Deciphering Professionals: Transnationalism and Cosmopolitanism in Comparison

by

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Chapter I

Introduction

I started thinking about the themes of this dissertation as I was going back and forth between Istanbul and Ann Arbor during my years as a Ph.D. student. I remember one balmy summer night near Bosporus in Istanbul when I was having dinner with a big group of friends, all people I knew from my undergraduate college. That night, I was sitting next to one of them who, having just gotten married to an American she met in Japan, was moving to Singapore. My other friend, who was sitting opposite me, was moving from the U.S. to Ireland for an academic job with her Greek boyfriend. I didn't know when I would see them again after that night. More importantly, I didn't know where I would see them. And this was not surprising; they are architects, doctors, and financial managers around the world, in cities such as New York, Berlin, and Brussels. Talking to them over years I realized that none of us had any idea where we will be in 3 or 5 years. None of us were really tied to a location. We all struggled with ideas of mobility, belonging, and not having a permanent "home" yet we also accepted the situation as "reality."

These mobile, middle class professionals I was seeing around me were not easily located in the literatures I was dealing with at that moment. They did not fit the picture of immigrants largely examined in the transnationalism literature. Assimilation was never an issue for them; they moved almost seamlessly from one place to another, ready to resettle, ready to establish new connections. Nor were they the ruthless capitalist jet-setters, flying from one five-star hotel to another in business class, living in high-end gated compounds, running global corporations, with no attachments to a specific location and oblivious to the inequalities surrounding them. These were mid-to higher-

level professionals, almost always from middle class backgrounds, struggling with middle-class worries. I started wondering: what did this mobility, this fluidity mean for the self-identification processes of these individuals who participate in transnational networks? Was I witnessing and participating in a kind of a global new middle class? If so, what did these mean for attachments and belonging to a community? In fact, if we can talk about belonging to a community, which community would that be?

This dissertation concerns itself with global connectedness and the novel subjectivities it engenders. It explores how transnational practices affect the way people imagine themselves in novel ways. It seeks to understand how the conditions of interconnectedness, flexibility, and mobility engendered by globalization affect people's worldviews and their sense of belonging to a community, focusing specifically on transnational professionals as its case. While examining these issues, the goal of this research is to detail and thus further our knowledge of *transnationalism* and *transnational* phenomena. It proposes, first, to understand the *phenomenon of transnationalism* more in depth by studying the variation within it and by narrating what it *means* to the actors participating in it. Second, it seeks to explore the *consequences of transnationalism at the individual level* by concentrating on how transnational practices affect the meaning structures and identifications of an individual. It asks: How do people from different national backgrounds participate in transnational business networks? What does it mean for their identification processes? Do we see the emergence of global identities? If so, does transnationalism engender cosmopolitanism? And what does this mean for national attachments and belonging?

"Transnationalism" was originally employed in relation to new immigrant groups, who, due to the new communication and travel possibilities, were able to establish denser and livelier ties with their home countries. The term, however, expanded in scope with time to include "regular and sustained contacts over national borders," (Portes et al. 1999, 219) thus covering a range of activities and structures that span across countries. This research is based on the premise that the contemporary condition of transnationalism

transforms not only what people practice day to day, but also how people imagine and self-identify themselves. As Appadurai (1996, 53) succinctly puts it, "people […] no longer see their lives as mere outcomes of the givenness of things, but often as a compromise between what they could imagine and what social life will permit." These transformations are in turn politically significant since how people identify will shape their political behavior, and thus will affect the social and political structures in which they exist. Especially important in this respect is the relationship between national identification and transnational identities as there is the fear that transnational practices erase national attachments and thus contribute to the weakening of the nation-state.

I explore these topics by concentrating on one social group that most affects and is affected by the transnational conditions of the contemporary world: *transnational professionals*. Globalization has altered economic structures to create new middle classes with new strategies of life, new patterns of consumption and a new understanding of the "good life" (Sassen 2001, 341). Much more connected with the rest of the world than the middle classes of the previous generations, they live and work in a more 'transnational mode' from Lagos to Mexico City, from Manila to Beijing (Sklair 2002, 84). This research focuses specifically on the professionals from this group who work in transnational corporations, to accomplish two things: first, to advance the debates on transnationalism beyond works on immigration; and second, to shed light on the assumption in the literature and the media that middle class transnationalism engenders cosmopolitanism and identification as a "global citizen." (Roudometof 2005, 117-122).

In order to go beyond single-site studies of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism and observe the variation within the transnational experience, my research takes place across two sites and involves two national groups: Turkey and the United States. Thus, I work with four groups of respondents working for multinationals: (i) Turkish professionals in Istanbul; (ii) expatriates in Istanbul; (iii) American professionals in New York City; and (iv) expatriates in New York City. These two countries are selected due to their location within the world economic order, as one is the epicenter of the global marketplace, and the other is a developing country, clearly integrated into the global

market, yet without the power to dominate and/or shape the processes within it. A more insightful explanation of the country-selection is discussed below, but it is important to note at this juncture that the selection of the two countries is based on the theoretical argument that professionals from a developing country, as opposed to those from a hegemonic power would construct different meanings and boundaries, and hence different interpretations and understandings of what it means to participate in the "transnational." This is predicated on the assumption that global location implies power differentials that are bound to generate different global identity constructions.

In the following pages I will go over and detail the main goals of this research and key concepts that I employ; namely, transnationalism, transnational professionals, and cosmopolitanism. I will discuss the research design I use and conclude by presenting the layout of the dissertation.

1. Transnationalism: Background

The term transnationalism emerged in the 1990s as a new concept to describe the situation of relatively recent immigrant cohorts entering the social fabric of advanced industrial societies in North America and Western Europe (Basch et al. 1994; Portes et al. 1999; Smith and Guarnizo 1998). Within this framework, social scientists have concentrated on the networks and connections immigrants establish between their home and host countries and claimed that the emergence of transnational social fields linking particular sending and destination countries represent a break with the past (Basch et al. 1994).

The discovery of connections between localities here and there is hardly a novelty; as Morawska (2001) underlines, "the diaspora politics of turn-of-the century immigrants share many of the supposedly novel features of present-day transnationalism."[1] However, while most researchers accept that practices and

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[1] Also see, for example, Foner (1997).

relationships that can be called transnationalism preceded the end of the 20th century, these practices have become much more readily available and attainable over time. It is the increasing quantity, spread, and breath of the kind of activities that are considered transnational that makes the contemporary period different than other periods. Researchers commonly point to the technological changes that reach every corner of the world and enable communication as the precursor of transnationalism as a widespread phenomenon. As Mahler (1998, 69) states:

> "Transnational practices have become easier in recent years, with the invention of new technologies such as the facsimile, desktop computer, Internet, and camcorder. These technologies are so widespread that they are virtually impossible to eliminate and thus to control."

Along with the extensive technological advancement, changes in the structure of the global market and expanding globalization provide the ground for intensifying transnational practices[2]. Moreover, the distinctiveness of the contemporary period should not be seen as solely in terms of quantity. The transformations in technology cause impact on social life in its various domains and thus spell the transformation of the quality of the relationship across borders. Thus, one can claim that the transnational practices of the contemporary period, shaped within the context, and by the forces, of technological advancement, globalization and global capitalism, are different than those of previous periods.

As pointed above, even though the scholarship on transnationalism mainly emerged from studies of international migration, over time and upon critical reflection, they started to extend to areas beyond that. Vertovec (1999) underlines that 'transnationalism' was expanded to refer broadly to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states. He identifies six perspectives on transnationalism where the concept has been grounded upon different conceptual premises: transnationalism as a social morphology (as a kind of social formation spanning borders); as a type of consciousness (presenting new subjectivities); as a mode of cultural reproduction (a process of cultural interpenetration and blending); as an

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[2] Even though analytically separate, these three processes - the technological transformations, changes in the global capitalism and globalization – are causally hard to entangle from each other.

avenue of capital (focusing on transnational corporations); as a site of political engagement (a global public space or forum); and as reconstruction of place or locality (by creating social fields that connect and position actors in more than one country). It is important to see, however, that these different takes on the meaning of transnationalism are not exclusive; indeed, some rely on others (Vertovec 1999).

In this research I treat "transnationalism" as the emerging reality of living in a world where social life consists of structured relationships that extend beyond national borders (Roudometof 2005, 118). I regard it as a practice as well as a form of consciousness to cover the different senses of transnationalism as mentioned by Vertovec (1999). This definition involves more than international immigration since in the age of cyberspace one does not even have to be mobile to have regular and sustained social contacts across national borders. As Bernal (2004, 3) argues:

> "We all live in a transnational era now […] whether we migrate or remain where we are. The circulation of ideas, capital, and people shapes the character of life even for those who are relatively immobile".

2. Historicizing and Detailing a Transnational Network by Bringing in New Voices

My first goal in this research is to historicize and better understand transnational practices by exploring the different interpretations and meanings given to the process by participants from different locations. As such, this research concerns itself with *variation* and *meaning* in an attempt to detail our knowledge on transnational practices and processes. Keeping in mind that transnationalism as a concept denotes a process and not a state, I argue that the process is interpreted differently depending on where one launches into it. Concurrently, I will emphasize the unevenness of the transnational field and "glocal" variations in the way individuals participate in transnational networks[3].

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[3] To emphasize the importance of local spaces where globalization is actually taking place, I am referring to Robertson's concept "glocalization" which Robertson uses to "spell out ways in which homogenizing and heterogenizing tendencies are mutually implicative" within globalization (Robertson 1995, 27). The condition of globality, according to Robertson, facilitates the interaction between global and local forces, and needs to be examined in concrete locations. In his framework, glocalization is the site where

Since I focus on the case of professionals in transnational corporations, this research is also an exploration of *transnational professionals*. This focus on transnational professionals works to extend the research on transnationalism beyond the field of immigration.

Scholarly transnationalism literature, especially when it deals with international immigration, has been concerned with lower-income immigrant groups[4]. Even though this focus has generated noteworthy research, an almost exclusive focus on the migration of individuals from small and weak countries on the U.S.' periphery to the U.S. – and thereby on immigrant communities and lower income groups might skew our view as to what transnationalism and transnational practices are. Transnationalism, as pointed above, does not solely consist of practices of immigrants. As Mahler (1998, 83) underlines,

> "The importance of social class to transnational processes has been an area mentioned but rarely addressed by researchers […]. Social class can be used as an analytical tool in the identification of patterns in transnational activities. Do people of different social classes participate in similar or different transnational activities? Do different classes enjoy similar or different costs and benefits from these ties"?

My research does not compare different social classes that participate in transnational activities. Yet exploring the transnationalism of the upper-middle class professionals can help us answer some of these questions such as whether transnationalism is experienced similarly, or means similar things for different classes.

Moreover, transnationalism literature is commonly dominated by case studies that focus on one country/one location/one national group. The attempts at comparison are generally done at edited volumes, where each chapter consists of a case[5]. Work on transnationalism, especially on transnational immigration, focuses on migrants either in their new locale, or even more so, in their activities in (and thus, effects on) their home

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homogenization and heterogenization take place simultaneously, complementing each other (Robertson 1995, 40-41).

[4] There are exceptions such as Ong (1999).

[5] See for example Basch et. al. (1992, 1994).

countries. For example, Mahler (1998, 94) states that she finds "disproportionate emphasis on the effects of transmigrant activities vis-à-vis their communities of origin." She argues that transmigrants should be researched not only as agents of change vis-à-vis their communities and countries of origin but also across entire transnational social fields. Moreover, most important studies of immigrant transnationalism focus on what are highly *particularistic* attachments (Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004, 1180-1182). This focus on the activities in one locale or only in home country fails to comprehend and present the full picture of transnationalism and its implications. Moreover, this focus works to reinforce a "national" framework while exploring transnationalism, failing to emphasize the cross- and multi-national links that emerge out of these processes.

Relatedly, I argue that research on transnationalism will benefit from a multi-sited and comparative design where comparison between different groups and locations is in-built to the design itself. Transnationalism as a concept underlines networks, relationships and mobility across borders. Location, conceptually, should not be treated singularly, but rather as part of a social field. What I do in this research by studying respondents in two sites, in a developing country setting and a developed country setting, is not aimed to underline an opposition, a binary view between the two. Rather, my goal is to present a more complete picture of a transnational field and overcoming a "national" focus by drawing attention to the multi-sited nature of the network. Moreover, while underlining the links and networks, the multi-site approach will also work to illustrate the variation and unevenness in the transnational field. That is, while studying a global network, I want to work against a sense of "flatness" and homogeneity in representing global "flows" and networks.

2.1. *Transnational Professionals?*

As has been mentioned in the previous sections, I explore these issues by focusing on transnational professionals. In the case of this study, the term *transnational professional* is used to describe business elite, mainly managers and executives, who work in transnational corporations. What makes them "transnational" is not what they specifically do or how mobile they are, but their being a part of a larger transnational

network (the business network) that is shaped by the spreading transnational corporations.

My interest in the transnational professionals has been inspired by Sklair's (1997, 1999, 2001, 2002) work on the *transnationalist capitalist class*. In his work, Sklair underlines the growing importance and power of the *transnational capitalist class*, which he claims became the ruling class of the global system with the dissolution of Soviet Union and the triumph of the neo-liberal economic framework. Sklair defines this class as "comprised of "owners and managers of transnational corporations, globalizing bureaucrats, globalizing politicians and professionals and consumerist elites (Sklair 1997, 2001, 2002)" and emphasizes their role in transforming capitalism into a globalizing project.

While I was inspired by Sklair's work in pursuing this research, I use the term *transnational professionals* to describe the people I study, to emphasize both the professional, technical and managerial work they do, as well as the transnational nature of their work setting. Sklair's term is larger in scope, including politicians and bureaucrats with whom I am not dealing in this research. Moreover, the respondents of this research are mid- to high-level professionals working in transnational corporations. While they are upperly mobile, most of them are not "owners" of the transnational corporations – they do not own the means of production. In fact, I believe that the professionals I study fit into what Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich (1978) call the Professional Managerial Class ("PMC")[6]. In their attempt to place the growing and distinct stratum of educated mental workers –the technical workers, managerial workers, culture producers - within the class structure of capitalist society, Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich define this class as:

> "Consisting of salaried mental workers who do not own the means of production and whose major function in the social division of labor may be

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[6] However, while stating that my respondents can be seen as part of a professional-managerial class, I do not want to imply that I agree with Ehrenreichs who place this class in a nonnegotiable conflict against the working-class.

described broadly as the reproduction of capitalist culture and capitalist class relations. (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1978, 9)"

They point that the PMC cannot be seen as a ruling class, rather they are a subordinate and dependent class (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1978, 25). Following the Ehrenreichs, I want to differentiate my respondents from a "power elite" who dominate global economic and political institutions; however, I also want to emphasize that these delineations are fuzzy. In fact, classes "sometimes shade off very gradually and almost imperceptibly into another." (Sweezy 1953, 124) Keeping this in mind, I would argue that one can possibly treat some of my respondents as "power elite in the making" who have the possibility of becoming part of the "new global-capitalist historic block" that Robinson (2004, 73-77) refers to.

Besides Sklair, a growing number of scholars have drawn attention to a new global professional class. Transnational elites figure importantly in Manuel Castells' work on the network society, as the third layer of the space of flows in his work refers to the spatial organization of the managerial elite (Castells 2000, 415) Both Hannerz (Hannerz 1996) and Smith (Smith 2001a) also refer to "managerial elites" who transfer knowledge cross-border as they enter new urban environments. Sassen (2001 , 188) refers to these transnational elites as "the new international professionals" because they operate in contexts which are "at the same time global and local" and are members of a cross border culture. Micklethwaite and Woolridge (2000) describe the twenty million or so 'cosmocrats' – managers, professionals, financial experts and creative entrepreneurs, who now make the global economy run efficiently.

These studies point to the growing power of transnational entrepreneurs and new middle classes (Hamilton 1999; Ong 1999; Robinson 2000; Robison et al. 1996; Salas-Porras 1996) and demonstrate that the multinational business world is a transnational community that draws upon similar discourses, images, life-styles and is in regular contact. These professionals are part of a transnational network, as their businesses and

transactions follow the globe-spanning networks of transnational corporations (TNCs). They are more linked to communication networks compared to the rest of the society (especially in the developing world), and flexibility and travel are considered part of their life-styles. This is a phenomenon that is not limited to the developed countries; and their numbers are continuously expanding as evidenced by the growth in business and international business degrees all over the world (Sklair 1997, 522).

While immigrant labor in its various facets is comprehensively researched under immigration studies, research on this increasingly significant group is still in its infancy. Moreover, unlike the research on immigration that tends toward the particular, the representation of the transnational professionals in the scholarly work suffers from a false sense of homogeneity and a lack of lived accounts.

2.2.   *Working against a Sense of Homogeneity in Studying Transnational Professionals*

Scholars, who are still under the influence of the economic determinacy of the Marxian paradigm, tend to underplay the crucial role of culture and take for granted that transnational capitalists from all over the world would share similar ideologies and life styles. In fact, Sklair *assumes* that they will share the same worldview (Embong 2000). Yet the global socialization that occurs is not only economic but also has political and cultural components that vary across the globe. In addition, there is the element of historicity in that each member of the group brings his or her particular life stories and experiences to the process of global socialization, which may shape the way they experience transnational networks differently.

Even if the new middle classes of the developing countries share the lifestyles, values and consumption patterns of the developed world, they still share many of their countries' majority's economic, political and geopolitical frustrations (Nederveen Pieterse 2000, 131). Moreover, as Roudometof (2005, 120) aptly states, transnational practices involve power relations. Even though people from different backgrounds participate in the transnational networks, they do not enter those social fields as equals.

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This is a moot point when comparing a low-skilled clerical worker with an upper-level manager who are from different national backgrounds. However, I argue that even when the professionals are from similar upper-middle class backgrounds and have attained similar cultural capital through their education and middle class upbringing, they have differential access to the global circulation (because they are from different nation-states) and thus, to cultural and social capital that one attains through global circulation.

Last, there are very limited accounts of how the transnational mobility within the global labor is experienced and narrated. There is a dearth of knowledge about personal experiences and accounts.

This research aims to fill these gaps by (1) bringing in voices from a developing country by including Turkish professionals along with the American ones; and by (2) using semi-structured, in-depth interviews, collecting the narratives and life-stories of the professionals, and examining them with a focus on *meaning*.

2.3. *Unpacking the Meaning of Mobility within the Global Market*

As a related goal, I want to elaborate on the meaning of mobility in transnational networks, as well as its role in shaping cosmopolitan identities. Even though transnationalism as a concept has been defined quite broadly, mobility constitutes a centerpiece of transnationalism (and in fact, globalisation) in the literature. One of the defining characteristics of the global age seem to be the relative ease with which ideas, commodities, capital and bodies move across borders. Relatedly, as Mahler (1998) underlines, the existing research on transnationalism generally refers to the *movement of bodies across space*. She states that this seem to create a kind of "bifocality", a sense of "being here and there." As Mahler states, however, it is critical to examine the relationship between mobility and identity. If we are to conceptualize a transnational social field, in which various points in the field are connected to each other to create a network / a circuit through which different types of things move, then one might ask: Is it the network / the connection that creates a kind of a transnational consciousness or

identification, or is it the actual movement itself?   Does mobility intensify the identification or add another layer to it? Does one need to be mobile to have the "dual frame of reference" that people associate with being transnational? Is it the relocation, or the experience of crossing of the borders that counts?

This research addresses these questions in a limited extent. As I will explain in the section on research design, it does not fully deal with these questions, as it does not control for the duration and regularity of mobility. Exploring this question fully would require that one consider the intensity, duration and regularity of the mobility. However, since I do have a range of experiences among my respondents, I am able to explore this issue in an attempt to generate some arguments and point to directions for further research. Where my research contributes to existing research, however, is specifically about the *subjective meaning* of mobility. My research, very much in line with existing research, demonstrates how mobility constitutes a central part of the cosmopolitan identity construct that the respondents are enacting. Additionally, and as an original contribution, in chapter III combining the spatial logic of the global city network literature with Bourdieu's work on social and cultural capital, I will illustrate how mobility assumes different meanings and roles depending on the respondents' location. I will stress that mobility works as both *access* to capital but also as *capital* in itself within the global market.

3. Consequences of Transnationalism at the Individual Level

My second goal is to explore the consequences of transnationalism at the individual level by concentrating on how transnational practices affect the meaning structures and identifications of individuals.   That is, beyond reaching a fuller understanding of transnational phenomena, this research aims at exploring the implications of transnationalism, especially as these implications deal with national attachment, belonging and cosmopolitanism. The inquiry here is about what kind of value orientations at the individual level we see emerging out of this specific transnational field. This is politically significant since we expect that changes in the micro-units –

which in this case are the individuals in transnational roles – will aggregate and translate into transformations in the macro-structures[7]. Do we see the erosion of national attachments and "denationalization of the elite" as Huntington (2004) claims? Are there "global citizens" on the rise who are willing to identify with and participate at different levels?

Much of what has been written about implications of transnationalism is directly related to identity – ethnic, racial, and national identity constructions in particular – yet mostly is driven from diasporas and immigrant communities (Hall 1990) and thus, studies a very particular understanding of transnationalism. The main question in most of these studies is whether transnationalism weakens the loyalties of immigrants to their host country by presenting them with the possibility of keeping their ties to their home country alive (Alba and Nee 2003; Bloemraad 2000). The findings point toward the "capacity of individuals to hold several different identities simultaneously, […] and the ability to manipulate these identities for different purposes" (Mahler 1998, 92). As Vertovec (1999, 450) indicates:

> "Particularly in works concerning global diasporas, there is considerable discussion surrounding a kind of 'diaspora consciousness' marked by dual or multiple identifications. Hence there are depictions of individuals' awareness of decentered attachments, of being simultaneously 'home away from home,' 'here and there,' or British and something else."

The findings in my research fall in line with the existing research, demonstrating in chapter IV that people are capable of holding multiple attachments and create belonging in multiple places. However, I go further in my research by examining how those attachments interact with "global" identities. For this end, I unpack the narratives of respondents on national as well as global identities and illustrate what the respondents mean when they narrate their attachments, and how they combine the global as well as national attachments. Scholars agree that transnational networks and communities generate common experiences, identifications and solidarities. It is argued that "transnationalism presents us with 'new subjectivities' in the global arena" (Nonini and

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[7] For a discussion of macro and micro structures and their relationships in transnational social fields, see Rosenau (1980, 73-106).

Ong 1997). Vertovec (1999, 450) underlines that "it is a common consciousness […] which bind many people into the transnational social forms or networks." The problem here, however, is that it is not clear what these 'new subjectivities' or 'common consciousness' are and how they interact with different types of attachments. It is not at all clear from the literature how these different types of subjectivities interact with or affect each other. How do transnational and national attachments relate to each other? Is cosmopolitanism an unintended consequence of transnational practices? It is this dearth of empirical grounding in the literature that this research is addressing, by providing data to detail the relationship between transnationalism, nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

I bring in cosmopolitanism into this discussion specifically; first, because the cosmopolitan project is about creating a world community – that is, about constructing a different layer of imagined community that one can identify with that lies beyond the national; and second, because it is commonly believed that transnationalism engenders cosmopolitanism.

3.1. Cosmopolitanisms and Cosmopolitan Identities

Citizenship historically was tied to the development of the nation-state, yet, the notion that there could be a "citizen of the world" has long been part of the citizenship tradition (Işın and Turner 2002). For the French philosophers of the Enlightenment, a *cosmopolitan* was a citizen of the world, a universal humanist who transcended particularistic distinctions based on territory, language, or culture (Schlereth 1976). The word *cosmopolitanism*, derived from *kosmo-polites*, a composite of the Greek words for "world" and "citizen," primarily designates "an intellectual ethic, a universal humanism that transcends regional particularism" (Cheah 1998, 22).

In recent years this notion has re-emerged and gained pertinence mainly through three forces that are at work in the contemporary world: nationalism, globalization, and multiculturalism (Pollock et al. 2002). Within the context of persistent forces of nationalism, and the possibilities of communication and mobility due to increasing

globalization, cosmopolitanism gained increasing significance since "it holds out the hope of a new type of citizenship" (Skrbis et al. 2004, 124) and since it represents a tool for radical social imagination and projections of cosmopolitan democracy (Archibugi and Held 1995). As Skrbis et al. (2004) underline, cosmopolitanism today cannot be understood without reference to "[…] the features of the modern globalized era, an era defined by an unprecedented interconnectedness in which identities, ideas, cultures and politics are embedded in the global and the transnational."

In fact, the general sense one gets from existing research is that globalization and transnationalism provide the material conditions for cosmopolitanism (Cheah 1998, 21). Researchers argue that globalization engenders a new sense of global belonging that transcends the loyalties to the nation-state (Falk 1995; Smith 2001b). The technologies and institutions that produced national feelings now exist on a transnational scale enabling these loyalties (Robbins 1998b, 6). Skrbis et al. (2004, 117) underline that "our present times, in which many people have a shared sense of a world as a whole, and experience this through travel, work and exposure to the media, are perfectly suited to the proliferation of the idea of cosmopolitanism." In fact, they state "the idea of kosmopolites, […] has never seemed so real and tangible to so many people as it does today."

Beyond the general sense that transnationalism creates the conditions for or brings about cosmopolitanism, there is also the assumption in the literature and the media that middle class transnationalism brings about cosmopolitanism and identification as a "global citizen" (Roudometof 2005).[8] Within the current context of globalization, the elite of the society - the businessman, the professionals, the academic elite etc. - are

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[8] The association and the assumption are probably historical since commercial cities historically provided a safe haven from tribal, ethnic and religious rivalries and were sites of enforced hospitality and cosmopolitanism (Turner 2002, 52). See for example Appadurai (2002) on the cosmopolitan nature of Bombay, and Watt (1953, 1956) on the historical role of trade centers such as Mecca and Medina in providing hospitability for strangers. Turner (2002) claims that with the growth of early capitalism "the need to exchange had the unanticipated consequence of promoting cosmopolitanism. […] Trade tents to impose tolerance, which had the unwanted and unanticipated consequence of promoting cosmopolitanism."

perceived to be "cosmopolitans" since they are more likely to have the educational background, the social, cultural and economic capital and the connections to move across borders and across different symbolic systems without difficulty. Huntington, for example, claims that for the American case "the central distinction between the public and the elites is not isolationism versus internationalism but nationalism versus cosmopolitanism" (Huntington 2004, 5).

Yet researchers disagree when it comes to the political significance and consequences of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan attitudes. The dominant view celebrates cosmopolitan attitudes and views cosmopolitans as the micro unit of a new global order (Held 2003; Skrbis et al. 2004). There appears to be unequivocal agreement between authors of various persuasions in associating cosmopolitanism with positive values (such as 'openness'). These attitudes are perceived to be necessary at the micro-level to have a global democracy. The second view, however, underlines the dangers of cosmopolitanism and perceives cosmopolitans as detached individuals or worse, as *parasites*, "dabbling rootlessly in a variety of cultures" (Featherstone 2002, 1). Waldron (2000, 227) quotes the Dictionary of Political Thought's definition of 'cosmopolitanism' to point to this negative assessment of cosmopolitan as *parasite*:

> "The belief in, and pursuit of, a style of life which …[shows] acquaintance with, and an ability to incorporate, the manners, habits, languages, and social customs of cities throughout the world…In this sense, the cosmopolitan is often seen as a kind of parasite, who depends upon the quotidian lives of others to create the various local flavors and identities in which he dabbles."

This view of cosmopolitan emphasizes an incapacity to form lasting attachments and commitments to a place and others (Featherstone 2002). Detached from actual places and the politics of these places, yet attached to no specific location, they cannot do anyone good but themselves (Huntington 2004). They are unable to become part of something, unable to participate in history. The cosmopolitan "detached from the grip of the nation-state, may be irrelevant to 'real' politics" (Robbins 1998b, 4). This sense of a cosmopolitanism is generally the sense that is invoked when it comes to the elite – and specifically to the business elite in West. For example, claiming that the transnational involvements of the elite erode their sense of belonging to a national community,

Huntington argues that the "middle class Americans would identify increasingly with the global corporations for which they work rather than with the local communities in which they live […] National identity loses salience compared to other identities". In Huntington's presentation, not only is this "denationalization" an important problem, but also an inevitable one. The elite of the society is more involved in transnational activities through various channels, thus, "there is reason for their commitments to national identities and national interests to be relatively weaker" (Huntington 2004, 6). That is, in Huntington's argument, involvement in transnational network necessarily means a weakening of national identities for the elite. The cosmopolitanism of the elite evokes the image of a privileged person: someone who can claim to be a "citizen of the world" by virtue of independent means, expensive tastes, and a globe-trotting lifestyle; a "deeply unattractive" association (Robbins 1998a, 248).

Furthermore, while it is agreed that transnationalism provides the conditions for cosmopolitanism, there is discussion about whether this is a proliferation of "banal" or "mundane" vs. "reflexive" and "authentic" cosmopolitanisms. Hebdige (1988) points out how people can be mundane cosmopolitans through consuming media images. Relatedly Skrbis et. al. (2004, 130) state that:

> "Indicators of mundane or 'unreflexive' forms of cosmopolitanism include: the types of food one consumers, consumption of heavily packaged or mediated cultural and tourist experiences, and the unreflexive consumption of ethnic 'styles' in dress or music. […] Such expenditures of time and resources involve merely cursory commitment to genuine cosmopolitan attitudes."

However, as Skrbis et. al. (2004, 129) themselves acknowledge and as I will elaborate in Chapter II this differentiation, and moreover, referring to some forms as "authentic" or "reflexive" cosmopolitanisms is problematic. I agree with Skrbis et. al. that "further empirical research must unravel the ways in which mundane consumption may come to be associated with genuine cosmopolitan outlooks" and I argue that in practice the mundane and the reflexive forms are very much entangled. This discussion on banal vs. reflexive forms of cosmopolitanism, however, brings to mind another question which does not seem to be articulated in the existing literature, which is whether

global identities necessarily mean cosmopolitan identities. Even if we observe the emergence of a global worldview that might not mean that there are "cosmopolitan" or even "global citizens." Does a global outlook necessarily mean global responsibility? If so, are the transnational life-styles of new middle classes incompatible with the traditional components of citizenship that incorporate identification with one country and participation?

Overall, the research on cosmopolitanism, as it is with studies on citizenship, is generally conducted at a high level of abstraction without paying attention to what theoretical formulations *mean* in specific contexts (Carens 2000). It suffers from what Skrbis et al. (2004) call "excessive theorization" even though there are some studies about particular cosmopolitanisms, or what Robbins (1998b) calls "actually existing cosmopolitanisms." The arguments and relations presented above are commonly assumed and not empirically established. For example Huntington bases his claims that the elite of America are "denationalizing" on a single item from a 1980 survey[9]. Moreover, the argument is not conceptually clear since the terms "transnational", "cosmopolitan", and "denationalization" are used interchangeably. This conceptual blurring is a problem not limited to Huntington. In the end, cosmopolitanism and its relation to transnationalism is a rather vague and diffuse notion that needs more empirical grounding.

As such this research contributes to the increasing number of studies on "actually existing cosmopolitanisms" in an effort to shed light on questions of cosmopolitanisms in practice. That means that it acknowledges the historical and geographic contexts that give rise to certain cosmopolitanisms; it underlines the multiplicity of cosmopolitanisms. It does not treat cosmopolitanism as an abstract ideal, but rather as "habits of thought and feeling that have already shaped and been shaped by particular collectivities, that are

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[9] The elite were more likely than the poor and uneducated to say that they would leave the country if they could double their income (Huntington 2004, 8). This, however, by itself does not mean much, as leaving the country does not mean being less attached to it, especially given the contemporary conditions of interconnectedness, as I will show in chapter IV.

socially and geographically situated […]" (Robbins 1998b, 2). While this is a study of the elite, it does not assume an inevitable connection between cosmopolitan attitudes and privilege; it does not suppose that the cosmopolitanism of the elite is the only cosmopolitanism possible[10]. Moreover, instead of taking the negative connotations of the middle class/elite cosmopolitanism as a given, it investigates them in practice.

As Hannerz (1990, 233) states, cosmopolitanism is a state of mind, a perspective. I agree with Vertovec and Cohen (2002, 3), who state "no single conceptualization is adequate" in understanding cosmopolitanism[11]. Here, instead of trying to come up with one distinct definition, I will treat it as a conglomerate of attitudes and traits, keeping in mind the building blocks of cosmopolitanism that are mentioned in the literature. Specifically, I take cosmopolitanism as a cultural identity and a disposition that articulates the individual attributes of the respondents in this research. I will use what Skrbis (2004) calls a "cosmopolitan disposition," that is, particular attitudinal characteristics which can be identified as cosmopolitan[12] and take Szerszynski and Urry's (2002) definition of culture of cosmopolitanism as "a cultural disposition involving an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness towards peoples, places and experiences from different cultures, especially those from different nations" as my starting points.

Overall, cosmopolitanism is understood as an attitude of *conscious openness to the world and towards other cultures* (Hall 2002; Hannerz 1996; Held 2002; Urry 2000; Vertovec and Cohen 2002). While Urry (2000) thinks that this *openness* will manifest

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[10] In fact, see studies on "ordinary cosmopolitanisms" such as Lamont and Aksartova (2002).

[11] This is so for multiple reasons: Even when I take cosmopolitanism as an attitude or disposition, the definitions in the literature are wide-ranging. Thus, I have picked what I think are the most important ones, and what brings those wide-ranging definitions together. However, even beyond that, cosmopolitanism describes more than individual attributes and attitudes with which I am not dealing with in this research. See for example Vertovec and Cohen (2002) who point to six different ways in which cosmopolitanism can be viewed or invoked: (a) a socio-cultural condition; (b) a kind of philosophy or world-view; (c) a political project towards building transnational institutions; (d) a political project for recognizing multiple identities; (e) an attitudinal or dispositional orientation; and/or (f) a mode of practice or competence

[12] Skrbis et al. (2004) develop the meaning of disposition through Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Bourdieu understands habitus to be a set of principles and procedures that come into play in people's relations with objects and others. It is a set of self-orienting, practical dispositions. The habitus is formed in individuals through historically and socially situated conditions and it will direct them towards particular choices (Bourdieu 1977).

itself in intellectual and aesthetic domains; Skrbis et al. (2004) argue that it will involve emotional and moral commitment as well. They claim that *emotional commitment* is demonstrated by *empathy for and interest in other cultures* and strong ethical *commitment to universalist values and ideas* that are expected to reach beyond the local.

Apart from agreement among contemporary authors that cosmopolitanism designates positive, inclusive values and principles, there is a great deal of diversity when it comes to its attributes. Looking at more selective and precise listings among others, Held (2002) has three requirements: a recognition of the interconnectedness of political communities, an understanding of overlapping collective fortunes, and an ability to empathize with others and to celebrate difference, diversity and hybridity. Szerszynski and Urry (2002, 470) state that cosmopolitan predispositions and practices involve some or all of the following:

- Extensive *mobility* in which people have the right to 'travel' corporeally, imaginatively, and virtually;

- The capacity to *consume* many places and environments en route;

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

- A willingness to take *risks* by virtue of encountering the 'other';

- An ability to '*map*' one's own society and its culture in terms of a historical and geographical knowledge, to have some ability to reflect upon and judge aesthetically between different natures, places and societies;

- *Semiotic* skill to be able to interpret images of various others, to see who 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.

As such, definitions of a cosmopolitan disposition involve attitudinal characteristics (such as openness, curiosity, interest, empathy etc.), as well as skills and competencies (the ability to map through different cultures, semiotic skills etc.) and a sense of self-reflexivity, which in my reading of the literature involves a certain distance

from one's own culture. That is, cosmopolitanism does not mean that one does not have a homeland or a country, but one has a certain "reflexive distance" from that homeland. According to (Turner 2002, 57), it is skepticism of grand narratives and distance from one's own tradition that are the basis of an obligation of care for other cultures.

In line with the focus of transnationalism as a process, by examining cosmopolitanism as a cultural identity, this research emphasizes identities in process or rather, identifications. This emphasis on the process of identification is to point that "identities are never completed, never finished; that they are always as subjectivity itself, in process" (Hall 1997a, 47). Importantly, while taking identity as a situated identification/process, I also assume that

> "[…] Identity is always in part a narrative, always in part a kind of representation. It is always within representation. Identity is not something which is formed outside and then we tell stories about it. It is that which is narrated in one's own self." (Hall 1997a, 49)

Relatedly, to examine the main questions of this research, I focus on the narratives of the respondents and examine if and how they articulate cosmopolitan identities. I ask: If we see the construction of a transnational business culture, does this culture enable the participants to think of themselves as cosmopolitans? What does this cosmopolitan identity entail and how does it interact with national attachments? I go about exploring these questions in two ways: First, I look for the main characteristics of cosmopolitan identities as articulated in the literature within the narratives of the respondents. Second, in chapter V, I question if and how the respondents call themselves "cosmopolitan" and/or "global" in an effort to detail what they base these identities on.

4. Meaning and Boundary Creation among Transnational Professionals

To elaborate on the questions presented above, I will focus on the boundary creation and meaning creation mechanisms within a transnational social field. If we can talk about an emergence of a global new middle class, we would expect that participants would share/construct some kind of a culture and a cultural repertoire that defines and shapes the community and its identity. Cultural constructions assist in the construction of

community since they act to define the boundaries of collective identity, establish membership criteria, generate a shared symbolic vocabulary, and define a common purpose (Nagel 1994, 162). The focus on the *construction of meaning* emphasizes the question: Specifically, how the professionals interpret the transnational field, what do they mean by transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, and how they perceive themselves and others within it. Are these interpretations shared by people from different national backgrounds such as Turkey and the U.S?

Yet such meaning creation occurs within a newly defined space whose boundaries are still fluid and variable across countries. Hence one also needs to study the *creation of boundaries* by the participants in depth. This necessitates a focus on *behavioral* and *self-interpretive acts*, which in turn require that I pay attention to group identification, daily practices of inclusion and exclusion, and perceptions of social distance. How do the respondents build their social networks; what are the particular occupational, recreational and familial practices that lead to the formation of a transnational group? How do these practices transform the loyalties and identities of the group members and in doing so, interact with their national attachment?

I define *social boundaries* as distinctions that individuals make in their everyday lives that shape their actions and mental orientations toward others (Alba and Nee 2003, 59). This includes *group identification* which is "a psychological feeling of belonging to a particular social stratum." It also includes "fellow feeling", the "sense of attachment" and the "social distance" that these individuals are feeling towards different groups. *Social distance* is the "subjective state of 'nearness felt to certain individuals', not physical distance between groups" (Shibutani et al. 1965, 263-271). When social distance is small, there is a feeling of common identity, closeness and shared experiences. But when social distance is great, people perceive and treat the other as belonging to a different category; and even after long acquaintance, there are still feelings of apprehension and reserve (Alba and Nee 2003, 32). *Sense of attachment* is defined as knowing which groups of like-minded people we belong to, and how we should feel about those 'other places and people' (Thrift 1997, 160, 164) that lie not only beyond the

boundaries of our communities but within them (Schlesinger 1991). In this research, I use a discussion of daily practices and social circles to assess the social distance and group boundary maintenance. For example, does the respondent have close friends who are from different national backgrounds? Do they mind dating/marrying people from different national backgrounds?

5. Research Design and the Research Process

In this research I use two groups of respondents in two locations; namely, what I call "local" and "expatriate" professionals in New York City and Istanbul. The choice of the research sites and respondents were driven by the above stated goals of the research, that is, to explore the variation of experiences within the transnational professional network. In the section below, I will elaborate on these choices and provide information on the sample of my respondents.

5.1. The Location

Beyond aiming to get a better sense of the contemporary conditions of transnationality by juxtaposing locations (Marcus 1995), this research requires a "multi-sited" approach, to examine the main argument spelled out in the previous section, i.e. that professionals from a developing country as opposed to those from a hegemonic power would construct different interpretations and understandings of what it means to participate in a transnational network. Since my focus is on transnational professionals in their work and non-work environments, I necessarily needed urban centers that are nods within the global economy. Thus, the selection of the research sites as Istanbul, Turkey and New York City, United States, does not only reflect a perspective based on the relative economic powers of nation-states, but also an understanding of the global economy as a network.

The United States has been the dominant economic power in the world since World War II. Even though the large U.S. transnational firms experienced sharp market losses from foreign competition in the 1980s, the U.S. and the TNC's headquartered in

the U.S. continue to be the major players in the global economic order. A look at the Global *Fortune* 500 lists shows the dominance of the U.S. companies[13]. Of the countries that have companies in the list, the U.S. leads with 162 companies and Japan following with 67. France, Germany and Britain follow Japan with 38, 37, and 33 companies respectively. This ranking has been essentially the same over the last few decades. Turkey, on the other hand, is a newly industrialized country with a transition economy and an emerging market. It has initiated neoliberal economic reforms to restructure and privatize its economy and to integrate into the global economy starting in the 1980s. It had both positive and negative results in the process (Öniş 1998). Though clearly part of the global economic order, it is a smaller player that has attracted more foreign direct investment every year since 1980 and draws more attention as an emerging and dynamic market in the last two decades. In the same *Fortune* Global 500 list, there is only one Turkish company and this ranking has been quite stable over the years as well.

New York City and Istanbul, then, are key cities in their respective countries; however, beyond being leading cities in their respective economies, these cities can also be perceived as players in a global economy as nods within a network of cities. This framework requires one to conceptualize the world economy (and the world) not just as a mosaic made up of nation-states, but as one made up of flows and networks, in which cities play a prominent role. As (Taylor 2004, 20) underlines:

> "New York was and is part of a city network that transcends the national territory in which it is located. The same can be said of all major cities: their inter-relations are never respecters of boundaries."

In fact, there is much literature about world cities as a central theme of globalization, which link urbanization processes to global economic forces (Friedmann 1986) and envisions world cities as embedded into the global economy. In one of the most influential works on this theme, Sassen (2001) argues that the combination of global integration and spatial dispersal in the global economy has created a new strategic role for major cities as vital centers for management and coordination of economic power in

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[13] *Fortune* magazine publishes several lists annually; the most famous is the *Fortune* 500 that lists the top companies in the US by revenue. The Global *Fortune* 500 lists the top companies in the world by their revenue.

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the global economy. The fundamental dynamic that is posited by Sassen is that the more globalized the economy becomes, the higher the agglomeration of central functions in a relatively few sites, that is, the global cities. Moreover, the changes in the global economy (namely decentralization) have contributed to the growth of service industries that produce the specialized inputs to run global production processes and global markets for inputs and outputs. These industries, international, legal and accounting services, management consulting, and financial services, are heavily concentrated in global cities. That is, these cities

> "are not only nodal points for the coordination processes; they are also particular sites of production. They are sites for (1) the production of specialized services needed by complex organizations for running a spatially dispersed network of factories, offices, and service outlets; and (2) the production of financial innovations and the making of markets, both central to the internationalization and expansion of the financial industry" (Sassen 2001).

What is important for the purposes of this research is that this concentration of professional services in global cities also leads to the concentration of highly skilled, specialized professionals in the global cities. These transnational professionals are highly mobile as global companies use the international mobility of their staff to transfer knowledge and competencies. In fact, as I mentioned above, Castells (2000, 445) argues that the third layer of space of flows is composed of the "dominant managerial elites" who occupy the command and control functions in global cities. That is, being a transnational professional is fundamentally associated with being embedded in transnational networks, which are both cross-border, and also *highly-spatialized in the transnational social spaces or translocalites of the city* (Smith 2001a; Smith and Guarnizo 1998). Studying the transnational professionals requires examining them in specific locations, i.e. networked cities[14].

New York City's role in the global economy and its status as a major 'global city' is well documented. In fact, no matter how a "major city" is described and defined, New

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[14] In the literature on city-networks, different authors use different terms, mostly world city, or global city, to denote the networked city. I have not yet decided which one I am going to use here.

York has always been included on the top of lists of cities in the global urban hierarchy[15]. Yet, as Taylor (2004) emphasizes even when Sassen does not suggest that New York, London and Tokyo are the only global cities, she does imply that these 'specific places' are few. Castells (2000, 380), however, argues that "the global city phenomenon cannot be reduced to a few urban core at the top of the hierarchy." He postulates a global network connecting centers with "different intensity and at a different scale' whereby regional and local centers within countries become 'integrated at the global level" (Castells 2000, 380). Thus, he defines global cities as a networked phenomena: whatever the particular status and roles of specific cities, the really 'significant' feature is the network itself.

Consequently, Istanbul can be seen as part of this network. Not only is it the financial, economic, and cultural capital of Turkey and a regional center, it is also a node within the global network of cities that connects Turkey into the global market. It is much more connected to the rest of the world compared to other cities in Turkey (Taylor 2004, 75)[16]. It is where major TNCs have their headquarters, and where professional business service firms are concentrated. In fact, taking Sassen's lead and using corporate service criteria, that is, treating world cities as "postindustrial production sites" and producing an inventory of world cities in terms of their provision of corporate services, Beaverstock et. al. (1999) include Istanbul in their roster of world cities as a *Gamma world city*; that is, a city that is a global service centre for at least two sectors, with one being a major service provision. New York, in the same list, predictably, is listed as an *Alpha world city[17]*. As Istanbul has experienced important transformations due to the

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[15] See Beaverstock, J. V., and Taylor, P. J. (1999) for a discussion of different traditions of defining 'world cities.'

[16] Taylor's calculation of connectivity ratios between the two top cities in selected countries present a ratio of 7.92 for Turkey, meaning that Istanbul is 7.92 times more connected than its closest rival. This situation is not something specific to Turkey; Taylor's study demonstrates that the majority of 25 countries in his sample show a connectivity primacy. National urban development favors one city over all others, which provides that city with a particularly strong platform on which to globalize. This will be especially the case as new firms being a global strategy and plan to serve national markets through just a single office (Taylor 2004, 75).

[17] Beaverstock and Taylor's definition of *Gamma world cities* catches 35 cities distributed across three regions. For a comparison, other cities that score the same as Istanbul and are included as *Gamma world cities* are: Atlanta, Barcelona, Berlin, Buenos Aires, Budapest, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Kuala Lumpur,

neoliberal economic reforms and the globalization that went hand in hand with the reforms during the 1980s, it has entered the "global collective conscious" (Keyder 1999). These transformations also meant a growth of the professional new middle classes (Ayata 2002; Bali 2002) and the "incorporation of a small segment of the population into the opportunity structures offered by the new economic dynamics, with the attendant proliferation of products and services catering to their expensive life-styles" (Kandiyoti and Saktanber 2002, 4). It is these new globally connected middle classes that made up the Turkish respondents in Istanbul along with the expatriates.

5.2. *The respondents*

The population I study in this research is transnational professionals: highly-educated, middle to upper-middle class professionals who are embedded into transnational business networks to different degrees. They are operationalized in this research as managers and executives who are working for a transnational corporation. To ensure that my respondents are in fact plugged into a global network, I target Global *Fortune* 500 companies or major professional service firms that cater to Global *Fortune* 500 companies. In targeting Global *Fortune* 500 companies and major professional service firms I assumed that these companies would have adopted a global strategy; this assumption is supported by existing research (Sklair 1999, 2001) as well as by my own preliminary research[18]. I chose to include both global professional service firms and applied sectors (mainly consumer goods).

Manila, Miami, Minneapolis, Montreal, Munich, Shanghai. Amsterdam, Bangkok, Beijing, Boston, Caracas, Dallas, Dusseldorf, Geneva, Houston, Jakarta, Johannesburg, Melbourne, Osaka, Prague, Rome, Santiago, Stockholm, Taipei, Warsaw, Washington, are also Gamma world cities, yet score more than Istanbul. Not surprisingly, New York, London, Paris, and Tokyo are on the top of the list as *Alpha world cities*, with Chicago, Frankfurt, Hong Kong, Los Angeles, Milan and Singapore following them (also termed *Alpha world cities*). Beaverstock and Taylor use provision of corporate services to produce their list. Thus, their basic unit of analysis is the service firm. For a given city, they look at the presence of major corporate service firms (in accountancy, advertising, banking and legal services). By studying several firms over many cities, they are able to obtain the relative importance of a given city in terms of a particular service. They produce three levels of service presence for each sector: prime global service centers, major global service centers, and minor global service centers. At the end, an inventory is created by aggregating the information from the four sector listings. (See the inventory and the discussion of the inventory in (Beaverstock et al. 1999, 454-457).

[18] I have read through the websites of major professional service firms in an effort to see whether they were emphasizing the "global" nature of their functioning or not. Not surprisingly, these companies were very explicitly defining themselves as global, and shunning any national association in their websites.

It is obvious that global businesses need the involvement of the local middle classes for the continuing functioning of their businesses. Yet as Gritsai (2005) states, "most of the existing literature on advanced producer services in the global economy is focused on the international flows of professionals and new expatriate communities, leaving behind the screen the local participants in these new forms of global business." Consequently, in this research studying transnational professionals, I include both what I dub "locals" and "expatriates" in order to examine different ways of participation (and different levels of embeddedness) within the transnational business network.

I use the term "locals" to designate professionals working in their country of birth. With the term "expatriates" I designate professionals who work in a country that is not their home-country. More specifically, I refer to professionals who work in a transnational company on an international assignment (who are generally referred to as expatriates in practice) and professionals who arrived for an international assignment in a transnational company but remained in the host-country on local contracts for their next assignment after their expatriate contract for the international assignment was over.

Thus, for this research, I work with Turkish respondents in Istanbul, and American respondents in New York City, as "locals," and professionals from various nationalities in both cities as "expatriates." Both "Turkish" and "American" is defined as "having been born in the respective countries" (and subsequently, citizens of both countries). I opt for this definition over operationalizing "American" and "Turkish" by citizenship. This does not make any difference for the Turkish sample as there are not many middle-class immigrants who acquire Turkish citizenship later in their lives. However, in the American case, this designation means that I limit my population by excluding first generation immigrants. The purpose is to include respondents who grew up within the confines of a nation-state with the assumption that they would have been socialized into a national identity. Since one of the goals of this research is to explore how the national and transnational frameworks of identity intertwine, I want to avoid

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inserting an additional national-identity construct into the picture as a result of immigration.

While making this decision to include both expatriates and locals, my aim is to add another layer into the exploration of experiences within the transnational business network besides the entry point within the market (and thus the role of socialization within the confines of a specific nation-state). The assumption behind this decision is that both the "local" and the "expatriate" upper-middle class professionals are part of the same global labor market and transnational network, as they work for similar companies and perform similar roles – however, that they would be embedded within the transnational networks differently. The expatriate has to relocate to a new context and establish new social circles and daily work and non-work routines; in this case, the relationship between the new context and the expatriate is enabled and shaped by the transnational network. Consequently, one would expect the expatriates to be embedded more within transnational circles both in their work and non-work life. Locals, however, while participating in transnational networks and practices, are still embedded within the social circles and routines within which they grew up and with which they are familiar. Accordingly, one would expect their non-work practices to be less embedded in transnational circles. These different levels of embeddedness affect what the transnational signifies for the respondent and how it shapes their identity.

As Barlett and Ghoshal (2000) emphasize " international assignees, or project based cross-border travelers, or business commuters all culminate together, with local hires, to perform geographies of 'transnational knowledge management' in highly spatialised environments, world cities." While I use the word "local" to denote this category of professionals, my goal is not to create a binary between the local and the global, ie. local professional in opposition to the expatriate professional as the global. That is, as stated above, what is important for the purposes of this research is that *both the "local" and the "expatriate" respondents belong to the same transnational network.*

Including these two groups of respondents is also necessary for exploring the relationship between different types of mobility and identity. As emphasized in the previous section, one of the goals of this research is to examine the meaning of mobility within transnational networks. Expatriates who move from one country to another for their career personify the typical image of the globe-trotting, non-attached, ever mobile, and flexible transnational professionals. However, my aim here is not to use the expatriate respondents as the "mobile" group while treating the local respondents as "immobile." The reality of business travel practices would rule out a categorization like this. The practices of transnational professionals include various types of physical border-crossings, ranging from short-haul travel for a few days for meetings and training, to longer haul travel, to complete relocation into another country (Beaverstock 2007). Moreover, both the local and the expatriate professionals participate in these kinds of border-crossings regularly. In fact, there is not a single respondent in my sample who did not have to travel for his career in a transnational company. Some high level executives who would be included under the category "local" in this research as they are based in their home-country, especially those who have responsibility over a region, are what one can call "*hyper-mobile*" (Beaverstock 2007); they travel to different countries almost weekly for meetings and projects. Thus, given the complexity of border-crossings within the transnational network and the limited size of my sample, it is impossible for me to control for the effects of all the different types of border-crossings in a meaningful way. However, by including both the expatriates who have to relocate and the locals who, if they engage in border-crossings, do so for shorter periods, I aim to explore the effects of different kinds of mobility by investigating what this mobility means to different groups of professionals, how it plays out in their lives and how it affects their identity.

Lastly, this differentiation between "local" and "expatriate" has to be taken with a grain of salt as it is based on a snapshot in time. It does not mean that respondents who were "local" at the point of the interviews were "local" before, or will remain "local" after. It is common for my "local" respondents to talk about their plans to get an international assignment; unsurprisingly, I have cases where my "local" respondent had international experience, or where she was in the process of being transferred. In fact,

almost all the "local" respondents in NYC have had international experience. Thus, the line separating the expatriate and the local, while precise at a particular time is not so clear over time. Moreover, the "local" designation is not one that is used by the respondents themselves. My respondents did not refer to themselves as "locals" in general, but think of themselves as part of a larger global market who happen to be in one place.

5.3. *Discussion of the Sample Selection and the Characteristics of the Sample*

I employed *snowball sampling* with multiple starting points to recruit my respondents. This is a *respondent-driven sampling method*, and is a variation of *chain-referral sampling methods* introduced by Coleman (1958) that are generally used to study hidden populations that have no sampling frames (Heckathorn 1997; Salganik and Heckathorn 2004). The basic idea with these methods is that the researcher starts with an ideally randomly selected sample of seeds who are the first people to participate in the study. These seeds then recruit others to participate in the study and this process continues until the desired sample size is reached. The important issue is that the respondents are not selected from an existing list, but from a social network of existing members of the sample (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004)[19].

The advantage of this method is that it is cheap, relatively quick and easy to implement. There are, however, a number of disadvantages that have been discussed in the literature. The main concern among researchers centers around the choice of the seeds. Since all the people in the sample are indirectly recruited by the seeds, researchers believe that any small bias in selecting the seeds would be compounded in unknown ways as the sampling process continued. Moreover, a snowball sample would be biased

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[19] Considering that I was trying to reach respondents who work in executive and manager positions in transnational companies, my initial plan was to use a "top-down" approach to create a sample frame to draw a random sample. That is, my plan was to move from institutions (company) towards individuals (respondent), i.e. select companies; contact the human resources departments of the selected companies; create a list of possible respondents; randomly pick respondents from that list. However, I soon noticed that this method was not working as I was not getting positive (or rather any) responses from the human resources departments in the companies I was contacting. My assumption is that being an unknown graduate student did not really attract the attention / or interest of the companies. Thus, realizing I was not going to be able to create a sample frame, I resorted to *snowball sampling*.

toward people who have many interrelationships with a large number of individuals, excluding isolates.

Keeping these problems in mind, I tried to cast my net wide while choosing the seeds. More importantly, however, when asking for referrals I kept the number low in an effort to reach respondents that I would not otherwise reach. In both cities after each interview, I sent an email to the respondent delineating the characteristics of a possible respondent (specifically, age group, experience, and type of company in which they are to be employed) and asked for 2-3 contacts. Not only did I not expect the participants to recruit more than a few respondents; but this low number also meant that I had to go through a number of waves and thus, explore parts of the networks that I could not have reached otherwise. As Salganik and Heckathon (2004) emphasize "with a reasonably long recruitment chain all members of the population have a nonzero probability of being reached even if the seeds occupy an unusual place in the network structure." This was true in my case; for example, even though my initial sample were all younger and mid-level professionals, I ended up interviewing higher level, older executives, too, which gave me a chance to consider different angles that I would not have been able to consider if I was interviewing the younger group only. Unfortunately this was more the case in Istanbul than in New York City; I got the sense that I got a better coverage of the network in Istanbul than in NYC. This actually is related to the fact that the network is much smaller in Istanbul than in NYC and is a weakness of my research, limiting my conclusions about the American sample.

My sample, however, is biased toward the more cooperative subjects who agree to participate. This common problem was aggravated in my case as respondents seemed to refer me to people they thought "might be interested in what I am doing". Thus I believe my sample is skewed towards people who are more curious, more open, and more social, which one has to take into account when reading the findings.

Looking over my experience, given my circumstances and resources I believe that snowballing was the best method I could use. I had a strong feeling that most of the respondents – who were extremely busy and not particularly interested in this research - considered setting aside time for an interview and got back to me only because I was referred to by a friend, by someone they knew personally. If I were to contact them without a referral, I do not think I would have gotten positive responses. Moreover, it is important to point out that a snowball sample gives information not only about the people in the population but also about the network that connects them, which is especially useful for this kind of research. At the end, since this was not a randomly chosen sample, it cannot really be generalized to the target population of transnational professionals. However, it is important to keep in mind that this sample is designed to establish an in-depth look at the experiences and interpretations of transnational professionals and I believe it serves its purpose for these specific goals.

Even though one ideally starts with a randomly selected sample of seeds, as Heckatorn (1997) emphasizes, "in practice ease of access virtually always determines the initial sample." Expectedly, I had to rely on personal contacts and my existing social networks to select the first batch of respondents for snowballing. Besides shaping the sample in a particular way, this also meant that the process worked out differently in the two research sites; whereas I am well-connected in Istanbul, I knew practically no one in New York City. In Istanbul, being a graduate of two prominent schools which produce graduates from which the multinational companies recruit aggressively, I had access to a group of upper/middle class professionals who already work in multinational companies. In New York City, it was much harder to get the snowball rolling and find respondents; it was harder to draw the initial seeds and harder to make people refer me to others. Thus, my sample in New York City ended up being smaller.

General characteristics of the sample:

Overall, I interviewed 80 professionals; 49 in Istanbul and 31 in New York City. The local vs. expatriate and gender distribution of the sample is presented in the tables below.

Table 1 – Respondent Distribution in Istanbul

			Total
Expatriates	Male	18	20
	Female	2	
Locals	Male	18	29
	Female	11	
Total			49

Table 2 – Respondent Distribution in New York City

			Total
Expatriates	Male	12	15
	Female	3	
Locals	Male	11	16
	Female	5	
Total			31

The youngest of my respondents was 26 and the oldest 63 years old, with those two being outliers (which I have eliminated during the analysis). Most of the respondents were between 30-50, mid to upper level executives. All of the respondents worked either in Professional Service Firms (accountancy and banking) or in applied sector transnationals (consumer goods, the majority being pharmaceuticals), with the professional service firms dominating in the sample. The companies were Global 500 firms or major Professionals Service Firms, headquartered in the U.S. and in Europe. A list of the companies that my respondents work for is included in Appendix A.

The expatriate respondents were from various national backgrounds. The majority were European (French, German, British, Swiss, Norwegian, Slovakian), but I also had respondents from the U.S., Turkey, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada. The expatriates in Istanbul were, in general, older and more experienced than the rest of the sample.

I have employed semi-structured in-depth interviews with the respondents. While I generally followed the interview instrument I also had to improvise very frequently as the varied backgrounds of respondents prompted various questions. I used different instruments for expatriate and local respondents. Examples of the interview instruments are included in Appendix B. The interviews were generally an hour and thirty minutes to two hours long and were conducted in various locations, such as coffee-houses, office buildings, as well as respondents' homes. While I quote widely from the interview transcriptions, I have changed all the names in the quotes and did not use company names to respect respondents' confidentiality.

Transnational practices of the respondents:

Looking over the functions and day-to-day activities, all of the respondents of this research participate in some form of transnational activity due to their involvement in the transnational business network through their employment; depending on the post and title of the professional, they enact a wide range of transnational activities with differing regularity, duration, and thus, consequences. The respondents experience the transnational nature of the company as part of their *functions* – i.e. what they do, as well as part of the *framework* under which they function. Their activities range from just following manuals, procedures, and know-how that emanates from the headquarters to short term business travel, collaboration on regional projects, to relocation. In this research I want to examine these practices with an eye on what kind of *interaction* they generate. Specifically, I shall emphasize activities that lead to face-to-face contact, to spaces of co-existence and co-work with non-nationals, and activities that allow for (or cause) a shift from professional into personal interaction. Thus, while, for example, talking on the phone and email does create cross-border transnational contact and

interaction, transnational activities like meetings and trainings require and allow people to interact in the same place, (which offers the possibility of not only professional but social contact). Furthermore, relocation through expatriation, at the end of the spectrum, necessitates that the individual to be totally immersed in a new space. Thus, it not only creates the space for more face-to-face interaction, but also allows the possibility of more personal interaction with non-nationals in the heterogeneity of the non-work space.

Figure 1.   Type of transnational activities within the Transnational Business Network

I. Framework

II. Personal Transactions: Electronic

III. Personal Transactions: Irregular - Face to Face

IV. Personal Transactions: Regular - Face to Face

V. Relocation

Locals

Expatriate
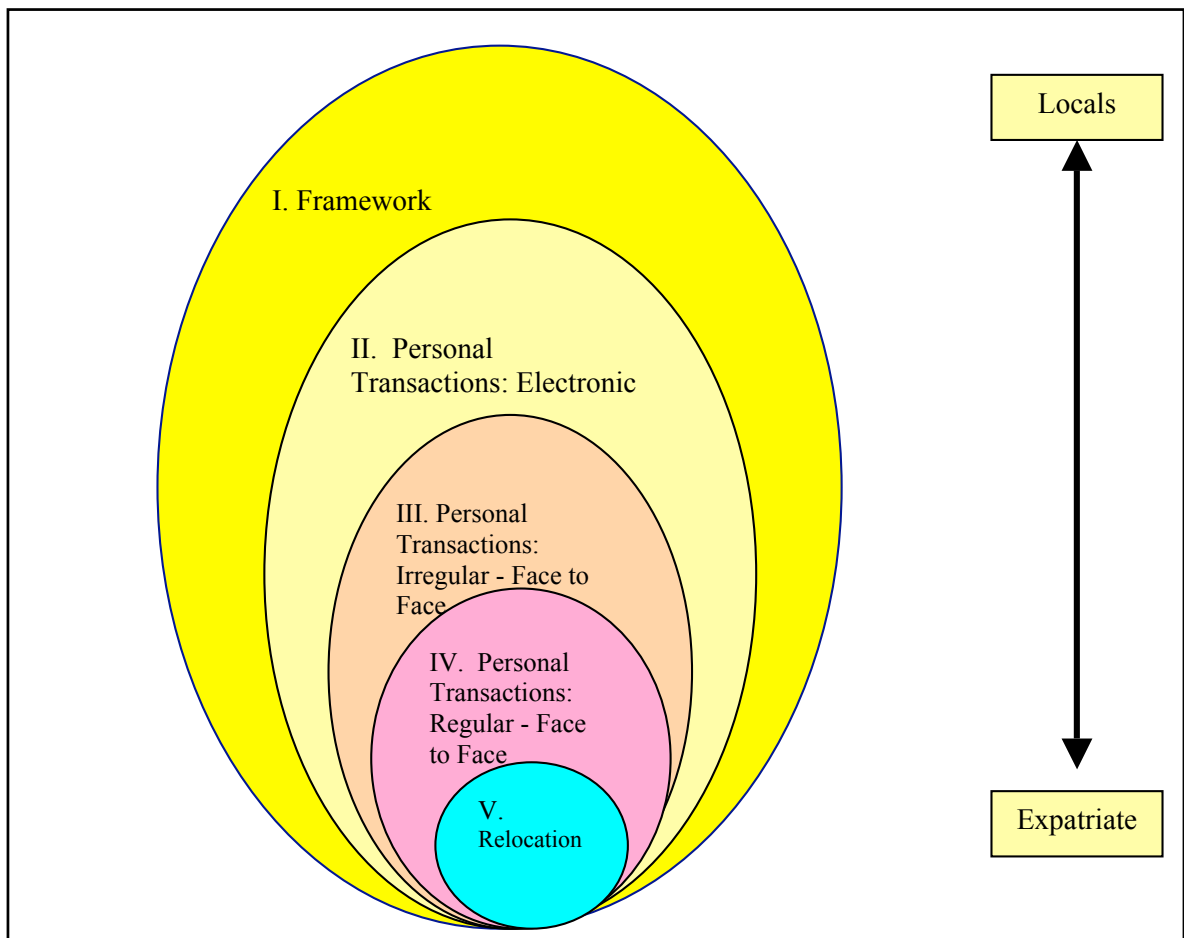
In the figure above, *Framework* includes regulations, know-how, ethics and culture of the company; *Electronic Personal Transactions* include communication such as phone calls, emails, faxes, and teleconferences; *Face-to-Face – Irregular Personal Transactions* are events like trips for trainings and seminars, and short term projects;

Face-to-Face Regular Personal Transactions are ongoing meetings and projects that require cross-border travel; and *Personal Transactions through Relocation* includes relocation for projects and expatriation. These activities are not mutually exclusive.

As stated above, I included both local and expatriate respondents in my data to be able to explore the different ways of participating in the transnational network. By definition, all my respondents regardless of their post and definition of responsibility participate in these different activities. Almost everyone I interviewed has to use electronic transactions and has participated in a cross-border trip for one reason or another. Looking over the activities of the respondents, however, one can see that the local professionals participate in the transnational businesses in dissimilar ways as well; there is an obvious line that separates the local respondents who are responsible for national functions (say a Turkish marketing director responsible for the Turkish market; people working in national divisions) from the local respondents with global/regional functions (say a Turkish human resources manager based in Istanbul directing the Continental European division). Whereas the local respondents with national functions participate less frequently in regular, face-to-face transnational transactions, the local respondents with global/regional functions participate in these types of transactions very regularly. Expatriate respondents, besides participating in these transactions depending on their specific job title, also have to relocate due to their post.

6. Structure of the Research

In chapter II, presenting an in-depth discussion of the narratives of the respondents as they relate to their experiences in transnational business networks, I will specify the content of the cosmopolitan identity construct that the respondents are articulating. In Chapter III, I will turn to the variation in the narratives to stress the uneven nature of capital distribution among professionals, and examine the significance given to and meanings associated with the transnational companies. Then I shall attempt to explain this variation. Pointing to the way local and global configure in specific contexts, this chapter will underline glocal variations to transnational processes and

meanings. In chapter IV, I will turn to the issue of national attachments and ask what the cosmopolitan identity narrated by the respondents mean in terms of their national attachments. How do the respondents articulate their national attachments and belonging? Taking national attachments as multifaceted constructs, in chapter IV I will focus on national attachment as an emotional connection, and unpack the meanings associated with it in the narratives of mainly expatriate respondents. I will also examine how they create "belonging" if they do. Chapter V then will continue with the same themes, locating the sense of cosmopolitanism articulated within the transnational business network into questions of attachment and civic engagement. In this chapter, I will examine on what the respondents base their cosmopolitan identity. Moreover, I will report on the electoral and non-electoral means of participation among the respondents, as well as on their narratives on citizenship and politics, to situate this particular and apolitical form of cosmopolitanism within a larger frame of privatization of politics. Finally, chapter VI will provide a short review of the findings.

Chapter II

Transnational Professionals and The Self-Presentation as Cosmopolitan within the Global Market

In this chapter, dealing with cosmopolitanism as an identity, I turn to the self-narratives of the respondents to explore the meanings expressed in the data and to clarify what I mean by "cosmopolitan identity construct." What exactly is the content of the "cosmopolitan self" as articulated by the respondents? To answer this question I will explore the narratives of the respondents as they talk about their experiences in the transnational network, specifically their experiences in multinational spaces, and in the case of the expatriate respondents, their experiences in the cities to which they had to relocate, and whether they think the experience is personally or professionally beneficial for them. I will categorize the main emerging themes and elaborate how cosmopolitan identity constructs emphasizing certain capacities play out in the narratives of the respondents and demonstrate that, in fact, the respondents articulate cosmopolitan identities in connection to their transnational experiences.

In the sections below, I will first illustrate how respondents talk about dealing with difference in their transnational experiences, narrating difference as something to be enjoyed but also as a challenge that gives them the opportunity to learn. I will illustrate how the respondents argue that the transnational experience leads to self-transformation. While I examine the narratives of the respondents, I will emphasize how they use cosmopolitan themes mentioned in literature. I will argue that the cosmopolitan identity that the respondents narrate is also one that they *need* to enact in a flexible market. In the

last section, I will provide some remarks as to who uses the cosmopolitan constructs more regularly and why.

1. Transnational Experience as Crossing Borders: Facing Difference

Working in a transnational company enables respondents to physically cross borders and get into multinational spaces in other countries. What the respondents underline about these experiences, and what they find significant about the new country and working with non-nationals, is that they are *different* than what the respondents are used to. In fact, the main themes that emerge out of the interviews when respondents talk about how their transnational experience benefits them revolve around the word *difference*, as in "seeing different places," "learning about different perspectives," "facing different ways of doing things and different ways of being," and emphasize *self-transformation* in relation to their transnational experience.

While the content of what is different covers a wide range - from the façade of things, the geographical and the material surroundings, to customs and habits, and attitudes and perspectives of people - the respondents do not really articulate in a detailed fashion what they consider "different" or why they think something is different. That is, in the narratives of the respondents, national difference seems to be automatically assumed; the assumption is that national borders mark and delineate territories that are somehow different from each other[20]. Yet even though the content of the "difference" is vague, the perception of its existence is central and very prominent in the narratives, since it is this encountering/experiencing something that is "different" that makes their experience significant (and thus, justifies (or proves) the merit of experience for the professionals). In almost all of the responses regarding why or how the transnational nature of the company is beneficial for the respondent, it is the acts of "facing what is different," "learning to deal with what is different," and "adapting to what is different,"

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[20] Granted, I have not in all of my interviews asked the respondents directly what they consider "different" when they talked about these "differences". However, there were quite a number of cases where I felt that if I asked them what is so different, they would not be able to articulate, and would consider my question strange.

that lead to what the respondents consider self-transformation. The respondents emphasize that facing the "different" within the multinational context allows them to develop new capabilities or enhances their existing capacities and thus, transforms them as human beings.

Regardless of their title and regardless of whether they are expatriates or locals, all of the respondents use this narrative about "facing the different" within the larger theme of "self-transformation." There are, however, two distinct ways of "facing the different" that the respondents convey within this main framework. I will turn to these narratives now to detail the ways that the respondents talk about how they relate to or interact with the "different."

1.1. *Seeing the Difference, Enjoying the Difference, Consuming the Difference*

In the first narrative, the emphasis is on *seeing*: the respondents construct a relationship between seeing, learning, and knowing which they claim leads to self-transformation. They believe that they personally benefit from the multinational experience because "they get to see, and learn about differences." The respondents maintain that *seeing* differences and thus, becoming *aware* of differences in and of itself makes them more understanding, accepting, and appreciative of differences[21]. Furthermore, in these narratives "difference" is something to be "enjoyed." "Seeing" differences goes hand in hand with "enjoying differences" especially in relation to new spaces, such as cities, countries. The respondents highlight being in the midst of something (for example, being in the "heart of the city,") wandering in a new location, and seeing what is happening around as a way of "enjoying/exploring." When, for example, expatriates in Istanbul recount what they do in the city, or how and why they enjoy being in Turkey, this narrative becomes very prominent. The following example

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[21] In the responses of the participants of the research "knowing about different places" is a goal/value in itself even though not articulated in detail and is taken as a given. Or more precisely, because it is a given, because it is so strongly assumed, the value of "knowing about different places" is neither articulated, nor discussed by the respondents, as they assume there is no need to articulate it. Similar to the case in the footnote 1, I got the sense that the respondents would have considered it strange, and would not have provided articulate replies, if I were to ask them what was so valuable about learning about different places. That is, the value of these practices and worldviews (and thus, the meaning given to the practice and the worldview) is internalized and is produced as acceptable behavior by the respondents.

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from an American expatriate about what they do in their free time in Istanbul is illustrative:

> "We are happy to explore Istanbul and go see places. […] We as a family love walking through the Sultanahmet area. We've taken our kids, after church when we are in Taksim, we will head to one of two different or three different places. Most of the times we'll drive into Sultanahmet, walk around and then go have a kebab if it's nice […] We'll walk around […] We'll go to Taksim, we'll walk down to Istiklal. We have a couple of favorite kebab places that we like to go to there. […] Sometimes we've gone down to Ortakoy just to take a boat ride. We'll take the one hour boat ride in between the bridges and just kill time that way."

While the above quote illustrates wandering, walking, and looking as a way of enjoying the city, this American expatriate highlights "sitting and watching" when talking about what she likes about Istanbul:

> "I love to go to the spice bazaar and just sit there and just kinda watch and you've got old people and young people and conservatives and it's modern and it's just this incredible mix of activity."

Similarly, this German expatriate in Istanbul talks about what he likes to do on his vacations, again emphasizing sightseeing as a form of learning:

> I am not a big fan of holiday village kind of stuff. It is not really what I do. So last year I went […] down to southern Turkey; and then finding some small motels, or some kind of small private hotels, where you can actually do…visit some sights, because there are a lot of sights in the south or do a little bit of trips to different places. […] Especially living in Istanbul, for example, I like to go out and be somewhere out, and also doing something which is more culturally based..ahh. to see sites or to learn about new things, especially being in a new country […]

In these narratives, the enjoyment, and learning (and consequently the transformation) come simply from being in a new environment and *seeing*. This is especially so in the case of expatriates in Istanbul who have limited Turkish capabilities and who are, in many cases, restricted to looking, watching and seeing in their interaction with the locale. As such, one can interpret this narrative as a passive one that does not require the respondent to be a participant. The learning happens through observation; thus, the respondent can be seen as an observer and an outsider. Moreover, this experience that is narrated, since it involves "looking" and underscores "being in the

midst of something" "wandering" and "exploring," can be interpreted as a way of consumption, where the respondents consume differences through their vision.

In fact, consumption emerges prominently within these narratives about "enjoying differences" in more direct manifestations as well. Not only does the enjoyment of a variety of foods and artifacts (and relatedly, the ability to enjoy those multi-ethnic foods and artifacts) become one of the signs of the cosmopolitan, middle class identity that the respondents of this research perform, consumption in and of itself appears to be one of the main ways of "enjoying the difference" and spending time in the new place for the respondents. So for example, when the expatriates talk about how they enjoy or explore a new place, they talk about the foods they eat, the restaurants they go to etc.

1.2. *Working with the Difference, Communicating with the Difference*

This narrative about "seeing" and "enjoying" differences, however, is not the only way the respondents invoke "facing the difference" in their responses. The second and more outstanding storyline about self-transformation through facing the difference is one of participation, involvement, and relatedly, problem solving, and is employed more prominently by the expatriates. This second narrative thread emphasizes differences as a *challenge* that becomes the driving force that induces the respondent to *engage*.

C*hallenge* is already an overarching theme within the life-stories of the professionals who report it as being one of the main motivations that pushes them through their careers and different posts. Over and over respondents use the word "challenge" to describe their career choices – why they started looking for a new position, why they chose one position over the other etc. This emphasis on challenge fits within the professional identity that the respondents emphasize (that I will point to later) which stresses continuous learning within a flexible and ever-changing market. Within this overarching theme, the new multinational environments that the respondents have to get in and what they do there are narrated as a *challenge* as well. For example, this Turkish woman, who works in a consumer goods multinational in NYC, talks about

challenge in the context of personal communication in business settings and relates it to her personal and professional transformation:

> "Here I get challenged all the time. Because you have to work with people from different cultures, and you have to deal with their styles, you are challenged more and then you have to be able to adapt yourself and transform yourself. You have to question yourself. […] I think this is something that pushes you towards maturity, both professional and personal maturity, I think at least in my case, that is what happened."

Similarly an English expatriate in Istanbul talks about why he thinks it is beneficial for his children to grow up in a multinational environment emphasizing the importance of challenge in terms of personal growth:

> "I'm very keen for my children to be exposed to other cultures and other attitudes. There is a danger in terms of people not being able to think for themselves unless you put people – and I include myself very much in this – in different environments and with different people from different backgrounds, effectively challenging where you're coming from in terms of your attitudes, then you're not thinking for yourself, you know? I benefit from my assumptions being challenged, whether that's personally or professionally. […]"

Or an American expatriate in Istanbul talks about how the multinational environment helped him personally, but uses a non-work example to illustrate "challenge":

> "We are more well-rounded in understanding people and cultures and I think that we've learned how to live in challenging environments. […] I live very comfortably here but nonetheless when I do have a –when my car did break down on the highway, I couldn't speak any Turkish and I had to figure out how to fix that situation."

In quotes like these, the word "challenge" is used in a positive fashion, since it enables self-transformation (and/or allows the respondent to prove her capabilities.) There are different kinds of experiences that are placed under the category challenge: First, the expatriate respondents describe the practical concerns of moving, living and working in a new place – getting used to a new city, meeting people, finding good schools for children etc. as such. Second, they describe a situation as a challenge in relation to the specific nature of the post, i.e. the role they have to perform at their job. Lastly, and particularly relevant in this case, is that the respondents describe situations/encounters as a challenge where they have to *not only observe but engage* with

the "difference" on a regular basis to resolve issues in business or private settings. That is, in these cases the differences are not only observed but are things that one has to work with for a mutually acceptable solution.

Relatedly, as one can detect from the above quotes the prominent issue that emerges within this narrative frame is that of "communication": the ability (or the lack of thereof) and the need to communicate to work effectively, and to belong. Even though the ability to speak different languages, and language barriers are mentioned regularly in relation to one's ability to work and live in different places, the theme here is not simply the necessity of communicating in different languages but also having to communicate with people who are presumed to have different attitudes, expectations, and backgrounds. Communication here means not only being able to function day to day, or getting a point across, but the ability to understand "where people are coming from," and what their expectations are. The quote below on conference calls by an American accountant in NYC who worked in Germany for an extended period of time makes this point by underlining the difference between "speaking the same language" vs. "communicating":

> "You know, these people are saying one thing and these people are saying another thing. They think they understand what each other is saying, but you're like thinking "okay, I know he really says this and he means 'I want this to be done by Monday.' And they hear it and say, 'Oh well, Monday would be ideal, but you know, Thursday is fine.' […] And just realizing, okay, so these people think they're speaking the same language. They are both speaking English, but they mean completely different things. Just realizing that that exists is important."

As such, within this narrative thread, the need to interact with differences and the subsequent communication challenge, forces one to "step out of her box" and to "show effort" and thus adapt and learn "how to communicate." For example, a Turkish respondent in NYC emphasizes different styles of communication in her anecdote about her communication with her secretary:

> "I had a very hard time when I first came here. I was having a hard time in all those team-work, communication skills […] For example, I would ask the secretary for something, so I would go to her and ask her something as I would do it in Turkey, and the secretary gets depressed. She complains of

me to the boss, she is like "she is not giving me clear instructions, I am getting confused." Then I think "oh how stupid is she." But actually, she is not stupid. She has a certain way… I am thinking oh she is so stupid how could she not understand this because I am used to communicate the way I communicated in Turkey. But then I realize, maybe I have to be clearer. I have to adjust my expectations, I have to adjust my expectations when I am leading a team […]"

In fact, "overcoming the language barrier" becomes one of the ultimate signs/ideals of the globally mobile professional and the "ability to communicate" emerges as a key skill. Language, as a consideration, a real life barrier to the imagined unproblematic and smooth mobility comes up frequently in the narratives of the respondents. Thus, going "beyond language" just like going "beyond nationality" (on which I will focus in chapter IV) becomes an ideal and a marker of the cosmopolitan self. The below quote from a long term French expatriate in Istanbul illustrates this self-presentation:

"You know, for me the most important thing is – and I see that for my wife as well – but I can communicate with anybody everywhere anytime. I can today go to China or go to Japan or go to India or go to, I don't know, Dubai, or go to Istanbul and feel like, you know, I am connected, like when I was in France. I have absolute – there is no barrier. It is absolutely no harder to communicate. Sometimes the language can be one, but even then, you know, with time now I can communicate with the language and everything you know… I feel that it has become easier to communicate with people and so simple, you know […] nothing seems foreign anymore."

1.3. Banal vs. "Authentic" Cosmopolitanism?

In summary, when talking about their experiences in the transnational network, the respondents repeatedly articulate one of the major cosmopolitan themes – underscoring the *value of that which is different* and their *capacity to deal with and enjoy differences*. For the respondents of this research, this major tenet of cosmopolitanism is an important part of their experience within the transnational network and leads to what they consider a form of self-transformation. However, the way this process is invoked varies as the respondents underline both the enjoyment and the challenge of it. While the narrative about "seeing and enjoying differences" seems to emphasize consumptive practices and the narrative about "dealing with challenges" seem to emphasize "communicative" practices, within the narratives of the respondents these two threads are not very different from each other as both underline interaction, relationality, and relational capacities. As

such, they involve *interaction* either *with* the (non-national) Other, or *about* the (non-national) Other. Whether this interaction is through consumption or problem solving does not seem to be consequential for the respondents as they use both narratives to express a sense of relationality, belonging, and self-transformation, that then becomes an important part of the self-representation and self-identification of the respondents of this research[22].

The interactive and relational nature of the narratives is clear in the case of the communicative practices I presented above. However, the narratives about consumption also emphasize a willingness and an attempt to relate to the locality. That is, for example, food/and eating are construed as an indicator of taste, but also as a connection to the locality where the respondents are located; eating "Turkish food" is something that one needs to do "because we are in Turkey after all."

For example, when this expatriate respondent in Istanbul talks about his wife's relationship with the people in the Grand Bazaar, saying, "she is on a first name basis with about 73 people at the grand bazaar" (and laughing), he indicates that she is not afraid of "participating" in life in Istanbul, interpreting his wife's consumptive practices as a participatory activity in the city life. Similary, the expatriate who talked about how she likes to watch people in the Grand Bazaar continues with a similar description of her activities when I ask her to detail what she does at the spice bazaar and other places that she goes to in the city:

> "Well, when you've been here as long as we have, I mean, you know, like in the spice bazaar there's a couple of shops that I go to regularly and just to see what they have. But you start to build a rapport and the same at the Grand Bazaar. You've kinda got your couple of people you go to for things and you

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[22] In stating that this differentiation is not consequential for the respondents, I do not claim that the respondents do not see a difference between these various types of activities. In fact, respondents emphasize how they want "more interaction," but they cannot have it due to time or language constraints, or occasionally question their own narratives that emphasize what they get out of their transnational experiences by questioning for example their ability to mix in with the "locals" in the case of expatriates in Istanbul. However, in general they claim that even if they do not get the amount of interaction they want, they are still transformed by their experiences.

build this rapport and it really makes it for a very personal experience. […] Over by the Pera Palace and there's some very interesting little shops over there. Yeah, we like to just go and walk around and have a coffee whether we're buying something or not. But a lot of times we'll just stop in and say hi to our favorite vendors and they get to know you and make you feel very – oh, I don't know – like it's not such a big city and "Oh, I know those people," and that sort of thing."

What comes out clearly in the above quote, as well as in the other quotes that revolve around practices of consumption is that the respondents use these narratives not to establish their outsider status and their distance, but to underline how they "relate" to the space/people. That is, for example, in the quote about the expatriate who wanders in Istanbul, the emphasis is not just on wandering, but on the regularity and habitual nature of the practice. That is, he communicates that they do this *regularly*, that they established this as a *habit*, and thus, that they have *familiarity* with the space, in a way differentiating themselves from "tourists."[23] Similarly, in the above quote the respondent emphasizes not how or what she consumes, but how she relates. Thus she communicates feelings of familiarity and belonging (and certainly a willingness to feel familiarity and belonging), even though these feelings of familiarity and belonging have been initiated and established through acts of consumption.

Consequently, besides establishing middle class cosmopolitan status, in narratives like this the respondents articulate practices of consumption as a way to relate to and experience the new locality. Similarly, *seeing* cannot merely be construed as a passive observation since in their narratives respondents underline seeing as a generator of discussion (and thus interaction and learning). For example, in the quote below, while talking about the above touched upon "wandering" activities, the respondent assumes a

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[23] By pointing that the respondents differentiate themselves from 'tourists' I do not suggest that I contend with the cosmopolitan vs. tourist differentiation, or agree with the stereotypical view of "tourists" as someone that abjures any intentional contact with "alien systems of meaning" (Hannerz 1990, 241). As Thompson and Tambyah (1999, 216) state "the pejorative stereotype of tourist as a boorish traveler has less to do with the actual experiences and self-perceptions of tourists than the need for social groups – first, cultural elites, and later, the upwardly mobile middle classes – to distinguish themselves from the masses of leisure travelers and to affirm a collective sense of aesthetic and even moral superiority. Here, too, the differentiating from "tourists" functions to underline the cosmopolitan identity of the respondents as people who can relate to, or engage with the "local."

didactic tone and underscores the wandering activity as a way of learning and teaching to his children, and thus couples seeing with interaction.

> "Well, with the kids we take them around to different places. We like to go…we took them recently to Miniaturk. We like to walk around the historical areas. Last Sunday we walked around Beyoglu. We went down to the Fatih Sultan, wandering around those areas, looking at some of the historical buildings. […] I enjoy going to historical places. Emily wants the children to have a sense of the sweep of history, of different civilizations. You know…when we go to Hagia Sophia we point out that "look at the minarets at Hagia Sophia, these come from Islam, look at the dome at Blue Mosque, this was taken from Byzantine" so we are trying to show to them how things are mixed and matched in a city like Istanbul."

In the same way, the quote below about what this expatriate family does during their vacation emphasizes "sight-seeing" in the context of "exploring" the country, but also underscores the "interaction" by pointing out that they have a "higher quality of family interaction" since they talk about what they see:

> "We took them to Kapadokia and we went in and out of all the former churches and looked at the frescoes on the wall. We talked about them. So I feel like we are having a higher quality of family interaction during our vacations."

Thus, in all of these narratives, the respondents attempt to establish themselves as people who make something out of their experiences in terms of relating and interacting, and not merely as outsiders who stay out (and consume). As such, the person who is reflected in these self-presentations is *someone who does not just happen to be in a new place, but interacts with or is willing to interact with the locality and the locals.*

This finding can be seen as a cautionary note to the attempts that differentiate between "banal" or "mundane" forms of cosmopolitanism and "authentic" or "reflexive" forms of cosmopolitanism. In his critique of the class basis of cosmopolitan elites, Calhoun (2002, 61) cautions that "food, tourism, music, literature and clothes are all easy faces of cosmopolitanism, but they are not hard tests for the relationship between local solidarity and international civil society". Similarly, as I have touched upon on chapter I Skbris et al. (2004) warn that unreflexive forms of cosmopolitanism, exemplified largely

by "ethnic" consumption, might not involve commitment to "genuine" cosmopolitan attitudes.

The point Calhoun makes is an important one and I will deal with this in chapter V, when I point out that in fact the cosmopolitanism of the transnational professionals is an apolitical one, and does not in any way translate or feed into political imagination or action. I also agree that these attempts at differentiating mundane and reflexive forms of cosmopolitanism is useful in pointing to the globalization of consumption practices and tastes through advanced globalization of capitalism and consumption of media images and differentiating these processes from a change in attitudes. However, I believe that my findings illustrate that mundane consumption can be associated with cosmopolitan outlooks if we pay attention to how the respondents experience certain events and activities and what those *mean* to them. That is, while it might make sense to differentiate mundane and reflexive forms of cosmopolitanism, it is also important to see that they might mean very similar things to people who enact them.

What emerges from the interviews is that empirically these two threads are hard to separate from each other and are generally articulated by the same people. In the case of the above findings, acts of consumption and taste are experienced as self-transformation, and "banal" and "reflective" forms are articulated by the same people with conjunction to each other. In these narratives, what can be seen as "banal forms" are presented as attempts to forge relationships by the respondents, as much as authentic forms. Furthermore, I would also like to underline that it is problematic to differentiate between "reflective" and "unreflective" forms of cosmopolitanism while talking about practices without paying much attention to the content and meaning of those practices. As the above quotes partially illustrate, any activity can be "reflexive" or "unreflexive" and individuals can create a relationship to a place/people through mundane activities. It is through regularly enacted mundane activities that relationships are formed and attitudes change. That is, any research that attempts to study cosmopolitan practices should not focus solely on the form of those practices but on the meaning of them. Otherwise,

claiming that one form is "authentic" and another one "banal" poses the danger of academic arrogance, reflecting our normative stances as researchers without genuine attention to the roles these "forms" play in people's lives.

Having established the first major tenet of the cosmopolitan identity construct that the respondents articulate - "the ability to deal with, be open to, and enjoy differences" - in the next section I carry on with the outcomes of dealing with the difference within the narratives of the respondents, detailing what the self-transformation they are talking about entails.   While exploring the different facets of self-transformation they communicate, my aim is to continue illustrating the meaning and content of the cosmopolitan self as presented by the respondents, and establish the other tenets of the cosmopolitan identity construct.

2. Self-transformation as a Result of Facing the Difference

The result of facing the different, the respondents state, is not only the ability to appreciate and understand differences but also the ability to adapt, adjust and compromise.   That is, the respondents first underline a transformation of cognitive capacities: a change in how one processes and sees things, a change in perspective, by claiming that they became more sensitive to and aware of differences.   Furthermore they connect that to behavioral and attitudinal changes; that is, to a change in how one conducts oneself.

2.1. Ability to Employ Multiple Perspectives

First of all, the respondents claim that they develop the ability to look at things using various perspectives or windows in this process – which is what Rouse (1992, 1991) labels "bifocality," "the capacity to see the world alternatively through quite different lenses" (1992, 41). Rouse uses the concept in the case of immigrants who have the capacity to feel at home in the host-country as well as in their societies of origin, blurring the distinction between the local and the far away (Mahler 1998, 77). In the case of the respondents of this research, I believe it is more appropriate to use "multifocality"

rather than "bifocality" as there are multiple lenses that respondents claim they employ as a result of engaging with several environments; shifting between them, and integrating them into their persona.

For example, when talking about whether she gets to identify with people from different nationalities more as a consequence of her participation in multinational settings, this Turkish respondent in Istanbul articulates how she developed new "windows" for looking at things:

> "Well, I feel, I mean I cannot say I totally identify with them. It is more like you have a new window that opens up in your head; you start thinking about things that you did not think about before. For example, you are using a program here and normally it would be enough for the top-manager to send an email to start the process, but maybe you think about it from an American perspective and then you think you should convince the people who are down below. […] Thus, it is not like you identify with them, but you get to step out of your own frame, you get new windows, it is not identification but more awareness."

Or when asked about how her international experience changed her, this American respondent in NYC explains how she gained "perspective":

> "Well, we all grow up in our little box of our neighborhood when we're little and you have a certain perspective of how people are and how things are done and what people think. And any time you interact with a new person, at some point you are going to see it through their eyes. You're gonna see something differently. And so what that does is that instead of your box being this big, your box grows a little big and though each of those experiences, you just gain perspective or you gain knowledge. You just see how different people think and what kind of mechanisms they are driving with their processes and how does that apply to what you are doing."

The "multifocality" of the respondents, besides their claims about themselves, also comes out in how they reply to questions about almost any subject. In fact, especially expatriate respondents and those respondents who travel a lot, very regularly, use comparative perspectives in their replies and take their experiences in various places into account when talking about a subject. This generally means that they question their own assumptions or statements.

This capacity to recognize and/or employ multiple perspectives in comparison could also mean accepting that one's way of doing things or thinking about situations is one among the various options (and not necessarily always the best). This is specifically what some respondents point to. They emphasize that one "steps out" of his or her "culture" and participates in different worlds by "opening his or herself up" to different ways of doing things and becoming more "tolerant:"

> "You come away in terms of having known another culture, having seen the experience and having lived it, you come away with a whole different perspective on how people live. So just seeing how things ran in Germany and seeing how things run in Turkey, I mean you come away with a whole different understanding…And that is just a very different way than things actually happen in the US. […] Before you have gone overseas I think you'll think your way is probably the best way to do something. Having been overseas, you realize that the way you think it should be done is one of many ways and you will have seen better practices elsewhere. So, you start off a lot more humble when you get- try to do something locally."

Or as this German expatriate in NYC answers when she is asked about what she personally learned from working in a multinational setting:

> "Personally, you just get more tolerant. Because you find people that have really totally different views from what you grew up with, because they just come from a different environment, and if it works for them, why shouldn't it work for me? To accept that you can do things in different ways, that is what I always find the most important thing."

This Turkish expatriate in NYC makes the same point when talking about his experience in the UK:

> "I guess if I have stayed in Turkey, I would have been a very different person. Your way of perceiving the world changes. In Turkey, among my social group we were able to look at things not just from one way but from two three different ways, because our education, *Boğaziçi*, gave us that; but then I got to learn how to look at things from 10 different angles, because whatever is right for me, is not at all important for them, or maybe wrong, but then whatever is right for them is…for us…different. This really teaches you how to be tolerant, more accepting."

Besides the attitudinal changes that the respondents claim they undergo, i.e., being more tolerant, more accepting, more patient etc., this ability to view things from different perspectives, and acceptance that one's way of doing things might not always be the best

way, gets translated into ones way of conducting oneself in the world as the respondents bring together different cultural competencies. That is, the respondents claim that they integrate what they learn into how they live and how they go about doing things. The change in perspective, thus, is related to a change in conduct.

As this American respondent in NYC with extensive international experience explains:

> "I think I look at the world from many different perspectives. And I think that when I approach issues or problems or life in general, I really do take a little bit from Indonesia, a little bit from Africa, a little bit from Latin America. I feel fortunate to be able to do things from a multicultural, multireligious, multinational point of view. And so there are certain things I take from Indonesia or I take from this country, that country."

Similarly, this American expatriate in Istanbul talks about what he learned throughout his multinational career:

> "I learned a lot from the Asians about being subtle and being careful and what you would say one-on-one to a person is very different than what you would say to that person in a group of people. Americans certainly have a style and it's a very effective and – again it's a style that works. But I think that if they opened their eyes to other cultures, it could refine that style to even better point of view."

And this Turkish professional mentions in passing how her experience in Canada contributed to her while she recounts the story of how she got to her current position:

> "[…] Moreover, I am a chatterbox (çenesi düşüğümdür.) I always articulate what I think. That is the most important thing that Canada has contributed to me: being direct and standing for what I believe in. That is how it is in Canada, I don't know maybe it is similar in the U.S. So they saw me being very active, talking and owning some subjects in the meetings […]"

This ability to draw from any cultural system is specifically what authors like Waldron (1992) and Hall (2002) think cosmopolitanism means. As Waldron (1992) states "one can not establish identity without a cultural vocabulary" yet "vocabularies and discourses are now drawn from a variety of cultural repertoires." In this understanding, cosmopolitanism indicates a way of being in the world, a way of constructing an identity for oneself that is different from and arguably opposed to, the idea of belonging to or devotion to or immersion in a particular culture" (Waldron 2000, 227). Yet it is important to underline that while the respondents narrate a process of "mixing and

matching" this is a mixing and matching of perspectives and styles which signifies respondents' ability to exist in and participate in different cultures, thus their "built-up skill of maneuvering through systems of meaning" (Vertovec and Cohen 2002, 13). As such it is a cosmopolitan construct that denotes not only a particular disposition but a *competence*, pointing to the skills of the respondents that they claim they develop through their transnational experience and that enable them to exist and work in countries other than their own. It is these skills and competences that become part of the self-presentation of the respondents.

As such, this self-presentation as cosmopolitan is explicitly different than a "general" sense of cosmopolitanism that Szerszynski and Urry (2002) report finding in their focus group studies involving a wide range of occupational practices, age, gender and local-cosmopolitan lives in Britain. In their study that focuses on "whether a 'culture of cosmopolitanism' is currently emerging out of massively wide ranging 'global' processes" Szerszynski and Urry (2002) show that there is something that could be called a general cosmopolitanism which reflects a "strong awareness of the global flows of money, commodities and pollution; of extended relations connecting people to other peoples, place and environments; of the blurring boundaries of nation, culture, and religion; and of a diverse range of possible local, national, and global experiences." They stress that 'mundane cosmopolitanism' is part of many people's everyday practices as it has developed in and through imaginative travel through the TV (Urry 1999). In fact, most groups in their study demonstrate this sense of a 'mundane cosmopolitanism' even where their lives were currently based within geographically proximate communities. This sense reflects an awareness of a "shrinking world" and connections between places and people.

This general sense of cosmopolitanism, which is fed by an enormous amount of media output that use an array of global images (Szerszynski and Urry 2002) is part of the cosmopolitan identity that the respondents voice; in fact, the respondents do make

statements that underline a sense of a shrinking world and connections between places and people, such as when this respondent talks about what he thinks is a cosmopolitan:

"Just someone who's aware of the world around them, and someone who seems how – see beyond their own borders. Who sees that what – for an American, like what we do impacts most other places in the world on a daily basis."

However, the cosmopolitan identity enacted by the respondents here entails more than that. It involves more than a curiosity for cultures, and an awareness of a shrinking world: it emphasizes and articulates skills that one needs in order to maneuver through different cultures, thus, it puts forward a cosmopolitan identity as a competence.

2.2. A Reflexive Distance toward one's Country and the Fear of the "Typical"

Developing the capacity to employ multiple perspectives, and appreciating differences enable the respondents articulate a reflexive distance towards their own culture, as the last quote presented above also illustrates. That is, they get to situate the culture and way of doing things back in their home-country in perspective: "the way things were done or seen back home" becomes one of the available options. This can mean that the respondents adopt a more critical look towards their home-country and co-nationals.

When voicing this distance from and criticisms toward the home-country and co-nationals, respondents yet again voice themes from the cosmopolitan identity construct: enjoyment and appreciation of differences, the ability to put aside "blinders" and the need to be open to others. While articulating these, a significant number of them attempt to differentiate themselves from what they portray as the "typical" American or Turk. This American expatriate, for example, talks about how being outside of the country for a long time changed him:

"I think my co-workers will tell you I'm the most un-American American that they've ever met. […] I have changed. I would definitely say I was the typical American in the early days and I've changed. So I think that part of it is because I've been out and part of it is because – you know, it is easy to stand outside and look in and criticize, right? So you know, I probably would have also might have been caught up buying the biggest house and

mortgaging out my future and buying the biggest car. Who knows, if I'd stayed."

This differentiating themselves from the "typical" co-nationals in the narratives in effect works to emphasize their cosmopolitan outlook. That is, through criticizing and narrating what they do not like about their "typical" co-nationals and "the way things are back home," in a way by constructing its negative counterpart, they paint the ideal cosmopolitan. Their ideal of becoming "worldly," "knowledgeable," and "interested," about the world opposes the "ignorance" and lack of interest of the co-nationals, their ideals of being "aware," "sensitive," "humble," and "able to relate to others," opposes the "arrogant" and "isolated" co-nationals. The quotes below about the respondents' interactions back in their home-country illustrate some of these images:

> "In the United States when I go back, I still sense in conversations with good friends and family, a lot of what I call a dangerous combination of ignorance and arrogance wrapped up into one by the typical American. They don't understand the world. They don't understand Istanbul, Taipei, or Paris for that matter. And they don't make any efforts to try. […] Then when you do get them to talk about politics, you frankly, or you do try to talk, maybe not necessarily about politics, but about the world. You see their fear and ignorance and arrogance kick in all at once and almost like their communication shades come down. And it's like because they don't know and therefore they just assume it's bad. And Americans end up assuming too many things are wrong with other societies and it's looking not for what's wrong, but they should start looking for what's right."

> "I am mostly critical of the insularity of Americans and the lack of knowledge about how the rest of the world lives, operates, and works."

In these first two quotes the respondents – as we have seen before – emphasize the need to "know" and "learn" about the rest of the world, reinforce the relationship between seeing, knowing, and learning, when talking about the "ignorance" and "insularity" of the typical American.   Similarly, when asked about what she criticizes in the U.S. this female respondent in NYC who has lived in Germany for multiple years replies:

> "So I would say, "oh, I live in Germany" and they would be like, "oh, well, that is great." And I talk to you for about 30 seconds and their eyes glaze over and, okay, move on to something else. I think people have a tendency to be focused on their local things and get involved in their local life and they don't really look outside of it."

In this quote, too, "being focused on 'local' things" is related to the inability to not being able to look outside of one's immediate surroundings. In the next quote, another respondent talks about his pride about not being seen as the "typical American" and associates the "typical" with "parochial":

> "…hearing what people think about Americans and very often I get the compliment that when I'm working in international circles that you're one of us, you can relate to us because you're not a typical American. And I take that as a compliment. You know, and I feel like for example in my (company name) world, I'd never previously worked in Latin America. Don't speak Spanish all that well, and yet, people accepted me very well because they saw in me an ability to relate to them in certain ways that people from developing countries do. And I'm one of them in that regard.
>
> *(I ask)* So, what do you think they imagine when they think of an American?
>
> Very looking at issues from the US out. Parochial, very condescending, very… somewhat arrogant in that regard."

Here not being typical is used to indicate "an ability to relate" to people who are "different" from the respondent. Arrogance is seen as a trait that prevents this. The next quote also illustrates "arrogance" as a characteristic to be avoided:

> "Americans think that they are the center of the universe. And kind of cocky about that, you know? And I didn't realize that until I went away and I lived somewhere else. I mean, generally speaking it is not a plus, like we are the best and we know it and that's it. So, it is that conceited attitude that I don't like."

Sometimes, the respondents relate this presumed insularity, and the parochial-ness of the "typical" co-national, to the homogeneity of small towns and small town mentalities. Thus the respondents emphasize their "urban" identities by identifying with what they see as international, multicultural, heterogeneous cities where one is more likely to find other people who are "open" to differences like they are. For example, when I asked this German expatriate whether when she gets back to Germany she feels like it is hard to relate to people, she explains:

> "Not with the friends I have, because they are all well-traveled themselves. Maybe they haven't lived out of Germany, but they do know lots of different people. So, I sometimes get that feeling, when I visit my parents and I go – we live in a very little town – and I go to the town square, to one of the shops there, and I meet someone I know from school or something and they have never been anywhere else, there have been times that I felt well they are

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really narrow-minded and I could not, well, I did not want to live there, that is probably why I would pick a bigger city, where it is more internationalized, where they have more people, where you have the feeling that these people are themselves more open…"

Similarly this British expatriate in Istanbul states:

"If I were to remain in a very small white, middle-class, English town for all my life, I'd probably have a very good life – don't get me wrong – but for me, it wouldn't be a full life and it wouldn't be a completely fulfilled life."

Similar quotes are also common in the Turkish interviews, differentiating the respondent from "other" or "typical" Turks. Here a Turkish expatriate is talking about his uncle who lives in France:

"My uncle is in France, too for example. So I am Turkish and my uncle is Turkish as well, but we belong to different worlds. My uncle for example went to France 30 years ago with his wife. They are in southern France, beautiful place, amazing nature, all green etc. But, so they came here as the Turkish community, France gave them a place, a big building, they are living there, there is a Turkish store, there is a small mosque. Really, it is just like a small Turkey, you know? When I go there I ask "so what is different"? You have taken your life from Turkey and transplanted it here without changing anything. The way you dress, the way you talk."

In this quote the expatriate differentiates himself from other Turkish immigrants by stressing their lack of adaptation to their surroundings, their resistance to change, their static nature. As stated above, through these quotes, the respondents create the boundaries of expected/accepted behavior and norms within their multinational social group: being worldy, adaptable, flexible and most importantly, open-minded. For expatriates, these are other expatriates and/or "well-traveled people" with whom they share "similar stories" and a "common language." In fact, while expatriates as a group seem to identify with other expatriates (and state this in their interviews as one can see in the below quotes) what they emphasize in their quotes is attitudes, interests, taste, and life-styles of the expatriates.

"Most Americans that I identify with at this stage in my life are those that have been or remaining ex-pats"

"I just came from – every two years they have this sales director meeting globally. And it's amazing. You know, I sit next to my Hungarian friend who runs Hungary, and my Polish friend who runs Poland and the American who runs Russia. And we all sit together. We don't sit with the guys that

have stayed in the United States their whole career. We can't relate to them anymore."

"Frankly, most of the people that I've met that are similar to me that have lived abroad, whether they are American or whether they are Canadian or whether they are European, I think we now all view the world a little bit more half full versus half empty because we've had the luck and the pleasure of living and working in different cultures."

"What I would say is given the fact that we're here for a relatively short period of time, actually having people with similar backgrounds but from different parts of the world, even different parts of the U.K. – but certainly different parts of Europe – means that you've kind of got almost a common language. I don't just mean English, but in terms of interests and awareness, people who read newspapers, who are aware what's going on in the world; aware of political issues and what have you. So you've got a good starting point, yeah?"

As it is the attitudes and tastes that are emphasized, the act of identifying with other expatriates/professionals is not unconditional. Similar norms are used to establish a boundary when expatriates talk about how they are not "typical" or "old-fashioned" expatriates. For example, this English expatriate in Istanbul talks about his going to business meetings in the British Council and how he got scared of the older expatriates there:

"There's a generational difference. […] I think there's a little bit of kind of living in the, living in the Raj, does that, do you understand that? The Raj as in the old Indian Empire? So, they're a little bit more - you can imagine them whipping the natives. And it's very much like colonial Expat, rather I say that, a modern Expat is just somebody who happens to be from a different country working there. […] Yeah. I'm not here to rule over a group of kind of local idiots who can't do anything more than rub two sticks together. It's a completely different situation."

Here, again, the respondent establishes the boundary between the "colonial expatriate" and "modern expatriate" using their relationships to the locals and the locality as the yardstick. In a similar manner, this British expatriate in Istanbul, while underscoring that they socialize with other expatriates, repeatedly wants to differentiate himself and his wife from people who only socialize with other expatriates, and tries to distance himself from the image of a typical expatriate who is socializing with and throwing dinner parties for only other expatriates:

"The expat groups - very prone to sort of gossips and cliques, and things like that because people are thrown together. You know, people you would not necessarily be friendly with in the U.K. or in New York, suddenly you're kind of thrown together with. As I say, a lot of people kind of find themselves obliged to get these big groups, and they all have to go around to each other's houses in rotation, and stuff like that. I find that sort of – it doesn't particularly appeal. […] Don't get me wrong from my earlier comments. We do go to dinner parties and have people around for dinner, and that. We just try not to make it sort of, you know, the old Rotary Club rooter whose turn it is to host 12 people."

Similarly, while the British expatriate above differentiates between the "colonial" expatriates and the "modern" expatriates, this American professional in NYC who has worked as an expatriate makes a similar distinction pointing to generational difference between expatriates and differentiates himself from those in how they treat the "locals":

"When I went to Puerto Rico we had a guy that who was running a project – he was like "do it my way", why? Because I said so, because you guys don't know what you are doing, you guys are dumb. You are stupid. I didn't like that guy. His method was like berate the hell out of them because you want to. He was very arrogant. So for a lot of us younger guys and a lot of the newer guys when we went there, they viewed us like the enemy because everyone that preceded us gave them crap, told them they didn't know nothing. You got to do it our way or whatever… And a lot of the younger guys, what do we care? We're paid the same thing no matter what we – and we're there to help. We are going to help you do it. We understand if there is more than one way of doing it. I may think that my way is easier, but hey, if you want to do it your way and get to the same place... […] And however you do it is fine as long as you do it."

Thus, while the respondents want to differentiate themselves from their "typical" co-nationals, they also do not want to be seen as "typical" expatriates. In both cases they draw the boundaries of their social group by stressing similar attitudes and tastes. Moreover, in both cases while creating a boundary between co-nationals and themselves, and between expatriates and themselves, they emphasize the relationship with those that are "different," once more underlining its importance in the self-presentation. One can argue the label that seems to be avoided here is not "Turkish" "American" or "expatriate," but "typical." That is, the "other" in these cases is not ethnic, or racial, or national – it is "typical," as typical in these narratives implies an inability to adapt, to be flexible, and to be open. It is the fixing of the identity, the boxed-in nature of the "typical" identity that respondents seem to shun, personifying Bauman's postmodern

individuals who try to avoid fixity at all costs (Bauman 1996). In a fluid market where flexibility and mobility are the ultimate capitals, it seems like the respondents have created a self-presentation and identification that resists being fixed down into a box, that embraces (and as I will argue below, *has* to embrace) this flexibility.

3. Flexible Identities in a Global Market

While it is in their resistance to be defined as "typical" that one can see this willingness to embrace a fluid, flexible sense of identity, the respondents also repeatedly voice and emphasize their 'flexibility' and 'adaptability' in the interviews. Combined with what I have presented in the above sections - the openness, the ability to deal with differences, the ability to entertain multiple perspectives - this flexibility and adaptability culminate in and are part of one of the main and in the case of the transnational professionals, one of the most important tenets of the cosmopolitan identity construct: the ability to live "anywhere." Especially, for the longer term expatriates, this ability and the mobility it assumes are defining traits of their self-representation and a source of pride – it becomes part of "who they are" as one expatriate states:

> "I can go anywhere and work there, and live there and you know, and this is just what we do."

Similarly, this French expatriate in Istanbul describes the process of mobility and adaptation to another country as "second nature:"

> "You know, it becomes second nature that – you feel that, okay, nothings seems foreign, you know, anymore. You understand there's different culture and so you adapt to it and, you know, you get into it very quick and you communicate within a country like with human beings more than anything else, you know."

The quote below from a Turkish professional with international experience illustrates the self-presentation as a cosmopolitan which is based on an understanding of mobility, and relatedly, adaptability:

> "I believe I am cosmopolitan – I am someone who can live in any kind of context. There is a process to it, but I see myself as someone who can adapt to any place. [..] I am sure I can be successful about things that I already know. About things that I don't know, there would be a learning process."

While this "fluid" cosmopolitan identity seems to be a source of pride and thus is narrated in a positive manner, it is also apparent in the interviews, that this sense of fluidity is necessitated by the conditions of the global market in which the respondents are functioning – that is the fluid identity is a reaction / a result of the constraints that the respondents are facing. There is a sense of fluidity in the respondents' lives as they are surrounded by and function in a fluid environment that restrains them in their ability to plan ahead. Thus the "fluidity" implies not only "abilities" but also lack of them: the lack of ability to set permanent goals and to stick to them, the lack of ability to look into future and plan things, the lack of control, and relatedly, the feeling of insecurity. For example, this sense of fluidity comes out strongly in the way respondents reply to questions about their career plans, specifically to where they see themselves in 5 years. The respondents generally do not know where they will be in the next 5-10 years – neither in terms of their position, nor in terms of their company, but also not geographically. For example when I ask this Turkish expatriate in NYC where he thinks he will be in 5 years he replies:

> "That…that really never matches your plans. If I thought about it 5 years ago – that I was going to be in New York – it would have not occurred to me. I guess I wouldn't be in Turkey in 5 years. Would be somewhere – probably England."

Similarly, this is how a female Turkish professional responds to me when I learn that she wants to go abroad for her career, and ask her what her plans are. Her response implies a sense of flexibility in a fluid environment but also a sense of lack of control, which requires her to be flexible and mobile:

> "I don't have a – I'll stay abroad 'till I die kinda thing. Or I don't have such a career plan. I can go and come back or I can go somewhere else. I am not someone who likes to plan a lot. Because no matter how much we plan things, at the end of the day, we do not control everything. That is what I believe in; because of that there is no point in saying "I am going to do this job in London." The position I want in London might never be opened. But instead a position like that might open in Dubai, and I can go to Dubai. And after Dubai, lets say if there is a good position in China, or a position that would be good for me, I might go to China. So there is no, I'll stay in London for two years and go to Russia then, kind of thing."

A similar sense of lack of long term planning and relatedly, lack of sense of security, in relation to a fluid environment where things "change" comes out in this quote from a Turkish upper level executive in Istanbul:

"As you get higher up your employment security goes down […] The company might want to initiate some movement. If in that change process you accept change, if they want to move you from one place to another, if you accept that, you'll continue moving up but then you wouldn't know where you can stop or when you can get back. […] We work on contracts – 3 year contracts. What will happen after 3 years, if I invest in something, if I buy a house, I cannot see what will happen in 3 years. If you are lucky you'll get a really good offer, but you are always in that expectant situation."

Thus, the paths that the respondents see for themselves are opaque. Rather than sticking to a planned course of action, they underline that they should "be realistic" and accept that "things change," and "go with the flow," "follow opportunities" as they present themselves. In fact, even when they plan or foresee things they condition their replies by stressing that "things change" just like this Turkish professional in Istanbul does:

"Actually my boss now is probably going to retire in the next I would say three to four years. And I would like to see myself running the group. That's where I would like to see myself here. But, you know, I also know, I am realistic and you know you set goals like that but things change. Things change all the time."

That is, in this environment the respondents believe that being successful requires hard work, but also embracing the fluidity, and being open to opportunities, wherever they are. This is what Sennett (1998, 2006) examines when he talks about the modern forms of flexibility in the "new capitalism" and its culture and social consequences, examining what kind of a human being can prosper under the unstable, fragmented social conditions. In the context of a flexible economy Sennett argues that cutting edge firms and flexible organizations need people

"who can learn new skills rather than cling to old competencies. The dynamic organization emphasizes the ability to process and interpret changing bodies of information and practice. […] A person's 'potential' consist in how capable he or she is in moving from problem to problem, subject to subject" (Sennett 2006, 115).

Talking about the achievers in the economy he states "their achievements they owe to the practice of flexibility" (Sennett 1998, 61). This practice of flexibility requires lack of long-term attachments, but also "positioning oneself in a network of possibilities" (Sennett 1998, 62). It is "a state of living in the pure process" where work is "a position in a constantly changing network" (Sennett 2006, 140). Relatedly, he claims "the social skill required by a flexible organization is the ability to work well with others in short-lived teams […] 'I can work with anyone' is the social formula for potential ability" (Sennett 2006, 126).

While I find Sennett's analysis very insightful, I want to extend upon it and claim that among the transnational professionals that I observe, the formula for potential ability is "I can work with anyone, *anywhere*." Sennett focuses on the American workforce and does not primarily concern himself with the global configuration and spatial expansion of capital and what that means for the psyche of the employees. Yet this late stage of capitalism that he is examining has been described as Late Capitalism, Flexible Production or Accumulation, and Disorganized Capitalism, but also Global Capitalism (Harvey 1990; Jameson 1991) as new technologies expanded the spatial extension of production as well as its speed to unprecedented degrees. The transnational companies that dominate the global economy can be perceived as integrated networks, spanning cross-border activities that are sustained by communication and mobility between different subsidiaries and head office (Dicken 1998; Morgan 2001). Consequently, as these companies globalize their human resources, one can talk about global professional labor markets that are produced "as an organizational strategy to deliver transnational knowledge management (Beaverstock 2004, 4).[24]"

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[24] The organizational strategy to use international assignees (expatriates) rather than local professional staff has been discussed in management sciences. Edstrom and Galbraith (1977b, 1977a), discussing expatriation within multinational corporations suggested that expatriation occurred for one or more of three main reasons: First, to fill vacancies that cannot be filled by locally qualified personnel; second, to develop the international experience of management within the firm; third, as a corporate policy to develop the organization as a whole. Current research also shows that professional service firms use "global circulation of professional staff" as a business system to transfer knowledge, expertise and professionalism cross-border (Beaverstock 2004, 11).

In this context, it is important to point that corporations require "global competence" to manage production and markets – as markets are opening up there is a parallel increase in need for employees who would be able to work and manage different environments (Hunter et al. 2006, 273). In this environment, the cosmopolitan identity that the respondents enact is also what they *need* to enact in order to be marketable and successful in the global market. In fact, the definition of the word "globally competent" which is gaining cachet in business, government and human resource argot (Hunter et al. 2006, 268) fits with the definitions of a "cosmopolitan." According to an international panel of experts, a working definition for the term global competence is:

> "having an open mind while actively seeking to understand cultural norms and expectations of others, leveraging this gained knowledge to interact, communicate and work effectively outside one's environment." (Hunter et al. 2006, 270)

Similarly, this is how a transnational consulting group defines global competence: " the capacity of an individual or team to parachute into any country and get the job done while respecting cultural pathways." (Hunter et al. 2006, 274). While there are different definitions, they all stress the ability to get a job done in a new environment while being open to different cultural norms and expectations.

Thus the cosmopolitan identity that the respondents narrate is not only strengthened by their experiences but it is also *necessitated* by the global market. That is, the cultural performance of the respondents (as evidenced in their narratives) is linked to the cultural values in the global economy (Ong 1992). As Thompson and Tambyah (1999, 214) state, their cosmopolitanism is "a collectively shared identity project whose discourses are integral to the dominant cultural logic of post-Fordist, globalizing market." In this context where global companies are looking for professionals who are "globally competent" the cosmopolitan identity, and specifically the experience of mobility, articulated as competence, is also capital that affirms that the professional can function and be successful in various environments. Yet while the mobility and the cosmopolitan identity that is based on the mobility and flexibility function as capital in the global market, access to these is uneven in different locations within the market.

4. Final Remarks on the Narratives: Who articulates the Cosmopolitan Identity Constructs?

As illustrated in the quotes in the above sections, while talking about how their experiences within the transnational network transform them, respondents draw on instances and experiences from social life and also from work/office situations to make and demonstrate their points. As such these themes are articulated both by expatriates who live outside of their home-countries and by local professionals who have to work in other countries regularly. This, however, does not mean that there is no variation in who uses the cosmopolitan identity constructs more regularly and how they use them.

As touched upon above, among all the respondents, expatriates overall are more likely to bring up cosmopolitan identity constructs. Moreover, their narratives are also generally more elaborate. That is, they are more likely to draw on real life examples/instances to make their point, rather than just asserting particular statements as commonsensical feelings, which is more likely in the case of local participants. While the local respondents with regional duties are also likely to touch upon cosmopolitan identity constructs, their replies are less elaborate. Moreover, a similar variation in the responses can be observed between expatriates who are on their first or second post vs. long term expatriates who have been to multiple posts over many years. Longer term expatriates communicate the above themes more regularly, strongly, elaborately than the short term expatriates.

What might these variations mean? Here I would like to propose two plausible and connected explanations:

While it is clear from the interviews that participation in the network creates a general feeling of "being part of a global network" at all levels (and this is specially important for the Turkish respondents for reasons I will deal with in Chapter III),

cosmopolitan identity constructs figure out more prominently when respondents have to participate in transnational activities that involve regular face-to-face contact and relocation. I argue that this is because the transnational network in these cases allows for participation in multinational interaction by *creating spaces of interaction and spaces of sociability*. It is in these spaces of interaction and sociability that the respondents articulate and affirm their interpersonal capacities (of dealing with "differences"), work out feelings of commonness or difference and create longer-lasting social bonds with non-nationals.

Interaction and sociability – which is possible within the business settings – is even more likely, if and when there is the possibility that the transnational business network gets translated into a transnational social network. When this happens, the professional ends up being embedded in a transnational network both in work and non-work settings. Relatedly, one can argue that the expatriates articulate cosmopolitan identity constructs more regularly because they are embedded within both transnational business and social networks. In their cases, not only do they have to work in foreign offices, but they also partake in social networks that are multi/cross-national. As I will touch upon on chapter IV, the friendship networks of expatriates are more multinational than the locals. Moreover, in the case of expatriates, not only is the professional embedded into a transnational social network but the relocation necessitates that within their daily life and practices the professional deals with non-national "locals" to a certain extent.

The main difference, thus, between the local and expatriate participants is not their mobility per se, but the degree and regularity in which they get to participate in transnational social circles besides the business circles. So while there are local professionals who are very mobile and thus are embedded into transnational interactions strongly in their business network, it is mostly in the case of expatriates that the transnational business network gets translated into a transnational social network. In fact, when the local respondents with regional duties talk about these themes, they also point

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to and stress how they get to spend time "socially" with their business partners in different countries (as significant experiences within the transnational network). Not surprisingly, the longer professionals are involved within transnational networks, the stronger and more elaborate their self-representations as cosmopolitan get, which could explain why longer term expatriates are more elaborate in their narratives.

However, if the cosmopolitan identity can be seen as the "ideology of the liberal managerial class" (Robbins 2001) and also capital within global market, then one could argue that the expatriates, being generally older and higher-up within the hierarchy of the corporate structures, might be steeped more in the business culture and ideology of the corporations, identify more with it and reflect it in their narratives. While I will not be able to identify which explanation is more plausible, I think there is some truth to both of these interrelated explanations.

Chapter III

The Meaning of the Transnational in Comparison

In the previous chapter I have presented material that illustrated the cosmopolitan identity construct that the respondents in this research are enacting. I demonstrated how the respondents narrate an identity that stresses adaptability and flexibility. The previous chapter primarily focused on the commonalities that brought these professionals from diverse backgrounds together in their cosmopolitan identities as they enact them. In this chapter, as I examine the meaning of the "transnational" and "mobility" for the respondents, I will shift my focus to the *variation* in the narratives which I will argue is correlated with their entry point (and thus their national backgrounds) into the global market and reflects the unevenness of the global market. That is, while underlining the distinct ways my American and Turkish respondents narrate their choices and experiences in relation to their careers in transnational corporations, my goal is to work against the sense of homogeneity when it comes to the presentation of transnational professionals in the scholarly work that I touched upon in Chapter I.

I will explore the differential meaning-making and identification processes in the global market that are shaped by the specific cultural and social contexts of the various localities as well as the structure of the global market. As such, this chapter emphasizes conditions of plurality within the global market that are characterized and shaped by the articulation of historical and geographical specificities of particular localities with the globalizing forces. The identification and meaning-making processes of respondents reflect these conditions of plurality. Specifically, I illustrate that the transnational company is interpreted as a link to the "West" and an access to global market/circulation for the Turkish respondents. It is this *access* to global circulation and to the "West" that

the Turkish respondents need and seek to attain the necessary cultural and social capital to participate in the transnational business network and to ascend within the hierarchy of the corporations for which they work. Relatedly, I argue that the Turkish respondents underline the access in their narratives specifically because their access is limited. I will also argue that while mobility has multiple meanings and roles for the respondents, it also constitutes not only *access to capital*, but *capital in and of itself within the global market*. What is important for the purposes of this research is that depending on where they are entering into the global network, the respondents have differential access to this capital.

Moreover, in Turkey the value of working in a TNC is constructed in juxtaposition to an idealized version of "local Turkish" firm which underlines the West-Rest binary which is ingrained into the secular respondents' worldviews. Relatedly, while both group of respondents articulate very strong professional middle class identities, in the U.S. this identity is anchored in a strong work-ethic, whereas in Turkey it is relational, defined by a relationship to the West. Working in a TNC, since it strengthens the links of the Turkish respondents to the "West," functions to solidify their middle class identities and thus, plays an important role in the self-identification of the respondents assuming significance beyond being "just a job." There is no similar comparison in the U.S. where what matters primarily is the size and thus the opportunities provided by the TNC. The American professionals, being in what is considered one of the centers of the global market and accustomed to the super-power status of the U.S., naturalize both the TNCs' global network and thus the global opportunity frame and do not treat the TNCs as access.

I employ social and cultural capital as formulated by Bourdieu (1986) while I examine why and how the transnational company attains differential significance for the respondents. According to Bourdieu, whereas cultural capital comprises the resources one attains through socialization and education, social capital is the sum total of the "aggregate resources linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition -- or in other

words, to membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu 1986, 249).[25] While Bourdieu limits his analysis to the scope of the national, I expand upon his analysis by examining social and cultural capital within the framework of the transnational business network, in the global market, taking transnational corporations (TNCs) as major institutions of the global market. As Robinson (2004, 55) states:

> "The ability of TNCs to plan, organize, coordinate, and control activities across countries makes them central agents of globalization and transnational processes. They are the institutional form in which global capital accumulation is organized, the embodiment of transnational capital. […] TNCs constitute a major integrating agent in the creation of transnational social structures."

Relatedly, it has been argued for transnational capitalist classes "the spread of TNC network foments transnational capitalist class formation" (Robinson 2004, 56). Among their wide-ranging activities, the TNCs function to incorporate the new middle classes of countries like Turkey into the global labor market. One can argue that one facet of their integrating action is to integrate the global middle class by providing them with and standardizing their credentials. Thus, (in the first section) this chapter underlines how transnational corporations are and are perceived as stratifying agents within global market providing access to cultural and social capital. This action is clearly perceived and articulated by the Turkish respondents, who feel they are 'outside' of global circulation, in the periphery, and thus have to struggle to access those capitals.

I will start this chapter by presenting the narratives of the respondents as they talk about the significance of the transnational nature of the company they work for, and by demonstrating the variation between the American and Turkish respondents' narratives in Section 1. I will then explain this variation by stressing the role of the company as access to cultural and social capital in the case of Turkish responses in Section 2. I will also show what mobility means for this access, and how mobility, which is naturalized in the

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[25] Bourdieu distinguishes between social and cultural capital and I follow with this formulation here, even though I think at times the distinction not clear, theoretically or empirically.

American responses, is a major concern for the Turkish respondents in Section 3. Finally, in Section 4 I will turn to the meanings that are associated with working in a TNC in Turkey, to show how it gets to be integrated within the existing frames in contemporary Turkey.

1. The Meaning of the Transnational Network

Working in a major transnational company is valued by both the American and the Turkish respondents. Being (highly-skilled) middle to higher level managers in Fortune 500 companies and in professional service firms that serve Fortune 500 companies, the respondents in this research fall into middle-to upper-middle class socioeconomic brackets in their respective societies and consider themselves to be so. All the respondents of this research attest to making a "decent" living; they all have health care benefits, live in well-off neighborhoods, work in airy, well-designed offices, and demonstrate moderately high levels of job satisfaction. Almost all profess a steady upper movement in their career trajectories over the years and most of them are not very worried about their future and future employment prospects[26]. The respondents do articulate criticisms about their working conditions such as having too long working hours and thus, "not having a life"; the alienating nature of working in what is considered to be a big bureaucracy, "being a cog in a big machine"; and the unstable nature of the global market and the lack of job security and the pressure to perform that comes with it, "I might be here today, gone tomorrow; I need to always perform my best." While there are criticisms and concerns, the respondents of this research are overall content about their working conditions and relatedly, about the life standards they achieve through their employment. They consider themselves generally lucky and well off in relation to employment in their companies. That is, for both the American and the Turkish respondents, working in a TNC presents a decent work environment and access to

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[26] Note that my interviews were conducted before the economic crisis in 2008 and thus, reflect the relatively more optimistic economic environment then.

significant amount of resources that leads to high levels of job satisfaction by providing opportunities for professional development and relateldy, self-respect[27].

To be able to gauge the role and meaning of the transnational company for the respondents I asked them to recount their personal career history, their career path – how they ended up where they did, what they were looking for when searching for jobs (at the university, out of the university) at significant turning points in their careers - how they made some important decisions regarding their careers. I inquired about the particular reasons they looked for specific jobs and how they still feel about their current employment. I also asked the expatriates their reasons for working abroad; whether they have planned this when they were looking for employment in their current companies, what they were expecting, and how they made the decision to go abroad[28].

1.1. The significance of employment in a transnational company in the narratives of the respondents

The picture that emerges from the replies to these questions poses a striking contrast between the American and Turkish (and in fact, European) respondents. Employment in a TNC is valued by both the American and the Turkish respondents, yet these two groups value different facets of the experience, and specifically and more importantly for my purposes, impute different levels of importance/significance to the global/transnational nature of the company for which they work. While it is clear that the Turkish respondents *deliberately* search for a transnational company, for the American

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[27] This contentment, however, is generally voiced in a relative/comparative framework in Turkey while it is more of a self-contained and autonomous framework in the U.S. That is, while there are more complaints about life standards and limited career choices in Turkey than in the U.S., in Turkey those respondents who are critical *voice contentment in relation to lower socio-economic groups in Turkey*, "I guess I am lucky, I should not complain, there are so many poor people here," attesting to an innate fear of falling of the middle class. The same comparative framework is not employed as regularly in the American narratives. This could be because the "middle class" is an inclusive status in the U.S., covering a wide range of income and education levels (See Wolfe (1998, 1-5) on the propensity of Americans to call themselves middle class, and the inclusive nature of the middle class status in United States). One can argue that the middle class is more precarious in Turkey, that the middle class respondents have to put in more effort to maintain that status, that there is more of a fear about what is to happen if one were to lose their employment, especially given the very visible income equality that has been growing over the last 20 years in Turkey.

[28] Some of these questions necessarily required the respondents to reflect on the decisions they made in their pasts – thus the replies were retrospective and could be considered more accurately as revealing what the respondents thought now about what they thought then.

respondents, especially at the onset of their careers, the global/transnational nature of the company seems to be secondary and largely of minor importance. Almost all the Turkish respondents recount that they looked for a "transnational" or "international" firm to work for at the start of their careers. For the Turkish respondents the transnational nature of the company is of paramount importance and is cited as a primary/decisive factor when they were looking for employment. In contrast the American respondents not only do not emphasize this aspect a lot, but also do not count it as one of their primary considerations for choosing one company over the other[29]. That is, while it is specifically the transnational nature of the company that is a big draw for the Turkish respondents, this facet does not play a prominent role in the calculations of the American respondents[30].

Working in a Transnational in the Narratives of the American Respondents:

When the American respondents talk about their career history, specifically in relation to what they wanted to do while they were in college and how they went about looking for employment, how or why they preferred TNCs at the point they got to choose (if they had a choice) they emphasize the *size* of the global corporations for which they work. In these narratives the *size* of the company accounts for opportunities of professional growth and stability of employment over the long term. Moreover, while the American respondents strongly emphasize the professional motif of seeking constant challenge and growth, they do not identify the transnational companies as the only place where they have the opportunity for professional growth. In fact, most of the American respondents either have considered it/or still consider it plausible to work in different employment situations (such as start-up, smaller scale companies, independent consulting etc.). For example, this American respondent in a major NYC based multinational talks about how she went from another multinational to her current position when I asked her whether the global nature of the company was primary in her considerations at that point in her career. Her outlook that values the experience over the institutional set-up, while

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[29] "Transnational" or "international" comes to be equated with "foreign" in the responses of Turkish professionals. I will turn to this subject in the following pages.
[30] There were very few American respondents who did say that they were looking for a company that will allow them to travel. I briefly mention these in Section 3 below.

not without variation among the respondents themselves, is indicative of the American respondents' stance on the issue:

> "Personally…no, I mean, for me it is the value of the experience, whether it is at a place like [her current place of employment, global bank] or momandpopdotcom. To me that is not – that is secondary to what you actually learn, hmmm, to how these different scenarios help you improve your skills whether it is communications or text skills, or whatever it is. So my plan, I hadn't ever had a plan; my approach has always been what is the next step up, whether it is a baby step or a huge jump, where I can use the skills I have, perfect those, but also continue to acquire new skills… So the fact that I came to [current company] of three hundred twenty five thousand or went to a smaller company than [her old company, pharmaceutical multinational] I was indifferent, it did not matter. It was more about the opportunity, or the people I would be working with, that's what helped me to make my decision."

Accordingly, the career paths of the American respondents are more varied than the Turkish respondents: there are multiple American respondents who started their careers in smaller companies and moved up for example; the Turkish respondents, however, have almost invariably started their careers in major multinationals.   Relatedly, the 'nationality' of the company for which they work for (if one can talk about the nationality of the company) does not really matter for the American respondents. While most of the American respondents in my sample work for U.S. headquartered companies, they claim they would be happy working for comparable companies headquartered in other countries.   Moreover, there is no differentiation between a "local" company and a "foreign" company in the narratives of the American respondents.

Finally, the narration of the American respondents emphasizes a sense of natural progression/chance/serendipity. The career of the respondents, especially in terms of global mobility, "kind of happens;" as a natural side-effect as they were looking for the best opportunities to develop themselves professionally. The narratives do not strongly emphasize choice or intent, especially at the onset of the respondents' career, again naturalizing their privileged access in the narratives. Relatedly, there is no sense in the American respondents that they looked for or went out of their ways to find a company with a global reach – rather it is as if they ended up with one and moved from there.

As I stated above, when I ask the American respondents whether their current company's global or international nature mattered for them when they were getting into it, most reply negatively. The global nature of the company is definitely not the first characteristic that they looked for. The statement below is typical for the American respondents in the sample. When I ask whether he considered the multinational nature/global reach of the company when he was looking to be employed, this consultant in a French multinational in NYC, he replies:

> "It wasn't unimportant to me, but it wasn't the key decision criteria. The key decision criteria I think was culture, professional development, and ability to sort of get a lot of experience in various fields. So, sort of just build out my knowledge base. I think, and then there was a financial component as well, obviously. I mean the fact that it was a good brand played a role. […] And I think from an international perspective, you know I wasn't specifically focused on oh, you know I have to have something that's global. Yeah. I would say there'd be, the fact that it was a multi, well-known multinational would have been a secondary criteria."

When I ask this American expatriate in Istanbul whether he considered the international nature of the company he was working for when he started working there he replies "No" and he goes on to recount:

> "Well, when I started at [current company] - actually I got married shortly after I started at the company and my wife's dad was in the Navy and she had moved like every two years. And my family had largely – we'd moved maybe two times in the total time we were growing up. And my perception was, I said, "You know, are you sure you'll be able to be happy if we kind of stay in one place and I have a career and not – if we stay in this part of the country?" And so, she's like, "Yeah, we'll do that." And it turns out like every two years we've been doing international moves, back and forth – so it has been – it was not a plan. And for my career, you know, I am interested, I have a job that I enjoy, I like having fun with what I am doing, I am happy, I get fairly compensated […] as long as I am having fun and getting well paid, then it is a great, it is a great life."

This narrative emphasizes the unplanned, serendipitous nature of the global aspect of the career and presents it as a by-product of the career progression as the respondent is looking for a "fun" position that pays well. In fact, while some American respondents do care about the global reach of their companies and affirm that they enjoy that facet of their job, and almost all say that they will look for employment in a similar company if

they were to look for a place to work now, they report that they came to value the global nature of the company *after* they start working in it and experiencing it. That is, being in one of the "centers" of the global market, the American respondents do not clearly differentiate between the "global" and the "local" in their narratives and experience the global only as a byproduct and over a long time frame.

Working in a Transnational in the Narratives of the Turkish Respondents:

This picture is the opposite of what the Turkish respondents narrate about their career choices. In the Turkish case, as I have emphasized above, the global/transnational nature of the companies is one of the primary characteristics that the respondents claim they looked for at the onset of their careers – that is, the Turkish respondents seek out the transnational corporations *deliberately*. This intentionality in their choices is reflected in their narratives. Even when the Turkish respondents repeatedly talk about the role of "chance," "fate," "luck," "being in the right place at the right time," and narrate their career path as a natural progression, they also strongly underline their preference for working in a transnational company. This Turkish senior director in Istanbul talks about how she got into the company where she works:

> "I like to keep a connection to abroad. We had this doubt when we got back from Canada "did we do the right thing or the wrong thing?" When I work in a foreign company, you always have one foot out. I guess it gives you a security to think that you can go abroad when you want to. That is why I got into this. So it wasn't really well-planned; I am a big believer in fate. But then, it is also not just fate; I got here with my *credentials*. But I do think I made good use of the opportunities."

While this narrative brings together both fate and personal effort/achievement, it underlines this within the overall goal of keeping a link to "outside" through working in a "foreign" company. Similarly, the statement below exemplifies the intentionality in the narratives of the Turkish respondents; it is not only typical of the replies to the question about career choices but illustrates the contrasting nature of the replies by the American respondents to the same question. This Turkish expatriate in NYC talks about his career and the first job he was seeking after college:

> "I already had the idea about going to an international firm in my mind when I was in undergraduate. I made up my mind about working in an

international company when I graduated. I decided on this in my senior year when I was working as a tourist guide."

Unlike the narratives of the American respondents above, the emphasis on this reply is on deliberate consideration and decision-making[31]. Moreover, while the Turkish respondents operate with the same professional goal of improving skills and opportunities, they specifically emphasize the transnational companies as the *main* venues where they can attain this goal. While they do not discount that one can attain important professional experience somewhere else, they think their opportunities are more limited in other venues[32].

Lastly, the national origins of the company matters quite significantly for the Turkish respondents as they repeatedly differentiate between the indigenous and foreign-based companies (especially in relation to the attainment of professional goals). That is, while it is not the specific nation-state where the company is headquartered that matters (i.e., it might not be that important whether the company is American, British or German) whether the company is indigenous or not is noteworthy for the Turkish respondents and the "local" vs. "foreign" binary recurs frequently in their narratives (I will detail this differentiation in Section 5 below.)[33] As I have stated above, such a differentiation does not exist in the replies of the American respondents.

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[31] Keeping also in mind that most of the respondents report that these were ill-informed decisions, affected by peer pressure, the trends of the day, and misjudgments about what is available etc., pointing to the importance of specific historical/social context.

[32] As it will be shown later in the chapter, these "limits" are perceived to be both about the available knowledge/skills one can attain, but also about geographical mobility. That is, geographical limits are part of the thinking and imagination of the Turkish respondents, whereas it does not have a role in the thinking of Americans who naturalize their global reach and mobility.

[33] The Turkish and European respondents themselves use the word "local" when they talk about the companies of their home-countries. I choose to use "indigenous" to reflect that they are talking about the culture of the company as well as the location and to avoid the sense that they are only referring to location of the company as the word "local" has a spatial association.

2. Explaining the Variation in the Narratives: The Various Roles of the TNC in Different Contexts

What then explains this variation in the narratives and priorities of these skilled middle-class professionals? Why is it that the Turkish middle-class respondents place such a significant value on the transnational nature of the companies they work for whereas for the American respondents this does not matter significantly?

I argue that the transnational company attains more significance in the narratives of the Turkish respondents because it is interpreted as and offers a link to the "outside" which in the Turkish case predominantly means to the "West" and relatedly (yet analytically separately), access to global circulation/global market. While the size (and strength) of the national economy in which the respondents function shapes these replies, here I want to focus on the location within the global market and the meaning of this "link."

Having a "link to outside" assumes various meanings in the narratives of the Turkish respondents – i.e. this "link" is narrated as access to both cultural and social capital, as well as physical access, i.e. mobility. That is, access to the West and the global market is desired in order to attain the cultural/social capital that allows one to develop the skills to be globally competent and successful in the global market (but also to go up the corporate hierarchy and trade-up to better positions in other companies in Turkey. Moreover, "link to west" is also important because of the symbolic value of the West historically in the Turkish context.

I also claim that the differential emphasis in the narratives of the American and the Turkish respondents underlines and points to the unevenness of this access to the global market. In the narratives of the Turkish respondents, the necessity to have global access to be successful is ever-present. While the TNC provides similar access to the global network in the case of the American respondents, since the cultural and social

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capital provided by the transnational company and global market is naturalized and assumed in their cases, the issue of access does not play a role in their narratives. That the Turkish respondents are deliberate in their narratives and actions reflects their awareness of the uneven distribution of capital and their need to access it; being aware of their location on the periphery the Turkish respondents need the global network. On the other hand, being in the center, the American respondents are neither as aware of, nor as dependent on the global network.

These themes will become apparent when I examine the narratives of the Turkish respondents about their employment choices, focusing on why they prefer a transnational company, why global access matters to them; that is, specifically, what being part of a global network and working in a transnational company means for the respondents. It is to these different meanings of the TNCs that I turn to in the next section.

2.1. *TNC as Access to Cultural Capital*

First, in the narratives of both the Turkish and the American respondents, the TNC is perceived and experienced as a way to attain cultural capital; that is, it is seen as a desirable place for employment specifically because it offers opportunities for further learning and developing oneself as a professional which are necessary to be successful as a professional in the corporate world (and within the global market) that one might not be able to attain in other venues. In almost all of the interviews among both the Turkish and the American, and the local and the expatriate respondents, the ability to learn/attain new skills and develop oneself continuously – the professional motif – is counted as one of the most important factors that drives career choices at all stages of the respondents' careers. The professional identity that the respondents stress is one that places a lot of value on continuous learning and development that gives them a certain edge in the unstable and ever-changing market that I have touched upon in the last chapter. Both the American and the Turkish respondents claim they feel the need to try to move from one post/job to another in an effort to continue acquiring new skills and developing themselves, and "stay on top of the game." Statements like the one below are common amongst both the American and the Turkish respondents. When asked what she was looking for when she

accepted the offer at her current public accounting firm this Turkish female senior manager explains:

> When they gave me the offer – the company is a good company. And I like improving myself. Learning new things. Researching. This combined them all. I research, I learn. I try to implement some things. Thus, it was very attractive for me and I accepted it immediately.

This American professional emphasizes the same motivations when she talks about her career:

> "My trigger for when I need to change is when I am not learning anymore. You know, when I just can feel myself getting bored, kinda ahhh, that is when I kinda knew that it is time for me to look and find something that helps me keep…engaged…"

Similarly, another American professional in NYC underlines the need to "expand her knowledge" in the context of her changing jobs:

> "I just felt like I needed to experience more, I needed to grow, I needed, I just wanted to expand my knowledge, so I started looking…"

Relatedly, in both the American and the Turkish cases, the TNC's are perceived to present ample opportunities for this end. Working as a new graduate in one of the major public accounting firms specifically, but also working in any major Fortune 500 company in general, is seen as a kind of "schooling," almost a continuation of university where one furthers his/her education, gains experience and specialized knowledge. Moreover, the respondents (especially the Turkish respondents) realize/underline that the specific cultural capital they acquired through their education could be recognized, mobilized, and utilized (thus of any value and marketable) through the inclusion into the transnational business networks.

As mentioned before, American respondents narrate this facet as a function of company size. They explain that the bigger company offers more variety of services to its clients and has resources that are not available in smaller companies. Consequently it presents more opportunities to learn, to develop oneself, and to specialize in cutting edge techniques and services for the respondents. By contrast, the Turkish respondents narrate this theme primarily within the framework of the relationship of the TNC to the West. It

is this connection that plays the primary role (and presents opportunities) for the Turkish respondents. Not only does the connection to the West present a symbolic resource within the Turkish business world but "West" is seen as the center of knowledge production when it comes to business practices. The reason the TNC provides opportunities for development according to the Turkish respondents then, is that it offers easier access to this "knowledge" which is perceived to stem from the West. To illustrate, here is how an American professional talks about his preference to work for a well-known global company:

> "More opportunities, more, the clients that you deal with, you know tend to be larger clients - I guess I like the whole corporate thought process and strategy and I'm interested in corporate strategy. […] I mean what I like about it is what I said earlier. You know, the breadth of opportunity, and I guess breadth of opportunity is really the key thing."

Another American professional employed in a Swiss-pharmaceutical multinational in NJ underlines the same theme:

> "I think that what interested me for one is that the opportunities even within the organization are just so wide and broad, so unlike the very first company that I worked for with 19 people in this very small office where the kind of experiences, things get small very quickly."

In contrast, what seem to matter for the majority of Turkish respondents is that the TNC is a "Western" company. For most of the Turkish professionals "transnational" equals "foreign" which in turn means "Western" in the Turkish context especially when it comes to accessing knowledge. The respondents repeatedly underline the difference between available technologies, procedures and programs between the U.S., Europe, and Turkey. For these professionals who are looking to gather cultural capital which will enable them to be more successful in the market, to work in a "foreign" firm ensures that the respondents have access to ways of doing business, "cutting edge" programs, systems, and technologies that originate from what they perceive as the "center" of the business world to which they will not have access to if they worked in a smaller Turkish firm. This manager in a pharmaceutical firm in Istanbul explains why the fact that she works in an American company matters for her, demonstrating her perception of the TNC as access to resources, specifically to know-how:

"Because this is an American company – we are a global company, and we have a lot of resources. I mean, our products, the knowledge about our products – you know these are the original products, the clinical research etc. There is a lot of knowledge flow, nothing that a Turkish company can do. There are lots of sources, we get know-how about so many different subjects. If you have a problem, you can ask the whole world "how am I going to handle this?"

Similarly, the quote below by a HR manager in Istanbul about her previous post as a consultant demonstrates this connection; not only does the respondent emphasize the need for continuous learning, having access, and keeping up with various methods to prevent being "out of date," she presents these as her reason to seek employment in a multinational company:

"I wanted to work as a consultant. But then I really did not want to work as a consultant in a number of consultancy firms because they were set up by these individuals themselves who, after they have established their careers, quit their jobs and set up these firms; they were not so – I don't want to give you wrong information but – they were generally firms that these individuals ran by themselves without using real methodologies and such, with whatever they know. But when you say consultancy, the learning process is really important. You need to have access to knowledge, you need to have access to different methodologies and such; if you cannot nurture yourself with those, you cannot keep on doing it. You can be out of date in two years if you are only selling what is in your mind. Thus, I wanted something that is not local; it needed to be something multinational."

This is of great significance to the respondents in that, even if they are not very happy with their working conditions they are generally satisfied because they feel they are in a continuous learning process and are improving their future prospects in the global labor market. This below quote by a female manager in Istanbul voices this sentiment along with the emphasis on acquiring knowledge to differentiate oneself in the market:

"We have a high-paced system here, with regular overtimes. [..] But even though we are very busy - it is a very busy place - it is also satisfying. I don't know if I am an idealist or not, I don't know what to call it, but instead of sitting idly, I prefer to learn new things, I want to acquire knowledge about something and then sell that knowledge. I like things that will differentiate me from others. And here there is an endless supply of knowledge acquisition. The longer you work here the more you learn and then you can differentiate yourself in the sector, in the audit sector."

If the new global economy is knowledge based and revolves around producing, accessing to and differentiating oneself through the knowledge one attains, the Turkish

knowledge workers believe that their best means of staying up-to-date is by having access to a "foreign" based TNC which produces the up-to-date knowledge, methods, and techniques. The cultural capital of the global business world, in terms of both the know-how and the business culture, is being produced (and is perceived to be produced) in the centers of the global economy. While transnational corporations value "local" knowledge in their efforts to incorporate localities, in the contemporary global market being an expert of a "location" is not enough. Relatedly, access to a TNC, as one of the main institutions of transnational economy and the global market that produces the values and capital within the market, means access to cultural capital. This can also explain why the Turkish respondents do not pursue experiences in smaller Turkish firms, as these experiences do not have currency in the global market where what counts is shaped and defined by institutions (including TNCs) which are historically and predominantly based in West[34].

2.2. TNC as Access to Social Capital

For the Turkish respondents the perception of the TNC as a link is also deemed crucial because it provides access to social capital. Through inclusion (and relatedly mobility) within the network, the respondents not only attain knowledge, skills and experience with new methodologies, but also visibility within the business network, and exposure and access to and familiarity with key people, which may (or is expected to) become crucial for their career progress. This following quote from a Turkish manager in a transnational British bank in Istanbul who has started his career in a "Big-Four" public

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[34] I do not mean that the developing countries do not play any role in the shaping of the global market and the transnationalization of capital. In fact, there is research that shows that "there has been a marked increase in the geographical diversity of TNCs origins" (Dicken 1998, 45). The transnationalization of companies is increasingly observed in the developing world and 46 developing country TNCs have been on the Fortune Global 500 list since 1995 (Robinson 2004, 70). However, this picture remains:

> "Large companies are concentrated in certain areas of the world. More than 90% of the world's 500 largest corporations are located in the wealthy industrial parts of the world – North America, Europe and Japan host 445 of them. Over the past few decades developing countries have become home to a handful of the largest companies. However, most corporations with truly global power and economic clout remain centered in the industrial world" (Gabel and Bruner 2003, p. 4).

accounting firm is typical in emphasizing both cultural and social capital one attains through employment in a TNC[35]:

> "First, [previous company] was a foreign one, it provided training, I could see different countries, plus whenever I traveled I would get to meet and communicate with the management there. Really, those were the main reasons why I wanted to work there, it was really known in the market as a "school". I thought it would be good for my career, plus, it really enables you to establish a good *network**, for example, where I work now there are five people from [his first company]…"

Besides what I have introduced previously – talking about the "foreign" TNC as a "school" that provides training – this respondent emphasizes the importance of establishing a network and points to how he is still within the same network of acquaintances that he started to establish in his first place of employment. The narratives of both the American and the Turkish professionals about career progression point to the importance of acquaintances in the right spots, who are useful and crucial in providing access to further employment in desirable places. Most of the respondents report to learning about and considering new employment possibilities through their personal contacts that they established while working in the TNCs; they commonly recount, for example, stories about how they found their new job when a former colleague who thought of them contacted them when a position opened in the colleague's new work place.

While this is not surprising at all, it is indicative that for the Turkish respondents this facet has a global dimension; that is, as one can see in the above quote, when the Turkish respondents talk about establishing a "network" and meeting and getting to know people "who are higher up" they commonly emphasize this in the global context - in connection to "having a link to the West," "the ability to exit Turkey," and stressing the

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[35] Post-Enron, international accounting is dominated by the "Big Four" which refers to the four largest international public accountancy firms; namely, Pricewaterhouse Coopers, Ernst&Young, KPMG, and Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu. Beaverstock (2004, 4) reports that "by the end of 2002, combined, these firms accumulated a worldwide fee income of $56, 261m (more than three times higher than the aggregated income of the next 16 firms) and operated through extensive office networks, each in over 130+ countries worldwide. Some of the respondents started working in one of these companies before the Enron Scandal in 2001 which led to the demise of Arthur Andersen, which was one of the leading public accountancy firms; thus, they refer to "Big Five" in their interviews.
* Italics in English in the original interview.

need to create access to global circulation, implying the need to have a transnational network to have a global career or to be "globally competent." For the Turkish respondents, the necessity to get into global circulation is tied (among other things) to the necessity of increasing social capital: while one needs the access to "outside" to increase social capital within the global business network, the social capital is definitely necessary to ensure further mobility.

3. Accessing Capital and Role of Mobility

These connected goals of attaining social and cultural capital explain why the Turkish respondents also strive for mobility – that is, they emphasize the need, the willingness, the attempt to increase social and cultural capital *not only by entering a TNC to work locally, but also by having access to global circulation/mobility* by working in a TNC. Relatedly, in the narratives of the Turkish respondents, employment in a multinational is seen as a first step towards achieving access to global market in the form of mobility – actual physical access – i.e. the ability to travel to and work in another country, preferably in a Western country either regularly, or for a significant period of time (for example, through projects or expatriation). While not all Turkish respondents report to thinking about/planning/or wishing for working/living abroad, almost all foresaw and expected the possibility of traveling for projects/seminars etc. and narrate those within the framework presented above – as possibilities of access to cultural and social capital that one might otherwise not have access to. As this human resources manager in Istanbul states about what she was looking for when she went for a job at a multinational:

> "I always thought about this aspect – that I could go abroad for training. Or maybe that there would be people coming here from abroad with whom I could work. That was what I was thinking, I did not really have a dream of getting out of the country to work."

Yet a significant number of the Turkish respondents stress in the interviews that it is important for them to work in a TNC because they think that in the contemporary conditions of the global market, experience in a foreign country is crucial. Both for people who aspire for a global career and for those who want to continue their career in

Turkey, "proving" oneself professionally in a foreign country is deemed necessary for further successful movement in the career ladder, within Turkey and beyond. For example this chief of financial operations in Istanbul states:

> "All the time I work I saw this – if I am to be a good manager, a dynamic manager, I need to go abroad. I am not crazy about staying abroad, but I need the experience there. That is why [current German multinational] was attractive to me. If you are working on finance and budgeting here, you are the connection, the talking point between the subsidiary and the headquarters."

And this senior operations manager in a transnational American bank in Istanbul states that she wants to work abroad and explains:

> "I have never worked abroad. I did study abroad, but did not work abroad. This is really a measuring stick for being successful in the business world – that you can work and be successful in another country, not only in your own. That is a really important experience. […] Can you work there with the same capacity, can you *function*? […] I also want to see how things are being done there."

Similarly, the below quote by another manager in Istanbul emphasizes the necessity of having international experience to progress in one's career:

> "If you want to progress in your career in this company, you have to get out to do an international assignment when you reach a certain level. It is not an imperative but it is a significant element; in the end, they put another *tick* next to your name – he is not only good at the local – and if you cannot get them to mark that *tick*, maybe that spells the end of your career. That is, in one way or another a differentiating factor and you need to get that at one point in your career."

While this is theoretically also true for the American respondents (and in fact, is mentioned regularly at the expatriate level), this motive is not apparent in their narratives, especially when they talk about the onset of their careers. There are only few cases in the American interviews where the respondents state that they were interested in the transnational company that they were getting into specifically because they thought that it would offer them a link to the world outside of the U.S. In these very few cases the respondents report to be interested in "traveling" and to be looking for a job that will allow them to "travel." Even in these cases, the respondents mention this as something like a personal quirk, a trait that differentiated them from others. In these responses,

mobility is not construed as an access to capital, but as "fun", enacted for personal enjoyment.

Moreover, while the Turkish respondents use the word "proving" to mean that they have the skills to be globally successful – i.e. the professional skills and the skills that I have underlined in chapter I, being adaptable, open to differences, able to communicate etc. – they also use it to mean that they have to prove themselves as non-Westerners to the Western colleagues. I will deal more with this issue in chapter IV yet here I want to stress that this feeling is never present in the American narratives, where the respondents felt as if they have to prove their business skills to others because they are Americans. This feeling that the Turkish respondents narrate attest that the cultural capital of the business world is more than just the skills and knowledge, but rather a business culture.

3.1. Accessing Social Capital in the Global market: The advantages of Location
Location in the Global City as Access to Social Capital:

I argue that this variation in the narratives and the absence of a perception of the global component in the American respondents' narratives shows that the American respondents assume and naturalize the social and cultural capital that the Turkish respondents are seeking. While this variation is related to the size of the national economy, here I would like to point out that it is not just the size but also the location within the global market[36]. The American respondents naturalize these, as they are located at the "center" of the market; their capital is a function of their proximity to a global city, and/or to the headquarters of a global corporation, but also their nationality as they are from a country that dominates the global market. Consequently, it is natural that the American respondents do not stress the issue of accessing cultural or social capital (as a function of accessing what lies outside the national borders), as they do not assume or perceive either a lack of it, or a problem of access. Even if we assume that they operate

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[36] That is, existing in a stronger and bigger economy means more opportunities for the respondents, more possibilities for horizontal as well as vertical mobility within their career. One might argue that being in a smaller economy, it matters more for Turkish respondents to differentiate themselves with their associations to the West or to the "global." While this makes sense, I do not think it disproves my argument about location within the global market.

with the same dichotomy that equates knowledge-production within global capitalism predominantly with the "West," by being in New York City, that is, by being in one of the key sites of this production, they do not perceive it to be necessary to get out of their way to access it[37].

In fact, while the American respondents do not touch upon the need to establish transnational links, they do emphasize the importance of working in New York City – or the pull of New York City – for their careers. One can assume that for the American professionals the social and the cultural capital that the Turkish respondents seek through their connection with the TNCs is embedded within the economy of New York City. The American respondents who went to school or started working in different locations in the U.S. either talk about New York City as the "natural" place to do/start business as the below quote illustrates:

> I knew that I wanted to really work in New York in the city because I knew that that was the place where if I was going to go into, in business it was one of the key financial centers in the world, right? And that is where I wanted to work. And most of my, on most of my interviews I selected New York office as the place to be […] my heart was really into working out of New York.

Or they emphasize their specific qualities and their ability to find jobs that will match their capital in a bigger economy such as NYC:

> I knew that if I moved to New York I would have more opportunities for jobs because it's such a bigger economy, because the transfer pricing is so specialized that you need to be in a big city to find a job. Even Boston's a little small.

While both New York City and Istanbul are key cities in their national economies, there is a discrepancy between the two cities when it comes to their role (and significance) in the global city network. As I have presented in chapter I, NYC is considered a major global city in the literature or an "*Alpha world city*" as Beaverstock and Taylor (1999) call it – attesting to it being a major global corporate service center, with the presence of all the major corporate service firms. While Istanbul also provides a hub and a connection to the rest of the world and thus pulls Turkish professionals from

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[37] While my interviews did not bring out whether or not they operate with this dichotomy one might easily assume they do so considering the Eurocentric history of the capitalism, and thus, of global capitalism.

various cities in Turkey by presenting opportunities that are not available in other cities, it is considered a *"Gamma world city"* city by Beaverstock and Taylor (1999) which means that it is relatively less important within the global network as a global service center, with not as many major firms in all four sectors.

"In the new business world, those who prosper require a thick network of social contacts; and one of the reasons the global cities take form is precisely that they provide a local territory for face-to-face networking" (Sennett 2006, 47). Specifically, in the financial centers, capital is accumulated by proximity and whom you know as well as by what you know (Boden 1994; Leyshon and Thrift 1997). Consequently, since the transnational business network is concentrated in global cities, being in a major global city already introduces an advantage in terms of access for the professionals who are located there as it creates opportunities for social networking, and access to, visibility, and exposure within a business network that is spatialized in the city. Thus, one can argue that the American professionals in NYC already have easier access to both cultural and social capital that the Turkish respondents associate with the TNCs *by proximity*.

Access to Headquarters as Access to Capital:

While being embedded in (*or proximity to) a global city* is one dimension that explains why the American respondents naturalize their access in their responses, another dimension that is to take into account is *proximity to headquarters* which also introduces an advantage in terms of access to both cultural and social capital. One can argue that the American respondents in this research have an assumed/naturalized advantage in terms of access to capital also by their *proximity to headquarters* that coordinate the activities of local subsidiaries worldwide. Considering the number of Fortune 500 companies that are American, the American professionals in this research are more likely to have access to headquarter experience in a major Fortune 500 than their Turkish counterparts.[38] Having

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[38] U.S. is not the number one country when looking at the number of multinational corporate headquarters (for the year 2000); while the U.S. is home to 3,387 headquarters Denmark for example has 9,356 and Germany 8,492 (Turkey has 357). However, when looking at the large global corporations, specifically the world's 500 largest corporations, the picture changes. In this case, the U.S. is home to 185 corporate headquarters, and is the country with the largest number of corporate headquarters of large global corporations. Japan comes as second with 108, and Germany and France as third with 34 headquarters.

experience in the headquarters is deemed to be important as it leads to an intimate knowledge of the headquarters (but also the perception by the colleagues in subsidiaries of having more knowledge, and thus to a certain authority that comes from being associated to where the rules/regulations and the strategies of the company are being shaped.)

The respondents themselves underline the importance of having intimate knowledge of the headquarters (as well as the importance of being perceived as having intimate knowledge of the headquarters), and of having access to key people (and creating the impression of having access to key people) in the interviews. American respondents from NYC who went overseas for projects raise this subject when I ask them whether they feel advantaged (or whether they are treated differently) because they are Americans; quite a number of them argue that they are treated differently not because they are Americans, but because they are from the headquarters[39]. When I ask this American female director in a major American bank with headquarters in NYC who has also worked in other countries whether she feels like she is being treated differently because she is an American, she replies:

> "I don't, that is a good question. I definitely felt people listened to what I had to say. They took more attention, but again, I don't know I associate it with being an American, I think it was it was because I came from corporate. That is when people say "oh, corporate headquarters" that is when people are like "oh really". I had colleagues who were from South Africa, from France, from wherever, but because they were situated in the headquarters and they went out, people took notice of what they had to say."

This American professional who has worked in Switzerland, Ireland and Puerto Rico voices the same theme when he talks about the power differentials on his posts. His

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Turkey, on the other hand, does not have a headquarter in the list when looking at top 500 corporations for the year 2000. While U.S. dominance has reduced over the years (in 1962, almost 60% of the 500 large corporations were U.S. corporations; by 1999 that number was 36%) U.S. firms are still large and numerous (Gabel and Bruner 2003, 4-5). As I have underlined in chapter I, this picture remains the same in the following years. There is only one company from Turkey, *Koç Holding*, that makes it to the Global *Fortune* 500 list in 2005, -6, -7, and -8 while the numbers of the U.S. companies in the list are relatively stable.

[39] This contrast is more common in the interviews with people who work in companies with distinct headquarters and subsidiaries, instead of companies that work as a global network of national branches of a certain brand.

reply, however, underlines that it is not just the connections of the headquarters as the social capital that counts, but also the perception/expectation in other places that one will have those connections if they are from the headquarters. When I ask him why people treat him differently he replies:

> I think a lot of it's because I'm from corporate. The people here are corporate and they think you're some important guy. I used to tell people, I still do all the time, I say I may be from the corporate side, but I don't know the CEO. […]

The significance of having associated with headquarters is confirmed by non-nationals as well – for example this Turkish expatriate who works in NYC working for a Paris headquartered multinational talks about how the capital he attained during his years in Paris helps him in his office in NYC:

> "So I have been here for two months, there are people who have been here longer than I have, […] but I am the person who is being asked questions the most. Because I know how things are at corporate. I know *everyone*. I used to see everyone running the company, because we used to work together. And even if I do not know something, I know who knows what. That is, if someone needs something, I can direct them and they get their problems solved. Before I got here they didn't know who did what over there, who knew what, where to go. So if I hadn't worked at headquarters, I wouldn't have known these things.

When I ask him whether he gets more respect and attention because of this, he replies "Sure, sure" and continues telling an anecdote about his American director who was talking during a team-building activity as follows:

> "For example, yesterday we had a team-building event. Dora said – and she has been here for two years – she said "when I came here people told me that things were done very differently in France, that I wouldn't get it*, there is no way you can understand, it is very difficult* etc. And then she says "*I knew that so I got someone who can do it for us.*"* So, her mentality is, it is hard for us, we don't quite understand it, but Cem knows them, he knows how to work with them."

Thus, the key variable in both dimensions here is not nationality per se, as the capital is attainable for all who have access to the headquarters and the global cities where the social networks are spatialized. Yet, in practice one is more likely to have the

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* Italics in English in the original interview.

headquarter experience if one is from the country where the company is headquartered –
and thus more likely to have access to the intimate knowledge of the headquarters and the
authority that comes with being associated with the headquarters. That is, while being
from "corporate" might carry more weight than being "American" as the American
respondents narrate, in practice, the two overlap regularly.

4. Two faces of Mobility: Mobility as Access and Mobility as Capital

Turkish respondents need mobility to access social and cultural capital that are
available to the American respondents, however, *access to mobility* is also uneven in the
global market. While global capital relies on the mobility of transnational professionals to
provide expertise, and management and organizational development (Beaverstock, 2001)
the flow of the professionals historically has been lopsided – from the headquarters to the
subsidiaries, which also means historically from the developed markets to the developing
ones.   Moreover, while global capital tries to ensure mobility – a flow of the
professionals to transfer knowledge and skills, one has to take into account that this flow
is more readily attainable for some nationalities than others, as they have to face
constraints due to visa and work authorization issues.

It is no surprise that access to mobility is assumed and naturalized in the American
interviews. While the American respondents do not emphasize mobility as a primary
factor in their narratives about career choices, they do assume that they have an
essentially unproblematic access to it. Consequently, in the narratives of the American
respondents the perception of mobility is that it is easily available, even if one needs to
do some maneuvering, as this female accountant in NYC explains:

> "I think within [company] it would be pretty easy. There is some internal red
> tape and it is not exactly you just, you know, say, "Oh, I want to go" and they
> say, "We've got a perfect spot for you." There is a little bit of maneuvering
> that has to be done, but I think within this company it's probably a hundred
> times easier than in most companies just because it is very homogenous, the
> products we deliver and – you know, people are pretty mobile and if you
> have not been to a foreign country before and you have an interest in going,

lots of times, especially like a manager or something, that should be much easier."

The assumption by the American respondents is that if they want to or try, they will find opportunities in a different location/country through the company they work for. This American senior accountant in a global American bank in NYC illustrates this feeling:

"I think if you really want to do it, you probably could at this company. It's that big and it's that - they've got presence all over. So, I think if you're good. If you're talented, they would find a spot, I think. I think the same thing with public accounting firms like [another company], like caliber. They would find opportunities."

Moreover, as I have indicated above in section 1.1., it is not only that the mobility is perceived to be easy, but also that the American respondents narrate their experience as something that is unplanned, something that happens along the way, something that they choose to do when the opportunity presented itself in their career. The narratives create this sense as if the international experience came to the respondents (instead of the respondents going after it, like the Turkish respondents do) which one might assume is a reflection of where they are located in the global market.

It is also indicative that almost all the American respondents in this research have had international experience even if they did not plan for it, and even if that was not why they wanted to work in a transnational company in the first place – an American respondent who has not had a lengthy experience abroad was rare in my interviews – even though this was not one of the selection criterion for the "local" respondents in NYC. One might question whether this is because of the way my sampling strategy worked in the field – i.e. even though I did not look for people with international work experience, it could be that respondents who referred me specifically picked people that *they thought might be interesting for me*, knowing that my research dealt with globalization and mobility, thus referring me to people who have been outside of the country. Or it could also be that people who responded positively to an interview request from a Ph.D. student who works on globalization, cosmopolitanism and identities are already people who are curious about or open to such subjects that might also make them

more susceptible to international traveling. However, the fact that I was sending out the same requests and started with professionals who were similary positioned in the companies in Istanbul and in NYC yet ended up with a sample in NYC where the majority of the respondents had spent time abroad for professional reasons might be indicative. In fact, almost all the local Turkish respondents in Istanbul have had brief experience abroad in the form of trainings, seminars, and meetings; of these however, only a minority had lengthy experience abroad – and those were significantly higher up in their positions.

As I have previously noted, Turkish professionals neither assume the mobility as automatically as Americans, nor experience it as easily or regularly. Turkish professionals presume that they have the capacity to work somewhere else in the world, and argue that it is necessary to move higher up in the organization. They also underline how the opportunity can present itself. Yet the general sense one gets from the interviews overall is that this is (and has been) rare, and that it needs planning, structuring it into one's "career plans" and keeping one's eyes open.

Moreover, even though the Turkish respondents generally believe in their professional and personal capacities, feel part of a transnational network, and think they can be successful anywhere in the global market, they still exist within a global order where they cannot evade the existing structures of the nation-state system which reminds them of their citizenship and nationality and which present them with various limits to mobility. For example, this CFO of a major multinational in Istanbul recounts:

> "Being a Turk did not bring any advantages to me. I mean, a Dutch citizen, a German or an American one, they have doors opened up for them. Years ago, there was a job in England that I applied to. They called me to London for an interview. I said 'You have to send an invitation to me for the visa' 'Oh, we don't do such a thing' they replied. They thought I could just go there. Then they changed their mind […] See, being Turkish is nothing relevant. I have to get a visa for Israel, for Romania. There is a German expatriate here, give him his passport, he can come and go anywhere as he pleases."

Another one recounts her experience with border officials:

"My daughter is a Canadian citizen; I have seen the difference between traveling with a Canadian passport and a Turkish passport. […] When I show my passport in Germany, they frowned upon me when they saw I was Turkish. There were Americans in front of me and they were totally nice to them. So, now I put my daughter's passport within mine and they treat me nicely. But then they treat the poor Turks behind me rudely."

And another one assesses whether her chances of survival and success in the global market are the same with a professional peer from another country:

"As I said, considering what I can do and my talents, if I cover my name and take my resume to them, certainly my resume can compete. That is the way I see myself. But sure, there is this: we are not like a European Union citizen. There is a legal dimension there. They can be employed so easily, they can reside there so easily. Thus, maybe if you are up for a post at the same time with someone who has the same credentials as you do, but that person is a European Union citizen, his/her chances of being picked would be higher. In the end, he/she has been part of that culture for so much longer, and it is so much easier to employ him/her legally".

Thus, the transnational network does not get to be experienced as a "flow" (Appadurai 1996) as easily and readily for the Turkish respondents as it does for the American respondents. When faced with visa regulations, borders and border officials, the Turkish professionals remember that even when they have the same credentials, they are not as mobile as professionals from developed democracies.

That the right to choose to be mobile is not distributed evenly in the world is obvious. Within the context of spreading globalization and connectivity, mobility becomes one of the main markers differentiating the privileged from the non-privileged. Bauman (1998, 86-88) points to this when he states:

"It is possible to tell one kind of society from another by the dimension along which it stratifies its members. The dimension along which those 'high up' and 'low down' are plotted in a society of consumers, is their *degree of mobility* – their freedom to choose where to be. […] The fashionable term 'nomads' applied indiscriminately to all contemporaries of the postmodern era is grossly misleading, as it glosses over the profound differences which separate the two types of experience and render all similarity between them formal and superficial. As a matter of fact, the worlds sedimented on the two

poles, at the top and at the bottom of the emergent hierarchy of mobility differ sharply […]"

   He continues on describing the different experiences of what he calls "tourists" and "vagabonds:"

> "For the inhabitants of the first world – the increasingly cosmopolitan, extraterritorial world of global businessmen, global culture managers or global academics, state borders are leveled down […] The first world travel at will, get much fun from their travel (particularly if traveling first class or using private aircraft), are cajoled or bribed to travel and welcomed with smiles and open arms when they do. The second travel surreptitiously, often illegally, sometimes paying more for the crowded steerage of a stinking unseaworthy boat than others pay for business-class gilded luxuries – and are frowned upon, and if unlucky, arrested and promptly deported, when they arrive (Bauman 1998, 89)."

While this analysis is very useful for its' purpose, working against a false perception of easy mobility for all in the contemporary world, the focus on the "two sedimented poles at the top and at the bottom" and the presentation of a mobile first world against a "vagabond" second world can also work to reinforce a false binary, glossing over the multiple experiences that are spread out in between those two poles. The experiences of Turkish professionals in this case, and presumably the experiences of professionals from developing countries, presents such a case. While clearly privileged and more mobile than their poorer and less educated countrymen, they also do not identify with their colleagues from North when they are at the sites of border-crossings which provide reality checks, clashing with their imaginings of themselves as globally-mobile.

   In chapter II I showed how the respondents of this research enact a cosmopolitan identity that emphasizes flexibility, adaptability, and relatedly, mobility. I have also argued that the identity performance of the respondents reflects the values of the global market. That is, the cosmopolitan identity construct that the respondents enact is one they *need* to perform to present themselves as "globally competent" and thus of value and desirable as an "ideal" new professional in the global economy for the corporations for which they work. Consequently, this identity construct can be perceived as capital in the global market. Mobility, being part of this identity construct, can also be seen as capital

in and of itself, as it not only provides access to experiences which are necessary to build the toolbox of a "globally competent" (and thus, cosmopolitan) professional but also because it becomes a signifier for this "globally competent" professional. The self-presentation of the professional as "globally mobile" works (and is necessary) because it suggests the possession of certain skills and resources that are of value in the global market that they cannot acquire by remaining "local." Being globally mobile (a history of global mobility and a willingness to be mobile) signifies that the respondents have the skills to be successful anywhere in the global market, and manage business and face challenges anywhere. Mobility itself becomes a sign that stands in for these various traits that are seen as desirable in the global market. Access to this mobility, however, as I suggested above is asymmetrical among upper middle class professionals among various localities of the global capitalism.

4.1. Complex Responses in a Complex Market

The narratives on this subject, however, are definitely not homogeneous. While the general sense one gets from the Turkish respondents is that they perceive mobility within the global hierarchy to be something to strive for but not very easy to attain, and there are respondents who voice doubts about their possibility of mobility, there are also respondents, who, like the American ones, think their access to the global market is not very problematic – even if they have not been mobile. For example this female manager at a major American public accounting firm in Istanbul, who because of her German boyfriend is looking into the possibility of a job abroad, explains that she believes her exposure, her links to the global market are limited. When I ask her whether she thinks it is harder to get into the global business networks from Istanbul she replies:

> "Exactly. It is harder to get in from here. We are secondary here. This is not something that people voice in our company, but it is something that you feel. When someone in England wants you or recommends you he needs to justify you to his colleagues or to those who make the final decision. "Why do you want to work for someone from Turkey out of nowhere, are there not enough people here, we are actually doing the science of this thing." People don't say this but you feel it. Because when people say "oh, you are from Turkey?" when they get surprised, in its essence there is this sense that they don't expect people from here to get there."

Yet there are number of respondents who think that if they want to, they can have access to another office abroad. For example the way this Turkish expatriate in NYC narrates his story is very similar to that of the American respondents, in that going abroad is necessitated by the company practices and there is not much of a sense of effort on the part of the professional:

> "And they told me that there is a position in England, "would you like to go?" And I said, sure, why not. That is how I went to England in May. […] I wasn't really expecting it. I mean, I started working at [company] in 2002, worked till 2005 and I saw that after a certain level, if you are to stay with the company, you have to go international. But I was expecting to attain that level few years later, maybe in 2007. When it presented itself before, I said sure."

Moreover, some of the Turkish respondents present contradictory remarks within the same interview as well: they claim that the organization they work for is meritocratic, giving them similar chances of mobility as anyone else in the world, but then contradict themselves by either their own experiences, or by further remarks that point in the opposite direction. For example this female accountant in Istanbul talks about whether she feels as part of a globally mobile professional network, and whether she feels she can work anywhere:

> "Yes, yes, I do. And right now something like that can happen, too. I am capable of going to the London office and work at the London office. If I want to, if I can arrange that, I would be able to."

When I ask her to elaborate and whether that is common practice in her company she acknowledges that this is not a common happening:

> "Well, there is not much of a practice of that. Until now, only 3 people have been to abroad from here."[40]

Similarly, when I ask this Turkish manager in Istanbul, who works for a major American consumer goods company known for its push for creating a global management force, if he thinks that his chances of mobility within the organization is similar to someone else from the U.S. or Britain, he replies first:

> "When it comes to mobility I don't think there is a difference. I think the conditions are completely equal."

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[40] In fact, the very few Turkish expatriates I talked to all stated that they were one of the few first expatriates that were sent abroad from Turkey in their company.

Yet he continues with this narrative about working in a global American company as a Turk, emphasizing the importance of exposure and visibility within the network. According to him these clearly lack in the case of Turkish professionals, presenting constraints for them:

> "But when you look at it, this is an American company. So when you look at the company's past, the first people who kind of discovered Europe and worked there were of course Americans. Then you start seeing inter-company transfers between markets in Europe – starting with Americans again but then Germans and British. That is, it is important to be exposed in this community. The more Turks you have in different positions and levels, and more importantly, if they are successful, the more they will be looked after and preferred. Now, Fred [his manager] has to plan my career with me, he can recommend me to places and he talks about my results, my accomplishments with people that he has to talk to. The more Turks you have, the more success they have, it would be easier for the other side to accept it in situations like this. If Fred has to push for me with say a magnitude of 5, maybe tomorrow he will have to push for Ahmet with a magnitude of 3. Because maybe, "oh these guys add something to the organization" or "they do not sabotage it," I don't know, whatever it is the image that has to emerge, but for that, you need to increase the number of people and examples."

Moreover, when it comes to the direction of mobility, for every respondent who emphasizes the importance of working in "West," especially if one wants to go back to Turkey, is one who explains that it is more important what you do in a position then where you do it. For example this Turkish expatriate who came to NYC from the London headquarters of his company explains how he made his decision:

> "There were two positions that I could go to. One was coming here, the other was going to Hungary. They were a little different from each other in terms of the job itself. In Hungary I was going to be responsible of five or six brands… I was going to manage 65-70 % of the portfolio. Someone I worked with before went there as the marketing director, so I knew him and there was an interaction like that. They told "come here if you want," but there was also this. So it was a little hard, but we said New York would be an experience in itself, plus Didem [his wife] can get her masters, so we came here."

When I ask him further about whether an experience in NYC looked more attractive, he explains:

"It looked more attractive, because…the underlying thing is that if you want to go back to Turkey – I thought United States vs. Hungary in your c.v. – I thought United States would be worth more."

This Turkish professional who says he prefers to go to Europe for his first expatriate experience for life-style reasons adds that it might be more advantageous to go to newly emerging markets:

"You might actually catch better opportunities in the East. You can go to smaller markets that are growing rapidly, or that have the chance to grow rapidly and you can totally shine in that place."

Similarly this Turkish professional who says that she wants to go abroad explains when I ask her where she would like to go:

"Where you go does not matter. What you do in that position matters most. If you would be responsible of more functions in India, if you would have more responsibilities, to be in Delhi would matter more than being in a small position in New York. Thus, you can't say New York is better, or Brussels or London, what matters is the size of your operation and the extent of your responsibility."

Besides pointing to the uneven field, one can claim that part of the variation in the responses can be explained by the different organizational approaches of the companies that the respondents work for. It is known that both organizationally and in their discourses, there is variation in the "global" nature of the TNCs. While some companies are known in their sectors for pushing for globalization of their managements and circulating their "talent," others are behind in terms of their "globalness." Also the length of time the company has functioned in Turkey can be important as well, as the longer its history in the country, the more integrated are the "local" employees into the rest of the organization.

These responses, however, also attest to the awareness of the respondents of their specific location in the global market and the possibilities and restraints that it presents. That is, the complexity in the responses reflects the complexity of the late stage of global capitalism where developing countries are being integrated into global economy in increasing speeds. However, the global economy, while increasingly interdependent, is still deeply asymmetrical and the core of the global economy is a tightly interdependent

network between USA, Japan and Western Europe (Castells 2000, 107). As Castell reports:

> "A group of countries that corresponds, approximately to the membership of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), concentrates an overwhelming proportion of technological capacity, capital, markets, and industrial production. […] The concentration of resources is even greater at the core of the system, in the G-7 countries, particularly in terms of technology, skills, and informational infrastructure, key determinants of competitiveness."[41]

That is, while there's increasing interdependence in the global economy, the pattern of domination that has been created throughout history continues. Yet the transnationalization of production calls into question the earlier division of the world, with the North-South divide replacing the division of the global into the three worlds (Dirlik 1997). Moreover, the asymmetry does not mean a clear-cut opposition between North and South because "there are several 'centers' and several 'peripheries,' and because both North and South are so internally diversified" (Castells 2000, 108). The growing economic power of the Asian Pacific region complicates the picture, "blurring the meaning of the 'North' in the global economy (Castells 2000, 112) Diversification of development trajectories is also visible in the "South" with certain cities and areas experiencing economic boom as new nodes in the global economy (Dubai, United Arab Emirates, and Bangalore, India come to mind as examples). Thus, the references to North and South are actually "not merely to concrete geographic locations, but metaphorical references: North denoting the pathways of transnational capital, and South, the marginalized populations of the world, regardless of their actual location" (Dirlik 1997). Within the capitalist world economy, the decentering of global capitalism and transnationalization of the production challenges the domination of the U.S. and Europe. And this challenge to the Eurocentrism of capitalism means that "the narrative of capitalism is no longer a narrative of history of Europe," that alternative pathways and organizations are possible (Dirlik 1997, 92).

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[41] Thus, in 1990 the G-7 countries accounted for 90.5% of high-technology manufacturing in the world, and were holding 80.4% of global computing power. […] As for R&D expenditures, while North America accounted for 42.8% of the world's total in 1990, Latin America and Africa together represented less than 1% of the same total (Castells 2000, 108).

The varied responses of the Turkish respondents that acknowledge both possibilities and restraints, recognize and indicate this complexity of the global capitalism as they point to both the continuing domination of European and American values and positions, but also to possibilities and pathways for the new middle classes in terms of participating in the global network. The respondents blend a rhetoric of meritocracy of the corporations and an awareness of opportunities of mobility and career success due to the changing conditions within global capitalism, on the one hand, and an awareness of one's location in the global market and the constraints of participating into global capitalism from a developing country, on the other. Their narratives demonstrate a clash of two forces, attesting to the Eurocentric history of global capitalism entangled with its contemporary diversification, fragmentation and a multicultural discourse that accompanies these processes. As I have illustrated above, the Turkish respondents associate transnational with "foreign," and "foreign" with Western; they look at Western TNCs as the producers and disseminators of knowledge and technology. They accept that their way to success in global market goes through these institutions and the capital they gather through them. Their attitudes indicate their acceptance of the Western domination in the global market (and their willingness to work with the restraints they present). Yet when they talk about having an access to global market/going abroad, they do not necessarily or solely mean "West." In fact, when the respondents talk about mobility within the global market, they acknowledge the multiple paths that one can take, leading them to positions not necessarily in Western capitals.

5. TNC as Solidifier of Middle Class Identity

Lastly, I want to focus on the specific local social-cultural configuration and demonstrate how the specific site where one enters into the transnational network affects the way the respondents interpret their experience. Above I have illustrated how working at a TNC becomes very significant for the Turkish respondents, specifically because it is seen as a link and as access to global circulation, and to social and cultural capital. However, just as importantly the TNC assumes significance because of the specific

meanings of being associated with "West" presumes in Turkey. Here I want to examine the role of the TNC as a solidifier of both professional and middle class identities for the Turkish respondents.

Turkish respondents view the TNC within a Eurocentric framework that is well-ingrained in their worldview as a part of their secular upbringing within Turkey in which "West" is seen as the "prime-mover of modernity and development" (Goody 2004, 34) and what is associated with West attains superior value. Within this framework, working at a TNC fits into a broader image of a secular, western, "modern" life-style, and becomes a solidifier of middle class status: that is, the career choice is also a life-style choice, not only because of the pay and benefits it provides but because of the values it deems to represent – thus, reflecting an identification as secular, westernized "modern" subject. This is specifically because of the particular historical-social context in Turkey where being a "modern" middle class subject is defined through its association with the West.

The history of modernization and westernization in Turkey is a peculiar one which starts with the reforms of the Ottoman elites in the 18th century in an attempt to make the empire stronger, and continues with the formation and growth of the republican Kemalist elite, culminating in single-party regime of Mustafa Kemal who enacted a series of reforms in 1920s to modernize the country[42]. Within this context, attempts at modernization by the elite, in a top-down process defined the boundaries of "civilization" as a Western experience. In this framework of modernization as westernization whatever was left outside of the category of "western" and thus "civilized" became residual, and "backward." The significant point for this discussion is that the Kemalist reforms:

> "extended far beyond the modernization of the state apparatus and the transition from a multiethnic Ottoman empire to a secular republican nation

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[42] Kemalism, named after Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, is the name of the ideology that was launched by the republican elites in accordance with the principles adopted at the Third Party Congress of the Republican People's party. Accordingly, the six fundamental and unchanging principles of the regime were defined as Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Statism, Secularism and Revolutionims/Reformism. Accepted as the offical ideology, Kemalism was the foundation of the reforms during the early years of the Republic. Differentiating itself both from liberalism and socialism, this centralist, statist, and positivist ideology, situated itself as a form of third-world developmentalism (Özyürek 2006, 14).

state in their attempts to penetrate into the lifestyle, manners, behavior and daily customs of the people, and to change the self-conception of Turks" (Göle 1995, 21).

While the most visible impact of this modernization attempts were on the state structures and political institutions, as Göle states,

"its intangible yet more penetrating effects exist at the civilizational level, in "symbolic capital," identity construction, and the definition of ethics and aesthetics. As part of the modernization project, secular elites scrutinized and praised the distinction between a "civilized" and an "uncivilized" manner, the "à la franca" (European way) at the expense of the "à la turca" (the Turkish way) (Göle 1995, 21)."

This differentiation between the civilized and backward became the defining fissure in the Turkish society, where taste as a social marker structured social stratification among classes. The stakes of the power struggle between the Westernist and the parochial elites continued to be, and still are defined in terms of cultural codes and lifestyles. The divide between classes (and specifically between Islamist and secularist) in Turkey is not defined through economic means, but through social status.

While the hold of state ideologies weakened considerably and the forces of civil society grew in 1990s, secularism and Kemalism are very much alive in contemporary Turkey, though in privatized forms (Özyürek 2006). More importantly, as I will illustrate below, the westernization framework is the main frame informing the respondents' narratives especially as it relates to their perception of class relations in Turkey. The TNCs get integrated and interpreted within these existing frameworks. The narratives (and the associations within those narratives) that I present below are employed repeatedly and distinctively by the Turkish respondents and not by the American respondents.

5.1. *Employment in a Transnational Company as an Escape from the "Turkish" Chaos*

Turkish respondents, especially when they narrate why they initially sought a TNC for employment, express the TNC environment in very positive terms and juxtapose it in opposition to what they consider a "classic" Turkish firm to be. Along with the salaries

and benefits and the social and cultural capital that one accesses by working for a TNC, the way the day-to-day work environment was imagined to function, and the way it is experienced is also very important in these narratives. That is, along with the material resources and capital, TNC as *habitus* is significant for them. Almost all of my Turkish respondents state that when they graduated from their colleges, they were looking for a "professional," "institutionalized," and "dynamic" business environment, which is what the TNC represents for them. For example, when I ask this respondent in a transnational bank in Istanbul why it is important for him to work where he does, he replies:

> "I think it is professional. There are not too many institutionalized banks like this one in Turkey. For me, it is important that it is professional, that there is no one from a family who is on top of me. They do not care too much about ranks and such here. There is dynamism, a professional approach. That is why I prefer a foreign company. There are rules that are integrated into the corporate identity. Thus, I know that everything functions within the framework of those rules. There is no arbitrariness, there is no capricious behavior, no putting up with one's whims; everything has rules and procedures. Same applies here, same applies in France."

While these narratives bring out important elements of the professional middle class identity – the emphasis on reason, order, and meritocracy - that ties the American, European and the Turkish respondents together, in the Turkish narratives the professional environment in the TNC is contrasted to and weighted against an imagined "local" Turkish firm. The respondents regularly narrate "local" companies as places where achievements are not based on merit, but on kinship/friendship networks; where emotions dominate instead of order and rules; and where the firm functions in a haphazard, boss-driven, non-democratic and slow manner. For example the quotation below illustrates how this Turkish respondent who came back to Ankara after working in Canada while her husband was finishing his PhD. degree was bothered by the way things were being done in Turkey:

> "I was so disappointed when I came back to Ankara. There was nothing in terms of what I understood from human resources management. Even though I am Turkish, really, the way they did business, their solutions…I think my eyes got opened in Canada. Everything felt so out-of-whack (*iğreti*), everything so unplanned, so haphazard, people acting however they felt like, arriving at hasty conclusions without thinking about the long-term or short-term consequences, personal relationships being so important. No

institutionalization. These all bothered me greatly. That is why I preferred a foreign company."

Business as Living Space: Away from the Masses

Notably for my purposes, the worries or wishes indicated in the narratives on this theme (as illustrated in the adjectives used in those narratives) do not concern long term or abstract career goals; instead, they are specifically about the daily working environment, and the day-to-day relationships in the workplace. Relatedly, they also concern the respondents' feelings about their every day work environments and how they function in those environments. What drives the attempts to work for a "professional" and "institutionalized" company which is necessarily "foreign" in these narratives is the motivation to stay away from what they perceive as the "traditional" "local" "patrimonial" Turkish firm and thus, the attendant "traditional" and "local" values and relationships. The TNC provides an escape from what they perceive as a disorderly, chaotic, non-professional environment and the set of "traditional", and "non-professional" relationships that came with that environment. That is, the Turkish respondents want to stay away from disorder and irrationality.

Disorder, chaos, irrationality and emotion are, however, not just attributes of Turkish firms, but also of the masses, especially in relation to how they behave in public places. In fact, the Turkish respondents refer to these same attributes, employing exactly the same terminology when they define the boundaries of their social circles as they differentiate themselves from "other" Turks. Issues of order (the willingness to live in environments where things are "orderly"), reason (the willingness to be able to communicate with people in a "reasonable" manner), and law-abidingness / respect (following laws, and respecting others by following the laws and keeping order in public places) are commonly mentioned in relation to the problems that the Turkish respondents report about living in Istanbul. In the interviews, these issues come up predominantly and very regularly when the Turkish respondents talk about their residential choices. For example when I ask this female intelligence analyst in a major American pharmaceutical company in Istanbul about making her residential choice with her husband, she replies

that it was critical for her to live in a compound *site*[43]*,* in a "decent" *nezih* environment. I follow up by asking why the *site* was critical for her and she replies:

> "When it is a *site*, you pay a certain amount of money, and there is a certain order and landscaping, when look at it, it is standard, it looks pretty, clean etc. You get in, and you can leave your car in front of the door; there is a standard order, it is comfortable, they provide you with things. That is it; it is orderly, and standard."

When I continue by asking what she means by a "decent" environment and whether she means her neighbors, she continues:

> "Yes, I mean at least things like when you enter the apartment building, there are no shoes standing outside of doors, details like this. I mean, that you can live in peace. That your upstairs neighbor won't stomp on top of your head (*kafanda tepinmemesi*). People who have that culture. So when you look at it, the majority of the people in the *site* are university educated, our age, people like that."

This professional in Istanbul articulates the same sentiments, almost word-for-word, when I ask her why she thought it was important that she lived in a compound, with people from similar socio-economic backgrounds:

> "There are certain rules to live in a *site*. I realized that people have a hard time about following laws in Turkey no matter where you are. […] In the *site*, people pay attention to those things, noone blasts out loud music after 11:00pm, or if you are not supposed to park your car in a certain spot, they do not park it there. There is some regulation, and some enforcement, and thus people have the tendency to follow the rules."

On the same theme when I ask this manager in an American company in Istanbul whether he considered the kind of people who lived in the compound where he bought his house he replies:

> "When I decided to move there I did. It gave me the impression that there were people who were in my age-group, people that I can call civilized (*medeni)*. It was helpful in my decision-making that the people who lived there were people who were relatively decent (*düzgün)*, or people that fit that profile that are suitable for me (*kendime uygun)*."

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[43] From the French, cite, the Turkish word *site* means a grouping of houses or apartment buildings that belong together. While historically the word did not have any upper-middle class associations, gated communities that cater to upper middle class populations by providing security, parking, parks, sport and shopping facilities within the compound became more common starting 1980s and are mainly preferred by the new middle classes of cities such as Istanbul and Ankara. Bartu (2000) interprets these as an escape from the chaotic city life, as well. See Ayata (2002) for a discussion of community and culture in the new middle-class suburban areas of Ankara.

Again, when I ask him to elaborate on that "profile" and what he means by "decent" he says:

"Unfortunately that differentiation is easy to make when you look at it in the context of Turkey. Someone who is learned, educated, maybe with not too many kids, that is a criterion, someone who has totally adapted to city-life; like not leaving your shoes outside of the door, maybe not using fluorescent lights inside your house, I mean these are personal preferences maybe, but they are a different criterion in the end. People whom you can talk to even if you are from a different background."

These issues are presented as a problem of coexistence in the public spaces in the city. Daily city life in public spaces (outside of the usual living spaces of the respondents) are presented as scenes of chaos which disturb the respondents. Below are two comments illustrating the nature of the complaints about daily life in the city:

"When you exit from your front door, the war starts. You fight in the traffic. You fight to get what you deserve. That is, there is constant fighting; unfortunately, life is not easy. This is one of the hardest things about living in Turkey."

"People are disrespectful here. They need to respect each other more. Everyone has this kind of "I come first" attitude. "I will go first," "I won't let you go through," "everyone else can wait." For example, when you are abroad, when someone gets of the elevator, everyone else waits and lets them go through, don't they? We have nothing like that. Everyone is in a hurry; no one has patience for anyone else."

The solution or the reaction to this situation is presented as spatially separating oneself, specifically by living in compounds, forming social circles with people who are similar in their life-styles, spending time in the parts of city where one can associate with people who are from similar backgrounds[44]. When I ask this manager what kind of people he wouldn't want as neighbors he replies:

"I don't want to associate myself with a community like that – in fact, 50 % of the people that you have to relate to in Istanbul you don't really want to relate to, you don't really want to live together. Those who don't respect you in traffic, who honk, who take out their ashtray and empty it onto the street,

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[44] In fact, when I ask the Turkish respondents in Istanbul where they spend their free time and where they go regularly to eat and hang out, the majority of them mention the same few neighborhoods (Bağdat Caddesi area in the Anatolian side, and Nişantaşı, Teşvikiye and Bebek areas in the European side of the city) all of which cater to the upper-middle class, with an array of stylish and expensive restaurants, cafés and boutiques.

who won't remove their feet from the accelerator for a second to let you go through; they create tension during the day, I don't find it attractive to live in an environment like this and with the people who create that environment."

Relatedly, and not surprisingly, there is a sense that when professionals make their career choices they consider whether or not they want to be to be with people with whom they identify – the career choice reflects class-background, as the TNCs are receptors of uppardly-mobile Turkish graduates from prominent schools. This Turkish expatriate in NYC who worked as a tourist guide during college explains why he could not go on with that career even when he was making money:

> "What pushed me towards professional career in an international firm? […] I couldn't – and you know, when you look at people who guide…there aren't people like me or like Nedim who also came from Boğaziçi[45], I mean there are few, but they do it as a hobby, there are not too many people who do it as their main job. So that was a little – I couldn't get myself to accept that (*kendime yediremedim*)."

I follow up by asking, "Do you mean you were worried that you would not be surrounded by people like you?" And he replies, "Yes exactly. It was too easy. You made money, it was easy money, but it did not add much to me."

In conclusion, just as the suburbs – *site* that the upper middle class Turkish professionals disproportionately inhabit (in fact a large portion of my respondents lived in closed compounds like these as well) are interpreted as a refuge in which one escapes the threatening elements of city life (Ayata 2002), one can also argue that the willingness to be part of a TNC represents for the respondents the drive to be included in a social organization with an alternative "professional" mentality. It can be seen as an attempt to maximize one's time spatially in environments that one tends to identify with – in this way, the TNC functions as an exclusionary mechanism that allows the upper middle class respondents to maximize their time in environments where they feel at home. That is, the TNC as a major part of the daily life (and daily-space) of the respondents allows for a spatial segregation which is felt starkly when one passes through the security check-

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[45] He is referring to his college, Boğaziçi, which, although a public university, is very selective. The graduates of Boğaziçi University, especially in the fields of engineering, business administration, economy etc. are considered to have very good career options.

points in place in many of the major transnational companies in Istanbul. Relatedly, in this context the professional life is not just a way to make more money, but also an important identity marker, one that underlines hard work, professionalism, order and globalism, and through which one could enjoy and be part of an orderly, professional environment, surrounded by like-minded people.

Chapter IV

Home Away From Home: National Attachment, Belonging, and Cosmopolitan Identities in the Global Market

In Chapter II, I have illustrated the content of the cosmopolitan identity construct that the professionals in this research articulate and showed that the respondents present an identity that claims to be "open-minded" "worldly" and "global," that underlines the interpersonal and professional skills that the respondents believe they possess or develop through their experiences in the transnational business network. In this chapter I want to turn to the issue of national attachments and cosmopolitan identities in an effort to examine how national identity and attachments interact with or figure out in the cosmopolitan identity construct that the respondents of this research perform. That is, if professionals articulate a strong sense of cosmopolitan identity, does that mean that their national attachments are being eroded, as Huntington claims? What happens to the national attachments of individuals who mainly exist in transnational spaces in which their national identities or national background does not matter much? In the first section below, I will provide a very brief discussion of the concept "national attachment" in order to spell out what I aim to achieve in this chapter. The next section, then, presents what I call the "post-national" ideal among my respondents. The third section follows with a discussion of the articulation of national attachment among the professionals and concludes the chapter.

1. Background: National Attachment as a Multi-faceted concept

In the literature on group attachments and identities there is no established differentiation between "national identity" and "national attachment." Both terms are used interchangeably to describe the basically positive relationship between the

individual and the nation. Moreover, the definitions of these concepts are not clear (Blank and Schmidt 2003). In this chapter, I use "national identity" when talking about the respondents' self-identifications. I use "national attachment" when I underline the emotional and functional links between the nation/nation-state and the individual.

In this chapter I use national attachment to describe the relationship between the individual and the society. The study of the complex nature of this relationship has not been confined to the boundaries of one discipline; political psychology, sociology and social-psychology have studied the link using various frameworks, treating it as a "collective identity," "group identity," "social identity," or "group attachment." Though divergent definitions has been proposed, treatments converge on a central meaning: A sense of positive identification with and feelings of affective attachment to one's country (Schatz et al. 1999). What is important in this definition is that national attachment is an affect – an emotion, a feeling: the fundamental element of group identification here is its subjectivity (Davis 1999).

In their study of "the relationship of the individual to his country" De Lamater *et al.* (1969) distinguish three major types of national involvement: symbolic, normative, and functional. Similarly, Mack (1983) posits that the nation satisfies certain essential human needs that can be satisfied through group membership: a need for belonging, a concern about survival, and a need for a sense of worth or value. And Terhune (1964) in the same way described categories of individual attachment to the nation. Summarizing these social-psychological studies Davis (1999) point to the similarities between Terhune, Mack and De Lamater et al.'s categorizations. Terhune's first category is "affective involvement" which is similar to Mack's need for belonging and De Lamater et al.'s symbolic commitment. It is characterized by a sentimental attachment to the homeland and a love of country. His second type of national identification is "goal involvement" which is comparable to De Lamater et al.'s functional commitment. And finally, his third category is "ego involvement" which is distinguished by a connection between the fortunes of the nation and an individual's self-perception of identity and esteem; this is

linked to Mack's sense of value and personal worth and the normative commitment described by De Lamater et al.

What these studies that categorize the individual-nation relationship emphasize is this: that national attachments play various roles for the individual and that there are different ways that people may experience affect for their country. Moreover, while social-psychological studies have dealt with these different ways of subjective national involvement, researchers have also pointed out that there are multiple ways in which the positive identification is expressed. This has been done in the form of drawing an empirical distinction between nationalism and patriotism as two forms of national attachment. While both concepts imply an existing subjective positive identification with the nation (Blank and Schmidt 2003) the first form of national attachment, *nationalism*, underlines the superiority and dominance of one's own nation over others (Kosterman and Feshbach 1989). The second and more politically neutral form, *patriotism*, is defined as a "positive identification with and feelings of affective attachment to one's country (Schatz et al. 1999, 156). It concerns one's love of country and major symbols (Kosterman and Feshbach 1989; Schatz et al. 1999; Sidanius et al. 1997).

As this short review on studies on national attachment illustrates national attachment/identity is a multifaceted concept and can play multiple roles in an individual's identification mechanisms. In this chapter my aim is to draw attention to the subjective, multifaceted and multifunctional nature of "national attachment" and claim that it is unrealistic to expect a straightforward relationship between participation in transnational networks and national attachment in all its dimensions. In fact, posing the relationship as Huntington does, that is, claiming that national identities are being eroded and elites are being denationalized, simplifies the complex nature of the issue at hand, by creating the impression that a) the process is an automatic one; b) that "national attachment" is a single dimensional construct; and c) that identities are zero-sum entities.

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Instead, in this chapter and the next I want to emphasize the multifaceted, constructed and complex nature of national attachments and also take into account the agency of my respondents. Relatedly, in order to examine whether or how national attachments are being eroded among the transnational professionals, I will examine what dimensions they articulate and what role those attachments play in their lives. I will illustrate that the respondents articulate what I call a post-national ideal – an ideal to go and look beyond national identities in all spheres of life; I will illustrate how the respondents do not articulate a strong sense of national identity and discount nationality as a significant factor in their lives. However, I will claim that even when the respondents do not articulate strong national identities, that does not automatically mean that national attachments are being erased. While the respondents in this research do not articulate "nationalist" stances, they do still articulate their attachments to home-countries. That is, the cosmopolitan identity that the respondents articulate is one that can and does incorporate patriotism and can be called "rooted cosmopolitanism."[46] In the end, however, these attachments are personal and particular; they do not have an institutional/organizational component. I will deal with this lack of institutional/organizational component in the next chapter. Below I want to turn to the discussion of my findings.

2. Post-National Ideal as part of the Cosmopolitan Self: Deemphasizing of Nationality in the Narratives of Professionals

None of the respondents of this research, neither the locals nor the expatriates, articulate a very strong sense of national identity – that is, I did not get the sense that the national identification plays a primary role in the self-definition of professionals whether they are in their own countries or abroad. When asked about how they primarily identify and self-describe themselves, and whether their national identity is one of the first things that came to their minds in their self description, most of the respondents in this research are keen to articulate that their national identities do not matter too much to them. Even

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[46] The word "rooted cosmopolitanism" presents a contrast to the "rootless cosmopolitans" of Stalin's anti-Semitic campaign of 1949-1953 where the term referred mostly to Jews for their alleged lack of patriotism. See for example Azadovskii and Egorov (2002).

though they express that their national background is part of who they are, and that there is no denying or rejecting it, it is not the primary identification. In fact, most of the respondents underline that they do not care much about nationality, religion, or race and that in their day-to-day interactions they do not see nationality as something that matters in how they identify and associate with people.

For example, when asked about whether being German is one of the first things that comes to his mind thinking about himself this German expatriate in Istanbul responds:

> "If I meet people, if they don't ask specifically what nationality I am, usually the topic doesn't even come up. Which means basically if I really get to know new people, the things I am discussing with them, and talking with them, it is a lot of things but not nationality. Which means subconsciously obviously it is not really coming up as the first thing on my priority list."

Or as this Irish expatriate in Istanbul explains in response to the same question;

> "So I am definitely proud. And…ahhh…but I am just thinking…if I am kind of meeting new people, it is definitely not the first thing that I need to tell them "Oh, I am Irish.""

Similarly, when I ask whether being Turkish is one of the first things that comes to his mind when defining himself this regional CFO in Istanbul states:

> " I don't think so. I think of myself as an individual, as a human being first. Then I think of the location that I live. And then comes Turkish-ness."

Furthermore, there is not a single instance where the respondents articulate a sense of national attachment which can be termed "nationalist" as Schatz et. al. (1999) define it; that is, there is no sense or articulation that one's country is superior to others. In fact, this notion is very much resisted. Quite a number of respondents, both expatriates and locals, feel the need to emphasize that they are not "nationalistic" or that they do not see themselves as "nationalistic" - without me prodding or bringing up the word – even while they are expressing different degrees of connection to their home-country[47]. For example this 33 year old German expatriate in Istanbul states:

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[47] The Turkish respondents do in fact use the word "nationalist" ("*milliyetçi"* in Turkish) to describe themselves – however, in Turkish even though there is a word for "patriot," ("*yurtsever*") "*milliyetçi*" is used in common usage both to mean "patriotic" and "nationalist" as the word "*yurtsever*" is not widely

"I consider myself German, but I wouldn't say I am nationalist, or that I am nationalistic. […] So I don't for example, I mean, actually I am very critical of my own country, in many senses, but basically I am saying okay this is not good in Germany and this and that but also there are some good things, so basically I am looking at it more, yes, I am German by nationality, but I don't…I am not German in a nationalistic point of view or way."

Or this Turkish consultant in Istanbul talks about how she identifies with the country but differentiates it from a "blind" identification:

"I think I first think of my profession, I think that is the one thing that I identify the most. I am Ceyda, I work at [current company], I am a consultant at human resources, I am Turkish. I am not troubled to be a Turk, it is not something that bothers me. […] Strangely, I did get more nationalistic feelings as I started to work more and more with foreigners. But then, it is not like a blind nationalism, it is not like "oh I am Turkish, we are so great!"

This Turkish CFO in Istanbul stresses the same sentiment:

"I don't let people denigrate Turkey, I react to that. So I have a nationalist side to me, but I don't like going around "I am Turkish, hooray, long live Turkey" or something like that."

Similarly, this American financial consultant in NYC states:

"I do the holidays and I enjoy the cultural part of it, but I don't feel like, you know, I wave a flag and say that we're the best country in the world…"

And this English expatriate in Istanbul states the same thing when I ask him if he is proud to be British:

"Probably, yeah. But I am not hugely nationalistic. I am not kind of – I don't wear a Union Jack or an English flag over my shoulder or anything like that."

That is while the respondents want to emphasize a connection, an attachment, they also want to underscore that being "nationalistic" is something that is to be avoided. This is so as "nationalistic" in the narratives of the respondents is associated with being "parochial" and "close-minded" as well as with "blind" emotions, being "extreme," and "unreasonable." As such, it does not fit comfortably into the professional cosmopolitan identity construct that the respondents of this research perform. For example this 36 year old manager in a pharmaceutical multinational in New Jersey talks about how she would

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used. Thus, when the Turkish respondents use "nationalist" to describe themselves they clarify it and distinguish themselves, as it is illustrated in the quotes presented.

like to think "broader than an American" and compares herself to her sister and brother-in-law who live in a small town and who she thinks are "close-minded":

"Going from a small town; you know, I can't even speak to my brother in-law and to my sister who always kinda lived there. And my husband, too, I think we are very open and we are very liberal. We are trying to stay very open-minded to things. And when we went to see my brother in-law, I can see how kinda close-minded they are. […]"

And even when she has hard time articulating it, she relates the blind identification with the nation with what she identifies as the small-town close-minded mentality of her sister and brother-in-law. Not identifying strongly and blindly as American, for her, signifies her being open-minded and differentiates her from that part of the family:

"It is funny, the question about being proud of being American, that kind of thing, I think if you were to ask my sister and brother in law, they would be like "definitely", you know? I think they are much more like…*that way* and I…it is interesting to see that. In terms of who they identify as, who they are."

Similarly, this senior regional HR director in Istanbul opposes "being open to new things" to being "extremely nationalist" emphasizing that she would not do things "blindly":

"I am not extremely nationalist. I mean, I am open to new things, I am open to different cultures. But I don't deny my own culture. But then, my taste, it is more modern. I like trying new things - sometimes when we travel with friends to abroad, I get angry when we go to breakfast and they are like "they don't have olives or feta cheese!" You have come all the way here, try new things! […] I wouldn't do certain things blindly just because it is Turkish culture."

While the above quote is indicative in that the example of being open to experiencing new things is exemplified through an act of consumption (and specifically food and taste), the juxtaposition of "being open" and "not nationalistic" is very common and appears repeatedly in the interviews, just like this German expatriate in Istanbul states when he talks about marrying someone from a different nationality:

"I am not really a nationalistic guy. I am much more open, you know, to other cultural and social point of views. So for me, it is not really a problem."

The sense of de-emphasizing nationality comes out strongly not only in the narratives of self-identification, but also in how the respondents think about and create social boundaries as I have already started to touch upon in Chapter II when I talked about how the respondents differentiated themselves from "typical" co-nationals to emphasize their skills of adaptability, openness, and worldliness. The de-emphasis of nationality in social boundary making is manifested through the respondents' choices of and attitudes towards personal interaction and social networks, including marriage and friendship circles. Not only do the respondents present an attitude of openness towards cross-national social and intimate relationships, they shape their social networks accordingly as well.

2.1. Role of Nationality in Marriage, Friendship and Social Networking Choices
Marriage

Intermarriage has been commonly employed by sociologists as a measure of assimilation as "attitudes towards and the actual likelihood of intermarriage across ethnic, religious, or racial lines signify psychological acceptance" (Waters 1999, 61). Moreover, it has been argued that "the basic test of whether two families belong to the same class or not is the freedom with which they intermarry" (Sweezy 1953, 123)[48]. In this research I employ a question about marriage to gauge social distance towards different groups – specifically, towards different nationalities. I ask the respondents whether they would consider (if they are single) or they would have considered (if they are married) marrying someone from a different nationality; I also ask them whether they have ever dated someone from a different nationality.

In line with the previous findings and thus not surprisingly, the question about marriage does not generate a lot of discussion and the responses are very much uniform across different subgroups of respondents. When asked about whether they would consider marrying to someone from another nationality, none of the respondents reply in

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[48] Sweezy uses marriage as an indicator of class coherence. Relatedly, while occupation cannot be the only determinant of class position, all my respondents (including those who are in cross-national marriages) are married to similarly educated individuals in professional-managerial roles, which one can interpret as one of the indicators of the emergence/existence of a global professional class.

the negative and only few of them foresee possible problems in a cross-national (and in their replies presumably cross-cultural) marriage. While few said that they would probably find it easier to marry someone from their own nationality due to issues of communication and cultural differences, all the respondents are open to such marriages. Not only do the respondents think that cross-national marriages do not present a problem, they also in general believe that their parents would be fine with a cross-national marriage, implying that the imagined boundaries between different nationalities are not strong enough to prevent close and intimate relationships[49].

In fact, cross-national marriages are already common among the respondents; specifically among the expatriate ones. A third of the expatriate respondents in this research are already in cross-national marriages in the time of the interviews. Moreover, there are also cross-national couples among the local respondents. Furthermore, even when the respondents are not involved in cross-national marriages themselves, they would refer to cross-national couples they know as - generally positive - examples when answering this question. Almost all of the respondents know someone who is in a cross-national marriage, indicating that these are accepted and common occurrences in the social circles of the respondents of this research[50].

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[49] I would assume that I would have gotten different responses if I asked this question about race or even class.

[50] There is extensive research on intergroup marriages yet much of the existing literature pertaining to intermarriage focuses on mixing of race and ethnicity (Cottrell 1990) rather than on nationality of individuals. Cross-national couples are included under categories such as "cross-cultural marriage" and, "intercultural marriage" or "intermarriage" (Seto and Cavallaro 2007, 258). I was not able to find data on cross-national marriages that would allow me to compare my group to larger populations in the U.S. or Turkey. There are, however, studies that indicate that cross-national marriages are on the rise. Adams (2004, 459) reports that:

> "The number of foreign spouses married to Americans entering the United States each year rose from 30,000 in the Sixties to 106,000 between 1980 and 1985. In Australia in 1991 some 16 per cent (600,000) of 3.7 million Australian coupes were in what the census classified as intermarriage between overseas-born and Australian-born partners; in 1996, one in six marriages consisted of an Australian-born and overseas-born partner. In Japan the number of marriages between Japanese and non-Japanese partners more than doubled between 1965 and 1985, reaching 12'000" (Nitta 1988, 209).

While it is very limited and dated data, the research that Adams quotes might give an indication that the percentage of cross-national marriages among my expatriate respondents is higher than the percentage in the national populations. Moreover, existing research also supports my choice to look at cross-national

Social Network Composition:

Similarly, the national composition of respondents' social networks is indicative since it gives clues about who gets accepted and included within the social groups of the respondents (and consequently, of the nature of the social boundaries – and the social distance towards different national groups). While there is a pronounced, predictable (and thus not surprising) difference in the composition of the social circles of the expatriate and local respondents, the composition of the social circles of expatriate respondents indicate that nationality is not the primary concern in their building social networks.

Networks of friendship and sociability are shaped through daily routines, common practices and sustained personal interactions over time. Moreover, whether the current social network of an individual is made up of people from various nationalities is very much affected by whether the individual is located in his/her home-country or not. Thus, for the local respondents who are located in their home-countries, (and especially for those who remained in their city of birth) it is foreseeable that the social circles are made of long time friends of the same nationality[51]. However, looking at the social networks of expatriate respondents who are working in places other than their home-countries might be indicative.

When it comes to the expatriate respondents of this research, the social networks they have in their places of residence is (not surprisingly) made of people from multiple nationalities. The majority of the social circle of the expatriates consist of other expatriates; yet it is rare that the close network is made up only/or mostly of expatriates

marriages and attitudes towards cross-national marriages as one symptom of a post-national identification. Cottrell (1973) suggests that cross-national marriages are an extension of an already established international life-style. Her respondents were already internationally involved in a more than superficial way and had already "broadened their cultural orientation to include more than their own" by the time they met their partners. She also comments one can see these marriages as "within communities that happen to transcend national boundaries, such as religious groups, international organizations, the scientific community" and that the partners shared that culture "that they consider most important, e.g., science, and that national cultures were not that important" (Cottrell 1973, 740).

[51] I am aware that this is an expectation that is contextual – the assumption is that the respondents of these research who are mainly between the ages of 30-50 and of middle-class backgrounds grew up in relatively homogeneous environments –nationality-wise.

that are co-nationals of the respondent. It is also common that there are "locals" included in the friendship networks of expatriates – i.e. Turkish friends in Istanbul, and Americans in New York City – though in almost no case they are the majority.[52]

Not only are the networks of expatriate respondents multinational, the respondents also articulate that this is something that adds to the transnational experience, that it is something that makes their social experience rich and rewarding. That is, having a social network made of people from multiple nationalities is something that is embraced and celebrated by the respondents.

For example, when I comment on the multinational group of friends, this German expatriate in NYC states "It is very very nice…our multinational group of friends" and explains:

> "Well, we want – we based our experience – my wife spent a year in Dublin when she went to university, so she had this broad experience as well. And one of the things was, all Spaniards hang out with Spaniards, and all French have a French group, or Germans have a German group, she never liked that

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[52] There is also some variation between the composition of the social network of expatriates in New York City and expatriates in Istanbul. The expatriates in New York City have more co-nationals in their social circles. While I cannot make a strong claim since the number of expatriates I have in NYC is very limited, one might consider this to be related to the fact that it is easier to meet enough co-nationals in a city like NYC to build a close social circle, whereas it is not as easy to find co-nationals in Istanbul, where even though there is an expatriate community, it is not as big as it is in NYC. Similarly, it might be that the reason that the expatriate respondents in this research did not have locals as the majority in the make-up of their social circles is because both of my research sites were mega-cities where it is easy for the respondents to find other expatriates to befriend.

In fact, while I do not have the data from multiple cities to provide an analysis of this, what the respondents themselves pointed out and what makes sense analytically is that the composition of the network, specifically the distribution of expatriates vs. locals, and co-nationals vs. cross-nationals within the social network will vary depending on the city in which the expatriates live. When the expatriates talk about their social circles in their current place of residence they refer to their experiences in other cities, pointing to similarities and differences. Some of the variables that seem to emerge from their narratives and how they might affect the composition of the social circle are as follows: 1) The size of the expatriate pool in the city – thus, the availability of expatriates for friendship, which is a function of the importance of the city in the global market and the size of the city; 2) The geographical layout of the city in relation to the place of residence of the respondent; 3) Whether the expatriates speak the dominant language in the country of residence fluently, or whether there are enough locals who speak English well enough to get into close relationship with expatriates. This might be better termed "the existence of a sizeable local new middle class" - that is the existence of locals who speak English and who are actually from similar class backgrounds, and is also a function of the level of incorporation of the city into the global markets.

so she tried to have a diverse group. She concentrated on that back then, so we have Irish friends from then, from back then, and Spanish and French friends from back then; and same thing we tried to do here. We didn't want to come here and have a German community thing, that is not why we came. So we try to focus on American hmmm, or you know, New York friendships or that kind of thing, which is not that easy…"

As it is obvious in the above quote, creating a multinational network of friends and befriending locals becomes a goal or at least a hope. This is reflected in the respondents' attitudes towards immigrant enclaves. This Indian-Tanzanian expatriate in Istanbul comments on why their transnational experience made him and his wife "better people" and lists their ability to be friends with people who have different backgrounds from their own as one of the reasons (along with flexibility and adaptability) contrasting it to immigrant enclaves in the process. He comments:

"I know a lot of people who only make friends who can think the same way or who are from the same community. I mean, you travel throughout the world, and you see Chinatown here and you see Little India here and you see Italian communities together and Greek communities together or even Turkish communities. You always hear about the famous Turkish community in Germany that does not want to integrate. So you – that is a natural mindset of people. I mean, typically when you are in a new country, people plump together with likeminded people; whereas, for my wife and I, we felt that because of our moving all the time, because of our living in different countries, because of our flexibility and ability to change, we've actually been able to go to a new country […] and make friends with people from completely different environments and be able to accommodate that."

The de-emphasizing of nationality as a focal point of sociability is echoed in the respondents' narratives about socializing with other co-nationals, participating in ethnic-national organizations, and looking for co-nationals when choosing their place of residence. The expatriates in general express an interest in living in settings that will have a mixture of expatriate and local residents and thus, allow them to meet "locals."[53] There is not one case among the respondents where the respondent claims he/she sought out co-nationals for socializing even when they agree that they like socializing with co-nationals due to the shared language, shared sense of humor, and background. In these narratives, socializing with other co-nationals seems incidental – it is not something the respondents will resist if it is to happen, but the respondents also do not specifically look

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[53] This interest and wish, then, is checked/curbed/restrained by worries about security.

for it[54]. Socializing with other expatriates and with "locals" are seen as enriching, and as an attempt to avoid being "isolated." Repeatedly, the respondents ask what the point of living in a new country is if "one is to only hang out with co-nationals." This expatriate who is talking about the negatives and positives of seeking out people from his country is representative in this sense:

> "You can end up creating this mini country in another place that is always been an issue for me because it doesn't…I mean what is the point of traveling if you are just going to recreate…recreate what you have somewhere else? […]"

Similarly, when I ask this German expatriate in NYC whether he was looking for Germans when he chose the place they lived or whether they would look for more Germans if they were to move, he replies:

> "Not really, no. We were more interested in…actually we were interested – we specifically looked at getting to know Americans and to have that cultural exchange, which isn't very easy."

This American expatriate in Istanbul talks about whether they asked about the ethnic and national composition of the neighborhood they chose to live in in Istanbul:

> "No – although I was concerned it was all just expats. One of my first questions, because we liked the house, I asked what percentage is expat, and what percentage is Turkish. And I was told that it was about 15% expat. We thought this was great. We'll prefer the majority to be local Turkish people because…we hope to meet them. We hope to be part of the community."

And this Indian-Tanzanian expatriate in Istanbul talks about why he and his wife looked for a place to live where there would be "a mixture of Turkish and multinational people:"

> "To be honest, it was purely so that we don't end up coming here and isolate ourselves from local people. For us, it has always been very important, even if you don't end up making the best of friends with local people, at least the only way – ultimately, If we're going to be living in a country, it is pointless living in the country if you are not going to at least learn a little bit about the culture, and you're never gonna learn about the culture from other expats. No matter how long expats have been living there, frankly, there are certain

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[54] There is definitely path dependency which affects the social composition of the social network. Thus, if the respondents starts off with a co-national as a friend, who has other co-national friends, his social network might end up with more co-nationals than with expatriates from other countries.

elements of culture you never learn from expats. So we wanted to interact with local people as well."

This American expatriate in Istanbul emphasizes the same attempt to socialize with the "locals" when he talks about why he sends his kids to a Turkish private school instead of an international one:

> "My wife and I, you know, we – when we move to a country we try to integrate into the country. Not assimilate but integrate. Margaret knows speaks good Arabic, she has good Turkish now, knows French. In all of the countries in which we lived, we have tried to…ahh..make sure that we have many local friends as well as expat friends. That we were involved in the community, that we learned the language. So…to us it was a natural thing to experiment, to put the kids in the Turkish school […] We don't want to live a a sterile, isolated life. […] Just yesterday my wife had a tea party in the house, she was the only foreigner. All of her friends and the children of her friends were all Turkish. So we are still isolated if you look at the class. You know, these are generally well-educated, wealthier, sophisticated people. But in terms of nationalities, we socialize a lot with Turkish friends."

In these narratives, both locals and expatriates are seen as conveyors of "knowledge" about "different" countries and cultures. That is, when the nationality of these acquaintances and friends is seen to signify their "difference" it becomes, as I have illustrated in chapter II, something to be celebrated, appreciated and welcomed. It looks like their common history of professionalism and their participation in the global capitalism, with its attendant attitudes that I have underlined in chapter II, implies an unifying experience within which nationality implies a different starting point, an origin, but not distance. That is, nationality as difference, among transnational professionals, is a "sense of difference which is not pure 'otherness'" (Hall 1997b). Thus, having a multinational social circle which includes other expatriates and locals becomes a sign that underlines the capacity of the respondents to be open-minded, interested, and worldly.

Similarly, expatriates hardly ever participate in ethnic/national organizations in the host country. Only very few expatriates articulate an interest in these organizations – and even then the participation is either inconsistent and irregular or limited to business circles. While this lack of interest in ethnic/national social organizations is indicative of the de-emphasis of nationality as a focal point in the respondents life, it is also a

reflection of another larger pattern within the professional class: the lack of organizational participation, which is a subject that I will deal with in Chapter V.

2.3. Post-national Attitudes in Relationship to Children

One of the subjects where this post-national ideal appears (or crystallizes) is when respondents' with families talk about their children. Thinking that it would be a good venue for the respondents to talk about their attachment to their home-country and home-country traditions, as well as their views of the global market[55], I asked the respondents who have children or who are planning to have children where they want to raise their children and whether they believe that bringing children up in multiple countries was beneficial for the children. Overall, the replies indicate a strong belief in multiculturalism and the post-nationalist ideal that I referred to above combined with an emphasis on the need to accrue cultural capital to exist successfully in a globalizing world. For example, this American expatriate in Istanbul talks about how spending time in different countries helped his children and how he is appreciating that they can look beyond nationality:

> "They are growing up understanding the diversity of the world, that not all children are white skinned and blue eyed and that's a good thing. They don't even look at their friends whether it was in Taipei or here in Turkey. They don't think of them as, you know, Rajit the Indian or this guy the Turk guy. They just think of them as their friends. And I get a lot of – I learn from that. […] And I want the rest of the world to think of people just as their friends or their first names, not by saying Deniz the Turkish woman or Fred the American. I don't want that and my kids don't do that and I am very envious, quite envious of that."

In this quote, by stating that he is envious of that attitude - that ability to look beyond nationality - he sets it as an ideal, as a goal that he wants himself and everyone to achieve. Similarly this American expatriate talks about why he thinks that the international experience is beneficial for his kids, thus, highlighting that he himself believes that "being comfortable with people of different ethnicities and races and nationalities" is a positive attribute:

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[55] This is so since this question enabled my middle class respondents to reflect about how to provide for their children to gather the necessary capital to be successful in their future, i.e. in the global market.

"One thing we noticed after we lived in Cyprus, when we went to New Jersey…in Cyprus my oldest daughter has gone to, they both went to a school, there were 22 children at the nursery school, nine nationalities, 22 children, 9 nationalities. When we went back to New Jersey…we noticed that the children, our eldest daughter in particular, tended to gravitate to the immigrant children, the non-American children, yes she had native-born friends, but there was this Chinese-American girl who became her friend immediately. And she seems quite comfortable with people of different ethnicities and races and nationalities. We always thought that it was due to the fact that in Cyprus her friends were Greek, or German, or Arab or English."

While this theme is most strongly narrated by the expatriates, it occurs overall in the narratives of the respondents[56]. For example this Turkish CFO of a German multinational in Istanbul answers when I ask him whether would like his child to grow up in a different country or not, obviously appreciating the ability of his boss' child to speak different languages:

" When I lived in South Africa, the general manager there was a Turk. And he had a kid. The kid spoke Turkish, he spoke English and he spoke Italian. And he was 6 years old. He had been there for 2 years."

He continues about what it would be good for his kid:

"Yes, he has to see different cultures. In terms of awareness, in terms of perceiving differences. Developing perception. That would be really good for the kid – combining Turkish culture and other cultures."

2.4. Perception of Nationality in the Work Environment

Lastly, not only do the respondents de-emphasize nationality in their self-representation, social circles and attitudes, but they also very strongly believe that they exist in a work setting in which their nationalities ultimately do not matter. They describe the transnational business environment and the companies they work for as environments that are above and beyond national identities. They repeatedly say that their nationality does not come into play in their business life, and that when working with non-national colleagues national-background is not something that they pay attention to principally. For example, this Turkish female in Istanbul explains:

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[56] Not surprisingly, when the Turkish respondents talked about their children and why it might be beneficial for them to have a multinational experience, they were more likely to emphasize aspects that underline the importance of gathering social capital in a global market in order to increase one's "options." In line with what I have presented in chapter III, I believe this reflects the specific location of the Turkish respondents within the global market, and thus it also reflects how they perceive the global market.

"I don't feel like "I am Turkish, I work as a Turk" especially when I am working. I mean, I don't feel Belgian, or French either, it is just I don't perceive the nationality. I mean we really work as an area team, I feel like a part of the team, there are people from Belgium and there are people from France or Spain […] so it is not as much the nationality but the company and the function within the company, that comes out a little more, the national identity does not remain that strong."

Another Turkish CFO in Istanbul states when asked whether he identifies more with people from different national backgrounds due to his participation in multinational business settings:

"When I work with those people, I see them all as colleagues. That is, I don't think, this guy is German, he is probably conservative; this guy is French, he does this and that. I don't differentiate like that. If there is a problem, I think of their personalities, without necessarily associating it with their nationalities."

In fact, when some of the expatriate respondents reflect on how and why they have been treated differently in multinational settings, nationality is not one of the primary reasons that they think of. Instead, they emphasize being an expatriate – i.e. a "foreigner" regardless of the nationality - or coming from the headquarters as the main factors that differentiate them from their local colleagues. That is, they attribute it to a power differential (which is a result of their role, their knowledge/capabilities, or their location in the web of personal networks; or generally a conflation of these factors). Thus, while their location in the web of personal networks and the fact that they are from the headquarters is strongly related to their entry point into the global market, i.e. their national backgrounds, and thus, as I have argued in chapter III, affects their access to various forms of capital, they seem to not consider this in their reflections on the issue. That is, this access again is invisible and naturalized in their consideration. For example, this British expatriate in Istanbul acknowledges that he is treated differently, but wonders about possible reasons:

"Well yes, I am treated differently, but is that because I'm a Brit? Is that because I'm part of the leadership team? Is that because I am a six-foot bloke with red hair – I don't know – who is generally friendly? I don't know. I mean there is a combination of all these things."

This British expatriate in Istanbul voices the same feeling, emphasizing that what matters is that he is an expatriate – not that he is British:

"I think of myself as English. I don't know if it gives me any particular advantage over other people. I don't think of it as something I can sell – more than selling myself on the fact that I am an expat, if you see what I mean."

And he continues:

"I think being an Ex, just not being a local coming from somewhere else, it does make people kind of stop, look and listen. And that's always an advantage. […] You have the quality of being just bright and shiny, that you're there and you're different. And you have, they do think that you will probably know more simply because that you've flown all this way etc. But I don't know if there's any advantage being English or British compared to French or compared to German, apart from local politics. "

This American respondent in Istanbul makes a similar point when he says:

"I can honestly tell you I've been treated like I was a foreigner, not that I was an American. Okay? Because in this building we had Italians, we had Dutch, we have other foreigners. So I don't think I'm treated any differently than them because I am an American."

The one exception where the respondents underline prevailing prejudice and difficulties is in the case of Turkish respondents who work regularly in Europe/with Europeans. This is one of the areas where it is easy to illustrate how the national background of the respondents affect their perception and thus experiences in the global business network. In these cases, the Turkish respondents repeatedly talk about the need to "prove" themselves to the European counterparts. Turkish respondents who are highly exposed in Europe, who have to attend high-level regional meetings, are the ones who emphasize that they have to face certain aversion/prejudice/disbelief when they meet their European colleagues. As one respondent states:

"There is always that feeling as if you have to prove yourself constantly. […] They kind of get surprised when they see us, it is not really open, but they get question marks in their heads like "Where does this Turk come from?" No one ever says anything to your face. But through the discussions I feel that if I were French or American my leadership would be accepted more readily - it does not when you are a Turk. You have to work harder, fight harder".

Or another one explains:

"They make you feel it. They get surprised, why is someone from Turkey doing this job? It is not like they say anything directly to your face; no European would say something like that to your face. But they make you feel

that surprise. Or they make jokes or give examples. I mean, it depends on the person, you can not say they all do it, but some of them do".

Yet even when the respondents recount cases in their business environment where they thought they were looked down upon or reacted negatively to because of their national background (and there are not too many cases of these) they narrate the event as a personal challenge, i.e. in a way that would frame their personal capacities. That is, the event and the prejudice becomes a personal challenge that they have to overcome, and thus, it gets integrated into the narrative of self-transformation and learning, or is seen as an indication of personal capacities of the respondent. For example, this manager in Istanbul talks about how he overcame what he considers snobbery by using his personal experiences as a means to connect with one of the board members of the German multinational that he is working for. In response to a question whether he senses that people doubt his capacities because he is Turkish he recounts:

> "I don't really feel that. But I feel prejudice. I mean, there is prejudice. When the CEO first came to Turkey he had this "these people are Turkish" mentality. Someone from the board was here and he asked me "are you the guy who has been snooping around X?" I mean, he was using a language like that instead of saying "Are you the person that X talked about?"

And he continues with the same story in the context of his ability to overcome national prejudices through his ability to establish personal bonds with different kinds of people:

> "So I told him about my experiences in South Africa and learned that he loves South Africa. His perception of me changed when he learned that we had a common place that we went to. I told him of the times that I played soccer, he has played soccer, too. […] I was like "you are probably into basketball and tennis, too" and he was like "how did you guess?" I said "you are tall, and I can tell from the way you walk" And he says "are you into basketball" and "I am" etc. etc. And we started talking, so he forgot about everyone else and started talking to me and at the end of the night he proposed a toast to me, telling the general manager that he is lucky to have a manager like me."

That is, these issues are not narrated through "national" lenses that underscore being a "foreign" national in a *national* company; they are not politicized but *personalized*. In line with the general tendency in these narratives, they are recounted as

personal experiences in a multinational setting underlining one's capacity to exist in such a setting.

Similarly, this Turkish female professional when she talks about whether she identifies as Turkish foremost replies:

"In the settings that I am in, being Turkish is not really something that is that much appreciated *el üstünde tutulmak*. That is, they either don't know anything about it, or if they know about it they know it with Islam, or they know it as this X country that is trying to get into the European Union, that is what I have seen in the groups that I have been. So maybe I don't have problem with being Turkish, but I have a problem with the Turkish image outside. […]

When I ask her whether this creates a disadvantage or advantage for her she goes on to explain:

"No it does not create a disadvantage at all. Because I mean, as I said, that is what you create as a person. If I close myself off, if I don't talk to them, if I don't show what I can, then it is a disadvantage. But if my Turkishness creates this first impression, or if that person has an idea like "ahh, that person is Turkish," I believe that I will triumph over that, I will put my character forward. It is one's character that counts. That is, that is what I do. That is what I do when I look at people. I don't go is he Dutch? Is he American? So I think others are doing the same thing."

Furthermore, instances of prejudice are narrated not as regular/inevitable occurrences, but as things that are out of ordinary, that are not expected to happen and are to fade away in the future. In the frameworks of the respondents, even if the situation is not perfect now, the global post-national market place and, thus, the work-place is something that is bound to happen in the future. The respondents, when they talk about issues of prejudice and barriers to mobility in the global market, generally employ a time frame in their narrative: this time-frame either emphasizes perceived change towards *positive* (i.e., less prejudice, less barriers, equal opportunities for all backgrounds), or *expects and foresees* that change towards the positive. The below quote illustrates this. When I ask this Turkish expatriate in NYC whether he thinks it is harder for a Turkish professional to build a global career like he did compared to someone from, say Britain or the U.S., he replies:

"I don't think it is now. I think they are more open now, more tolerant. It was not like that before – I mean there is nothing like that in the U.S., in the

U.S. if you are working, you know how it is, there is no prejudice, it is not problem, you are from America. But in Britain, in Europe, especially in France, there is a lot of it […] So it was hard in the first four, five years. "Oh, Turks, how are they etc." But it is not like that now. At the end, there are seven eight Turks who work at Danone or Peugeotte, and other places. So we are taking our place among others. I don't think it will be that hard anymore."

The same narrative format with a time frame is used when this expatriate from New Zealand in Istanbul talks about whether the chances of success and mobility are the same for people from different national backgrounds within the business network. He replies, "It is getting there" and continues:

"It is real close now. I think 10 years ago, maybe not. Now if I look to [company] there is no difference whatsoever. Whether you are…what most companies now understood is that there is certain skill sets that is quite important…and that skill set comes from different places […]"

Overall, in line with the general identity construct that the respondents are enacting, the ideal that is reflected in these narratives is one where professionalism and meritocracy dominate to overcome national prejudices and barriers towards mobility and towards an integrated global market, spelling out (yet again) the strongest building block of the self-identification of the professionals: ideology of professionalism. The respondents do not want to be treated as "foreigners" in their place of work, they want to be regarded for their professional skills and capacities; they want to be able to have mobility within the transnational network without regard to their nationality. They believe that they do have the capacities to do that, but as importantly, they believe that the market either conforms or will conform to that ideal. The below quote by a British expatriate in Istanbul reflects part of this ideal which voices the desire to be treated as an individual than anything else (italics added by me):

"I would like to think that I've been here long enough for it to be more about *me as myself* rather than as the fact that I'm a Brit on a sort of joint expat package, yeah?

However, in the case of Turkish respondents, even if their experiences do not match their ideals and the discourse of the work place, by personalizing and privatizing these occurrences, they reveal that they accept the hegemonic discourse of the global

market that tells a story of meritocracy, efficiency, professionalism, and fairness overcoming borders.

3. Houses on Wheels: Mobility, National Attachment and Belonging

In the case of both the local and the expatriate respondents, American and Turkish, these findings were not surprising to me. I did expect that for the respondents the national identity would not be the salient identity. One can claim that for both the American and Turkish local respondents, this is mainly so because they exist primarily in contexts where their national identities are not problematized (or activated). For example, the Turkish respondents fit squarely into the hegemonic class in Turkey; their Turkish identity does not create any problems in their daily lives in Istanbul. It is not something that they think about or have to face challenges or pressures about in Turkey as their dominant position in society is naturalized in everyday interactions[57]. Thus, when I ask about their Turkish identity, most of them state that being Turkish does not matter much to them. The local American respondents are in a similar social position and thus have a similar attitude; moreover, they also primarily articulate local and state identities ("I think of myself as more of a 'New Yorker' or a 'Californian'") before their national ones. Until they travel outside of the country, for the American respondents their "American" identity is not an issue that they have to think about (Mathers 2006).

However, as I illustrated in section 1 above, this de-emphasizing of nationality in the narratives of the respondents dominates both expatriates' and local respondents narratives and reveals the respondents' worldview: The respondents in this research entertain a "post-national" ideal which is part of their cosmopolitan self-presentation that emphasizes their being open-minded and worldly. Not only do the respondents believe that they exist in a post-national setting, they also *wish* to be in one. As illustrated in the last section, this post-nationalist ideal becomes visible in their self-representations, attitudes towards marriage, friendship, and choices of residence: The professionals do

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[57] Thus, it is different than being Islamic, Kurdish or non-Muslim, all of which are minorities in some sense in Turkey (Bilici 2006).

not articulate a very strong national identification, do articulate a level of comfort in terms of socializing and establishing personal/intimate relations with non-nationals, underscore an ideal to go beyond nationalities, and believe that they work in places where their nationalities do not matter.

Yet does this mean that national attachments are being weakened or eroded? How does the post-national ideal interact with national attachments and feelings of belonging? This is the question that I will turn to next.

3.1. *Articulations of National Attachment among Expatriate Professionals*

In this section I principally elaborate the meaning of national attachment as articulated by the respondents to address these questions. That is, I look at what the respondents articulate when they talk about their connection to their home-country or how they articulate it. My goal here is to open up the meaning of attachment to home-country and relate it to feelings of belonging or (not-belonging) that the respondents are articulating. I have already pointed above that the "national" figures out in the narratives as the "background" that differentiates respondents. Here I want to continue with a similar theme – i.e. I want to argue that the respondents articulate a post-national cosmopolitan identity does not mean that the "national" does not play a role in the construction and articulation of this identity. That the respondents do not articulate strong national identities does not negate their attachments to their home-country. The national identification and attachment, as it is experienced as an emotional attachment to home country, presents or is perceived to present a root, an anchor for the mobile respondent. Finally, looking at my data, I cannot claim that the mobility and fluidity associated with the global market and the transnational business network creates detached/rootless individuals, if we define this "detachment" and "rootlessness" by the subjective feelings of the respondents[58].

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[58] If, however, we define "detachment" as a lack of feeling of responsibility towards co-nationals, the results are more mixed. I will deal with this issue in Chapter V.

I start by examining the national attachment of the respondents. I look at both behavioral indicators and narratives of subjective feelings to explore national attachment. For behavioral indicators of national attachment, following (Hartman and Hartman 2000), I look at both "personal connection" and "organized connection" as facets of national attachment. "Personal connection" includes active interest in whatever is going on in the country (following news, media etc.), having friends and family in the home country and having contact with them, visiting the home-country, and having an intention or plans to go back to home-country. Organized connection involves things such as financial support for the country, and institutional and organizational involvement in activities that support or are related to home-country. I also search for emotional attachment in statements such as "I have great love for my country", "I am emotionally attached to my country", "I feel pride in my country." To differentiate between nationalism and critical patriotism, I look for expressions of uncritical loyalty in statements such as "I would support my country right or wrong"; "It is wrong to criticize one's country". I also look for an attitude of criticism out of caring and loyalty for the country such as "even though I identify with my country, I don't agree with some of its actions"; "If you love your country, you should be able to criticize it."

In this chapter, I primarily focus on the emotional and "personal" connections of the respondents and will turn to "organizational" connections and also civic engagement as a form of attachment in the next chapter. My focus in this section is my expatriate respondents as they present the closest approximation to the ideal type of the mobile, fluid, and flexible professional of the global market. Generally working in the "global" divisions of their companies and moving from one post in one country to another, this is specifically the group of respondents that are expected to become "detached" and "rootless" in the literature and popular media.

3.2. National Attachment as a Personal Attachment to Home-Country

Even when the respondents exist in an environment that they perceive to be post-national, and even when they do not think of nationality as their primary identification, when we look at national attachment as a sentiment – national attachment defined as

feelings of closeness, affection, and pride in one's country and its symbols, I do not see any indication that the transnational network in which the respondents are functioning to erase their national attachments. As it has been already indicated in the quotes in the previous sections, the respondents (both expatriates and locals) do articulate an emotional connection to their home country. In fact, even when they do not strongly identify with their nationality and qualify their identification, they are also keen to emphasize that they are "who they are" and there is no point (or in fact, willingness) to "deny one's background." This emotional connection is supported and sustained by personal acts – but not by organizational/institutional acts[59]. That is while there is "personal connection" to the home-country, there is almost no "organizational connection."

First, what does the personal connection mean, how is it articulated, and how is it sustained? There are two forms of emotional attachment that the respondents articulate, one more prevalent than the other. While some respondents articulate a form of attachment that draws upon the "imagined" nature of the national community which emphasizes the historical or political achievements of the "nation," the widespread form of articulation conveys the sense of connection to home-country that is based on the personal and particular connections. In this more dominant articulation, the attachment that the respondents express is actually a connection to "home" and to various elements that are associated with "home." When the respondents talk about their connection/attachment to "home-country" they talk about an attachment to a specific location, and/or to certain people and to a way of life and memories that comes with those people and location. This location is a specific city, or a town (or cities and towns) where the respondent grew up or spent a lot of time in his/her formative years. As such, the attachment is to a particular location and to the people and the memories associated with that location); but this location embodies "home" and thus comes to represent the country for the respondent when he/she is separated from it. The quote below illustrates this personal connection as constitutive of one's identity:

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[59] With the important exception of voting which is a personal act supported by national/institutional structures. I will deal with this in Chapter 5.

"I am proud of being a Tanzanian in the aspect of it's where I grew up. It's what I learned. It's where – when I think of my childhood, when I think about some of my happiest moments in life, that's where I experienced them. And had it not been for being in Tanzania, I wouldn't have been the person I am. I wouldn't have experienced this."

The connection is also to certain people that the respondent feels close to; these people are the family and close network of friends of the respondents. When respondents talk about "family," however, they either refer to their own nuclear family (with their own spouse and kids – if they have one - or their parents and siblings. Both variants of "family" play an important role in terms of attachments and belonging. Specifically, while parents play an important role in shaping and sustaining the connection to home-country, (and to a certain location in the home-country), as I will illustrate below the nuclear family of the respondent plays an important role in establishing and creating connections to the place of residence. In the interviews, multiple expatriates replied to the question whether they think of their home-country as "home" by stating "Home is where my parents are." In this sense, the location of the parents in and of itself creates an enduring, stable, and resilient connection that is almost automatic. This German expatriate in NYC illustrates this connection in her reply when I ask her if she ever feels rootless or detached because of her mobility:

"No. I think my roots are still where my parents live. But I feel at home wherever I live. […] But ask me where my roots are and they are probably in Stuttgart, still."

This connection plays a constant role in the thoughts and life-calculations of the respondents. Especially as the parents get older, "being in contact with the parents" and "being close to the parents" became reasons in and of themselves to sustain an ongoing connection to home-country.

Thus, in its dominant form, emotional attachment to home-country among the transnational professionals is an attachment/connection to "home" which is embodied in a certain location and to the memories associated with that location, to specific people in that location with whom the respondents have close relations, and to a life-style associated with those people and location. Generally, this connection is

naturalized/assumed in the responses of the professionals. This kind of particular/personal emotional attachment is dominant since it is uniform among the respondents from different national backgrounds – that is, it is there for all the expatriate respondents.

This emotional connection is sustained through the whole range of acts of "personal connection" - following news from-, continuous communication with people in-, and frequent trips to home-country. While not religiously, all of the expatriate respondents pay attention to what is going on in their home-country through following the news from the internet along with reading newspapers. Expatriates generally read both home-country newspapers and host-country ones and in some cases third country newspapers (such as *Financial Times*). Through the internet, the expatriates do not only have access to national-papers, but also local ones which, in the case of American respondents, they follow. Expatriates also report that they get news from their families, that families "fill them in" about what is going on in their countries and hometowns. Overall, there is regular phone and email contact with family and close friends. And depending on how far the respondent is located from his/her home country, they visit home one to five times a year. Thus, the technological advancements of the late 20th century, by facilitating access to news from home-country and recurrent communication between the respondents and their families and friends, enable the respondents to remain connected and feel attached – at both the local and the national level. In fact, older expatriates point to this themselves – for example, this American expatriate in Istanbul talks about how they remain connected to the U.S. and compares it to his experiences before when voicing his concern to be away from his older parents:

> "A lot of that you can overcome, in the sense, the very low cost of telephoning and Internet, we even have a video connection with one of Miriam's siblings, so when we call we can see each other. You know – the fed-exing…last night I was watching Bloomberg television at home on satellite TV - Bloomberg television, from my home in Istanbul. I was watching an interview with the mayor of Boston! Also we feel less cut-off because people are definitely in contact. I mean my sister is coming from California next week and I am going to the states this week. My father is coming in a few weeks after that. So it is not like 20-25 years ago when

before the Internet, before the inexpensive telephoning, before the carrier services when you really feel cut-off."

Similarly, this American expatriate in Istanbul makes the point that the "world is much smaller" by comparing his experiences in Istanbul to his experiences in his previous posts while underlining the use of technology in maintaining connections with the home-country:

> "When we went to Venezuela we felt a bit isolated and look at how close I was to the United States. It is silly. Every Friday, I would – I would subscribe to the USA Today newspaper into a PO Box in Miami, Florida. And it got delivered everyday. And then on Saturdays, they would bring the mail from the PO Box down into Caracas. So that Monday night, I would come home from work and have the previous five USA Todays. And my wife and I would sit there and read the newspapers. […] Think about that. Today, you have the Internet. Today you have Amazon.com. And you have all of these things that – the world is much smaller than it was when I went in 1992 to Venezuela."

The second form of emotional attachment that the respondents articulate in a more limited fashion is more abstract. This attachment is articulated when the respondents talk about "pride"[60]; the connection – pride- towards home-country is felt because of certain ideas that the country is believed to represent, or its history and achievements.

There is variation in this articulation among the expatriate respondents, as American respondents are more likely to articulate an attachment to ideas and symbols and the institutions that embody them than the rest of the respondents. When American respondents talk about their pride for their country, they use the building blocks of the American dream and the main tenets of the political system to make their points. This is, however, not surprising considering the literature about the constitutive elements of American identity. Researchers maintain that "American nationalism is ideological or political in nature, meaning that from the outset the United States defined itself in terms of commitment to a set of liberal political principles" (Citrin et al. 1990, 1128). Benjamin Barber (1996, 32-33) states that

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[60] That is, these are articulated when the respondents reply to the question "are you proud to be "nationality?". Their replies are then followed up with further questions that ask them why they are proud if they are proud, or why they are not proud, if they are not proud.

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"To be an American […] is to possess a new set of political ideas. […] Our 'tribal' sources from which we derive our sense of national identity are the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, the inaugural addresses of our presidents, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, and Martin Luther King's "free at last" sermon at the 1963 March on Washington – not so much the documents themselves as the felt sentiments tying us to them."

Relatedly, Citrin et al. (1990) assert that there is not much disagreement on what constitutes this ideological conception: democracy, liberty (freedom), equality (of opportunity, in manners), and individual achievement (individualism, self-reliance). Whatever one's origin or background, to be an American one only had to endorse this national "creed" (Huntington 1981).

In fact, these are specifically the elements that the American respondents articulate strongly even when, as I will show below, they combine it with criticism of the country. The quote below, for example, is a reply to the question "Why do you feel proud to be an American?" by this American professional:

"I am proud of the creation of this country. I have on my wall the declaration of independence, I have it up and framed and I find it very meaningful that these folks couple of hundreds years ago decided that they would not be ruled by a king, they would not be ruled by a royalty, and by the whims of such decision makers, that they would call their own shots, and they would create their own structure, and you know rule by themselves. And they put their lives on the line and many died and other people just wrote things and spoke and other people fought and died. So, I find that heritage to be important."

The below reply to the same question by an American professional voices very related themes:

"I guess I am proud that I am fortunate to be born in a country that affords me all of the freedoms and benefits of what America has to offer. I mean freedom is one thing. The possibility of achieving whatever you want to achieve. And there are not a lot of countries that always – have that."

Similarly:

"I love the fact that it is free. We are free. And it has so much to offer. So much that you look at people that come to America and have nothing and what you can do. And it is just such an opportunity. It is just a land of opportunity. I look at it that way. I look at it like you do, wherever you, whatever you want you can make yourself."

That is, one can claim that even when the first form of national attachment is the more common one, the way national attachment is felt and articulated embodies and reflects deeply rooted national self-understandings and different conceptions of "nationhood" which are constituted in historically specific ways. Thus, while the expatriate respondents use very similar terminology and convey similar feelings when they express their post-nationalist ideals, the way they articulate their national attachments also reflects the particular national traditions in which (and into which) they have been socialized.

3.3. Cosmopolitan Patriots: Constructive Patriotism as a Facet of the Cosmopolitan Identity Construct

While there is variation in the content of the articulation of national attachments, the articulation is done in a certain manner overall regardless of the national background of the respondents. Specifically, the same professional cosmopolitan identity construct, the one that requires my urban middle class professional respondents present themselves as open-minded, reasonable, and measured, allows (or in fact necessitates) for the articulation of a patriotic sentiment that combines a sense of love for the country with a sense of reasonable criticism. That is, if the respondents articulate a connection, a positive emotion for their home-country, it has to be measured, (somehow) critical and reflexive. Thus while overall the respondents demonstrate a strong willingness to articulate some love/affection for their country, they almost always have to condition that articulation, emphasizing that they could not do so blindly, that they need to and have the right to criticize their countries. This sentiment is either stated point-blank as in this quote by an American senior manager in a pharmaceutical company in NY:

> "I mean I am proud. Prouder to be an American than not. So, therefore probably I am more patriotic than not. But at the same time, I don't equate being patriotic with supporting our troops…I think being patriotic also includes, and that is one of the founding tenets of our Constitution, freedom of speech and criticism. So, if patriotic means being able to criticize then I think, then yes, I am somewhat patriotic."

Or it is demonstrated in the narratives that combine a sense of pride or love with a sense of criticism. For example the below quotes illustrate both pride with the country and its achievements and frustration:

"I am very proud of the fact that America is still a place with great universities where people do send their children to get educated, where American companies, quite frankly X (name of company) operate in the market with incredibly high values and ethics […] So I am proud of all of those aspects of American culture. But I am very frustrated by this whole political and this – yeah what happened since 9/11. It just really depresses me. I am proud and I am disappointed."

"I think it is a beautiful country. There are a lot of beautiful people, of who they are and what they do. Physically it is a gorgeous place. I love that. And from an independence perspective, that you can be off the projects and be the president, that hope and that trail, that does exist, you know. But with that being said, there is so much inequality that exist in this country. […] To see what went on with Katrina, that part of it makes me sick. Like I think having worked in the public health field, just to see the lack of investment that is going into our own country […] that just bothers me."

Thus, not surprisingly the articulations of pride and connection reveal a sense of "constructive patriotism" among the respondents (Schatz et al. 1999)[61]. Even when the respondents articulate pride, the sense of pride and even the love of the country is conditioned by criticism in an effort to not appear as "blind" patriots. As I have shown in section I, the respondents avoid the articulation of "nationalist" stances as the term "nationalist" gets to be associated with being close-minded, extremist and parochial. While this association prevents its integration into the self-portrayal of the respondents who emphasize their "reason," their critical capabilities, and cool headed-ness to underscore their middle class professional identity, an articulation of patriotism that underlines criticism as well as support can and does fit into the cosmopolitan identity construct which sets post-nationalism as an ideal.

Thus, in summary, even at the expatriate level, where the respondents are very strongly embedded in transnational networks and thus are drawn to other expatriates due to similar daily problems and life-styles, where in social circles the national background seem to be trivial, the attachment and connections to home-country are kept. Yet while

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[61] Schatz, Staub and Lavine (1999) also differentiate between *blind patriotism* and *constructive patriotism*. Whereas blind patriotism implies positive evaluation of the country and support for its actions out of total trust and an uncritical loyalty, constructive patriotism implies support for criticism of the country rooted in affective attachment and a desire to bring about positive change – it implies critical loyalty.

the respondents are keen to articulate their connections to home-country, the prevalent form of articulation points to a connection to the familiar and the personal – it is an attachment that is not abstract. It is generally not articulated as an attachment to an "imagined community" and it is generally not an attachment to a political-legal conception of the nation-state, except in the cases of American respondents. Any activity that is done which sustains this connection is personal.

3.4. *Home away from Home or Making oneself at Home: Rootlessness and Belonging in the Global Market*

The finding that the attachment to home country is predominantly an emotional attachment to the familiar and the personal that is sustained through personal acts, however, means that it can be replicated in and for other places and explains in part how the respondents can feel attached to multiple locations. In fact, the respondents claim that they do develop attachments and connections to multiple locations; there seem to be no connection between how mobile the respondents are and whether or not they feel "rootless" or "detached".

Examining "detachment" and "rootlessness" as subjective feelings of the respondents that are communicated by expressions of feeling lost, feelings of not belonging etc., there is no sense of "rootlessness" among the respondents, even among those who have been on expatriate assignments for most of their careers. While I would not claim to provide a fully developed analysis of the feelings of the respondents from the few questions in my interviews on this subject, I believe these questions and the replies can be indicative nevertheless. When we were talking about the country of residence and their social and business life there, I asked the expatriate respondents about their attachment to different communities and people in their place of residence. I also asked them about whether they ever feel lost, or detached in their career trajectory which takes them from one place to another. Out of 33 expatriate respondents in total only 3 said that they felt something like detachment or rootlessness[62] - and out of the three who

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[62] It could be that my respondents did in fact feel lost or rootless yet did not articulate these quite personal feelings to me. In fact I would expect from my personal communications beyond the interview setting that

mentioned these feelings 2 are male and single (the significance of which I will deal with later in this section).

Looking at this finding –the interesting question for me then is *how my respondents manage not to feel detached*. That is, how come these individuals, who move from one place to another, and who plan on having a career that makes them move from one place to another, and who in general only have a vague idea about where – geographically – they would be in 5 or 10 years, *do not feel detached or rootless*? Why do they feel like they belong somewhere – or how do they retain a feeling of attachment?

The responses of the expatriates indicate two wide-spread sentiments that I touched upon previously, and that are not mutually exclusive: one is the continuing, on-going emotional connection to home-country and "home" in its different variations; the other is the feeling that the respondent can exist, feel comfortable, prosper and - in some cases - even belong to various places on world, (which is, as I have mentioned in Chapter II, one of the key elements of the cosmopolitan identity construct). Both of these sentiments ground the respondents in their fluid lives. While the feeling of continuing attachment to home-country is the most common feeling among the respondents and provides an anchor for them, the feeling that they can exist anywhere is also very widespread and provides the confidence to move along an opaque path that requires flexibility and mobility. That is, along with the continuing attachment to home, it is specifically the cosmopolitan identity construct and the self-confidence that comes with that identification that enables the respondents not to feel "lost" in a flexible and ever-changing market. Below I want to detail these two mechanisms focusing particularly on the second one.

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more respondents felt and thought about these on and off. However, I also think that if the feeling was a strong or a widespread one, it would have come out in the interviews which were in general very open and easy flowing.

First, the emotional connection to home-country is articulated as a connection to a "home" which is seen as an anchor or root in a world where mobility is accepted as part of life. In the articulations of the respondents, the national identity represents the "background" or "heritage" for the respondents and reminds them "where they are coming from." Moreover, and very importantly, while the respondents accept the requirements of being a successful expatriate professional in the flexible and unpredictable environment of the transnational business market, they fear "becoming rootless" and thus, they come up with strategies to prevent that. These fears and sentiments are more visible in expatriates with families than with single expatriates or married couples with no kids. As such, these issues appear regularly in the interviews when the respondents talk about their children– since they are more afraid that their children will become "rootless" (not themselves) – in the process designating the home-country and national attachment as a "root" for them. For example, this American expatriate in Istanbul who has spent most of his career in Middle East voices his concern for his children:

> "I have been concerned about rootlessness. A feeling that…they don't belong some place or that their friends…that there is a fragility, I make friends today that I know I am going to lose in 2 years so why should I make friends, or I make friends today 2 years from now I am going to be in another place so why should I put the effort in?"

Similarly, this 32 year old German expatriate in NYC who himself has grown up in multiple countries while his father was traveling talks about similar concerns for his daughter:

> "Because if you do all these multinational traveling, it is very exciting, it is very nice but the risk is that you detach from…I don't know…from your…own…heritage and from where you come from. And if you came into a crisis and you don't even know where you come from…you are going to have serious difficulties to reorder your life. And I think it is important to give her roots and it should be the same cultural roots as our family has."

Consequently, some expatriates with children try to make sure that they keep some kind of a connection to a place, to create a sense of stability and continuity. For example this American expatriate in Istanbul talks about their connection to their "home" in the U.S as a strategy to provide a sense of continuity for their children:

"One of the things that we've always done, when we moved, we always move back to the same house. So that allows the kids to come back roughly to the same neighborhood, and they'll know those kids and they've gone to school for a couple of years. Now maybe they have gone a couple of years but they'll go back in the class and they'll know, you know, a reasonable number of kids. So, it provides them a sense of continuity and a sense of home."

Another American expatriate in Istanbul voices all the themes mentioned above in the following quote, underlining a permanent bond to a "home" in "home-country" that is linked to the family and a location which provides a "root" for himself and for his children:

"I mentioned, we deliberately maintain a home in Massachusetts; that is our permanent home….We have very close ties to that home. It has…it has been in my family for 75 years; my grandfather built it, it is next to a lot relatives and people who lived in that neighborhood, part of my family has been in that neighborhood for 250 years 230 years, so even though we have an international living and working experience, we have a home, an address, a place we go for holidays and in the summers, we have relatives there; we…my children have a sense that that is their permanent home…ahh…ahh…They have…they have a *root* someplace."

Similarly, the German expatriate mentioned above talks about what they do so that their daughter retains her links to Germany and German culture, when I ask him whether they are afraid that she might not retain or acquire a sense of German culture:

"Yes, we thought about that before going abroad and decided that since she…Bertha, our daughter would be learning English anyway, we would only speak German at home, so that's what we do, we only speak German at home we don't use any English at all. In order to teach her mother tongue and have her think in her mother tongue. The other thing is, we read German books to her, and the third thing is that we are trying to have regular exchanges with Germany so that Bertha spends sometime…like twice a year we try to go to Germany with Bertha, for her to spend 2 weeks or 4 weeks with her cousins, with friends and with her grandparents, for her to speak German and to meet her…German family."

As it is obvious in the above quotes, the respondents come up with strategies to maintain their link to their home country. That is, there is *deliberate action* on the side of the respondents to retain connections to home country. The important point here is that to assume that individuals will start feeling rootless and lose their feelings of belonging just because they are embedded in transnational networks and are mobile disregards the

agency of the individuals involved in the process: Not only are the respondents capable of creating and re-creating multiple belongings, they also actively come up with measures which will prevent them and their children from feeling "rootless."

Furthermore, for the expatriate respondents "home" is also where one is located. As this Tanzanian-Indian expatriate in Istanbul states "I basically call home where me and my wife and my daughter now are. That's home." Consequently expatriate respondents articulate feelings of attachment and connection for their places of residence even if this is not uniform among all the respondents. This feeling of "being home" in the country of residence gets stronger as the respondents integrate into various networks in the host-country and as daily routines and friendship circles are established.

For example, when I ask this American expatriate in Istanbul whether she feels like she belongs to or feels attached to any community in Istanbul she replies:

"Well, we call the – we are going home when we say we're going to Turkey. So it's – when somebody says where are you going? Well, we are going home to Turkey. So I think at least there's been a psychological shift that we've made home here."

When this British expatriate in Istanbul is talking about the advantages and disadvantages of mobility and his connection to England and Istanbul, he states:

"We went away for a week and a half to the UK for business and for some other stuff. And nearing the end of that trip in the UK, we were both going, I thought we were really looking forward to going home and *this* being our home."

Very similarly this British expatriate explains:

"It is difficult to explain. I feel at home in Istanbul and in the U.K. […] I am British. As I have said before, I don't have any problems being British. London and nearby is familiar to me so when I get off the plane at Heathrow and that, that is "going home," yeah? But also, when I land back in Istanbul and I am on my way to Levent that also feels like "going home." I would say I feel at home in two countries."

Likewise this expatriate from New Zealand in Istanbul talks about his attachment to Kiev and London with the expectation that he will develop the same kind of attachment

to Istanbul since he has just moved to Istanbul at the time of the interview. For him "it is only natural" that one develops attachments to the place he lives in. When I ask, "Did you feel like you belong to the city that you live in now or then, did you feel like you were attached to that place, it could be any community, or friends, or neighborhood?" he responds:

> "In..in Kiev, yes, there was a *definite* attachment, in London there was a *definite* attachment, in Istanbul it is getting there but it takes time. […] I think…it happens when you're flying in (laughing). It happens when you are sitting on the airplane and you are flying in. A that moment, do I feel like I am going home or do I still feel like I am going somewhere else. When…when the return journey from…I don't know, a business trip or whatever, makes you…when you…when the plane is coming into London you feel like you are going home? Then you are attached."

Again, this German expatriate in NYC talks of Germany as being his "home:"

> "To put it in very simple terms I guess I am – I am German, my heritage is German and when I land in Frankfurt – I get a warm feeling around my heart because I am landing at home. So that is it. It is my home, yeah."

Yet, he also talks about NYC and Madrid and Barcelona in very similar terms when I ask him about his connection to NYC and to various communities in NYC:

> "Yes. And I am sure that, give me 10 years, if I land in JFK and take a cab, I will get warm around my heart, when seeing Manhattan and I drive by my former apartment. It is the same thing. And I know that because I…when I go to Madrid, I visit the place I spent couple of years and when I go to Barcelona – I – you know, I feel at home – in those places, too. […] So yes, I feel the connection."

What I want to point out in the last two quotes which is also a prevalent trend in the expatriate interviews is not just the sense of connection that is created, but the *expectation* and the *belief* that the connection or the attachment is going to happen, that it is going to be created. In the quotes above, the expatriates expect to feel attachment to their place of residence, drawing on their experiences in the cities they lived before – it has happened before, it will happen again. That is, experience as an expatriate breeds a sense of self-confidence; the experience of living in another country and working for a significant amount of time and being "successful" creates the sense that this can be replicated in other places – which is translated into the belief that one can live in different places. For example, this American professional in NYC who has been on an expatriate

assignment in Australia before voices this feeling when I ask him whether he feels like he can work and be successful anywhere in the world:

> "I feel like I could. Yeah, I mean just the fact that I went to Australia and didn't know a soul and lived there for two years met a lot of people. I think that, just doing that leads me to believe that and moving anywhere. […] After I went there I was like, I could go anywhere in the world and I could do a good job, be successful, make a living and survive. You know and it doesn't even have to be - you know before I went there I was like "I got to go to an English speaking country." I really, I cant see myself going to even Spain even though I speak - took Spanish - and living. I couldn't see that. And then I left for Australia , I was like hell, I should go to Europe because I'd love to […]"

As I have already indicated in chapter II and will deal with more in chapter IV, this belief that one can live in various places in the world is one of the building blocks of the cosmopolitan identity construct and is based on multiple capabilities and experiences – a belief in one's professional but also interpersonal skills and a transnational network of friends and connections, all of which are supported by the standardization of the work environment, homogenization of pockets of urban-spaces, and the telecommunication advances of the early 21st century. This belief gets strengthened by the expatriate experience itself and one can claim that it grounds the respondents in their lifestyles. As articulated above, home is not only what is left behind in the home-country with which connections are kept, but it is also something that is created and recreated in multiple places which means that the feeling of "home" and thus the attachment to "home" are portable as the respondents themselves. Furthermore, for expatriate respondents with nuclear families "home" is where the nuclear family is. The respondents with families do not feel detached because they carry their families and thus their "homes" with themselves. As this American expatriate in Istanbul underlines:

> "We are like a party on wheels, okay? Wherever we go. As we move a lot and with four kids, you know, their best friends quite frankly are their brothers and sisters. No matter where we are, I mean, my wife, you know, is there. Plus they have each other so they've always got that."

While all the respondents are able to and do forge connections in their place of residence to different degrees, this process is not only seen to be more essential but also happens easier for families with children. Specifically, the schooling of the children provides the expatriates with another institutional locus besides the business setting in the

new country that creates opportunities for meeting and befriending other expatriates and locals. When observing the composition of the social network of the expatriates and asking about how they met their friends, it is very common that the social network was made of adults that the respondents met through their children/through their children's school. For example when this American expatriate in Istanbul is talking about his social circle and whether he was looking for other Americans to socialize points to the role of the school as a locus of socializing:

> "No. I don't look for them at all. Actually because of the school, which is a very expensive private school with the American curriculum, I ended up knowing more Turks that have spent 15-20 years in the US and now are back here raising their kids and putting their kids into this American curriculum school than I actually know Americans."

Similary, the social life of this German expatriate in NYC is shaped through his daughter. When I ask him how he and his wife built their social circles he replies:

> "Mainly through the kids. I mean, that is how everything started because there was a playground, and we went down to the playground; after 10 days we knew 10 people, that kind of thing. It is very easy to get to know people and it is mainly through the kids, yeah."

Furthermore, in the expatriate nuclear family, it is predominantly the male professional who is working; in most cases the wife has to give up a career or a vocation and follow the husband through his career posts. This not only means that the mobility of the transnational professionals is gendered, but it also leads to a clear cut and gendered division of labor in the social functions between the adults in the family in the country of residence: while the male in the family is the sole bread-winner and spends majority of his time at work, the female has to deal with the practical, day-to-day problems of moving into a new country as well as the creation and upholding of a social circle in the new country. While the day-to-day life of the male professional in this scenario is pretty much structured by the multinational company and thus is predictable, somehow homogeneous, and mostly does not present insurmountable challenges of adaptation or conditions for feelings of alienation, the female faces a relatively non-structured time

which also requires and allows more interaction with the new city and the locals[63]. Due to this division of labor it is generally through the female in the family that the social circle is established.

Consequently, the nuclear family is not only important for creating the "feeling of home" solely by its existence, but is also functional in terms of establishing inroads to the country of residence. While the feeling of "belonging" is not automatic, meaning it is actively created by forging contacts and connections with peoples and places in the new residence, when there is a family, this process seems to be easier than when there is not – as the children and the spouse create opportunities for multiple entry points into various networks in the host-county. In the light of this, it is not a surprise to see that it is the single male respondents who are feeling more detached than the others. This American expatriate in Istanbul is not representative in terms of his small network of friends but illustrates the point:

> "And socializing – I don't have a very large, expansive network of friends. In fact, I don't have any friends to be honest with you. My wife has all the friends. […] Whatever we do usually revolves around an activity either from a woman that my wife might have met at the health club that she goes to and she exercises and maybe we'll have a dinner, or from our children's school's activities."

This Irish expatriate in Istanbul makes the similar point:

> "When you are working a lot, it is actually…it is difficult to get out and meet people. So I find that…it is really friends' of my wife cause she has more time to go out and meet people. And it is friends of theirs that I end up getting friends with. Unless it is related to sports that is kind of probably my only venue to meet people to be honest.

Lastly, in the cases of both New York City and Istanbul, the respondents did not have hard time creating a feeling of home as in the case of both of these cities there was a pool of expatriates and also a local new professional middle class with whom the respondents share similar life styles and worldviews, which enabled the respondents to

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[63] Thus, not surprisingly while in Istanbul at least a few of the expatriate husbands mention their wives having hard time when they first moved to the city, in New York City, where the language does not present a problem there was no mention of this.

meet others with similar tastes and sustain their lifestyles. The integration of cities into the global network and the rise of the service industry requires a certain standardization of urban space and services that caters to the needs of the new middle classes – which also means that the expatriate respondents can keep up with similar consumption practices and daily habits in multiple places. The creation of "feeling at home" then is easier, when there are new middle classes with whom one can socialize while at the same time sustaining his/her middle class life-style, recreation and consumption practices.

4. Rooted Cosmopolitans

In summary, the discussion in Section 3 is yet another addition to the literature which illustrates that people are capable of entertaining feelings of attachments and connection to multiple places through creation of new habits and daily routines, forging connections, and establishing new "homes" in different places. The global market and the technological advancements of late 20th century do not just make mobility easier, they also make simpler staying in contact with home-countries as well as forging new connections in new places and keeping those connections. In the case of the transnational professionals, it is hard to claim that participation in the processes of the global market engenders rootless, alienated individuals. In fact, the cosmopolitan identity that the professionals strengthen through their experiences make them more likely to feel grounded in their mobile, fluid lives as the mobility and the ability to live in different places becomes part of their identity and creates a sense of pride.

As such one needs to be careful about assuming and establishing a dichotomy between mobility/flexibility and attachment/belonging; the dichotomy in this case does not hold. The tension between the two sides is ever constant in the interviews. The respondents fear that they might loose their roots or loose their connections due to their mobility. Some say that they do not feel as connected to their home-country as they used to. Some question the limits of the possibility of belonging in their new location; can one really belong if one cannot speak the language of the host-country? Some differentiate between feeling comfortable and belonging and say even if they feel "home" they will

always be "foreigners." Yet even when the tension between mobility and belonging is there in the interviews, one can also see the alternative story clearly as I have illustrated in chapter II and III: In this narrative it is *through* the mobility and the challenge that the mobility brings about that the respondents develop the capacity to relate to different people and thus to exist in and belong to different locations. In this story, relationality (and thus the ability to belong to different places) is a result of mobility and ensuing interaction.

The point of the above discussion is also to illustrate that national attachments as defined by feelings of positive identification with and attachment to home-country do not die out unavoidably for multiple reasons. Simply put, even when the respondents mainly exist in environments where their national identities do not seem to matter and even when they entertain what I call a "post-national" ideal, the national attachments still play a role in their lives. Not only do national attachments act as an anchor in their fluid lives, they also are functional in as cultural signifiers establishing "difference" in the transnational business network where "difference" is seen as an asset.

Moreover, patriotism unlike nationalism, as evidenced above in the narratives of the respondents, can and does fit into the articulation of a cosmopolitan identity construct, reflecting national variations. Thus, one can claim that what we are faced with here is what Appiah (1997) calls "cosmopolitan patriots." In defending a sense of "rooted cosmopolitanism" against the criticism that cosmopolitans are parasitic or rootless, Appiah argues that patriotism and cosmopolitanism can be combined. Using the example of his father against Nussbaum's (1996) portrait of patriotism as parochial that places the national and the cosmopolitan consciousness in opposition, he states that:

> "The cosmopolitan patriot can entertain the possibility of a world in which everyone is a rooted cosmopolitan, attached to a home of his or her own, with his own cultural particularities, but taking pleasure from the presence of other, different, places that are home to other, different people".

He adds:

"We cosmopolitans can be patriots, loving our homelands (not only the states where we were born but the states where we grew up and where we live). Our loyalty to humankind – so vast, so abstract, a unity- does not deprive us of the capacity to care for people closer by."

Here I want to emphasize that in bringing together national attachments as roots and articulations of cosmopolitan capacities the professionals in this research in fact portray a sense of "rooted cosmopolitanism." It is a self-identification that resists being defined as "parochial," but also refuses the idea giving up one's "roots."

Lastly, it is important to notice that neither the national attachment nor the cosmopolitanism articulated by the respondents is political – that is, the same living conditions that facilitates sustained connections and the articulation of a cosmopolitan identity construct also pushes for a "private" sense of cosmopolitanism that is devoid of a sense of "universal aspirations and concerns." Both the national attachments and the cosmopolitan identity construct that are articulated are largely privatized and symbolic – they are cut-off from institutional ties, created and sustained through private acts. This is the theme that I will deal turn to in the next chapter, where I will point to a second sense in which the professionals are "rooted" in their cosmopolitanism.

Chapter V

Under the Rule of Neoliberalism: Private Citizens Make Private Cosmopolitans

I have asserted in Chapter III that the expatriates I have studied can be called "rooted cosmopolitans" as they bring together patriotism defined as an emotional attachment to home-country and a cosmopolitan self-presentation. Here I want to illustrate that the expatriate respondents are "rooted cosmopolitans" in a second sense: They are "rooted" not only in the way they bring together their national "roots" and cosmopolitan aspirations, but also in the sense that their cosmopolitanism is one that is built on specific relationships that have been cultivated in specific locations. That is, not only are they rooted because they are able to keep and establish connections to various "homes," but also because their sense of cosmopolitanism is not derived from abstract principles, or an abstract belief in the humanity, but from their experiences in multiple locations and from their connections in a global network of people they built through the transnational business network. The "global" identity – the idea that they can live in different places, get along with people from different backgrounds, does not come into existence in a top-down process; it is a bottom-up process, embedded in the transnational network, where specifically the local attachments, and the connections that they establish with people and places allow them to articulate that "global" identity.

In this chapter, I will first illustrate this second sense of "rooted" cosmopolitanism, then locate this particular articulation of cosmopolitan identity within the larger frame of the respondents' engagement with their local and national communities. My goal here is to examine the processes of global identity formation but also to think about the relationship between national attachments and transnational networks, this time through observing civic engagements.

1. A Global Identity: the Nomad, the Global Citizen, and the Cosmopolitan

As I have illustrated, the professionals in this research enact what I call a cosmopolitan identity construct whose main tenets I have introduced in chapters II and IV above. While conducting the interviews, I was, however, also interested in whether the respondents identify as "cosmopolitan" or as a "global citizen" by specifically naming themselves as such and what they thought about these words and their meanings as it relates to them. As Dominquez (1986, 266) states,

> "It is only in the act of naming an identity, defining an identity or stereotyping an identity that identity emerges as a concrete reality. Not only does that identity have no social relevance when it is not named; it simply does not exist when it has not been conceived and elevated to public consciousness."

In an effort to gauge whether my naming their identity matches their self-understandings and whether these words have any currency among the transnational professionals, I wanted to see the reactions of the respondents to these "names." Thus, I have asked the respondents whether they heard about the words "global citizen" and "cosmopolitan," (*dünya vatandaşı* and *kosmopolitan* in Turkish) what they understand from those words, whether they identify as such, and why or why not. Replies to these questions are very much mixed, but I believe that they are valuable in examining the nature of global identities among transnational professionals. Specifically, these responses illustrate why the professionals perceive themselves as "cosmopolitan" and give clues about how "global" identities can be constructed.

1.1. Self-Identification as Global or Cosmopolitan

Not very surprisingly, almost all of the respondents – except a few American respondents in the U.S. - have heard of these terms and have an idea what they mean. They are able to come up with descriptions that incorporate the various tenets that were mentioned in the literature I introduced in Chapter I. While their feelings about the words and whether they identify as such are mixed, what is important for this research is that quite a number of the expatriates in fact identifies as, or agrees to be called, a "global citizen" or "cosmopolitan." While identifying as a "global citizen" or "cosmopolitan"

the respondents usually (and not surprisingly considering the findings in chapter IV) come up with descriptions that incorporate their links to their national identity and citizenship in that self-identification, just like this French expatriate in Istanbul does:

> I feel like a global citizen in the sense that, you know, yes, I can manage those different places and so on, but I still feel very strongly about my own roots, you know. So if global citizen is having no roots, I don't feel like a global citizen. If a global citizen means that you are very tolerant and you can manage all different situations then yes, I feel like this.

A Turkish expatriate in NYC articulates very similar feelings:

> Global citizen? That is a strange thing – that is…I see myself as Turkish. But I also see myself as a cosmopolitan individual and I believe that I can live anywhere. Maybe I might be counted as a global citizen but I am a Turkish citizen and I think myself as a Turk. […] But I consider myself cosmopolitan because I think of myself as someone who can act comfortably within different groups of people, who can exist in various networks and can discuss various subjects.

In quite a number of cases, the respondents use these words without me having to prompt them, in an effort to emphasize the "global" or "international" nature of their identity, indicating that they have already imagined themselves as such. For example, this Turkish professional in Istanbul calls herself a "world citizen" when she is talking about her Turkish identity:

> I describe myself as a good person. I try to be a good mother. But I have *patriotic* feelings. I cannot totally discount Turkishness. But I think that the world is a big piece of land and we are all world-citizens. I am a humanist, thus, Turkish or this or that nationality is not the most important thing to me. […]

I am taking this finding – the finding that the respondents are willing or likely to call themselves a "global citizen" or a "cosmopolitan" - to be a differentiating quality of the sample population in this research, as an identity as a "citizen of the world" is not one that people generally claim. For example, in the Soul of Britain survey, only 11% of 25-34 year olds chose the 'world' as their primary locus of belonging (Szerszynski and Urry 2002, 476).[64] Similarly, looking at the replies of people asked for their primary

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[64] I believe that this finding reflects the nature of my sample – that is, I do believe that my respondents, because of all the experiences I covered in chapter II and III, do incorporate the "global" into their identity and thus are different than a randomly drawn sample of the general population. However, one can also imagine this difference between my sample and larger population to be partly the result of the different

identification ("which geographic groups do you belong to *first of all*?"), Norris concludes, "local and national identities remain far stronger than any cosmopolitan orientation. […] One-sixth of the public (%15) feels close to their continent or 'the world as a whole' in their primary identity" (Norris 2000)[65].

Given that I have also asked the respondents about *why* they feel or identify as "global" or "cosmopolitan," here I want to elaborate on what kind of experiences and feelings the respondents are basing their global identification. I will argue that there are various ways in which one can conceptualize feeling like a "global" citizen, which is then important in how we picture, understand, or analyze cosmopolitan identities and their relations to transnational networks.

1.2. A Private Cosmopolitanism Embedded in Particular Places, People and Connections

While in my interviews I observed various articulations of a global identification, the most common understanding/articulation of feeling and being "global" among the transnational professionals who identified as such is one that is not based on an ethical identification with the humanity as a whole, but one that is based on particular skills and connections to multiple people and places. Over and over the respondents articulated that they in fact are "global citizens" because "they can live anywhere in the world" and "they can get along with people anywhere in the world." In fact, "they have friends all over the world." That is (1) through the articulation of the cosmopolitan *capacities* and *skills* that I detailed in Chapter II, and relatedly through the *empowerment* and *pride* that the professionals get to feel due to these capacities; but also (2) through the *global network of*

research methods: i.e. survey format vs. in depth interview with open-ended questions. If forced to choose, since the word "belonging" is associated with a specific location or people in general, the respondents might not choose the abstract "world" as their "primary locus of belonging." My research shows when not forced to choose but are left to their own words to combine how they feel global, the expatriates bring the global identification and the national identification together.
[65] Unlike the "Soul of Britain" survey, Norris does analyze the first two choices along with the first choices only in the replies and states "only 2% are pure cosmopolitans, who expressed only a continental-world identity." This is a small percentage indeed. However, Norris does not really provide a discussion about why the combination continental-world identity is defined as the "pure" cosmopolitan identity. In my sample, the most general combination is country-world, or city-world, and all those respondents see themselves as cosmopolitans. Only the European respondents in my sample underlined a strong continental identity.

friendship that these professionals develop that they get to feel and articulate a sense of self that is "international" or "global." This is an identification that is based not only on skills but also on specific relationships with people (which feeds into the feeling that "one can live anywhere") and as such whose boundaries drawn marked by taste, attitude, and sociability.

For example, when I ask this female professional in NYC who has lived in Germany as an expatriate what she thinks of the words "global citizen" and "cosmopolitan" and whether she identifies with one of those, she replies:

> "I would consider myself more of a global citizen. Cosmopolitan I think is someone who more like – they can live in New York and they can live in big cities and it is more of a, I think, you know, being city savvy sort of. In my mind. Global citizen, I think, is someone who feels like they can be at home anywhere in the world."

When I ask her if she feels like she can be home anywhere in the world, she replies in positive and then continues – in her reply she associates that feeling with her network of friends:

> "Yeah. I mean I think if you have enough international friends, you start to see yourself – or stop - you stop seeing yourself as an American or that is just one little trait of yours, that you are looking for some new friends that span the globe all over the place."

This American respondent explains why he feels connected to multiple places through the existence of his friends in those places:

> "I feel connected to a lot of places. For instance for a lot places I've been, I've still got friends there. We are still connected – I am going to be back there. So, I feel connected to the place."

Similarly, this American professional in NYC underlines the role of telecommunications in keeping her connections to multiple friends over the world when she talks about whether she considers herself cosmopolitan:

> "Well, just look at the fact that I – one of my very best friends moved to Sweden four years ago and we still communicate like weekly via email. Like the fact that I can pick up my cell phone and call my friends in Netherlands, is that easy. Travel is so easy. I think I'm sort of cosmopolitan. I wouldn't say I'm the most traveled person, but I feel like I've been to enough places

and seen enough cultures and met enough people that I'm not a completely closed-minded American person."

What this American expatriate in Istanbul states is illustrative in demonstrating this experiential sense of global identification that is based on competence and a global social network:

"I consider myself more global in nature…first of all, I have lived in many different parts of the world and I have traveled to many different parts of the world. I have friends that are from all over the world and I think I have been very open to learning about the different cultures in all of these different countries."

As I have already indicated in chapter IV, the transnational business network allows the expatriates to establish a multinational social network since they have to relocate and deal with multiple aspects of daily life in a new country. Due to the mobility of its participants, this social network ends up spanning the globe. That is, even though the social relationships of the expatriate respondents are established, nurtured, and experienced in a specific locality through the daily interactions and routines, since the participants are mobile and thus transitory, what starts as a local relationship becomes transnational over time[66]. While some expatriates report that the friendships they establish weaken or disappear over time once they move away, it is also common that some friendships do stick and are sustained over time and many locations. Specifically, the longer the professional has been an expatriate, the more it looks like he/she gets embedded in this transnational network of sociability and comes up with measures to sustain it[67]. Moreover, even if the relationship wanes with distance and with the conversion from face-to-face to electronic communication, the knowledge that one knows someone in a certain location strengthens the feeling that one can live there if one needs to. In this sense, the "I can live anywhere" sensation that the respondents articulate which is the basis of their global identity stops just being about one's self-confidence about their professional and interpersonal skills, and gets linked to the knowledge about

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[66] To illustrate, a French expatriate and a Dutch expatriate might befriend each other in Istanbul. In their next post, the Dutch one might end up in Dubai and the French one in Taiwan, thus establishing a new link between Taiwan and Dubai. In these cases then, both the French and the Dutch expatriate will report that they would not be concerned about moving to Dubai, or Taiwan respectively, as "they already have friends who live there."

[67] This supports my first argument about why expatriates articulate cosmopolitan identity constructs more regularly in chapter II.

the availability of acquaintances in multiple cities. The respondents repeatedly point to their connections to multiple cities in their interviews in the context of their multinational experience when they talk about their ability to live in various places, such as this Turkish expatriate in NYC:

> "Personally – it is an experience. You get to know a lot of people. I mean, lets say, if I go to Italy now, I have 5 people I will call. If I go to Hungary, I have 3, in Prague I have 5, in England I have 20, here… This is a good thing. It is a network, both in professional sense but also in personal sense."

Appadurai (1996) underlines the importance of imagination in the production of modern subjectivities when he talks about the juxtaposition of mass migrations with the rapid flow of mass-mediated images, scripts, and sensations. He states "more people than ever before seem to imagine routinely the possibility that they or their children will live and work in places other than where they were born." (Appadurai 1996, 5-6) While he points to the role of "images, scripts and narratives that come through mass mediation," here I would like to underline the role of sense of affiliation created by mobility in the production of global identities. In the case of the professionals that I study, who already assume mobility and competence, it looks like the affiliation to multiple people and places make it easier for the respondents to imagine themselves in various other places. While one can describe the ties that the professionals have towards these places and people as "weak ties," (Granovetter 1973) these weak ties work to engender and strengthen a sense of "cosmopolitan" identity. It is the relationships, the feeling of affiliation to multiple spaces and people that is creating or strengthening the feeling of being "global": the feeling is anchored in people and places and in experience, not in abstract principles. As it is experiential, as I have indicated before, it seems to strengthen over time with more experience in transnational circles. The following quote from a long-term Irish expatriate who has been out of Ireland for twelve years, when he is answering the question whether he considers himself a global citizen or a cosmopolitan individual, illustrates this sense of connection to multiple places that the respondent feels he established over the years as a claim to a cosmopolitan identity:

> "I would say yes. Part of it is…is experience and knowledge. I have been to…to places and cities that I didn't even know existed like 10 years ago. I have been to places that I thought I would never be. I met people and seen things that I have never seen before. It is just that whole wealth of

experience that…that…things seem a lot closer to home so when you are looking at something on the news that is on the other side of the world, you just feel more connected to that, you have seen…You have either been to that place or you know someone from that country or…whatever it is. I definitely feel a lot closer to…to..to kind of global events and I feel more knowledgeable about it as well. World-citizen sounds a bit pretentious, but that is I suppose what expats kinda become. […] So yeah, like I said, it does make you feel a bit more cosmopolitan I think."

Obviously, one can imagine and point to different sources for "global" identities or to different ways in which the feeling or imagination of being "global" comes into being – which then might result in different ways in which a person feels "cosmopolitan." In chapter II, I have already discussed a "general" or a "banal" sense of cosmopolitanism that authors like Szerszynski and Urry (2002) examine. There I claimed that since the cosmopolitan identity enacted by the transnational professionals in this research emphasizes personal skills more than a general awareness of human connectedness and multicultural consumption, it was indeed a different form that could not be called "banal" cosmopolitanism. Here I am additionally differentiating this version of cosmopolitan identity from a cosmopolitanism that is based on an abstract belief in humanity. This is the sense of cosmopolitanism that Martha Nussbaum advocates – one that establishes the cosmopolitan as someone whose "fundamental allegiance is to the world community of justice and reason," (Nussbaum 1996, 8) one based on Stoic moral imagination, on an ethical and humanist vision that prioritizes human solidarity over patriotism and national communities, and conceives the world as a whole. The rooted sense of cosmopolitanism that I encounter in the case of transnational professionals is a "private" sense of cosmopolitanism that is devoid of a sense of "universal aspirations and concerns." As I have expressed above and in chapter II, what the respondents articulate about their "global" identity emphasizes their personal skills and private relationships. There is no sense of a collective identification, and no sense of an ethical obligation towards humanity. In Robbins' (2001, 29) words "it involves solidarity with some people outside the nation, not solidarity with humanity as a whole." And very importantly, there is no indication that the cosmopolitanism of the transnational professionals in one way or another feeds into their political imagination. Cheah (2006, 491) states "we cannot assume that experiences of globalizing world where people, things, and events have become more and more connected necessarily lead to and form the substrate for a

cosmopolitan form of politics that displaces that of the nation-state." Here, I go a step further claiming that even when we see cosmopolitan attitudes, this might not mean a step towards cosmopolitan politics.

It is true that this last finding might be an outcome of the specific questions that I have asked (or have not asked) in my interviews. It is foreseeable that my questionnaire did not create the space or provided the prompts to make the respondents talk about and spell out the abstract or ethical principles that connect them to "humanity" in a way that also brings out their feelings of obligation. In fact, I have a hard time imagining that the different versions of cosmopolitanism that I am considering are empirically independent and fully separate from each other. However, I believe that it is still indicative that overall when the respondents with extensive transnational business experience talk about their "global" or "cosmopolitan" identity in the context of their transnational experience, it is this *specific* construction narrated above that they principally and regularly refer to. That it is this particular notion of cosmopolitanism that comes out of the interviews might indicate that in this case, *the specific transnational network - the transnational business network made of multinational corporations - is conducive to this particular, and private understanding of cosmopolitanism.*

In chapter II I have already argued that the cosmopolitan identity construct that the respondents were articulating was one that they need to enact in order to look and feel "globally competent" in a fluid global market. The finding here is in line with that one as it again connects the specific transnational network – multinational corporations within the context of (late) global capitalism to a specific understanding of cosmopolitanism. Here I want to call this construct "apolitical cosmopolitanism" and I want to situate it into the larger picture of apoliticalness of the transnational professionals to which I will turn to in the next section.

2. Do Apolitical Citizens make Private Cosmopolitans?

In this section I want to contextualize this private sense of cosmopolitanism and connect it to questions of belonging and attachment, this time through the prism of civic engagement, which is taken as a facet of belonging and attachment to a community. One of the reasons the question between transnational networks and identities, and specifically national and cosmopolitan identities gets attention is its implied/suspected effects on civic engagement (Huntington 2004). In fact, the fear that national attachments are being eroded is also a fear about declining levels of civic engagement, which are seen to be detrimental for the functioning and legitimacy of democracies (Putnam 2001). As Robbins (1998b, 4) explains concisely:

> "The most general form of the case against cosmopolitanism [...] is the assumption that to pass outside the borders of one's nation, whether by physical travel or merely by thoughts and feelings entertained while one stays at home, is to wallow in a privileged and irresponsible detachment. What is assumed is in fact a chain of successive detachments: from true feelings, hence from the responsibility that engages a whole person, not a sometime spectator; from responsibility, hence from the constituency to which one would be responsible; from constituency hence from significant political action."

Thus the question here is: if the transnational network nurtures cosmopolitanism, or engenders "detached" individuals in any form, what does that mean in terms of their engagement with the local or national communities? I started dealing with these issues in the last chapter when I discussed belonging and attachment to nation-states by asking what the cosmopolitan identity construct implied for national attachments and whether it spelled an erosion of national attachments. There I focused on emotional attachment as one facet of national attachments and claimed that even though the respondents articulate an identity that is post-national, national attachments as emotional and personal connection are not thereby eroded.

Emotional attachment, however, does not necessarily mean civic engagement. Here, I continue to examine this question by looking at national attachments on an organizational level and also at the political behavior of the respondents. Taking these different facets into account I will argue that it is not only the cosmopolitan identity of

the respondents that is privatized and personalized. The respondents have almost no institutionalized attachment to their home-countries (except their continuing citizenship[68]); that is, national attachments, just like the cosmopolitan identity construct are personalized, privatized and largely apolitical constructs. Moreover, while respondents do engage with various communities, they do this within a narrative of privatized citizenship practices. Thus, the apolitical and private sense of cosmopolitanism fits within the larger picture of the non-organized and apolitical nature of the professional managerial upper middle classes.

2.1. The Nature of the Unassociated

Lack of institutional ties to home-country among expatriates:

Unlike the personal connection to home and host-countries that is sustained by ongoing communication and travel to and with the home-country, among the expatriate professionals in this research - who are the respondents most firmly embedded in transnational networks - there is almost no form of organized attachment /connection to the home-country. That is, in general the respondents do not retain membership or contact to any formal organization in their home-countries[69]. Moreover, they are not members of any organizations in their current location that is associated with or that establishes, sustains, or retains any kind of connection to the home-country. Among all the expatriates in the research, there is only one expatriate in Istanbul who said that he would look for and become a member of an Indian Association in Istanbul (as he had just arrived to Istanbul few months ago at the time of the interview), and one German expatriate in NYC who said that he participates in a German business club for networking. Furthermore, participation in the activities of consulates and embassies, which generally play the role of intermediaries between the states of origin and the communities abroad (Itzigsohn 2000, 1141) is generally rare and irregular as well. Some

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[68] As it confers certain rights and responsibilities, the citizenship of respondents is not trivial; it is, however, an ongoing connection. That is, the respondents do not have to take initiative to activate or initiate their citizenship – it is already part of the status quo in their lives.

[69] The only exceptions to this was the case of one German expatriate in NYC with continuing connections to her church in Germany, who contributed money to it; and the cases of two American expatriates in Istanbul who contributed money to their churches in the U.S. In one case, the expatriate said that she had access to sermons online, and follows them as well.

expatriate respondents in Istanbul report that they have been to few events by the consulates, and some report that they have met other expatriates through those events, but this is not something that plays an ongoing, regular role in the lives of the respondents.

That is, overall the respondents do not sustain their connection to their home-country through any kind of organized / institutionalized activity, and they also generally do not retain any kind of membership in the home-country. One can claim that this lack of interest by the expatriates towards ethnic organizations in their locations of residence and towards an organized connection to their home-countries is a reflection of the post-national ideal that the respondents in this research articulate and enact, and the social capital that the respondents possess due to their connections in the transnational business network and upper middle class status. For the respondents who claim to shape their social circles without regard towards nationality and who are able to establish and sustain a social life in a new country without the help of these organizations, the lack of interest towards home-country/ethnic associations is not surprising. Ethnic associations in host-countries are important for providing a sense of belonging to new immigrants as well as providing important social capital in the new country. They are venues that provide information, contacts, and support about the challenges that the immigrants face in their new locations. The expatriate respondents in this research do not need any of these resources and support; moreover, they are very busy in the host-country. Their self-identification, belonging, and self-respect are not shaped through national connections. And very importantly, the smoothness of their relocation from one place to another is secured by their companies who have an interest in making sure that the expatriates get settled and ready to work as soon as possible without a glitch. Relocation expenses, help with finding a new house etc. are generally part of the expatriate compensation packages that the companies use to attract talent. Their companies assisted almost all the expatriates I talked to while they were relocating and looking for a place to live. Similarly, on issues about visas, work-permits etc. the expatriates have assistance through the companies and their lawyers. Lastly, the expatriates move into a new location once they have a contract/position in the company – thus, they already have a venue to enter into the daily life in the new location, where they can meet people who might be of help

with daily matters. In brief, for the expatriates the transnational companies very much provide all the functions and services that ethnic-organizations perform for immigrants.

2.2. Civic Engagement among Professionals: Unassociated home, Unassociated Away

While I believe that this functional reasoning is valid in the expatriates' case in explaining the lack of interest in the ethnic/home-country associations in places of residence, I believe that this observation should be understood within a larger framework, by examining civic engagement by the transnational professionals. In fact, it is not just that the expatriate respondents are not members of ethnic organizations; they are, overall, not members or active participants of any organizations at host countries. In their places of residence, the associational membership of the expatriate respondents is almost non-existent.

Yet, as importantly, there does *not* seem to be considerable difference between the local and the expatriate respondents on this matter. That is, when it comes to associational life, the respondents - *both the expatriates and the locals* – are predominantly unassociated. There are only two respondents in my sample - both Americans - who report that they spend considerable time on their role/membership in an association. Besides these few cases, the way the professionals spend their time (and the way they talk about it) is remarkably similar in both sites; associational membership and community engagement does not play a major role in either. The respondents generally work long to very long hours, travel regularly, spend time with families and friends, exercise and run errands in their free time. Even when the respondents report membership to certain professional organizations, they are quick to add that they "do not do anything" for the organization besides paying fees and receiving a newsletter or email. A number of respondents in both sites report contributing to charities; this is by and large in the form of financial contribution and only in few cases by volunteering. Community engagement, although existent, is not a priority.

Here I want to examine associational activity as a mode of non-electoral civic engagement. Voluntary forms of association have attracted a lot of attention since researchers argue that strong civic networks can be key to the effectiveness and stability of democracies "both because of their 'internal' effects on individual members, and because of their 'external' effects on the wider polity" (Putnam et al. 1993, 90). Associations are claimed to "instill in their members habits of cooperation, solidarity, and public spiritedness," thus nurturing good citizenship and generating civic power (Eliasoph 1998, 12-13). Researchers also claim that the experience in the participatory decision making of an association develops skills and orientations that carry over to the world of politics (Verba et al. 1995). In my interviews I asked the respondents questions about their civic engagement, including both electoral and non-electoral behavior, where electoral behavior is defined as acts such as voting and campaigning[70], and non-electoral behavior is defined by membership in and contribution to civic organizations[71]. These questions were included in the interviews in an attempt to gauge the participation and engagement of the respondents within local, national, and transnational communities. The questions about political behavior and attitudes of the respondents were not very detailed, as they were not intended to obtain and present a full-fledged picture of political behavior by the respondents. Rather, I wanted to get a general sense of respondents' attitudes towards politics and participation in national and local communities. Due to the small number of the respondents and the nature of the interviews I cannot present a full-fledged analysis of participation of transnational professionals, but I believe that they do the job for this particular goal. In fact, I learned more from *the way* the respondents replied to these questions than what they said in their replies. Even though my data is not

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[70] "Campaign work" can mean a variety of political acts: working for a party or a candidate, attending campaign meetings, persuading others to vote etc. It is a more demanding form of electoral activity than voting as it requires more initiative, time, and more cooperation among citizens, and involves citizens in conflictual situations (Dalton 1996; Verba et al. 1978, 53).

[71] Thus, I have included "conventional" methods of citizen action associated with democratic politics and did not ask about "unconventional" methods such as protests, and demonstrations. This is not because I deem these forms unimportant; it was rather a practical decision considering time-constraints during interviews. Asking about these would have allowed me to see if the respondents engage in these issue-based and irregular participation forms. Specifically because they are irregular (and require very little time commitment if one is not involved at the organizational level but merely participates at the event), I believe that they would work for the respondents in this research. Group participation is ongoing and thus, requires a lot of time deterring the professionals. Not including these, I might have missed one venue where the respondents think they get to "voice" their concerns. The civilian rallies for secularism in 2007 in Turkey, which got widespread support from middle class, secular Turkish citizens, came to mind as an example.

very detailed in terms of cataloging political behavior, it is obvious that in the case of the professionals in this research, civic engagement overall is very limited.

Electoral and Non-Electoral Engagement:

First, the only electoral activity that the respondents – both locals and expatriates - regularly participate in both Istanbul and in NYC is voting in the national elections of their home-countries[72]. Almost all the respondents voted in the past elections and continue to and plan to vote in the upcoming ones; most of the expatriates continue voting while they are abroad[73]. The exception to this are the few Turkish expatriates in the sample who cannot vote from abroad and thus have not been able to vote after they have left the country[74]. These few Turkish expatriates voice disappointment about their inability to vote and claim that they would have voted/would vote if they could.

Thus, voting is widespread among the professionals. Considering that all the respondents in this research are within the high socioeconomic status (SES) group, this is not surprising. It is, overall, expected that individuals with higher income and education levels will participate more (Dalton 1996, 54; Verba et al. 1978).

Voting, however, is generally a poor indicator of overall political involvement (Dalton 1996, 47). Not only is it a limited tool of political influence, it is also what is considered an "easy" form of participation. Voting is a simple act that requires little initiative from the voter with limited effects on policy (Verba et al. 1978, 53). While it

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[72] Expatriates in my sample are not able to vote in the national elections of the host-country at their places of residence, as dual citizenship is really low in my sample – which is not surprising. The expatriate respondents generally do not live long enough in one country to start the dual-citizenship processes, nor do they plan to remain in the country.

[73] Unfortunately I did not ask the respondents why they continue to vote even when they are outside of the country, or have been outside their home-country for a very long time. However, I believe that voting plays a symbolic role in the case of expatriates – it represents an ongoing connection with the home-country, a sign of citizenship that the respondents take seriously. While it is an easy form of participation, for a number of expatriates it is through voting that they feel like they can still play a role in their home-countries. There is also a habitual aspect to voting as these highly educated, high SES individuals have been socialized into voting. Thus, one can claim that this is the only institutionalized connection that the expatriate respondents establish and keep to their home-countries.

[74] It looks like all the other expatriates can vote from their current residences.

has important symbolic value in democracies, many people vote because of a sense of civic duty […] rather than to influence policy (Conway 1991; Verba and Nie 1972). Importantly, it is also an "individual" act that requires little cooperation, and collective action.

In fact, there is no other form of electoral activity among the professionals. While some respondents do identify with certain political parties, almost none claim membership in party organizations. And out of all the respondents, only two report to having ever participated in any kind of campaigning activity. No respondent is involved in any kind of party politics at the time of the interviews. Moreover, there is also no motivation or no interest in getting involved in any kind of electoral activity besides voting in the future. Party politics, overall, do not inspire, interest, or motivate the respondents, in Turkey or in the U.S.

The picture is different for non-electoral engagement. While as I have indicated above, membership and participation in associations is low in general, respondents indicate that they contribute to charities – mostly in the form of financial contributions, especially in the case of Turkish respondents, and in some cases in the form of volunteering, which is more likely in the case of American respondents. Overall, participation in and contribution to charities is more common and more regularly mentioned by the local American respondents than the local Turkish ones[75].

Attitudes towards Engagement:

Yet, it is important to point out that there is a significant difference in the attitudes of the respondents towards electoral and non-electoral forms of civic engagement. This is the case for both the Turkish and the American respondents overall, even though it is more pronounced in the Turkish case. The attitude of the respondents towards electoral engagement or what the respondents tend to identify as and call "politics" can be

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[75] Unfortunately I have no data on what kinds of associations and charities the respondents contribute to financially, though in cases of membership and volunteering I have this information.

summarized as a mixture of disinterest, dislike, and alienation; alienation being more pronounced for the Turkish respondents (I will go back to this in Section 2.3.). During the interviews the word "politics" almost always led to negative reactions, especially among Turkish respondents but also among some American respondents, or to disinterest. The respondents claimed that they were not interested or did not have time – but also described "politics" as a "self-interested," "corrupt," field from which they want to stay away. For example, this statement by an American respondent is indicative of the responses:

> I vote and that is it. I don't have time. Don't really like all the back-stabbing and all that bullshit.

Similarly, this American respondents' reply on why she is not considering more engagement in electoral politics is also indicative of the distrust towards politics and politicians and their public spiritedness:

> "I guess if I found a candidate or something that I really liked, I would. But I think that most of the politicians – a lot of what they do is for personal gain. I don't know that they always have best interests at heart. I don't know that – do they really believe in the issues that they support, or do they believe in them because that's how they get more votes? I think it is probably more of the latter."

Overall, not only do the respondents not engage in electoral forms of participation (besides voting), but they furthermore do not really *want* to or feel obliged to participate either. For the respondents, it is obvious that electoral "politics" is a distinct and distant sphere, away from their daily lives, associated with the "state" and "politicians" with which they would not want to deal.

When I asked about non-electoral forms of engagement, of participating in civil societal associations, however, the replies are nowhere as negative. Not only are there respondents who already participate in various associations, but even those who did not participate regarded voluntary associations as beneficial. Their explanations of non-engagement become more apologetic: the respondents claim "not having enough time" as their main reason (followed by disinterest) in explaining their non-engagement. That is, while in the case of electoral politics the respondents are likely to deliberately and openly

emphasize their dislike and disinterest, in the case of other forms of engagement they are more likely to underline "life conditions" not allowing them to pursue something that they think might be "necessary" and "useful." Moreover, for respondents who claim that they want to do more about engagement in the "future" when they have "more time", non-electoral forms of engagement take precedence over electoral forms as possible and preferable forms of participation.

The disinterest and mistrust towards electoral politics in this sample consisting of professionals fits the picture of decreasing support for and growing skepticism of party politics (as well as other elite-controlled hierarchical organizations such as bureaucracies) in developed democracies (Dalton 1996). Political involvement in the form of community participation is becoming more widespread while involvement in parties decreases. Moreover, in most nations membership in citizen groups exceeds formal membership in a political party (Dalton 1996, 54). Thus, while the reported behavior of my respondents is not surprising, I want to examine not only the political behavior (or non-behavior), but also how they talk about their participation, or the lack thereof, and its reasons. The interest and involvement in voluntary associations, while they are praised as beacons of citizenship in the literature, might actually conceal apolitical discourses, as they can provide contexts where respondents avoid political ideas and concerns (Eliasoph 1998). In fact, very much in line with Eliasoph (1998), who reveals a culture of political avoidance in the U.S. in her study of civic groups, I will point to several issues and findings: When it comes to civic engagement, even though the picture is one of general non-involvement, one cannot claim that the respondents of this study do not care about the communities in which they live in, or with which they are associated. In many interviews, the individuals voice concern for others, talk and worry about social issues. However, there is a persistent and strong trend of personalized, privatized forms of engagement – that is, respondents talk in individualized, apolitical terms when they talk about their own motives and actions; there is almost never talk about a collective effort, no talk of the political as voice and participation, or as collective action. This comes out strongly when the respondents talk about their involvement in voluntary associations and when they talk about citizenship. Within this context, while the overall picture of non-

engagement is similar for the American and Turkish respondents, I want stress the variation among the respondents, to assert that it is unrealistic to expect the involvement in transnational networks as the explanatory variable for the apolitical attitudes of the respondents - the political culture, opportunity structures, and socialization of the respondents have to be taken into account to explain their behavior.

2.3. Displays of Political Disinterest

First, as I have mentioned above, respondents do worry about various issues in their communities and countries and do seem to have a sense of an "ideal" citizen, who would contribute to his/her community by engaging in various ways. However, when the respondents, invoke civic engagement, they very commonly refer to privatized, personalized and apolitical ways of action that are devoid of a sense of a collective. The language they use is one of voluntarism and individual action, but almost never collective action or a sense of public spirit or cause. That is, the motivation to participate or consider civic engagement for future participation is out of civic duty and a sense of responsibility - the knowledge that "one should do more." Yet, this interest and motivation are not nurtured by a vision of change for the collective or criticisms of larger structures that might cause the social problems that respondents are pointing out.

This pattern comes out very strongly when both the Turkish and the American respondents talk about their understandings of a "good citizen." Considering that "some of the clearest expressions of the meaning which people attach to the idea of citizenship were elicited though the notion of 'good' and 'bad' citizenship" (Lister et al. 2003, 244) I asked the respondents what they understand when they hear the word "good citizen." The replies to this question and the descriptions almost always revolve around individualized and largely apolitical acts, the most common of them being paying taxes and following the law, and personal characteristics, such as "being an ethical person." For example, this Turkish respondent in Istanbul replies to the question "What do you understand when you hear the word 'good citizen'" by stating:

> "Someone who is honest. Pays his taxes. And following existing laws, you
> might not be happy about those laws, but you should follow them. I think

this is the same for the American citizen and the Turkish citizen. […] I do consider myself to be a good citizen according to this definition. Being honest, following the laws, not looking for loopholes, doing what I am supposed to do. Paying my taxes like a mad man through this company, thus I am a good citizen."

This above quote is a rare example in that it does not include "contribution to society" as part of the description of a good citizen. Very regularly, the respondents, again both in the U.S. and in Turkey, include "contribution" in one way or another in their descriptions such as this respondent in Turkey:

"What do I understand from a good citizen? Ahh…someone who pays his taxes in a proper way, follows laws to his best knowledge, and contributes to the people around him in a positive way, that is what I think."

While phrases such as the one above - "contributing to the people around him" or "contributing to society" - get repeated in almost all replies and thus might indicate a sense of obligation towards the community, a sense of public-spiritedness, it is important to point out that this "contribution" is narrated and interpreted in a very limited, individualized and apolitical way by the respondents. For example, when I ask the respondent who is quoted above what he means by "positive contribution" he replies:

"That is, not thinking about yourself every minute, that you can think about other people's well-being, doing the job you do in the best way possible and thus creating value added (*katmadeğer yaratmak*)."

This quote is indicative in the way it uses the economic language of "value added" as it illustrates how the respondents link their activity in the economic sphere – their jobs and their performances in their jobs to their performance and identity as a citizen, in the process presenting a very limited understanding of citizenship. The theme in the above quote, that is, linking professional performance in the economic sphere to "good citizenship" is one of the most common ways in which the professionals in this research interpret "contributing to society" and comes out repeatedly in the replies. This American respondent in NYC uses the exact same formulation when I ask him about "good citizenship":

"Someone who contributes to society, not necessarily financially, but in a positive way. It doesn't matter what you do for your job, but you should do it well and you should do your best at it. Someone – someone who isn't

committing crimes and doing illegal things. Someone who respects others…I guess that is it."

Contribution to economy, and performance in the economic sphere, then are seen as key attributes as a "good citizen":

"What is a good citizen? It should be someone who educated himself (*kendini yetiştirmiş*). So a Turkish citizen should do his duties, pay his taxes. I don't know, should do his share of what he is supposed to do. With his own success – if he can contribute to the economy, to the Turkish economy…"

What comes out in these narratives that present the economic sphere as the main venue for citizenship [for the respondents] and what brings the respondents together in Turkey and in the U.S. is their dominant professional identity that emphasizes knowledge and expertise and thus, reinforces a strong technocratic mentality: "contributing by doing what I know best." This comes out not only in their narratives of citizenship, but also when respondents talk about future participation, emphasizing that they want to work in an area where they "know" something, where they can provide their expertise and experience and thus, "could be of use." The idea of "sitting around idly and talking" in associational settings is shunned, especially among American respondents. Thus, contribution and citizenship does not include a sense of deliberation but technocracy. Second, this technocratic mentality also comes out when the respondents talk about why they avoid "politics" – as politics is something that "politicians" should be doing. As a female Turkish respondent states when she is talking about why she is not interested in "politics":

"It is not for me. It is not my job. It is not my interest."

Lastly, the professional identity and ethic also come out noticeably in the respondents' willingness to underline their reason and relatedly, moderation, which they almost always use in explaining their lack of identification with one party - "I would like to consider everything that is out there and choose the best option;" "I like to listen to all sides" - and their centrist identification and distaste for anything that they consider to be "extreme" in politics.

Moreover, according to the respondents, "contributing to society" can include anything, but just like "performing one's best at her job" these are largely individualized, private, and apolitical acts as exemplified by the quotes below:

"What makes a good citizen is somebody that obviously obeys the laws, has a good set of morals, contributes to society through some manner, whether it could be community service, it could be business or employment. It could be through participating in cultural events. It could be through financial contributions, you know – any – whatever people find interesting. And it could be through taking care of children. […] As I say, what I think a good citizen is somebody that basically doesn't do anything to harm the social good. […] I mean contributing to society can be hailing a cab for an old lady or helping somebody across the street or holding a door for somebody you know or whatever."

In these narratives, civic engagement in the form of participation in voluntary organizations is construed as ways to "contribute," "help out," and "be useful;" it is almost never about certain policy outcomes or issues. Citizenship, besides performing at one's job, and being a decent human being, is then about "being helpful" through whatever means, voluntary associations being only one of those means, as this American respondents' narrative illustrates:

"For me it is someone that helps other people regardless of what's going on in your life or a good citizen is someone that helps out. They see someone that needs some help and they give help. And they do it for, they don't do it – like for me, I give a lot of money to charity. But I always give it anonymously. Give it to them, and oh, do it so you can get it back on your taxes. […] So for me, I guess a good citizen is someone that say, it is like a selfless act."

In fact, even when I ask the questions using words such as "obligation" or "owing back something to community" implying the rights and obligations of citizenship, some respondents phrase their replies to make it about "helping," thus, presenting a very personalized approach to social problems. For example this is how an American respondent in NYC replies to the question whether he feels like he owes something back to his community, or feels like he is obligated to give back to the community in which he grew up or in which he lives:

"Obligated I think is too strong of a word – I look at it differently. […] Lets say you didn't know how to drive a car. I taught you how to drive a car. How are you going to pay me back? You cannot teach me to drive a car

because I already know. The best way for you to pay me back is now you teach somebody else. So I believe that someone helped me to get where I am at and I try to help other people get somewhere or wherever they want to go, or wherever they want to be. I mean I like doing it. I like to help."

This personalized approach favors emphasizes voluntarism and individual acts:

"I just think there's a whole class of people in the U.S., that are failed and failing, and that the only way they're ever gonna get better maybe is if the average person starts to do a little more. And if corporations do more and if the really wealthy do more, because it is not gonna come from the city governments anymore. It's not gonna come from the tax being paid. […] But if everyone of substantial means gave a little bit more back to the lower part of society, would actually help out."

Similarly…

"The country has problems. To get out of those – the institutions can't do much. All individuals have to be conscious about those. Say, environmental pollution – environmental institutions cannot do anything about it. The state cannot do something about it. People need to be conscious about it. Everyone should do something about it – at least they shouldn't be harming it."

Additionally, as it is obvious in the above presented quotes, the respondents do not narrate their interest in civic engagement in connection to a "national" community; what motivates the respondents to participate is not a sense of "giving back to country" but more a sense of "being useful" and "helping out." That is, while direction is rather vague, it is not directed towards a "country" or motivated by camaraderie towards fellow "citizens." The community that they talk about "giving back" to is generally not narrated as a national community.

Variations among Turkish and American Respondents:

The narratives on citizenship and politics that I have presented above very much fit with what scholars who argue that the hegemonic ideology of neoliberal privatization has changed the the definition, practice, and location of politics (Özyürek 2006) describe in their work. Comaroff and Comaroff (2000, 232), for example, argue that neoliberalism kills politics by prioritizing the economy . In this context, politics becomes unnecessary; nothing other than a "parasitic, rent seeking activity (Schedler 1997, 5)." Özyürek (2006, 5) states that

"As the symbolism of the market dominates over the public sphere, citizenship appears "as a condition of social membership produced by personal acts and values (Berlant 1997, 5)." Accordingly, politics is conceptualized as something that does not take place in relation to a shared public and does not recognize a shared public good."

While the narratives I presented above seem to point to a dominant neoliberal understanding in the conceptions of the respondents, it is also important for me to acknowledge that there is variation between the American and Turkish respondents' narratives and attitudes. There are multiple forces and variables one has to take into consideration to account for these and my data do not really allow such a detailed analysis, nor is this the goal in this chapter. Here I will draw attention to a few trends that I have encountered to stress that even if on the surface it looks like the respondents are similar in their apolitical narratives, one needs to do more research to detail and explain this apoliticalness, to spell out its causes and determine the common threads.

For example, the Turkish respondents are generally more ambivalent than the American respondents in their narratives and attitudes towards civic engagement and politics. Some Turkish respondents are defensively and resentfully rejecting not only "politics" but also any feeling of obligation towards a larger community, and others look for ways of engagement, in the form of voluntary associations. When explaining their lack of participation or their disinterest, the Turkish respondents more regularly voice resentment and anger and thus, distance from the state and from what they consider to be an unfair or problematic system, compared to the American respondents. Their anger and resentment is fueled by class tensions that they feel and encounter around them in their day-to-day living. Specifically, the Turkish respondents do believe that they are "good citizens" – working hard, educating themselves, following laws, putting their best efforts – yet that the Turkish state is failing them – that they are not getting what they are supposed to get – a secure, stable, middle class life[76]. This is, as I have indicated before, reinforced by their technocratic mentality that imposes a clear division of labor wherein

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[76] In fact, this is one of the reasons why they value their companies which provide them with health insurance that they can use in private hospitals and not in the sub-par, crowded, and overall failing state hospitals, and enough wages so that they can avoid using crowded public transportation, or send their children to private schools.

societal problems are the responsibility of the state and "politicians." I believe it is also strengthened in the Turkish case by the fact that the respondents are coming from a political tradition of a strong state, a patriarchal state, where people accept and expect the state to be a major player in their lives[77].

Moreover, as I have illustrated in chapter III, in their attempts to connect to the global capital and strengthen their middle class identities, Turkish professionals attempt to distance themselves from the parochially "local" and "Turkish." "Politics" as represented by the institutions of the state, electoral processes, the parliamentarians and the bureaucrats in Ankara are seen as representing the things that the respondents resent as being "parochial" and "traditional" such as leader worship, nepotism, red tape etc. While Istanbul, as the cultural and economic capital is perceived as the place to be to be connected globally in Turkey, Ankara, the capital and thus the heart of parliamentary politics in the middle of Anatolia, is seen as a dreary backwater. Thus, the distance that the respondents feel towards "politics" in Turkey can also be interpreted as lack of identification with the political class in Turkey – a difference in style where the politicians and bureaucrats of Ankara are seen as precisely the opposite of the cosmopolitan personas that the respondents enact. This distance is furthermore intensified by the specific period in which the interviews were conducted. While I was conducting the interviews, the conservative-religious party, the Justice and Development Party, was the majority governing party in Turkey. None of the respondents of this research, who are all "secular," identify with, feel close to, or even admire the Justice and Development Party[78]. In fact, the governing party, historically the arch-enemy of the

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[77] Turkish social scientists have long been writing about the strong state tradition in terms of a dominant center and a weak periphery. See for example Mardin (1973), and Heper (1980).

[78] *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* in Turkish, or as it is commonly known in Turkish with its acronym AK Party (meaning "white" with the connotation of "clean"). JDP was founded by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in August 2001, who was then elected primeminister after a victory in the general elections of 2002, where only two parties (JDP and RPP) were able to get enough votes to enter the National Assembly, leading to a single party government by the JDP, the first one in Turkey since 1987. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan represented and led the reformist fraction of Virtue Party (which itself was formed after its predecessor Welfare Party was banned in 1998 by the Constitutional Court who argued that the party posed a threat to the laic foundations of the state) and went his own way after the Virtue Party was banned in June 2001. The JDP differentiated itself from the previous Islamist parties in its organizational form and on avoiding references to Islam in its platform (White 2002, 274) Thus, while the JDP tries to steer clear of the label "Islamic"

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secular Kemalists in Turkey, arouses a range of emotions, from concern, to distrust, to resentment, fear and anger, among the respondents who are suspicious about the party's intentions and actions.

Relatedly, overall the Turkish respondents are more critical in their speech and more willing to discuss political issues compared to the American respondents. That is, even those Turkish respondents who defensively reject civic involvement voice criticism when they explain their disinterest, alienation, and rejection. Thus, the apolitical attitude in this case is not due to a belief that things function – it is more fueled by anger, a feeling of distance, and sometimes lack of power. There is more of a sense of powerlessness, a lack of efficacy that came out in the interviews of the Turkish respondents when it comes to engagement. Not having been socialized into participation, depoliticized by the post-coup environment of 1980s[79] while they are growing up, and estranged from political parties, yet still carrying some of the republican ideals of the older generations, the Turkish professionals are not quite sure how they could contribute or whether they should contribute, thus presenting a more ambivalent picture that emphasizes their middle class, individualistic and professional stances, while simultaneously feeling defensive about them.

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party, supports laicism as a fundamental requirement of democracy, and continues working towards long established Turkish policy goals such as becoming a European Union member, it also creates a lot of controversy among the secular in Turkey who continue to perceive it as an extension of the Islamists parties that came before and thus are suspicious about its actions and goals.

[79] The economic and political turmoil in the late 1970s in Turkey was followed by a military coup in 1980 which wiped out civilian political activity in the country by suspending the constitution and the government, banning the political parties and labor unions. In "an ideological mopping up" thousand of people were killed and others arrested and tortured following the coup (White 2002, 41). A new, restrictive constitution was designed to keep political activity under control (See Parla (1993) and Parla (1991) for the 1982 Constitution). The left, in particular, was violently suppressed. While the country returned to civilian rule in 1983, in effect a whole generation of political activists were eliminated or suppressed in the process. The 1980 coup, thus, is a traumatic event, which was followed by a "kind of mass amnesia" where "no one wished to discuss it, even once the danger of arrest had receded (White 2002, 41)" The Turkish respondents of this research were almost all born in the early to mid-1970s and grew up in the 1980s where political activism was suppressed. Weary of the experience of turmoil and the aftermath of the coup, politics became something to be evaded for many Turkish citizens.

Within this context while some reject the idea that they are responsible in any way for others within the larger society, demonstrate a rigidly individualistic point of view that underlines hard-work and professionalism and reject politics strongly, others are turning towards voluntarism and voluntary associations as a new tool that does not have the connotations of the "old" party politics. In the Turkish case, the discourse of both of these responses, the strong individualistic professional ethic, and voluntarism became more available and gained more currency with Turkey's integration into global market through the neoliberal reforms that were initiated in 1980s.

The military coup of 1980 in Turkey was followed by a period of economic liberalization as Turkey initiated deregulation and structural adjustment policies prescribed by World Bank and the IMF. The economic policy aimed to stimulate export-oriented growth through a free-market model, integrating Turkey into the global economy. Thus, since the 1980s, the scope, actors and the discourse of the economic life changed rapidly in Turkey with major impacts in other areas of society (Özbudun and Keyman 2002, 302). This integration not only changed economic structures (with major effects on income distribution and consumption patterns), but also provided a catalyst for discussions on political liberalism, promoted new social actors (like civil societal organizations) (Toprak 1995, 100-101). Very importantly, "the neoliberal symbolism of market and privatization traveled to spheres of life outside the economy […] hence radically transforming the political field by introducing new boundaries and key concepts such as voluntarism, choice and privacy (Özyürek 2006, 4)." These concepts combine in novel ways with the etatist, nationalist, and modernist ideology of Kemalism. On the surface, it looks like while some respondents welcome the neoliberal symbolism, it does not always fit comfortably with their attitudes towards engagement that carries the remnants of a republican, strong state tradition.

I have not encountered a similar tension in the American case where attitudes towards politics seem to be more about indifference and less about anger or resentment, even though the Bush administration, which polarized the American public, was in power

during the time of the interviews. This is not surprising given that both liberal understandings of citizenship (Conover et al. 1991) and voluntarism are strong parts of the American tradition[80]. It looks like the American respondents are more content with their division of labor: personalized forms of engagement through voluntary associations is very much naturalized and accepted, along with the narratives on voluntarism and apolitical talk, and gives the respondents a sense that they are doing something about their community. These also sit more comfortably with a tradition that stresses the value of a limited state, individual achievement, and personal responsibility. Overall the American respondents are less willing to talk about politics and are less critical. Rarely do they elaborate why they "don't like politics" – they cut the answers short and want to avoid the subject. It looks like depoliticized roles are more internalized for the American respondents.

While I will not try to explain them in more detail, these variations in the narratives and attitudes of American and Turkish respondents remind us how political attitudes and behavior are shaped within a certain socio-cultural context and are results of different political cultures and historical processes. While they are all similarly educated, employed, and dwell in similar upper middle class life-styles and settings, the Turkish and American respondents in this research grew up in different political systems and cultures and are socialized into different political habits. Their engagement – in their narratives and in their practices –is the outcome of different socio-political environments and reflects different opportunity structures and national traditions, even as they are currently affected by the same global processes – namely global capitalism and its neoliberal discourse (which are in and of itself very important in changing and shaping the opportunity structures in which the respondents function and providing the respondents with new tools and discourses). That is, their engagement within the transnational business network is only one force affecting their engagement.

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[80] Americans are known for their voluntary associations; this trait is embedded in the American political culture as far back as the nineteenth century when Tocqueville (2004) commented on the American tendency to form groups to address community problems (Dalton 1996, 52-53). As Eliasoph (1998, 25) states "in American community life, volunteer groups are to good citizenship as apples are to fruit."

3. The Institutional Contexts of Cosmopolitanisms

I started this chapter by illustrating what my respondents in this research base their global identity on and claiming that the cosmopolitan identity that emerges in this picture is one that is apolitical and privatized. It is an identity based on personal skills and personal connections – and not an ethical obligation towards the solidarity of humanity. Looking at the attitudes and narratives of the respondents towards civic engagement in their communities, whether they are in their home or host-countries, it is not surprising that their cosmopolitan identity is an apolitical, privatized one. This form of cosmopolitan identification fits within the overriding apolitical tone that dominates the respondents' lives in Turkey and in the U.S. In fact, what brings the American and Turkish, expatriate and local respondents together is their distant and disinterested attitudes toward "politics" and their preference for private, individualized forms of engagement. The respondents already function in contexts affected by global capitalism and its attendant neoliberal discourse in which the economic sphere is prioritized over the political one and where the idea of citizenship is reduced to an economic and individualized one. They are also at the heart of these forces regardless of their location – whether they are expatriates or locals, or mobile or not mobile, as their daily lives are very much shaped by the multinational corporations for which they work.

In this case, the transnational network in which the respondents participate as adults does provide new spaces and openings for multicultural interaction and mobility and thus provide the context, language, and tools for the respondents to enhance their interpersonal skills that are already required by the flexible global labor market. Yet while it does provide the context for the strengthening a particular type of cosmopolitan identity, it *does not* provide an ideological tool, a new discourse or vision that might change or open up the respondents' apolitical relationships with their communities. That is, the transnational network in this case, and its structures, possibilities, and its attendant mobility, does not create a shift from one discursive space into another. There is not an ideological component within the transnational business network that feeds into the

"political imagination" of the respondents. Without this political imagination, it is not likely that the cosmopolitan values that are strengthened or engendered by the transnational network will translate into a political consciousness or action. On the contrary, the transnational business network prepares the context for and reinforces the apolitical identity by spreading the neoliberal language of voluntarism and the priority of the market and the economy as it incorporates new areas into global capitalism, and by nurturing the strong professional identity of the respondents that feeds into their technocratic mentality and reinforces their perception of a division of labor where they limit their connection to and contribution to their communities to "helping."

These findings underline the importance of thinking about cosmopolitanism as multiple "cosmopolitanisms," as outcomes of multiple institutional structures that create specific contexts of interaction. Here I would like to think about the possibility that different processes which are shaped and driven by diverse institutional structures leading to distinctive versions of feeling or being "global" and "cosmopolitan." While it is obviously important to come to terms with a definition for "cosmopolitanism," it might be more useful to think about "cosmopolitanism" as a conglomerate of symptoms or characteristics that people bring together in their identity work, resulting in various ways of feeling "cosmopolitan." I would expect that certain settings would be more amenable towards certain characteristics than others. As one can extrapolate from the findings above, different institutional structures with different resources might support different versions of cosmopolitanism, such as the transnational business network supporting an apolitical cosmopolitanism in this case. The question then becomes what aspects of cosmopolitanism are nurtured or strengthened through what processes and in what settings.

This case also unfortunately does not offer much in terms of examining and drawing conclusions on the effects of transnational networks on civic engagement as it has been dealt with in the literature on transnationalism. Generally within the literature, this question is asked in the context of immigrant participation in host countries (and

mainly in the U.S.). In these studies the ongoing attachment to home-country is seen as providing psychological benefits to the immigrants and thus decreasing their involvements in their new countries (Wong and Potter 2007). There are, however, also studies that do not see civic engagement of immigrants as a zero-sum process, that argue that transnational immigrants are engaged in both electoral and non-electoral political activities across borders, at both home and host-countries (Guarnizo et al. 2003; Itzigsohn 2000).

The transnational professionals present a very different profile than the lower income immigrant groups, and these high SES respondents have the capacity to be engaged in both home and host countries. The transnational professionals, however, are not very engaged overall – they do not retain institutional links to their home-countries when they are expatriates and are not associated when they are locals. While the locals engage little more in terms of volunteering and charity work, there is almost no difference between the expatriates and the locals when it comes to their attitudes and narratives, which are largely apolitical. In the case of expatriates it is pretty obvious that it is not the attachments to home-countries that keep the expatriates from engaging in their places of residence; it is the life-style, socialization, and the apolitical culture of the professionals that keeps them from engaging.

The slight difference between expatriates and locals points to the deterrent effect of mobility, which is not surprising by itself, as residential stability is strongly associated with civic engagement. As Putnam (Putnam 2001, 204) reports "People who expect to move in the next five years are 20-25 percent less likely to attend church, attend club meetings, volunteer, or work on community projects than those who expect to stay put." In fact, the expatriates themselves underline the temporary nature of their posts, and mention how it takes time for them to get settled into a new place, to get to know people, to learn daily habits and rhythms. Considering they only stay in the country for 2-3 years after they get settled, they do not have a lot of motivation to spend energy to get engaged in any meaningful way. Both locals and expatriates who are highly mobile also complain

about how they need to spend significant amounts of time on planes and at airports, which limits their time left for anything else.

Thus, while it looks like the high levels of mobility make it harder to engage in community, the effect is not very clear as the expatriates present a new and intriguing case. As I have reported in chapter II, the expatriates view their mobility and their life-styles as part of who they are; they adapt to their mobility and are aware of its consequences; thus, they come up with mechanisms to cope – to look for social connections as quickly as they learn the lay of their new residence is one of them. Moreover, people carry their political habits with them even when they move. And in this case since community engagement is not about policy outcomes and does not have national connotations but is about "helping others," it is modular; the respondents can engage in this way anywhere, and feel good about themselves. For example, some American expatriates report that they look for voluntary associations and opportunities for participation in their new places of residence.

However, the problem is that the respondents are steeped in a culture of apoliticalness. Participation, voice, collective action – politics as deliberation - does not figure predominantly in their vocabulary. I believe in this case lack of civic engagement signifies something other than lack of attachment and belonging. In this case, associational life, membership, and engagement are not crucial for the respondents to feel as if they "belong" somewhere as none of these figure out as priorities in who the respondents are or want to be.

Given this picture of non-participation, the question that gets asked in the literature, whether transnational connections decrease civic engagement or not, is not the relevant question to ask in this case. The life-style that is required from the professionals, but also the framework and the discourse of the network – which is the hegemonic neoliberal discourse - in which they are participating seem to be the overriding factors

that explain the civic behavior of the respondents, which affect all of the respondents, regardless of their level of embeddeness within the transnational network.

Chapter VI

Conclusion: Social Networks and Global Civil Society

This research concerned itself with novel subjectivities engendered by conditions of interconnectedness by looking at the narrations of professionals embedded in transnational business networks. Focusing on transnational professionals working in transnational companies in two sites, I examined several questions. I asked: What does it mean for the transnational professionals from different national backgrounds to participate in transnational business networks? How does it affect their identification processes? Does the transnational network enable the participants to think of themselves as cosmopolitans; that is, do we see the emergence of global or cosmopolitan identities? If so, what does this mean for national attachments and belonging?

In posing these questions, this research aimed at exploring the range of experiences within the transnational business network and working against a sense of homogeneity in the presentation of 'global new middle classes' or 'transnational professionals' through focusing on the variation of meaning-making processes among both local and expatriate transnational professionals from different national backgrounds. Moreover, as it observed the individual consequences of transnationalism it examined how global and national identities interact.

Below I want to provide a short review of my findings and make several remarks about what these findings mean in terms of possibilities of a global civil society. I also would like to suggest possibilities for future research by pointing to some issues and questions I have encountered while I was thinking and writing about this research.

1. Cosmopolitan Identities in the Narratives of Transnational Professionals

"Whether they are scurrying through summit venues, storming the business class gates in airport terminals, lunching at restaurants with high ceilings and unobtrusive waiters, or drinking bottled water in air-conditioned boardrooms, the citizens of nowhere are our new ruling class. Politicians, corporate top dogs, media stars, "opinion formers" and bureaucrats, they occupy a prism of halogen-lit elitism, the same from Brussels to Bangkok, Sao Paulo to San Diego. Rootless, technocratic, unburdened by the baggage of locality or the complications of history, they exist in every nation but feel attached to none" (Kingsnorth 2003, 22).

I started this research by noting the growing interest in cosmopolitanism, but also by pointing to the negative connotations associated with the cosmopolitanism of transnational professionals and the elite. As illustrated in the above quote, when it comes to the elite, transnational connections and cosmopolitanism have more negative connotations than positive. While in different contexts cosmopolitanism is celebrated as the micro unit of a new global order, in the case of the transnational professionals, the literature emphasizes the dangers of cosmopolitanism; specifically, detachment, alienation, and rootlessness.

By studying the cosmopolitan identities as enacted by transnational professionals I wanted to answer multiple questions about the interaction of global and national identities, as well as cosmopolitan identities in practice, while simultaneously examining and grounding this stereotypical view. Thus, I began chapter II with a simple question: Do we see the articulation of a cosmopolitan identity construct by the transnational professionals? The answer is "yes." In that chapter, I have provided a detailed account of the cosmopolitan identity construct that the respondents of this research narrate in relation to their experiences in multinational settings. In fact, regardless of whether they are Turkish or American, or local or expatriate, majority of the respondents present themselves as 'cosmopolitan' and repeatedly bring up themes in the interviews that synchronize with the definitions of cosmopolitanism in the literature. The respondents very heavily rely on their experiences involving multi-and cross-national interactions and articulate a *cosmopolitan identity as competence*. I concluded the chapter by claiming that with these narratives the respondents are differentiating themselves from the

"typical" which represents those who cannot adapt, who are not flexible, or open. Relatedly, I argued that the respondents have to enact this identity in order to be successful in a flexible global market. Thus, the cosmopolitan identity and the global market are intrinsically tied to each other.

What, however, does this cosmopolitan identity mean in terms of national attachments and belonging to a community? How do the respondents articulate their national attachments and belonging? The answer to these questions proved to be trickier. In Chapter IV I illustrated that while the respondents emphasize their post-national outlook as part of their cosmopolitan identity in multiple areas in their lives, this does not mean that their national attachments were eroded. In fact, national attachments, articulated as an emotional connection to a "home," was very much alive. Moreover, the expatriate respondents do not feel "rootless" as they very actively keep an ongoing relationship with "home," but also because they are able to create the feeling of "home" in various locations. The respondents also narrate a sense of patriotism that combines criticism of their country with a sense of love for the country. Accordingly, I argued that one could describe them as *rooted cosmopolitans*.

Thus, my research illustrated that the "national" is very much present within the transnational. National attachments play various roles for the respondents: Not only do national attachments function as a root/or anchor, I also encountered nationality articulated as a "background" or "culture" within the business and social networks, which differentiates respondents from others; in these cases, national identities are valued as signifiers of "difference" that enrich the transnational business and social networks.

Yet while valued as "difference" within the network, nationality colors the experiences of the respondents in various ways. The transnational network functions within the legal-political structure of nation-states. Thus, the respondents, especially the Turkish ones, are reminded of their nationality when they have to deal with constraints

due to their nationality, when they are faced with the institutions of the nation-states, their borders, officials, and regulations. Moreover, the nationality of the respondents marks the respondents' entry point to the global market, which affects their experiences as it determines their access to capital and the opportunity structures that are available to them.

Relatedly, while the respondents of this research articulate similar cosmopolitan identities, and present similar sensibilities when articulating national attachments and identities, there is a lot of variation between the Turkish and the American narratives about the significance of the transnational companies. In chapter III, I've underlined this variation and have illustrated how the respondents come up with different associations and meanings depending on where they are entering into the global market. I argued that this variation illustrates how location within the global market, as well as the specific context of the location affects the meaning of the TNCs as well as the way respondents interpret their experiences.

Lastly, going back to the national attachments in chapter V, I showed that national attachment as emotional connection does not translate into civic engagement. I illustrated that the cosmopolitan identity that the respondents articulate is a private and apolitical one that is devoid of a sense of a collective and is not based on an abstract belief in humanity. This sense of cosmopolitanism, however, fits with the general apolitical attitudes of the respondents. In fact, when it comes to civic engagement and narratives on citizenship and politics, the respondents display an apolitical character. Importantly, this apolitical attitude does not vary with the level of embeddedness or mobility of the respondents. That is, there is no significant difference between local and expatriate respondents when it comes to their narratives on citizenship and politics. The political attitudes of the respondents seem to reflect their political socialization (which in both the Turkish and the American cases leads to apolitical attitudes), as well as the privatizing forces of the neoliberal market that dominate the public sphere in both countries and that informs respondents' narratives.

What do these findings tell us about an emerging global middle class and the prospects of a global civil society?   In the next two sections, I will deal with these questions and then introduce some ideas for future research.

2.   Heterogeneity within the Emerging Global Middle Classes and Looking at Transnationalism and Cosmopolitan Identities as a Process

Looking over the respondents in both locations, it is easy to talk about an emerging global middle class that shares a cosmopolitan worldview. Not only do the respondents have a similar relation to the means of production and the socially organized patterns of distribution and consumption, they also share a common life style, comparable educational backgrounds, consumption patterns, and if not work habits, at least beliefs about work and life (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1978).   The respondents I have interviewed socialized with people who were similar to them, married to other members of this class, and lived very similar lives. This was especially the case among those aged late-20 to late 30s who were more integrated into global patterns of consumption. They very much shared the same taste: they frequented similar shops, restaurants, and cafés; ate similar foods; they even dressed similarly and lived in very similar surroundings. Going to the homes of the younger respondents' to interview them in Istanbul and in NYC I was in fact surprised how familiar the houses felt – the interior designs were so comparable that I thought I was walking into different versions of the same home.

Moreover, what ties the respondents together are not just their tastes, life-styles and cosmopolitan attitudes, but also their professional identities. In fact, as I have emphasized various times in the previous chapters, what these professionals emphasize the most about themselves and what comes out very strongly in the interviews is a professional identification that values reason and rationality, meritocracy, hard work, and stresses a constant search for challenge, knowledge, and improvement of skills: an "ideology of professionalism" or "an eroticizing of knowledge" as Robbins (2001) calls

it. This identity is based not on ownership of property but on "ownership of expertise" (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1978, 23). Professionalism in this case through this "eroticizing" of disinterested knowledge and meritocracy also supports the cosmopolitan attitudes of the respondent.

This research, first, shows that one should be cautious about treating this "global middle class" as a homogenous entity. This is a rather obvious point: can anything that has the adjective "global" added to it, realistically be imagined as homogenous? However, this heterogeneity does not just imply a kind of "richness" as embellishment associated with the effects of various localities that seemed to be evoked by multiculturalism. The variation within the global middle class, as I have argued in this research, does also reflect the unevenness of the global market. In this way, this research supports Pieterse's argument that points to how the new middle classes of the developing countries share their countries' majority's economic, political and geopolitical frustrations (Nederveen Pieterse 2000, 131) and draws attention to the power disparity within the global middle class.

Moreover, by stressing the spaces of interaction that are created by the TNCs, and by focusing on the interaction at the personal level that the professionals have within the companies they work for, this research calls attention to the *micro-processes of global stratification* thereby also treating the TNCs as agents of global stratification rather than looking at them at macro-level within the global economy. The sense one gets from the literature is practically that this global middle class is an automatic byproduct of globalization. Here, I want to stress that it might be more accurate to look at it as a "global middle class in the making," that is, underlying the processes in which both the new middle classes of the developing countries and the middle classes of the developed ones are integrated into the global networks. That is, if we are in fact talking about a global middle class, we need to think about the processes of global class stratification, and relatedly, pay more attention to the agents of global stratification.

Relatedly, while I stress the similar cosmopolitan identity constructs that the respondents from various backgrounds share, I do not want to imply that the respondents are going through similar processes of "cosmopolitanisation" everywhere. While I believe that it might be more useful to think of cosmopolitanism as a process as well, I have not dealt with it in this research specifically because I had very limited numbers of Turkish expatriate respondents. There was not a meaningful way in which I could point to the variation in processes of cosmopolitanisation by comparing the narratives of Turkish expatriates with American ones. But here I want to give a small example pointing to the complexity of studying cosmopolitanism as a process:

> "Strangely I feel like I have started to develop patriotic feelings as I worked with foreigners. It was not like that before."

This is what one of the Turkish professionals who is based in Istanbul but works in a continental European team says when she is talking about her nationality. When I ask her why she thinks this is happening she explains:

> It is not like blind nationalism. We criticize ourselves here, but sometimes I feel like we do not get – I guess I have some sense of fairness. I feel like we are being treated unfairly, and it bothers me. I want us to get the respect that we deserve. Yes there are a lot of things that bother me about Turkey and there are things that make me say "enough," so not blindly, but I think one needs to be fair. I used to criticize everything strongly, but now I say "yes, but there is this dynamic you have to look at."

In chapter II, I have stated that developing the capacity to employ multiple perspectives might enable the respondents articulate a reflexive distance towards their own culture. In fact, I have said that the respondents "get to situate the culture and way of doing things back in their home-country in perspective: 'the way things were done or seen back home' becomes one of the available options." I argued that this could mean that the respondents adopt a more critical look towards their home-country and co-nationals.

The quotes I used in that part were generally drawn from interviews with American expatriates who in fact claimed that they became more critical of their country. The above quote, on the other hand, points to a different mechanism. Here, the Turkish

respondent, who is already, and characteristically, very critical of "the way things are done in Turkey," states that she became more defensive, more patriotic, but also more thoughtful of the underlying dynamics that cause the things that she is critical about, because of her interactions with foreigners through her experience in a transnational company.

The Turkish respondents' reaction might be reflective of the very different receptions that the Turkish professionals receive in Europe vs. the reception American respondents get in countries like Turkey. However, it is also important to consider this with an eye on the meaning of self-reflexivity as part of the definition of cosmopolitanism. As I have stated in chapter I, Turner (2002, 52) includes distance from one's own tradition as part of the definition of cosmopolitanism. But how will this "distance from one's own tradition" and "putting one's country in perspective" manifest itself? Moreover, what is one's "own tradition"? This definition, in itself, introduces an enormous amount of plurality to the manifestations of cosmopolitanisms. In the above example, for the Turkish respondents for whom "the way things are done in Turkey" are always perceived in a comparative framework to an imaginary West, distance from one's culture might not mean more criticism and more comparison, but something else – maybe more compassion. While this definitely points to the problems with the complexity of definitions of cosmopolitanism (Skrbis et al. 2004), it also warns us that one should be careful in thinking about processes like cosmopolitanisation in various locations expecting that those processes fit into cookie-cutter descriptions.

3. A Global Civil Society?

Yet does it matter if we are seeing the emergence of a global middle class? What does the emergence of a global middle class signify – a movement towards global solidarities transcending national boundaries? Do the cosmopolitan attitudes of these respondents offer any consolation in the face of enduring forces of predatory nationalisms over the world?

I have argued in chapter V that while the material interconnectedness and the transnational network in this case seem to strengthen cosmopolitan attitudes and life-styles, it does not lead to cosmopolitan politics. I demonstrated that what the respondents articulate is a distinctively apolitical and privatized version of cosmopolitanism, based on particular relationships to people and places, devoid of a sense of collective vision for the global; their engagements within transnational spaces does not seem to lead to an ethical commitment towards the world or humanity. This, however, does not mean that I believe what I have studied and encountered - this "actually existing" cosmopolitan identity based on competence and particular ties - is inconsequential.

In discussing the cosmopolitanism of the managerial class Robbins (Robbins 2001, 25) quotes Pinsky (1996) to discuss anticosmopolitanism:

> "According to Pinsky, 'the village of the liberal managerial class' is unlike all other villages in one crucial respect: it is a village without love. Cosmopolitanism is 'a view of the world that would be true only if people were not driven by emotions.' It is 'bloodless,' 'arid'; it has no room for 'patriotism and similar forms of love.'"

While there might be some truth to Pinsky's claims considering the cool-headedness, the rationality that is implied by cosmopolitanism in the literature, the apolitical and private cosmopolitanism I have encountered is specifically important because it is built on feelings of affinity, friendship, and sociability along with competence. The respondents who are embedded in transnational networks not only establish multinational friendship networks, but also cherish them. As I have indicated, they report that some ties weaken and disappear as people move, over time. However, I have also heard many stories of close friendships, remaining and getting stronger over years, respondents traveling year after year with their families to meet friends they made while they work in another country. This is for example how one Turkish expatriate in NYC whose best friend is a Swede whom he met while working in France, talks about his experience in England:

> "I did have friends that I can go talk to when I had a problem. They were like a family to me. And I still have them. They know everything that is going on with me. I shared a lot with them, they are people who are very close to

me, and that is very important to me. They were like a regular family. Thus, I felt secure there, I never felt like a stranger. It was not just a friendship it was more like a family."

Or this American professional who talks about his relationships in Puerto Rico:

"This one woman I worked with. She is more like a family to me. I know half of her family. I know her mother, father, uncles, and grandmother. And I have some other friends. They have kids. I am like their uncle and they always want to see me. So, I try to go down there and see them at least twice a year. I am lucky because their birthdays are two weeks of each other. So I can go there and hang out with the kids."

Thus, that "the fact that shared middle class orientations obviously provide a pre-existing framework without which the construction of such social spaces would be much more difficult" (Kennedy 2004, 10) does not detract from the way that these networks might be building bridges between societies. Moreover I contend that while not political in itself, these networks of sociability and friendship might underpin and lay the groundwork for a global civil society or polity. I agree with Kennedy (2004, 10) who draws parallels to nation-states by reminding that "civil society partly grew out of the pre-existing overlapping and dense network of family, local community, occupational, regional, religious and ethnic affiliations." Similarly, one can think of these experiences as building criss-crossing networks between societies. Moreover, even when I claim that the cosmopolitan identity is necessitated by the global market in which the respondents are functioning, it still has transformative capacity as it is experienced and narrated as self-transformation by the respondents.

4.1. Where to go from Here? The relationship between Transnational Networks and Cosmopolitan Identities

"An open mind is the best way to look at the world."

"The world would be a dull place if everyone agreed on everything."

"Another point of view can sometimes open up a whole new world."

"The more you look at the world, the more you realize that what one person values may be different to the next."

These quotes that stress the importance of entertaining multiple viewpoints and different ways of looking at things come from a global airport advertising campaign by one of the leading global banks, HSBC: "the world's local bank" (*HSBC Your Point of View*). Accompanied by colorful and attractive images that illustrate how one could interpret the same thing in different ways, these were the words that I kept on seeing on the walls of the airport walkways that I had to pass through while I was conducting this research. In fact, the HSBC website for the campaigns states the following:

> "At HSBC we have always celebrated that people have different points of view. We believe that these points of view are driven and supported by our individual priorities and values in life and it is these values that form the basis of many important decisions. In our latest campaign, HSBC confronts people with choices that will enable them to address their own values and discover what drives and motivates them in their daily lives (*HSBC Your Point of View*)."

I am bringing in these examples to note that the cosmopolitan themes that are narrated by the respondents are also themes that are currently used/pushed by the TNCs themselves. I have already claimed in chapter II that the cosmopolitan identity of the respondents is intrinsically linked to the functioning of global capitalism that pushes for flexibility, adaptability, and mobility. I have also stressed research that underline the apolitical and privatizing nature of neoliberalism and claimed that this among other things might be informing the respondents' apolitical attitudes. Thus while I have pointed out how the transnational network creates spaces of multinational interaction and face-to-face contact and how the respondents use cosmopolitan narratives when they are involved in these interactions, it is also important to point that the transnational network itself might be providing the respondents with the cues to interpret those experiences. That is, while the experience itself might be informing the cosmopolitan narratives of the respondents, the cosmopolitan narrative and interpretation could also be enabled by the cues that are available within the transnational business environment. The transnational network might not only be supporting the cosmopolitan identity by creating spaces of interaction and skills, but also by providing the interpretative tools of speech for the respondents.

What does this mean in terms of the relationship between transnational networks and identities? Looking at my research and the narratives of the respondents, one can claim, as I had done, that the transnational network might be conducive to strengthening of cosmopolitan identities as it creates spaces interaction, where individuals participate at least formally as equals, and leads to networks of sociability. As I have pointed in chapter II, it is not just the mobility, the experience of being here and there, but whether that experience results in interactions with what the respondents deem "different" and whether it leads to feelings of self-efficacy and self-confidence that seem to matter.

However, as I have indicated in chapter V this is a specific form of cosmopolitanism. In chapter V, I have also argued that different institutional structures might be leading to different versions of cosmopolitanisms. Here I want to stress that it might be important to analytically separate the institutional structure of the transnational network, the spaces it creates and the practices it enables or necessitates, from the ideology/discourse that informs the transnational network, and is perpetuated by it. That is, in the case that I have presented - the transnational business network exemplified by TNCs - the structure of the transnational network puts people in contact and moves them around. It creates communication networks, pathways, positions, opportunities, and spaces of interaction. In this case, however, the discourse of the transnational business network also supports multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, yet in a privatized and apolitical version. Thus, the effects of the institutional structure and the effects of the discourse might be working to amplify each other in a specific way.

It is already clear that "the positive correlation between transnationalization and cosmopolitan attitudes is not the only conceivable outcome" (Roudometof 2005, 117). This research expands upon this by stressing that different transnational networks might be leading to different cosmopolitanisms. By presenting transnational networks as creating spaces of interaction into which people enter with certain roles, as well as transmitters of ideologies and discourses, and by detailing what the participants base their cosmopolitan attitudes on in relation to the transnational network, this research points to

the ways in which we can think about why some networks might be conducive to cosmopolitan attitudes and others might not. In short, however, the relationship between transnational networks and cosmopolitanism begs for a comparative analysis between different transnational networks, which lead to various forms of spaces/practices and which are informed by different kind of discourses. What kind of cosmopolitanisms are they conducive to if they are? And could we learn from them if we want to support cosmopolitanisms?

4.2. Where to go from Here? A Note on the Business Culture, Politics, and Methodology

After telling me how she has to prove herself because she is Turkish this senior manager in Istanbul tells me about how she sometimes sees that people from other developing countries get treated similarly:

> "For example those from India. So I was in Brussels few weeks ago, in a meeting. There was this girl from India. While when a British guy is telling his experiences, everyone is listening like "wow!" this girl – what she told was very interesting, too. But it was not really something they comprehend; it was more like, "Yeah? Interesting…" I guess people associate with what they comprehend, something that is closer to their culture. That attracts their interest. So this other culture could be really interesting, but it needs to be able to communicate itself."

Over dinner in Istanbul, my friend Tarık, who an auditor working for a major transnational petroleum company, is telling me and another friend, Bahar, why he might not vote:

> "There is so much going on here. Do you understand what is going on? I don't understand it. There are powerful forces here [in Turkey], and I have nothing I can do about it. I don't take part in any decision that is being made in this country. I mean, nothing that is produced in this country is actually produced by us. Go to the supermarket, take a look at it: everything that is sold belongs to foreign companies. They are buying out the local ones. All of their R&D is abroad. The country is sold to foreigners. We came to this position where we are not able to produce anything by ourselves. They know what is going on in this country better than we do. We put together those F-16s [jetfighter aircraft] but we can't even get them to fly without letting them know. Have you heard of those guys who committed suicide at *ASELSAN*?[81]

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[81] ASELSAN is one of the most prominent establishments in Turkish defense industry. Founded by the Turkish Armed Forces Foundation (that owns 85% of the company), it produces communications, guidance

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It is impossible to comprehend what is going on in this country. What can do I about these? What will change if I vote? Nothing."

Bahar disrupts his narrative and asks:

"Isn't it kind of contradictory that you work for [global oil company] yet you complain about the country being sold to foreigners?"

Tarık replies:

"I am aware of that contradiction. But I chose to do that. I have a job, I do it, I go home, that is my choice. I don't think my vote have any importance, I don't think it will do anything to change that."

I am presenting these two quotes to stress two areas of this research that I believe would benefit from further research, and specifically from ethnographic work in the form of participant observation. The first one involves the business cultures as they take place in the multinational spaces of interaction that are created by the TNCs. I have articulated above that it might be useful to look at the micro-processes that take place in these spaces to examine the processes and practices of global stratification better. While I have presented some ideas related to this topic in this research, what I reported was based on the narratives I gathered from my respondents. However, a focus on these micro-processes would require a focus on the *practices* and observation of the interactions, as they are enacted everyday, which would call for a different methodology than I used.

The second example points to a similar need when it comes to politics and narratives of citizenship among the new middle classes. I have already stressed in chapter V that the apolitical attitudes of the Turkish respondents contain discontent, contempt, and powerlessness. This quote is useful in demonstrating the sense of complexity behind this façade of apathy: it combines nationalist conspiracy theories with a sense of lack of efficacy and places the transnational companies within those narratives. In fact I have heard similar narratives from different people in Turkey: In private discussions people

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and systems electronics for military and civilian use (including warfare and defense systems). The narrator is referring to a series of cases that have attracted public attention in Turkey, when three engineers that work at ASELSAN, have been found dead in a short span of time. All three cases were closed as suicide even though there were suspicions that they were not (See for example the article on the subject in the newspaper *Milliyet* that talks about these suspicions (Erdinç 2008)). Theories were circulated that these engineers were able to decrypt certain defense technologies that were owned by the United States and thus were murdered.

voiced concern that the transnational companies had too much power over the country, that Turkish people were losing power over the decisions that mattered for the country. Professionals talked about politics regularly in Turkey and various narratives informed their discourses. I have, however, only had access to comments like these because I had access to those private conversations. I did not have similar access to social circles of professionals in NYC. The multi-sited nature of this research, which is one of its strengths, also presented constraints in terms of time and budget that made it hard for me to cultivate relationships in a new city that would have enabled me to get into social circles. Due to this discrepancy between the two sites, I have only employed and presented the in-depth interviews as the data in this research.

To understand the nature of the apolitical attitudes of the respondents, however, we need to study their narratives on citizenship more carefully, detailing what informs their narratives and how they combine certain discourses. Empirical studies of self-understandings of citizenship, while not totally neglected, are clearly lacking. While in-depth interviews that are specifically designed for this subject will work in getting at narratives of citizenship (as I have started to do in a limited extent in this research), I also argue that a real understanding of the political attitudes of the new middle classes would benefit from an attention to what is taking place in private spaces and discussions. As I have shown, these middle class respondents are very much distanced from electoral politics – from political parties, legislatures, and elections. Moreover, as Özyürek (2006, 20) points an increasing number of political actions can no longer be labeled deliberative politics as "political space is seen to suffer from the intrusion of performative forms of representation (Marden 2003, 235)." The hegemony of neoliberalism is pushing politics outside the institutional boundaries of the state and "a new kind of politics is taking place in spaces and actions that used to be considered as private or intimate (Özyürek 2006)." This is changing how individuals perceive and think of themselves as citizens. I argue it is through attention to what is going on in private discussions and spaces that we'll understand the nature of politics and citizenship as an identity among the contemporary middle classes.

Appendix A: Companies

Respondents' Companies	Interview Sites	
	Istanbul	*New York City*
Professional Service Firms		
PricewaterhouseCoopers	√	√
Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu	√	
KPMG International	√	√
Ernst and Young	√	
Citibank	√	√
HSBC	√	
ABM Amro	√	√
Deutsche Bank		√
JP Morgan and Chase		√
Morgan Stanley		√
Bear and Stearns		√
Cap Gemini		√
Interpublic		√
Consumer Goods		
Johnson and Johnson	√	
Pfizer	√	√
Merck Sharp and Dohme	√	√
Schering and Plough		√
Roche		√
Procter and Gamble	√	
Phillips	√	
Siemens	√	
Danone	√	√
GE	√	
Nestle	√	
Pepsi	√	
Renckitt Benckiser		√
Adidas	√	
3M	√	
Petroleum Refining		
BP	√	

Chevron	√	
Others		
Met Life *(Insurance)*		√
Du Pont (*Chemicals*)	√	

Appendix B: Interview Schedule Examples

Interview Schedule Example I: Istanbul – Expatriate Version

Demographics:

1. *How old are you and where were you born?*

2. *What were your parents' occupations?*

3. *Where did you grow up?*

4. *Where else did you live?*

5. *When did you come to Istanbul?*

6. *What is your educational background? Which schools did you go to and what is the highest degree you have achieved?*

7. *Do you speak a language other than (native language) / (English)?*

Professional Life:

8. *I would like to start by talking about your professional life. What is your main job in this company?*

9. *I am interested in learning about your career / professional history – or the path that lead to you to your current job if you will. How did you end up being in your current position? Before this position, where have you worked previously?*

10. *Did you always have a career like this in mind when you were in school? (If yes), why do you think it appealed to you? (If no), what were the conditions that made you get in and stay in a career like this one? Were your expectations met?*

11. *(In choosing this post/company, was it important for you that it was multinational/well know brand? Did you always have a global career in mind?)*

12. *How did you end up coming to Istanbul? How eager were you for the move? Were you excited / worried?*

13. How do you think this experience affects your future career prospects?

14. How would you rate your job? That is, does your job provide you with a comfortable living? Do you generally feel secure and stable? Are there any benefits that you get in your day-to-day life because you are associated with this company? Can you provide examples? Do you think it is prestigious to work in a company like this?

      a. Did any of these feelings change when you moved to Istanbul?

15. How satisfied are you with your professional setting in Istanbul?

16. Would you consider yourself successful? How do you define "success"? Is being successful in your job important for you – why?

17. Careerwise, where do you see yourself in 5-10 years?

Social and Family Life:

18. Now I would like to talk to you about your social and family life. First, what is your marital status?

19. (*If married or with a partner*) Do you have any kids? How many?

20. (*If the respondent has kids*)

    a. What kind of a school do they go here?

    b. Would you like to raise your children here or somewhereelse? Why?

    c. Do you prefer that your children retain some (*nationality*) traditions? Why? Can you give me examples?

21. (*If married or with a partner*) What does your spouse/partner do? And what is her/his educational background?

22. Which part of the city do you live in? How long have you been living there?

    a. How did you pick the neighborhood? What were some of the things that you looked for?

    b. What is the most common ethnic/national group in the neighborhood that you live in? Was it important for you that there were other expatriates around? Why?

c. If you moved somewhere new, would you try to find some (*nationality*)?

d. Are there any group of people that you would not want as neighbors?

23. Can you please describe me how you spend your free time after work hours and on the weekends? Think about your regular weekday and weekend.

    a. What are some of the activities you do? Do you have any hobbies?

    b. Are you members of any organizations or clubs? Can you name them? Who frequents these organizations?

GIVE CARD

Follow up: When you think about your friends/people you hang around with – how would you describe them, how would you describe your social circle?

Ask about expats/vs. Turkish.

24. Did you ever go out with someone who was from a different nationality?

25. Would you marry / have married someone who is from a different nationality? Why or why not?

26. Where do you like to do your shopping for food, clothing etc.? Are there any brands that you particularly like to consume?

27. What are the holidays that you and your family celebrate that are most important? Are there any family traditions you follow on Christmas, Easter?

28. Do you have friends who live in other countries /who are from different nationalities? Where are they and how often do you communicate with them? How often do you see them?

29. How often do you visit (*homecountry*)?

30. Do you still maintain connections to your country – for example, are you still a member of some clubs, do you vote, do you follow and care about the news from your country?

31. Where do you generally get your news? Newspapers, internet, television or radio?

32. How much TV do you watch in a regular week? What kind of programs do you prefer?

33. How much vacation time a year do you get? How do you generally spend your vacation time?

Identity, Ethnicity, Patriotism:

34. What is your religion? Were you raised in it? Do you practice it?

35. Would you say that being a (*nationality*) is important to you?

36. Can you think of times in your life that it has been more or less important?

37. Would you say that you are proud of being a (*nationality)*?

38. Would you say that you love your country? If yes, what do you love about it? Is there anything that you don't really love about it?

39. Do you participate in any national holidays and celebrations?

40. Would you say that you love Istanbul? Why or why not? What about your living conditions here?

41. Do you think there is a (*nationality*) national character? Do you exhibit those traits? What are they?

42. Some people will describe Turks as practical, warm, hospitable and friendly, while others will describe them as lazy, disorganized and lawless. What do you, in comparison to other national groups, think about Turks in general? Do you think there is a Turkish national character?

    a. Do you think your colleagues exhibit those characteristics? Do you think these traits have any effect on the business you are doing? How?

Business Experience:

43. Do you share similar views and attitudes with your Turkish colleagues when it comes to business? What are they particularly good at? What do you think works or does not work about their style in this setting? Is there anything that you particularly respect about the way they do business?

44. In your professional life (current and past), have there been times you feel you have benefited or disadvantaged from being a (*nationality*)? Can you recall the last time? (Follow up: Do you ever feel like, in multinational environments, people treat you differently, or react to you in a certain way because you are (*nationality*)? Do you feel like they react to others in a similar way?)

45. Do you feel more comfortable being around other (*nationality*) in Istanbul? Is it the same way in professional and social settings? Any idea why?

46. If we think about a global labor market, would you say that you can work/survive/and be successful anywhere in this market? Do you think the chances of survival are the same for professionals from different countries? Do you foresee any difficulties for yourself if you were to move to different locations?

47. How do you think you benefit from working in a multinational environment?

48. Does it matter for you that you work for a "*nationality*" company?

49. What do you think about globalization in general – or specifically how do you feel about the role of multinational companies in the economies of countries like Turkey?

Political life, Citizenship and Belonging:

50. How active are you politically? Do you vote regularly? Are you active in any other political forums?

51. Do you remember who you have voted for in the last elections that you have voted?

52. In politics, people generally use the left-right scale to describe political positions. Where would you place yourself on the left-right spectrum? Why?

53. Would you like to be more politically active? Why or why not?

54. What do you think makes a good (*nationality*) citizen? Please elaborate.

55. Would you consider yourself a good citizen?

56. Do you feel obliged to serve your country in one way or another? If yes, what do you do to achieve that?

57. Would you consider yourself a "world-citizen", a "cosmopolitan"? Why or why not? What do those terms imply to you?

58. Due to your job, you work with people from different nationalities and you have to be mobile. As a result of these, do you feel that you identify with people from different nationalities more?

59. How do you feel about your own mobility? Do you feel like it is an advantage/disadvantage in your life?

60. Do you ever feel like you are "rootless" "detached"?

61. What country would you call home?

62. How do you feel about moving back to "*home country*"?

63. Do you feel like you belong to/are attached to any community here? (work, social, national)?

64. If you could move and live anywhere in the world, where would you move? Why? (Do you consider moving again?)

65. Hypothetically, if you were to be born again and you could change your nationality, what nationality would you pick? Why?

66. What do you consider a "good life"? Do you think your life is like that?

Professional History:

1. *I would like to start by talking about your professional life. What is your main job in this company? (Ask: international aspect of it?/ Ever been outside of the country due to the job?)*

2. *I am interested in learning about your career / professional history – or the path that lead to you to your current job if you will. How did you end up being in your current position? Before this position, where have you worked previously?*

3. *Did you always have a career like this in mind when you were in school? (If yes), why do you think it appealed to you? (If no), what were the conditions that made you get in and stay in a career like this one? Were your expectations met?*

4. *When you were getting into your current company – was it important for you that it was a multinational firm / a well known company? Why?*

5. *If you would look for a new company/job, would you look for a multinational company? Why or why not?*

6. *How would you rate your job?*

    a. *That is, does your job provide you with a comfortable living? Do you generally feel secure and stable?*
    b. *Are there any benefits that you get in your day-to-day life because you are associated with this company? Can you provide examples?*
    c. *Do you think it is prestigious to work in a company like this?*

7. How happy are you about working in a corporate environment? Are there things that you are not very happy about, things that you criticize? How does it feel to work in a corporate environment? (Especially given criticisms about the role of big companies in the global economy/developing countries etc.)

8. Would you consider yourself successful? How do you define "success"? Is being successful in your job important for you – why?

9. Careerwise, where do you see yourself in 5-10 years?

Social and Family Life:

10. Now I would like to talk to you about your social and family life. First, what is your marital status?

11. (*If married or with a partner*) Do you have any kids? How many?

12. (*If the respondent has kids*)

    a. What kind of a school do they go here?

    b. Would you like to raise your children here or somewhereelse? Why?

    c. Do you prefer that your children retain some (*nationality*) traditions? Why? Can you give me examples?

13. (*If married or with a partner*) What does your spouse/partner do? And what is her/his educational background? (What is his/her nationality)?

14. Which part of the city do you live in? How long have you been living there?

    a. How did you pick the neighborhood? What were some of the things that you looked for?

    b. Whom would you have *not* wanted for your neighbors?

    c. What is the most common ethnic/national group in the neighborhood that you live in?

    d. If you moved somewhere new, would you try to find some (*nationality*)?

15. Can you please describe me how you spend your free time after work hours and on the weekends? Think about your regular weekday and weekend.

    a. What are some of the activities you do? Do you have any hobbies?

    b. Are you members of any organizations or clubs? Can you name them? Who frequents these organizations?

16. GIVE CARD

    a. (Follow up) What appeals to you about these places? When you think about your friends/people you hang around with – how would you describe them, how would you describe your social circle?

17. Where do you like to do your shopping, especially for clothing? Are there any brands that you particularly like to consume?

18. What are the holidays that you and your family celebrate that are most important? Are there any family traditions you follow on Christmas, Easter?

19. Did you ever go out with someone who was from a different nationality?

20. Would you marry / have married someone who is from a different nationality? Why or why not?

21. Do you have friends who live in other countries /who are from different nationalities? Where are they and how often do you communicate with them? How often do you see them?

22. Where do you generally get your news? Newspapers, internet, television or radio?

23. How much TV do you watch in a regular week? What kind of programs do you prefer?

24. How much vacation time a year do you get? How do you generally spend your vacation time?

Identity, Ethnicity, Patriotism:

25. What is your religion? Were you raised in it? Do you practice it? Would you consider yourself religious?

26. Would you say that being an American is important to you?

27. Can you think of times in your life that it has been more or less important?

28. Would you say that you are proud of being an American? (Why or why not?)

29. Do you participate in any national holidays and celebrations?

30. Would you say that you love your country? If yes, what do you love about it? Is there anything that you criticize when it comes to your country?

31. Would you say that you love NYC? Why or why not?

32. Some people will describe Americans as practical, organized, and friendly, while others will describe them as inflexible, loud, and naive. What do you, in comparison to other national groups, think about Americans in general? Do you think there is an American national character?

a. Do you think your colleagues exhibit those characteristics? Do you think these traits have any effect on the business you are doing? How? (Follow up: That is, do you see differences in the way Americans do business and people from other countries do it, in your setting?)

Business Experience:

33. Do you share similar views and attitudes with your colleagues from different countries when it comes to business? What are they particularly good at? What do you think works or does not work about their style in this setting? Is there anything that you particularly respect about the way they do business?

34. In your professional life (current and past), have there been times you feel you have benefited or disadvantaged from being an American? Can you recall the last time? (Follow up: Do you ever feel like, in multinational environments, people treat you differently, or react to you in a certain way because you are an American? Do you feel like they react to others in a similar way?)

35. If we think about a global labor market, would you say that you can work/survive/and be successful anywhere in this market? Do you think the chances of survival are the same for professionals from different countries? Do you foresee any difficulties for yourself if you were to move to different locations?

36. How do you think you benefit from working in a multinational environment?

37. Due to your job, you work with people from different nationalities and you have to be mobile. As a result of these, do you feel that you identify with people from different nationalities more?

38. When in a multinational environment, do you feel like you identify/feel close to more to professionals from certain countries or regions, or no? Why do you think that is?

39. Does it matter for you that you work for an American company? Why or why not?

Political life, Citizenship and Belonging:

40. How active are you politically? Do you vote regularly? Are you active in any other political forums?

41. Do you remember who you have voted for in the last elections that you have voted?

42. In politics, people generally use the left-right scale to describe political positions. Where would you place yourself on the left-right spectrum? Why?

43. Would you like to be more politically active? Why or why not?

44. What do you think makes a good American citizen? Please elaborate.

45. Would you consider yourself a good citizen?

46. Do you feel obliged to serve your country in one way or another? If yes, what do you do to achieve that?

47. Would you consider yourself a "world-citizen", a "cosmopolitan"? Why or why not? What do those terms imply to you?

    a. Do you see yourself as part of a globalizing world, a global network?

48. If you could move and live anywhere in the world, where would you move? Why? (Do you consider moving again?)

49. Hypothetically, if you were to be born again and you could change your nationality, what nationality would you pick? Why?

Extras:

50. Where would you locate yourself in the socio-economic spectrum?

51. What do you think are the most important foreign and domestic policy problems of the U.S.?

52. What do you consider a "good life"? Do you think your life is like that?

Demographics:

53. *How old are you and where were you born?*

54. *What were your parents' occupations?*

55. *Where did you grow up?*

56. *Where else did you live?*

57. *When did you come to New York City?*

58. What is your educational background? Which schools did you go to and what is the highest degree you have achieved?

59. Do you speak a language other than English?

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