# COSMOPOLITANISM IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD:
# AN INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE

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**ABSTRACT**

Cosmopolitanism represents a complex, multilevel, multilayer phenomenon manifested in a variety of social spheres, including moral, political, social, and cultural. Yet, despite its prominence in other disciplines, cosmopolitanism has received relatively scant attention in international management research. Furthermore, the understanding of cosmopolitanism as an ever-present social condition in which individuals are embedded lags significantly behind. In this article, we develop a conceptual framework for cosmopolitanism as an individual-level phenomenon situated at the intersection of the moral, political, and socio-cultural perspectives. The framework explicates the interrelations between macro-level dynamics and individual experiences in a globalized world. We conceptualize cosmopolitanism as an individual disposition manifested and enacted through identities, attitudes, and practices. We also highlight the diversity of individuals who can be considered cosmopolitans, including those who may not possess the classic cosmopolitan CV. Finally, the article explores the implications of cosmopolitanism for global organizations and global leadership.

**Key words**: cosmopolitanism; globalization; interdisciplinary research

**INTRODUCTION**

A generation has passed since the advent of global financial markets, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the spread of information technology, and the first big rush toward globalization across business sectors. Organizations of all kinds have adopted a variety of approaches to these changes over that time, as have many individual professionals. Scholars and managers alike would do well to reflect on the role of corporations in the global sphere and on the practice of working across borders. In particular, there is an urgent need to provide an alternative social, political, and moral vision for a world dominated by global capitalism (Beck, 2006; Harvey, 2000; Held, 1995) and to understand the complex interrelations between macro-level dynamics and *lived* experiences of individuals in the age of globalization (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Beck & Sznaider, 2006).

Furthermore, there continues to be great interest in defining and developing a (sometimes elusive) set of skills and attitudes for leading in a complex, multicultural world (see, e.g., Bird, Mendenhall, Stevens & Oddou, 2010; Bird & Osland, 2004; Butler, Zander, Mockaitis & Sutton, 2012; Holt & Seki, 2012; Mendenhall, Reich, Bird, & Osland, 2012). In response to the challenges associated with globalization, the concept of cosmopolitanism has resurged in the last two decades, spanning multiple disciplines from sociology to anthropology, political science, and philosophy, to name but a few (e.g., Appiah, 2006; Archibugi, 2008; Beck, 2006; Brennan, 1997; Delanty, 2009; Held, 2010; Inglis & Delanty, 2010). Consequently, cosmopolitanism now represents a complex, multilevel, multilayer phenomenon manifested in a broad variety of social spheres, including moral, political, social, and cultural (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002).

In the management literature, there is growing and renewed interest in cosmopolitanism (e.g. Brimm, 2010; Dahlander & Frederiksen, 2012; Grinstein & Riefler, 2015; Haas, 2006; Haas & Cummings, 2014; Janssens & Steyaert, 2014; Levy, Beechler, Taylor, & Boyacigiller, 2007; Riefler, Diamantopoulos, & Siguaw, 2012). Furthermore, scholars have begun to articulate the moral and political implications of cosmopolitanism for global leadership (Maak & Pless, 2009; Pless, Maak, & Stahl, 2011) and corporate social responsibility (e.g., Maak, 2009; Matten & Crane, 2005; Scherer & Palazzo, 2011; Young, 2006). Yet, the understanding of cosmopolitanism as a pervasive social condition in which individuals are embedded lags significantly behind. Moreover, research on cosmopolitanism as an individual-level phenomenon is still entrenched in the classic cosmopolitan–local model (i.e., Gouldner, 1957) that has reified the status dichotomy between cosmopolitans and locals and created a conceptual polarity that has prevailed for decades. This model is firmly rooted in the 1950s, when sociological and organizational theory focused primarily on processes and outcomes that occurred *within* Western territorially bounded societies (Urry, 2000). However, global and transnational processes have destabilized the commonly accepted distinction between cosmopolitans and locals. Whereas "cosmopolitan" was previously used to describe a class of privileged individuals or a set of attitudes and dispositions, today the diversity of groups of cosmopolitans and types of cosmopolitan experiences requires a more complete, grounded, and interdisciplinary definition.

In this article, we develop a conceptual framework for cosmopolitanism as an individuallevel phenomenon situated at the intersection of the moral, political, and socio-cultural perspectives.

The framework also explicates the interrelations between macro-level dynamics and individual dispositions in a globalized world. While related constructs such as cultural intelligence (Earley & Ang, 2003), global mindset (Levy et al., 2007), global competencies (Bird et al., 2010), and global leadership (Mendenhall et al., 2012) are informed by the global context and stress the need for certain individual capabilities, they are largely independent of historical and structural dynamics. That is, they do not adequately address the links between the macrolevel phenomena associated with globalization nor do they sufficiently recognize the increasing diversity of individuals who may possess these capabilities in all their breadth and complexity. Moreover, these constructs tend to have individual-level motivational, experiential, and developmental factors as antecedences and shy away from cross-level and macro-level dynamics in multiple social domains. Our proposed framework, by contrast, is inherently situated in a broader social and economic context and explicitly draws links between the emergence of cosmopolitanism as a moral, political, and sociological discourse, contemporary historical and structural processes, and individual-level disposition and attributes. It also highlights the diversity of individuals who may be considered cosmopolitans even though they do not possess the classic cosmopolitan CV.

Our approach to cosmopolitanism is distinctly multidisciplinary, as we draw on and synthesize scholarly work from multiple disciplines. The existing stream of research on cosmopolitanism may have neatly divided people into primary identities and reinforced existing subcultures (Werbner, 2007), but it has overlooked the more complex interplay between identities and their environments and has failed to incorporate "an awareness and appreciation of diversity in modes of thought and ways of life" (Hannerz, 2004, p. 21). We believe the power of our approach lies not only in capturing what each discipline may not see but also in synthesizing what diverse disciplines see together when they collaborate (Khapova & Arthur, 2011), thereby creating new and useful guidance in the complex landscape of global business life (Buckley & Lessard, 2005; Cheng, Henisz, Roth & Swaminathan, 2009). The different conceptual trajectories of cosmopolitanism, including moral, political, and socio-cultural, each illuminate how global dynamics have given rise to individual experiences. Therefore, conceptualizing cosmopolitanism from an interdisciplinary perspective also fosters cross-level understanding rather than levelspecific insularity.

In the sections that follow, we first briefly discuss the moral, political, and socio-cultural perspectives on cosmopolitanism. Drawing on these, we then discuss cosmopolitanism at the individual level and relate this new framework to early organizational research on cosmopolitanism. Finally, we discuss the implications of this approach for research on and the practice of global work.

## CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON COSMOPOLITANISM

Globalization is widely recognized as a transformative force across domains, from the world economy to business and organizations, state power and sovereignty, and culture and identity (Beck, 2000; Castells, 1996; Held & McGrew, 2000; Tomlinson, 1999). It is frequently used to capture the intensification, expansion, and growing complexity of global activity and to represent a world that, for good and for bad, is exceedingly interconnected and interdependent (Held, 2002). These processes have given rise to the moral, political, and socio-cultural perspectives on cosmopolitanism that elaborate the empirical and normative consequences of globalization (Beck, 2006). Below, we review these perspectives.

### *Moral Cosmopolitanism*

Cosmopolitanism as a moral ideal has a long and complex tradition, which can be traced to the Stoics and to modern Enlightenment philosophy, particularly the work of Kant on "Perpetual Peace" (Held, 2011; Nussbaum, 1997a; 1997b). Currently, moral cosmopolitanism is aimed at formulating global or cosmopolitan ethics that could guide the world community. The cosmopolitan position is built on the fundamental premise that each person is equally significant in "the moral realm of all humanity" and is therefore the ultimate unit of moral concern (Held, 2010; Pogge, 1992). Such moral concern can be elaborated in numerous ways, including by focusing on subjective goods and ills (human happiness, pain avoidance), on more objective ones (opportunities, resources), or more generally on human rights (Pogge, 1992).

Equally important is the idea that all individuals stand in certain moral relation to one another and to the moral community of humanity and thus have certain duties and obligations (Appiah, 2006; Nussbaum, 1997a; 1997b). Therefore, "… we should give our first moral allegiance to *no*

5

mere form of government, no temporal power. We should give it instead to the moral community made up by the humanity of all beings" (Nussbaum, 1997a, p. 8, emphasis in original). Furthermore, "Class, rank, status, national origin and location, and even gender are treated … as secondary and morally irrelevant attributes. The first form of moral affiliation for the citizen should be her affiliation with rational humanity; and this, above all, should define the purposes of her conduct" (Nussbaum, 1997b, p. 29). The basis of the moral community is "the worth of reason in each and every human being" (Nussbaum, 1997b, p. 30), which provides the foundation for universal or cosmopolitan ethics (Dallmayr, 2003).

Moral cosmopolitanism oscillates between two opposing ideas: On the one hand, it gives primacy to the individual as the fundamental unit of moral concern; on the other hand, it places reason and universal ethics above any particular individual, place, or community. The latter idea, however, has met with significant opposition. Dallmayr (2003, p. 428), for instance, maintains that "… emphasis on commonality or universality is likely to sideline morally relevant differences or distinctions; at the same time, the accent on normative rules tends to neglect or underrate the role of concrete motivations." Similarly, Harvey (2000, p. 535) argues that applied to local contexts, these universal principles are more likely to "…operate as an intensely discriminatory code masquerading as the universal good."

In an attempt to reconcile these seemingly contradictory ideas, Appiah (2006, p. xv) argues that cosmopolitanism as an "ethics in a world of strangers" rests on two intertwining strands. One is the idea that "… we take seriously the values not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance." The other is that we have obligations that stretch beyond close relationships or formal citizenship to distant others who are less privileged and may require our help and support.
These obligations are particularly germane to citizens of more affluent countries who are often viewed as responsible for major upheavals in the world (Pogge, 2005). Moral cosmopolitanism is thus particularly concerned with expanding human rights and social justice beyond the boundaries of nation states or their members (Brown & Held, 2011).

### *Political Cosmopolitanism*

The political perspective builds on the moral strand in elaborating a cosmopolitan world order –
a set of universal political principles and institutions – that could provide the foundation for
collective action in a globalized world (Held, 1995). Fundamental to the political perspective is
the recognition that because of the increasing connectivity across diverse domains, we live in
"overlapping communities of fate" that require collective solutions locally, regionally, and
globally (Held, 2002). Thus, as a political project, cosmopolitanism focuses on four interrelated
domains – universal political principles, cosmopolitan democracy, global civil society, and
cosmopolitan citizenship – all aimed at promoting a cosmopolitan world order and global justice.
Below we briefly discuss each domain.

The domain of political principles reflects a commitment to universal standards, human
rights, and democratic values and seeks to specify general principles on which the world
community could act (Held, 1995). Held (2011, p. 230), for example, puts forward eight
principles: equal worth and dignity, active agency, personal responsibility and accountability,
consent, collective decision-making about public matters through voting procedures,
inclusiveness and subsidiarity, avoidance of serious harm, and sustainability. These principles
should be universally shared, thus forming "… the basis for the protection and nurturing of each
person's equal interest in the determination of the institutions which govern their lives" (Held,
2010, p. 97). However, these principles are often criticized as being either imperialist or
ethnocentric masquerading as universal cosmopolitanism (see Nederveen Pieterse, 2006).

As a new political agenda, "cosmopolitan democracy" is aimed at globalizing democracy "…
*within, among,* and *beyond* states" (Archibugi, 2004, p. 438, emphasis in original) and creating
broad avenues of civic participation in decision-making at regional and global levels (Held,
2011, p. 241; see Archibugi, 2008 for an overview of this literature). As an institutional model,
cosmopolitan democracy seeks to implement a new form of global governance involving a legal
order and the formal construction of supranational democratic institutions that would coexist
along with the state system, but would override states in those domains that have transnational
and international consequences (Archibugi, 2004; Held, 2011, p. 241; Kaldor, 1999). Although
cosmopolitan democracy is often criticized for being impractical (see Archibugi, 2004 for a

review of the critique), it is gaining momentum with the recent surge in aspiration and
participation in the democratic process in diverse parts of the world.

Another locus of cosmopolitan world order is global civil society viewed as the sociopolitical
sphere "located *between* the family, state, and market and operating *beyond* the confines of
national societies, polities, and economies" (Anheier, Glasius & Kaldor, 2001, p. 17, emphasis in
original). Global civil society is increasingly evident in transnational social movements,
networks, and nongovernmental organizations – all of which frame their goals in global or
international terms and pursue projects that have global implications (e.g., environmental,
nuclear weapons), express human solidarity (e.g., affordable medication, saving starving
children), and demand global justice (e.g., human rights, fair trade) (Castells, 2008; Kaldor,
1999; 2003; Tarrow, 2005). Furthermore, there is considerable evidence that this mode of
activity – "cosmopolitanism from below" – has a significant impact across various domains in
shaping the ways global and local issues are managed around the world (Kaldor, 2003; Castells,
2008).

The political-moral perspective has direct implications for the role of multinational
companies (MNCs) as corporate citizens in the global public sphere (Maak, 2009; Matten &
Crane, 2005; Scherer & Palazzo, 2011; Young, 2006). According to Maak (2009, p. 370), three
key features characterize the "cosmo-political corporation." First, it views itself as an active
member of the global public sphere and therefore shares responsibility for the state of the global
commonwealth. Second, it engages with other global actors to address critical public problems,
based on an enlightened understanding of global corporate responsibility, including matters of
global social justice. Thus, the MNC is expected to use its power and resources to promote global
social justice and to fight institutional schemes of social injustice. Moreover, MNCs are expected
to assume an active role in promoting cosmopolitan justice, in particular regarding human rights.
Third, and finally, the actions, power, and political influence of the MNC should be subject to
democratic processes of control and legitimacy (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011).

*Socio-cultural Cosmopolitanism*

The notion of cosmopolitanism as a social condition focuses on the impact of globalization
processes on the everyday lives of people around the world. The most systematic treatment of

this subject is offered by Beck (2000, p. 88; 2002; 2006), who argues that the social dimensions of cosmopolitanism should be understood "… as globalization from *within,* as *internalized* cosmopolitanism" (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 9). According to Beck (2000), the "cosmopolitan society" as well as its enemies emerge out of the "second age of modernity," which represents a paradigmatic shift from societies operating within a nation-state system to an ambivalent and disrupted world order where "economic and social ways of acting, working, and living no longer take place within the container of the state." For Beck (2000), if during the first age of modernity, globalization processes were acting from the *outside* on the nation–state system and increasing the connections between nations and national societies, in the second age of modernity, globalization changed the quality of social life *inside* nation-state societies. These processes of "internal globalization" bring about the "cosmopolitanization" of social life, wherein global issues and global risks (e.g., nuclear disasters, global financial crises, the AIDS epidemic) become part of everyday local experiences and alter consciousness and identities (Beck, 2002).

Thus, the socio-cultural dimension of cosmopolitanism shifts the emphasis from macro-level processes in the global economy to micro-level or internal developments within the social world and the self (Delanty, 2006, p. 27). Furthermore, if globalization processes are often viewed as eroding the local and negating the national, the notion of the cosmopolitan condition highlights the multiple ways in which the local and the national are redefined and re-experienced as a result of dynamic interactions with the global (Beck, 2002; Delanty, 2006). These interactions, according to Delanty (2006), may produce a variety of results such as "glocalization" (hybrid phenomena that are neither local nor global) and "vernacularization" (local appropriation and adoption of globally generated ideas and strategies); these interactions do not inevitably result in the predominance of the global over the local, as globalization theories often suggest.

The interactions between the local and the global have led to a widespread trend toward cultural cosmopolitanism (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002), often manifested in the consumption of culturally diverse/foreign artifacts and products, cultural taste, and lifestyle. However, cosmopolitanism as a social condition goes beyond cultural consumption to underscore the penetrating presence of diverse cultural modes and the constant interactions between alternative systems of meaning, which destabilize and change the very fabric of society and the relations

9

between self and others. Furthermore, this clash of cultures and rationalities occurs not simply in the public sphere but also within an individual's own life and consciousness (Beck, 2002). In this respect, cosmopolitanism as a socio-cultural condition does not merely involve the consumption of foreign cultural artifacts nor does it "… arise merely in situations of cultural diversity or taking the perspective of the other"; rather, it is present on a daily basis and experienced as internal interplay between self, other, and world (Delanty, 2006, p. 40). Thus, from a sociocultural perspective, cosmopolitanism can be viewed as a collective and personal learning process that unfolds through encounters with competing systems of meaning and alternative cultural models, which penetrate the local and the self (Delanty, 2006).

### Cosmopolitanism as Social Phenomenon versus Social Ideal

The three perspectives discussed above are heavily intertwined, and consequently the conceptual and empirical boundaries of cosmopolitanism as a socio-political phenomenon are not well articulated (Roudometof, 2005). Furthermore, an anti-empirical sentiment advocating that cosmopolitanism "… must always escape positive and definitive specification, precisely because specifying cosmopolitanism positively and definitely is an uncosmopolitan thing to do" (Pollock, Bhabha, Breckenridge & Chakrabarty, 2000, p. 577) has also contributed to conceptual ambiguities. As Skrbis, Kendall, and Woodward (2004, p. 123) suggest, "… understandings of cosmopolitanism are continually frustrated by the reluctance of social theorists to define the parameters of the concept and to reach more than minimal agreement on its attributes. This is partly because, in addition to being a social category, it is also increasingly understood as a social ideal."

Thus, cosmopolitanism is often used both as a descriptive term (i.e., a term that describes current reality) and as a prescriptive term (i.e., a term that denotes theoretical perspectives and/or proposed public policy strategies for the 21st century) (Roudometof, 2005, p. 116). This conceptual confusion has led authors to draw various distinctions between cosmopolitanism as humanist ideal and as grounded social category (Skrbis et al., 2004), as ideal versus reality (Roudometof, 2005), or as normative–philosophical versus empirical–analytical (Beck & Sznaider, 2006). More often than not, these authors move back and forth between searching for empirical indicators or dimensions of cosmopolitanism – evidently distinct from moral principles

– and incorporating such principles into their definitional schema (see, e.g., Beck, 2000; Skrbis et al., 2004, p. 127–8). We should note that while the contemporary struggle to define the social reality of cosmopolitanism has its unique aspects, most notably on the moral/ethical dimension, it is by no means new. In fact, it echoes early organizational research on cosmopolitanism, especially in the areas of cosmopolitan attitudes and practices.

## COSMOPOLITANS IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD

In the following sections, we set out the proposed new perspective on cosmopolitanism, first identifying which individuals or groups constitute cosmopolitans in the social structure, broadly conceived. We then conceptualize cosmopolitanism as a reflexive disposition manifested and enacted through identities, attitudes, and practices. Finally, we discuss the relationships between cosmopolitans and locals in a globalized world. Table 1 contains an upfront summary of the most important changes from early organizational research to a new perspective on cosmopolitanism.

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### *Who Are the Cosmopolitans?*

Cosmopolitans have been part of the social sciences since Merton's (1957) study of "patterns of influence" in a small town on the eastern seaboard of the United States during World War II. Once introduced into complex organizations in the late 1950s (Gouldner, 1957; 1958), research on cosmopolitans has focused almost exclusively on individual professionals (i.e., university faculty, scientists, and engineers) (e.g., Abrahamson, 1965; Berger & Grimes, 1973; Friedlander, 1971; Glaser, 1963; Goldberg, Baker & Rubenstein, 1965; Gouldner, 1957; 1958) and, to a lesser extent, on employees in business organizations (Haas, 2006; Ralston, Kai-Cheng, Wang, Terpstra, & We, 1996; Tung, 1998). However, processes of globalization have given rise to more diverse types of cosmopolitans, some more familiar than others, thereby rendering the focus on professionals outdated at best. For analytical purposes, we have identified three broad groups of cosmopolitans – the global elite, highly mobile professionals, and ordinary cosmopolitans – all of whom play a significant role in contemporary international business.

*The Global Elite*

In the 1970s, the dramatic surge in direct foreign investment through multinational corporations led Hymer (1979, p. 262) to observe that "an international capitalist class is emerging whose interests lie in the world economy as a whole system of international private property which allows free movement of capital between countries." The development of a highly integrated and interdependent global economy and the growing significance of transnational corporations and policy organizations (e.g., the World Economic Forum, the World Trade Organization and its predecessor the GATT) during that period led, according to this line of thinking, to the formation of a full-fledged transnational capitalist class, which transcends nation-states in interest and influence (Robinson & Harris, 2000; Sklair, 2000; Van der Pijl, 1998). While the global elite and its annual gatherings in venues such as Davos and the Bilderberg attract much media attention, evidence about its composition, structure, power, and influence is largely anecdotal.

Recent observations suggest that the global elite is still overwhelmingly male (Mazlish & Morss, 2005), predominantly "working wealthy" (Freeland, 2011), and educated in a limited number of prestigious educational institutions (Kobrin, 1998). By some estimations, the cosmopolitan class is a small and homogenous group of business leaders (Kanter, 1995), whereas by others it includes just over 6,000 people, including "heads of states, CEOs of the world's largest corporations, media barons, billionaires who are actively involved in their investments, technology entrepreneurs, oil potentates, hedge fund managers, private equity investors, top military commanders, a select few religious leaders, a handful of renowned writers, scientists, and artists …" (Rothkopf, 2008, p. xiv). Sklair (2000, p. 4) suggests that the transnational capitalist class is "… composed of corporate executives, globalizing bureaucrats and politicians, globalizing professionals and consumerist elites" and hence includes four mutually supportive fractions (corporate, state, technical, and consumerist) (see also Mazlish & Morss, 2005). Finally, Robinson and Harris (2000) argue that the global elite can be considered a dominant ruling class in terms of both its structure (class-in-itself) and its consciousness (class-for-itself) and has thus been actively pursuing a class project of capitalist globalization.

Recent studies on the formation of the global elite have focused on the transnational network of interlocking relations among corporate boards as well as global policy organizations. These

studies suggest that from the mid-1970s to the mid-2000s there was a modest proliferation of transnational interlocking among the world's largest corporations, especially from Europe and North America (Carroll, 2009; Carroll & Carson, 2003; Carroll & Fennema, 2002; 2004; Kentor & Jang, 2004; Nollert, 2005; Staples, 2006). Directors of firms based in Europe and North America also tend to participate extensively in global policy boards (Carroll & Sapinski, 2010).

The global elite is ostensibly cosmopolitan because it is no longer rooted in territoriality or driven by local or national interests, but rather embraces a common identity of global citizens and a global way of life (Mazlish & Morss, 2005; Robinson & Harris, 2000). Or as Castells (1996, p. 415) notes, "elites are cosmopolitan, people are local." Carroll and colleagues (Carroll & Carson, 2003; Carroll & Sapinski, 2010), for example, find evidence for an inner circle of cosmopolitans composed of a few dozen corporate directors, whose affiliations span national borders and global policy organizations. According to Carroll and Carson (2003), these directors are also cosmopolitans because they are not oriented toward particular national firms and networks but toward a wider field of action. By contrast, Nollert (2005) argues that the transnational elite has not yet transformed into a cohesive hegemonic class and still remains firmly anchored in nation-states and national networks. Finally, the global elite also shares a cosmopolitan way of life, shuttling between centers of financial, political, and cultural power, crisscrossing one another in airports, high-end restaurants, clubs, and exclusive resorts around the world. This lifestyle is defined by habits of consumption and is sometimes referred to as "the class consciousness of frequent travelers" (Calhoun, 2002).

The rise of the global elite is often viewed as a concentration of economic and political power in private hands, threatening democracy, social welfare, and solidarity. According to this line of thought, the privilege of mobility further allows the global elite to evade civil responsibility to the "silent majority" of those excluded from wealth and privilege (Featherstone, 2002; Lasch, 1995). It also allows the global elite to stand above cultural particularism (e.g., Kanter, 1995) and claim the power of an impartial and objective position. Thus, the elite version of cosmopolitanism often manifests as a powerful, universalistic ideology used to promote a neoliberal capitalist agenda.

*Highly Mobile Professionals*

13

In the last quarter of the 20th century, changes in the division of labor between industrialized and industrializing economies and the emergence of a highly integrated and interdependent global economy (Held & McGrew, 2000; Sassen, 1990) led to increased cross-border mobility of skilled professionals (Ozden & Schiff, 2006; Peiperl & Jonsen, 2007). Furthermore, competitive admission policies (Lowell, 2005), multinational corporations (Collings & Scullion, 2012), institutions of outside hiring (Cappelli & Hamori, 2007), and "non-standard assignments," including commuter, rotational, contractual, and extended business travel (see Millar & Salt, 2008; Welch & Worm, 2006) have also contributed to the growing number of skilled professionals who are globally mobile.

While the global elite may be a rather small and homogenous group, the highly mobile professional group is by far larger, more diverse, and less well defined. It may include organizational expatriates who circulate within and between transnational corporations as intercompany transferees (Beaverstock, 2005; Castells,1996; Tung, 1998), self-initiated expatriates who seek adventure and exploration (Inkson & Myers, 2003), serially mobile professionals who have spent extended periods of time in several countries (Colic-Peisker, 2010), and highly skilled professionals whose work involves extensive traveling, such as consultants, technology experts, engineers, scientists, and academics (Solimano, 2008).

Beyond a general agreement that being on the move is not enough to turn someone into a cosmopolitan (Hannerz, 1990), we know relatively little about the kind of cosmopolitanism highly mobile professionals practice through their lifestyle, dispositions, and identities (Nowicka & Kaweh, 2009). Recent research, however, suggests that professionalism and transnational mobility intersect to create a cosmopolitan disposition. In a study of serial mobile knowledge workers in Australia and Indonesia, Colic-Peisker (2010), for example, find that while national identities are often invoked in transnational encounters, the majority of interviewees have only a weak identification with their nation of origin. Rather, they view their profession as the main identity anchor and articulate feelings of belonging flexibly and instrumentally in relation to professional and wider social networks. Not surprisingly, highly mobile professionals are sometimes viewed as politically detached and indifferent, almost making "… a vocation out of excluding themselves from local political debate" (Micklethwait & Wooldridge, 2000, p. xxvi). Reich (1991), for example, identifies "symbolic analysts" – affluent specialists in the global

knowledge economy – as footloose and quick to withdraw from social responsibility for the welfare of their compatriots. Conversely, Nowicka and Kaweh (2009) and Erkmen (2009) find that despite universalistic self-definitions as "cosmopolitan" or "citizen of the world," mobile professionals also retain their rooted identity.

Other more stylized accounts often conflate mobile professionals with the frequent-flying, high-powered global elite. Micklethwait and Wooldridge (2000, p. 229–30), for example, present highly mobile professionals as "cosmocrats" – " … people who attend business school weddings around the world, fill up the business class lounges at international airports, provide the officer ranks of most of the world's companies and international institutions…. [they] are defined by their attitudes and lifestyles rather than just their bank accounts." This lifestyle is often described as "thin" cosmopolitanism – an acquired taste for foreign and exotic cultural artifacts from around the world (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). By some accounts, this lifestyle has evolved into a self-congratulatory, hierarchical, and exclusionary culture, which is dismissive of local people and cultures rather than open to them. Bourgouin (2012), for example, finds that successful African business professionals in Johannesburg use cosmopolitanism to establish new social hierarchies, which are enacted through everyday distinctions in professional practices, leisure, and dress.

Although they constitute only a small segment of the internationally mobile labor force, highly mobile professionals are invaluable in the knowledge-intensive global economy (Birkinshaw, 2005). However, the extent to which they actually embrace a cosmopolitan disposition beyond extensive mobility remains largely unexamined.

*Ordinary Cosmopolitans*

The "cosmopolitanization" of everyday life (Beck, 2002) has expanded the social bases of cosmopolitanism, providing a larger, more varied set of people with the opportunity to experience cultural diversity and become "ordinary" cosmopolitans. This growing trend is documented by a fair number of field studies that explore the cosmopolitan experiences of "ordinary" people such as working-class men in the United States (Lamont & Aksartova, 2002), Caribbean people living in Kingston, Jamaica (Wardle, 2000), and the Kabre, cereal cultivators in the heart of the West African savannah in Togo (Piot, 1999). Furthermore, a variety of

crosscultural and transnational experiences are now recognized as cosmopolitan (Alvesson & Deetz,

2000; Beck & Sznaider, 2006), including those that are mundane, unprivileged, or unintended (Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Cohen, 1992; Robbins, 1998; Werbner, 1999). Thus, ordinary cosmopolitans exist across classes and geographies, as an inherent feature of everyday social, political, and economic life in a globalized world (Werbner, 2007).

Unlike the archetypical cosmopolitan who has a CV shaped by multicultural experiences and extensive mobility, ordinary cosmopolitans can be deeply rooted in a monocultural upbringing with few international experiences in the traditional sense. Some ordinary cosmopolitans purposely seek worldliness in their daily lives through foreign friends, culturally diverse spaces, the media, technology, and consumption of global images (e.g., Szerszynski & Toogood, 2000). They are high on tolerance, cross-cultural empathy, and humanistic commitment, with the capacity for ethical living in both their global and their local environment (Tomlinson, 1999). They may be motivated by numerous forces, including personality traits such as curiosity (Bird & Osland, 2004), breaking with traditional norms in the home territory, dissatisfaction with their existing position in the local structure and sphere (cf. Nava, 2002), or even aversion to landbounded destiny. Nevertheless, they often cherish cultural particularities of their native region, yet take great interest in habits, norms, and traditions of other places and cultures. In that sense, they are still rooted in a locale, but in a more complex way (Hannerz, 2005). Therefore, they can be viewed as "intuitive cosmopolitans" with a cultural and cosmopolitan metacognition, going about their daily and rather local lives ("*la vie quotidienne*"), yet with an awareness of global flows and openness to otherness (e.g., Szerszynski & Urry, 2002). However, their knowledge and abilities are by no means certified or documented, and by traditional standards, they lack the recognition and legitimacy relating to non-local matters. Voicing opinion, for example within a team of work colleagues, about work conditions in France may carry little weight compared with other team members who have studied in France or lived there as expatriates.

Virtual cosmopolitans, many of whom are digital natives (GenerationY/Z), are an important sub-segment of ordinary cosmopolitans. They have distinct capabilities and are often passionate about collaborating across boundaries, having grown up in a world where digital devices and

connectivity are ubiquitous (e.g., Jonsen, Martin & Weg, 2011). They consider "being offline" a serious constraint to their ability to operate and engage in collaborative efforts, with saving the environment a typical cause (see Szerszynski & Urry, 2002), at times at the expense of local community issues. However, whether virtual cosmopolitans can flourish in a physical multicultural environment it is yet to be tested, since their abilities and tolerance are virtual in nature and may be challenged by real life situations.

In summary, ordinary cosmopolitans exist across classes and geographies (Werbner, 2007); they may feel "at home in the world" but risk (and in some cases resent) being labeled "banal, quotidian, vernacular, or low-intensity cosmopolitan" (Hannerz, 2005, p. 212).

### *Cosmopolitan Disposition*

In this article, we conceptualize cosmopolitanism as a *reflexive disposition* that involves, on the one hand, a set of socially structured cognitive and cultural principles and procedures and, on the other hand, a mindful self-awareness that transforms and rewrites the "rules of the game." In understanding the construct of disposition, we draw on Bourdieu's (1977) notion of habitus – a system of dispositions, schemas, and forms of know-how and competence – that come into play in a specific field of action. For Bourdieu, dispositions inform practices and vice versa; together they form a consistent set of simultaneously cognitive and cultural structures of thought and action (Woodward, Skrbis, & Bean, 2008). However, although dispositions are commonly viewed as internalized social structures manifested in habits of thought and action, we emphasize the capacity of agents to reflect and transform their dispositions, especially in times of profound social change and "crisis" when pre-existing dispositions no longer provide an adequate repertoire (Adams, 2006; McNay, 1999). It is this capacity and dialectic reflexivity that enables people to learn to become cosmopolitans (Delanty, 2006) and to think, feel, and act in ways that may be considered "cosmopolitan" (Skrbis et al., 2004). This has important consequences for identity: people refashion themselves as cosmopolitans in the context of changing social structures, increased mobility, and blurring of boundaries. In the sections below, we therefore first discuss the emergence of diverse cosmopolitan identities and then the attitudinal stance and practices associated with a cosmopolitan disposition. Figure 1 presents these building blocks of cosmopolitan disposition.

<Insert Figure 1 about here>

*Cosmopolitan Identities*

The cosmopolitan identities of the global elite, mobile professionals, and ordinary cosmopolitans are distinctively based on class, professionalism, and daily practices, respectively. The first two bases are not new: Traditionally, a cosmopolitan identity was largely available only to the privileged who could claim to be a "citizen of the world" by virtue of independent means and globe-trotting mobility (Robbins, 1992). While their class characteristics may be different now than they once were, a class-based cosmopolitan identity is still the hallmark of the global elite (Mazlish & Morss, 2005). Similarly, according to organizational research, a cosmopolitan identity is largely available to professionals and hence denotes a relatively stable and enduring identity (Ibarra, 1999). However, the identity of ordinary cosmopolitans is the product of contemporary realities, wherein an increasing number of people "… shop internationally, work internationally, love internationally, marry internationally, research internationally, grow up, and are educated internationally (that is, multi-lingually), live and think transnationally …" (Beck, 2008, p. 80). Thus, globalization has enabled cosmopolitan identities that no longer reflect predetermined social categories or professional affiliations.

Central to the concept of cosmopolitan identities is the view that personal identity is not fixed or singular. Thus, cosmopolitan identities can be complex, contradictory, and ephemeral, reflecting multiple and shifting affiliations (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002, p. 2; see also Brimm, 2010). Friedman (1994, p. 204), for example, suggests that "cosmopolitanism is, in identity terms, betwixt and between without being liminal. It is shifting, participating in many worlds without becoming part of them. It is the position and identity of an intellectual self situated outside local arenas among which s/he moves." According to Beck (2006, p. 5–6), cosmopolitanism gives rise to a mélange of identities, which reflects a shift from the exclusive either/or logic of identity to the both/and logic of "inclusive differentiation." Not surprisingly, research now provides a host of seemingly contradictory identities such as "cosmopolitan patriot" (Appiah, 1997), "working-class cosmopolitans" (Werbner, 1999), "Chinese

cosmopolitans" (Ong, 1999; Ralston et al., 1996), and "discrepant cosmopolitans" (Clifford, 1992).

Contemporary cosmopolitan identities are situated in the context of multiple attachments and relations, some of which are local, others global; some volitional, others circumstantial. At times, they emerge inadvertently out of the realities of globalization; at others, more intentionally as the result of a personal quest. We therefore distinguish between three variants of cosmopolitan identity – moral, political, and personal-cultural – that are informed by the theoretical perspectives discussed earlier.

*Moral*. Cosmopolitanism as a moral identity quest offers two noteworthy variants. The more radical view conceptualizes cosmopolitan identity as an act of moral becoming that involves a rejection of "… the rigid and provincial designators of race and national identity that subvert becoming and confine the self to a degenerate existential ghetto. … It hails the finding of a common ground in shared human identity" (Hill, 1999, p. 7). This perspective defends the right of individuals to reject their origins and freely forge an identity that is "situated at the crossing of boundaries …." (Hill, 1999, p. 7).

The second, more moderate, perspective conceptualizes cosmopolitan identity as multiple affiliations and complex interests, some of which are based on particular attachments such as ethnic, racial, and national (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). Nussbaum (1994) argues that in an era of global connectivity, a cosmopolitan identity has become a moral imperative because human beings are bound to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern. However, cosmopolitan identity is not devoid of local affiliations, but rather constructed by a series of shifting circles of affection, loyalty, and action, ranging from personal and local to humanity as a whole (Nussbaum, 1994). This perspective thus allows the possibility of a moral identity of "world citizen" combined with more particularistic identities and without forgoing "local" attachments and commitments.

*Political*. Cosmopolitanism as a political identity reflects a shift from a particularistic notion of citizenship to a cosmopolitan citizenship marked by a decreased importance of nationality or territory in defining the self, allegiances, and citizenship rights (Delanty, 2006). Thus, the sphere beyond the nation-state becomes central to the sense of self and identity. However, empirical evidence only partly supports this shift. Norris (2000), for example, finds that the majority of

19

respondents to the World Values Survey (1990–91 and 1995–97) are still more likely to define themselves in terms of local identities than as European, and still less as citizens of the world. Yet, there is clear evidence of a generational effect, i.e., younger people are more likely to see themselves as cosmopolitan citizens.

At the same time, political cosmopolitan identity can be complex, incorporating multiple and simultaneous affiliations with different communities (Hollinger, 2002). According to Tarrow (2005), cosmopolitan identities, like other identities, are the product of social relations. Tarrow (2005) focuses on transnational activities such as those of immigrants who are involved regularly in political activities in their home country, labor activists who forge ties with foreign unionists and NGOs, and ecologists who work with international institutions and organizations. He finds evidence that transnational activists are often *rooted* cosmopolitans who grow out of local settings and draw on domestic resources; they are characterized not so much by their cognitive cosmopolitanism as by their relational links to their own societies, to other countries, and to international institutions, which form the increasingly intertwined networks of a complex global society.

*Personal–cultural*. Cosmopolitan identity can also be viewed as a personal or personal–cultural quest. Here the emphasis is on the purposeful fashioning of a personal cosmopolitan identity, e.g., through education, mobility, and cultural consumption. Thompson and Tambyah (1999), for example, provide a detailed account of expatriate professionals who pursue a cosmopolitan identity project (i.e., trying to be cosmopolitan) through mobility, cultural adaptability, and cultural consumption. For expatriates, such a pursuit is often central to their sense of self-development and fulfillment, and plays a significant role in helping them to adapt to local circumstances. Skrbis and Woodward (2007), however, find that for "ordinary cosmopolitans" identity-enhancing cultural experiences tend to be those that are enjoyable (and typically superficial) rather than challenging. We should note that the cultural variant of cosmopolitan identity can also be viewed as a form of cultural and social capital developed and accumulated instrumentally for the purpose of social mobility in a globalizing world (Weenink, 2008).

*Cosmopolitan Attitude*

Early research is rooted in Gouldner's (1957) initial model that conceptualized the cosmopolitan–local construct as a unidimensional attitudinal continuum. Cosmopolitans were "those lower on loyalty to the employing organization, higher in commitment to their specialized role skills, and more likely to use outer reference group orientation" (Gouldner, 1957, p. 290). Locals, by contrast, were characterized as "those high on loyalty to the employing organization, low on commitment to specialized role skills, and likely to use an inner reference group orientation" (Gouldner, 1957, p. 290). Subsequently, several efforts were made to modify this model, repeatedly calling into question the unidimensionality of the construct and the alleged incompatibility between organizational loyalty and professional commitment (e.g., Berger & Grimes, 1973; Flango & Brumbaugh, 1974; Glaser, 1963; Goldberg et al., 1965; Grimes & Berger, 1970).[1] By the late 1970s, however, the cosmopolitan–local construct had come to represent professional role orientation (or professional commitment) and organizational role orientation (or organizational commitment), respectively – nominally independent phenomena (see e.g., Cornwall & Grimes, 1987; Thornton, 1970; Tuma & Grimes, 1981).

In a globalized world, as we have argued, cosmopolitan attitude can no longer be conceptualized solely in terms of professionalism. Rather, cosmopolitanism needs to reflect the intensified awareness of the world as a whole and the experience of "the global" within which daily life is situated and practiced (Tomlinson, 1999). Hannerz (1990, p. 239), for instance, describes a cosmopolitan as "… a perspective, a state of mind, or – to take a more processoriented view – a mode of managing meaning." He argues that cosmopolitanism is "… a willingness to engage with the Other. It entails an intellectual and esthetic openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity …" (Hannerz, 1990, p. 238). Cosmopolitanism is characterized not only by a specific body of cultural knowledge but also by reflexivity and openness, constantly examining the taken-for-granted, the tacit, the ambiguous, and the contradictory. These new understandings are reflected in recent efforts to reconceptualize cosmopolitanism as a sub-dimension of global mindset (Levy et al., 2007), global competencies (Bird & Osland, 2004), and global leadership (Bird, 2013).

However, there is still a need to explicate the dimensions of cosmopolitan attitude if it is to be assessed empirically. Based on recent research in sociology and anthropology, we identify

four dimensions of cosmopolitan attitude in the context of globalization: openness, engagement, rootedness, and moral commitment to a wider social community.

*Openness*. This dimension captures openness toward the cultural Other or "towards people, places and experiences from other cultures" (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002, p. 468).[2] It is considered by many as a foundational element of cosmopolitan disposition, without which a person cannot be regarded as a cosmopolitan (Hannerz, 1990; Skrbis et al., 2004; Skrbis & Woodward, 2007). However, the notion of cosmopolitan openness may be too "vague and diffuse" (Skrbis et al., 2004, p. 127) and too rudimentary (Levy, Lee, Peiperl, & Jonsen, 2015) to account for significant variations in cosmopolitan disposition; it is more likely to serve as a cutting-point variable, separating out those who are cosmopolitans from those who are noncosmopolitans.

*Engagement.* While cosmopolitans are open toward the cultural Other, their level of engagement can vary, ranging from "thin," "banal," and "consumerist" to "thick," "deep," and "reflexive" (Hannerz, 1990). A relatively low level of engagement, or "thin" cosmopolitanism, is primarily associated with consumption of products and lifestyles of other cultures through food, music, media, and travel (Lee, 2014). Conversely, a relatively high level of engagement, or "thick" cosmopolitanism, involves a genuine willingness to engage with the cultural Other at a deep level (Hannerz, 1990). High levels of engagement therefore involve appreciation of and receptivity to social customs, norms, and values of other cultures and conscious familiarization with people and places that are culturally distant (Kendall, Woodward, & Zlatko, 2009).

*Rootedness (or rootlessness).*This dimension reflects the degree to which an individual is rooted in his or her own culture of origin (Lee, 2014) or attached to a particular locale (Haller & Roudometof, 2010; Norris, 2000; Olofsson & Ohman, 2007; Pichler, 2009; Roudometof, 2005). Roudometof (2005, p. 128), for instance, proposes that the cosmopolitan–local continuum should be defined in terms of attachment attitudes along four dimensions: attachment to a locality (neighborhood or city), attachment to a state or country, support of local culture, and the degree of economic, cultural, and institutional protectionism. According to Roudometof (2005), cosmopolitanism is associated with rootlessness: Cosmopolitans are more likely to have a low level of attachment to the local sphere and less likely to support local protectionism. However, contemporary perspectives suggest the possibility of glocalized cosmopolitanism, whereby

individuals combine both global and local forms of attachment and maintain a web of relations, some of which are local and territorial while others are transnational and de-territorialized (Cohen, 1992). Thus, cosmopolitans are not necessarily "footloose" and rootless; they can also be "rooted" in their own culture.

*Moral commitment.* Cosmopolitan attitude is also often defined by a moral obligation to others that extends beyond kinship- or nationality-based ties (Appiah, 2006). Skrbis and his colleagues (Skrbis et al., 2004, p. 127–128; Skrbis & Woodward, 2007), for example, argue that cosmopolitanism "… must also involve emotional and moral/ethical commitments …." Conversely, Roudometof (2005, p. 117) argues that such an approach breeds conceptual confusion because it does not allow for an effective distinction between cosmopolitanism as a moral or ethical standpoint and cosmopolitanism as a measurable empirical phenomenon. In our view, moral values can be measured and observed and are a matter of variety and degree. Pichler (2009), for example, measures the moral dimension in terms of concern for humankind. Therefore, we suggest that conceptual clarity can be gained by explicitly recognizing the moral dimension within cosmopolitanism rather than by excluding it. Empirically, however, it remains unclear whether moral values constitute an independent dimension or serve as an underlying dimension of cosmopolitanism.

The question of whether the cosmopolitan–local construct is a unidimensional continuum or multidimensional is again debated in contemporary research (Roudometof, 2005; Skrbis & Woodward, 2007; Woodward et al., 2008). Recent studies have yielded inconsistent results: Olofsson and Ohman (2007) find support for a bidimensional model whereas Haller and Roudometof (2010) report that individuals tend to be either locals or cosmopolitans. By contrast, Woodward et al. (2008) found distinct domains for cosmopolitan and anti-cosmopolitan dispositions, suggesting that individuals selectively endorse elements of the cosmopolitan "agenda" rather than rejecting or embracing it as a whole.

In summary, a substantial body of research across a number of domains has not yet identified or operationalized a consistent model of cosmopolitan attitudes. In order to understand why this is the case, we need to discuss the broad array of cosmopolitan practices, which are intimately related to cosmopolitan attitudes (Mau, Mewes & Zimmermann, 2008; Phillips & Smith, 2008).

*Cosmopolitan Practices*

With relatively few exceptions, organizational research has largely viewed cosmopolitanism as an attitudinal stance.[3] However, cosmopolitanism also involves a mode of practice or performance (Phillips & Smith, 2008) that is grounded in the "cosmopolitan condition of real people" (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 9; e.g., Lamont & Aksartova, 2002; Szerszynski & Urry, 2006; Anderson, 2004). The practice dimension can be observed in concrete actions at every level and across various fields of social and political action: "in international organizations, in binational families, in neighbourhoods, in global cities, in transnationalized military organizations, in the management of multi-national co-operations, in production networks, human rights organizations, among ecology activists and paradoxical global opposition to globalization" (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 3). Thus, it includes a wide variety of practices and activities such as in international communication, international mobility, and consumption of many places and environments among others (Beck, 2002; Szerszynski & Urry, 2002).

Yet there is considerable disarray when it comes to conceptualizing cosmopolitan practices. First, there is disagreement on whether transnational practices are an integral element of cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002) or conceptually distinct (Roudometof, 2005; Mau et al., 2008). Second, when cosmopolitan practices can be found in specific forms at every level and can be practiced in every field of social and political action (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 3), there is potentially unmanageable breadth to the phenomenon. Such a broad field of occurrence often results in undifferentiated lists of individual practices supposedly indicative of cosmopolitanism (Phillips & Smith, 2008). However, it would be of limited use to present yet another list of what might constitute "the practice of cosmopolitanism." Therefore, we identify *geographic mobility* and *crossing cultural boundaries* as two constitutive practices of cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002; Skrbis et al., 2004; Hannerz, 1990 Szerszynski & Urry, 2002; Urry, 2000). As Hannerz (1990, p. 240) observes "cosmopolitans are somewhat usually footloose, on the move around the world" and that is common among "archetypal cosmopolitans" as Skrbis et al. (2004, p. 199) call them: Global business elites, refugees, and expatriates, as well as tourists, foreign workers, immigrants, and the like. The practice of crossing cultural boundaries and engaging with the cultural Other is also used consistently to describe cosmopolitans across the class spectrum and viewed as a fundamental characteristics of cosmopolitanism. We discuss these two practices below.

24

*Mobility*. The practice of mobility is particularly significant in creating the conditions for cosmopolitanism (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002). Szerszynski and Urry (2006) distinguish between physical, imaginative, and virtual forms of mobility – all of which are expanding rapidly and becoming available to larger and more diverse groups of people. Physical mobility is probably the most readily associated with cosmopolitanism, especially with its elite and professional variants, but it has become a "way of life" for many in Western societies. Imaginative travel, according to Szerszynski and Urry (2006), entails being transported to other worlds through images of places and peoples encountered in the media. Finally, virtual mobility involves transcending geographical and often social distance through information and communications technology.

*Crossing cultural boundaries*. The practice of crossing cultural boundaries and engaging with the cultural Other is central to the cosmopolitan "way of being." Cultural boundaries can be viewed as subjective and "objective" distinctions used to categorize others into different cultural groups. These distinctions are potentially ever-present, some invisible while others may be overstated. Therefore, the practice of crossing cultural boundaries is also potentially ubiquitous and comes in degrees and varieties. From a cosmopolitan perspective, crossing cultural boundaries entails recognizing these boundaries, understanding their meanings, and transcending them without diminishing their importance. It is a practice as well as a competence, a "personal ability to make one's way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting, and reflecting" (Hannerz, 1990, p. 239).

These two fundamental practices may overlap, because mobility often entails crossing cultural boundaries. Therefore, we suggest that further analytical specification can be achieved by distinguishing among four interrelated dimensions along which these practices may vary:

1. The degree of *intentionality* reflects the fact that some cosmopolitan practices are more "consciously" or purposefully cosmopolitan and may entail a moral or normative commitment. On the other hand, some are unintended or circumstantially induced, a side effect of the cosmopolitan condition (Beck & Sznaider 2006). Finally, some cosmopolitan practices are coerced and even forced upon the subject (Robbins, 1998).

2. The *engagement* dimension reflects the level or form of engagement with the cultural Other, which can range from "thin," "banal," and "consumerist" to "thick," "deep," and "reflexive" (Hannerz, 1990).

3. The *duration* dimension suggests that some cosmopolitan practice can be short-lived, span a longer period, or last a lifetime.

4. The *distance* dimension reflects the geographical and cultural distance that a cosmopolitan practice may traverse, ranging from the relatively familiar or near to the utterly foreign and remote.

Examining the practices of geographic mobility and crossing cultural boundaries through our analytical lens, we can make the following illustrative distinctions. First, both practices can be purposefully cosmopolitan. For example, the cosmopolitan elite and tourists often intentionally seek out cosmopolitan experiences through travel. Similarly, people may seek out diverse cultural engagements and experiences in their daily lives through food, music, and political activism. These practices can also be circumstantially induced. For example, geographic mobility can be induced in the case of some expatriates and foreign workers; crossing cultural boundaries can be unintended, a simple fact of daily life for many people (Beck & Sznaider, 2006). Finally, these practices can be coerced as is the case for refugees who engage in geographic mobility and are often forced to cross cultural boundaries. We can also characterize each of these two practices by level of engagement. For example, the elite version of geographic mobility while often purposefully cosmopolitan may entail a rather low level, or "banal," engagement with the cultural Other, an insulation afforded by means of five-star hotels, expensive restaurants, and exclusive modes of transportation. Similarly, crossing cultural boundaries can also take the form of mundane engagement even when people intentionally seek it out. By contrast, geographic mobility and crossing cultural boundaries can take the form of a high level of engagement, a genuine encounter with the cultural Other. Furthermore, both practices can be short-lived, long term, or last a lifetime. For example, short-lived geographic mobility could be a summer vacation, and transient cultural boundary crossing could be attending a "world music" concert. Long-term geographic mobility could take the form of an international assignment, and that lasting a lifetime could be immigration or life in exile. Finally, we can distinguish among various types of geographic mobility and crossing cultural boundaries in terms of distance traveled, both

physical and cultural. We should note that mobility and crossing cultural boundaries may overlap – for example, when a cosmopolitan activity practiced over an extended period results in a high level of engagement with the cultural Other. Despite the possible overlaps, we trust that for analytical purposes it will be helpful to have identified these two practices of cosmopolitanism and delineated the dimensions along which they can be studied.

*The Relation between Cosmopolitan Attitudes and Practices*

The degree to which cosmopolitan practices are related to cosmopolitan attitudes and what may be the direction of causality is largely an open-ended question (Roudometof, 2005; Mau et al. 2008). The only direct evidence is offered by Mau et al. (2008) and Phillips and Smith (2008). Mau et al., (2008) examine the relation between transnational practices and cosmopolitan attitudes using data drawn from a representative survey of German citizens carried out in 2006. Transnational practices were measured as a weighted index of the following three indicators: (1) number of regular and private transnational relations; (2) number of short-term stays abroad (less than three months); and (3) long-term stays abroad (periods of three months or more, total time). Following Held (2002, p. 58), cosmopolitan attitudes were measured along three – presumably interconnected – dimensions: (1) the recognition of the increasing interconnectedness of political communities in diverse domains; (2) the development of an understanding of overlapping collective fortunes that require collective solutions locally, regionally, and globally; and (3) the celebration of difference, diversity and hybridity while being able to reason from the point of view of others and mediate traditions (Mau et al., 2008, p. 5). The first two attitudinal dimensions were operationalized using a single item that assessed the degree to which respondents assign political accountability and responsibility for global problems to the world community. The third dimension was operationalized using three items that assessed the degree to which respondents viewed foreigners living in Germany as "enrich[ing] the country with new ideas and new cultures" ("cultural enrichment"), expressed interest in having contacts with people living abroad ("multicultural contacts"), and supported "universal equal rights" for foreigners living in Germany ("universal equal rights"). Mau et al. (2008) find support for their thesis that involvement in transnational interactions leads to cosmopolitan attitudes with regard to 'assigning political accountability and responsibility for global problems to the world

community' and the constructs of "cultural enrichment" and "multicultural contacts," but no support for the "universal equal rights" construct. These results remain consistent after controlling for relevant respondents' socio-structural background.

Phillips and Smith (2008) examine the relations between cosmopolitan practices and outlook using data drawn from the Australian National Identity study conducted in 2001. Cosmopolitan practices were measured as an aggregate of five indicators: Visited five or more countries in life to date; speak by phone to a person in another country at least once a week; more than five friends living overseas with whom respondents keep in contact; spend at least one to two hours a day on the Internet; watch a lot of television programmes broadcast on SBS television (the main multicultural/multilingual broadcaster in Australia). Cosmopolitan outlook was measured as the total number of times a respondent indicated "not at all uneasy" when asked how he or she would feel if a family from five different ethnic groups (Indian, Greek, Aboriginal, Lebanese, and Vietnamese) were to move in next door and become new neighbors. Phillips and Smith (2008) find that the entire set of cosmopolitan practices was significantly positively related to cosmopolitan outlook. In particular, the subgroups that exhibited high and medium levels of cosmopolitan practices were more likely to hold a strong cosmopolitan outlook than the subgroup that did not report any cosmopolitan practice. However, overall the relationships were quite weak and none of the practice variables was a uniquely powerful predictor. Furthermore, the influence of cosmopolitan practices on outlook diminished as background variables were taken into account. The subgroup that exhibited medium-level cosmopolitan practice was no longer significantly different from the subgroup that reported zero practices. Yet the subgroup that manifested a high level of cosmopolitan practice continued to be distinguished by way of their stronger cosmopolitan outlook. Phillips and Smith (2008) therefore suggest that the relationship between cosmopolitan practices and attitudes is not linear, but rather involves a critical mass or step function separating those who engage in a limited number of cosmopolitan practices from those who exhibit regular and intensive cosmopolitan engagements. The latter group holds a strong cosmopolitan outlook, whereas the former is not very cosmopolitan when it comes to tolerance of the cultural Other. Three background variables – religion, education, and generation – complemented cosmopolitan practice in augmenting cosmopolitan outlook. In other words, respondents who were high on cosmopolitan practice, non-religious, held a university

degree, and belonged to the "boomer" or "x" generations were significantly more likely to hold a strong cosmopolitan outlook than respondents who reported zero cosmopolitan practices, were Christians, did not have a secondary school education, and were born prior to 1946 (the "great generation"). However, the relatively weak effect of income and the strong effect of education and age suggest that cosmopolitan outlook may be more a matter of cultural preference than of occupational or stratification factors.

*The Relations between Cosmopolitans, Locals, and the Cultural Other(s)* In contemporary scholarship, there is widespread rejection of the cosmopolitan–local polarity, hierarchy, and the alleged incompatibility between cosmopolitan disposition and local roots. From a political perspective, the distinction between cosmopolitans and locals is viewed as a false polarity that establishes power relations and reproduces the image of the cosmopolitan as open, inclusive, and dynamic, whereas the local is closed, "traditional" and isolationist (Murray, 2007). Clifford (1992, p. 108), for example, argues that "The notion that certain classes of people are cosmopolitan (travelers) while the rest are local (natives) appears as the ideology of one (very powerful) traveling culture." From a cultural perspective, the relations between cosmopolitans and the cultural Other are complex and can be viewed as hierarchical and exploitive (Shweder, 2000), genuine and reflexive (Hannerz, 1990), or absolute alterity (radical impossibility of knowing the cultural Other) (see Rhodes & Westwood, 2007). Shweder (2000, p. 170), for example, notes that in the "new world" cosmopolitans and locals will belong to two castes: "There will be the cosmopolitan liberals, who are trained to appreciate value neutrality and cultural diversity …. And there will be the local non-liberals, who are dedicated to one form or another of thick ethnicity and are inclined to separate themselves from 'others,' thereby guaranteeing that there is enough diversity remaining in the world for the cosmopolitan liberals to appreciate." Finally, from a moral standpoint, the distinction between cosmopolitans and locals is nonsensical because all individuals are considered equally significant. Furthermore, individuals are viewed as autonomous subjects who through judgment-based (Ferrara, 2007) or principle-based (Held, 2002) normativity are able to engage with others in solving problems that are common to people as citizens of the world.

In the global economy, the relations between cosmopolitans and locals are often viewed as conflictual. Kanter (1995, p. 61), for instance, describes this relationship as full-blown conflict, arguing that the cosmopolitan elites have to "manage resistance to change from locals who see their power eroding." She suggests that cosmopolitans gain power over locals because they "… bring the best and the latest concepts" and "create a more universal culture that transcends the particularities of place" (Kanter, 1995, p. 22–23). Conversely, in the global public sphere, there are instances of cooperation between transnational activists – themselves often "rooted cosmopolitans" – and local activists in struggles that combine domestic and transnational advocacy (Tarrow, 2005).

In summary, the relationships between cosmopolitans and locals in a globalized world are complex and multifaceted, and no overarching description is adequate. By some accounts, cosmopolitans are at the forefront of economic globalization, enlisting the power of a universalistic ideology to promote exploitation of local resources. Clifford (1988, p. 263), for example, argues that "The privilege of standing above cultural particularism, of aspiring to the universalist power that speaks for humanity … is a privilege invented by a totalizing Western liberalism." By other accounts, cosmopolitans and locals cooperate in a transnational context, each contributing their unique resources and knowledge, and at times even switching places as locals become cosmopolitans and vice versa.

## DISCUSSION

In this article, we describe aspects of cosmopolitanism that span multiple domains, including moral, political, and socio-cultural. Within this theoretical context, we define cosmopolitanism as a reflexive disposition – a set of dialogically interrelated identities, attitudes, and practices – formed in the context of contemporary social conditions. Thus, cosmopolitanism can be viewed as a set of simultaneously cognitive and cultural structures of thought and action (Skrbis et al., 2004). To be a cosmopolitan involves a mode of managing meaning, as much as it does enacting or practicing (Hannerz, 1990; Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). However, the conceptual and empirical relationship among cosmopolitan identities, attitudes, and practices – each potentially a multidimensional or multifaceted construct – is far from clear. Furthermore, the reflexive process

that mediates between the local and the global within one's sense of self and in relations with others is not yet fully understood.

In our discussion of cosmopolitan identities, we demonstrate that contemporary identities span multiple social domains and are therefore potentially embedded in multiple social relations and structures. However, our understanding of social relations and structures in a globalized world has not kept pace with the diversity and at times ephemerality of the many encounters and engagements that can give rise to a cosmopolitan identity. While social class and occupation continue to shape cosmopolitan identities, people also seem to derive a sense of a cosmopolitan identity from less than stable social categories or markers. Therefore, any empirical research that would seek to shed further light on cosmopolitans would need to take these aspects of globalized life into account, asking whether the multiple facets of cosmopolitan identity are compatible, mutually supportive, or at odds. For example, the personal-cultural journey to fashion oneself as a cosmopolitan could lead to two very different moral standings: one that treats the cultural Other as an object to be accumulated and consumed and another that involves compassion and respect.

In describing cosmopolitanism as a disposition, however, we can shed some light on its attitudinal and practice elements, drawn from research literature across disciplines, and begin systematically to relate them to measurable phenomena. The attitudinal dimensions we have identified – openness, engagement, rootedness, and moral commitment – can be accessed, at least at the individual level, through survey or other instruments and could be used to create a new measure of a cosmopolitan attitude. Still, each attitudinal dimension and the relationships among the sub-dimensions remain largely unexplored. For example, research is far from clear whether openness should be viewed as a threshold condition for a cosmopolitan disposition or whether moral commitment should be considered an independent dimension or underlying dimension of cosmopolitanism.

In our synthesis of cosmopolitan practices, we identify the behavioral elements of cosmopolitan disposition. The two fundamental practices of boundary crossing and mobility are ubiquitous and therefore can offer only limited insight into the formation and enactment of a cosmopolitan disposition without being further described by the four interrelated dimensions along which they may vary (i.e., intentionality, engagement, duration, distance). These dimensions are a significant framing contribution of this article, given the extent of their

variation across disciplinary and empirical accounts of cosmopolitanism and yet are often not even identified, let alone measured or compared.

The complex, multidimensional universe of cosmopolitan disposition still requires additional specification. The most fundamental need is to determine how cosmopolitan identities, attitudes, and practices interrelate and interact to create a cosmopolitan disposition. Previous research, for example, suggests intensive cosmopolitan practices foster tolerance of the cultural Other (Phillips & Smith, 2008). However, it is quite possible that practices follow attitudes rather than the other way around and that the relationships between practices and attitudes are dialogical rather than unidirectional. Similarly, we know relatively little about the relationships between cosmopolitan identities and practices. Do identities emerge out of the practice of cosmopolitanism or lead to cosmopolitanism in practice? This is a rich area for further empirical and theoretical study.

We have also suggested in this paper that the relationships among the various elements of cosmopolitanism may have group- and context-specific characteristics and therefore require contextualized specifications. Thus, while we offer a synthesis of cosmopolitan views across disciplines and dimensions, we have not attempted a fully general model because some aspects of cosmopolitanism are likely to be contingent on stratification and on occupational and contextual factors and may also vary by geography and culture.

*Cosmopolitans and Global Organizations*

We further argue in this article that the growth and proliferation of global systems and transnational cultures have generated larger and more diverse groups of cosmopolitans. Accordingly, we have identified three primary groups of cosmopolitans – elite, mobile professionals, and ordinary – and discussed the type of cosmopolitanism each group may be enacting. Of particular interest to MNCs are highly mobile professionals and ordinary cosmopolitans who occupy different positions not only in social structures but also in global organizations. The majority of transnationally mobile professionals move across firms, which positions them *between* organizations. Through extensive mobility, these professionals develop

diverse cross-border networks that enable them to gain access to the latest knowledge and identify new business opportunities. Furthermore, some of them may act as intermediates between center and periphery in the global economy and can serve as cultural and knowledge bridges. Not surprisingly, highly mobile professionals are considered quintessential cosmopolitans in the context of global organizations, much sought after for their international experience, contacts, knowledge, and abilities.[4] However, as our previous discussion has suggested, some highly mobile professionals use cosmopolitanism as cultural capital (Bühlmann, David, & Mach, 2013; Igarashi & Saito, 2014), drawing status distinctions and enacting symbolic boundaries between themselves and locals rather than bridging across them. These mobile professionals may be cosmopolitan in lifestyle and cultural knowledge, but their attitude may at times be dismissive and hierarchical rather than open and inclusive. Thus, while highly mobile professionals hold the promise of bridging cultural and organizational divides, they may be creating yet another divide, not least because they benefit from a kind of "cultural arbitrage." We therefore advocate a rethink of the role of the highly mobile professional as cultural bridge, especially given recent calls for MNCs to engage with multiple voices of external and internal stakeholders in a non-hierarchical dialogue (Janssens & Steyaert, 2012; see also Jonsen et al., 2010).

Ordinary cosmopolitans, by contrast, may be better suited to traversing cultural and organizational boundaries. Whereas mobile professionals bridge between organizations and horizontal networks, ordinary cosmopolitans are more likely to be positioned *within* global organizations and have more scattered contacts, perhaps less international, yet spanning more vertical boundaries from shop floor (or field workers) to the higher echelons of social structures. This enables them to bridge between cultures and races (Fitzsimmons, 2013; Lamont & Aksartova, 2002; Werbner, 2007), which is useful when relating to non-traditional stakeholders and causes. Because ordinary cosmopolitans come from a mix of social classes, and on average are of "lower status" than other cosmopolitans, they potentially have higher empathetic abilities (Piff, Kraus, Côté, Cheng, & Keltner, 2010). This can reach far beyond the mere "electronic empathy" suggested by Hannerz (1996), to proactively helping the MNC enact the connection, social engagement, and corporate social responsibility expected in a contemporary global marketplace (e.g. Scherer & Palazzo, 2011).

Finally, we suggest expanding the business's view of "global talent," in ways that take macro-environmental changes into account and transform cosmopolitan ethos into enactment. Many employers are looking for global citizens and would do well to broaden the concept of who might be valuable in global transformation processes. Talent is of limited value if it is not identified – for example, when the only employees considered for positions of transnational responsibility are those from the corporate headquarters or its culture (Mellahi & Collings, 2010). Studies continue to demonstrate that sending more people abroad can no longer satisfy the need for global talent (Dewhurst, Pettigrew, Srinivasan & Choudhary, 2012). Recognizing "local" executives who have a cosmopolitan outlook, such as ordinary cosmopolitans, can potentially fill this gap. Furthermore, ordinary cosmopolitans are rooted primarily within organizations and therefore may represent a fully aligned dual identity of rooted cosmopolitans. The MNC can thus reap the benefits of high organizational identity and at the same time benefit from cosmopolitan identity and insights.

*Cosmopolitanism and Global Leadership*

Global leadership is characterized by reflection, competencies (such as sensitivity and responsiveness to cultural differences), global skills (such as cultural literacy), and mindset (such as comfort with cultural complexity and its contradictions) (e.g. Bonnstetter, 2000; Bird & Osland, 2004; Conger & O'Neill, 2012). Moreover, global leadership requires an ability to manage high complexity and cultural paradoxes (Mendenhall et al., 2013; Osland & Bird, 2000). The paradoxes include categories such as performance, relationships, culture, morality, agility, and orientation (Holt & Seki, 2012; see also Osland & Osland, 2006). In particular, the cultural aspect is of immense importance because leadership is already considered a cultural construct (Steers, Sanchez-Runde, & Nardon, 2012). As we have noted previously in this article, the cosmopolitan disposition is characterized by a reflexive and agile identity coupled with an attitude of openness, engagement, and moral commitment to the world. This corresponds indeed to the characteristics of global leadership mentioned above. More concretely, we propose that cosmopolitans are well equipped to deal with the environmental context in which global leaders operate, such as multiplicity, interdependence, ambiguity, and flux (Mendenhall et al., 2012). Openness and non-fixed identity seem like ideal precursors for dealing with ambiguity and flux.

The cosmopolitan practice of crossing boundaries seems to be an ideal precondition for dealing with interdependence and multiplicity and, importantly, managing paradoxes. This is because cosmopolitans, like competent global leaders, are curious about paradoxes, respect alternatives, and are able to see their own behavior in context (Holt & Seki, 2012). Paradoxes are important expressions of the dynamic changes global leaders face in their daily lives (Holt & Seki, 2012), and the agility, openness, and cultural awareness of cosmopolitans are particularly well suited to the challenge of this uncertainty. Westerners, for example, must be able to develop new capabilities and frameworks to meet the particularity of China (Paine, 2010) and to consciously set aside what is good leadership "back home" and not be wedded to one system or process. Moreover, we suggest that cosmopolitans, especially the elite and the highly mobile professionals, have experiences and skills that enable them to influence social processes, as an important part of [global] leadership (Mendenhall et al., 2012; see also Yukl, 2006), spanningbridging-blending (Butler et al., 2012), and creation of linkages (Beechler, Søndergaard, Miller, & Bird, 2004). We also acknowledge the fact that many important networks of global management, such as management consultants, are most often populated by highly mobile professionals and the elite (White & Shullman, 2012), and we presume this commonality with cosmopolitans makes access, collaboration, and communication easier. In sum, we have found ample theoretical evidence positively linking cosmopolitanism to global leadership, and we suggest that future research test this relationship empirically.

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**Table 1**

**Characteristics of traditional cosmopolitanism and new cosmopolitanism in a globalized world**

|  | Cosmopolitan attitudes | Professional practices |
|---|---|---|
| **Traditional cosmopolitanism in organizational research** | | |
| Societal context | Nation-states and territorially bounded social world | |
| | | Cosmopolitan practices |
| Who are the cosmopolitans? | Professionals | |
| | ▪ Academics | |
| | ▪ Scientists | |
| | ▪ Managers | |
| Cosmopolitan identities | ▪ ▪ Stable professional identity Privileged class-based | |
| | ▪ ▪ High professional commitment Low organizational commitment External reference group orientation | |

**New cosmopolitanism in a globalized world**

|  | Cosmopolitan attitudes / practices |
|---|---|
| Societal context | Globalized world where social and organizational lives are both territorially bounded and globally interdependent |
| Who are the cosmopolitans? | Plurality of cosmopolitans ▪ Global elite ▪ Highly mobile professionals ▪ Ordinary cosmopolitans |
| Cosmopolitan identities | ▪ Multiple attachments and detachments; stable and unstable identities ▪ Moral ▪ Political ▪ Personal-cultural |

- Openness
  - Publishing in professional journals
  - Seeking recognition in professional community
  - Crossing cultural boundaries

- Engagement with the cultural Other
- Rootedness (or rootlessness)
- Moral commitment

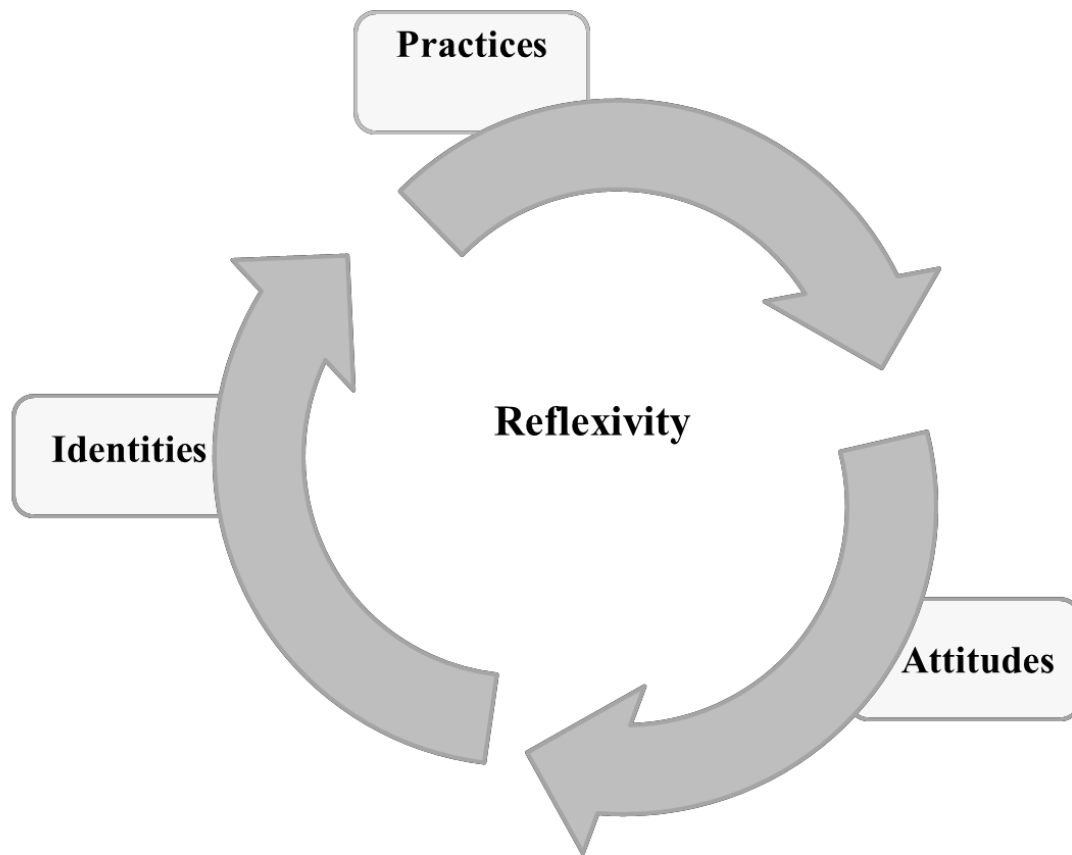Transnational practices

- Multiple forms of mobility (physical, imaginative, virtual)

Relations between cosmopolitans and locals

- Conceptual polarity
- Hierarchical and exploitive; genuine and reflexive; absolute alterity
- Conflict and cooperation in the global economy

- Conceptual polarity
- Moral obligations

50

**Figure 1**

**Cosmopolitan Disposition**

51

## NOTES

[1]The most common modification has been a bidimensional model, giving rise to a fourfold typology (e.g., Glaser, 1963; Goldberg et al., 1965; London, Cheney, & Tavis, 1977; Thornton, 1970). Goldberg et al. (1965), for example, suggest that in addition to the original professional–cosmopolitan and organizational–local categories, a third "complex" category describes employees for whom both personal achievement and company success are important. The fourth category, termed "indifferent," describes those uninterested in either professional gratification or organizational responsibility.

[2]     We should note that cultural otherness can take on many abstract and concrete forms, such as "…. a theme or an image from a story, a book or a movie. It can be a food, a fad, a festival, or a religion. It can be a currency, an investment, a development, a product, or a competitor. It can be an immigrant, a tourist, a sports competitor, or a student. It can be a military force …

(Sanderson, 2004, p. 7). According to Sanderson (2004, p. 8) the defining characteristics of the cultural Other(s) is that "essentially they are unlike us."

[3]     To the extent that practices were considered by early organizational research on cosmopolitanism, these were professional activities such as seeking recognition of peers in the

professional community (Flango & Brumbaugh, 1974; Goldberg et al., 1965), publishing in

professional journals (Berger & Grimes, 1973; Goldberg et al., 1965), and membership in

professional organizations (London et al., 1977).

[4]      We should note, however, that the success of such professionals in transferring global

knowledge may depend in part on the degree to which their organization is global and their

direct boss is open to global experiences (Oddou, Szkudlarek, Osland, Deller, Blakeney, &

Furuya, 2013).

52