and at the same time heightening of it in reaction. In his opinion, a person can be both attached to a home (nation) and enjoy the homes of others calling him a “cosmopolitan patriot.” (2002: 22) Thus, cosmopolitanism does not

¹ The opposite point against unrooted cosmopolitanism is not necessarily pan-nationalism, but it could also be religious fundamentalism, extreme racism, tribalism, or so on. However, nationalism is more powerful in this regard at the time of globalization as the political framework of the world is based on nations system.

necessarily contradict with other ties, and while it comprises an ethical attachment to a world society, it also celebrates cultural variety and the co-existence of narrower political communities rather than a single world-state and the rights of others to live in those states, in which they can be patriotic citizens. (2002: 29)

It should be noticed, however, that cosmopolitanism is not a totally new idea. Its history can be traced as far as the fourth century BC to Diogenes the Cynic and later his followers, Stoics. (Appiah, 2006: xiv; Nussbaum, 2002: 6-7) Indeed, the word cosmopolite, or cosmopolitan, is an ancient Greek word consisting of *kosmou* meaning the “world” and *polite* meaning “citizen”; the entire word then means to be a “citizen of the world.” (Nussbaum, 2002: 7) Afterwards, a major point in its history was also in the eighteenth century’s Enlightenment moral achievements, especially in the writings of Immanuel Kant. (Appiah, 2006: xiv-xv) Nevertheless, the concept was a marginal issue within social sciences until very recently where some scholars started to examine it, especially with the rise of globalization. (Appiah, 2006; Beck, 2000, 2006; Hannerz, 1990; Nussbaum, 2002; Vertovec and Cohen, 2002)¹

There was a long tradition of considering cosmopolitanism as a characteristic of the elite or those who travel a lot. Thus, many scholars have tried to elaborate the concept by eliminating its untrue perceptions. Appadurai (1996) and Cheah and Robins (1998) have shown that it is no longer an elite characteristic as many impoverished groups are now immigrants and diaspora communities which have multiple allegiances and in a real

¹ The term “cosmopolitanism”, however, has been used in various meanings, from a socio-cultural condition to political projects (Hopper, 2007: 157-8; Vertovec and Cohen, 2002: 8-14), but what is meant by it here is mainly a personal attitude, disposition, worldview, or practice.

sense are living in a cosmopolitan manner.¹ Hannerz (1990), also, has suggested that it does not necessarily deal with being on the move as most of the travelers, such as tourists and exiles, are hardly going beyond their determined boundaries and experiencing indigenous cultures; thus, they cannot be regarded as cosmopolitans. Furthermore, with the greater proliferation of radio, television, and the Internet, we are now being influenced by other cultures in our homes and hence an “everyday cosmopolitanism” could be experienced. (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002)

An important feature of cosmopolitanism, as discussed, is its engagement with “the others.” In fact, identity is being recognized when an “other” exists. (Hopper, 2007: 144) Therefore, Hannerz (1990: 239-40) believes that the cosmopolitan has an openness toward divergent cultural experiences and a stricter sense of it even has a willingness to become involved with the Other. To emphasize, it is a search for contrasts rather than uniformity (Hannerz, 1990: 239) and to be cosmopolitan means to be tolerant and compassionate. (Hopper, 2007: 176) Such an attitude, however, is not an inborn one; it is an eclectic and cumulative process and depends to a large degree on the personal “experiences” as well as the contexts in which they are being experienced. Some of the possible factors that could foster cosmopolitan attitudes, along with increasing cultural flows, are education and globalizing cities and also the societies in which we live respecting the extent and type of global processes they engage with. (Hopper, 2007: 176-9; Norris, 2000)

¹ Cosmopolitanism, however, should not be confused with transnationalism. The latter means to have multiple allegiances that goes beyond one nation, for example with two or three nations, while the former means to have a wider allegiance with the whole world rather than just a nation or any other sort of attachment.

Despite all of the mentioned attempts to elaborate cosmopolitanism, the concept is still at an abstract level. Much of the studies done were just in theory and there are not many empirical studies out there. One of the consequences of such scarcity is that there are not many reliable methods to measure this concept in order to do a socio-cultural analysis. Business academics, however, have shown increasing interests in this area in the recent years and have developed some measurable scales for this purpose. (Cleveland et al., 2013; Riefler and Diamantopoulos, 2009) They are mainly interested in evaluating the cosmopolitan attitudes of the consumers, which would then benefit businesses in their marketing. While they define cosmopolitanism pretty similarly by open-mindedness and diversity appreciation, their measures are normally dealing with international traveling, foreign food consumption, and foreign products choice – which I briefly described some of their inadequacies as being the characteristics of cosmopolitanism, as it is defined. Thus, their measuring scales as well as their findings might be problematic for socio-cultural analysis.

Another discipline that has shown interests in this topic is political science. The main interest there is to analyze and keep track of public opinion in order to have better assessments at the times of election and other major public-oriented decision-making points. One of the first major contributors in this area was Merton (1957) who identified two types of community leaders, cosmopolitans and locals. Several scholars then have used this dual distinction in their analyses of the public; however, each has operationalized it differently. Their measures vary from news orientation and political behavior to geographic mobility and company loyalty. (Jackson, 2010: 2-3) While these might be some of the areas where cosmopolitanism could show itself, again they are not

necessarily accurate measures according to our definition of cosmopolitanism. Thus, similar to business scales, they would be problematic for the purpose of this study.

Quite an exception in social studies was the empirical research conducted by Pippa Norris (2000) in which she analyzed the data from World Values Survey (WVS) carried out in 1990-1991 and 1995-1997 in 70 countries around the world. Based on the respondents' views, she has discussed that most of the people still identify themselves more with their locality/region or nation rather than the world or their continent but there are notable differences between generations. The younger ones are fairly more cosmopolitan, trust in global governance institutions, and support globalization policies. This is almost the first study and still one of the few that highlights generational differences in relation to cosmopolitanism. Though, it just remains at a hypothetical level and does not go further to determine whether it is a generational matter or is related to life-cycles effects that the youth opinions would become similar to those of the elderly as they age, (2000: 165) what Jung (2008) has mainly argued in his analysis of WVS data. This is aside from the fact that the data which Norris has put her analysis on is about two decades old now.

There are also two other noteworthy studies that have specifically talked about "global generations." The first one is that of Edmunds and Turner (2005), which has talked about the 1960s generation as the first global generation defined by electronic communications technology of the late twentieth century. They have argued that the globally experienced traumas facilitated by new media technologies now have the potential to create global generational consciousness through collective memory. Therefore, the 1960s generation had a common experience of and orientation towards

traumatic political events (such as the Vietnam War) as well as consumerism, global music, and communication systems. However, they have argued, based upon Karl Mannheim, that the social generations should not be defined by age-cohorts as is usually done in social sciences but by collective memories around specific, shared experiences. They have also suggested that a new global generation is now emerging as “the 9/11 generation.”

The second study in this regard is that of Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2009), which is more theoretical than the previous one. They argue that global generations have now emerged at the beginning of the 21st century by the means of global interconnectedness and intercommunications, but it is different from, as they name, the 1968 generation. They believe that the 1968 generation was basically politically constituted and there was a collective action there, while there are cosmopolitan experiences and events which constitute global generations now and it is not a collective action but an individualistic reaction today. Global generations, then, for them does not mean a single, universal generation with common symbols and a unique consciousness but a multiplicity that appears as a set of intertwined transnational generational constellations.

Beck (2006), indeed, distinguishes between “objective” and “reflexive” cosmopolitanism, in which the first one is grasped intellectually in the head while the heart is predominantly possessed by nationalism, but in the latter cosmopolitanism is felt as a living experience while the minds are still haunted by nationalism. The former is a conscious and voluntary choice, but the latter is unconscious and passive. (2006: 19)

However, he believes that they overlap and cannot be sharply distinguished at the empirical level. (2006: 94)

Apart from these very first steps in studying this issue, there is also separate literature in social sciences on generations; however, similarly and ironically, the cultural globalization issue has not been considered seriously there yet. The most notable work in this area is that of Strauss and Howe (1991) in which they discuss a recurring generational cycle in America's history. Aside from that, there has been growing interests in the recent years, especially in popular debates, on the concepts of Generation X, Generation Y or Millennials, and very recently Generation Z, including those who are born in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century in the West. What is mostly argued about them is their connection with digital technology, or the state of being Digital Native, as they have grown with it. Millennials, however, are sometimes being regarded as a generation globally more open-minded and tolerant (Pew Research Center, 2010; Strauss and Howe, 2000), but the literature does not go further in examining its causes and effects.¹

In short, albeit some significant work has been done on this topic, there has not been very much done on the generations who are growing up amid globalization, especially with regards to cosmopolitanism. Even within the existing works, the lack of empirical research and evidence is very obvious and there is a need for more studies in this regard.

¹ There is also no consensus on their birth range and the various usages of the term have suggested different times between early 1980s and 2000. (Pew Research Center, 2010)

Research Questions

Based on the literature review discussed, the main question is, does globalization cause cosmopolitanism among the new generations who are born and growing up in the midst of it? In another term, are these new generations more cosmopolitan than the older ones who are also living at the same time? Or is there a new cosmopolitanism among them which results from the more global interconnectedness of the recent decades rather than being just an ethical, universal approach? Is there a generational change currently happening regarding cosmopolitanism with the coming of age of those who were born within the last phase of globalization? Generally, what is the result of experiencing the rapid globalization of the recent decades from the very beginning of life for individuals?

By globalization I mean its last stage, as stated, from around 1990 marked with the introduction of the Internet and the rapid spread of the global media into the public, first in the West and quickly after that in other parts of the world. Thus, the focus of this research is the very ordinary public, or the broad notion of middle class. As well as the elite who are not the subject here, these discussions might not also apply to those who are in extreme poverty, such as child labors and refugees who live in camps, as they have been excluded from most of the globalization processes. Furthermore, regarding generations, I deliberately avoid marking definite points to define them as it would be problematic as discussed in the literature review, and the timing of engagement with globalization processes differs in individuals case by case. However, I would consider those who are born from the late 1980s as part of the new generations, thus they have experienced the developments of the 1990s since their childhood. Moreover, cosmopolitanism is defined here as having allegiance to the “whole world” as well as an

open attitude towards culturally different “others,” generally. This also means that having other ties, such as national, ethnic, religious, or so on, does not necessarily contradict with being cosmopolitan.

As it is apparent in the questions, the possible difference between the generations might be either quantitative, that is the percentage of the people who possess cosmopolitan attitudes, or qualitative, which means the nature of cosmopolitanism might be different. The latter could deal with the roots of it, its relationship with globalization, and/or the attitudes towards allegiances and others.

Methodology¹

As this research needs both quantitative and qualitative analyses, a combination of different methods is used to answer the questions discussed. The main method adopted is to analyze blogs, but there are also analysis of some existing statistical data and interviews added to compensate its shortages for a comprehensive examination. In fact, blogs representativeness of society might be problematic and further question generalizability of the findings; hence, I have also used data from World Values Survey (WVS) that is available to the public on its website. The surveys are for the years 1981-2008 conducted in 87 countries in five waves (1981-84, 1989-93, 1994-99, 1999-2004, and 2005-08) and are a good sample for the whole world population. It is a very large survey data covering many different issues; though, the part that is needed and used for this research is a small section of it in which the interviewees were questioned on their opinions towards different senses of belonging, including local, regional, national,

¹ This section discusses the methods used for different phases of the research generally, and in some cases briefly, but more details on each phase’s methodology would also be discussed at the beginning of each chapter.

continental, and global.¹ They could then be analyzed based on the respondents' years of birth as well as other attributes such as nation, urban/rural residency, education, and so on.

However, as mentioned, the main part of this research is to do blogs analysis. Blogs are in fact a great place for individuals to express themselves and their attitudes, whether by text, images, and/or other means, and they have become a significant feature of the Internet today. (Hookway, 2008) They are low-cost and could easily be created and maintained without any need for specific technological knowledge and thus provide a great means for social sciences to analyze opinions of the society. (Ibid.) One of the very common genres among blogs is the personal diaries blogs. (Herring et al., 2004) They are, as it is apparent from their names, the extension of personal diaries but in an online format. They contain personal everyday experiences and thoughts and therefore are a great place to analyze self-representations. Indeed, one of the benefits of using blogs is that they don't have the problems of asking people directly which might influence their answers, and hence our conclusion, as well as being susceptible to memory impairments. Another benefit is that the blogs are easily accessible and could be analyzed readily. (Hookway, 2008: 92-6)

One of the difficulties of using these unsolicited documents, however, is to find proper content that match the aims of the research (ibid.) that is cosmopolitanism in this case. For that purpose, I have used bloggers' social networks, which allow access to a great number of blogs based on their themes or tags. However, different sources have been used here in order to avoid possible bias among the blogs that would be studied.

¹ The surveys were translated into local languages for each country.

Within those sources, I have focused on the blogs that are defined under the theme or tag of “culture” or “life/lifestyle,” in which it is more possible to find contents on attitudes, allegiances and identities, and thus analyze cosmopolitanism. However, there were some considerations in choosing the blogs. First, I excluded co-authored blogs, as they would complicate the analysis in connecting the content with the authors’ personalities. Second, the blogger had to be identifiable, at least to some extent, so her/his cultural origin was recognizable and could be used for the analysis of the attitudes towards “others.” Another recognizable feature was their approximate age, thus it would be possible to analyze them in terms of generations. Consequently, I excluded the blogs whose bloggers were not identifiable regarding these features. Finally, it was important that the blogs be recent and active, so further interviews could be connected appropriately with their analysis. A study has shown that the interval between two sequential entries in active blogs range from 0 days to about two months. (Herring et al., 2004: 6-7) Therefore, I just considered the blogs that were updated at least once in 2014 (as this part of the research was done in late February and early March, 2014) but I studied the posts from the whole year of 2013 as well as 2014, so I was able to find more relevant content for the purpose of this study.

Furthermore, the blogs analysis is combined with interviews with some of the bloggers. This part of the research was designed to have a deeper understanding of the cosmopolitan views and to connect them better with globalization and also generations. The questions asked in this section were about their opinions on different ties (local, national, ethnic, religious, racial, cosmopolitan), their sense of community/society and opinions towards others, how they have developed such attitudes (past personal experiences, with a focus on possible connections with globalization), and their possible

differences with previous/next generations in their family.¹ The interview was conducted through email and in an open-style manner in order to get deeper into the different personal views and experiences. This part is also helpful in controlling for the generational basis rather than the life-cycles effects by making possible connections between personal attitudes and experiences of globalization.

I intentionally did not focus on a specific nation or region. This research has a global vision in it and should be generalizable to the whole world. However, it is clear that the local and national contexts are decisive factors on the outcomes of global processes. The WVS data has been collected from almost all over the world and the bloggers also come from different places and nations. In fact, one other benefit of analyzing blogs is that their global nature provides greater application for global-oriented research. (Hookway, 2008)

A problem here, however, is the representativeness of the blogs within the societies. As discussed, I have tried to reduce this problem by using WVS data for quantitative part. For qualitative part, it is enough for the cases to represent just those who possess cosmopolitan attitudes in societies. Apart from the wide spread of the Internet and blogs today, its more expanding in less developed parts of the world and the fact that this study is a long, macro analysis of social change then reduce this problem of representativeness. Another limitation in this research is that it just studies English blogs. Consequently, the results are more generalizable to the mainly English-speaking countries and regions rather than to the whole world. The centrality of the English language in globalization has been criticized widely both in academic and popular

¹ The interview questions would be discussed in details later in Chapter 3.

debates in favor of other languages; however, the fact that it is the language of global communication would then reduce the problem of focusing solely on English-speaking blogs.

“Globalization” and “Cosmopolitanism” in Debates

Before starting the main body of the research, it is interesting to trace how the two words “globalization” and “cosmopolitanism” have been used in discussions over the past two centuries by using the Google Ngram Viewer. The tool charts the yearly counts of selected words as found in over 5.2 million books digitized by Google up to 2008. It also has data prior to the past two centuries, but the data is not consistent and hence the results would not be very meaningful. Also, because of the tool’s sensitivity, I searched the word “cosmopolitan” separately from “cosmopolitanism.”¹

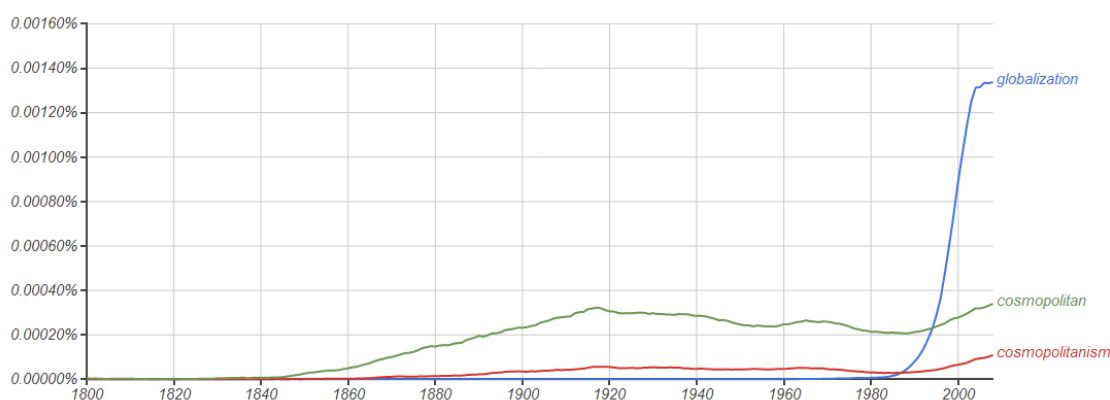


Figure 1 - The Use of the Words "Globalization", "Cosmopolitanism" and "Cosmopolitan" from 1800 to 2008 in Books (Google Ngram Viewer)

Figure 1 shows the result of this inquiry, and the results are indeed interesting.

The words “cosmopolitanism” and “cosmopolitan” appeared much earlier than the recent

¹ The results are case-sensitive. Thus, for example, the line in the graph which represents globalization covers all “Globalization”, “globalization”, and “GLOBALIZATION” in the books as well as any other form of it, if any exists.

intensification of globalization. They entered into debates from around the 1840s and gradually increased until sometime before 1920 (the time just after the First World War.) They then started to decrease slightly until 1980s, with a slight exception in 1960s which saw their increase in discourses (the time when international political protests and activism rose.) They then again began to increase from around 1990, almost right after the entrance of the word “globalization” into discussions around 1980s, after which it has grown dramatically.

This graph shows two important points that could be discussed. First, cosmopolitanism is not a new concept that has been come into existence with the rise of globalization. It has been in the discourses more than a century before that, and thus, is not necessarily part of it. However, and at the same time, it has again increased in debates after a long time of decreasing right following the rise of “globalization” in debates. It shows that while it is not part of it, it could be still associated with it. This is a core point in this research.

Significance of the Research

One important issue of our time is identity and how politics should deal with it. The increasing interconnectedness of the world amidst globalization has brought about significant challenges to the existing political authorities, which are nations and states. Not only immigration has significant impacts on both immigrants and host countries, the matter of identity is a challenging issue in other forms between and within the nations. Diaspora communities, fundamentalism, and separationist movements such as those of Catalonia and Quebec, are just a few examples in which identity could challenge existing

frameworks. Multiculturalism policies have shown their limitations as they increase the fragmentation within societies and also the world society as a whole by reproducing rigid cultural and group belongings. (Beck, 2006: 66-7; Vertovec and Cohen, 2002: 3) Thus, we should think of new approaches to address these problems, and an initial step there is to study how people think and act today, especially the new generations. Cosmopolitanism, if it is well elaborated, might have the potential to be approached as an appropriate policy in order to address those identity challenges, and if the new generations are thinking differently from the past ones, we should think of a major change in our existing political and legal frameworks.

Chapters Outline

The main body of this thesis has three chapters which are followed by a concluding one. Each chapter contains one phase of the study discussed in the methodology section. Hence, each one would discuss that phase's method and resources more in detail, as well as discussing the conduction and findings of it. The first chapter discusses the quantitative analysis of WVS data and considers the existing condition of cosmopolitanism in general and between generations as well as considering some other factors. The second chapter is based on the blogs analysis in which the possible differences between generations regarding cosmopolitanism is analyzed more from a qualitative perspective. Hence, it would complement the findings from the first chapter. Finally, the third chapter is based on the interviews conducted by some of the bloggers from the previous chapter, and it goes more deeply into the qualitative analysis of cosmopolitanism, specifically among the newer generations. The Conclusion, then at the end, draws the findings of the three chapters together and discusses the main themes of

the research, and also suggests associated social policies as well as recommendations for further research in this topic.

Chapter 1

The Condition of Cosmopolitanism: Is It Increasing?

One major question of our time is whether or not the new generations are becoming more cosmopolitan. In other words, whether or not the globalization of the recent decades has resulted in more people with a global sense of belonging and allegiance rather than other forms, such as local or national, among new generations? As was seen in Introduction, no comprehensive study has been done yet to focus on this issue. Though some significant studies have been done, and were mentioned, they have not been very comprehensive and specific to this issue, or at least they have not been grounded well on empirical data. Nevertheless, there were some great efforts in the recent years to collect adequate empirical data about those issues of identity and belonging and in a global field. While there were different attempts and organizations collecting such data, maybe the most exhaustive and appropriate one among them, regarding its span around the globe, is the surveys conducted by World Values Survey (WVS).

World Values Survey

World Values Survey (WVS) was first organized in 1981 after a couple of studies conducted by the European Values Survey (EVS) group in some European countries (mostly from Western Europe) suggested that predictable cultural changes are taking place in those societies. The findings of the EVS studies encouraged the conducting group to carry out new surveys this time in a global arena to monitor happening changes. The first wave of these global surveys (1981-1984), however, was still focused on Western industrialized nations and was not in a real sense global. From the second wave

(1989-1993), and more specifically the third wave (1994-1999), WVS started to cover more non-Western countries in order to have more diverse groups of respondents in the surveys as well as to increase the number of involving countries, which together would then increase the results' representativeness of the world population. Whereas the first survey was just conducted in 20 countries, the next two covered, together with EVS, 42 and 52 countries, in turn. The fourth wave (1999-2004) of the surveys included even more countries with 67 nations covered representing around 6.1 billion people of the world. The last carried out wave, the fifth one (2005-2008), covered 54 countries which was less than the previous wave but was representing approximately 6.7 billion of the world population at the time. This really helped the “world” vision and representativeness of the results of the survey. The countries in these surveys (except the first wave) were highly diverse in terms of economic wealth, political structure, and cultural basis. This has resulted in that while there are some other international surveys organized to monitor values changes, WVS data are the only real “global” data existing in that regard.

The surveys have covered attitudes towards different aspects of the life, including religion, gender roles, work motivations, democracy, good governance, social capital, political participation, tolerance of other groups, environmental protection, and subjective well-being.¹ All of the surveys were conducted through face-to-face interviews by local field organizations and were supervised by an academic researcher for every country. The core questionnaires were all translated to local languages in advance for every country. Sampling in each country were primarily through random probability methods, but in the

¹ As discussed earlier, the dataset is very large and contains more than 200 variables. Though, regarding the focus of this study, only the variables and questions that are related to cosmopolitan identities would be used here which are a small portion of the whole data.

cases where it was not possible, conductors were allowed to combine probability methods with small, reasonable quota sampling. In each country, at least 1,000 interviewees were identified which were aimed to represent their country's whole population. The coverage of the surveys was set to include not only citizens but all residents of the countries between the ages of 18 to 85.

While the number of the countries and the sampling methods are sufficient for a global analysis, there are some problems with the data which raise issues for such an analysis. Not all the questions were asked to or were answered by all the interviewees, and thus, the data are not always comparable between variables, countries, and generations. Some variables or questions are not filled for some respondents and could not be linked well to other variables. Some questions were asked in a number of countries but not in the other ones and hence do not allow a comprehensive international and global analysis. Also, not all of the questions were asked consistently over the five waves, whether in general or in specific countries, and therefore a longitudinal analysis could not be performed completely. For these reasons, I have chosen to use the data more flexibly based on the available statistics for each question, which would be discussed in each section.

Primary and Secondary Belongings

Previous scholars who have worked with WVS data, such as Norris (2000) and Jung (2008,) have studied the interviewees' responses on their first and second belongings. However, in the last wave of the surveys (2005-2007) not many respondents were asked on this question (only 4,050 out of 82,992 interviewees, who were from just

four countries) and thus the results would not be much valid. Therefore, I have used data from the previous wave, the fourth one (1999-2004), for this part, which had information on 57,431 interviewees (out of 61,062) from 38 countries of the world.¹

The question which was asked from the interviewees was this: (Translated into local languages)

*“To which of these geographical groups would you say you belong first of all?
And the next?”*

-Locality or town where you live

-State of region of country where you live

-Your country [The U.S., Argentina, China, etc.] as a whole

-Continent in which you live [North America, Latin America, Asia, etc.]

-The world as a whole.”²

Actually, it was two questions: the first belonging and the second belonging. In Table 1, the results of the responses to these two questions could be seen jointly. Each answer for the first belonging is connected to second belongings' responses and the numbers show the percentage of each pair (such as Locality-Country, Country- Locality, or Country-World)³ from the total responses.

The first striking fact in the table might be the great percentages of belonging to locality and country and the small numbers of the people who belong to the world and continent. Considering only the first belonging (rows totals), we can see country and

¹ Including: Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada, Chile, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, South Korea, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Mexico, Moldova, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Puerto Rico, Saudi Arabia, Serbia and Montenegro, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Tanzania, Turkey, Uganda, United States, Venezuela, Vietnam, and Zimbabwe.

² In each country's questionnaire, the specific nation and continent were substituted for related labels.

³ For example, Locality-Country means answering locality for the first belonging and country for the second.

locality, in turn, has 41.1 and 34.7 percent of the responses around the world, which together comprises more than three-fourths of the respondents. On the other hand, the world and continent, which can show cosmopolitan identities, are only 10.8 percent of the whole world population (6.4 for the world and 4.4 for the continent.)

Table 1 - First/Second Belongings from WVS Fourth Wave (1999-2004)(percent, N=57431)

		<i>Geographical groups belonging to second</i>					
		<i>Locality</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Continent</i>	<i>The world</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Geographical groups belonging to first</i>	<i>Locality</i>	.4	13.9	16.8	1.8	1.8	34.7
	<i>Region</i>	3.6	.1	7.6	1.2	.8	13.3
	<i>Country</i>	14.1	12.3	1.7	7.7	5.3	41.1
	<i>Continent</i>	.6	.5	2.4	.1	.7	4.4
	<i>The world</i>	1.3	1.0	2.9	1.3	.1	6.4
	<i>Total</i>	20.0	27.8	31.4	12.0	8.8	100.0

Adding the second geographical belonging into analysis, the smallness of the belonging to the world and continent becomes more visible. By percentage, the most answered pairs are Locality-Country (16.8), Country-Locality (14.1), Locality-Region (13.9), and Country-Region (12.3), in turn. Even after these, the next higher-answered pairs are still more variants of Locality, Region, and Country than of the World and Continent. The pairs containing belongings to the whole world or continent each barely go beyond 3 percent (except in two cases.) For these, which could be named supranational identities, the most responded pairs are consecutively Country-Continent (7.7), Country-World (5.3), World-Country (2.9), and Continent-Country (2.4), which interestingly all are variants of country: for the first two ones, country is the first belonging, and for the next two, it is the second belonging.

It is reasonable that nation remains the strongest source for identity at the time of intense globalization, as nationalism is the basis for social, political, economic, and other activities almost all over the world. It produces and reproduces allegiances for itself in everyday life through various means, such as formal holidays and events, education, public institutions, national televisions, sports teams, national flags and symbols, and generally through collective memories and histories, which legitimated the establishment of nations a few centuries ago and gave their own fate to the authority of nations.

But does this data show cosmopolitan identities? In fact, can we argue that those who have answered The World, or Continent, as one of their first or second belongings represent different degrees of cosmopolitanism, and those who have not answered them are not cosmopolitan? The former part of the argument seems true. A person who have answered The World as his/her first belonging is undoubtedly a cosmopolitan, and the one who has chosen it as the second belonging, whether after Locality, Country, or anything else, could also be recognized as a cosmopolitan but in a slighter sense. The same claim could be made for Continent too at a weaker level. But what about the latter part of the argument? Is a person who has answered Locality-Region or Country-Locality not a cosmopolitan?

We saw in the literature review in the Introduction that different levels of identity and belonging do not necessarily contradict each other. An individual can have a feeling of belonging to a hometown and a nation at a same time, and adding a new layer to the sources of belonging, such as a global identity, does not mean abandoning other ones. Therefore, we cannot argue the second part. A Locality-Region response could still be a

variant of the different forms or degrees of cosmopolitanism. Thus, the results of Table 1 might be misleading to fully assess cosmopolitan identities.

World Citizens

In the fifth wave of the WVS (2005-2007,) the executive committee decided to ask another set of questions instead of the first-second belonging questions. (However, the old questions were still asked in four countries.) The new questions were designed to measure those different geographical belongings separately:

“People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Using this card, would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself? (Read out and code one answer for each statement):

(Card: 1=Strongly Agree; 2=Agree; 3=Disagree; 4=Strongly Disagree)

-I see myself as a world citizen.

-I see myself as part of my local community.

-I see myself as part of the [French] nation.

-I see myself as part of the [European Union.]

-I see myself as an autonomous individual.”¹

The first statement (question) above seems much more proper for measuring cosmopolitanism. A cosmopolitan sees himself/herself as a world citizen and a person who does not see himself/herself as a world citizen is undoubtedly not a cosmopolitan. The problem might be that there are different levels of cosmopolitanism, from very strong forms to very weak ones, but the availability of two options for agreement,

¹ The labels for the country’s nationality (here French) and regional (supranational) organization (here European Union) were substituted in each country’s questionnaire.

“Strongly Agree” and “Agree,” would then help to distinguish between stronger forms and weaker forms of cosmopolitanism.

I have just used the data on the first statement (“I see myself as a world citizen”) for this part of the research. The question was asked from 62,727 interviewees from 45 countries¹ (from which 20 countries are shared with the countries covered in Table 1.) Table 2 shows the level of agreement/disagreement to this statement around the world.

Table 2 - Level of Agreement/Disagreement with "I see myself as a world citizen" (percent, N=62727)

<i>Strongly agree</i>	30.3
<i>Agree</i>	47.8
<i>Disagree</i>	16.3
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	5.6
<i>Total</i>	100.0

The picture this table implies is totally different from the one Table 1 suggested at first. While there were more than three-fourth belonged first to locality, region, or country in Table 1, here it shows that more than three-fourth of the people see themselves as world citizens. (30.3 percent strongly agree and 47.8 percent agree) It might indicate a complete contrast but in fact it is not. A cosmopolitan can still have a great attachment to his/her local hometown or nation for whatever reason. It might be the childhood memories which could not be changed with anything else or just sharing common collective memories, histories and myths with local or national communities. Whatever

¹ Including: Andorra, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, South Korea, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Moldova, Morocco, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Serbia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Ukraine, United States, Uruguay, Vietnam, and Zambia.

the reason is, the cosmopolitan identity could be maintained besides other belongings, such as local and national.

A critic could claim that the two discussed tables are not comparable and hence the above argument is invalid. First, the data are for different periods (one is for 1999-2004 and the other is for 2005-2007), and second, the countries studied in two surveys are not all the same. Specially, the second reason might be strong, while a few years difference might not change the attitudes in such radical way from less than one-fourth to more than three-fourth cosmopolitans around the world.

In order to consider this issue, I have looked into the data from Italy in the fifth wave, which was the only country where both the old question and the new question were asked from the interviewees. It was the only case where the two sides of the critic could be considered. The data on the two questions, here, are from the same set of respondents and was gathered at the same time (2005). It might not be global, but that is not very important. The important thing here is to just show an example of the relationship between the responses to the two discussed questions.

Table 3 has combined the two sets of information. I have excluded the “Disagree” and “Strongly Disagree” responses (to “I see myself as a world citizen”) in order to just analyze individuals’ responses to first and second belongings and also to reduce the size of the table and its complexity. The numbers in the table indicate the percentage of each

pair's responses among those who responded the same to seeing themselves as a world citizen.¹

Table 3 - Comparison of Agreement with "I see myself as a world citizen" and First/Second Belongings in Italy (2005) (percent, N=976)

				<i>Geographical groups belonging to second</i>					
				<i>Locality</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Continent</i>	<i>The world</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>I see myself as a world citizen</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Geographical groups belonging to first</i>	<i>Locality</i>	.0	14.3	21.9	2.0	3.6	41.8
			<i>Region</i>	2.6	.0	3.1	1.0	.5	7.1
			<i>Country</i>	7.1	3.6	.0	3.6	2.0	16.3
			<i>Continent</i>	1.0	1.0	3.1	.0	2.6	7.7
			<i>The world</i>	3.6	.5	13.8	9.2	.0	27.0
			<i>Total</i>	14.3	19.4	41.8	15.8	8.7	100.0
	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Geographical groups belonging to first</i>	<i>Locality</i>	.0	24.3	26.6	5.6	1.8	58.2
			<i>Region</i>	1.5	.0	4.8	1.8	.5	8.6
			<i>Country</i>	9.1	4.6	.0	6.6	3.8	24.1
			<i>Continent</i>	.3	1.5	2.0	.0	1.3	5.1
			<i>The world</i>	.5	.0	2.5	1.0	.0	4.1
			<i>Total</i>	11.4	30.4	35.9	14.9	7.3	100.0

The results of this table confirm the argument that was made before. Even among those who are agree or strongly agree with seeing themselves as world citizens, the majority have still chosen locality, region or country as their primary and secondary belongings rather than the world or continent. More than half of the cosmopolitans have

¹ For example, 14.3 percent in Locality row under Region column of "Strongly Agree" sub-table means that 14.3 percent of those who are strongly agree with seeing themselves as world citizens have chosen Locality and Region, in turn, as their first and second belongings.

not chosen the world or continent at all among their first two choices of belonging. (70.9 percent among Agrees and 52.6 percent among Strongly Agrees) Among who are just “Agree” with being a world citizen, the choice of the World and Continent as the first belonging (4.1 and 5.1 percent) even does not go much further than the general statistics (in Table 1) and are still very few. Here, Locality (58.2) and Country (24.1) are still much more a source for primary belonging with Locality being considerably high. However, the choice of the World as the first belonging among who are “Strongly Agree” with being a world citizen is increased remarkably. (27) This could show the significance of distinguishing between strong forms of cosmopolitanism and the weaker forms of it. Yet, among these strong cosmopolitans, Locality is still a greater source of identity (41.8 for the first belonging) than the World. An interesting point also is that Country, which seemed the most influential source for identity in Table 1, here is much more behind Locality for cosmopolitans (either strong or weaker ones).

What these statistics show is that we should not think of cosmopolitanism as a yes or no condition. It is more like a spectrum. There are a variety of levels of cosmopolitanism based on the relationship between a feeling of belonging to the world and other sources of identity. Appiah (2006) has said there are “rooted” versus “unrooted” cosmopolitanisms. Another way to make a distinction is offered by Jung (2008) who used in his study “strong” versus “weak” forms of supranational identities. It should be noticed, however, that these two ways of categorization are not necessarily identical. While weak cosmopolitanism might be regarded as rooted, a strong version of cosmopolitanism also could be rooted and coexist with other layers of identity. (As is seen in Table 3) An important factor, here, in distinguishing between different levels of

cosmopolitanism is the degree of awareness on this layer of identity. One might be conscious, semi-conscious, or unconscious on this aspect of his/her identity. Like other layers, cosmopolitan identity comes to the surface and becomes aware through social interaction and when a different “other” exists. And this is, to a large degree, dependant on the specific conditions in which a person has lived and been grown up.

Generational Differences

What we saw so far is the condition of cosmopolitanism, but what about generational changes, which is the main question of this study? Has globalization of the recent decades resulted in more cosmopolitanism among the newer generations? Figure 2 show the responses to the new question of seeing the self as a world citizen in the last wave of the surveys (2005-2007) based on the respondents’ year of birth. Each line shows the percentage of the according response among the respondents of the same birth year at every point.

While the lines are not completely straight and have inconsistencies over the birth years, general patterns are noticeable among them. Obviously, the newer generations consider themselves more as world citizens than the older ones. “Strongly Agree” responses increase almost regularly as we go from older generations to the newer ones. “Agree” responses might not be as regular as the stronger agreements, but it is still higher for the younger than the older generations at least for those who were born before 1950s. This might suggest that the generational change towards more cosmopolitanism has not started from the very late twentieth century’s generations and it is also true for some earlier generations, but the increase of the stronger forms of cosmopolitanism (that are of

those who have responded “Strongly Agree” to the question) is more evident among the very recent generations. “Disagree” and “Strongly Disagree” responses also decrease somewhat constantly from the older generations to the younger generations. While they might be seen as slight changes, both have decreased by half from the oldest end to the youngest end of the sample. (From around 20 percent to around 10 percent among “Disagree” responses and around 10 percent to around 5 percent among “Strongly Disagree” responses)¹

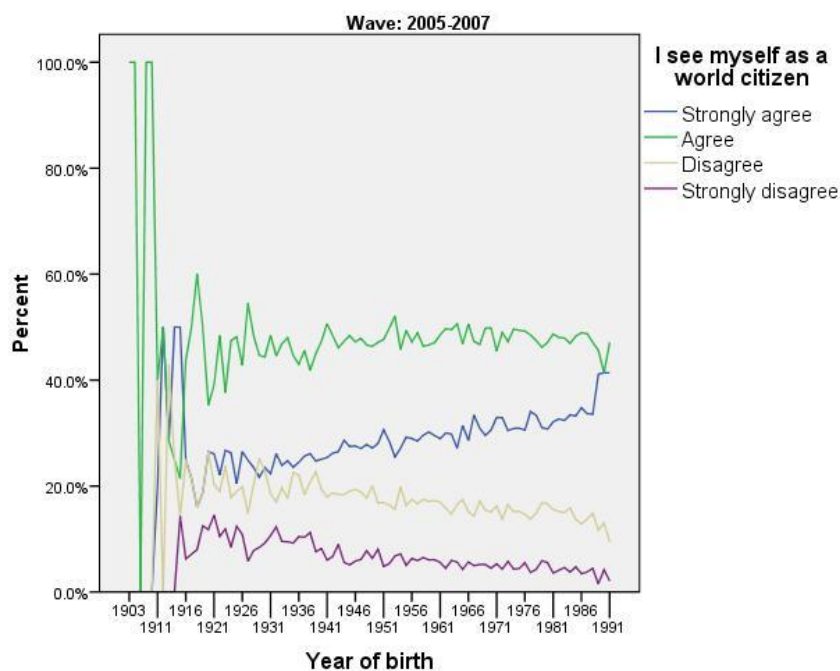


Figure 2 - Responses to "I see myself as a world citizen" by Year of Birth

Even if we sort the data on the first belongings, discussed in Table 1, by the years of birth of respondents, interesting patterns become obvious. As Figure 3 shows, the more recent generations are less primarily tied to locality. Their visions are somewhat broadened, and the primary belonging to country, continent, and the world is more

¹ The two ends of the lines, especially the oldest respondents, seem unusual, but that is simply because of that the numbers of respondents from those birth-years are rare. Consequently, for example, one “Agree” response from the only 1903-born interviewee accounts for 100 percent “Agree” responses in that point.

among them than the previous generations. While among the oldest locality is the highest primary source of belonging. But locality decreases for the next generations while belonging to the country has increased. As a result, the country becomes the highest primary attachment for the post-1950s generations.¹

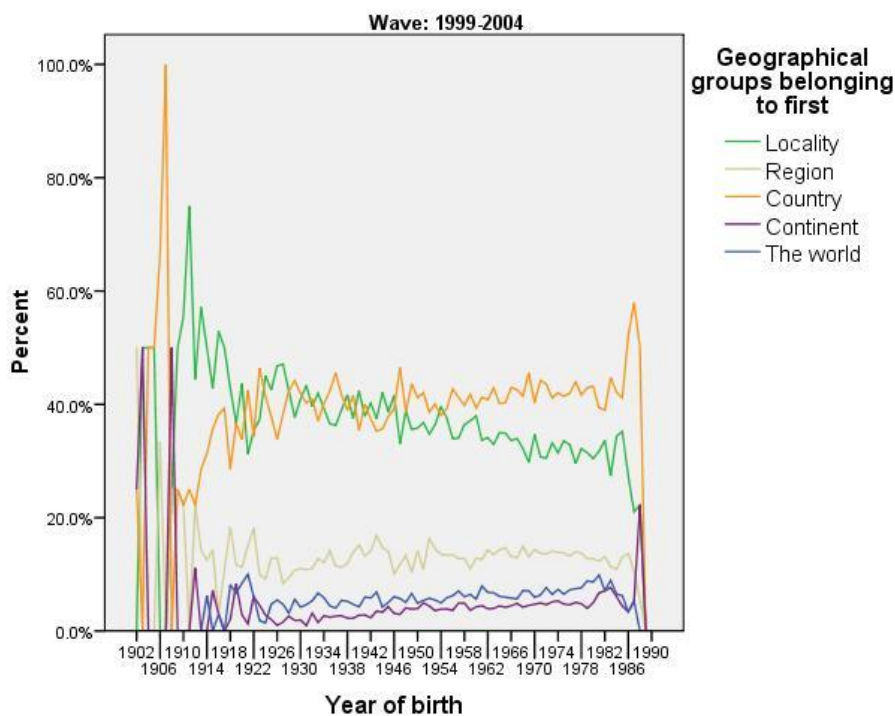


Figure 3 - Responses to the First Geographical Belongings by Year of Birth

But are these patterns a matter of generational change or life-cycle effects? Would not the younger generations become more attached to their localities and less consider themselves as world citizens?

Life-Cycle Effects or Generational Change?

There are mainly two theses about the differences in attitudes between the younger generations and the older generations. The first one argues that these differences

¹ Again the two ends of the lines are unusual here, but same as Figure 1, this is because of the small number of respondents that are born in the very first and last years of the range.

are mainly because of the age and thus are life-cycle effects. According to this thesis, the younger individuals tend to have broader, global identities because of their connections through technologies, but their territorial attachments are more likely to turn to a national or subnational direction as they get older and reside in places. Jung (2008), for example, has argued this rather than generational change in his study of WVS data by stating that “younger generations have always maintained higher proportions of supranational attachments, but the total percent of supranational identifiers is more or less the same from the first to the recent wave¹ of the WVS.” (p.19)

The second thesis, as is apparent, is that these differences are more a result of generational changes rather than life-cycle effects. Based on this perspective, as new generations are coming and rising at the time of more accelerated globalization, their values change and they become more cosmopolitan. Norris (2000), for example, has suggested this viewpoint in her study of WVS data arguing that the net result would be that “intergenerational population replacement is producing cultural change” (p.165) and “in the long term public opinion is moving in a more internationalist direction.” (p.175) Nevertheless, she does not bring sufficient evidence to support this thesis against a life-cycle effects one.

There is however another study on this viewpoint, which might not be directly about cosmopolitanism but is related and could be helpful. Inglehart (2000), in his study of materialist and post-materialist values through WVS data, has argued this generational change perspective. He found that the proportion of materialists decline from older to younger generations while the proportion of post-materialists increase, but “the younger

¹ The most recent data in his study was from 2001 that was from the fourth wave.

groups did not become more materialistic as they aged,” following the statistics from almost a quarter century. (p.222)

The above two theses, however, do not necessarily contradict with each other. Both forces could be in effect at the same time, and in fact, they might offset each other. The younger generations could become more attached to their locality or nation as they age, but they could still possess more cosmopolitan attitudes than the older ones, as a generational characteristic.

There are some limitations in the data to analyze possible changes in generations' belongings over the time. The question asked on the agreement or disagreement with “I see myself as a world citizen” was just added to the surveys in the fifth wave. There are no such data in the previous waves. Moreover, the data of the questions on the first and second belongings, which was asked from the first wave to the last one, is not consistent among the countries. It was asked only in six countries in the first wave (1981-1984) and just in four countries in the last wave (2005-2007). Even in the three middle waves (1989-1993, 1994-1999, 1999-2004) that the question was covered in most of the countries, the list of the countries were not the same over the waves, and thus a longitudinal analysis of the whole data might not be reliable. Only 11 countries have information from all the three middle waves¹, and they could not represent well the whole world in these waves, because the answers' patterns are diverse in countries.

Yet, an investigation of the changes of specific generations' responses over the three middle waves (the second wave to the fourth wave) in these 11 countries could be

¹ Including: Argentina, Chile, China, India, Japan, South Korea, Mexico, Nigeria, South Africa, Spain, and Turkey.

helpful. The second wave (1989-1993) includes respondents who were born in 1972 and before.¹ Hence, I have looked at 1963-1972 generation, which is the youngest decade-long cohort who was in or around their 20s in the second wave, and who raised for almost 10 years into their 30s in the fourth wave. The 1953-1962 and 1943-1952 generations have also been considered, who show respondents transformed, consequently, from their 30s to 40s and from 40s to 50s. The Figures 4 to 6 show the results for these three generations.

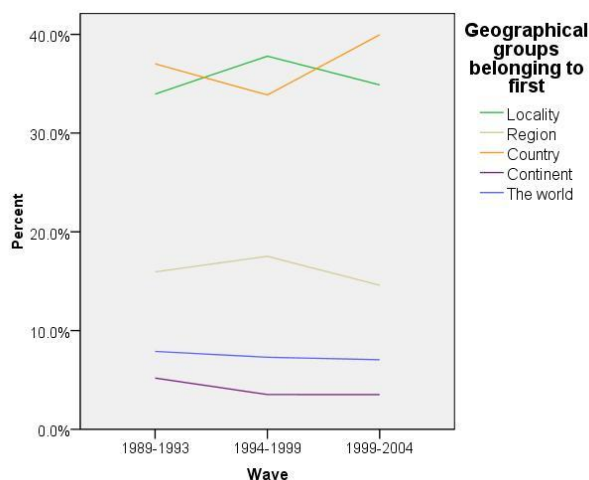


Figure 4 - First Geographical Belongings for 1963-1972 Generation in the Three Middle Waves

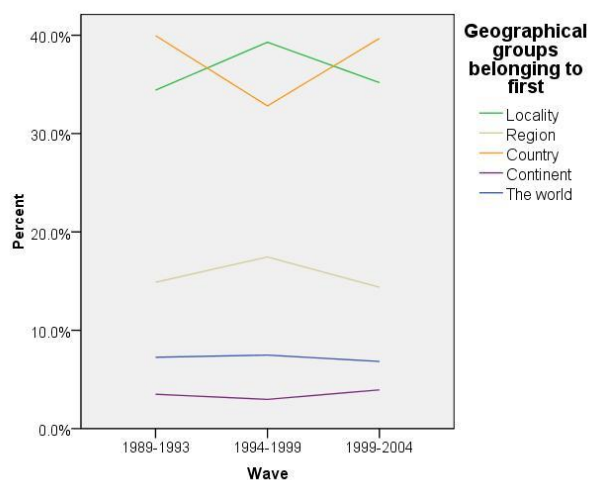


Figure 5 - First Geographical Belongings for 1953-1962 Generation in the Three Middle Waves

¹ There are some respondents who were born in the next couple of years, but the number of them is very small and is not enough to base the analysis on.

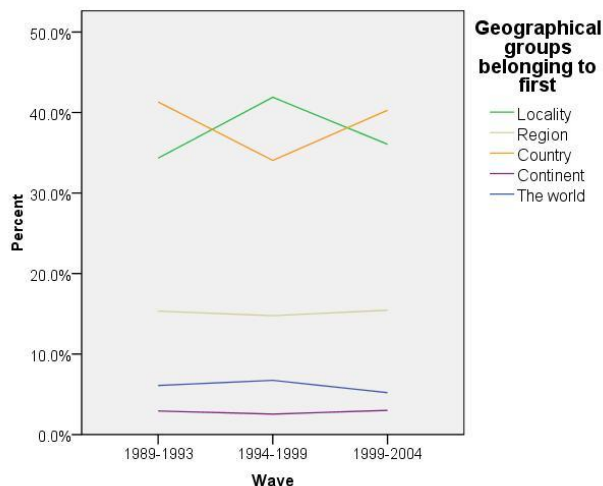


Figure 6 - First Geographical Belongings for 1943-1952 Generation in the Three Middle Waves

The three charts show that there was not any consistent transformation over the time for those generations. The length of the time between the waves might be limited, but at least, there is no consistent pattern to argue for a life-cycle effect, especially considering the visible generational differences in Figure 3. There were some major changes in Locality and Country, which the former increased and the latter decreased from the second to the third wave, but they reversed in the fourth wave almost to the previous points. These major up and downs might be more the result of specific events and experiences in the time rather than life cycles, as they have reversed. The World, Continent, and Region, similarly, do not show specific, consistent patterns of change over the waves.

This means that the life-cycle effects are not as major to explain the generational differences in Figure 3. There is also a major contribution from generational changes. The younger generations develop broader belongings. They belong less to locality than the previous generations, but are more belonged to the world, continent, and even country. And more importantly, they are more cosmopolitan, as is seen in Figure 2. This

idea of the generational change would be discussed more in the next chapters too, but the above figures showed that, in a quantitative term, the newer generations have become more cosmopolitan, which should not be confused with life-cycle effects that they would become like the older generations as they age.

Variant Nations

While the discussed statistics show the general patterns globally, there are some variances between countries. For example, while generally 47.8 percent and 30.3 percent are, in turn, Agree and Strongly Agree with regarding themselves as world citizens in the last wave (Table 2), those numbers are consequently 55.2 percent and 41 percent (totally 96.2 percent) for Colombia and 23.9 percent and 23.8 percent (totally 47.7 percent, which means less than half) for Georgia. The variances are even more complex. Japan has 79.1 percent Agree and just 14.6 percent Strongly Agree responses; while Mali has 32.8 percent Agree and 61.8 percent Strongly Agree.

An initial conclusion might be that the economic wealth and integration into the global economy is a factor in the development of more cosmopolitan identities as they provide more global reach for the individuals, but interestingly Germany (totally 50.7 percent) and the United States (totally 66.9 percent) have lower agreeing responses comparatively. (See Figure 7) Hence, in addition to generational changes, there are also some other factors affecting cosmopolitanism which has resulted in diverse variances between countries. Some factors might lie in specific national characteristics, beliefs, values, and contexts, resulted from specific histories, but there are also some other affecting factors that could be identified and measured generally.

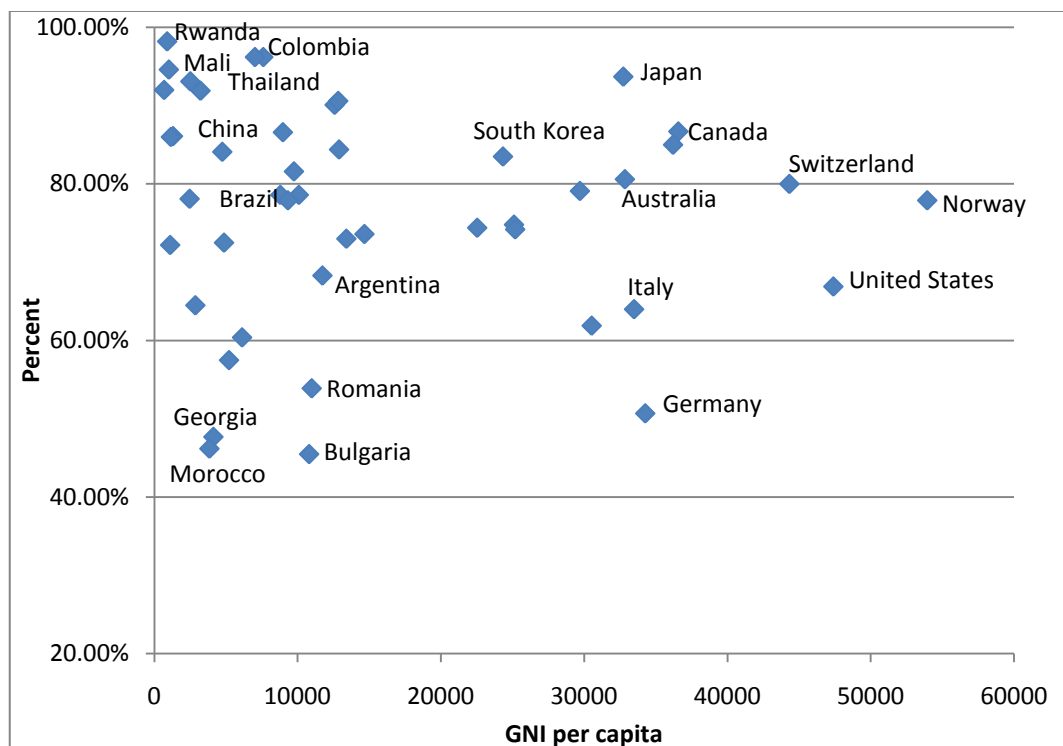


Figure 7 – Cosmopolitanism (Agree and Strongly Agree Responses) among Countries in WVS Fifth Wave (2005-2007) based on 2006 GNI per capita (in USD) (Data Source: World Bank)

Contributing Factors

There are some other factors affecting individuals in developing cosmopolitan attitudes besides generational changes. Previous studies have suggested that growing urbanization and rising education are contributive in the development of cosmopolitanism. (Norris, 2000: p.175; Hopper, 2007: 160-6) Also, cosmopolitanism has always been traditionally perceived as a class characteristic of elite. (Calhoun, 2002; Bourgoign, 2012) Moreover, Inglehart (2000)'s analysis of the generational changes from materialistic to post-materialistic values seems related as many scholars have also discussed the role of "reflexive modernization" in the emergence of new cosmopolitan attitudes. (Beck, 2006: 94-5; Giddens, 2000; Hopper, 2007: 166-8) I have looked through

these four variables and their relationships with cosmopolitanism in WVS data: Size of town, education level, social class, and post-materialist index.

Size of town was measured by population categorized into eight groups, from 2,000 and less to 500,000 and more. Educational level was simplified into three categories of lower, middle, and upper based on the educational attainments of the respondents in each country. Social class variable was just based on the respondent's answers on belonging to any of the five groups of upper class, upper middle class, lower middle class, working class, and lower class. While their answers might not be accurate, it could still show us an approximate picture for analysis of its relationship with cosmopolitanism. And finally, post-materialist index was measured by the respondents' priorities from a set of values in a survival to self-expression dimension, including economic and physical security, individual freedom, tolerance of diversity and other groups such as homosexuals, quality of life, environmental protection, and participation in decision making in economic and political life. The respondents were then set into six categories from a pure materialistic to a pure post-materialistic one.

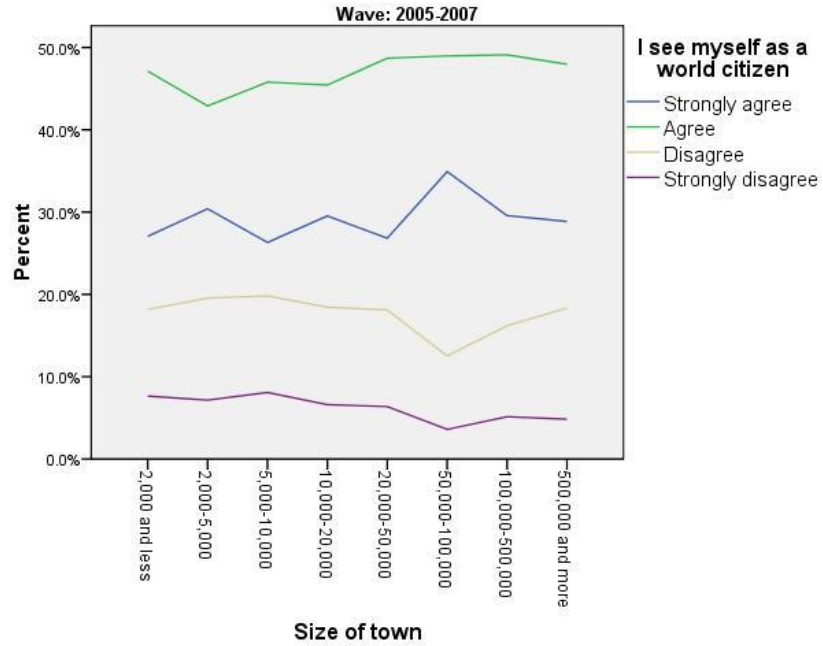


Figure 8 - Responses to "I see myself as a world citizen" by Size of Town

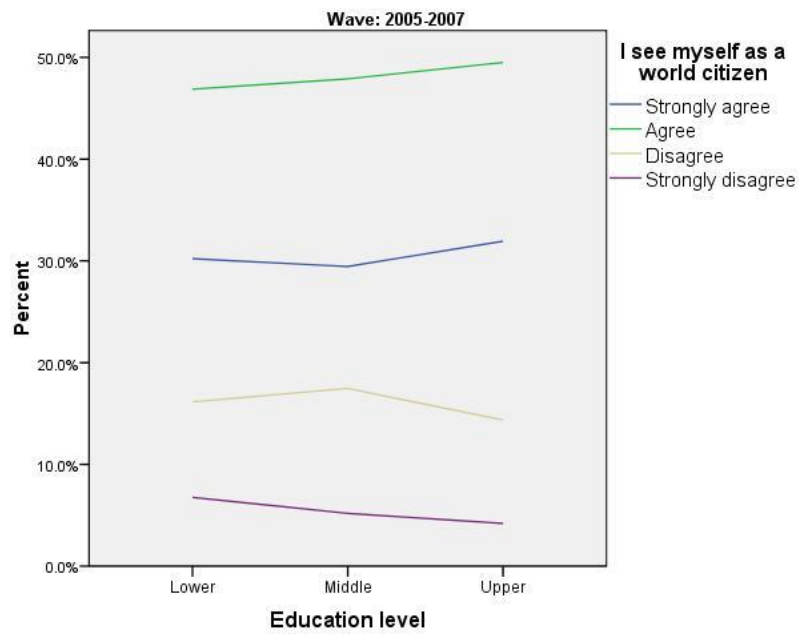


Figure 9 - Responses to "I see myself as a world citizen" by Education Level

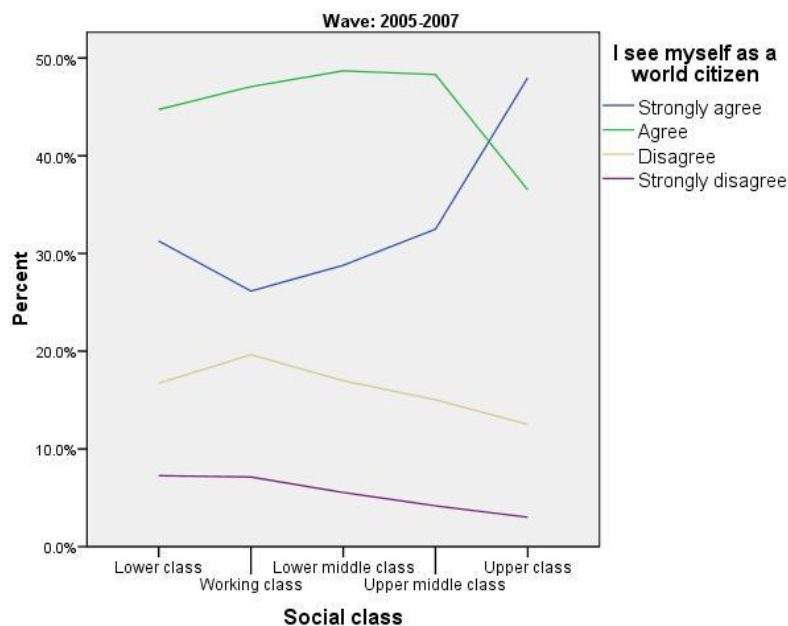


Figure 10 - Responses to "I see myself as a world citizen" by Social Class

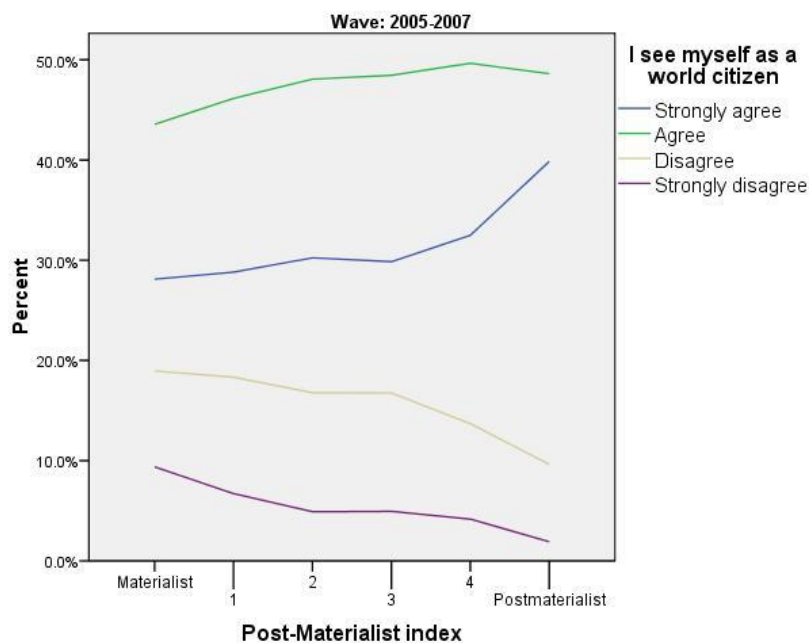


Figure 11 - Responses to "I see myself as a world citizen" by Post-materialist Index

Figures 8 to 11 show the patterns of the responses on agreement/disagreement with being a world citizen based on each variable's categories. The results show that all of the four variables are more or less associated with cosmopolitan attitudes. The

percentage of agreeing respondents (including both Strongly Agrees and Agrees) increase in all variables in ascending direction and the disagreeing ones decrease along them. The agreeing respondents increase a few, however not steadily but generally, from small rural areas to the large cities. Higher educational levels also have a little more proportion of agreeing than the lower levels. The small number of categories (just three categories) might be a reason for this slight change between them. Social class seems to have more evident effect on cosmopolitanism as the slope of the lines is clearer in this variable's graph. Agree responses however have fallen down from upper middle class to upper class, but it is because of the sharp increase in Strongly Agree answers. In fact, those who regard themselves among the uppermost class of societies are seeing themselves more strongly as world citizens rather than the weaker forms of cosmopolitanism. However, as discussed, social class variable in the surveys was just assigned through asking interviewees and thus their answers might not be accurate, for example in choosing between upper middle class and lower middle class or between lower middle class and working class. Finally, the post-materialist index also shows an evident connection with cosmopolitanism as it has almost the most constant relationship with it in ascending direction.

The fact that the post-materialist index has the most constant relationship with cosmopolitanism is an interesting point and could lead us to consider cosmopolitanism as a post-materialist value against materialist values. In fact, the transformation from materialist to post-materialist values is part of a broader transformation from modernism to post-modernism (Inglehart, 2000) and the increase of cosmopolitan attitudes and identities is indeed part of it. Modernism was based on the idea of nationalism and that

each individual should be identified with a nation that has authority to rule in its own territory and organize discipline among its residents (or citizens.) As modernism evolved over time, however, it allowed more individual freedom to choose lifestyles, values, identities, and attitudes, and along with the developments in communication technologies, it brought about more choices for individuals to build belongings, many of which did not necessarily come from national and local cultures. This is what Giddens, Beck, and other scholars have called “reflexive modernization” that happens at the time of late modernity, or second modernity, and results in self-constitution and self-identity and have implications for cosmopolitanism. Thus, a postmodern individual does not perceive it necessary to have a national identity and stay out of the other realms, and pursues values and interests, such as justice and equality, on a more global scale. The postmodern individual does not believe much in nationality but humanity, and pursues interests in a global civil society rather than a national one. The next chapter discusses these qualities more.

Chapter 2

Reflexive vs Objective Cosmopolitanism:

Younger vs Older Generations

The previous chapter aimed at comparing cosmopolitanism between generations in quantitative terms. In fact, the main question there was whether or not the new generations are more cosmopolitan today. The statistical findings from WVS data showed that a gradual increase in cosmopolitanism among the new generations exists, especially from a broad perspective. However, such a generational change could not be fully analyzed through statistics, as we saw that the nature of cosmopolitanism is complex, and it can exist in various forms and degrees. Therefore, a qualitative analysis is also needed for such a study.

The way this qualitative study is done in this chapter is through blogs analysis. Blogs provide a great body of contents written by ordinary people of different ages (and generations) containing their everyday thoughts and perspectives. Therefore, they are great places to assess cosmopolitan outlooks qualitatively. Actually, the blogs selected for this study are those in which elements of cosmopolitanism were identified and their authors were from both newer and older generations. Consequently, a comparative study between the generations could be made in order to assess whether or not a generational change is taking place. Most of the blogs are personal diaries blogs and contain everyday lives' thoughts and issues. A few numbers of them however do not completely fit the genre of diaries blogs and have been created to discuss specific issues, but they are still personal blogs and contain the everyday attitudes of a specific person.

The method of recruiting blogs was through accidental sampling. In order to avoid bias among the selected blogs, I used a couple of different blogs/bloggers social networks and search engines to identify appropriate cases.¹ As there are many blogs out there, I used a number of methods to find appropriate cases in which enough content could be found related to the topic of study. The methods were different based on the options those websites were providing. In some cases, there were categories of blogs based on their topics, and I used cultural and lifestyle blogs to find proper cases. In some others, categories were not very helpful, so I went through forum topics which were related to cultural or identity issues in which their participants were more likely to discuss related issues in their blogs. In a very few number of cases also I used links on blogs themselves to other blogs. I selected 22 blogs in which signs or elements of cosmopolitanism were identified and a comparison between the bloggers of newer and older generations were applicable. I classified the blogs into three groups based on their authors' age:² younger, middle, and older generations. The younger generations are those who are in their 20s or for a very few cases are very close to become 20. There were a few numbers of bloggers who were not such young but were also pretty far from other older bloggers, so I put them in a category of middle generations. They are mainly in their 30s or in the very last stages in their 20s. Finally, I put those who are in their 40s or older in the older generations category as they were not very much to classify between them.

¹ The sources were Blogcatalog.com, 20sb.com, blognation.com, betterbloggernetwork.ning.com, and alltop.com.

² In some cases, their age was just approximately identifiable.

As is seen, the categorization of the blogs based on the bloggers' ages is not very strict. One reason for this is that some of the bloggers' ages were not identifiable accurately but just approximately. However, there is also an intended part in such categorization. As discussed in literature review, there is a problem in defining social generations through strict age-cohorts. It gives great means to do intergenerational analysis, especially through statistical data, but it does not necessarily show the social relations and the way different birth cohorts may define themselves around specific issues as generations. For this reason, I tried to define the categories more based on the bloggers' self-recognition with generations. The bloggers were mainly younger or older generations based on their perspectives, but there were a few numbers in between who were not really defining themselves as younger generation but were not also old. For this reason, I used this flexible categorization of generations for this study.

The selection of blogs was accidental and thus problematic. This means that the sample of the study might not be a very good representative for the whole population; nevertheless, the efforts were made to avoid possible bias in sample selection. The results from analyzing these blogs might still not be well generalizable to all of the individuals from these generations, but it shows us interesting patterns between generations which can help us in analyzing the generational change regarding cosmopolitanism.

Identified Patterns

There are some interesting patterns between younger and older generations gleaned from their blogs' contents. Among younger bloggers, an interesting pattern is that their cosmopolitan perspective comes basically from a self-versus-the-world vision.

There is nothing specific in between to limit the perspective. There are cities and countries and various cultures, but what is important is that there is me (the self) and there is a world which I should hang around in it and experience its different corners (not just in physical sense.) However, it is not the case in the cosmopolitanism of most of the older bloggers. The older ones are more concerned with the “world” mainly because that all of the individuals around the world are human and have rights and everyone is equal. In fact, it is a broader sense of commitment. The middle generation of bloggers are somewhere in between. They are to some extent individualized in their perspective too, but they also show signs of ethical cosmopolitanism quite like the older ones.

However, the two sides discussed do not necessarily contradict with each other. An individualized perspective could also engage in an ethical cosmopolitan perspective. However, what is important and indeed interesting here is that which one is the basis on which the cosmopolitan perspective evolves. Beck (2006) in fact has distinguished between “reflexive” and “objective” cosmopolitanism. Objective cosmopolitanism takes place at the objective level and is a conscious, active, voluntarily choice, but reflexive cosmopolitanism is an unconscious, passive response to the increasing globalization (that involves global trade and global threats such as climate change, terrorism or financial crises.) (2006: 19) However, he also argues that these two cannot be sharply distinguished at the empirical level. (2006: 94)

Another interesting point is that the younger generation’s cosmopolitanism seems to be connected to the economic opportunities that provide jobs at a more global arena for them than as it was for the previous generations at their youth. This means that as a person grows up at a time of a more intensified globalization, he/she might think of more

global life-path alternatives and would develop more cosmopolitan skills, whether mental, behavioral, social, or professional. However, this might be better regarded as a mutual reinforcement. In fact, not everyone in this era would go for global job opportunities rather than local or national ones. A more open individual is more likely to go for it and the global arena would increase his/her openness (that is a part of cosmopolitanism) in turn. This mutual relationship then produces and reproduces cosmopolitan attitudes and dispositions.

It should be noted, however, that these differences between the younger and the older generations are not very sharp distinctions. The discussed characteristics of the both sides are in fact could be found in the other group as well. There are elements of reflexive cosmopolitanism among older generations and elements of objective cosmopolitanism among younger generations. But what is important is that they were identified as patterns in one group but not in the other. The elders who possess a self-versus-the-world perspective are not a common pattern at all; they are just some specific cases among a pattern of objective forms of cosmopolitanism. The same is true in reverse for the younger generations. Reflexive cosmopolitanism is a common pattern among them, while objective cases are just some exceptions.

Newer Generations

As discussed, a fairly common pattern among the newer generations is a self-versus-the-world vision that is a result of individualization. Younger generations, mostly, no longer see themselves as part of a collective commitment, whether to family, local community, or nation, in the advantage of being an autonomous, free individual. They

want to do whatever they want in the “world”. It is evident in many of their blogs. Maybe the most evident blog is “Girl vs Globe” which is created by a Czech student who now lives in Russia. The name of the blog itself is enough to comprehend the viewpoint behind it:

“My name is Sabina and I have been gracing this planet with my presence for twenty fabulous years. During the past two decades, I have had the pleasure of living in four countries and am nowhere near done.”

She has described briefly her travels and living experiences around Europe in her childhood and her settlement then in London and now in Moscow as a student, but that is not the all for her:

“But somehow, it still isn't enough. I want more. I want to go on the trip of a lifetime and never come back. I want to make the whole world my home.”

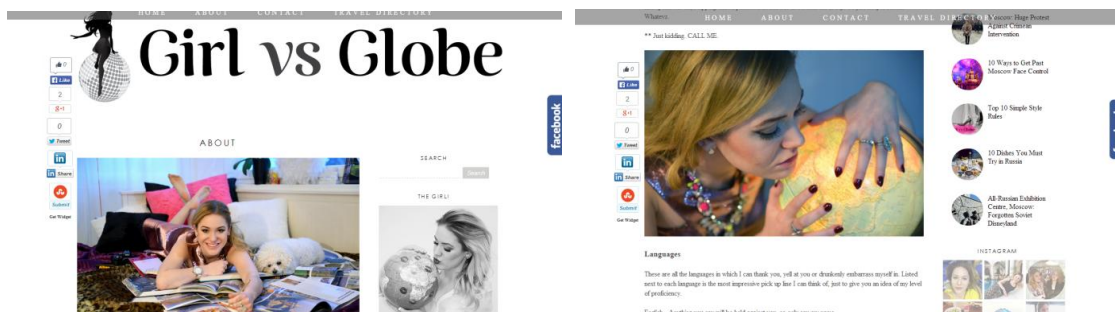


Figure 12 - Examples of a Blog by an Author from the Younger Generation

Another blog which shows the individualized self-versus-the-world vision is called “Anywhere but Home” in which the author writes about her nomadic lifestyle:

“I'm Naomi, an occasional expat and permanent nomad celebrating an infatuation with the whole wide world. In 2010, I left home to pursue travel as a full-time lifestyle...and haven't looked back since.”

It is interesting the extent to which these young cosmopolitans engage with traveling and nomadic lifestyle. Not everyone who travels a lot is a cosmopolitan, but every cosmopolitan seems to embrace traveling a lot. Whether or not this dream comes true however is dependent on financial prosperity and other economic factors, but a person with a cosmopolitan vision is much likely to enjoy traveling to see different cultures and experience “others” in the world:

“Travel has always been a major part of my life, most importantly because people fascinate me....Being in a completely new place, witnessing something that I’ve never seen before, or learning about a culture in ways I didn’t know....I am 110% in love with this lifestyle. This is my passion. And the road is where my heart is.”

Fili, another young blogger from Israel but who now lives in Hong Kong, has also put his blog, “Fili’s World Travel”, to his experiences of traveling the world and exploring cross-cultural differences as well as similarities. Another Singaporean expat in Germany has also shares her travel stories on her blog, “Chronicles of Yoyo”:

“Travelling has always been one of my favourite activities. I love exploring new places, meeting new people and experiencing a whole new culture. I believe that it is important to get out of one’s comfort zone to discover what you’re capable of. As cliché as it sounds, travelling does widen one’s horizons.”

Interestingly, a “nomadic” lifestyle is a common phrase, embraced warmly, among younger generation’s cosmopolitan bloggers. “Gastronomic Nomad” is another blog by a 28 years Australian who has lived in Europe for the past 9 years, which was first “supposed to be a short love affair – one to two years, a quick whizz around Europe, and back on the plane to Australia to decide ‘what next?’.” But, as she states, what

happened next was all “organically.” The nomadic lifestyle in this case comes mainly from an embracement of different cultures and specifically foods:

“...I was also happy to travel further afield. The most influential trips for me then were two explorations of India and Nepal. I definitely had a longing for the thrill and adventure, learning about completely foreign cultures, eating food in the places filled with locals, picking my dish of the menu without even knowing or being able to understand what I had just chosen....I have always being interested the relationship between food and culture, or simply just the ‘food culture’,...the best way to discover a culture is through their food, it’s history, and how it relates to everyday life, but also, that there is nothing wrong with basing your entire travels around what you will be eating and where you are going to find it.”

“The Nomad Cooks” is a further example of a young cosmopolitan’s blog that embraces a nomadic lifestyle explicitly:

“I’m a nomad. Part of my lifestyle is answering the unknown. Where to go next and how do I arrive there?”

The author is a 26 years old American girl, who has lived for the past 3.5 years as an expat, but has now moved back to the US. She explicitly states that her plans and goals is to go back in the Expat world, but “first it’s time to build a career.” It is this sense that urges us to think this lifestyle might be more a result of the life cycles than a generational effect. The youth are just at the age in which freedom and un-attachment could be really sensed and it is a nature of their age that they wander around the world.



Figure 13 - A Blog Example by a Young Author

In fact, one of the common patterns along with an individualized self and a nomadic lifestyle among young cosmopolitans is a sense of “confusion” with life, which is more a life-cycle effect. Laura, the author of a blog named “Laura in Wonderland”, expresses this sense of confusion with the best words in her introduction:

“Hello there! I’m Laura, 21 years old and as confused as a girl can be. I don’t know what I want to do with my life. I don’t know where I belong. All I know right now is that I feel the need to travel, to see and experience new things, hear the stories of people who have or haven’t figured out what it’s all about. I have somewhat of an obsession for freedom. There are all these places out there and they’re calling my name – and I follow their call. Ever since I was 17 I’ve been wandering around the world.”

Hence, it might be an end to that, as these young cosmopolitans age and find their paths in life, build careers, make commitments, and maybe even bear children. They would become rooted in places and this cosmopolitan, nomadic lifestyle would fade away. Going back to “The Nomad Cooks”, its author has expressed this yet:

“I’ve feared moving to American for the past few years but now I’m excited to give it try. The Nomad is ready to root!”

However, it should not be misunderstood. A cosmopolitan vision would not fade away necessarily as a nomadic lifestyle fades away. The life-cycle effects indeed should not be neglected, but the previous generations have never been such connected to the globe at their youth, as the global communications like the Internet and cell phones have provided today for new generations.

The youth are now pursuing their interests in a more global arena much easier than any other time. They might feel closer to individuals with similar interests from different, far places around the world than the people living close to them. Sarah, the author of “Curiously Sarah”, a jewelry artist based in the UK, for example, aims to connect with those with similar interests more from around the world and pursue her interests in that field:

“...I am also the founder of ‘The Curiously Gorgeous Sisterhood’. This is a gorgeous community site aimed at enriching the lives of creative women everywhere....Between the passions and skills that we have all learned from our professional lives, we acquire quite a bit of knowledge that we can share with the world. It’s that knowledge, insight and experience that I would love to share with you....Let’s plan for a brighter future together.”

The fact that should be considered here is the economic opportunities that are available to the younger generations today. Not only the global communications have been developed, but also the professional opportunities such as jobs and education have been globalized, more or less, in most of the places. Therefore, as the new generations are growing up and entering job markets or deciding to continue their education, they consider more global and cosmopolitan life-path alternatives. Nazreen, from Malaysia,

has a “Chasing a Dream” series on his personal blog in which he writes his stories of going after opportunities, which span from his own country, Malaysia, to other countries, such as an environmental program in Germany, a cultural exchange program in the US, or any other opportunity somewhere else:

“On the last day of 2011, I made up a list of new year’s resolutions. One of my wishes was to travel outside of Malaysia free-of-charge, before 2012 ended. It could be anywhere, even just next-door Indonesia....Opportunities lie everywhere -there is no scarcity. You just need to look hard enough...”

In fact, it could be argued that for the new generations, cosmopolitanism is more a practice rather than an intellectual trait. They live in a context that needs a cosmopolitan lifestyle for a successful life. It is not an obligation, but it makes success easier by opening up the wide array of information from around the world. Hence, an individual that just wants to enter the career market learns from the very beginning nowadays that the opportunities are in different places and are varied, and that he/she should be flexible and open, as much as possible, to different cultures and values.

As a result, the notion of the “home” changes dramatically. There is no more guarantee that one can be successful and satisfied by settling down in one place, more specifically in one’s hometown, and therefore, the individual would not define a place as home rigidly. People start to define it more flexibly, temporarily, broadly, and maybe in mobile terms. One might rather develop a sense of home everywhere, or in contrary, discard it all the times in order to be able to live with a peace of mind while moving from places to places, and while building attachments to them becomes hard and harsh at the times of moving. Susanne, the author of “The Musing Blonde”, is an example. She is a

19 year old Dutch who has grown up abroad living in five different countries during her first 10 years of life:

“I frequently get the question: ‘Where is your home?’ and I never really know how to answer....The saying 'home is where the heart is' really applies to me....because of all the moving it's hard to call a house my 'home', knowing that there is a very big chance that in a couple of years/months you will be living somewhere else and that will be your 'home'.”

It might be an extreme example, but as the number of people living and rising up abroad has become a more common matter, such experiences would also increase and become common. This not only affects themselves but also their close relatives and friends. More people now have diasporic connections, and even if somebody does not go out of hometown or nation very much, his/her vision could be broadened through in hand communications with around the globe.



Figure 14 - A Blog Example by a Young Author

However, there are also milder examples of changes regarding the notion of home. A 26 year old American expat now living in Abu Dhabi writes about her experience in her blog:

“This summer has caused me to look very closely at where I might call home in the future. Do I really want to move back to a country that puts corn syrup in everything?...Do I really want to be around people who don’t know if the word ‘Arab’ is racist? I just don’t know how much I want to be back in the American bubble...My current home is not here right now, and that’s very clear. I am sure that if I was actually settling in and setting up a permanent life here, I would learn to love the bubble again. But for now,...Desertland is ‘home’ these days. And I can’t wait to be back in it.”

In fact, as the younger people are more mobile, their definition of home changes dramatically. It might be broadened or shifted from a place to another place(s), whether temporarily or even permanently. It is dependent on what happens next in their life. They might become settled in new or former places and make it their home in older ages, but their expanded visions and attitudes are less likely to become limited again. Thus, a generational trait also exists while life-cycle effects are in action.

Older Generations

As discussed earlier, the older generation’s cosmopolitanisms have some different patterns from the younger generation’s ones in the blogs. It is mostly from an ethical, objective perspective or is formed around social, political, or environmental activism for the elders. It should be noted here, however, that it took a little longer time to find enough cosmopolitan cases of older generation bloggers for this study. The reason might be lying in the fact that generally older generations are blogging less, or it might deal with less cosmopolitanism among them. But as the goal of this chapter is not to do a quantitative comparison, and in fact the means for such a comparison is not available here, I do not aim to argue for that. Instead, I aim to analyze the patterns that lie in the cosmopolitan perspectives of the bloggers from this generation who have been studied.

Paul, an old blogger from Australia, for example, writes down about his interests in a cosmopolitan manner in his blog, “Nevertheless”, but it originally comes from an environmental activism purpose to alarm others on the existing harms:

“Nevertheless is a showcase of ideas, inventions and creative inventiveness of individuals, groups and companies, concerns for things green that can help change a polluted and climate disrupted world. Also of interest is the harm that human penetration and exploitation is doing to the world around us especially habitat destruction and species extinction.”

This objective cosmopolitanism, however, does not come just from environmental concerns, but it also could be based on social causes. Kathleen, the author of “The Midlife Woman”, for example, posts occasionally about different issues, such as economic inequality, children rights, and women rights, as well as environmental issues, such as water concerns, from a “world vision”.



Figure 15 - A Blog Example by an Author from the Older Generations

Peace is another source for cosmopolitan outlooks among these bloggers. “Out on The Stoop” is a blog by a middle-aged woman who writes down her interests, such as education, sex, and other stuff, most visibly from an American perspective, but there also

exist posts about peace on her blog, such as in the memory of Nelson Mandela, in which more global and cosmopolitan attitudes become visible:

“I remember being a youngster hearing and not understanding about Apartheid. I could understand segregation in the United States but the South Africans experienced something so brutal I couldn't rap my head around it. Later, I remember my college classmates supporting Mandela because it was the thing to do. The concerts. The posters. The discussions in the cafeteria. It is what young people in college did at the time. We talked. We protested. Some of us read and were informed on the issues. Most just gave our voices to let it be known that South Africa wasn't that far away from our lives. We understood.”

“Everyday Gyaan” is just another blog in which the Mumbai-based blogger's interests in social causes shows well her global attitudes, like in her relief supporting of Philippines after it was hit by the Super Typhoon in November 2013. Together these examples show an objective form of cosmopolitanism, in which the ethical rules of human rights and equality as well as environmental concerns are the main origins of a global perspective. They might be either combined with an individualized self or not, but what is different in it from a reflexive cosmopolitanism is that the objective cosmopolitanism is, because of its objectivity, more conscious and hence more active.

Religious beliefs are also another source that could foster an objective form of cosmopolitanism. Steve, a Christian blogger from South Africa, writes up his personal observations on different issues on his blog, “Notes from Underground”, but his posts have been as diverse as Thanksgiving in America, Syrian civil war, and the Ukraine Crisis among many other diverse topics during the past year. However, religious beliefs are not exclusive to the elderly. There are also religious youth, but it is important that to

what extent the religious thoughts cause objective cosmopolitanism among them. The goal of this chapter however is not to evaluate religious cosmopolitanism quantitatively between generations to see if it has diminished or not, but what the study of the younger cosmopolitan bloggers shows us is that even if they are religious, it is not a major contributive factor in their cosmopolitan outlooks. The pattern of their cosmopolitanism, as was seen, is more a reflexive form that is mainly a result of the way they have grown up rather than an objective, philosophical thought that has just come out of their minds.

Maybe the more conscious and active cosmopolitanism among older generations could be better explained by a life-cycle effects approach. It is logical that the people would become more self-conscious as they become older and would put more thoughtful ideologies in their actions in everyday life. Hence, it might be possible that the younger generations would also attain objective cosmopolitanism as they age. But how is it about reflexive cosmopolitanism? Did the elders, who now possess objective cosmopolitanism, possess reflexive forms prior to that? And would the young reflexive cosmopolitans lose it as they age? The answer seems to be negative. Reflexive cosmopolitanism is in fact a result of a globalized world. While globalization is a long-term process that was started much earlier in the time, but the level of connectivity of the world has been totally unique in the recent decades by the means of new communication technologies, such as the Internet. Thus, the previous generations at their youth were not at all as reflexive cosmopolitan as the new generations are now. However, we cannot foresee what would happen as today's younger generations would age, but what is clear is that reflexivity is a common pattern among them that was never existed in such amount before and could be regarded as a generational trait.

It should also be mentioned that, like religious beliefs, environmental activism and social activism on human rights and equality are not exclusive to the elderly. There are many young activists today around these issues that put their energies on actions “without borders” pretty similar to the previous generations, but again a reflexive cosmopolitanism is a common pattern among them too. Indeed, what is new and should be regarded in the new generations is a reflexive cosmopolitan outlook or lifestyle. An objective, ethical, global activism might exist among them too but that would be the same thing as it was for a couple of previous generations. It is not very new.

Nevertheless, reflexive cosmopolitanism’s elements are also not exclusive to the younger generations. Some older groups might also attain those features as a result of their position and engagement with socio-cultural processes. That is why globalization and its cultural consequences are not linear, and the individuals’ timing and level of engagement with the processes are different. This is similar to the transformation from material to post-material or from modern to post-modern values that are also nonlinear and were discussed in the previous chapter. The author of “Bump to Beans”, who describes her blog as the “confessions of a modern mom”, for example, like the younger generations enjoys finding like-minded people and pursuing interests in a global arena:

“I want to share my experiences with the world because I feel there’s a void out there for people like me who want to raise cultured, happy and interesting kids...I’d love to form a community of like-minded folks so that we can share info, ideas, and ways to make this thing we call parenting a whole lot more fun.”

She also expresses her enthusiasm for traveling and experiencing new cultures pretty like the younger generations:

“Travelling is the best. I love experiencing new cultures, new food, new sights, sounds, smells and people. I always look for the market (flea or food) in any new place I visit – it’s the heart of a culture and you can learn so much about people.”

Another blog is “Amazing People”, which share stories and views on life of famous people in history from around the world, by Charles, who has previous researches on famous people and places and also publishes them as books and audios:

“It started when I had the idea that it would be fascinating to meet people like Shakespeare, Mozart, Einstein and others such as Elvis Presley and Edith Piaf. They all had exceptional talent. Therefore, I decided to travel through time and interview them. Why not? We can see pictures on television from thousands of miles away. We can talk on our phones to people in different countries. Computers pass messages at the speed of light. Why not meet people from a different age.”

In fact, the type of cosmopolitanism that the viewpoint behind this blog is engaged with is more a reflexive one that is caused by the greater connectivity in the world than an objective one that would originate from a philosophical or ethical thought on the equality of the human race.

Notwithstanding, some of the patterns observed in the new generations, as discussed, are results of life cycle effects, such as the sense of confusion and wandering in the world, and the youth may become settled and rooted in former or new living places at later ages. However, their cosmopolitan vision then may or may not begin to fade away. Robert, the blogger of “Pure Land Mountain”, who was born and raised in New York and traveled around the world and lived in many places for a decade after his

college has now been settled in Kyoto, Japan, from 1980. He now has family and indeed “Japanese children” there:

“I never had a father or a grandfather or any other who had resided in Japan, married into a Japanese family, had a son and a daughter, a daughter who also married into a Japanese family and had children....as one-half of an international marriage and the singular chain of events that have led to this moment, you are an international grandparent, of grandkids who are more products of their native culture than their mother and way more so than I, and who completely speak another language than my mother tongue.”

In fact, Robert’s vision has turned more into his locale (including his new nation) now in opposition to his younger ages when he was wandering around the world for a decade, simply because settling and making family in this place. This does not mean that the cosmopolitan outlooks of the youth time have faded, but locality has now come more into the focus. This might not be a general process for everyone, but it could happen for many others too. The American roots however still have great presence in his thoughts, but a bipolar American-Japanese vision is not a cosmopolitan outlook; it is just a transnational one.

Middle Generations

There were also a few bloggers who are neither truly part of the younger generation nor the older generations. They are somewhere in between, around their early to mid-30s. They might be more strongly attached to the younger generation than to the older one, but at the same time, they are not totally part of it. They might see themselves at moments one or half generation before the current youth as a result of their age and their older memories in time. Interestingly, this middle generation’s blogs show elements

and patterns that are in some cases similar to those of the younger ones and in some others to the older ones. In another terms, cosmopolitanism in this middle generation is a mixture of both reflexive and objective forms. Neither of them is more common as a pattern than the other, while both are pretty evident.

John, for example, is from this middle generation and is the blogger of “JetSetCitizen”. He has lived abroad since 1997, but in 2010, he and his wife decided to sell all of their possessions in Japan in order to “live a nomadic travelling lifestyle”:

“We live in a time of unparalleled opportunity to create any lifestyle we choose. We can live, work and play anywhere we want in the world. A global lifestyle is no longer reserved for the rich and famous. It is within grasp of anyone willing to embrace adventure and break from dated definitions of how we are supposed to spend our lives.”

His cosmopolitan vision, like those of the younger generation, comprises travelling, a nomadic lifestyle, and global opportunities, and could be regarded as reflexive. Yet, he is not wandering the world as confused as the youth are doing. There is a more consciousness and active ideology behind his cosmopolitanism that could also lean it toward an objective form:

“A JetSetCitizen is NOT about driving Maseratis in Monaco, it is about volunteering in Venezuela. It is about learning something new to improve the lives of people around you. It is about embracing humanity and experiencing the world with your fellow citizens. It is about being fortunate enough to live in a time of unprecedented opportunity.”

Anna, the author of “Don’t Forget the Avocados”, is another blogger from this middle generation. She is a mother of a baby and also a Lutheran from America and mainly writes her ideas on literature, education, and cultural issues on her blog. While

she usually writes about “human” and the “world” instead of talking about groups (e. g. about the US), her vision is predominantly and obviously Western. Religious viewpoints are also very contributive to her vision. Indeed, she admires cross-cultural differences and acceptance, but it is not a practice for her like the younger generation. It might be or not because of the commitment she had created to the new family and baby, which is a life-cycle effect, but in her case cosmopolitanism is leaning more towards an objective form with having some elements of reflexivity. It is a vision that mainly comes out of mind and beliefs, specifically religious beliefs, more than from an intense global connectedness.

Another blogger of this middle generation is Chris, who writes on “NoSuperHeroes”. He is actually an American missionary and now lives with his wife and two children in South Africa. While religious viewpoints again are a major contributive to his global vision, the opportunities to live overseas around the globe is also an important factor in developing cosmopolitanism in this case. Hence, it might be better to state that an objective cosmopolitanism here is in combination with a reflexive one:

“Chris has been in ministry and missions for over twenty years, teaching and ministering in over 35 countries....Together with his wife Lindsey, and two sons, Garrett and Thabo, they formed Project Grace. This is a nonprofit ministry designed to help train and equip African nationals to reach into the world....Chris enjoys...exploring new corners of the globe.”

Final Comment

This chapter’s analysis of blogs shows a general pattern that the younger cosmopolitans possess a reflexive form of cosmopolitanism, which originates from their

greater global connectivity and availability of global mobility. The older cosmopolitans have a more objective or conceptualized form of cosmopolitanism that is derived from their global commitment for rights and action. The middle generation is somewhere in between having both reflexive and objective forms of cosmopolitanism to some degree.¹ It is logical that objective forms are more common among elders, as people would become more conscious of global rights and actions as they become older. However, the observed pattern should not be analyzed solely through a life-cycle effect approach. And it would be misleading to conclude simply that the youth's reflexive forms of cosmopolitanism would shift to objective forms as they age. In fact, objective cosmopolitanism is not a new phenomenon. It has always existed from older times, such as in Kant's thoughts or even in Diogenes the Cynic's perspective. But reflexive cosmopolitanism is something new resulted from a more global connectedness. It might have existed for some earlier times but it needed a global network of connections. Thus, very few proportions of the societies, namely elite, who had access to global connections and mobility might have experienced it in the past generations. But at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, more and more people are experiencing it with being able to move freely around the globe, not necessarily physically but through information and connections.

Reflexive cosmopolitanism, however, is not exclusive to the younger generations. Some older people also possess it, as is seen in the examples of this chapter. But it is more common among the younger generation. In fact, it is an evident pattern in their cosmopolitanism. This is because that they experience the world from the very beginning

¹ However, the cases for this middle generation was very few and could not be analyzed as a pattern, but at least it showed strong evidences of the both sides.

in this new globalized condition. They have not seen earlier times of less interconnectedness, and hence, they are likely to take these new conditions for granted. There is no tangible alternative for them. It is a presumption in their minds that there is a world out there that I can and should live in it, much more powerful than the idea that there is a nation or anything else out there to live in it.

Therefore, reflexive cosmopolitanism is something new today. It is a common outlook or practice experienced by many ordinary youth at the beginning of the twenty-first century, even for those who might have not been out of their hometowns or nations very much. It is a perspective developed through being exposed to global connections and information. Education is also an important factor in developing this global awareness and tolerance as well as the economic wealth of the subjects. And some other older or middle aged individuals are also exposed to it. It is not a linear process to form reflexive cosmopolitan outlooks for different generations and ages. It is a result of the position of the individuals along with the social processes and changes, specifically from modern values to postmodern values discussed earlier, in which the latter challenges the national boundaries that was one of the basic frameworks on which the former was built.

Indeed, reflexive cosmopolitanism is part of postmodernism. It celebrates global equality of rights in every aspect and prioritizes it in front of national, ethnic, religious, and other group forms of belonging. However, it has not come out of mind through elaborate thinking that is the case in objective cosmopolitanism. It is a presumption here. It is taken for granted. That is why it is unconscious, as Beck (2006: 19) has stated, or maybe more accurately semi-conscious, which means that the younger generations might be to some degree aware of it, but not to the extent to base their other actions in life

consciously on it. In another terms, it is a passive rather than being an active choice. The next chapter would consider more these features through interviews conducted with some of the bloggers.

Chapter 3

Cosmopolitanism Experienced: Living in the Twenty-First Century

As we saw in the previous chapter, some of the elements of cosmopolitanism were discussed, especially with regards to the distinction between reflexive and objective forms of it. In this chapter, some interviews have been conducted to deepen our understanding on the causes and effects of cosmopolitan outlooks at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The interviews have been done with some of the bloggers that have been studied in the previous chapter. There was no selection process however among them to be interviewed. All of the 22 bloggers were contacted, but finally 7 interviews have been conducted. Four of the interviewees are from the younger generation, and the three remaining are from the middle and older generations with somewhat more objective cosmopolitan outlooks. However, as for ethical concerns of the research, their names would not be mentioned here and they are indeed anonymous in this chapter. The interviews were conducted through email. Four main questions, which would be mentioned later during the chapter, were sent to the interviewees and the replies to them were collected. The questions were designed to be open-ended, so the responses would contain more explanations and would be richer. In some cases, accompanying questions were also asked in order to clarify more the initial replies to the questions. Nevertheless, the individuals were not informed before the end of the interviews about the focus of this study that is cosmopolitanism in order not to bias their replies in that direction.

Generally, the results are diverse and shed light on multiple issues associated with cosmopolitanism. Some of the findings reaffirm the results of the previous chapter, but

some others indicate new points which were not identifiable through just examining blogs' contents. The following brings the findings associated with each of the questions asked, in turn.

Multiple Belongings

The first question was on different belongings of the individuals, such as local, national, ethnic, and religious as well as to the world, in which the interviewees were asked to explain each separately:

“Do you have a sense of belonging to each of the followings? Please answer separately and specify more accurately, if it applies, like those in the parentheses.

-Locale (Your hometown, current city, any other)

-Nation (Your home nation, currently living nation, parents' home nations, etc)

-Region (Whether sub-national, such as California, Catalonia or northern Italy, or cross-national, such as Europe, northern Africa, or East Asia)

-World (The whole world)

-Ethnicity/Race/Religion (Either one or all together, sub-national or cross-national)”

In fact, the respondents were identified previously as cosmopolitans based on their blogs' contents, but this question were mainly asked to assess other belongings beside cosmopolitan outlooks as well as to consider its consciousness and the extent to which their cosmopolitanism is explicit or implicit.

The replies show that they have different levels of consciousness on it, but almost all of them have other belongings beside it too, even those who explicitly see themselves as “world citizens”. This means that both reflexive and objective cosmopolitanism could be and indeed are normally “rooted”, using the term from Appiah (2006). Cosmopolitanism, hence, does not mean to be tied to a wide “world” and to be unrooted from other sorts of attachment, e. g. local or national.

Considering locality and nation, the place in which a person has grown up and lived for most of her/his childhood seems to remain the most specific belonging for many of the individuals:

- I have lived in different towns and cities in different states throughout my entire life, and therefore do not have a strong feeling of ‘belonging’ to any of them. I tend to view any city or town in which I live through the lens of a temporary resident. I like to compare the sociological and cultural features of different places. I tend to become comfortable in each new place and become reluctant to leave each one, but quickly adapt to the next place once I get there. I do, however, have a strong feeling of affection for the small town in which I spent the most formative years of my childhood. That is the one locale that I would like my children to know and like even though visiting it would involve substantial travel.

This difference between the feeling towards the home place and other places could be even much stronger for other people:

- ...That’s where I grew up and all my family and friends are there too. It will always feel like home. I currently live in [...] with my husband....we’re expats in this country. Personally, I don’t feel a sense of belonging here which isn’t a bad thing. We’re here because of job opportunities but there won’t be anything else stopping us from leaving the country if we wanted to.

The sense of belonging to the home country and culture is even great for those who regard themselves strongly as “world citizens”:

- I don't for Locale, Nation, Region and Ethnicity, I see myself as a citizen of the world. With that said, I can't help but feel that where I grew up is still part of me, and I do make an effort to visit my family at least once a year. Despite issues I might have with the culture I grew up with, I guess it's still a very strong part of me.

When he was asked to clarify it more, the deepness of such belonging became clearer:

- I still enjoy music in my native language, I really like the food I grew up with, and I generally feel at ease and comfortable when visiting back. Where I ever I go and people ask me where I'm from, there's no escaping the answer linking me to my country of origin. My real live link to my home country remains my family, and since they're there, it's probably the place that's easiest to associate with 'home'.

The other places in which the individuals have lived later in the life, however, are not always without any senses of belonging:

- I have a tenuous belonging to all of the places that I have lived. My hometown, New York City (I lived there for 6 years) and [...] (I've lived here for about 2.5 years.) The belonging is in the sense that I feel as though I know the cities and could find my way around and have been to all three places within the past year.

It depends on the personal experiences one might face in those locales:

- The city I am currently studying in makes me feel like I belong somewhere. It feels like home and people are very friendly and open. The village my parents live in does not give me any sense of belonging. It never really has. People never accepted me and made me feel like I didn't belong. All the other places I lived in I did feel like I belonged (these being all over the

world). The people were open and accepting towards me...and never made me feel different.

And it could be even stronger than the belonging to the hometown:

- Calgary, Canada is the city I was born and raised in so it will always be my 'home city' but I think I feel most at home in Chiang Mai, Thailand. It's much easier to connect with people there. I definitely have more friends there.

National Identity

National identity and feelings still seem to remain strong for cosmopolitans as the feelings of "home" discussed above show. Moreover, they could not be easily shifted from places to places as it is for local belongings to towns and cities:

- I'm proud to be Canadian and will always retain my Canadian citizenship. I lived in [...] for many years, and that felt like home at the time, but it's not the same as my feeling for Canada.

One major reason for that could be the legal framework that national citizenship provides people; and in fact, it reproduces its ties through everyday life's experiences:

- I have zero sense of belonging to [currently living country], largely because most people on a resident visa are very aware of how temporary our lives here are. It is also very clear that we will never become citizens of the country and we are treated very differently based on our respective passports. I also have no sense of belonging to my father's home country (Latvia) since I have never been and I was brought up without any real sense of Latvian culture. My mother's home country is America, and although my maternal grandparents are Polish, I wasn't brought up with a real sense of Polish culture either.

However, as the citizenship laws may allow to change nationalities or dual citizenships in some nations, people's senses of national identity may also change, but again, it is the result of the status that legal frameworks provide for the people.

Notwithstanding, the legal citizenship is not enough for all of individuals to sense a great attachment to their nation. The real level of integration with the everyday culture of the societies is also an important factor to develop national allegiances:

- My home nation and my parents' home nation are the same place....I don't really feel like I belong here....This probably has to do with the fact that I lived abroad..., missing a big part of my 'socialization' [here]. This being things like television shows, politics and norms and values. Of course my parents taught me much about the [...] culture and gave me the norms and values they find important, but I don't look at the [...] culture as my own.

Other Sources for Identity

Like it was in the previous chapters, region is not a very important source for identity and belonging, whether sub-national or cross-national, for the interviewees here:

- I would say I'm of Asian descent, but I wouldn't necessarily attach a huge emotional sense of belonging to the term.

- Looking at Europe, I do feel like I belong. But at the same time, it doesn't really feel like home.

Generally, it does not provide a great source for identity, but it might be the case in some specific regions based on the specific experiences people face in them:

- I'm calling California as home. It felt right when I finally got here. There is sun, warmth and opportunity. Southern California gives you a chance to be what you want....There is an acceptance of being different. You can openly speak a different language, wear blue hair or be creative. My hometown would be hostile to those things.

Race and ethnicity also still provide feelings and senses of identity for some cosmopolitans:

- I have a sense of belonging to the "white" race, but in general there are negative connotations. White guilt is something that comes to mind. More specifically, my ethnicity is Eastern European, and I belong insofar as I am offended when people offend the ethnic group. This is also true in terms of Russia and being not-Russian, but close enough. I get offended on behalf of Russians, but also when my ethnicity is overgeneralized as Russian.

Yet, at the same time, they might be the least important factor of identification for some other cosmopolitans, as it might contradict with the very principle of global equality of humans:

- This is something I never really thought about. In my eyes, there is no difference between ethnicity, race or religion, as in all people are equal and alike. I don't see myself belonging to any specific group. I never have and I don't think I ever will.

This is in fact the case among those who have stronger forms of cosmopolitanism:

- My father was Hungarian, my mother Ukrainian, my wife Japanese and I'm Canadian. I honestly don't think ethnicity matters much anymore.

Moreover, religion has also a dual condition as a source of identity and belonging among the cosmopolitans. For some of them, it has the least possible contribution:

- I'm definitely not religious, so that has little meaning to me as well.

- I'm not religious, although I do identify as Christian. Religion is not very identifying for me though.

For some others, however, it has the most contribution in the development of cosmopolitan outlooks. It is in fact the case in more objective forms of cosmopolitanism:

- [M]y religious faith is a strong part of my identity. It links me to people throughout my nation and throughout the world, and indeed, throughout history. It shapes how I think, how I live, and how I treat others.

- [Religion] goes back to the galaxy part of [me]. The universe is expansive. I believe I (we) are connected in ways we may never understand. There is a resonance some people call God or Spirit.

Consciousness of Cosmopolitanism

There is also a great range of difference among the interviewees in their responses to belonging to the whole world. Some are greatly explicit on this sense:

- I would definitely like to think of myself as a global citizen. I think we all have a responsibility to take care of our planet and other citizens, regardless where they may be from. I find it very disappointing and frustrating that the idea of nation states makes it so difficult to cross borders. We need a change to a more globalized mindset but I think that will take many decades.

- ...I can say I feel like I belong in the world....I feel like I can connect to every culture or country I come in contact with.... I am a product of all the countries I have lived in, making the world my home, and not just one country.

Some others, however, do not feel a great sense of attachment to it:

- Not really. Obviously I know that I live in the world, but for me the world is too vast a concept to inspire a sense of belonging.

However, when she was asked to clarify it more, especially with regards to her other responses that were embracing others “regardless of what country or culture they come from”, she admitted the possible contradictions in her responses:

- The funny thing is that I noticed the potential discrepancy myself while I was writing my answers...Basically, my religious body teaches and believes in the idea that everyone of our faith belongs to the same universal body, regardless of color, race, or country

Totally, the above examples show clearly that the mentioned aspects of identity (local, national, regional, ethnic, racial, religious) do not contradict with cosmopolitanism

and can co-exist with it, but they are not necessarily part of a cosmopolitan identity too. There are many variant forms of cosmopolitanism. There are very strong, conscious, and explicit forms and also very weak, unconscious, and implicit forms of it, and there are also many other variations in between. The above examples are just from seven cases, but there are too many cosmopolitans out there in the world, and they are much more diverse than these examples. The point is that none of the above aspects of identity are fixed parts of cosmopolitan identities, nor they contradict with it.

Sense of Community and “Others”

The second question which was asked from the interviewees was about their sense of community and “others” and their attitudes towards them:

“To which of them do you have a sense of your community/society? (From the above choices [in the first question], or any other) And how do you think of others (who are different from you by any of those features, such as by nation, race, ethnicity, religion, etc)? To what extent do you think they are different from you?”

This question, in facts, complements the previous one. The first question was asking on different aspects of cultural identity separately, but this one is trying to sum up them to find the most important aspects of cosmopolitan identities.

The responses show that while the sense of community may mostly come from much narrower sources than the world, most cosmopolitans do not make rigid lines between themselves and others by race, ethnicity, nationality, or generally by culture. Instead, the most rigid line they make is with those who are not cosmopolitan, or more accurately, with anti-cosmopolitans, who are narrow-minded, which would be discussed.

The senses of community, as stated, mainly come from much narrower sources than the whole wide world among the interviewees:

- When I moved to the city I live now, people were very open. I became a part of the community faster than I could imagine and now I am an active participant in it too. I am more engaged in this community. Living in the other cities before moving [here] I was also more engaged in the community, making me feel like a part of that community.

- As you can see from my earlier answers, I have a great sense of belonging in [my country] even though I don't live there currently. I reckon it has to do with family ties and that my friends I grew up with are living there too.

- If I am asked which community I belong to, it varies upon where I am at the time. When I am in New York, I am a part of the community of my friends....When I am [here], my community is a group of fellow teachers who are largely American/Canadian, although we have other Western countries represented as well....When I am home, it is a suburban town community and when I'm there, I feel a part of the town insofar as I see familiar faces and places and do familiar activities within the community.

However, there are also “global” senses of community:

- I also feel engaged on a ‘world-like’ level. I want to participate and do things, the actual doing part is a little difficult seeing as I am still going to the university.

But what is mostly important among these cosmopolitans to build a sense of community is the quality of being similarly open, cosmopolitan-minded from a global arena regardless of race, nationality, ethnicity, religion, and culture:

- I think that my biggest sense of community comes from interests, not religion or countries. I connect best with long term travelers because they have a much more open viewpoint of the world. They also are not so materialistic

like most consumers around the world. Perhaps the biggest way I identify myself is that I am not a mindless consumer.

- I started off seeing a lot of cross cultural differences, but after this many years most of what I see is how similar we all are inside. Sure, gender, social class, ethnicity, national culture, religion and heritage all contribute to definitions of in-group out-group but once people are willing to let that go these seem to matter less than simply people's-fit. The main difference perhaps between me and most of the people I meet is that I've had a considerably longer experience of living and traveling abroad. I find that differences and identity are issues that bother me far less than they do most people.

And this difference with the people who are less open-minded and cosmopolitan seems to be the most important factor in making boundaries between similar people and “others”:

- Because I don't have a strong sense of belonging to any particular location or region, I tend to identify with other people who have also experienced living in different places. I sometimes have trouble forming friendships with people who have always lived in one place, because they can seem to have little interest in anything that is different from what they have already experienced. I feel more comfortable among people who enjoy sampling the food, culture, and history of different people and places.

- I think people differ from me in the way we think. I am a very open-minded person and want to learn about people and different cultures and religions....I know for a fact that there are people who are very narrow-minded, people who are open-minded like me and people who come in the middle. So I think the biggest difference between people isn't necessarily their religion or culture, but it is the way they think and look at other people and things around them.

And in fact, cultural differences, whether by race, nationality, ethnicity, religion, etc, is not a great important factor for most of them to differentiate between people:

- I see other people as equal to me. Of course people are different when it comes to culture, religion and ethnicity, they all have their own norms and values and things like that. But in my eyes, people are people and everyone should be given equal opportunities.

- I don't think someone of a different color, race, or nationality is of any difference. I see people as unique individuals but I don't go round labeling them based on the features you mentioned.

However, there is also no escape from these features, especially when cosmopolitanism is not very objective and also not very strong:

- ... [Here] there seems to be a very decisive line between [us] and [them]. I like to think that the largest reason is the language barrier. Many [of them] will tell you that it is much easier to express themselves in their own language, and it makes it difficult to have meaningful relationships or form close bonds with them since I do not speak [their language]. But there are also differences racially and religiously. I am treated in the world very differently than they are. As a result, we are very different people.

Hence, again, we might better say that there are variants of cosmopolitan attitudes in looking at "others". Some stronger forms do not see any difference between cultures, nationalities, races, ethnicities, and religions, at all, while some weaker forms still consider these differences and identify themselves with them, though being open and accepting towards "others". It is in this sense that we should not define cosmopolitanism as not seeing any difference between and not identifying with these features, but as having open attitudes towards them. And also, it has the passion to be identified with other similar, cosmopolitan-minded individuals rather than narrow-minded ones.

Personal Experiences

The next question which was asked from the interviewees were about the way they have developed these cosmopolitan attitudes over time and the experiences they think were contributive in this regard:

“How have you developed these attitudes and belongings? Were they developed through your childhood or just later in your adulthood? Can you tell 2-3 specific reasons, for example of your personal experiences in your life or anything else, which you think have led you to develop these attitudes?”

Among the responses, there are both experiences from childhood and adulthood which were contributive in the formation of these attitudes. Childhood experiences mainly cover early cross-cultural contacts:

- These attitudes were developed throughout my childhood living abroad and living in different cultures and meeting many different people....living in those different countries has given me a ‘culture’ of my own. Taking bits and pieces from the cultures I have lived in, the things my parents taught me and people I met and turning this into something of my own.
- My parents were missionaries to Spain when I was quite young, and throughout my life I have known many people of my faith who either went to other countries for religious reasons or who came to the U.S. from other countries for religious reasons. My father spent some time studying at a religious seminary, and we enjoyed hosting foreign students who were also studying there.
- I can remember watching a black and white television when I was a child. I thought that the people displayed were not exactly real because I was raised in an African American community. When I did see a Caucasian American for the first time; maybe around 6 years old I was shocked that they were real and not just images from television. So at that time my rules for experiencing thing had to change. It was not as I thought it would be.

The extent of exposure to different others from childhood, then, is an important factor in developing cosmopolitan outlooks:

- Definitely developed them during my childhood. Although we're a multi-racial society, it wasn't till recent years that you see an increase in inter-racial marriages. It was kind of special in my extended family. However, I grew up thinking that's the norm and it's acceptable....Being exposed to different cultures from a young age has taught me to overlook those superficial differences.

But the later experiences of cross-cultural contacts in the adulthood are not much less important than them in shaping attitudes:

- When I moved from a more conservative part of the country to a supposedly liberal one there was culture shock. The rules of engagement changed and I had to adapt quickly. I may not speak Spanish but I do need to know how to pronounce words and city names.

Specially, living abroad for a long time has been an important factor in this regard:

- Living in foreign countries for extended periods of time has made me realize how much culture shapes our thinking. It took me several years of living abroad to start realizing that I wasn't really in control of my life. I had all of these cultural beliefs that guided how I lived my life. Living abroad made me realize how incorrect and limiting those beliefs were.

- Moving out of my home culture and starting to travel around 9 years ago has changed my perspective of things tremendously. A large part of who I am is based in my travels around the world.... I knew fairly little about other cultures, especially cultures that aren't 'western'. The mere exposure to other cultures and meeting with fellow travelers, not to mention having to converse in English which is different from my native language definitely changed my mindset to something more open and global.

The role of the foreign language is an important factor here. Having had to use an international language all the times, which is different from the native language, it provides an everyday cross-cultural experience that would later adjust attitudes to more cosmopolitan ones.

This mere exposure to a different culture while living abroad, in fact, increases cosmopolitan outlooks by initially increasing the awareness on the real existing differences:

- Living [here] has definitely shifted my views to make me more aware of being Western, American and white. When people see you here, they immediately make assumptions based on appearance....I am treated like an American. Nobody is suspicious of me....My opinion is considered more highly than perhaps it should be....Having had a boyfriend [here], I became very aware of the different ways that Americans are treated versus [...] specifically....When we are with Westerners, sometimes I am not aware of the racism that floats around, but next to him, I noticed it more.

This cross-cultural experiencing, however, is not just associated with living abroad. But this is more dependent on the environment the societies and their governments provide for people living in them:

- ...there are government schemes put in place to ensure that there is a good mix of different races living together in an apartment block. These measures do help others become more aware of people who are supposedly different to us (color, race, religion etc). However, by living in close proximity, we learn to appreciate each others' unique culture.

And not only the environment societies provide is important, the opportunities and environment families and smaller communities provide for the people are also very important in the development of such attitudes:

- My parents are also very open-minded people, who think that to be able to form an opinion about something or someone you need to experience of get to know them first. So my parents have also influenced my attitudes a lot.

Hence, we can see that the opportunity to experience other cultures from a close distance is a main, great factor in the development of open, cosmopolitan attitudes. And this is in fact increasing by globalization. Indeed, globalization have brought more opportunities for cross-cultural experiences by increasing global communications, such as through the Internet and satellite televisions, and it has brought different cultures from all around the world closer to each other. Therefore, there is more expectation for the adjustment of attitudes into more cosmopolitan ones.

Generational Gap

The last question focused on the personal experiences interviewees might had on differences with older or younger generations in these outlooks:

“Have you ever realized any differences between you and your family members of younger/older generations in these attitudes and belongings? Please explain. And if yes, why do you think there is such difference?”

Indeed, it was expected that the younger individuals have experienced new cosmopolitan attitudes which was not as regular for the elderly as it is for them. The responses to the question rather admitted this expectation:

- My grandparents didn't have anywhere near the same level of opportunity and choice we have now. They lived very limited and simple lives that were much more difficult and inconvenient....My grandmother (and most people) has a difficult time understanding how it's possible to work from a computer anywhere in the world and not have a home country.

- ...even if the older generations in my family are acceptable towards other cultures, there are bound to be differences between Asian and Western....I think the differences exist because my folks and grandparents were brought up in a different era. They were exposed less to people of difference cultures.

In fact, there is a difference between the younger generations and the previous ones in the level of allegiance to modern notion of nation as opposed to postmodern values discussed in the previous chapters:

- I think that my immediate family also feels American, but their understanding of what that means is different because they haven't left the country except once to visit me here briefly. They do definitely feel more pride in their American-status than I do.

And this is also to a large degree dependant on the opportunities, especially economic as well as political, that are available to them:

- In my home country the older generation had to fight for survival and existence, with lots of uncertainties about the future, and I'm very lucky that I've never worried much about that. I have a secure base which has allowed me to go and explore who I am and what I'm about. Obviously, this contributes to more open-liberal perspectives of things in me than perhaps the older generation.

However, there were also unexpected responses which had not experienced such generational gaps:

- Not really. I come from a pretty international family, so most of our attitudes and such are similar.

- ...I have found myself that others of my faith share the same core beliefs and values even if our cultural attitudes are different. I think that this is the same for my older relatives and my younger ones.

This is especially the case in more objective forms of cosmopolitanism, like when it is based on religious views. Reflexive cosmopolitanism may also not see generational gaps in some cases, as it is not a linear process between generations, but that would not happen most of the times. Hence, the new experiences in the new era, which reflexive cosmopolitanism is one of them, would mostly be a matter of difference between generations in the way they look at them, whether as a normal or abnormal situation:

- Perhaps one of the biggest differences that I tend to notice over and over is that the older generation tends to be much more pessimistic about the state of our world. They see changes in culture, law, and society.... They are worried about the disintegration of family structure. The younger generation in my family also thinks that these changes are negative, but does not respond as pessimistically, and does not want to focus on them. Perhaps this difference is because these changes have been part of our experience from an early age and therefore are simply part of what we perceive to be 'normal.'

Synthesis

What has been discussed in this chapter so far are the experiences of some cosmopolitans at the beginning of the twenty-first century. We saw that there are great variances between them, in terms of having local, national, ethnic, religious, and global ties, the sense of community and relationship to "others", childhood and adulthood experiences, and the experiences of generational differences in the family. In some cases, there were sharp differences among them such as in the contribution of religious, ethnic, or racial identities along with cosmopolitan attitudes. But all of the cases studied are cosmopolitans. Hence, we cannot say that either of them constitutes parts of cosmopolitanism, but they are all variants of it which were discussed briefly in the previous chapters.

These interviews show that there is an important contribution from everyday cross-cultural contacts to the development of cosmopolitan attitudes, especially those contacts that continue for a long time. At the time of globalization, we are bound to experience more continuing cross-cultural contacts with the means of advanced global communication technologies, such as the Internet and global media, and therefore, we are bound to sense more cosmopolitan experiences. We read news daily on the Internet or watch it on TV about places that we may have never even thought about them; and this is a continuing, everyday experience. Specially, the newer generations live in this way from the very beginning, and they perceive it as being “normal”, since they have never experienced earlier times. Therefore, a reflexive cosmopolitanism is a unique experience of our time at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and while it is not specific to the new generations, it is a way of defining them as they have been raised hand in hand.

Conclusion

Cosmopolitanism in Action

As was seen throughout the research, the new generations today (those born beginning in the late 1980s) are more cosmopolitan than the older generations, and this is not only because of the life-cycle effects of being young, but also a significant generational change is taking place in this regard. This more cosmopolitanism among the newer generations is in fact associated with and is part of the broader transformation from modern to post-modern values. The generational change towards cosmopolitanism, however, is not just about the number of people experiencing it. There is also an important qualitative aspect to it. A new cosmopolitanism which is more reflexive (or lived) than objective (or just thought about) is being experienced now at the beginning of the twenty-first century, while objective cosmopolitanism has always existed. As Peter Dreier (2012) has once said, “the radical ideas of one generation often become common sense for the next,” like that we all now take women’s suffrage or federal minimum wage for granted, while they were utopian dreams a hundred years ago. (2012: 501) Likewise, the fight for “Think globally, act locally” in 1970s and 1980s resulted in that the next generations take it for granted that we should think globally, and that we are citizens of the world.

The new cosmopolitan experience discussed in more details in chapter 3 shows that different variants of cosmopolitanism exist today. There are very strong and conscious cosmopolitans and there are also semi-conscious and unconscious ones that could be regarded as weaker forms of it. But even among those strong cosmopolitans,

there are also other ties and allegiances beside it, especially to the home towns or nations in which a person has grown and spent his/her most formative years of childhood.

There are different factors contributing to this increase of cosmopolitanism. Increased levels of education and urbanization throughout the world alongside the developments in communication technologies that could provide more global networks for individuals are some of the factors that increase global awareness and tolerance. The most important factor in developing cosmopolitan outlooks in the individuals is continued, everyday cross-cultural contacts and experiences, whether through childhood or in adulthood. The cross-cultural contacts are bound to increase with the growth of global communications, but they are still greatly dependant on the opportunities our societies and communities provide us. There are always protectionist forces in the societies that impede exposure to foreign cultures. And the ordinary people are not always aware of how protectionist policies affect them, since they are busy with their everyday lives. They usually act in a passive manner and are not always really choosing their lifestyles. However, with the recent developments in communication technologies, an absolute protectionism is very difficult, but governments around the world still have some powers to control the flows of information, such as through legislation and education, and to reduce cross-cultural contacts, whether between nations or even within nations.

Hence, the biggest conflict of our time, I think, is not the clash between civilizations but the clash between cosmopolitans and pure protectionists, or in another terms, fundamentalists. It is not, for example, the clash between the West and Islam as many such as Huntington (1993) argue, but it is the clash between the cosmopolitans of

the world and fundamentalists in all of those civilizations, whether in the West or in the Islamic world, or in any other culture, nation, religion, or ethnic group. As Giddens (2000: 22) has said, “the battleground of the twenty-first century will pit fundamentalism against cosmopolitan tolerance,” and we saw that the cosmopolitans interviewed in this research were interested to identify with other cosmopolitans against those who are “narrow-minded.” The result is that the fundamentalists and cosmopolitans of each society are now battling with each other on different issues on whether or not there is a need to protect more their societies against the world.

The statistics in chapter 1 indeed showed that most people around the world now consider themselves as world citizens, even though many of them might not have great, conscious belongings to the world and still mostly identify with other ties, such as with their locale, region, or nation. This large number of cosmopolitans means that a global system of governance (not to be confused with a single global government) is now much more legitimate for the world population than having distinct national governments without any global vision. People are concerned with what is happening in other parts of the world, even with the places they do not have any specific connection with. Hence, there is a need for global action and governance.

We are not however at the zero point in this regard. We have United Nations now for that purpose, but it does not mean that it responds well to what people call for. It does not act properly and effectively in some occasions, such as in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, simply because of its unequal framework and constitution. The most noted inequality is the veto power of the five permanent members, which leads to the failure in addressing the concerns of the global civil society in a neutral manner. Although some

reforms have been proposed, for example to add more diverse group of nations as the permanent members, it is still very far from that equality, even though they can be regarded as small steps in that direction.

Another point is that there have always been discussions in the recent decades around whether globalization leads in homogenization or heterogenization of the cultures around the world. The idea of the emergence of a homogenized “global culture” might be alluring to discuss, but we might better talk of a shared cosmopolitan experience around the world instead of it. A shared cosmopolitanism indeed accepts specific local, national, ethnic, and religious cultures and different civilizations, and could be experienced anywhere, besides having a global vision, consciously or unconsciously.

An important factor in this regard and in cross-cultural contacts that foster cosmopolitanism is the matter of language. Language is in fact the main way for communication, and as it is not identical among different cultures, they have to communicate by translating themselves into each other or talk in a mutually-understandable third language. The blogs and interviews that have been studied in this research were all in English, whether as a native language or as a foreign, international language. It is in fact somewhat accepted now for the people around the world to learn and speak English as an international language, and as was seen in one of the interviews in chapter 3, having had to talk it could lead to the development of more global outlooks per se, when it is not the native language. However, it would be again unequal to use just English (or a couple of languages) as an international language, and consequently, oppress the others. This would result in an inequality between native English-speakers and the native speakers of the other languages in taking advantages of global resources

and opportunities. However, from another viewpoint, it could also result in that the native English-speakers become less cosmopolitan, since they need less adaptation to be able to communicate with the world. Anyway, this centrality of English language in international communications is a part of the existing global socio-cultural inequality, and it is not part of the true cosmopolitanism (as a cultural policy.) Cosmopolitanism, as defined, is not like a homogenized global culture with specific elements. It is a vision that accepts all diverse cultures and civilizations around the globe, and indeed celebrates them, without focusing on a specific one over the others. There are many civilizations around the world, such as the Western and the Eastern ones, and each has its own different historical origins. And cosmopolitanism should celebrate all of them equally. Again, there have been some developments in this area in the recent years, and many other languages, such as Chinese, Arabic, Spanish, French, etc, have been entered into formal global communications, but English is still in the center with a substantial distance from the others. There were also some attempts to create neutral international languages, such as Esperanto, but they are still very far from being used regularly. Thus, it needs more active attempts at an international level in this regard.

One other concern during this study also was the global methodology in social sciences researches. As is seen, it has been tried to do a real global research here and to get out of the traditional national frameworks of study. There were some limitations in this research, for example in studying just English blogs that is discussed earlier, and there is still much to do in this regard. But national research frameworks would not work anymore all the times, especially with the increase of global communications and movements, and especially with the coming of the new generations who are growing up

with cosmopolitan experiences, usually unconsciously. They would not give us a complete picture of what is happening in the world now anymore. Surely, they are still important as there are national institutions and societies that continue to exist, but there are also many things happening out of those realms that should be viewed more globally in order to be grasped perfectly.

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