Living with Cosmopolitan
—— An Empirical News Audience Study of Transnational Young Professionals and Their Multiple Mobilities

Xin Dai

Master Thesis 2012
Advisor: Christian Christensen

Master of Social Science — Media and Communication Studies
Department of Informatics and Media
Uppsala Universitet
Abstract

With a general concern for the role played by media and communication in individuals’ mobility in a world where national borders are dissolving and people’s lives are becoming increasingly mediated, this empirical study sought to investigate a group of transnational young professionals’ daily news consumption and their mobile life experiences by conducting face-to-face interviews with target individuals in both Thailand and Sweden, and combining the results with an analysis from a theoretical perspective enlightened by cosmopolitanism and cultural capital. The study identified a set of distinctive news consumption tastes and multiple mobilities possessed by the interviewees. It demonstrates that news consumption can: 1) directly affect the mobile young professionals’ corporeal mobility by providing information about potential movement opportunities; 2) increase their social mobility by enabling them to accumulate cultural capital; and 3) expand their imaginative mobility by increasing their visuality of the multiple communities to which they belong. Conversely, any change in their multiple mobilities is reflected in a corresponding change in their choices of news consumption.

Key words

transnational, young professional, cosmopolitan, news consumption, mobility, cultural capital
Table of Contents

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS 6
TABLES 6
FIGURES 6
APPENDIX 7

1. INTRODUCTION 8
   1.1 Issues of Concern 8
   1.2 Research Question 9
   1.3 Structure of Study 10

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND 11
   2.1 Theoretical Background of Cosmopolitan 11
      2.1.1 Banal Globalism 11
      2.1.2 Methodological Nationalism 12
      2.1.3 Methodological Cosmopolitanism 13
         2.1.3.1 Cosmopolitan 14
         2.1.3.2 Cosmopolitan Outlook 14
      2.1.4 Cultures of Cosmopolitanism 16
      2.1.5 Mobility, Visuality and Attitude 17
         2.1.5.1 Mobility 17
         2.1.5.2 Visuality and Citizenship 17
         2.1.5.3 Mobility and Attitude 18
   2.2 Theory of Cultural Capital 20
      2.2.1 Cultural Capital 20
         2.2.1.1 The Concept of Cultural Capital 20
         2.2.1.2 Forms of Cultural Capital 21
         2.2.1.3 Habitus and Field 22

3
4.2.2 Reasons Behind 62
4.2.3 Next Destinations 65

5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION 68

5.1 News Consumption and Cultural Capital 68
   5.1.1 Global News Consumption Trends 68
   5.1.2 News Consumption and Tastes 73
      5.1.2.1 Distinctive Tastes in News Consumption 73
      5.1.2.2 Origin of News Consumption Taste 77
   5.1.3 News Consumption and Social Mobility 80

5.2 Mediated Mobility 83
   5.2.1 Blurring Borders in a Cosmopolitan World 83
   5.2.2 Moving Beyond Dissolving Borders 85
      5.2.2.1 Corporeal Mobility 85
      5.2.2.2 Imaginative mobility 86

5.3 Relationship between News Consumption and Multiple Mobilities 90

6. Conclusion and Reflection 92
   6.1 Summary 92
   6.2 Reflection 93

APPENDIX 95
Bibliography 105
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS
AJ — AL JAZEERA
BBC — BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
CNN — CABLE NEWS NETWORK
DN — DAGENS NYHETER
MPR — MINNESOTA PUBLIC RADIO
NYT — NEW YORK TIMES
SVT — SVERIGES TELEVISION
UN — THE UNITED NATIONS
UNESCAP — THE UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
WAN-IFRA — WORLD ASSOCIATION OF NEWSPAPERS AND NEWS PUBLISHERS

TABLES
Table 1. Basic Demographic Information of Interviewees P.39
Table 2. Frequency of Reading News P.43
Table 3. News Channel P.47
Table 4. News Sources and Topics of Interest P.51
Table 5. Changes in News Reading P.56
Table 6. Origins P.58
Table 7. Changes of Resident Places P.60
Table 8. Next Destinations P.66
Table 9. Audience Interests P.77

FIGURES
Figure 1. Origins P.58
Figure 2. Jeeyoon’s Track of Transnational Experiences P.59
Figure 3. Route Followed By The Scholar Ship On Its First Voyage P.63
Figure 4. Next Destinations P.65
Figure 5. Global Media Consumption Trend P.69
Figure 6. Media Consumption in Selected Countries 2010 P.69
Figure 7. Global Newspapers Circulations 2007-2011 P.70
Figure 8. Minutes Spent with Medium Per Day P.71
Figure 9. Global Audience of Different Media P.71
Figure 10. News Consumption in the United States P.72
Figure 11. Origin of News Sites Ranked by Reach in the 10 Largest Internet Markets P.73
Figure 12. Consumed News Topics P.75
Figure 13. News Sources P.76
Figure 14. Relations between News Consumption and Mobility P.90

APPENDIX

Interview Questions P.95
Sample Transcript P.96
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Issues of Concern

In a world with increasingly independent social factors, such as internet-based media, individuals are no longer fixed and limited to the national societies, but are inevitably related to otherness in daily realities. (Beck, 2006a) For example, the United States presidential election 2012 has been turned into a global event by intensive news report across the world’s media, from CNN to the South China Morning Post, from the BBC to Al Jazeera, and from All Africa to El Pais (The Telegraph, 2012) The boundaries between internal and external, local and global, national and international are dissolving; consequently, transnational forms of life, for the first time ever, become accessible, frequent and even unavoidable to a great extent, and the media is a key element in this process. (Beck and Rantanen, 2005)

This rising reality is “a new mapping of space and time, and new coordinates for the social and the political” (Beck, 2006b: 9); on the other hand, it is not new in terms of “(forced) mixing of cultures” (Beck and Rantanen, 2005: 252). This calls for a social scientific reflection and recognition “before a global public via the mass media, in the news and in the global social movements” (Beck and Rantanen, 2005: 252), especially on the role that media and communication play in cosmopolitanisation, which has not “been given the attention it deserves”. (Beck and Rantanen, 2005: 253) There are three possible reasons for this theoretical scarcity: 1) it is a forced reality, “a side-effect of technological and commercial and financial transformations”; 2) the methodology in communication research lacks a cosmopolitan outlook; and 3) globalisation theorists have not paid sufficient attention to the power of the media. (Beck and Rantanen, 2005: 253)

From April to June 2011, the author undertook an internship at the United Nations Economic and Social Commission of Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) in Bangkok, where a group of young professionals were engaged in the organisation’s work. Although they had different social and cultural origins, they shared an extremely similar mobile lifestyle and were culturally interconnected to a great extent (e.g. high openness to a multicultural milieu, ease of transnational mobility, etc.). In addition, they were all intensive media users especially when it comes to news consumption for seeking information and knowledge for their mobile lives. This triggered the researcher’s interest in investigating the driving force behind their choice of daily news consumption and life experience in a cosmopolitanised social reality. What can be learnt from their
news consumption and transnational forms of life? What is the relationship between their news consumption and mobility and what is the influence of the cosmopolitan social context?

1.2 Research Question

This study aims to provide a practical and concrete understanding of how individuals’ daily news consumption relates to their mobility and what a cosmopolitan condition, — a milieu of dissolving borders, — means to this relationship. More specifically, it plans to answer following questions:

1) News consumption

How often and how long do they read news on a day to day basis? What channels do they use to consume news? What is their choice of news sources? How do they read news? What has changed in their consumption of news during the past five years (the most intensive moving period)?

2) Mobile life experience

Where are they from and where have they been (movement for education or occupation)? What are the reasons and motivations behind their movement? How do they plan their next destinations and why?

3) Relationship between news consumption and a mobile life

By investigating the above questions, this research also intends to understand how their daily news consumption is connected to their mobility in the given social context. Can news consumption affect their mobility? If yes, what kind of mobility can be affected and how? Conversely, does a mobile life influence their choice and practice of news consumption? If yes, in what way?

In order to answer these questions, an empirical research is conducted in both Thailand and Sweden, mainly by face to face interviews with targeted young professionals. This is also combined with a literature review of cosmopolitan and cultural capital to form theoretical foundation for linking the macro structure and individual interaction. Finally, an analysis on the research results and a discussion about its implications are provided.
1.3 Structure of Study

Chapter one introduces the issues addressed in the present paper and formulates the core research questions. It also includes a brief introduction of how the presentation is organised. Chapter two focuses on clarifying the theories of cultural capital and cosmopolitanism in order to establish a theoretical framework for this study. This includes a variety of concepts that are important for understanding the issues being investigated and illuminating the relationship between daily cultural practice and mobility. Chapter three sheds light on the methodology employed (grounded theory), the principle of sampling and the empirical research process. The research results are presented in two parts in Chapter four, namely, the interviewees’ news consumption and mobile life experiences. This is followed by Chapter five which brings analysis and discussion of the research results into focus. The analysis is based on the theoretical structure in Chapter two; thus, it includes the target group’s tastes and practices of news consumption, and the different mobilities involved. The relationship between their news consumption and multiple mobilities is discussed at the end of this chapter. The last chapter, chapter six, briefly concludes the study by reviewing the research questions and findings, as well as reflecting on its limitations recommendations for future research in this field.
2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Based on the research questions elaborated in the last chapter, this chapter serves to clarify the related theories and establish a structured theoretical background. The theories of cosmopolitanism and cultural capital are chosen to provide both macro and micro base for an analysis of the target group’s media consumption. Besides, theories of cosmopolitanism and cultural capital that are related to the media are presented throughout the chapter.

2.1 Theoretical Background of Cosmopolitan

2.1.1 Banal Globalism

In studies of social science, there has been a shift from nation-state to transnational themes, such as environmentalism. (Chandler and Munday, 2011: globalization) Globalisation is a prevailing term, which suggests the increasingly inseparable international relationships (i.e. the economic, political, cultural and social relations) among all nation-states. Marx and Engels identified this worldwide trend as early as 1848:

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

In place of the old local and national seclusion and self—sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter—dependence of nations. National one—sidedness and narrow—mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature. (Marx et al., 1985: 33-34)

Contemporary concerns about globalisation have emerged with the rapid development of transportation and communication technologies and geographical boundaries appear to be weak in many situations in contemporary life. As Rantanen (2005b) claims, no given individual, nation or relationship can remain independent or isolated in this systematic inter-relationship. In her book, *The Media and Globalization*, Rantanen defines globalisation by emphasising the role played by the media in the globalisation process. She indicates that worldwide relations have “become increasingly mediated across time and space”. (Rantanen, 2005: 5)

The mainstream arguments of the result of globalisation have generally focused on two contradictory processes, namely, homogenisation and heterogenisation. According to the *Oxford Reference of Sociology* (2009), globalisation comprises a complex interaction between localism and
globalism. Rather than being passively affected by globalisation, “there are powerful movements of resistance against globalisation processes.” (Scott and Marshall, 2009: globalization)

However, there are critiques against the use of ‘globalism’ in scientific research. For example, Szerszynski and Urry (2002) criticise the mediated-proliferation of global images, symbols and brands as representing the world as a whole being parallel to national flags. They call this ‘banal globalism’. According to a 24-hour media survey conducted by these authors, numerous typical “global images” are presented in the media, including, for example, the ‘Blue Globe’ image which is usually seen from above, images of a family using a global product, etc. According to the authors, this ‘banal globalism’ implies a universal perspective but neglects any particular local place or person and the interactions between them. All the different places and people in the world are framed via technology to represent or speak “on behalf of the one earth”. The co-presence of ‘others’ (differences) is not considered by the banal notion of globalisation. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 466-467)

Another influential scholar who opposes ‘banal globalism’ is Ulrich Beck. In a conversation with Rantanen while Beck was visiting the London School of Economics, he borrowed the ‘onion model’ to explain why globalization is difficult to utilise:

(globalisation ) It’s a historical term.... So far we have had something that may be called an onion model. Inside is the local, then come the national, the international, and finally the global. And the global is to some extent something which has been added. I think this picture doesn’t really hold. Those distinctions are becoming problematic and this is actually part of globalization, but you cannot use the term for both.” (Beck and Rantanen, 2005: 249)

2.1.2 Methodological Nationalism

Nation-state is another prevailing conceptualisation of societies, parallel to the notion of globalisation. The use of nationalism as a methodological approach has also been criticised by Beck. He opposes the conviction of the claim that societies can “only be organised in the form of national states” (i.e. “society is equated with society organized in nationally and territorially delimited states”). (Beck, 2006a: 24) This is problematic with the principle of valuing nation-state above all else. As Nowicka (2006) indicates, this ‘methodological nationalism’ views the unit of a state as a territorial container for “societies, individual identities, and lifestyles”. (Nowicka, 2006: 23) Furthermore, Beck indicates that methodological nationalism “understands borders mostly as
nation—state borders, and in consequence equates mobility with migration between container societies” (Beck, 2006b: 9).

The problem with methodological nationalism is that it “involves and intensifies a territorial misunderstanding of culture and cultural plurality.” (Nowicka, 2006: 23) Beck criticises, the “territorial social ontology of the national outlook” as being inadequate to cope with a multicultural world. (Beck, 2006a: 25) He calls the “territorial theory of identity” a “prison error” of identity”. (Beck, 2006a: 6) The identity of ‘foreigner’ and ‘native’, which were taken for granted by the national outlook, have now become invalid or obscure now, and are “called into question by the dynamics of second-modern society” (Beck, 2006b: 10).

Moreover, methodological nationalism fails to recognise the internal differences within a ‘national’ society, “while affirming, producing and stabilising it externally.” (Beck, 2006a: 56) Its principle is that the nation-state defines the national society, which means that the society is structured by the state rather than citizens being able to make their own choices. “The state promises security, strengthens borders and creates administrative apparatuses which enable it to shape and control ‘national society’... It imposes a territorial understanding of society based upon state-constructed and state-controlled borders...The territorial national state is both creator and guarantor of civil rights.” (Beck, 2006a: 27)

Therefore Beck argues that the prevailing opposition between ‘national’ and ‘transnational’ is false and causes an “endless chain of misunderstanding”. Human beings’ self-awareness and capacity for political action do not necessarily require them to isolate or organise themselves into “antagonistic groups”, even “within the broad expanses of the nation”. Based on this, he proposes to adopt a new approach and advocates a methodological shift.

2.1.3 Methodological Cosmopolitanism

If methodological globalism and nationalism are both difficult to use in social researches, how can societies be conceptualised? “What lies ‘beyond one’s society?’” (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 466-467) What outlook can possibly guide an understanding of a world that contains the co-presence of multiple cultures, identities and, societies?
2.1.3.1 Cosmopolitan

Beck proposes the use of ‘cosmopolitanism’ and ‘cosmopolitanisation’ as a more specific new approach, to avoid many problems that have so far been analysed via the term ‘globalisation’.” (Beck and Rantanen, 2005: 247) The use of the term ‘cosmopolitan’ makes it possible to “structure and order the globalised world beyond the national and the international”, since cosmopolitan does not stand at the opposite side of national or local, but is rather “the summation of the redefinitions” of them. (Beck, 2006a: 6)

According to the Oxford Dictionary, cosmopolitan is being “familiar with and at ease in many different countries and cultures.” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2010: cosmopolitan) In The Cosmopolitan Vision, Beck claims that “the important fact now is that the human condition has itself become cosmopolitan”. (Beck, 2006a: 2) He then provides the example of the protest against the war in Iraq to illustrate this ‘human condition’:

For the first time a war was treated as an event in global domestic politics, with the whole of humanity participating simultaneously through the mass media, even as it threatened to shatter the Atlantic alliance. (Beck, 2006a: 2)

As a result of the intensive circulation of globalised capital and information, the human condition has become more frequently and intensively requisite to face cultural mixture. “National borders and differences are dissolving and must be renegotiated in accordance with the logic of a ‘politics of politics’.” (Beck, 2006a: 2) For this reason, he advocates a cosmopolitan outlook, “from which we can grasp the social and political realities in which we live and act”. (Beck, 2006a: 2) However, one thing to notice when applying this cosmopolitan approach is that global and cosmopolitan relations cannot be regarded as being equal to international relations, as Beck explains:

Without doubt, cosmopolitan relations presuppose, among other things, international relations; but by the same token they transform the latter by opening and redrawning boundaries, by transcending or reversing the polarity of the relations between us and them, and not least by rewriting the relation between the state, politics and the nation in cosmopolitan terms. (Beck, 2006a: 32)

2.1.3.2 Cosmopolitan Outlook

The misunderstanding of cultural plurality and societies caused by both banal globalism and methodological nationalism calls for a necessary shift from a polar perspective to a cosmopolitan
vision in order to “comprehend the new, global, and cosmopolised reality” (Nowicka, 2006: 23). Nowicka states that “the cosmopolitan perspective makes it possible to go beyond the vision of space fragmented into nation-states, and the (national) territorial fixation of cultures and people.” (Nowicka, 2006: 23) Cosmopolitanism requires the recognition of differences, “beyond the misunderstandings of territoriality and homogenisation.” (Beck, 2006a: 30)

So what does Beck particularly mean by a ‘cosmopolitan outlook’?

The cosmopolitan outlook means that, in a world of global crises and dangers produced by civilization, the old differentiations between internal and external, national and international, us and them, lose their validity and a new cosmopolitan realism becomes essential to survival. (Beck, 2006a: 14)

In contrast to the vision of globalisation, a cosmopolitan outlook sheds light on a multidimensional development process, which provides a new standpoint to observe social worlds and nation-states. It comprises “the development of multiple loyalties as well as the increase in diverse transnational forms of life, the emergence of non-state political actors.” (Beck, 2006a: 9)

According to Beck, the global sense should be interpreted as “a sense of boundarylessness”, a “reflexive awareness of ambivalences in a milieu of blurring differentiations and cultural contradictions”. This suggests both the ‘anguish’ and the possibilities of living one’s life in a condition of cultural mixture. (Beck, 2006a: 3)

This “(forced) mixing of cultures is not anything new in world history but, on the contrary, the rule”. (Beck and Rantanen, 2005: 252) For this reason, Beck calls for a “social scientific reflexivity”. What is needed in a milieu where national boundaries are dissolving is an awareness of the forced mixing, “its self-conscious political affirmation, its reflection and recognition before a global public via the mass media, in the news and in the global social movements of blacks, women and minorities, and in the current vogue for such venerable concepts as ‘diaspora’ in the cultural sciences.” (Beck and Rantanen, 2005: 252)

Therefore, the prerequisite of applying methodological cosmopolitanism is to use a ‘both/and’ category, which does not deny internal or external, local or global. It overcomes boundaries by reflecting ‘fences and walls’ that have long been constructed and defended by nation—states. “The ‘why’ and ‘whither’ questions which haunt nations in their stubborn inertia can only be answered through connection and cooperation.” (Beck and Rantanen, 2005: 251)

Moreover, cosmopolitanisation should be differentiated from cosmopolitanism, being “latent cosmopolitanism”. (Beck and Rantanen, 2005: 249-250) Real cosmopolitan should be “a function
of coerced choices or a side-effect of unconscious decisions”, while cosmopolitanization means unconscious and passive cosmopolitanism, “which shapes reality as side-effects of global trade or global threats such as climate change, terrorism or financial crises”. (Beck and Rantanen, 2005: 249-250)

### 2.1.4 Cultures of Cosmopolitanism

Szerszynski and Urry (2002) conducted a media research and interviews to determine how people perceived their “belongingness to different geographical entities”, that, although there is a widespread awareness of ‘global’, it is “combined in complex ways with notions of the local and grounded”. Additionally, the research also revealed that there is not only ‘banal globalism’, but also “a reflexive awareness” of cosmopolitan cultures. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 461)

Based on their research, the authors established a general model of cosmopolitan predispositions and practices, which they called a set of cultures of cosmopolitanism:

1. Extensive mobility in which people have the right to ‘travel’ corporeally, imaginatively and virtually and for significant numbers they also have the means to so travel.

2. The capacity to consume many places and environments en route.

3. A curiosity about many places, peoples and cultures and at least a rudimentary ability to locate such places and cultures historically, geographically and anthropologically.

4. A willingness to take risks by virtue of encountering the ‘other’.

5. An ability to ‘map’ one’s own society and its culture in terms of a historical and geographical knowledge, to have some ability to relied upon and judge aesthetically between different natures, places and societies.

6. Semiotic skill to be able to interpret images of various others, to see what they are meant to represent, and to know when they are ironic.

An openness to other peoples and cultures and a willingness/ability to appreciate some elements of the language/culture of the ‘other’ culture. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 470)

It is evident from this set that mobility plays an important role in cosmopolitan culture. Mobility and its relationship with one’s identity and attitude toward ‘place’ will be reviewed in the next section.
2.1.5 Mobility, Visuality and Attitude

2.1.5.1 Mobility

Mobility, “the ability to move or be moved freely and easily” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2010: mobility), is central to the cultures of cosmopolitanism. According to Szerszynski and Urry (2006), apart from geographical mobility, other forms of mobility play a significant role in today’s mediated daily life. The authors’ study shows a growing tendency to inhabit one’s world at a distance. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 115) The ‘distance’ is created by a growing mobility in terms of traveling corporeally, imaginatively and virtually. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 114)

The first form of mobility, physical travel, is argued by Szerszynski and Urry (2006) to have, expanded in recent decades and affected every corner of the world in many ways, including legal international tourism, refugees, international migrants and the smuggling of human beings. The second, imaginative travel, is triggered by the media where humans encounter other places and people, and experience ‘being in the world’. The third form of mobility is virtual travel. With the aid of information and communication technologies (such as emails, blogs, videoconferences, etc.), it has become easier for individuals to travel beyond geographical and social distance. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 116)

It is notable that some extensive notions about mobility are central to the previously-mentioned preconditions and practices of cosmopolitan (see page 14). These include: the capacity for mobility, the willingness to mobility, the curiosity of mobility, the openness to mobility and the likely consequences of such forms of mobility. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 461)

According to Szerszynski and Urry, multiple forms of mobility can “expand people’s awareness of the wider world and their capacity to compare different places.” (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 113) Moreover, the importance of mobility involves a sensation of the ‘other’. “Sensations of other people and places create an awareness of interdependence, encouraging the development of a notion of ‘panhumanity’, combining a universalistic conception of human rights with a cosmopolitan awareness of difference.” (Franklin et al., 2000)

2.1.5.2 Visuality and Citizenship

In Visuality, Mobility and the Cosmopolitan, Szerszynski and Urry identify several roles played by visuality in the history of citizenship. Firstly, the mutual visuality between one citizen and another is seen as an important human interaction that forms citizenship. Secondly, the mutual
visuality between citizen and state is also an important relationship for modern citizenship. Thirdly, the presence and continued generation of various visual symbols, such as official flags, informal graffiti and others, frequently signify membership of a certain community. Fourthly, the sense of being a citizen is commonly intensified by daily routines (such as reading newspapers), remarkable, formally-planned events and monumental, unplanned events. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 118)

Szerszynski and Urry argue that the role visuality plays in contemporary forms of citizenship has been transformed, rather than reduced, by disembedding and the time-space distanciation of social relations. Furthermore, the authors suggest that “global imagery in the media might be functioning as a vehicle for such work.” (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 119) Media (such as newspapers, radio, television, etc.) not only enable ‘the circulation of information’, but also forms an ‘imagined community’. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 119)

The notion of ‘imagined community’ is systematically articulated by Anderson (1991) who proposes that a nation “is an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”, because “the member of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow—members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” (Anderson, 1991: 6) Having analysed the characteristics of the first American newspapers, he claims that newspapers play an important role in creating “an imagined community among a specific assemblage of fellow-readers”. He finds localism, nationalism and provincialism in different newspapers as well as different ways of presenting a place as a ‘shared community’. (Anderson, 1991: 62-65)

Based on Anderson’s notion of ‘imagined community’, Szerszynski and Urry suggests that the media play “a crucial role in creating the conditions for cosmopolitan citizenship, through both the thematicization of difference and the representation of empirical commonalities and universals”. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 119) Moreover, the representation of global events by media form a cosmopolitan culture, (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 120) and the shift to a cosmopolitan relationship with place means that humans increasingly inhabit their world only at a distance. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 113)

### 2.1.5.3 Mobility and Attitude

Enabled by mobility, mobile individuals are more likely to gain a capacity, or ‘attitude’ as elaborated by John Barrell (1972) to imagine what other places are like in an abstract way. (Barrell,
1972) According to Barrell’s research, the rural professional class in late 18th century and early 19th century England possessed a distinctive attitude to land and landscape due to their mobility:

It meant that the aristocracy and gentry were not, unlike the majority of the rural population, irrevocably involved, so to speak, bound up in, any particular leave. It meant also that they had experience of more landscapes than one, in more geographical regions than one; and even if they did not travel much, they were accustomed, by their culture, to the notion of mobility, and could easily imagine other landscapes. (Barrell, 1972: 63)

Mobility is an essential condition of this attitude, to compare one place with another, and regard “the individual place always as part of a larger area”. (Barrell, 1972: 93) An observant individual can achieve a valuable understanding of places than a ‘mere tourist’. This ability involves “a detachment from the individual place” (Barrell, 1972: 93), which is also found by Barrell to be a habit that, becomes a certain property of individuals who are able to move from one place to another. (Barrell, 1972: 63)

When it comes to a cosmopolitan condition, in their research, Szerzynski and Urry claim that a “blending of universalistic dispositions and particularistic local cultures” occurs among certain social groups. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 476) These mobile and professional social groups have a “cartographic and professional vision of landscape”, “for which the land is vorhanden, ‘present-at-hand’, known through being looked at, conceived in terms of objects and predicates, locations and characteristics”. They use language such as an “abstract, visual landscape character” when describing places. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 126)

This language of mobility, “of abstract characteristics and comparison” is an expression of “a mobile, abstracted way of being”. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 126)

Places have turned into a collection of abstract characteristics in a mobile world, ever easier to be visited, appreciated and compared, but not known from within. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 127)

Thus, as places are increasingly ‘toured’, there is thus a tendency for all places in the end to become cosmopolitan and nomadic. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 126)

For them, the transformation of the relationship between mobility and citizenship implies that “humans are increasingly seeing and experiencing the world from afar, ‘at home’ only within the multiple mobilities of late modernity”. (Szerszynski and Urry 2002: 476)
2.2 Theory of Cultural Capital

—— “There is an economy of cultural goods, but it has a specific logic.”
(Bourdieu, 1984: 1)

2.2.1 Cultural Capital

2.2.1.1 The Concept of Cultural Capital

The concept of cultural capital was first articulated by French scholars, Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron as a tool to analyse the unequal selection of social classes in educational systems, which is assumed to affect individuals’ social attainment in later life. This is based on the notion that cultural capital is “a power resource (technical, scientific, economic or political expertise) facilitating access to organizational positions and simultaneously an indicator for class positions” (Lamont and Lareau, 1988: 155). This suggests that the existing differences of cultural capital inherited from one’s social origin (i.e. family, social class, etc.), relates to the variances of one’s ability to access educational and social resources; thus, it has an important impact on one’s attaining of social positions. Subsequently, social reproduction is maintained by legitimate culture. (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990)

This cultural and social reproduction, which gave rise to the use of the term ‘cultural capital’, is the main concern in Bourdieu’s studies:

The specific role of the sociology of education is assumed once it has established itself as the science of the relations between cultural reproduction and social reproduction. This occurs when it endeavors to determine the contribution made by the educational system to the reproduction of the structure of power relationships and symbolic relationships between classes, by contributing to the reproduction of the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among these classes. (Bourdieu, 1973)

According to Bourdieu (1984), social stratification is reproduced by an unequal social selection system which is based on individuals’ social competence, i.e. —— their cultural capital. Culture is itself stratified, being known as legitimate, middle-brow and popular culture. The dominants in a society maintain and reproduce social classes by reinforcing legitimate culture, the so called “high status culture”. Therefore, cultural capital has the ability to analyse the relationships between agents’ daily practices and their interactions with social positions. (Bourdieu, 1984)

Ever since its born, this concept has been fruitfully developed in sociology and cultural studies, constituted by more complex indications. For example, the American scholars Lamont and Lareau (1988) disentangled the concept as “high status cultural signals used in cultural and social
selection” (Lamont and Lareau, 1988: 153). Cultural capital is defined in the Oxford reference (2011) as: “in sociology and cultural theory, the education, knowledge, know-how, and connections available to any individual or group that give them a ‘head start’, confer status, and can assist in the pursuit of power.” (Chandler and Munday, 2011: cultural capital)

However, Bourdieu preferred, “the use of open concepts, is a way of rejecting positivism — but this is a ready-made phrase. It is, to be more precise, a permanent reminder that concepts have no definition other than systemic ones, and are designed to be put to work empirically in systematic fashion.” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 96) Thus, it is reasonable to appropriate cultural capital for this empirical research, i.e., to de-contextualise its French background, and at the same time to lighten its focus on social stratification.

### 2.2.1.2 Forms of Cultural Capital

In *The Forms of Capital*, Bourdieu points out that capital has three fundamental forms subject to given fields and given cost of its transformation, namely, economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Economic capital can be directly converted into money or institutionalised in the forms of property rights. Cultural capital is also convertible in certain conditions, in terms of conversion into economic capital or being institutionalised, e.g. in the forms of educational qualifications. Social capital, in the forms of social connections, can be concerted into economic capital in given conditions or institutionalised in the forms of a title of nobility. (Bourdieu, 1986)

According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital particularly includes three forms: the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalised state. The first, the embodied state, is a form of durable dispositions of one’s mind and body, which requires the labor of “inculcation” and “assimilation” and costs time which must be personally invested by agents rather than being second-hand. The length of acquisition should be taken as a standard to measure cultural capital, “according to its distance from the demands of the scholastic market”. This embodied capital is converted from external resources into an integral part of an agent, i.e., into a habitus. For Bourdieu, this form of cultural capital is acquired “quite unconsciously”, and relies on the given social conditions to a great extent. (Bourdieu, 1986)

The second form, the objectified state, is in the form of cultural goods, a cultural capital objectified in material objects and media, e.g., pictures, collection of books, paintings, instruments, etc., and is “transmissible in its materiality”. Bourdieu argues that one only needs economic capital to possess cultural goods, but to “appropriate them and use them in accordance with their specific
purpose”, one must “have access to embodied cultural capital, either in person or by proxy.” (Bourdieu, 1986)

The third form, the institutionalised state, for example educational qualifications, is the “objectification” of cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (1986), a certificate of academic qualification, represents cultural competence, “which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture”. He also argues that, cultural capital is instituted by “collective magic”, which imposes recognition:

[The collective magic] separates the last successful candidate from the first unsuccessful one, and institutes an essential difference between the officially recognized, guaranteed competence and simple cultural capital, which is constantly required to prove itself. (Bourdieu, 1986)

In Bourdieu and Passeron’s writings, the term ‘cultural capital’ represents a large number of cultural factors, such as informal academic standards and linguistic competences (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979). Allen and Anderson (1994) summarize them into the following three categories:

1. Cultural knowledge, skills, experiences, abilities;
2. Linguistic competence, modes of speech, vocabulary; and
3. Modes of thought, factual knowledge, world views, etc. (Allen and Anderson, 1994)

They also point out that cultural capital, including the factors listed above, is generally acquired unreflectively via agents’ socialisation with family, neighbours, colleagues and so on. It is further reinforced by institutional forces, such as schools, workplaces, etc. to which they are exposed. Moreover, a hierarchy of taste is likely to be imposed on those with less capital (by the dominant members of society). (Allen and Anderson, 1994)

### 2.2.1.3 Habitus and Field

A close reading of Bourdieu’s work reveals two vital concepts for the comprehension of cultural capital, namely, — habitus and field, which “explain the relationship between the subjective agent and the objectifying external force” (Hudson, 2012).

The word “habitus” originates from the Latin language. Bourdieu borrows it “for the regulated form of improvisation that characterizes daily life.” It is a set of dispositions, namely, — condensed tradition, knowledge, and practices — is durable and guides people’s choices “without ever being strictly reducible to formal rules.” (Calhoun, 2002: Pierre Bourdieu)

In *Logic of Practice*, Bourdieu articulates habitus as being “embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history”. (Bourdieu, 1992: 56) This refers to embodied
dispositions, — “a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking”. (Bourdieu, 1992: 70) A good example of habitus is how the “man of honour” is presupposed to walk in Bourdieu’s book:

[They] walk at a steady, determined pace. His walk, that of a man who knows where he is going and knows he will get there on time, whatever the obstacles, expresses strength and resolution, as opposed to the hesitant gait.... (Bourdieu, 1992: 70)

According to Bourdieu, individuals acquire habitus unconsciously through experience of learning and socialisation, in a social environment that encompasses “posture, demeanor, outlook, expectations and tastes. Informing both the smallest and largest of actions and gesture.” (Sweetman, 2009: 496) In other words, it predisposes individuals’ perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences. (Bourdieu, 1992: 54)

Habitus, “functions to mediate between individual subjectivity and the social structures of relations.” (Chandler and Munday, 2011: habitus) It is constituted in practice, and is “always oriented towards practical functions.” (Bourdieu, 1992: 52) When describing the functions of habitus, Bourdieu states that, “deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the ‘correctness’ of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms”. (Bourdieu, 1992: 54)

“Habitus, being the product of history, it is an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures. It is durable but not eternal.” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 133)

Habitus is related to ‘cultural competencies’ in Bourdieu’s writings. Besides, the function of habitus is considered to have a certain “autonomy”:

As such, it is what gives practices their relative autonomy with respect to external determinations of the immediate present. This autonomy is that of the past, enacted and acting, which, functioning as accumulated capital, produces history on the basis of history and so ensures the permanence in change that makes the individual agent a world within the world. The habitus is a spontaneity without consciousness or will. (Bourdieu, 1992: 56)

According to Bourdieu (1984:92—94), a difficulty arises when determine whether the dominant feature of agents or the social class to which they belong appears to be distinguished or noble simply because it is dominant, which is due to the very tools of analysis, i.e. — cultural capital and habitus. That is to say, even the same habitus (or cultural capital) has different legitimate definitions
and legitimate ways of evaluating them in various situations. Therefore it is necessary to account for the “field”, which stands for the objectivity of any structure of social relations (King, 2005: 223).

The formation, function and validity of dispositions that constitute the cultivated habitus can only be possible in a field, i.e. in the relationship with a field. (Bourdieu, 1984: 94) Bourdieu adds that, variables, for example, educational level and social origin, “can only be correctly interpreted so long as it is remembered that they are bound up with antagonistic definitions of legitimate culture and of the legitimate relation to culture, or, more precisely, with different markets, in which the characteristics associated with one or the other are given different prices”. (Bourdieu, 1984: 94)

In his book, *Distinction*, Bourdieu explains the relationship between habitus and field in the following formula:

\[
\text{(habitus) (capital)} + \text{field} = \text{practice} \quad \text{(Bourdieu, 1984: 101)}
\]

This suggests that the underlying unit of habitus and cultural capital (much of cultural capital can be derived from an individual’s habitus), i.e., the structure of the life-style characteristics of an agent or class, and the fields governed by different logics where practices are performed, act closely and induce different forms of realisation of the practices. (Bourdieu, 1984: 101)

Since society is constituted of different fields, such as politics, arts, education, and economics, various positions are occupied by agents acting within those fields. Among the positions are power relationships, which are maintained, reproduced, and transformed by the interaction of agents with fields. To success in competing for the available resources (because resources are limited), and thus, attaining positions, is subject to agent’s cultural capital (competence). (Hudson, 2012)

### 2.2.2 Cultural Consumption and Taste

Similar to any other form of consumption, cultural consumption involves the preferences of consumers, namely, taste. For Bourdieu, cultural consumption is “a stage in a process of communication”, which involves the act of deciphering and decoding and therefore requires “explicit mastery of a cipher or code”. (Bourdieu, 1984: 2) In this case, cultural goods are only meaningful and interesting for those who are encoded and, possess cultural competence; in other words, who possess certain tastes. (Bourdieu, 1984: 2)
For individuals, taste functions as “a sort of social orientation”, “a sense of one’s place”. (Bourdieu, 1984: 466-467) It guides occupants toward the social positions commensurate with their properties, and toward certain practices or goods that suit the occupants of those positions.

It implies a practical anticipation of what the social meaning and value of the chosen practice or thing will probably be, given their distribution in social space and the practical knowledge the other agents have of the correspondence between goods and groups. (Bourdieu, 1984: 466-467)

According to Bourdieu, taste is not a gift of nature, but a product of upbringing and education. (Bourdieu, 1984: 1), which implies that one’s taste is highly socially-conditioned. Since the hierarchy of cultural goods is socially recognised (Bourdieu, 1984: 1-2), the choice made by consumers reflects a symbolic hierarchy, which is determined and maintained by the dominant social class in order to enforce their distinction from other classes in society. (Allen and Anderson, 1994: 70) This predisposes taste to function as “markers of ‘class’,” and “legitimating social differences”. (Bourdieu, 1984: 1,2,7)

Furthermore, the structure and modification of the space of cultural consumption (which, according to Bourdieu, also means the “whole universe of life-styles”), is governed by the “major organising principles of the social space”. (Bourdieu, 1984: 176) The variable “place of residence” affects the “cultural supply”, “the density of objectified cultural capital”, “the objectivity opportunities for cultural consumption and the related reinforcement of the aspiration to consume”, as well as “the unequal spatial distribution of properties and their owners”. More particularly, each social group performs a circular reinforcement on itself, “for example, intensifying cultural practice if it is cultivated, discouraging it by indifference or hostility if it is not.” (Bourdieu, 1984: 105)

### 2.2.3 System of Exchange

For Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital acts in a social system of exchange, which encompasses economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital, and the possibility to convert among different capitals. For example, one’s academic qualification (seen as a form of cultural capital), can be converted to economic capital in given circumstances. Bourdieu points out that this is made possible by “guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital”. (Bourdieu, 1986) It is even possible to compare qualification holders and exchange them by “conferring institutional recognition on the cultural capital”. (Bourdieu, 1986)
It is the unequal distribution of capital that makes it possible for capital to possess “specific effects”, seen as profit. In return, the profit and power possessed by agents impose the logic (laws) of functioning of the given field “most favorable to capital and its reproduction”. (Bourdieu, 1986) Thus, distinctions are reproduced among agents and their social groups. As Bourdieu says, “the convertibility of the different types of capital is the basis of the strategies aimed at ensuring the reproduction of capital”. (Bourdieu, 1986)

This logic of distinction “additionally secures material and symbolic profits for the possessors of a large cultural capital”, i.e., a scarcity value is derived from its position in the distribution of cultural capital by given cultural competence; thus, profit of distinction is produced for the owner. (Bourdieu, 1986)

It is also noticeable in The Forms of Capital, that the value of cultural goods is determined by “the social marks attached to them at any given moment”. (Bourdieu, 1984: 86) Moreover, the value of cultural capital (the embodied, objectified, or institutionalised), “as a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form” (Bourdieu, 1986), is to a great extent, due to the necessary length of time to accumulate it:

It can immediately be seen that the link between economic and cultural capital is established through the mediation of the time needed for acquisition. (Bourdieu, 1986)

Cultural capital is valuable for agents to acquire social positions, since it represents a power over certain fields, i.e., “it determines the actual or potential powers within the different fields and the chances of access to the specific profits that they offer.” (Bourdieu, 1985: 725) In other words, since cultural capital possesses the power to determine “the aggregate chances of profit” in all the games in which cultural capital is effective, it helps determine one’s social position. (Bourdieu, 1985: 724)

### 2.2.3.1 Cultural Investment

If capital represents “a power over the field’, “over the mechanisms tending to ensure the production of a particular category of goods”, and “over a set of incomes and profits”, (Bourdieu, 1985: 724), it is natural to assume the practice of cultural investment; for example, establishing social connections is one term of investment of social capital:

In other words, the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term. (Bourdieu, 1986)
Individuals invest in cultural capital, which is one of several resources (along with social, economic and symbolic capital) in society that can be converted into one another to increase the investors’ upward mobility. (Bourdieu, 1985: 724)

The term, ‘investment sense’, is used to analyse markets in which capital is invested and converted. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu regards family and school as being two markets (or sites) where competences are deemed to be necessary. These sites are constituted by usage and the competences have price that is determined within the sites, i.e. the agent’s performance is evaluated by markets that reinforce what is acceptable, discourage what is not, and condemn valueless dispositions to extinction. Thus, Bourdieu argues, an “investment sense” is closely tied to the acquisition of cultural capital. (Bourdieu, 1984: 85)

Investment sense is an insensible product of adjustment. Agents adjust themselves to take chances that can turn given capital to profits in specific sites. Investment sense, existing as an internalised form, “facilitates forward adjustment to these chances, and is itself a dimension of a relation to culture”. (Bourdieu, 1984: 85) Moreover, investment sense functions as a guide for agents toward the ‘best return’, e.g., Bourdieu explains, “the sense of investment enables one to get the best return on inherited capital in the scholastic market or on scholastic capital in the labour market.” (Bourdieu, 1984: 142)

Bourdieu(1984) emphasizes that, although borrowed from economics language, investment sense within the field of culture by no means suggesting the same corresponding behaviour, i.e. — the “rational calculation of maximum profit”. Unlike the sense of economic investment, which is guided by the pursuit of money, the sense of cultural investment only secures profits in the sense of “affective investment”, or “the sense of belief”. (Bourdieu, 1984: 86) Entering a given market and competing in it implies joining the collective belief in the value of the game, and this is actually the initial investment in which the value of culture is generated. (Bourdieu, 1984: 250)

In terms of the investment, Bourdieu also notices that certain profits and the consequent propensities to invest are only determined in the relationship between a field and a particular agent with particular characteristics. (Bourdieu, 1984: 87) The investment patterns, i.e. the ways of realising social profits from the available resources of different agents in different fields are at variance. In an analysis of marriage strategies and social reproduction, Bourdieu (1976) argues that agents tho possess different resources (kinds of capital)are most likely to produce different results, firstly due to being able to utilise different resources, and secondly, because of the different patterns they employ to invest their resources. The investment pattern determines the outcomes to a great
extent; furthermore, the investment pattern is governed by “internalised norms rather than explicit rules, strategy rather than principles” (Maza, 1979: 452) in specific societies. This logic discourages the possibilities of social mobility in some societies and even ruthlessly sacrifices some of the members of those societies. (Maza, 1979: 452)

In conclusion, the literature review implies that the cosmopolitan outlook is an exceptional fit for this research to analyse the boundaryless social conditions (see chapter 5 for more details) in which the target young professionals live their daily lives. Furthermore, the theory of cultural capital, as good compensation, is appropriate for analysing the target group’s daily cultural practices (particularly news consumption in this research) on a micro level. As Lamont and Lareau suggest in their work, the topic of how individuals practice cultural investment on a micro level and activate their cultural capital to gain desired social positions and results is a very interesting one, which has so far been neglected by researchers. (Lamont and Lareau, 1988: 163) The last, the theoretical review also suggests that mobility is a key factor that connects individuals’ daily practices with their social systems, i.e., it empowers the research of micro-level cultural and social interactions in given macro-level social conditions, particularly in this paper, in terms of analysing given individuals' news consumption and their occupational and social lives in a cosmopolitan world.
3. METHODOLOGY

Given the fact that the general research interest is to investigate the daily realities of mobile young professionals (including their news consumption and mobile experience), and how individual’s interaction relates to the macro structure, grounded theory method is employed in this study to develop an applicable theory from the empirical research.

As suggested by experienced researchers, “if a certain phenomenon is observed and little information is available concerning why or how it happens, then meaningful lists of pre-coded answer alternatives cannot be constructed. In such a situation, qualitative methods can flesh out what is really happening.” (Slater, 1990: 109–110) ‘What is happening’ here refers to “lived experiences, emotions, behaviors, and feelings while on the other hand it also deals with organizational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena and interactions between nations and so on.” (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 11) Since this research is not aiming for a quantitative measurement, but to study the daily practice of news consumption and the lived mobile experiences of the targeted young professionals, a qualitative approach is deemed to be more appropriate.

According to the Oxford Dictionary (2010), the term ‘qualitative’ means “relating to, measuring, or measured by the quality of something rather than its quantity”. A qualitative analysis is a procedure to interpret data using a qualitative approach, with the aim of constructing a theoretical explanatory scheme based on the concepts and relationships discovered among original data. The data can be collected from interviews, observations, documents, films and other forms.

The most commonly-used methods in qualitative research include ethnography, phenomenology, discourse analysis, grounded theory method and so on. (Chandler and Munday, 2011: qualitative research) Having compared the purposes and advantages with other qualitative methods, (e.g. ethnography is generally preferred for description, and phenomenology is typically adopted when attempting for understanding), grounded theory method has apparent merits to be employed by this study, since it is designed to investigate empirical life experiences and build an applicable theory on them.

3.1 Grounded Theory

Grounded theory method is a well-developed qualitative research method, which is commonly applied within social science. It helps to discover a theory by analyzing data collected from empirical study. Unlike traditional social science research, grounded theory method does not involve the formation of hypotheses beforehand. It requires the emergence of theory to be grounded
in the data. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) While grounded theory method was developed by both Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, the theory developed by Strauss is mainly adopted in this study.

A grounded theory is able to both explain and describe and it may provide certain degree of predictability under specific conditions. A well integrated set of concepts that emerge from the procedure of grounded theory commonly provides a thorough theoretical description and explanation of the chosen topic. (Corbin and Strauss, 1990: 5) The relationship between the data collection, analysis and emerged theory is elaborated by Strauss and Corbin (2008a:12) as follows:

A theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process. In this method, data collection, analysis, and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another. A researcher does not begin a project with a preconceived theory in mind (unless his or her purpose is to elaborate and extend existing theory). Rather, the researcher begins with an area of study and allows the theory to emerge from the data. Theory derived from data is more likely to resemble the ‘reality’ than is theory derived by putting together a series of concepts based on experience or solely through speculation (how one thinks things ought to work).

Although there are no strict routines to follow when using grounded theory method, there are certain procedures and techniques that are helpful for researchers and students to cope with the data collection and analysis. The first important concept is description, which means the representation of “an event, a piece of scenery, a scene, an experience, an emotion, or a sensation” (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 15), usually by the use of words, which can be very comprehensive but not necessarily detailed in every case. It provides an image of the phenomenon but does not explain why it happens. (Corbin and Strauss, 2008)

The second one is conceptual ordering, also named categorizing, which involves classifying or organising the data based on their properties and dimensions. This helps with the formation of a preliminary explanatory scheme. (Corbin and Strauss, 2008)

Theorising is another crucial procedure which is usually the last step in the research process. This is the act of constructing an explanatory scheme through the presentation of the relationship between theoretical concepts. It organises the concepts into an abstract scheme that can explain or predict the reality. Theorising is the interplay between induction and deduction. (Corbin and Strauss, 2008)

In order to avoid a huge gap between theory and empirical research, the theory is requested to be grounded in the data, which comes from people's behaviour, interaction and social procedure. (Corbin and Strauss, 1990) Thus, the process of collecting data, categorising it into concepts and
constructing those concepts into theory is often a circular process, which needs constant comparison, data collection and analysis to achieve theoretical saturation. The analysis starts from the beginning of the data collection and they are continuously interrelated. The analysis enables the emergence of concepts and also provides the researcher with resource to determine whether, what and how much new data is needed to develop the theory. In other words, the data collection is guided by the emerging theory and this is conceptualised by Strauss (1990) as ‘theoretical sampling’. Corbin and Strauss emphasise that it is always important ‘to question’ in this continuous process, which serves to discover every potentially valuable bit of data for the construction of the systematic framework:

We want them to question, to be able to easily move from what they see and hear and to raise that to the level of the abstract, and then to turn around again and move back to the data level... The techniques and procedures (method), on the other hand, furnish the means for bringing that vision into reality. (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 8)

Based on the advice from Strauss and Corbin (1990, 2008), the main risks of employing grounded theory will be taken care of: 1) because of the lack of research experience with grounded theory method, there is insufficient theoretical sensitivity; 2) without the aim of developing a theory, there is a risk of neglecting the main focus of grounded theory, which may lead to an improper application; 3) neglecting variation which is important for enriching the concept, or missing theoretical coding, may risk lacking a bridge between concepts; and 4) it is impossible to develop the theory well without constant comparison.

3.2 Research Process

The first step of this thesis study aims to determine a narrowed-down topic within globalisation and the media. The author’s interest in globalisation and the media was aroused by personal experience, as well as inspiration from the media and communication centered Master’s program.

As mentioned earlier, the author underwent an internship at the Strategic Communication and Advocacy Division of UNESCAP (Bangkok) from April 2011 to June 2011, and during that period, she had the opportunity to frequently meet interns and young consultants who were working in the UN complex. The more time she spent with this group of young people, the more she became interested in knowing all about the community, which consisted of people from diverse backgrounds, different nationalities, different origins and cultures, with different mother-tongues and various education and work experiences. However, the members greatly resembled each other,
in terms of sharing certain consistent values, similar career pursuits and similar mobile life-styles. It was this interesting interplay between their multi-backgrounds and their similar mobile life styles that determined the author to explore their globalised life experience and media consumption. What are their life stories? What are their motivations for moving? Why and how did they come to work for the UN? What do they make use of media? Have their media consumption changed? Why? What is the relation between their mobile life-style and their media consumption?

Subsequently, combining knowledge and experience within social science study, the author determined to conduct an empirical research of the relationship between the target group’s mobile life-style and their media consumption. The initial idea was enhanced by a subsequent review of related literature on globalisation and media audience study. Close reading assisted in increasing the researcher’s theoretical sensitivity; meanwhile, grounded theory method was employed as the methodology to conduct this research. According to grounded theory, the data collection and theoretical framework are developed continuously during the course of the study, as the research is neither planned to demonstrate the truth of any established theory nor to describe any particular phenomenon, but rather to develop an applicable theory. Among the most common data collection methods in grounded theory (i.e. review of records, interviews, observation and surveys), interview was chosen as the main approach to collect data during this research. It is a flexible way of asking the target group about their experiences and opinions. Besides, it generates a considerable amount of data from relatively short time. Notes were taken during the entire research process, in order to record ideas emerging from literature review, coding and other procedures, which are potentially important for the theoretical stage. Observations are also used during the research process for supplementing the full view of the daily media consumption by the target group.

3.2.1 Interview Procedure

- The First Group of Interviews

The first two face-to-face interviews were conducted in UNESCAP’s international canteen (Bangkok, Thailand) during the lunch break on the 23rd and 24th May 2011, and they lasted for around 1.5 hours. The second phase consisting of 20 interviews was held during June 2011. 18 of the interviews were conducted in the UN complex in Bangkok, while the other two were undertaken in nearby restaurants due to the closure of the office after working hours. Each of the interviews in this phase lasted for approximately 20 minutes (due to time limitation during lunch break), and all were held on a face-to-face basis. This was followed by 4 months of reflection and a literature
review. Complementary information was also collected from the previous interviewees via email during this period to check on the accuracy of the information about their change of residence, location and duration. The third phase, consisting of 3 interviews, was completed in February 2012, in Uppsala, Sweden. These interviews were intended to serve the purpose of comparing the data with previous results and enriching the theoretical framework with more detailed and in-depth facts. All the interviews were face-to-face and each conversation lasted for 2 hours.

Open-minded, in-depth interviews were adopted in the beginning to obtain as much knowledge and understanding of the situation as possible. In the subsequent investigations, problem-centred interviews (PCI) were the main method used to collect the data. The principle of PCI is to seek a balance between theoretical guidance and open-mindedness when collecting data. It is a flexible procedure which comprises the interplay of induction and deduction. The use of PCI was inspired by another researcher’s procedure which was similar to this study:

Knowledge is generated by PCI during the course of the interview, and in the analysis phase. Knowledge that is already given is integrated into the PCI, in the general design of the questions, and in any dialog there may be between interviewee and interviewer. At the same time, the principle of openness is realized through flexible design, and questions that prompt the interviewee’s narration. Theoretical knowledge is generated in the analysis, and subsequently confirmed or rejected on the basis of the subsequent interviews. (Nowicka, 2006: 85)

The interview structure was re-designed several times to better suit the research question. The redesign was based on previous interview results and the subsequent need of theoretical enrichment.

The first interviewee was Alexis Abodohou, a 28 year-old, originally from Benin (Africa), who had studied an international management Master’s programme in Wuhan (a provincial capital city in the middle of China) before moving to Bangkok to undertake an internship at INSPIRA (a recruitment division for UN Human Resources). The interview was designed as an open-minded survey; therefore, the author rarely asked specific questions, but rather encouraged the interviewee to take the initiative and talk about his life experiences and his use of the media. Nevertheless, the author had to interrupt Alexis a few times when the conversation deviated too far from the topic. Alexis was very open and willing to share his life story, and when talking about his daily media use, he described the media as his main information channel and entertainment tool during his daily life. He also spontaneously expressed his opinions of current media positions and the trend of social media. The interview lasted for about one hour and comprehensive notes were taken. The author acquired useful inspiration from the first conversation and was even more motivated to continue the
survey. On one hand, she could identify with the international life experiences, and on the other, the interviewees expressed great interest in being informed about the research results.

Based on the first interview, the second interview was planned with a clearer structure and had a defined lifetime period for the interviewee to talk about her life experience and media consumption. The interviewee was KyungLim, a 26 year-old from South Korea, who was undertaking an internship at INSPIRA (UNESCAP, Bangkok) at the time of interview. Before coming to Bangkok (Thailand), she had participated in an International Relations Master’s programme in Soul (South Korea) and had studied for one year in Canada. The interview focused more on the period after Kyunglim moved away from her home country, South Korea, for the first time.

The first and second interviews helped to form a clearer direction of the study, which is briefly concluded below.

The target group possessed valuable and rich experience of both globalisation and media, which provided promising resources for the research data collection. It made the author determined to continue with the research that individual media activities are greatly tied to the globalisation process and this matters in terms of repeated social practices. In short, fertile ground was prepared and made available for further discoveries.

Reading the news is more valuable and suitable for examination by this research than many other types of media consumed. According to the previous two interviewees, their main reasons for media consumption are entertainment, seeking information (especially new) and social activities. However, the habit and need of consuming media for the purpose of entertainment generally depends on individual preferences and varies from person to person. It does not necessarily relate to either the interviewees’ career pursuit or their mobile lifestyles. It also shows that they maintain their personal fondness for entertainment media channels even when they move to another place of residence.

Socialising occupies a significant percentage of the interviewees’ media usage, such as creating social events, adding new friends and commenting on friends’ updates on Facebook, as well as talking with families and friends from their home countries or other countries on Skype. Thus, the practice of social media does not differentiate the research targets from international young people in general; however, the practice of information consumption is different. When examining the two interviews and the daily observations of the young professionals, the author found that they acquired information in unique ways, with a certain demand, preference, and the requirement of qualities and time. In addition, the initial interviews suggested a more specific tendency of an
important relationship between their news-reading practice and their education/career-orientated mobile lives. This grounded hypothesis was derived from the empirical survey and became the crucial orientation of the next step of the research.

Therefore, the subsequent interviews were modified to investigate the target group’s news consumption and its relationship with their mobile lifestyles. Meanwhile, the author also spent a great deal of time seeking inspiration from a close reading of some literature, such as *The Cosmopolitan Vision*. The daily observations of the target group’s media consumption were also used as a complementary means of collecting data.

- **The Second Group of Interviews**

  The second group of interviews was more problem-centred and structured, while also retaining the principle of open-mindedness. The interviews consisted of 3 parts, including basic personal information (name, age, gender, nationality, education, position at UNESCAP, and contact information), daily news-reading habits, and a short comparison of current news-reading habits with those of 5 years ago. The basic interview questions were designed as follows:

  1. Do you read news? How often?
  2. What kind of news you are interested in?
  3. Do you actively search for the news you are interested in? How?
  4. What kind of channels do you use to obtain news? (newspapers, internet, radio, TV, magazines, talking with people, etc.)
  5. Have your news-reading habits changed during the last 5 years? If so, how and why?)
  6. Do you use social media to acquire news? Why?
  7. What do you usually do to obtain information?

  In this phase, the emphasis of the interview was put on the interviewees’ news-reading practice, with additional questions about the channel they most used to obtain information. The term, ‘news-reading practice’ refers to their news-reading habits, the type of news that appeals to them, the media channel they use for news updates, the time spent reading news every day, their motivation to read the news, their motivation to follow certain news resources, changes (if applicable) in their news-reading habits, and technology, etc.
Comprehensive notes were made of all the interviews in this phase, and the subsequent analysis was undertaken mainly in 3 stages: coding, categorising, and theorising. In the open coding stage, descriptions were labelled; for example, when talking about the channel via which they obtained news, several interviewees mentioned “talking with my family and colleagues”, which was labelled “personal communication”. Later, all the codes were divided into categories, such as “news types”, which included “social issues”, “political”, “health care”, etc. The categories were then compared with the literature read as part of the research process. At the end of this procedure, a trial statement was formulated based on the results of the analysis and the comparison. This included the relationship among discrete concepts and categories, and ideas that emerged during the reflective period. The analysis showed that the target group were motivated to consume news from certain resources by a variety of factors. The conjecture was firstly tested with the existing data from the interviews, and the validity proved by testing the results enabled a further test with the existing literature. This involved journal articles and books on cosmopolitan, cultural capital and news audience studies. The comparison resulted in some interesting inspiration and questions that required further investigation.

• The Third Group of Interviews

The third group of interviews was designed as in-depth interviews to encompass samples from more diverse backgrounds. In other words, not only were young professionals with social science backgrounds considered, but also those with a natural science background; not only the young professionals working for UNESCAP, but also those with professional experience of other international organisations. In order to collect detailed data, the interviews in this phase were recorded using an mp3 recorder. A close reading of cosmopolitan and cultural capital accompanied the interviews and transcription.

The interview questions mainly focused on the targets’ motivation for reading news and following certain news resources (if applicable), examples of the use of news information (what, when, where, with whom, how), and their motivation for pursuing an international experience. The questions included the following:

1. Basic personal information (Name, Age, Education, Origin, Contact information)

2. What international experiences have you had?

3. Why have you pursued these experiences?
4. Does seeking international experiences suggest the importance of mobility for you? If yes, why? If no, why?

5. What is your ambition in life?

6. Do you have any career ambition? If yes, what is it?

7. Does your career ambition coincide with your desire for mobility?

8. Can you tell me the way in which you acquire news? (Do you read news every day? What do you read? How much time do you spend, and what is your motivation?)

9. Have you ever benefited from reading the news? In what way?

10. Have you ever talked about the news with people? On which occasions?

11. Imagine what would happen if you lost the news resources you value. What would you do?

Subsequently, the data was selectively coded according to the core idea defined from the previous analysis. By selectively coding the new data, rather than open-coding all the trivial details, the research was successfully driven forward. Constant comparison was given full consideration throughout the entire procedure. For example, the description of the news consumption habits of the individuals with a background in social science was compared with that of the individuals with a background in natural science, the description from academic research-orientated career groups was compared with the description from those who were politically-orientated, etc. Related literature and the author’s personal experience were also compared with the results.

3.3 Description of the Sample

Since the aim of this study was to firstly understand how the target group of people consume media and subsequently explain it, the principle of sampling was based on the features of the target group and the issue, rather than random sampling, with the aim of achieving a statistical representation of all possible varieties in terms of age, gender, etc.

3.3.1 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling was adopted during the first and second stages of the interviews. The choice of sample is determined by the research interest and the accessibility of resources. The initial
sample was chosen from the group of young professionals at UNESCAP from April 2011 to June 2011. Firstly, the interest in the research originated from this group of people. Secondly, when considering cost and accessibility, the target group at UNESCAP was the best possible resource.

The basic rule defined for the sampling was to choose interns or consultants, who were working for UNESCAP, had international experience and were aged between 23 and 33. The requirements of UNESCAP interns and consultants guaranteed that the interviewees would have a high educational background and a professional career orientation. International experience suggests the possibility of a mobile lifestyle, and above 23 was considered to be the common age for a student to have completed undergraduate education. When contacting the relevant people for interviews, their diversity in terms of education, origin, etc. was also considered.

As Hansen suggests, “Purposive sampling, in much research, however, it may be neither necessary nor desirable that samples should be representative. The object may simply be to test a particular hypothesis or to make comparisons between different groups.” (Hansen, 1998: 241)

### 3.3.2 Theoretical Sampling

The continued in-depth interviews were conducted with theoretical sampling. This occurred at the stage when new data was required to be added as a useful way to develop the emerging theory. This was based on the analysis of the data previously collected from the interviews, the literature review and knowledge from the author's personal experience.

The new sample aimed to increase the diversity by adding new data from people with other educational backgrounds, international experience (i.e. not just having worked for UNESCAP) and career plans, which was not covered in the first and second stages. However, a statistical representativeness of the population was again not the aim. Increasing diversity means adding meaningful new data by which to enable a further comparison and develop a theoretical frame.

The data collection and analysis took place simultaneously during the process of theoretical sampling. This was the analysis to tell what and who was going to be investigated in the next stage, as well as being the new data collection that enabled a further analysis. As Corbin and Strauss suggest, “The carrying out of procedures of data collection and analysis systematically and sequentially enables the research process to capture all potentially relevant aspects of the topic as soon as they are perceived. This process is a major source of the effectiveness of the grounded theory approach.” (Corbin and Strauss, 1990: 6)
3.3.3 Basic Demographic Information of Interviewees

A total of 26 individuals (see Table 1) were interviewed during the course of the study, 18 of whom were females and 8 were males. The uneven distribution of gender emerged at the second stage of the interviews. There were more females than males among the defined “young professional” group at UNESCAP during April 2011 and June 2011. At the time of the interviews, the target group were between 23 and 32 years old. The educational background of the first and second groups of interviewees encompassed Communication, Management, Political Science, International Relations, Statistics, Economics, Public Health, Information technology, Psychology, and Urban Planning. They were mainly categorised as Social Science and Economics, since the task of the organisation is to enhance the cooperation of Asia and the Pacific region’s social and economic development. In order to increase the diversity and test the emerging theory under a different but meaningful context, young professionals with other educational backgrounds and other international organisations were interviewed in the third stage of the interviews. 7 of the UNESCAP interviewees were consultants, while the others were interns.

Table 1. Basic Demographic Information of Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Current tasks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Alexis A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>MBA, Human Resource Development and Management</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kyung L.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Master of International Studies</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chenfeng L.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Master of arts, International Communication</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tianqi B.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Master of Science, Education</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Alan C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Master of science in Sustainability management</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Brian M.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Master of Political Science</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jeeyoon K.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Master of International Relations</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hyunjoo L.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Master of Political Science</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Jiun K.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Bachelor of Statistics</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kenan M.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Master of Communication</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nikhil B.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Bachelor of Economics</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Yang A.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Master of Public Policy</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Dongni Y.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Master of Public health</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Current tasks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Alejandro H.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Master of Economic Development and Sustainability</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Xiang B.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Master of Communication</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Emilie B.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Master of International Relations</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Jeanne N.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Master of Information Technology Management</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Meike M.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Master of Psychology</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nicholas J.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Bachelor of Political Science</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sytske C.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Master of Network of Consistency</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Daphna B.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Master of Urban Planning</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Nunsol S.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Master of Media &amp; Communication</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mathias H.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Master of Politics and International relations</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Svenja R.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Master of Biology</td>
<td>PhD candidate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Eliana V.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Master of Media &amp; Communication</td>
<td>Intern</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. RESULTS

This chapter will contain the important research results. Based on the research aim to provide a practical and concrete understanding of how individuals’ daily news consumption relates to their mobility and whether or not a cosmopolitan condition is related to this relationship, the presentation of the results is structured into two sections. Firstly, the respondents’ news consumption will be presented, and secondly, their mobile life experiences will be considered. This structure is designed according to the two basic perspectives determined to study the target individuals, namely, to regard them both as news audiences and transnational mobile individuals.

4.1 As News Audiences: News Consumption Pattern

Generally, the results of the investigation show that the respondents are not passive audiences of mass news media. They are extremely conscious and very much aware of when they read, what they read, and where they read it, etc. Then what are the news consumption realities of these young professionals? When do they obtain news? Where do they get it or from whom? How and why do they make these choices? Has their news consumption changed with their change of residence or location? If so, why? The answers to these basic, but essential, questions will construct a real image of how they consume news in the everyday lives.

4.1.1 Time

Two features are worth noting with regard to ‘time’: the frequency of the target group’s news consumption, and how much time they usually spend reading news.

4.1.1.1 Frequency

According to the research results (see Table 2), all the respondents answered the question “Do you read news?” in the affirmative during the course of the interviews. Only three of all the interviewees, namely, Emilie, Nunsol and Hyunju, do not read the news every day. They only read news from internet between one and three times a week. The other 23 interviewees read the news at least once every day, while most of them tend to read it “several times” a day. As stated by the interviewees, the frequency of reading news generally depends on the amount of spare time they...
have and the accessibility of the internet. For example, Dongni reads online news more frequently when she is in the office:

Especially when I have to wait for my new assignments, I have nothing to do in the office. I just open the New York Times to see if there is any interesting piece to read. I think to read news is better than to chat on Facebook. If I sit there without doing anything, it’s a waste of time. By the way, I guess it’s also because the internet speed is faster in the UN building than at my place (a temporary rented apartment in Bangkok).¹

Since most of the UNESCAP respondents spend their weekends travelling to nearby cities or attending international social events, their news consumption during weekends appears to be much irregular and less frequent compared to ordinary weekdays. As they explained, the internet and free time are relatively fixed when they are in the office.

However, some of the respondents who subscribe to a monthly internet surfing package for their mobile phones more frequently but less regularly browse news websites via mobile phones. As they said, checking for news updates via mobile devices makes news reading more convenient, which means that it becomes unnecessary to read the news in the office or at home. Instead, they surf news websites more often when they are travelling on public transport or waiting for others to join them in restaurants and so on.

In other cases, some respondents always have their online news page open.

Today, I have a very simple routine. I always look at, my main resource, the web...... Now it’s a lot that I spent on reading news since I’m unemployed. It will be less than now if I start working. If I have a computer, it’s always there, on the background, always there.²

According to some of the interviewees, the “how often?” question is not always easy to answer because they have different routines and consume different resources of news via different channels. Svenja described her routine as follows:

I think for Yahoo news, I just scan it and read it every day. I look at the headlines, but maybe thorough reading is twice a week. Depends on my time. For Science and Nature websites, I mainly use their twitter feeds. If I find something interesting, I go to the website and look at more of the articles. It also depends, like once or twice a week. Twitter I check every day.³

¹ Dongni Y., UNESCAP intern, face-to-face interview on 1 June 2011.
² Mathias H., master graduate from Uppsala University, face-to-face interview on 25 February 2012.
³ Svenja R., Ph.D candidate at Muchen University, face-to-face interview on 21 April 2012.
In short, the respondents generally consume news in an active pattern. The varied frequency of visiting news media depends on the availability of free time and the internet to a great extent, and also on their personal habits of consuming different news resources.
4.1.1.2 Time Spent

The actual time spent reading the news varies from person to person, and from time to time. Eliana was the only one of the respondents with a relatively regular timetable for consuming news. As she said, “Yeah, I always read the news in the morning, every day.” Usually she spent 30 minutes or more, but this was because of her temporary unemployment situation at the time of the interview. She was free to arrange her schedule based on her personal needs. In other cases, the time the respondents spent consuming news varied from 5 minutes to several hours during the period in which the interviews were conducted. This was generally determined by how much of their time was occupied by their education, employment and social life. It also varied according to their personal interests, social or political situation, or other related factors.

4.1.2 Channels

4.1.2.1 Internet

The internet was identified by all the interviewees (see Table 3) as being their main, and almost the only channel to obtain news. According to the interviewees, there are two main reasons for this intensive internet news consumption, the first of which is financial concerns, and the second relates to flexibility in obtaining news.

Apparently, obtaining news from online news websites is mainly free. More than half of the respondents explained their choice of the internet by mentioning the cost advantage of online news, despite not being asked. As Eliana said:

Always internet. I would love to get newspapers but it’s expensive. So it’s always internet.⁵

Another important reason why mainly use online news channels is because of the flexibility guaranteed by the internet. Regardless of time and place, online news can be accessed whenever and wherever they want to read it, as long as there is an internet connection. This reduces reading restrictions compared to printed newspapers or radio broadcasting, which can only be accessed at certain geographical locations or particular times. As Alejandro said,

⁴ Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
⁵ Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
Using the internet is so convenient. I don’t buy any newspapers because I move a lot. But the online paper is always there and I can read what I want to. It’s very easy.\(^6\)

In other words, the internet enables these mobile people to create a personal favourite news-reading space, set up at the “right” time, in the “right” place and with the “right” resource.

Besides, when it comes to a media device for accessing online news, a PC is not the only device they use to acquire online news; other portable devices are also popular, such as mobile cell phones, Ipods and Ipads.

\subsection*{4.1.2.2 Word of Mouth}

As claimed by the interviewees, word of mouth is another important channel for encountering news, although it is very unstable.

One of the interviewees described her fiancé as her “source of news”:

I’m not into political world but I get it from Adam (Eliana’s fiancé). Adam reads a lot. He gives me news. So he will talk about it. He will talk about he reads on the news and I talk about I read on the news. Usually he told me the whole thing. Adam is my source of news.\(^7\)

Talking with friends was the common response from most of the interviewees during the course of the research, while a few of them also mentioned family members and colleagues as their most influential news source. For example, a Chinese respondent, Tianqi, told the author:

My mom tells me a lot of news. She even knows more than I do about American news because she wants to know what’s going on there. When I started my study in the States, every time my mom called me, she talked about a lot of social news. Sometimes she told me not to go here or there because she’d seen on TV that people were ripped off or killed in some areas. But you know, news only reports accidents; life is not that bad on normal days.\(^8\)

Moreover, the respondents considered that word of mouth is more reliable than the “factual” news reported by news agencies. Eliana explained by her feelings as follows:

And because you know those people, then the information from them are more reliable. I know you but I don’t know the news guy. If you tell me this place is beautiful, I’m gonna go to this place. The news guy can tell me like “It’s spring in Värmlands”, but it’s never gonna to be “I’m going to Värmlands because it’s spring there”. It’s a descriptive thing but news tends to be very factual. “This is what happen. This is what it is.” But with people, it’s

\(^6\) Alejandro H., UNESCAP consultant, face-to-face interview on 23 June 2012.

\(^7\) Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.

\(^8\) Tianqi B., UNESCAP intern, face-to-face interview on 21 June 2011.
more of a story. It’s more persuasive, because you use not only the facts, but emotions. You hear from the person, “Oh, how exciting this place is.” Then “Oh, I wanna go.” I think people has a huge influence to describe information, even if it’s just like “news”.

4.1.2.3 Printed Newspapers and Others

In addition to the internet and word of mouth, other news channels are also used by the research target group. However, these alternative channels are merely complementary to their daily news consumption or chosen temporarily due to specific circumstances.

When talking about printed newspapers, the interviewees commonly said that they would not refuse to read free newspapers written in a comprehensible language. There was also an obvious tendency among the group to try to avoid regularly subscribing to any newspapers. This was partly due to financial concerns, but to a great extent, it was taboo for them to make any commitment to a particular location. Dongni, who had moved from Beijing to New York and then to Bangkok, explained:

Yes, if there are free newspapers, I love to read them! When I was studying in Yale, there were usually free newspapers on the campus. I picked them up and brought them to the library to read... and then put them back in case others needed them. I didn’t have money to subscribe to newspapers, and I didn’t have a place to keep them since I knew I would be moving again.

Svenja, who comes from Germany, is studying for a Master’s degree in Uppsala, Sweden. She explained how and why she reads printed newspapers when living in Uppsala:

What I also do, is that when I go through the town, there are these free newspapers about Uppsala. So I just look at the headlines, but they usually are not very interesting. I try to keep informed, about the local issues. Also because it’s free. But if there’s no free paper, I don’t think I will look at the local news, because I’m moving and it’s only temporary to be here, even though ‘temporarily’ has become 3 years. But I don’t have the choice to vote or anything, or really influenced. I can read the newspapers and understand it now, but it hasn’t been the case, so I tended to ignore the local news. If it’s really important, then I will get to know it even through the Yahoo site, or German website. Kind of european news is there.

Obtaining news from the radio and television used to be one of their options, but this significantly reduced when most of the respondents moved out from their “home” city.

9 Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
10 Dongni Y., UNESCAP intern, face-to-face interview on 1 June 2011.
11 Svenja R., Ph.D candidate at Muchen University, face-to-face interview on 21 April 2012.
Mathias, who was looking for job opportunities in Stockholm at the time of the interview, consumed news from the TV, but he was not satisfied by this source:

I watch Swedish news, on TV now, more than before, because I live with my sister. She has one, so I had the chance to see. So I get some news from there. Honestly, I’m not that into it. I don’t think it is that good. I usually watch the Swedish news reports from the state channel.\textsuperscript{12}

Eliana watched TV news when she was living with her fiancé in Sweden where they had an equipped apartment.

I also look at the Swedish news in the morning, so I listen to the Swedish news, just to practice my Swedish, the one on TV.\textsuperscript{13}

Emilie, who had moved from France to China, and then to Thailand, told the author that she used to listen to radio news programmes when she drove a car in France, but she had not used this channel since left France. The language barrier and the lack of a radio were the main reasons:

I didn’t have a car in Beijing or Bangkok, and I couldn’t understand Chinese or Thai, although now I can speak Chinese. But there is the internet, so it doesn’t make sense for me to listen to the radio any more.\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{News Channel}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|l|}
\hline
No. & Interviewee & News channel \\
\hline
1 & Chenfeng L. & Internet  \\
& & Free campus Newspapers \\
\hline
2 & Tianqi B. & Internet  \\
& & Free Magazine  \\
& & TV (only during holidays at home)  \\
& & Radio (Iphone application)  \\
& & Personal communication \\
\hline
3 & Alan C. & Internet  \\
& & Personal communication \\
\hline
4 & Brian M. & Internet  \\
& & Personal communication \\
\hline
5 & Jeeyoon K. & Internet  \\
& & Printed newspapers \\
\hline
6 & Hyunju L. & Internet \\
\hline
7 & Jiun K. & Internet \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{12} Mathias H., master graduate from Uppsala University, face-to-face interview on 25 February 2012.

\textsuperscript{13} Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.

\textsuperscript{14} Emilie B., UNESCAP intern, face-to-face interview on 15 June 2012.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>News channel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kenan M.</td>
<td>Internet, Magazine, Radio, Personal communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nikhilesh B.</td>
<td>Internet, Personal communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Aichun Y.</td>
<td>Internet, Personal communication, Newspapers (in Malaysia but not in Singapore)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dongni Y.</td>
<td>Internet, Personal communication, Free Newspapers &amp; magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Alejandro H.</td>
<td>Internet, Personal communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Alexis A.</td>
<td>Internet, Personal communication, Magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Xiang B.</td>
<td>Internet, Newspapers, TV (only at home), Personal communication, Magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Emilie B.</td>
<td>Internet, Radio (when driving in France), Personal communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Jeanne N.</td>
<td>TV, Print Magazine, Internet, Personal communication, Radio (before)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kyung L.</td>
<td>Internet, Personal communication, Print newspapers (once a week, not necessary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Meike M.</td>
<td>Internet, Newspapers (in Germany), TV, Radio (when driving in Germany), Personal communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nicholas J.</td>
<td>Internet, Magazine, Personal communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sytske C.</td>
<td>Internet, Free newspapers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Daphna B.</td>
<td>Newspapers (in home city), Radio, Internet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Nunsol S.</td>
<td>Internet, Free Newspapers, Free Magazine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.3 Sources and Topics

The findings from the last section show that online news channels are most favoured by the target group when they consume news. In this section, the respondents’ particular consumption of news sources and topics are introduced, which mainly include online channels.

In today's online world, people have the greatest choice of resources of news for the first time in human history. However, rather than being passively overwhelmed by mass news information, the target group makes distinctive choices of news resources. According to the research, different news resources are chosen based on individual interests and their need to adapt to new environment:

It’s usually a variety. I go to my local news, in Orlando. I read lots of about Orlando. I also read The Local in Sweden, to see what’s going to in Sweden. I also look at the Swedish news in the morning, so I listen to the Swedish news, just to practice my Swedish, the one on TV. I also look at...but this is practical, because it depends on how much time I have, then I look at the Columbia news, to see what is happening in Columbia. If I move back to the States, I probably not look at the Swedish news anymore. Because when I was in Switzerland, I looked at the Switzerland one. It’s just nice to know what’s going on. I might for a little while, as a transition phase. You kind of still do it when you first move. I can still read a little. You have to look at the news at the new place but it takes for a while.\(^\text{15}\)

Obviously, Eliana firstly chooses her news resources based on where she is living, and secondly, what she wants to know. The above-mentioned news resources enrich her practical local knowledge about different places that relate to her life. Besides, in terms of different news resources, she has separate reading habits, including dissimilar interesting topics, diverse reading depth, etc., as she explained:

In the US, I love to look at people missing since that’s usually what’s on the local thing. They are like random people missing, someone killed someone because it’s the local Orlando. I don’t really look at the national news, I always just look at the Orlando news. So it’s like I look at random shits. I really like, for example, when they find new bones,

\(^{15}\) Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
something like archaeology. I don’t read news like normal people news, I love space news as well, like planets. That’s what I usually find on this one. The Columbia one, I usually look at what’s going on politically, just because it’s the interesting thing to know in Columbia, it’s always such a mass. I don’t look at who is missing there. The Local, I just read whatever, I don’t look for anything, I just look at the headlines, to see what’s happening in Sweden. Same thing for TV, I just look at what’s happening. The Orlando one, not just headlines, I open the ones that I like. The Local, just headlines, I don’t care too much here. But it’s fun to see what’s happening, things that you like. This is stupid, I don’t know these people, but I care, “oh, she died”.16

Unlike Eliana, Mathias mainly reads political news and he prefers to pay attention to comments rather than “hard” news facts:


Where I usually get my news is from the web. The Swedish one I usually go is DN.se. I used to read the comments. I’m more interested in the opinions than hard news. So I read like certain...that’s what I like about the Washington posts, they have a lot of good comments. I follow BBC news too on the web but they don’t have any comments. There I just go for hard news, like something happened there, something happened here. But when it comes to Washington posts and New York Times, there is a lot to read about the opinion pieces.17

Another interviewee, Svenja, who comes from Germany and has an academic career in biology, mainly acquires scientific news, not only from portal websites but also social media:

I mainly read Yahoo news. German and American version. And then I also read science news, I have like the big science magazine, Science and Nature, I also get news from twitter, coz from twitter you can get these feeds, like you can sign up for it, then you can get like short news, just the headlines. Then if you are more interested in, then you can click on the link and read the whole article. I think twitter helps me a lot in finding like what’s interesting to me, coz I get a lot of interesting articles.

I know these big newspapers and journals, so I subscribe for my interests. Like Science, and Nature, these two, and also from some institutions, and computer news. So I read this kind of news a lot, and also twitter, coz I have these top feeds, so they usually give me like current thing in my country, in Germany. Like good or bad has done, this and that.

16 Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
17 Mathias H., master graduate from Uppsala University, face-to-face interview on 25 February 2012.
So I mainly do Yahoo and Twitter when I want to get news. Twitter is just very convenient, you have the overview about all the news, and newspapers that you are interested. It’s super quick. I trust them, they are the official twitter accounts, managed by the newspapers. And also it’s linked to the newspapers.

I also have friends who send me articles by email and I read them, about computer and laws. They just do it without me asking them, because they think it might be interesting for me. And I decide if I read them or not. This is also how I get news. (yes, they are from Germany.)

In short, the key topics of concern for these young professionals are Politics (International/local), Local (social), Environment, Finance, Technology & Science, Sports & Entertainment (see Table 4).

The following results are derived from the collected data and summarise the dominant news sources and categories consumed by the target group. (If unspecified, the topics and resources are international versions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Interested topics</th>
<th>Resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chenfeng L.</td>
<td>Comments, Social issues, National news, Breaking news in general</td>
<td>Websites (NYT, The NewYorker, BBC); Free electronic Magazine; Newspapers (free in campus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tianqi B.</td>
<td>Entertainment, Politics, Social, Breaking news (national &amp; international)</td>
<td>Websites (Baidu news, Tianya Forum); Magazine (Times, Fashion, Beauty); TV (CCTV 1); Radio (Iphone applications); Conversation with family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Alan C.</td>
<td>Science, Breaking news, Environment</td>
<td>Websites (NYT, CNN, Sports website); Conversation with friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Brian M.</td>
<td>International, Financial, Sport, Social issues</td>
<td>Websites (NYT, DC Journal, Guardian, Sina); Conversation with friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jeeyoon K.</td>
<td>Everything</td>
<td>Websites (BBC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hyunju L.</td>
<td>Environment (e.g. low carbon green growth), International</td>
<td>Websites (BBC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jiun K.</td>
<td>International, Economics, Politics</td>
<td>Websites (NYT, Guardian, BBC)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

18 Svenja R., Ph.D candidate at Munich University, face-to-face interview on 21 April 2012.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Interested topics</th>
<th>Resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kenan M.</td>
<td>Politics (more about France), Economic, Social, Development, Sport (they are all international)</td>
<td>Websites (Le Monde, Al Jazeera); French &amp; International magazine (Le Monde, Courrier, Jeune Afrique); Conversation with friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nikhil B.</td>
<td>International, Australia, Economics and finance, Sports</td>
<td>Websites (NYT, Sydney Morning Herald, Cricket); Conversation with friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Aichun Y.</td>
<td>Politics, Culture, Social issues, Celebrity news, Gossip (lighten the heavy daily readings), Economics, Malaysian news (mainstream media, also another free one, get both sides of views), Daily mail (UK), Foreign policy, Breaking news</td>
<td>Websites (NYT, Google); Malaysian Newspapers; Conversation with friends &amp; family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dongni Y.</td>
<td>Breaking news (in English), Gossip, Health, Financial news, Cultural life, Entertainment, Fashion</td>
<td>Websites (Buzz, Facebook, Google, NYT, Blogs, Youtube, BBC, Sina); Free Newspapers &amp; magazine on campus; Conversation with friends &amp; family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Alejandro H.</td>
<td>International, Politics, Social</td>
<td>Websites (A Spanish news online version, BBC, Al Jazeera, CNN); Conversation with friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Alexis A.</td>
<td>General, International, National, Politics, Human resource related</td>
<td>Website (Yahoo news); Benin’s national newspapers; Conversation with friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Xiang B.</td>
<td>Politics, Sport, Entertainment</td>
<td>Websites (Google, Mainstream news agencies); Newspapers (Sport, South China Weekend); TV (CCTV News Channel); Conversation with friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Emilie B.</td>
<td>International news, General</td>
<td>Websites (AJ, Xinhua, Le Monde, BBC); French radio; Conversation with friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Jeanne N.D.</td>
<td>Entertainment, Economics, Politics (because it affects economy), Breaking news</td>
<td>Websites (YouTube, Youku, Yahoo, MSN, QQ news); Conversation with friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kyung L.S.</td>
<td>Economics, Health, Local news, Gossip, Beauty</td>
<td>Websites (Korean portal); Newspapers in Canada; Korean TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Meike M.</td>
<td>Breaking news in general</td>
<td>German news websites; German newspapers; German radio; Conversation with friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nicholas J.</td>
<td>Politics, International relations, Culture, Society, Health, Conflict, Arts, Travel, Business</td>
<td>Websites (NYT); Podcast (MPR); Conversation with friends</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.4 Consumption Pattern

Most of the respondents scan the news headlines to obtain information from their chosen news sources. This will be followed by perusing interesting news articles only when they have time. They have recognisable strategies of “how to read” effectively. Svenja provided an overall view of how she has practiced surfing online news pages:

For instance, the Yahoo news, there are some features and categories on the main page, like crimes, or political things and science. So I usually check the crime section and political section, and also the science section. They are my main interests. I look at the main page things and if there’s something really interesting, then I go further to read these things.\(^{19}\)

Some of the respondents indicated that they used a web-based RSS to receive news feeds. Systke described her practice as follows:

I don’t use mobile phone to read news, only computer. What I do is to use the rss reader and follow these news agencies that I’m interested in, like BBC or something. When I’m in the office, sometimes I take breaks and open my RSS feeder. Just take a look at it and then you know what’s going on there in the world. It’s very convenient. So I can keep myself informed about the breaking news. I usually look at the headlines but if the news is

---

\(^{19}\) Svenja R., Ph.D candidate at Muchen University, face-to-face interview on 21 April 2012.
important or very interesting, I also click on the news and read more about the details. But this depends on if I have time.\textsuperscript{20}

In short, the target group have diverse approaches to consuming news. Most of the respondents firstly scan the headlines, speed-read interesting news articles, and then focus on important sections for details, or even use Google (or other search engines) for more information if needed. In an era flooded by fragmented news coverage, they are sharp readers of news. They know precisely how to satisfy their need to acquire information and how to do it in an effective manner.

4.1.5 Changes in News Reading

During the course of the interviews, the respondents described various changes in their news consumption pattern. (See Table 5) It is notable that these changes not only exist on an individual level, but also in group situations. According to the research, it is generally their news channels and resources that change, and different situations cause the transformation.

One of the obvious changes claimed by the respondents during last 5 years is the switching of news channels from the traditional mass media (e.g. television, printed newspapers, radio) to mainly internet-based sources. Most of the respondents have abandoned the traditional mass media as news channels during their frequent relocation. One of the interviewees from UNESCAP, Alexis, expressed his appreciation of the internet during the interview, saying that “I wouldn’t have a good life without the internet.”\textsuperscript{21}

Three years ago, Alexis was granted a government scholarship to study in China. His mobile life actually began with a radio news programme that inspired him to apply for a Chinese scholarship. During the interview, he emphasised his reliance on internet-based media, which started when he moved to China for his Master’s studies. The language barrier placed him in a special situation. He had no way to read any local newspapers or understand any television or radio programmes, and it took him more than a year to learn basic Chinese.

You can find anything on internet and you don’t have to understand any Chinese. I can look for international news or the news in my country on internet.\textsuperscript{22}

Meanwhile, the shift to a new media channel was not the only change in their news consumption patterns. The target group’s news consumption patterns have undergone a couple of interesting changes.

\textsuperscript{20}Sytske C., UNESCAP consultant, face-to-face interview on 23 June 2011.

\textsuperscript{21}Alexis A., UNESCAP intern, face-to-face interview on 30 May 2011.

\textsuperscript{22}Alexis A., UNESCAP intern, face-to-face interview on 30 May 2011.
changes with the development of their personal interests, multi-language capacity and broadened perspectives from education and experience. For instance:

Yes, I read it almost every day. I read Washington Post and New York Times because I learnt more about them when I was abroad. One of those papers was in the South of Africa and one was in the States. I started to appreciate more the comments. When I was in the UN, one thing I was doing is to read newspapers and I liked the comments pieces. It gives opinions, than just hard facts. It has something to do with my interests of arguing, to have correct opinions as much as possible.

It was back to the States, I really started to consume news like nowadays. It’s there I got most comfortable with it. But it was from the South Africa, I started to read comments. It grows incrementally. When I was in the states, since I’m interested in politics and the America, I read on a small news website about the American politics, solely about politics. I started there to read news regularly. And during all of my internships, actually it was an important part of my job to keep up the news. As soon as I got to Jakarta, I started to read local news. They have two English newspapers there. To know about Jakarta and Indonesia, the social issues, national issues, is part of the job. So my current way of consuming news is from school.

According to the practical research, firstly, most of the respondents have increased their news consumption over the past 5 years; secondly, they have begun to pay more attention to international issues. Thirdly, some respondents, especially from developing countries, have reduced their dependence on national news media; instead, they have discovered and adopted multiple news resources in seeking diverse perspectives.

I didn’t read Washington Post or New York Times all the time. It has developed from my education and the internships, yes, from that. I didn’t do it because I did schools and I must read it. I do it because I found something I enjoy. I learnt something. The same thing like if I learnt to eat something new and I learnt one food is really good and I enjoy that food. I didn’t eat it because I felt I need to eat something Chinese. When I was in Jakarta, there was this guy who liked a restaurant and he took me there. I enjoyed the food and then after that, yeah, it was good food and I want to eat it again.

Fourthly, some of the interviewees have discovered and adopted not only more web-newspapers, but also many other internet-based resources (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Weibo and other social media). Browsing news websites and subscribing to news feeds on mobile applications are also new phenomena in their lives. In addition, a common phenomenon among the respondents is that they tend to change local news resources as they relocate from one city or country to another. Finally,

23 Mathias H., master graduate from Uppsala University, face-to-face interview on 25 February 2012.

24 Mathias H., master graduate from Uppsala University, face-to-face interview on 25 February 2012.
some of the respondents have begun to consume news in a multi-lingual pattern because their language capacity has expanded and their interest in multi-cultural perspectives has increased.

Table 5. Changes in News Reading

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Changes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chenfeng L.</td>
<td>Started to follow the news this year with WeiBo, More international, Watched news on TV at home before, But at school only read South Weekly, Fewer Chinese news resources (less reliable) now, More media options: iPod (podcast)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tianqi B.</td>
<td>Mainly Internet now, but more channels (social media), More media technology options (now also use iPhone for news), More attention to news, After moving to the US, more likely to read Chinese social news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Alan C.</td>
<td>Mainly Internet now, Started cell phone surfing 3 years ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Brian M.</td>
<td>More technique options</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jeeyoon K.</td>
<td>More online sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hyunju L.</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jiun K.</td>
<td>More Internet (used to read newspapers), Use iphone apps like the BBC, New York Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kenan M.</td>
<td>More Internet, Access to more international information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nikhilesh B.</td>
<td>More internet, Don’t spend money on newspapers, Used to watch TV news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Aichun Y.</td>
<td>Used to read printed newspapers and magazines, More Internet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dongni Y.</td>
<td>More internet, Started to get news from social media, More English news, Read more about how the foreign media report Chinese issues, More technological options (podcast), After working for the UN, started to read the Bangkok Post, UN daily news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Alejandro H.</td>
<td>More Internet (used to read newspapers), More international rather than only Spanish news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Alexis A.</td>
<td>More internet, More international</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Xiang B.</td>
<td>More internet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Changes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Emilie B.</td>
<td>More internet and fewer newspapers, Developed multiple resources for different perspectives, Don’t trust the news when it is a sensitive issue in the country; look for news from other places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Jeanne N.D.</td>
<td>After moving to China, only the internet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kyung L.S.</td>
<td>More news consumption, Watch more news on TV, More international news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Meike M.</td>
<td>From TV to more Internet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nicholas J.</td>
<td>More internet and use mobile phone, Stopped reading newspapers in 2005, Less TV, Read Thai local news due to moving to Bangkok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sytske C.</td>
<td>More internet and less TV, A cell phone news service in The Netherlands, but not in Bangkok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Daphna B.</td>
<td>More Internet, Started to read Bangkok Post when living there, After coming to Bangkok, less Dutch news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Nunsol S.</td>
<td>More internet, Use iPod now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mathias H.</td>
<td>Location change leads to news-reading change, More internet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Svenja R.</td>
<td>More internet, Read Uppsala local news when living there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Eliana V.</td>
<td>Location change leads to news-reading change,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2 Transnational Form of Life

This section is devoted to providing a more complete view of the mobile status of the research target group. According to the collected data, the respondents have experienced relatively frequent changes of residence during the past five years. They have not only moved once or within the same area in their lives in terms of both international and inter-city moving experiences. However, the have not only crossed geographical boundaries, but also cultural, social and political ones, and various international experiences were gained along the way. Where are they from and where have they been? Why have they moved to different new places? What will be their next destination? Their life experiences, motivation behind the “move” and their future plans are introduced in detail in the following paragraphs.
4.2.1 Experiences of Transnational “Move”

4.2.1.1 Origins

According to the recorded data from the investigation, the respondents are from a wide range of geographical origins in the world. (See Figure 1 and Table 6)

**Figure 1. Origins**

Their countries of origin include the United States, Colombia, Benin, Spain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, India, China, South Korea, Malaysia and the Philippines.

**Table 6. Origins**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Alexis A.</td>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Alejandro H.</td>
<td>Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kyung L.S.</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Xiang B.</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chengfeng L.</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Emilie B.</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tianqi B.</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Jeanne N.</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Alan C.</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Meike M.</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Brian M.</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nicholas J.</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jeeyoon K.</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sytske C.</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hyunju. L</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Daphna B.</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Jiun K.</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Nunsol S.</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kenan. M</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mathias H.</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.1.2 Transnational Experiences

Before introducing the whole group’s mobile experiences, one interviewee’s practice of mobilising is worth a closer look.

Jeeyoon, who was born in South Korea, was completing an internship at UNESCAP when she was interviewed. She grew up in South Korea, but moved to Chicago, USA, with her parents when she was 24 years old. While studying in college in Korea, she spent a year in Beijing, China to learn the Chinese language and culture. After her undergraduate education, Jeeyoon joined a Master’s programme in Washington, at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, which provided various international exchange opportunities. From there she exchanged to Spain and Italy, where she spent 8 months and 1 year respectively. During her Master’s study period, she applied for an internship at UNESCAP (Bangkok, Thailand), where she lived for 3 months. The map (see Figure 2) below shows her main track of relocation:

Figure 2. Jeeyoon’s Track of Transnational Experiences
Then I spent 6 months in Washington D.C. It was an internship with the International stability operations association. Then I got into my master and during my master, I did an internship at Jakarta. It was part of the master, but you know, you don’t have to do it. I’d rather have fun and study. It was at the Swedish embassy. I was writing reports, representing, helping with the consular section and office work. Yeah, a lot of experience, a lot of fun.25

In spite of different origins and various past or future destinations, the interviewees lead more or less similar mobile lifestyles. Some move more frequently, while others stay longer in one place; some have lived in more countries, while others have lived in fewer places. As shown in Table 7, the interviewees have moved abroad to study or work at least once, while most of them have lived in more than 2 places outside their motherland.

**Table 7. Changes of Resident Places**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>changes of residence</th>
<th>places of residence and period spent there(year)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Alexis A.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Benin (4 years for work) Senegal (work) Togo (work). China (4 years for study &amp; part-time work); Thailand (6 months’ internship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kyung L.S.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Canada (1 year for study) Thailand (4 months’ internship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chengfeng L.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>USA (2 years for study) Thailand (3 months’ internship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tianqi B.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>USA (1 year for study) Thailand (3 months’ internship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Alan C.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Thailand (7 months’ internship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Brian M.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Taiwan (1 year for study) Thailand (3 months’ internship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jeeyoon K.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>USA (11 years for study) China (1 year for study) Italy (1 year for study) Spain (8 months for study) Thailand (3 months’ internship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hyunju. L</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Paris, France (6 months for study) Bangkok, Thailand (2 years for work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Jiun K.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>England (1 year for study) Thailand (3 years for work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kenan. M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Senegal (1 year for work) Thailand (2 years for work)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25 Mathias H., master graduate from Uppsala University, face-to-face interview on 25 February 2012.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>changes of residence</th>
<th>places of residence and period spent there (year)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nikhilesh B.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sydney, Australia (7 years for study &amp; work), Thailand (1 year for work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Aichun Y.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Penang &amp; Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (6 years for work), Bangkok, Thailand (2.5-months’ internship), Singapore (2-year Master’s study)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Dongni Y.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>USA (1.5 years for study), Thailand (2 months’ internship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Alejandro H.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Edinburgh (1.5 years for study), Copenhagen, Denmark (1 year for work), Bangkok (1.5 years for work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Xiang B.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Thailand (2 months’ internship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Emilie B.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>England (5 months for work), New Zealand (4 months for work), Indonesia (7 months for study), China (3 months for work, 2 years for study), Thailand (4 months’ internship) (China 7 months so far for work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Jeanne N.D.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>China (1 year for study &amp; work), Thailand (6-months’ internship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Meike M.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Singapore (1 year for work), Thailand (6 months’ internship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nicholas J.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Thailand (2 years for work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sytske C.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ireland (6 months for study), Australia (6 months for study), Thailand (2 years for work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Daphnna B.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Spain (4 months for study), Italy (2 months for study), Thailand (1.5 years for work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Nunsol S.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>New Zealand (2 years for study), Australia (3 years for study), China (1 year for study &amp; work), Costa Rica (1 year for study), Thailand (6 months for work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mathias H.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>France (6 months for study), South Africa (3 months’ internship), USA (6 months’ internship), Indonesia (6 months’ internship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Svenja R.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sweden (2.5 years for study)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Eliana V.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sea (4 months for study), Switzerland (2 years for study &amp; work), Sweden (3 years for study &amp; internship), USA (1-months’ internship)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.2 Reasons Behind

As Table 7 shows, all the respondents in this research have lived abroad, either for study or work. However, “for study or work” should not be the most persuasive reason for them to move abroad, because studying or working in their hometowns/countries is expected to be more feasible due to the acquisition of linguistic skills, social and cultural connections, and other available social resources. Then, why did they move from their countries of origin, and some even relocate to different places in the world many times in a relatively short space of time? Why are they willing to leave their families and friends? What is so special about studying or working abroad?

One of the interviewees, Eliana, described the beginning of her international adventures as a random opportunity she bravely took:

It started actually during the college. From the place I was born, we stayed in the same location, we didn’t move at all. My mom is like “let’s just stay here, forever”. So I have a bringing up like “don’t move”. It started from the boat, the semester at the sea, during my college. It was like exchange, but on the boat. So I applied to the boat, I was thinking “if I got, then I go, why not?” which is super scary. They didn’t even have a good website. But I got it! So I went, I went to Greece. I was terrified though when I got there. I was 20 years old and I was in Greece, a whole world of Greek.26

This opportunity to study for one semester (four months) on board the ship opened a new world for Eliana. The voyage (see Figure 3) took her and another 200 international students across the world in the autumn of 2007. Their educational voyage crossed oceans and continents calling at Greece, Portugal, Panama, Ecuador, French Polynesia, New Zealand, Australia and China. (The Scholar Ship, 2007)

The onboard education enlightened Eliana with a broad range of knowledge of international issues, and more importantly, gave her an international perspective. This 4-month mobile life strongly influenced her way of thinking and living. She said:

You get these lectures, about how to be international, about community, and about the facts of sustainable, so all these things, are like 4 months’ brain—washing thing. Everybody is thinking the same way, because you constantly talk about it. When you constantly talk about something, then you become like ‘yeah, I’m international’. So everybody on this boat, had the same mentality because that’s what we did, we talked about this.

After 4 months, when you came off that boat, it’s just no way, absolutely no way that I could have got home. I felt that I have been to the birth, because I was missing the entire group of people, that I enjoy but no longer with. So it was like ‘oh my god’, I do not have function. It was so weird for a while.

26 Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
After that, there is no way. I went home but I couldn’t wait until leave. I was like ‘I have to go, I don’t want to see my family.’ So I applied to Switzerland when I was on the boat, and I got in.\textsuperscript{27}

\textbf{Figure 3. Route Followed By The Scholar Ship On Its First Voyage (The Scholar Ship, 2007)}

Later, in 2008, she moved to Switzerland and studied there for two years. However, she experienced an unexpected “other kind of international” in Switzerland:

So I moved to Switzerland. I got there and in search of this thing that I was missing but I didn’t find it. Because I was missing the community that we created. It was this isolated world, fake reality, which doesn’t exist. So I got there, and I really think “ok, Switzerland is international...” but I didn’t find it. What I got is I got to travel more. I lived in Switzerland, but I went with school to Zambia, to Malta, and I saw all of Switzerland.\textsuperscript{28}

After another two years of living and travelling abroad, Eliana felt more comfortable and became used to the mobile lifestyle. She continued her international life by moving to Sweden from Switzerland in 2009, but this time her motivation was different from the past. She explained:

The motivations have changed. This (The Scholar Ship) was just I want to go and see the world. The next one was like I need to get this back. And the last one was like ‘love’. It was not particularly that I care to come to Sweden or I need another international experience... I was with Adam and we think if we’re going to be together, we have to be at the same

\textsuperscript{27} Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.

\textsuperscript{28} Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
location. So I applied to Sweden. And I got into Uppsala. It’s a whole group of international people here.29

Eliana did not stop her international adventures in Sweden. While pursuing her graduate education in Media and Communication at Uppsala University, she wanted to gain some professional experience and applied for an internship at the United Nations. During the summer of 2009, she undertook an internship at the UN headquarters, New York, where she encountered another kind of “international”:

Oh, the UN was such wonderful. It’s whole another different of international. That, I would say, because we were selected and it was a choice to apply, so they chose a group of people. You are professional, and a wide range of different fields, a wide range of different countries. I felt like I was in a summer camp, with high-level international people….The UN was really fun. It was only two months. It was a selective, international community. They are really nice. I can have really have good conversation with a lot of people. There isn’t such a hierarchy. Everybody is the same. They were just too wonderful.30

At the time of interview, Eliana had applied for a wide range of communication-related jobs around the world and received an offer from Washington, USA. She emphasised that she had not aimed to work in the USA or any other specific country because she considered good career development and working conditions to be more important than the country.

Similarly, other respondents clarified that they chose to study or work abroad, not because they wanted to be “inter-national”. Matthias, who has pursued 3 internships abroad said that he ventured abroad because he could not find any appropriate opportunities in his country of origin, Sweden:

The motivation (to seek opportunities abroad) has shifted a little bit. At the beginning, during my bachelor, it was compulsory. You have to do an internship! I liked to do it because: One, you don’t need to study. It was much much more fun. Two, you get to see new things, do something different. And later in life, much much late, I realize how important internship for building connections. That’s what I tried to do with my master’s internship.

I couldn’t get it in Sweden. Actually, I wanted it in Sweden just because of the connections. And these are the things that you get the jobs. But I couldn’t get the Swedish one, like at the state department. I didn’t look everywhere. I was just not good enough at looking. The internship at Jakarta was because I had a friend that did an internship there before. She recommended it, saying like “I had a great time there, you should apply for it”. I’m sure it was the reason that I did it. I’m not if she recommended me but I assumed there was something to do with her but she informed me, tipped me about the internship. Even in internships, connections are important to get one.

29 Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
30 Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
At the beginning, it was more like a fun experience, but the last one, I tried to do it with a professional approach. My intention was to get a job but it didn’t work out.31

In short, the target group has crossed national boundaries one or more times in their lives in order to seek better education and career opportunities and undergo self-development by experiencing different cultures and life partners. National boundaries do not play a crucial role in their lives and have never been their reason for moving.

4.2.3 Next Destinations

With a desire to obtain more “knowledge and experience” of the world, where will their next destinations be? Will they stay in their current cities for a longer period, return to their home countries, or go on to more new places? The following map (see Figure 4) gives a visual image of their “next destinations”:

Figure 4. Next Destinations

As Figure 4 shows, the next destinations of the respondents who have made a near-future plan include new places they have not seen before, their home land or their current place. However, the most common response among the target group was “I don’t mind... anywhere! It depends on where

---

31 Mathias H., master graduate from Uppsala University, face-to-face interview on 25 February 2012.
I can find a good opportunity”, although a few of them had not yet determined where they were going next due to an unfinished education or work assignment.

Interestingly, concerns were raised among several respondents when talking about the future. For example, Eliana expressed her worries during the interview:

But what happens is that when you go to one place and you stay at this one place, and there are no international people, you are the weird one, because people don’t tend to travel as much as us. They stay at one location. So it’s going to be very hard for us to adapt to them. Whenever we move somewhere, it doesn’t have many international people, we are going to the community and that’s going to be so difficult to get friends because on one can relay. ‘I’ve been here, there and there’, but they are like..... ‘I went to Walmart’. It’s going to be very difficult to find friends. No one cares. People have their little experience, their biggest adventure is going to the beach or something like that. So it’s really difficult to grasp that ‘I have traveled here, and I have done that..’ then you just become sort of this weird person. They don’t want to be friends with you, with a person been to so many places. You get stick to international communities. You’ll also want to fit in, you also want to feel like it feels right because you don’t have anyone thinks like you either.32

Other respondents also had a similar concern. They said that, while they are open for any opportunities globally, this does not mean that every place is perfect just because there is a good educational or career opportunity. They are also concerned about the “international” quality of their future social life. Table 8 is drawn from the collected data related to “future plans”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Current place of residence</th>
<th>Next destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Alexis A.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kyung L.S.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chengfeng L.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tianqi B.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Alan C.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>USA or Asia or anywhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Brian M.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jeeyoon K.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>USA or France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hyunju. L</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32 Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Current place of residence</th>
<th>Next destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Jiun K.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>UK or USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kenan. M</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>France or Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nikhilesh B.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Aichun Y.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>Australia or New Zealand or anywhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Dongni Y.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Alejandro H.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>Not decided yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Xiang B.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Emilie B.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>China or Australia or USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Jeanne N.D.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Meike M.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nicholas J.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>Not decided yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sytske C.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>Not decided yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Daphna B.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Nunsol S.</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>USA or South Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Matthias H.</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Anywhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Svenja R.</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Eliana V.</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze and discuss the findings from the research result. It is divided into three main sections, the first of which analyses the target young professionals’ news consumption taste and its relationship with social mobility via the medium of cultural capital. The second analyses the particular mobilities involved in their mobile lives and news consumption; while the third and last discusses the relationship between their news consumption and different mobilities.

5.1 News Consumption and Cultural Capital

As the research results show, the target group of young professionals possess certain, distinctive preferences when it comes to news consumption, such as their general favour of international news and, political news, their common choice of the BBC and NYC as news sources, and so on. Prior to a more detailed analysis of their tastes of news consumption, a brief introduction to the background of global media and press consumption trends is deemed necessary to understand the target group’s day to day practice.

5.1.1 Global News Consumption Trends

Globally, humans’ life has become continuously more engaged with media since the first newspapers was printed in 1609 (WAN-IFRA, 2009), and worldwide economic, political, cultural and social relations have become increasingly mediated across time and space. (Rantanen, 2005: 8) Media plays a role as a global actor in more and more situations on both individual and societal levels. Furthermore, the advent of digital technology and the internet have changed the media landscape into a more diverse, interactive and rapid arena.

According to a report by the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA), the global average number of hours per week of media consumption (excluding telephone) has increased from less than 10 hours in the 1900s to more than 80 hours in 2010s. (See Figure 533) However, the consumption pattern varies from region to region, depending on the wealth and

33 The figure is accessed from the report of World Press Trends 2008, WAN-IFRA (2008), World Association of Newspapers.
Figure 5. Global Media Consumption Trend

Figure 6. Media Consumption in Selected Countries 2010
accessibility of a given media market. (See Figure 6\textsuperscript{34}) For example, USA consumers, who have access to the most mature media market, rank top in terms of average time spent on media per day; however, compared to Chinese consumers, American spend less time on the Internet and reading newspapers and much more on watching TV. (WAN-IFRA, 2011)

When reviewing the reports of World Press Trends 2010, 2011 and 2012 and other related research data, it is worth noting several global news consumption trends:

1) Although there was a shift in the consumptions of different media between 2006 and 2011, (e.g. the shift of music consumption from the radio to the internet) the global circulation of newspapers and their share of media consumption have remained relatively stable. (See Figure 7 & 8\textsuperscript{35}) (WAN-IFRA, 2011) (WAN-IFRA, 2012a) As reported by WAN-IFRA, in spite of a 17% decline of press circulations in Western Europe and North America over the last five years, the global circulations of newspapers continue to rise by 4.2% as the circulations in the Asia and Pacific region grew fast. In 2011 there were slightly more than 540 millions (see Figure 7) newspapers circulated in the world. (WAN-IFRA, 2012a) Moreover, the world population was reported to have reached 7 billion by 2011, among which

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure7.png}
\caption{Global Newspapers Circulations 2007-2011}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{34} The figure is accessed from the report of World Press Trends 2011, WAN-IFRA (2011), World Association of Newspapers.

\textsuperscript{35} Figure 7 and Figure 8 are accessed from the report of World Press Trends 2012, WAN-IFRA (2012), World Association of Newspapers.
more than 3 billions were newspapers audiences and more than 2 billions were daily newspapers consumers. (See Figure 9\textsuperscript{36})

**Figure 8. Minutes Spent with Medium Per Day (WAN-IFRA, 2011)**

![Graph showing media consumption trends](image)


**Figure 9. Global Audience of Different Media (WAN-IFRA, 2011)**

![Bar chart showing global audience](image)

Source: Global Press Trends ©2011 WAN-IFRA

---

\textsuperscript{36} The figure is accessed from the report of World Press Trends 2011, WAN-IFRA (2011), World Association of Newspapers.
2) In spite of the great attention paid to the influence of online newspapers to print newspapers during the last decade, printed newspapers still have considerably loyal readership. More than 2.5 billion people worldwide read printed newspapers at least once a week while 600 million read newspapers online. 500 million of the online readers read both printed and online news while 100 million consume only the digital version of newspapers. (WAN-IFRA, 2012b)

3) While more than 40 percent of the world’s digital audience read a newspapers online, their engagement is unreliable in terms of low frequency and intensity of visits. For example, although almost 7 out of 10 internet users in the United States (which is considered to be as the most mature media market in the world according to WAN-IFRA) visit newspapers websites, only 17 percent of them visit them on a daily basis. (WAN-IFRA, 2012b)

One possible reason for the low engagement with online newspapers is that audiences are overwhelmed by the exposure to intensive news dissemination provided by various media, including printed newspapers, online newspapers, radio news programs, TV news programmes, news on social media and so on. Figure 10\textsuperscript{37} shows that in the United States online/digital news consumption has attracted more audiences during the last decade but TV news still dominates the market.

\textbf{Figure 10. News Consumption in the United States}

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Figure10.png}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{37} Figure 10 is accessed from Pew Research Centre: [http://www.people-press.org/2012/09/27/in-changing-news-landscape-even-television-is-vulnerable/](http://www.people-press.org/2012/09/27/in-changing-news-landscape-even-television-is-vulnerable/)
4) In addition, the online news consumption is to a large extent dominated by domestic visits, rather than having overseas reaches. According to the research results shown in Figure 11\(^3^8\), most of the top news sites (ranked by reach) in the ten largest internet markets are dominated by domestic news websites. Although Yahoo and the BBC have cross-border success, they both have local language editions. Besides, Yahoo’s success relies on news distribution and branding, especially the heavily redistribution of local news content (e.g. its Japanese edition) rather than original news production. International news consumption, i.e.— cross border visits, is greatly limited to small markets with an international orientation and a certain number of English speakers. (Communication Chambers, 2012)

5.1.2 News Consumption and Tastes

5.1.2.1 Distinctive Tastes in News Consumption

News as informational communication (Chandler and Munday, 2011: News) which involves the communication of facts, knowledge and certain value of its communicators is a form of cultural

---

\(^{38}\) Figure 11 is accessed from the report of International Online News Consumption at Communication Chambers (2012).
goods. Thus, news consumption is a cultural practice, and preferences of news consumption reflect consumers’ tastes. The results show that, facing a mediated world with multiple choices of information sources, the target young professionals of this research apparently have distinctive news consumption preferences compared to general global news audiences. Their tastes can be identified by their attitude, knowledge and behaviour of news consumption:

1. Attitude

Firstly, all the interviewees consider that reading the news is important to their daily lives and careers. For example, Eliana consumes news via both online news sites and TV every day to “see what’s happening”. Matthias reads political news daily as “It’s important for me to keep up to the topic, to know about the topic. Like, for example, Somalia, I tried to read more about Somalia now, since I’m going to work with Somalia.” Another interviewee, Svenja says “And science, because it can relate to me. I’m a scientist, studying bio-technology. I’m very interested if they change the laws in different countries. It will affect my jobs and my ability....I’m basically interested in all science news..... To gather knowledge about different fields and expand my horizon, about what I want to do in my life, or if I want to switch my career or something like this.”

Secondly, knowing ‘what a good news resource is’ also appears to be important to them. They prefer not only ‘certified’ and ‘well-known good’ news resources but also ‘alternative’ ones. This shows that they are confident enough in their choices of news resources. For instance, Svenja, who is a PhD candidate of biology reads Yahoo news regularly but prefers Nature and Science as her special news sources:

I look at Nature and Science websites, which I frequently look. They have even better news, like about the laws, current trends, and problems. Like the Fukushima nuclear disaster thing, which has disappeared from the normal news, because people forget about it, but it’s far from over. It will take another 5 or 10 years to manage. I can’t find news about this on the normal news but I can find it from the Nature and Science. It’s because scientists are interested in this. I feel I get the most reliable news from the Science and Nature websites. Because through these popular webpages, they have very different values. I trust the Nature and Science more. The normal news websites are more for entertainment. Science and Nature, that is really for knowledge.

---


40 Mathias H., master graduate from Uppsala University, face-to-face interview on 25 February 2012.

41 Svenja R., Ph.D candidate at Muchen University, face-to-face interview on 21 April 2012.

42 Svenja R., Ph.D candidate at Muchen University, face-to-face interview on 21 April 2012.
2. Knowledge

There are reasons to believe that the interviewees know how to consume and evaluate news. Firstly, they are clear about the costs and benefits of news consumption. Besides, they are aware of the pros and cons of different news channels, e.g. they tend to be cautious about the reliability of news posted on Facebook. They also have good knowledge of identifying the ideal news sources for certain kinds of news. For example, Emilie, who comes from France and has lived in China for more than 3 years, considers Xinhua (a news agency of China) as a good complement to the BBC for political and social news related to China. In her opinion, the BBC reports Chinese issues from a biased western perspective while Xinhua provides her with different information from an internal standpoint.

3. Behaviour

Apart from having a sense of how news should be well consumed, these young professionals practice it in reality. They are greatly engaged with news consumption in terms of both frequency and intensity. 22 in 25 interviewees read news ‘several times a day’ (see Table 1.2 Frequency of News Reading). Although their overall time spent on reading news is not accountable in this research, there is a tendency for the interviewees to visit online news sites as much as they can. Rather than only browsing the news headlines, they choose to read through interesting news reports and even search (usually Google) for more information on given topics in which they are highly interested. Besides, according to some of the interviewees, for example Matthias, it is also
important to read comments of news reports to absorb ‘ways of thinking’, since this is more interesting than simply reading about hard facts for him.

Moreover, the interviewees have a structured collection of news resources, which they update according to their needs across time and space. Generally, their news consumption needs can be categorised into: 1) general interest in international issues (including politics and economics), 2) professional interests, and 3) personal interests. (See Figure 1243)

According to this figure, it is obvious that, although their interest in news topics varies from person to person, they are all greatly concerned with ‘world news’, and the variances of their topics of concern are due to different occupational interests to a great extent. For example, Alexis who studies and works within human resource, is concerned with news about human resource management while; Daphna, who works in international relations likes to read news about foreign affairs.

In terms of news sources (see Figure 12), except for word of mouth, they barely consume TV or radio news but mainly rely on online news websites. Figure 13 shows their choice of news media. The choice of multi-lingual and multi-origin news sources implies that they are cross-border news consumers. English news sites (such as the BBC, NYT, Google, Al Jazeera, etc.) satisfy their need for international issues and outlooks while alternative choices in French, Chinese and other languages they acquire (as mother-tongue or second language) meet their need for domestic news and perspectives. Figure 13 also shows that the BBC and NYT are their top choices among other

43 Figure 12 and Figure 13 are visualized research results from Table 4 “News Resources and Interested Topics” on page 51.
news resources. According to Google Public Data\textsuperscript{44} (see Table 9), “World News” is rated the highest ranking of both BBC and New York Times audience (all regions in world) interests, which is around twice as much as audience interest in Tennis (3rd place in the BBC ranking) and the United Kingdom (2nd place in the NYT ranking). Besides, BBC News Service has a good reputation for high-quality and distinctive news reporting, which is mainly available in English, but also another 32 languages and is “seen as the most trusted and objective international news provider” (BBC, 2011), while the New York Times’ target audiences are “highly educated readers” and “thought leaders”. (George and Waldfogel, 2002: 2) This is consistent with the interviewees' need for quality and distinctive news, which is simply beyond being aware of ‘what’s happening’, but more about thinking and reacting to ‘what’s happening’.

The young professionals’ tastes in news consumption stated above are their cultural competences, which are based on the distinctiveness of the code they possess. In other words, their distinctive tastes in news consumption, are their cultural capital as a result of their cultural investment, which will be discussed in the next section.

5.1.2.2 Origin of News Consumption Taste

As a form of cultural consumption, news consumption is “a stage in a process of communication”. (Bourdieu, 1984: 2) It involves the act of deciphering and decoding and therefore

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Audience Interests}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Interest} & \textbf{Affinity} \\
\hline
World News & 11.6x \\
Rugby & 11.5x \\
Tennis & 6.9x \\
Cricket & 6.5x \\
United Kingdom & 5.7x \\
Golf & 5.3x \\
Cycling & 4.5x \\
Economy News & 4.0x \\
Ecology & Environment & 4.0x \\
Aerospace & Defense & 3.8x \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Audience Interests}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Interest} & \textbf{Affinity} \\
\hline
World News & 8.8x \\
United Kingdom & 3.4x \\
American Football & 3.2x \\
Campaigns & Elections & 2.9x \\
Baseball & 2.4x \\
Journalism & News Industry & 2.4x \\
Newspapers & 2.3x \\
Business Finance & 2.3x \\
Executive Branch & 2.2x \\
Commodities & Futures Trading & 2.2x \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{44} The data of Table 9 is accessed from Google Public Data on 8th Nov. 2012. [https://www.google.com/adplanner/#siteDetails?uid=news.bbc.co.uk&geo=001, https://www.google.com/adplanner/#siteSearch?uid=nytimes.com&geo=001&lp=false]
requires “explicit mastery of a cipher or code” (Bourdieu, 1984: 2). In the same way as art lovers, who appreciate art for pleasure, are supposed to acquire a certain code to implement the act of empathy and cognition (Bourdieu, 1984: 3), news consumers are also supposed to master certain codes for identifying interesting or meaningful news and news sources, and decoding the news in order to achieve certain cognition. In other words, the distinctive tastes identified in the above section suggest that the young professionals are encoded in a certain way that leads to their preferences and choices of consuming news. Then the question is where, when and how they are encoded (i.e., acquire the tastes).

According to Bourdieu (1984:1), taste is not a gift of nature, but a social product. News consumption is a cultural practice and the taste of it is also highly socialised. According to the research, certain tastes of the target young professionals in news consumption are influenced and imposed by their social interactions in life, especially at their schools and places of work.

Nunsol studied media and communication through both her undergraduate and graduate education and did an internship at the United Nations Information Centre at UNESCAP after which she was employed as a consultant for the World Labour Organization (which is also located in the UNESCAP complex in Bangkok). An examination of her preferences and choices of news consumption reveals how closely her news consumption is related to her studies and occupational needs (See Table 5.1):

1) Frequency: Nunsol normally reads the news around 3 times a week but the situation changed during her internship at UNESCAP where she used to read news daily because part of her responsibility in the office was to monitor press clippings about UNESCAP;

2) Channels: Nunsol mainly relies on several podcasts of her own interests on iPod (her peers in this research who do not study media and communication rarely use this channel but it is generally popular among people who study or work in the media or technology industry), but she uses Google Reader (which provides news feeds from different news sources to which the UN Information Centre subscribes) via her desktop computer in her office.

3) Resources: To satisfy her own interest, Nunsol reads or listens to podcasts related to communication and media technology (this habit has originated from her education) and BBC World News (this became more regular after her internship at the UN Information Centre as she became used to updating her knowledge about the ‘world’ from reading the world news on the BBC). While working as an intern at the UN Information Centre, Nunsol read more about political, social and economic issues in Asia and the Pacific regions and the news sources became
more diverse (this reinforced her interest in political news which she kept reading even after she completed the internship period and began to work on other issues.).

It is obvious that Nunsol’s news consumption has significantly been influenced or imposed by her education in media and communication, as well as her career in the UN and other international organisations. There are reasons to believe that her taste in news consumption, plus the knowledge acquired from it, is regarded as being proper symbol that can assist her occupational success in the field of media and communication in international organisations.

Similar to Nunsol’s choices and practices, other interviewees also consume news related to their professions. They also change some of their choices or priorities of news consumption in order to fit the new milieu to which they are exposed. For example, Matthias, who undertook respective internships 4 months at the UN for international crisis and conflicts in South Africa, 6 months with an NGO called the International Stability Operation Association in the United States, and 6 months at the Swedish Embassy in Jakarta, developed and adjusted his news consumption each time in each new situation:

I didn’t read Washington Post or New York Times all the time. It has developed from my education and the internships, yes, from that.

It was back to the States, I really started to consume news like nowadays. It’s there I got most comfortable with it. But it was from the South Africa, I started to read comments. It grows incrementally. When I was in the states, since I’m interested in politics and the America, I read on a small news website about the American politics, solely about politics. I started there to read news regularly. And during all of my internships, actually it was an important part of my job to keep up the news. As soon as I got to Jakarta, I started to read local news. They have two English newspapers there. To know about Jakarta and Indonesia, the social issues, national issues, is part of the job.

I mean, I read about Somalia now, just because of my professional situation because I’m going to work with Somalia. So that’s one reason, to help with profession. I think that is the best, most clear reason, you know, to survive. 45

Behind their choices of news consumption are the norms and values, i.e. — what news topics and which news source are supposed to be appropriate and valuable, — that are determined by the institutions (where they are educated and have a potential for their career advancement). As Bourdieu argues, each social group performs a circular reinforcement on itself, i.e., to encourage and intensify cultural practice if it is cultivated in a favoured way, but discourage it if it is not. (Bourdieu, 1984: 105) For example, one of the basic criteria for eligibility employment at the UN is

45 Mathias H., master graduate from Uppsala University, face-to-face interview on 25 February 2012.
that they should demonstrate keen interest in international issues and be committed to working for those issues. Thus it is reasonable to assume that the UN encourages these job seekers to read news related to international issues from certain newspapers that are recognised as proper news source by the UN. By the same token, the schools the target young professionals have attended and the international organisations for which they have worked, are “autonomous fields” (Bourdieu, 1984: 3) of social production that are capable of imposing their own norms on these young individuals who seek or want to secure given position in social space. The knowledge, practices and beliefs that are accumulated through the young professionals’ learning and socialisation in those fields become their sense or instinct, their taste, and their durable habitus (without being conscious of it) to guide their choices towards certain social or cultural practices, such as high-standard and profession-oriented news consumption, that suits their social position.

Although those institutional norms have never been “strictly reducible to formal rules”, (Calhoun, 2002: Pierre Bourdieu) none of the target young professionals tended to refute the influence, according to the research results. In addition, the fact that the interviewees constantly adjust their news consumption models to new milieu suggest that their habitus of news consumption is highly social-conditioned and is therefore is an “open set of dispositions” that can be modified or reinforced through their experiences and practical relations to the world. (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 133) (Bourdieu, 1992: 52)

### 5.1.3 News Consumption and Social Mobility

During the interviews, one interviewee talked about how knowledge acquired from reading news can benefit her social life:

> It gives you opportunity to interact. If I don’t look at the news, then I have nothing to say. It’s kind of circle. I have to look at the news, in order to have the topic in the discussion with someone. Or else, they are sitting there and telling you everything. That’s also nice. It’s nice to have the discussion that both parties are interested in.

The “opportunity” or more precisely the knowledge spoken of the interviewee is actually her cultural resource accumulated from daily news consumption, which is a power resource that Bourdieu calls cultural capital, which can directly or indirectly (by converting to other forms of capital) make cultural distinctions and facilitate individuals’ access to certain positions in social system.

---

46 Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
Therefore, the target young professionals’ consumption of international, literate, thought-leading and profession-orientated news is not an innocent or random practice in their daily lives, but rather a meaningful cultural investment. For Bourdieu, “Individuals invest in cultural capital, which is one of several resources (along with social, economic and symbolic capital) in society that can be converted into one another to increase the investors’ upward mobility.” (Bourdieu, 1985: 724) In the empirical life experiences of the interviewees, there are three forms of embodied cultural capital that are concerted from news consumption into an integral part of them that can directly or indirectly increase their social mobility.

The first form is knowledge of their profession, accumulated by reading specific news in their own fields. As the research result shows, most of the respondents have a habit of consuming news or news resources that are closely related to their professions. For example, Alexis, who studies and works in human resource management prefers reading human resource news, and Svenja, who studies and works within the field of biology, explains how the consumption of news from the Nature and the Science can affect her professional life:

I think it’s very good. At least for these specific news, related to my field, like the Nature and Science news, I feel I know more about life in general and how things work. I’m at the edge of knowledge.

I think the specialized website is more informative and also for my choice of work place, and the place where I want to live. It’s really good. I know about the laws, so I can see, ‘oh, I’m interested in researching stem cell, so I know I’ll never go to do my research in Germany’. Or like how people and how the markets are for, like genetically engineered food. I can get this kind of news from reading science articles, or news of potential employers, if some companies go to the news. So I feel it affects my life a lot, because I learn about opportunities that I could do with myself. In this case, it affects my life. It broadens my horizon and gives me new opportunities. It affects the whole life, like which area I want to travel, which is the potential good place to go and live, things like this. I concern a lot. This is what I get from news.47

The second form is high status cultural signals, such as linguistic competence. Newspapers “includes a system of interrelated lexical, phraseological and grammatical means serving the purpose of informing, instructing and, in addition, of entertaining the reader.” (Goumovskaya, 2007) Different newspapers possess different linguistic features. In the course of reading newspapers of their choice, such as BBC World News, New York Times, the Guardian and profession-orientated newspapers, some legitimate words and styles of speech can be integrated into

---

47 Svenja R., Ph.D candidate at Muchen University, face-to-face interview on 21 April 2012.
the young professionals’ knowledge of language, including “a lexicon of words acquired from experience”. (Chafe, 1985)

The third form is the way of thinking and perceiving the world. For instance, Eliana explained why she chose to read general international news headlines:

> When I do reading the headlines, it does put the world into perspective. Because you know the world after times. I feel like if I don’t look at the headlines, I just live in my own little place, own little bubble and I can’t see the rest of the world. (affects how you think)
> Exactly, like if there is going to be a bunch of bombing surrounded, then I’m not going to visit the place. Or like the Chinese are killing a bunch of people, Oh, then I’m not going to China.48

News consumption can be seen as a day to day practice of cultural investment. It helps to accumulate the young professionals’ cultural capital in terms of knowledge, linguistic competence and way of thinking. “From a narrowly economic standpoint, this effort is bound to be seen as pure wastage, but in the terms of the logic of social exchanges, it is a solid investment, the profits of which will appear, in the long run, in monetary or other form.” (Bourdieu, 1986)

These forms of cultural capital that are unconsciously accumulated from news consumption can be internalised and embodied into the young professionals through time and experience. They function as high-status cultural signals that help these young people to success in cultural and social selections. (Lamont and Lareau, 1988: 153) Furthermore, the activation of cultural capital is highly socially-conditioned. It is convertible with social capital in given circumstances, e.g., by establishing social connections with “proper” topics and knowledge in given social interactions. It can also be useful by representing professional qualifications in given institutions, and therefore provide access to certain positions. Additionally, it is internalised and embodied into the young professionals; thus it is logical to assume that the young professionals’ news consumption has a potential advantage to increase their social mobility.

However, on the other hand, a fact shown from the research results is worth noting that, all the interviewees have their own personal choices of consuming news which is not related either to their professions or international lives. The potential advantage of increasing upward social mobility is not the only force that drives the young professionals’ news consumption preferences or choices. It can see from Figure 5.9 that some of them consume beauty, sports and fashion news for entertainment. Besides, different locally or nationally-centred newspapers are also important in their

---

48 Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
daily news consumption and this is closely related to their past and present resident locations, i.e. their transnational lifestyles. Other forms of mobility play a critical role in their choice of news consumption. This strongly suggests that, if the target individuals’ news consumption is only considered on the individual dimension, the results of the analysis risk being invalid by neglecting the given social conditions. This will be discussed in detail in the next section.

5.2 Mediated Mobility

The similar transnational experience to which the target young professionals are exposed to is one of the things that triggered the researcher’s interest. What is the relationship between their daily news consumption and their transnational lifestyles? Which of the multiple mobilities involved in their transnational life experiences, are related to or facilitated by their news consumption? The target young professionals’ news consumption will be analysed in the following subsections by combining their transnational life experiences with their specific social context.

5.2.1 Blurring Borders in a Cosmopolitan World

A question arose regarding the interviewees’ nationality when defining the sample for this empirical study. If the distribution of interviewees’ nationalities was to be counted as one of the requisites of the sample, the problem arose that the target population does not represent an equal distribution of nationalities. In addition, the researcher noted a tendency among the interviewees to use the name of a town, city or place, such as “Bangkok” or “Uppsala”, rather than the country when they describe their travel and movement. Their common experience of living beyond national borders is a strong indication of the inadequacy of a nationally territorial outlook. In view of Ulrich Beck’s theory of cosmopolitanism, it is suggested that the most appropriate approach for understanding the relationship between the target young professionals’ news consumption and their mobile life experiences is a cosmopolitan outlook rather than the problematic methodological-nationalism. This is determined by both the research question and its social context.

In terms of the social context of this research, the important fact is what Beck calls a cosmopolitan condition when he says— “The human condition has itself become cosmopolitan.” (Beck, 2006a: 2) Many social, political, economic factors in the world have become more and more interdependent beyond national boundaries, e.g. educational cooperation among international universities. What used to be defined and controlled by small territorial containers, have now crossed borders and connected more with their global counterparts. The small territorial
communities have become integrated into the universal whole. The relationship between place and world is constantly changing with the inevitable result that, the differentiation between internal and external, national and international, local and global, is dissolving.

A good example of this cosmopolitan condition is the increased worldwide humanitarian response during the last decade when all human beings have been able to ‘witness’ unexpected global emergencies by being exposed to extensive media reports, e.g. the Japanese earthquake, tsunami and nuclear crisis, the famine in the Horn of Africa, and the London riots in 2011. For the first time in human history, information, especially the non-political categories of news and other information, have been circulated worldwide and been fast and independently consumed by diverse audiences. The global media is pushing the dissolution of various social and cultural boundaries. Beck argues that mass media has promoted the emergence of transnational forms of life:

Here too the framework of the nation is not overcome. But the foundations of the industries and cultures of the mass media have changed dramatically and concomitantly all kinds of transnational connections and confrontations have emerged. The result is that cultural ties, loyalties and identities have expanded beyond national borders and systems of control. Individuals and groups who surf transnational television channels and programs simultaneously inhabit different worlds. (Beck, 2006a: 6)

Apart from the influence of media, institutionalised resources (e.g. job opportunities with international organisations) also exert a crucial power over various borders. Institutions, or more precisely, international institutions, have emerged as what Beck calls “non-state political actors”, which, to a great extent, have enabled “the increase in diverse transnational forms of life”. (Beck, 2006a: 9) For example, Greenpeace, an international environmental organisation founded for worldwide environmental issues, has millions of individual supporters across the world, campaigning and donating, and shapes the environmental policies in more than 40 countries. (Greenpeace, 2012) This non-governmental organisation is built on the core value of protecting the environment, seen as a universal value, which connects widely-dispersed people in the world. The shared interests of individual supporters, have created a trans-national form of social life, crossing the borders of nationality, culture and others and this is what is called institutionalised cosmopolitanism.

According to the interviews, information from the globalised media and educational and occupational opportunities provided by international institutions are the key to the young professionals’ transnational lifestyle. Their crossing of blurring borders is empowered by these social resources.
5.2.2 Moving Beyond Dissolving Borders

According to the empirical research, the target young professionals have all moved from their hometown to another city, another country or even another continent to study or work. Table 2.2 shows the changes of their country of residence and how long they have stayed in each place. During the time they move from one place to another, they have retained some of their news consumption habits, but some have changed. The relationship between their news consumption and transnational mobility will be discussed in the following subsections.

5.2.2.1 Corporeal Mobility

When looking closely at the life experiences of the target young professionals, it is obvious that news consumption can affect their corporeal mobility by informing them potential chances of moving for a good education and career. For instance, one interviewee, Alexis, described how his life was changed by a news radio program in Benin.

Alexis, the first interviewee in this research, was born in Benin and had worked for his country’s government for 4 years before he moved to China for an international Master’s programme. As he said, if he had not had that opportunity to study in China, he would probably still be living in Benin and would never have dreamed of an international life.

It was a radio news programme in Benin that made Alexis, a news audience, ‘happen to’ know that Benin students could apply for a scholarship to study in a Chinese university. This information from the news inflamed his desire to study abroad. Later, he began to search for information about the scholarship and the city where the university was located and then decided to go for this opportunity. In the end, he was admitted to an international Master’s programme at Wuhan University of Technology and was given a two-year full scholarship for his study.

This chance of studying in China changed Alexis’s life. He encountered many challenges living in Wuhan, a sub-provisional city with 10 million residents speaking a variety of south-western mandarin Chinese, but also experienced “totally new and interesting” cultures and local lives. The boundaries of his life were expanded and he gained new visions of the world. Alexis speaks English and French, but these two languages did not make it easy for him to live and study in Wuhan, so he sent an application to the university and the Benin embassy in China, requesting additional time and financial support to study Chinese. After 8 months of intensive study in Wuhan, Alexis could speak
Chinese fluently. This enabled him to communicate with many more local people, read local news (from the internet) and better integrate into the local community.

As his world expanded, Alexis found that he desired more new cultures and experiences and also international career opportunities. Inspired by the information on the internet, he applied for an internship programme at UNESCAP, Bangkok, to do research for his Master’s thesis and gain more experiences of international issues management.

The example of Alexis’s life experience shows that news consumption can increase young professionals’ corporeal mobility, i.e. expand their physical travel, by raising their awareness of potential life possibilities, including good opportunities to study, work, travel or live in other places.

5.2.2.2 Imaginative mobility

The research shows that (see Figure 5.9) the news consumption of the target young professionals comprised not only international, but also national and local news, both topics and resources. Most of the interviewees select multiple news sources for their daily news consumption in order to know “what is happening in the world” and to be constantly informed of events and issues related to a variety of places. This diversity of news coverage means that, even if staying in one place, their exposure to various news stories regarding different places and people creates in them a sensation of multiple ‘others’, and enables them to experience being in the world.

When they consume international news, such as a news report of the European financial crisis from the BBC World News, the young professionals’ perception of the world, i.e. their imagined living space, could be expanded. As one of the interviewees, Eliana, said:

> When I do reading the headlines, it does put the world into perspective. Because you know the world after times. I feel like if I don’t look at the headlines, I just live in my own little place, own little bubble and I can’t see the rest of the world. 49

The same applies to their consumption of national, local and other news. For example, Nikhilesh continued to read the news from NYT, Sydney Morning Herald (a Sydney-centred local news that also includes Australian news) and Cricinfo (a sport news website specially for cricket) before and after he moved from Australia to Thailand. By consuming news from these sources, Nikhilesh is not only able to live in Bangkok, but simultaneously in Sydney, Australia, multiple places where people play cricket, and ultimately the world, because the communication of information creates social connections with those places and therefore form multiple social spaces for him to experience. The

---

49 Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
spaces are valid via imagination (which is based on the knowledge acquired from decoding the news) and disentangled from geographic locations. They are empowered with an “imaginative mobility” (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 116) to be in multiple spaces simultaneously.

The ‘space’ here is similar with what Anderson (1991) calls “imagined community” while he mainly refers to ‘nation-state’. By analysing the characteristics of the first American newspapers, Anderson finds that newspapers play an important role in creating “an imagined community among a specific assemblage of fellow—readers”, and different newspapers adopt different ways to present places as shared communities (Anderson, 1991: 62-65), while in this research, the communities created by multiple news resources that the young professionals consume are more diverse. Spaces in which they are dwelling are far beyond only national containers. They respectively belong to a cosmopolitan community, different national and local communities, and other interest-based communities via frequent and intensive consumption of international, national, local and other interest-based news. For example, the following is part of the routine of one interviewee’s daily news consumption:

I go to my local news, in Orlando. I read lots of about Orlando. I also read The Local in Sweden, to see what’s going to in Sweden. I also look at the Swedish news in the morning, so I listen to the Swedish news, just to practice my Swedish, the one on TV. I also look at... but this is practical, because it depends on how much time I have, then I look at the Columbia news, to see what is happening in Columbia. If I move back to the States, I probably not look at the Swedish news anymore. Because when I was in Switzerland, I looked at the Switzerland one. It’s just nice to know what’s going on. I might for a little while, as a transition phase. You kind of still do it when you first move. I can still read a little. You have to look at the news at the new place but it takes for a while.50

The interviewee, Eliana, is Columbian by origin, grew up in Orlando in the United States, and has moved to different cities around the world for study and work. By maintaining the habit of reading the Orlando news, she is able to move anywhere in the world without losing her cultural and social connections with her home city. Although she does not consume Columbia news as much as Orlando, it is evident that she makes an effort to keep her cultural connections with Columbia or the Columbian culture. When moving from one place to another, Eliana changes her news consumption to adapt to the new environment, which may help her to establish social and cultural connections within the new community. In short, this suggests that news consumption enables an imaginative mobility for Eliana to live across territorial boundaries and experience multiple places without physically travelling. It also suggests that, by circulating images of different people and

50 Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
places, news consumption plays an important role in shaping her perception of different communities and her sense of belonging to those communities.

**Imaginative mobilities and multiple identities**

The sense of belonging to multiple communities, i.e. multiple identities of being a member of these communities, is crucial in the mobile young professionals’ daily lives. It can be observed from the young professionals’ day to day news consumption that most of them, like Eliana and Nikhilesh, have remained greatly engage with news reports about their home towns or home countries. If not for the need to remain attached to their origins, there would be no reason, for Eliana for example, to read local gossip or news about accidents:

> [For the Orlando news] I love to look at people missing since that’s usually what’s on the local thing. They are like random people missing, someone killed someone because it’s the local Orlando...The Orlando one, not just headlines, I open the ones that I like....This is stupid, I don’t know these people, but I care, “oh, she died”.  

It seems that this tabloid local news possesses little value for either generating legitimate cultural capital or entertainment, but is very practical for increasing the visuality between the young professionals and their concerned communities, which is important for forming citizenship (or membership). According to Szerszynski and Urry, daily routines such as newspaper consumption commonly intensify the sense of being citizens because of the increased visuality. (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 118) For instance, two Chinese interviewees, Tianqi and Xiang, mentioned that, due to the increased accessibility of different news sources (it used to be less because of their government’s press and internet censorship), improved English skill, and the need to maintain their social ties with Chinese society, their consumption of both national and foreign news about China has tremendously increased since they moved to the United States and Thailand respectively. As a result, their concern for political and social issues of China has been increasingly raised. They both thought that their Chinese identity had changed in terms of becoming intensified and more complex.

This implies that the consumption of news pertaining to different communities helps to maintain or even increase the young professionals’ social ties with their communities, because it is actually the consumption of the news representation of fellow members, community events and places. In this way, consuming news supports the young professionals’ multiple identities.

---

51 Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
identities that are formed by being connected to multiple communities in the world. They are not only Chinese, French, German or American, but also temporary/permanent residents of Bangkok, Uppsala or other places, interns or employed staff of the United Nations or other organisations, students of different universities, professionals of human resources, communication, urban planning or others, fans of different sports teams, etc. Accordingly, by consuming news pertaining to these communities, they acquire an imaginative mobility to travel beyond geographical and social distances and connect with these communities. Consequently, their multiple identities are intensified by their news consumption.

Moreover, their consumption of multiple news resources indicates their multiple loyalties and openness to different identities. According to the research results, the amount of attention the interviewees pay to different news resources is variable. International news and news of their home countries and professions is commonly consumed more than news of their temporary residences. For example, Svenja, a German PhD student of biology, lives in Uppsala, chooses to read international and German news on Yahoo (at least once every day) and science news from Nature and Science’s official twitter (more than once daily) while only randomly reads the Uppsala local newspaper:

What I also do, is that when I go through the town, there are these free newspapers about Uppsala. So I just look at the headlines, but they usually are not very interesting. I try to keep informed, about the local issues. Also because it’s free. But if there’s no free paper, I don’t think I will look at the local news, because I’m moving and it’s only temporary to be here, even though ‘temporarily’ has become 3 years. But I don’t have the choice to vote or anything, or really influenced. I can read the newspapers and understand it now, but it hasn’t been the case, so I tended to ignore the local news. If it’s really important, then I will get to know it even through the Yahoo site, or German website. Kind of european news is there.52

In view of the research, the targeted young professionals share a common openness to local news which represents their temporary residence community, but their engagement with this kind of news is usually not serious. This may relate to their weak identity or sense of belonging to a new or temporary community. However, some of the interviewees tend to make more effort to consume local news when they move to a new place because news communication can provide them with an imaginative mobility to easily cross social distances, which may be more difficult and time-consuming in their corporeal social-life:

52 Svenja R., Ph.D candidate at Muchen University, face-to-face interview on 21 April 2012.
As soon as I got to Jakarta, I started to read local news. They have two English newspapers there. To know about Jakarta and Indonesia, the social issues, national issues. 

5.3 Relationship between News Consumption and Multiple Mobilities

The research results and analysis of the findings strongly suggest that there is a close relationship between the young professionals’ news consumption and their multiple mobilities; additionally, cultural capital is an important medium in this relationship. (See Figure 14) Firstly, news consumption can have a directly effect on the young professionals’ corporeal and imaginative mobility. As for corporeal mobility, news consumption provides individuals with information about potential and attractive opportunities for education, career or travel in other places. If they make use of the information, it can directly lead to their physical travel, which means an affected corporeal mobility. For imaginative mobility, consuming news dealing with different communities increases the presence of fellow members and places in the young professionals’ daily lives, and therefore, facilitates their imaginative mobility to experience being in the world.

Moreover, the consumption of given news can positively affect the young professionals’ social mobility, but mainly in an indirect way. This involves the accumulation and activation of cultural capital that is realised by converting news content into knowledge, linguistic competence and way of thinking. Cultural capital helps these young professionals to succeed in cultural and social selection by cultural distinctions; besides, it is convertible with other forms of capital in certain

---

53 Mathias H., master graduate from Uppsala University, face-to-face interview on 25 February 2012.
conditions that are useful for them to gain social resources in the short or long term. Thus, news consumption can increase their social mobility in an influential, but indirect, way.

Furthermore, the findings from the empirical research strongly imply that the young professionals have an important capacity to map other places in an abstract way, as well as moving at ease. Their corporeal mobility together with their imaginative mobility can, to a large extent, affect their attitude toward imagining others and other places and ultimately moving to other places. Their consumption of cross-border news plays an important role in this process, especially by increasing their imaginative mobility to experience other places.

The interviews show that they all have a “cartographic and professional vision of landscape” (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 126) when describing their place of residence and travels, e.g. pointing out a geographical location on a map, linking one place with another by cultural, social or geographical connections, and also comparing places, easily imagining a place where they have not visited yet. There is a tendency that the more their cross-cultural experiences, transnational movements and cross-border news consumption, the stronger their imaginative mobility becomes and the more they are accustomed to this culture of mobility. Also, it is more likely for individuals who have a more open attitude toward different places and cultures, to gain more mobility to move in terms of both corporeal and upward social movement, since firstly their attitude makes movement possible and then their strong imaginative mobility provides them with sufficient cultural capital to secure certain organisational positions. In short, their cross-border news consumption, together with different mobilities, can facilitate their social mobility.

Finally, any changes in the young professionals’ mobility (including social, corporeal, and imaginative mobility) would subsequently influence their tastes and practice of daily news consumption. For example, a change of location of residence leads to a change in their choice of news source; increased social mobility would cause them to adapt to consume ‘appropriate’ news topics or contents that are regarded as legitimate cultural symbols to secure organisational positions; or their expanded imaginative mobility would result in more diverse choices of news consumption. This tendency reflects the power of the social system, a macro social structure, over social reproduction; on the other hand, it also shows the potential for individual strategies.
6. Conclusion and Reflection

6.1 Summary

Triggered by the interest in the relationship between individuals’ media consumption and their mobile lifestyle in a cosmopolitan milieu, this empirical study investigated a group of target young professionals’ daily news consumption and mobile life experiences. By conducting face-to-face interviews and combining the results with a theoretical review of cosmopolitanism and cultural capital, the study achieved its purpose to provide a practical, as well as theoretical understanding of how individuals’ daily news consumption relates to their multiple mobilities.

The research firstly finds that, by comparing general worldwide news consumption trends, the young professionals possess distinctive tastes in day to day news consumption, in terms of: 1) attitude; they consider that reading news and recognising what is good news is very important to their lives; 2) Knowledge; they know how to consume and evaluate news; 3) behavior; they engage in news consumption with high frequency and intensity, having structured a collection of news sources, and mainly consume the news from online news sites. Secondly, the research results suggest that the target group’s identified taste in news consumption comes from their social interaction at schools and workplaces to a great extent. A strong tendency is visible among them to consume profession-related news and adjust it to suit their academic and occupational pursuits. Thirdly, their distinctive news consumption taste has a huge potential to benefit their social mobility in terms of a variety of accumulated cultural capital, namely, professional knowledge, high status cultural signal, and way of thinking.

Apart from social mobility, the study identifies two other mediated mobilities that relate to the young professionals’ news consumption, namely, corporeal and imaginative mobility. Since it provides the necessary information about life possibilities in other places, news consumption can directly affect their corporeal mobility. In addition, the choice to become exposed to a variety of news coverage in different communities helps them to maintain a sense of belonging to multiple communities, to have multiple loyalties, and at the same time, to be open to different identities, and ultimately, experience being in the world.

Furthermore, the results of the study imply that the acquired corporeal and imaginative mobility has a great potential to increase their social mobility by embedding a culture of mobility in them. This is seen to be important cultural capital for success in social selection, especially in the unavoidable cosmopolitan condition which is made up of forced mixing of multiple cultures and
dissolving borders. Conversely, changes in their corporeal, social or imaginative mobility would result in changing their choices of news consumption.

6.2 Reflection

Although the study has provided a way to understand the relationship between individuals’ news consumption and their mobility in a cosmopolitan condition, it has some limitations which should be recognised in order to provide valuable recommendations for future studies in this field.

Firstly, the interviewees chosen for the first and second interview groups were all from a social science background and worked mainly on humanitarian issues at UNESCAP. This was determined by the initial study interest, but also by the limited research resource. Although one interviewee with a natural science background and two interviewees with work experiences at other international organisations were intentionally chosen for the third stage of the research to provide some diversity, only 3 of the 25 interviewees represented different educational and occupational backgrounds. Besides, the interview results of the representative with a natural science background show visible differences from the other interviewees’ responses in terms of her news consumption habit, including the consumed news sources and topics. Thus, the term (mobile) young professional is limited in this study to mainly representing mobile young professionals with a social science background and a humanitarian occupational background. If a reasonable number of interviewees with more diverse backgrounds (e.g. humanities educational background, business occupational background, etc.) could have been recruited, a deeper insight of young mobile professionals’ daily realities may have been attained by making an adequate comparison.

The second limitation emerged during the in-depth interviews, when all three interviewees expressed their opinion of the priority between social mobility and transnational mobility. For them, social mobility was significantly more important than transnational mobility; in fact, one of them explained that his transnational mobility was not intended or even wanted, but was forced in order to obtain more opportunities for social mobility. This greatly corresponds to what Beck claims in *Cosmopolitan Vision* as being latent cosmopolitanism, (Beck, 2006a) i.e. a phenomenon of cosmopolitanisation, a passive cosmopolitanism, “which shapes reality as side-effects of global trade or global threats such as climate change, terrorism or financial crises”. (Beck and Rantanen, 2005: 249-250) Besides, the other two interviewees in the third group of in-depth interviews considered their personal desire to travel abroad and experience different cultures as being crucial to their choice of movement. In view of this, future research could be designed to investigate how
individuals prioritize different mobilities and the motivations behind their choice. This will potentially provide a deeper understanding about the relationship between individuals’ strategy and the cosmopolitan condition.

The third limitation of this study also relates to the limited sample, which could not include a comparison group with young individuals who have similar educational and social backgrounds with the focus group but possess no mobile experience (especially no transnational experience). Since the theoretical base employed in this study mainly comprises Ulrich Beck’s theory of cosmopolitanism and Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital, both of which have been criticised as being deterministic (Martell, 2008) (DiMaggio, 1979), the inclusion of a comparative sample could provide valuable data to discuss the space left for individuals’ strategy and action.

Fourthly, while news consumption is an important daily practice for the target young professionals to obtain information and other resources, they admit that other forms of media consumption are available and chosen by them to facilitate their different mobilities. For example, some of the interviewees in this study intensively use social network websites, such as LinkedIn, InterNations and MeetUp, to establish professional networks, seek employment opportunities and integrate into local communities, and this benefits their mobility by enabling them to accumulate social capital. The potential for these forms of media consumption to affect individuals’ different mobilities is also interesting and valuable to be studied.

In conclusion, these questions addressed above provide a prospect for future studies within the field of media and communication as well as its role in the globalisation process. Individuals’ practice of media consumption is one of the most inspiring lenses through which to examine the increasingly interdependent global situation. It brings the macro and theoretical discussion of globalisation into reality and provides an empirical understanding of individuals’ interaction with the macro condition. This is because, on the one hand media is one of the most active driving forces of globalisation (Siochrú, 2004); while one the other hand, it persistently permeates every single human being’s daily life experience. To this end, I want to borrow Beck’s words to share with the readers of this paper to address the ultimate purpose of this study, i.e., to contribute to the awareness and understanding of the equality as well as differences among us and embrace them for a brighter future:

What is enlightenment? To have the courage to make use of one's cosmopolitan vision and to acknowledge one's multiple identities — to combine forms of life founded on language, skin colour, nationality or religion with the awareness that, in a radically insecure world, all are equal and everyone is different. (Beck, 2006a)
APPENDIX

• Interview questions

Interview questions for the second group of interviews:
1. Do you read news? How often?
2. What kind of news you are interested in?
3. Do you actively search for the news you are interested in? How?
4. What kind of channels do you use to obtain news? (newspapers, internet, radio, TV, magazines, talking with people, etc.)
5. Have your news-reading habits changed during the last 5 years? If so, how and why?)
6. Do you use social media to acquire news? Why?
7. What do you usually do to obtain information?

Interview questions for the third group of interviews:
1. Basic personal information (Name, Age, Education, Origin, Contact information)
2. What international experiences have you had?
3. Why have you pursued these experiences?
4. Does seeking international experiences suggest the importance of mobility for you? If yes, why? If no, why?
5. What is your ambition in life?
6. Do you have any career ambition? If yes, what is it?
7. Does your career ambition coincide with your desire for mobility?
8. Can you tell me the way in which you acquire news? (Do you read news every day? What do you read? How much time do you spend, and what is your motivation? )
9. Have you ever benefited from reading the news? In what way?
10. Have you ever talked about the news with people? On which occasions?
11. Imagine what would happen if you lost the news resources you value. What would you do?
Yeah, I read them in the morning, always in the morning, every day. It’s usually a variety. I go to my local news, in Orlando. I read lots of about Orlando. I also read The Local in Sweden, to see what’s going to in Sweden. I also look at the Swedish news in the morning, so I listen to the Swedish news, just to practice my Swedish, the one on TV. I also look at…but this is practical, because it depends on how much time I have, then I look at the Columbia news, to see what is happening in Columbia. If I move back to the States, I probably not look at the Swedish news anymore. Because when I was in Switzerland, I looked at the Switzerland one. It’s just nice to know what’s going on. I might for a little while, as a transition phase. You kind of still do it when you first move. I can still read a little. You have to look at the news at the new place but it takes for a while.

Always internet. I would love to get newspapers but it’s expensive. So it’s always internet.

(Which website?)

I use TheLocal.se and Columbiana, and The Huffington Post, and I look at the SVD on TV.

(Topics.)

In the US, I love to look at people missing since that’s usually what’s on the local thing. They are like random people missing, someone killed someone because it’s the local Orlando. I don’t really look at the national news, I always just look at the Orlando news. So it’s like I look at random shits. I really like, for example, when they find new bones, something like archaeology. I don’t read news like normal people news, I love space news as well, like planets. That’s what I usually find on this one. The Columbia one, I usually look at what’s going on politically, just because it’s the interesting thing to know in Columbia, it’s always such a mass. I don’t look at who is missing there. The Local, I just read whatever, I don’t look for anything, I just look at the headlines, to see what’s happening in Sweden. Same thing for TV, I just look at what’s happening.

The Orlando one, not just headlines, I open the ones that I like.

The LOcal, just headlines, I don’t care too much here. But it’s fun to see what’s happening, things that you like. This is stupid, I don’t know these people, but I care, “oh, she died”.

(Benefits of news reading.)

You can always bring up the topic in the discussion. I’m not into political world but I get it from Adam (her boyfriend). Adam reads a lot. He gives me news. So he will talk about it. He will talk about he reads on the news and I talk about I read on the news.

---

54 Interviewee: Eliana V., UN intern, face-to-face interview on 1 March 2012.
(Search when he talks?) It depends on how interesting it is. Usually he told me the whole thing. Adam is my source of news.

It also depends on people who I meet. So if people like to talk about current events, for example, to talk about what happened in Visby, or the princess’s style. You just have something to talk about. When I do reading the headlines, it does put the world into perspective. Because you know the world after times. I feel like if I don’t look at the headlines, I just live in my own little place, own little bubble and I can’t see the rest of the world. (affects how you think) Exactly, like if there is going to be a bunch of bombing surrounded, then I’m not going to visit the place. Or like the Chinese are killing a bunch of people, Oh, then I’m not going to China.

(Search for jobs in the whole world.)

Yeah, I apply everywhere. I was very open. Because you have the world into your perspectives, so you don’t see just your area. You see like the whole world as possibilities.

(Information got from the news doesn’t become one’s own knowledge, if it’s not reprocessed in the mind or not interacted with people). But if it does, yeah, the knowledge benefits people. It gives you opportunity to interact. If I don’t look at the news, then I have nothing to say. It’s kind of circle. I have to look at the news, in order to have the topic in the discussion with someone. Or else, they are sitting there and telling you everything. That’s also nice. It’s nice to have the discussion that both parties are interested in.

I don’t read the comments or opinions. Maybe just the first one because it’s just under the news and you see it.

(International experience.)

It started actually during the college. From the place I was born, we stayed in the same location, we didn’t move at all. My mom is like “let’s just stay here, forever”. So I have a bringing up like “don’t move”. It started from the boat, the semester at the sea, during my college. It was like exchange, but on the boat. So I applied to the boat, I was thinking “if I got, then I go, why not?” which is super scary. They didn’t even have a good website. But I got it! So I went, I went to Greece. I was terrified though when I got there. I was 20 years old and I was in Greece, a whole world of Greek.

(How did you find it?)

I was looking for scholarships, for money to go to school. The boat was called the scholarship. That’s how I found it. It was an opportunity that I took. They gave me a big scholarship to go on board. If there was no scholarship, I was not able to go on the board. It was really expensive. They
gave me the money and it was not more expensive to go to school so I went. It was just amazing. On that boat, all are international-minded people. So what happened was that we created a kind of co, because we lived there together for 4 months, without seeing anybody else. And you get these lectures, about how to be international, about community, and about the facts of sustainable, so all these things, are like 4 months’ brain—washing thing. Everybody is thinking the same way, because you constantly talk about it. When you constantly talk about something, then you become like “yeah, I’m international”. So everybody on this boat, had the same mentality because that’s what we did, we talked about this.

After 4 months, when you came off that boat, it’s just no way, absolutely no way that I could have got home. I felt that I have been to the borth, because I was missing the entire group of people, that I enjoy but no longer with. So it was like ‘oh my god’, I do not have function. It was so weird for a while. Because it was an isolated environment, completely isolated. You just go to school, you drink, but you don’t drink too much, you talk with very intellectual people, and everybody understands you. Because everybody is the same, think in the same way on the boat. I don’t know why, but it just happened. Even if these days, when I see the people from that boat, we can talk for hours. It’s like I’ve seen you yesterday. Because you were trained to think in the same way. They have an orientation, two weeks, which was all day. We were just ditched together and had the team building. So we created the community. That’s why everybody thinks in the same way. (200 hundred people)

After that, there is no way. I went home but I couldn’t wait until leave. I was like “I have to go, I don’t want to see my family.” So I applied to Switzerland when I was on the boat, and I got in.

So I moved to Switzerland. I got there and in search of this thing that I was missing but I didn’t find it. Because I was missing the community that we created. It was this isolated world, fake reality, which doesn’t exist. So I got there, and I really think “ok, Switzerland is international…” but I didn’t find it. What I got is I got to travel more. I lived in Switzerland, but I went with school to Zambia, to Malta, and I saw all of Switzerland. It was one year and a half. You pay for your semester, and in the semester, you get the trip.

It was different because they didn’t spend the time creating the community. So people there, they don’t think like me. I came from a background that is different from most of the people because they had a lot of money. I don’t. I got scholarship for half of my tuition, and for housing I worked as well, as the manager of the building. They were International people in Switzerland, but the problem is that they are International people that had a lot of money. They were doing more like for
Brownie points, “I got a star. I went to Switzerland.” They were doing it more for experiencing things. I went to school with some Arabic princess, Bin Laden’s nieces. People that don’t go to school with, I go to school with. It was just the parents send their kids abroad. It was not of choice.

After a while, I thought it was a great experience. I’ve traveled in Switzerland. It’s so beautiful.

I was with Adam and we think if we’re going to be together, we have to be at the same location. So I applied to Sweden. And I got into Uppsala. It’s a whole group of international people here.

So I kind of encountered different kinds of “international”, different way of being international. People here are a lot less rich and it’s a lot more about experience. Here I finally find a group of international people, like we are the same kind of “international”.

The boat is thing is so creepy and so fake. It’s not real. It just made you feel like you can make friends with anybody, because everybody is friendly with everybody. So the boat is not very helpful.

So the boat is “created”, the Switzerland thing is “forced”, then it’s of choice here.

I love them all. In the end, you grow into it. You understand the people around you. I didn’t realize until afterwards, that it’s created. I hadn’t really thought about it. Because you were in the environment, you wouldn’t think “oh, this is a fake environment”.

So Uppsala is more like, I chose to leave my country, I study abroad, and to get new experience, to live in an international environment. I would say that there’s no one is better than the other. Among the three, I had most fun at the created environment because it was our own created environment. It was pure. Everybody just had a good time.

Yeah, the motivations have changed. This was just I want to go and see the world. The next one was like I need to get this back. And the last one was like “love”. It was not particularly that I care to come to Sweden or I need another international experience.

I applied to the UN because Adam suggested. I hadn’t even thought about it. So Adam has been a driving force. He knows a random of shits. Then I just got in. Oh, the UN was such wonderful. It’s whole another different of international. That, I would say, because we were selected and it was a choice to apply, so they chose a group of people. You are professional, and a wide range of different fields, a wide range of different countries. I felt like I was in a summer camp, with high—level international people. And you can join clubs, and everyone was young, everyone has the same age group. It was great, it was really fun time, because I got great practical experience, and I got to know so many people, had so much fun. They are all interns. I also had a great time with people that work at the UN. I got really close to random people. That’s thing happens, when you travel so
much and have so many experience, when you are really international, you don’t block so much, because you don’t want to barrier your minds, or be blocked at some points. You want to throw them down, because you are uncomfortable. So there goes a wall, or someone says something, they shouldn’t have said so, and they offended you, and you think “Oh, I should be offended” and then there goes another wall, Your barrier, or limits just expand. Everybody is so different, you just have to be patient with other people. The UN was really fun. It was only two months. It was a selective, international community. They are really nice. I can have really have good conversation with a lot of people. There isn’t such a hierarchy. Everybody is the same. They were just too wonderful. If I can work in the UN, I can be a secretary, I don’t care.

That’s my scoop of international experience. I’ve exposed to international environment through Adam and his family, because they travel a lot. I have to kind of adapt to a different culture and a different way. It’s so close to me. That’s my person. They do things in a very different way. So I have to learn how to be Swedish.

(Benefits and disadvantages of being mobile.)

Sometimes they say that it’s better to be un—knowing. You are just OK with things, just happy. The thing is just you go and you work in your bakery, go home, and just be happy, because it’s fine. What happens when you travel, you become international, then you are no longer just OK with things. It’s a good thing, because you constantly want more. Your desire grows. It’s hard to be content. You want something new, you want to learn new languages, but you can just be happy, just satisfied. The satisfaction, because either you have a new language, you travel to a million of new places, you want something else, then you “OK I need a new language”, you have to go to a new location, I have to do something else.

Now, I miss just staying somewhere, I don’t want to travel anymore. I’m just tired of making friends and losing friends. I’m never talking to those friends, sending them message once a year. I hate that, I hate the loss. The social life, you lose much. And your friends are fucking everywhere, but there are no close friends, because you lose the closeness throughout time. For example, we are really close now, what happen is that I might just send you message once every three or four months, maybe once a year. You’ll check my Facebook and you’ll know that I’m alive, and I’ll check yours. That’s what I’m doing, because my family is interested and they want to see my pictures, they want to know what’s going on, that’s way to getting them know, so I don’t have to call every single member that I’m doing this.
I think the social aspects is a huge loss, but the benefit is that you get so much knowledge. You travel and every new person that you meet at different places, just brings you the whole world of information, and new things that you could be like, “Oh, I like that, you are doing this, so I’m gonna copy you”. So if you travel, the exposure you get to international people, it’s wonderful, you get a little bit of everybody, and I feel, at least with my English, I’m constantly saying things all backwards, Oh, because I’m hanging out with foreigners, so my English is going. That’s a bad thing becoming. But like food, “Huh, I like this food, so I’m gonna make it. It just builds a richer person.

But what happens is that when you go to one place and you stay at this one place, and there are no international people, you are the weird one, because people don’t tend to travel as much as us. They stay at one location. So it’s going to be very hard for us to adapt to them. Whenever we move somewhere, it doesn’t have many international people, we are going to the community and that’s going to be so difficult to get friends because on one can relay. “I’ve been here, there and there”, but they are like..... “I went to Walmart”. It’s going to be very difficult to find friends. No one cares. People have their little experience, their biggest adventure is going to the beach or something like that. So it’s really difficult to grasp that “I have traveled here, and I have done that...” then you just become sort of this weird person. They don’t want to be friends with you, with a person been to so many places. You get stick to international communities. You’ll also want to fit in, you also want to feel like it feels right because you don’t have anyone thinks like you either.

So the exposure to the world, it makes you want to move more. You just want to see more of the world, because you expose to the news and when you move, you expose to other people that has different experiences, then you want to know more, and more. It’s a circle, a circle of knowledge. The more you know, the more you want to know, the more you see and get experiences, and the more experiences you have, and then the more people that you encounter with other experiences, and then the more you want to know. So it’s a circle. You just want to know.

It does make you more desirable, for like international companies, international organizations, which is where your mobility will come to play in the future. It’s not easy to find a job if you are not mobile. In order to get that mobility, you do kind of have to have the knowledge, you have to have exposure.

It’s also personality—based, because it’s the core of it. If you don’t have that personality, you’ll never ever gonna leave. You are just not, because you have no desire to leave. You don’t care. You can know all the world’s news. You can be very exposed to the news and everything like that, but if you don’t have the right personality, you can just stay. Be very knowledgable in one spot.
But with knowledge, with the experiences from the places and places that you travel, it does make you more desirable to these companies. So if you get a job at the UN, it makes you more mobile. It’s jobs and education, that make you mobile. I mean, you need money, when you want to travel. You are not just going to go, you need a job.

(Multiple meanings of mobility.)

I won’t tell you that I wanna be satisfied with my places. At this moment of my life, I want to stay. But I don’t know if it’s the case for later on, because to look in the past is that I wanted to leave, even though I was satisfied, I have everything I needed but I wanted to go. I wanted new experience, in another city, in another culture. I think you can always change your social circle, you can do different things in your own country, but sometimes, at least for me, I kind of crave sometimes, the exposure to just something completely different. But I’m just completely uncomfortable and I’m just so boring and I don’t know what to do with myself. That doesn’t mean I move there but it means that I travel there, go on vacation. The desire for something just off, just something different.

I think what happens for me, at least for me, traveling, being exposed to different people, it’s like a bug. It’s nice. It’s addicting to get to know different people, to go to new place, to see new things, and just to see how you adapt. It’s addicting but it’s also difficult. It’s very hard to do. It’s like a mental challenge. Right now, I don’t want that, but I wanted that in the past. Right now, I just want to go to somewhere, stay, be comfortable. But I know that feeling really well, like I just want to go and explore, just meet people and be uncomfortable. So I don’t know if it’s coming back. I’ve had it in the past. I just wanna to go. And when you get there, it’s not exactly as what you have been thinking. You paint this picture in your mind, you are romanticizing. It’s so wonderful, but all these things are so different. You feel uncomfortable, just feel “I wanna leave”. Mobility is interesting.

It’s a balance.

Look at my family, they like to be where they are. They have their friends, they have their family, they read the news, but they just want to stay where they are. They don’t want to leave, or meet new people. They don’t care about someone new, but they are young. For me, that sounds horrible, being in a spot forever, only do that one thing. I wish I could tell you that I want that, because it seems so content. You are always so happy, without thinking. I wonder if I hadn’t got on the boat, my life will look very different, completely different. I would have been just that. But I don’t know, I would still stick to go abroad. Because I always had the desire to go. So I think it’s personality—based. The core is the personality. I’ve been different, I’ve wanted to see new things I
didn’t think it was fun to stay in one spot. What’s point if I’ve already seen this spot? You have to be willing to accept the changes that is coming towards you, willing to embrace them, willing to make them a part of your own.

I know my sister, she had told me there’s no way she would have done that. There’s just no way.

I would love to hold the newspapers. It’s so much nicer.

I don’t now how much my news reading has had influence on my desire to travel. I would say it has been more of the interaction with other people. That has spread my desire to travel, or to be mobile. Having the news makes it easier to travel, because you get so much more knowledgable when you get news places. You don’t feel so stupid. But it hasn’t influenced my desire.

(Different definition of news.)

It has to be the spread of information. It cannot just be the news (from the news agency). Everything new is news. The news from people has influenced more my desire. It’s interesting to hear what other people have to say. So it’s like “oh, it’s nice to go where you are from”. (people inform you more opportunities.) You got message from someone. “this is happening, I was going to apply in northern Canada. And then you think “wow, northern canada. why not? they pay well.” So then it opens another world, new possibilities in new places. So word of mouth is actually a huge component in mobility within the international community. Because once you are in the international community, then “oh, I have a friend that told me this place...” You spread the knowledge of each other. Now I tell you and you spread it to your international community, and that information get spread. So everyone has external receptors. Then it is a lot of resources. It’s interesting. And because you know those people, then the information from them are more reliable. I know you but I don’t know the news guy. If you tell me this place is beautiful, I’m gonna go to this place. The news guy can tell me like “it’s spring in Värmlands, but it’s never gonna to be I’m going to Värmlands because it’s spring there. It’s a descriptive thing but news tends to be very factual. “This is what happen. This is what it is.” But with people, it’s more of a story. It’s more persuasive, because you use not only the facts, but emotions. You hear from the person, “Oh, how exciting this place is.” Then “Oh, I wanna go.” I think people has a huge influence to describe information, even if it’s just like “news”.

Becoming international, it’s the core, to have the personality. What is the right personality, it’s really just the desire, the curiosity. You wanna know, you wanna see. You are a curious individual. With the curiosity, it comes the desire. If you are not curious, then you just don’t care. Also, your personality has to be receptive to information. You have to be willing to take it in. So the curiosity
will do to seeking information and then it leads to a lot other outlets. The information can be from the news, from other people, or your own desire to search online. Then it might bring you to search for opportunities. Then you might get opportunities. If you have the right personality, you will take that job but if you don't have that right personality, you will never take that job. You also need the right personality to be in the new place.

Easy to get information, so the information should not be the problem. You are overwhelmed by information, but you have to have the desire to know and to accept that information to do something.

(Do you have a cosmopolitan dream?)

No, not at all. (come as a result, not original aim) I will never go around and describe myself as a cosmopolitan. I will feel very embarrassed. My original desire is just to explore. It’s just a life style. If I look at the other of my family, I’m totally different from them. They just have some shallow conversation. I learn to accept this because what happen is that when I came back, the first time, it was very difficult. I was like “what is wrong with them”? But there’s nothing wrong with them, they are just the same. So the one is weird is me, but it took for a while to accept that I was the one that is different. I had to do is to adapt to them. Because there’s no way for them to adapt to me, because they don’t even have any idea what is wrong with me. It was really difficult to just go and be. It’s impossible, no way to go back to live in my hometown. I will feel I’m regressing. Now I just don’t fit.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Corbin JM and Strauss AL. (1990) Grounded theory research: procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. Qualitative sociology 13 p. 3-21.


