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# The Effects of Globalization on Culture

A Study of the Experiences of Globalization among  
Finnish Travellers

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<p>Abstract:</p> <p>An ethnographic research on cultural globalization, it's manifestation in identity and culture. The research is a qualitative study, data collection was conducted through theme interviews among Finnish long and short term travellers. A hermeneutical approach to data analysis was chosen.</p> <p>Research questions center around the process of globalization and the role travellers play in the creation and diffusion of new ideas. Thoughts on a possibly global culture are investigated. Globalization is defined as a macro level process incorporating smaller scale processes within it. It is seen as the intensification of the interaction of people on a world wide scale. Brief literary overviews on the terms globalization, culture and identity are included.</p> <p>Globalization is seen and experienced as a controversial phenomenon. Informants questioned the lack of a global value base upon which individuals could act positively and constructively. Informants' views on cultural issues, the interdependence of mankind and the world at large were reinforced through travel experiences.</p>	
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## 1. Introduction

The theme of this master's thesis is cultural globalization. The research studies how people who live and travel abroad for long and short-term periods understand culture and identity in a globalizing world. This research hopes to expand on the concept of globalization from exclusively economic definitions to more of a humanistic approach to globalization.

Modern technology allows an increasing amount of people to travel easily and quickly more often. Though man has always been mobile and has throughout history interacted with other units, tribes, nations and peoples, never before has the position of the individual been so favorable. Traveling and living abroad is more the standard than an exception among young students nowadays. With the flow of people also flow new ideas, concepts, ideologies and views. Through school and educational background, the media and arts, new views are continually being introduced to the public. However, only through traveling and living abroad can one get the actual experience of the things that we hear about in the classroom or on television. Traveling outside of one's national borders can be likened to the anthropologist who left the comfort of the armchair to investigate the real world. Now individuals have the opportunity to be the anthropologist and to do their own personal studies. In many ways travelers can be considered to be part of a universal intensification of human interaction and cooperation. For this reason cultural globalization is intriguing. It is a process encompassing humanity as a whole on an individual level. What exactly is this process that touches the lives of people the world around? What role do travelers play in the diffusion and creation of ideas, views and attitudes, and can this be considered to be the initial breezes of a potentially global culture?

Globalization is a vast concept that this research does not attempt to cover in its entirety. The assumption of the research is that globalization is a process of many processes, a step in a universal intensification of the interaction and cooperation of man, with the potential of having a type of civilizing influence upon humanity.

## **2. Basic Concepts**

This chapter deals with the key words of the research and gives a brief overview of some of the contemporary literary views of these concepts. Literature on globalization, culture and identity are exhaustive and it is challenging to summarize briefly the views on these topics without leaving gaps. Much of the literature is conflicting and riddled with competing theories. Literature on globalization reflects the same contradictions and ambiguities that were noticeable in the results of the interviews. Ulrich Beck's book "What is Globalization?" has been useful in charting out some of the more dominant theories on globalization.

### **Globalization**

"Anthropology has become, of necessity, a study of change as well as of stability" (Keesing & Keesing 1971, 346). This has been one of the major topics of anthropology ever since researchers first noticed that primitive peoples were not as untouched by change as they had initially thought. Although globalization is often mistaken as an exclusively economic phenomenon, it is obvious that "humans on all frontiers are being forced either to shift their ideational systems radically and quickly or to live in a thought-world that no longer fits the way their world is" (Keesing & Keesing 1971, 343). Keesing points out that as: "rewards of "economic development" become universal aspirations, they [people] react to this challenge in sharply contrasting ways". From this perspective, globalization cannot continue to be exclusively defined as

an economic development, but its social, cultural and political effects must also be addressed.

I found Ulrich Beck's "What is Globalization?" one of the most comprehensive and accessible sources for addressing issues of theoretical controversy concerning globalization and the contradictory meanings associated with it. Beck divides the theoretical controversy into two major categories, those who point to "one dominant logic of globalization" and those suggesting "a phenomenon with a complex set of causes" (Beck 2000, 30). The former implies a single cause for globalization, while the latter claims multiple causes for globalization. Beck divides these theories into the following: capitalist world-system, post international politics, world risk society, the thesis of McDonaldization, glocalization and a few other derivations of these interpretations.

Wallerstein is one supporter of the *capitalist world-system* theory. Instead of seeing societies as individual separate entities, Wallerstein sees one world-system in which all things, products and people must accommodate themselves in a single dimension of labor. Capitalism is seen as a "world-system" that "provides the framework for the measurement of social inequalities on a world scale" (Beck 2000, 32). According to Wallerstein the capitalist world economy has three elements. Firstly it's seen as consisting of a single market governed by profit maximization, secondly nation-state structures hinder free market flow in order to improve their own profits, and lastly surplus labor is exploited among the "heartlands", "semiperipheries" and "peripheral countries and regions" (Beck 2000, 33). As Beck points out, Wallerstein's theory is mainly monocausal and economic in its interpretations. Globalization is solely seen as an institutionalization of the world market.

Beck discusses the theory of *post-international politics* of globalization from the views of Rosenau, Gilpin and Held. Rosenau sees that

humanity has entered a stage in which national powers must share the global arena with other international, political and social organizations in tackling trans-national questions. Rosenau sees world politics polycentrically in opposition to Wallerstein's view of a single world-system. Instead of seeing globalization as one trans-national power exerting control, polycentricism of world politics means that all nation-states, international organizations (the UN, IMF, World Bank, NGO's) compete among each other to achieve their goals. Gilpin understands globalization as "the expansion of trans-national spaces and actors, dependant upon national authorities and the tacit consent of nation states" (Beck 2000, 36-37) Held sees "sovereignty" as "divided and shackled... it is making obsolete the concept of political sovereignty" and losing the core of it's national power (Beck 2000, 37).

The theory of the *world risk society* differs from the above mentioned theories in that it concentrates on more ethical questions; ecological catastrophes, humanitarian crises, economical imbalance, technological-industrial dangers and genetic-engineering threats. Beck states: "Threats create society, and global threats create global society" (Beck 2000, 38). World risk society implies that trans-national social spaces are born through "unintended, denied or repressed threats" and conflicts (Beck 2000, 39)

The threat of cultural uniformity is referred to as "*McDonaldization*". The globalization of world economy and the development of trans-national markets have caused a worldwide generation of hamburger eating, coca-cola drinking, cell phone kids. The threat to local cultures and the extinction of cultural and ethnic diversity seems inevitable. However, cultural globalization theorists such as Roland Robertson emphasize the paradoxical effects of globalization. Beck states that: "Their basic insight is that globalization does not mean globalization automatically, unilaterally or 'one-dimensionally' – which is one of the endless sources of misunderstanding in this debate." (Beck 2000, 46). On the contrary, a global process must have roots, a place, origin, locality, even trans-

national firms must develop local connections for their businesses. What Roland Robertson sees happening is a “localization” of the global, or “de-location” and/or “relocation” of globalization. Globalization is developing its own local cultural traits and dimensions. Robertson calls this process “*glocalization*”.

The difference between the previously mentioned ‘world-system’ theory and the “new culturally attuned sociology of globalization” as expressed by Beck redefine the key elements of cultural studies (Beck 2000, 49). To understand globalization one must re-understand the world and how culture, diversity, politics, ethnicity, race and homogeneity are manifested. For the generations of people who are accustomed to understanding and defining the world through narrowly and artificially constructed national identities it is a challenge to break from these conceptions of identity. Cultural globalization theorists sense a change in the public, which they claim is partially due to the media’s attention on global events and the emphasis on the inter-dependency of humanity. Research increasingly focuses on how “the world horizon opens up in the cross-cultural production of meaning and cultural symbols” (Beck 2000, 47). Dialectical theories on universalism and particularism, connection and fragmentation, centralization and decentralization, conflict and balance and modes of distinction are some of the areas of research.

Arjun Appadurai takes dialectical theory on glocalization a step further in his “cultural flows” studies. In his book “Modernity at Large”, Appadurai describes at least four “landscapes” through which people, refugees, tourists, immigrants, exiles and “guest-workers” move on an international level. Appadurai doesn’t see globalization as the homogenization of culture, but as the ever changing and “flowing” of technology “techno-scapes”, economy “finance-scapes”, media “media-scapes” and ideology “ideo-scapes” through the movement of people over cultural and national boundaries. These “flows” through “-scapes” change the conceptions of “center” and “periphery” and create imagined

worlds that are created by different people and groups. Appadurai states that: "... ethnography must confront the changing social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of group identity. As groups migrate, regroup in new locations, reconstruct their histories, and reconfigure their ethnic projects, the *ethno* in ethnography takes on a slippery, non-localized quality, to which the descriptive practices of anthropology will have to respond. The landscapes of group identity – the ethno-scapes – around the world are no longer familiar anthropological objects, insofar as groups are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogenous" (Appadurai 1996, 48).

## Culture

The word culture comes from the Latin, *cultura* or *cultus*. *Cultus* means to *cultivate*. The original meaning of *cultus* was closely linked to the cultivation of soil, *agri cultura*. The understanding of the word culture has changed from its root meaning as an activity to a condition, a state of being cultivated. Though the meaning of culture was originally tied to activity, the question of the activity of what and to what end is inevitable. The Romans linked culture to *humanitas*; man vs. animal, *urbanitas*; city vs. rural and *civilitas* as in civil and good manners opposed to barbaric ways. Many, however, felt this to be a superficial concept, and interpreted culture as being *Bildung*, the cultivation of a complex inner life. Kroeber and Kluckhohn in *Culture a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* state that: "The most generic sense of the word "culture" – in Latin and in all the languages that have borrowed the Latin root – retains the primary notion of cultivation or becoming cultured. This was also the older meaning of "civilization". A second concept to emerge was that of German *Kultur*, roughly the distinctive " 'higher' values or enlightenment of society." (Kroeber & Kluckhohn 1952, 35) At the time that Kroeber and Kluckhohn wrote their book, the word culture was still under construction. Different academic disciplines could not agree upon

a common meaning: “few explicit definitions were given. Usage was rather consistently vague, and denotation varied from very narrow to very broad.” (Kroeber & Kluckhohn 1952, 36.) Though anthropology, sociology and the other social sciences have come a long way since then, a “fully systematic scientific theory of man, society and culture has yet to be created” from the perspective of the process of globalization. Culture is a universal phenomenon explicit to man, and a process that can encompass small, medium or vast groups of peoples.

From the perspective of globalization, culture should be seen as the process of the cultivation of an intricate inner life that takes on form and meaning in social action on a global scale. Inner life in this context would refer to the knowledge of mankind as a single and inseparable species common to earth. This can be understood as the comprehension of the reality of man and his surroundings. From a global perspective, inner life could take on form and meaning only through action, specifically social action, though the importance of personal action cannot be underestimated. Though inner life refers to the knowledge of the perceived reality of mankind, it is in itself a process and it is the cultivation of this process and its realization in the concrete world through social action that gives us real global culture. From the perspective of globalization, the individual and humanity on a collective level, is being posed a challenge; to understand mankind’s interconnected reality on a universal level and cooperate to cultivate this diversity to serve humanity on a global scale.

The sharper the perception of reality, the more likely the result is a long lasting phenomenon instead of a temporary expression of a “sub”-culture. The perception of reality must change, evolve, fall or advance. Carrithers points out in *Why Humans Have Cultures*, that “...learning and mastery are very close to the underlying processes which make social variability possible. Think of the process of one generation following on from another. A marker of real understanding is being able to do something new with what is learned, not just to copy blindly what

others have done.” (Carrithers 1992, !). From this point it is easy to understand that culture and the understanding of culture is in a continuous state of fluctuation, change and development.

How people understand themselves and surroundings in an ever-changing world, which is increasingly inter-dependant and international, is the focus of this study. It is obvious that the world has become politically inter-dependant, but has this same inter-dependence been realized in people’s social actions and identities as well?

## **Identity**

Stuart Hall’s article “The Question of Cultural Identity” in *Modernity and its Futures*, speaks of the three subjects of identity; the enlightened subject, the sociological subject and the post-modern subject. The renaissance subject saw man as a coherent, rational, spiritual being, whose inner essence, his soul had it’s beginning at the time of conception. This inner self developed though it’s essence never changed. This inner self was “identical” with its outer manifestation and was understood to be man’s identity.

The sociological subject mirrored the increasing complexity of modern life. The inner self was in constant dialogue with other beings and developed through this dialogue. Identity developed through the interaction of the individual and society, the internal nucleus remained but now it was constantly adapting, always being “rewritten” in a continuous dialogue with external cultural worlds and identities. Hall sees the post-modern subject as fragmented; it’s neither coherent nor intact. The inner self consists of many different identities that are changing, retreating and developing all the time. Often they are in open conflict with one another and the “identification process” is becoming more diverse and problematic. This creates the “post-modern subject”, which doesn’t have a concrete, set identity. Hall sees that identity is

shaped through the ways we are represented and addressed by society around us (Hall 1999, 23.) Identity is not biologically defined but historically and socially constructed.

Identity came into anthropology relatively lately from the fields of philosophy and psychology. Anthropology has often linked identity to terms such as “ethics, “world view” and “values”. According to the Erikson-psychosocial tradition, identity is seen as the feeling of continuity, identification and acceptance that the individual experiences within a group. Kenneth Gergen has criticized this tradition, because it is hard to access, prove or realize another’s identity, since one cannot hope to penetrate into another’s head (Aro 1996, 38.) One can have different identities at different times in different places, which can cause conflicting identities and an increasing sense of insecurity. Hall feels that a complete, definite, coherent identity is sheer fantasy. This fact is unfortunately in conflict with the myth of a single, ethnically and nationally defined identity. This has and continues to confuse the individual’s identity construction; particularly those who (willingly or reluctantly) travel and live beyond the borders of easily defined national and ethnic borders. Identity always changes and fluctuates within an individual regardless of background and living circumstances. However for those who fall beyond the “traditional” borders of accepted identity it can be a special challenge to find coherence in ones self and surroundings. “The history of the world, rather than moving towards cultural homogenization, has demonstrated the opposite: a trend to cultural differentiation and cultural complexity. With these developments, each individual increasingly belongs to many cultures – people have multiple cultural identities. Increasingly, one goes through life picking up identities. In this sense, identity is never finished.” (King 1997, 16). The question is how to find coherence of self and of others in the process of a global intensification of interaction.

## World Citizenship

The term world citizenship came up in the interviews generally by the initiative of the informants. Globalization naturally includes such topics as economics, politics, identity and culture as well as citizenship. It is interesting to see that as a conceptual term world citizenship is often mentioned in connection to issues on globalization. So far, there is no one exact definition of world citizenship. It is contestable whether world citizenship is possible, not only from the political perspective, but from the individual and social perspectives as well. The term citizenship implies passports, passports imply nationality, nationality implies governance, governance implies an administrative order – from this perspective nothing short of global governance would make world citizenship possible from a political view.

Nationality and the nation state are only recent institutional constructions of legality and territory. Concepts such as cross-cultural and trans-national are matters that the individual has become conscious of through the construction of the idea of a “nationality”. Although people have always traveled and mingled with diverse ethnic groups, it is through the construction of a single and all-embracing “national identity” that people have been made aware of the “peculiarity” of trans-national and cross-cultural ties, relationships and identities. Dual citizenship is not unheard of, but is possible only under certain circumstances and within special agreements. Triple citizenship is even more rare, though not impossible. Modern Citizenship can be divided into civil, political and social rights of belonging, while diasporic and aboriginal citizenship can be seen as “examples of upward pressures on the modern nation-state and the subsequent challenges for an emerging post-national state” (Isin & Wood 1999, 47). Enging F. Isin and Patricia K. Wood discuss the different debates on citizenship in their book “Citizenship and Identity”. Cosmopolitan, cultural and radical citizenship are some of the new forms of citizenship being discussed, all

of which are a redistribution and re-representation of the former notions of citizenship. Although citizenship is more a concept of status than identity, citizenship finds expression in juridical and legal norms that define the rights of the members of a certain polity, while identity on the other hand, can be seen as an index of recognized attributes and properties that distinguish or represent the individuals of a certain group (Isin & Wood 1999, 19.) Isin and Wood point out that: “The affinity between citizenship and identity is that they are both group markers. The former carries legal weight, while the latter carries social and cultural weight” (Isin & Wood 1999, 20). It would seem that there is an increasing desire to unite the legal and socio-cultural forms of belonging into one another. This may manifest itself as sub-cultural and ethnic movements, or just as statements that emphasize local identity over national identity. This is discussed further in Part Two in the chapter on Local Identity and the Myth of the Nation State.

On globalization and cosmopolitan citizenship, Isis and Wood point out that: “Globalization cuts both ways. While it may be weakening the nation-state, it is also opening up new spaces for groups to enact new types of politics. Moreover, it is making it possible to raise new claims at the level of the nation-state” (Isin & Wood 1999, 156). In reality the nation-state is not capable of answering these claims alone. Isis and Wood state that: “Whether or not a cosmopolitan virtue will prevail over territorial claims to sovereignty will determine the types of cosmopolitan political regimes and arrangements that will arise in the next few decades” (Isin & Wood 1999, 157). The dialogue on globalization is a good and natural forum for the discussion of such matters as identity and citizenship.

Concern for the well-being of not just ones own people, but the people of the world, interest beyond ones own immediate environment and concern for current social issues on a holistic level are just some of the values spoken of and implemented in the attitudes and actions of the informants. This mentality comes close to being a world citizenship

mentality. World citizenship need not obviously be solely political in nature, it could be considered to be a way of thinking, viewing and seeing one's surroundings and current events from a personal perspective. Hannerz describes cosmopolitanism as being "a perspective, a state of mind" (Featherstone 1990, 238), while researchers such as Roland Robertson speak of the "crystallization of the entire world as a single place", of the emergence of the "global-human condition" and, "the consciousness of the globe as such." (King 1997, 11). On the whole, those who speak of a "world citizenship" from a realistic perspective view it as a way of thinking, a way of perceiving one's surroundings and the reality of humankind on a global level. Margaret T. Tuomi defines world citizenship in her book *Human Dignity in the Learning Environment* as: "the inclusiveness of all humankind and a concern and loyalty for the well-being of the whole planet. Essentially World Citizenship means seeing oneself as a citizen of the whole planet with all the rights and obligations inherent therein. It is defined as patriotism towards one's own country, together with service to humankind. World Citizenship is also meant to imply a loyalty and commitment to appreciating and working to solve the problems of all the people of the world in an equitable and just way." (Tuomi 2001, 55). These thoughts are discussed in more detail in Part One, chapters on *Broadening of Understanding* and *The World Comes Home*.

### **3. Methodology and Data Collection**

This chapter discusses the choice of the research strategy and stages of the acquisition, organization, translation and analysis of the research material. I explain how the method of hermeneutical analysis and interpretation was used in the research material. There is an overview of the backgrounds of the people who were interviewed to help give a picture of the people, who they are and what they have done, where they have been and why. There is also a brief overview of the

researcher's background and how it has affected the choosing of the research topic.

## **Qualitative Research**

I chose to do a qualitative study on globalization using interviewing as the mode of gathering research material. In the beginning of the research it seemed obvious that a quantitative study would have served a more statistical purpose. I was more interested in getting close to the individuals perspective, something that can only happen when given the time and space afforded in a qualitative research. I noticed when reading Wolcotts book on Transforming Qualitative Data, that indeed it would have been wise to listen to my first initiative on doing only a couple of in-depth interviews on the topic: "I note a tendency to increase the scale, rather than the depth, whenever the question of sample size is raised among qualitative researchers. Increasing the number of cases serves only to reduce proportionately the attention that can be given to any one of them" (Wolcott 1994, 181-2).

It could have been more rewarding to have concentrated on a few interviews with the same people rather than trying both at the same time to do an in-depth and broad study on cultural globalization. "The time for collecting data from multiple cases comes with the need to ascertain frequencies and distributions. That is when qualitative approaches must give way to quantitative ones. Each has a contribution to make. Case studies and in-depth fieldwork are designed to shed light on a phenomenon; they are inefficient ways to conduct surveys. The perceptive fieldworker must be able to discern pattern, range, and variation, but distributions are best ascertained in ways other than encouraging qualitative researchers to dabble in comparison or to confuse casual comparisons with controlled ones." (Wolcott 1994, 182). Though Hirsjärvi and Hurme show that it is possible and sometimes feasible to combine qualitative and quantitative research methods

depending upon the discipline and theme in question (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 28), they go on to state that this type of combination of research strategies usually are more time consuming, expensive and broad, making publishing in journals and newspapers less likely. They also point out that usually the researcher is stronger in one or the other of the research methods (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 33.) In spite of the indecisiveness in the conduction of the interviews, I hope to have gleaned some insights of interest in spite of the failure to stay strictly within the borders of a qualitative research.

H. Russell Bernard states that: "Qualitative analysis is the search for patterns in data and for ideas that help explain the existence of those patterns" (Bernard 1989, 319). He goes on to say that "Qualitative data analysis depends heavily on the presentation of selected anecdotes and comments from informants that lead the reader to understand what took [the researcher] months to figure out" (Bernard 1989, 322). This research leans heavily on what the informants had to say on the topics, while the structure of the quotes lead the reader to understand why the researcher has chosen to interpret the final conclusions in a certain way.

I chose not to use any forms of electronic media, such as the Internet or email for data collection. Email was confined strictly to the role of contact making. In this sense the use of electronic mail was rewarding, since it would seem to be a less intrusive way of initiating first contact with people whom one doesn't know. The person being contacted has more time to consider the research proposal than they would during a phone call, there is time to make polite declines or if they so choose they can ignore the email without losing face. I wanted to refrain from virtual reality constructions and discussions of culture. I preferred to be in actual visual and physical contact with the informants and maintain a grass root take on the questions of cultural globalization. The Internet is loaded with information on globalization, forums for world citizens and sights for globetrotters, but a more concrete and rational view was

wanted for this study. In the future it would be very interesting to do an in-depth study on the concepts of cultural globalization, civilization and identity through Internet discussion groups and other virtual reality forums.

## **Translations**

The interviews were conducted in the native language of the informants, Finnish. After the initial analysis and organization of the structure of the themes, I had the results translated into English. This was not an easy process, and I had the help of an English student. The translations had to be gleaned over many times, to try to maintain the original message without losing fluent readability. Though the translation of the interviews did not change the actual structure of the analysis, a great deal of original expression was lost in the translation. Though I have been aware of this fact for some time, the actual frustration of not being able to find a proper translation for words such as “sisu” and “pulla”, or expressions such as “henkeen ja vereen” which are Finnish in their essence, was at times overwhelmingly frustrating. In some cases I have chosen not to translate certain words since it would have tampered with the informant’s original meaning, making it less what the informant has said and more what the researcher is saying.

The translation took about two weeks to finish, the text had already been “tidied” during the first transcription from tape to text and was again tidied after the English translations were complete. I have tried to make the quotes sound like natural English instead of Finnish spoken English, since this would have served only to confuse the reader.

Each interview is unique, since each interviewee is an individual. The individual uniqueness and distinctive flare of the informants cannot be done justice in a study in which the themes are categorized in the analysis. I feel that to a certain degree, the research failed to maintain a

strictly qualitative approach in its methodology, which limits time for the comprehensive description of the individual uniqueness of the interviewees even more. It would have been wise to limit the research sampling and returned to the same sample to do a more in-depth investigation of it. If followed closely the different personalities of the informants can be seen in the replies of the interviews, which brings an extra flare to the subjects.

### **Analysis and Interpretation of the Interviews**

The first step in the analysis was reading through the accumulated material. The first reading helped in getting re-acquainted with the interviews. After reading through the material for the third time, it became clear that for the analysis a more practical arrangement was needed. Reading through Fetterman's book "Ethnography Step by Step" helped in determining what type of method to use in organizing and analyzing the research material. The question of the establishment of reliability and validity was approached from Roger Sanjek's book "Fieldnotes". It is obvious that it is difficult to test the reliability of an ethnographic report, but the validity can be "assessed according to three canons: theoretical candor, the ethnographer's path, and fieldnote evidence" (Sanjek 1990, 395). Sanjek states that reliability exists to show integrity or ingenuity, while validity is assessed through the meaning and purpose that theoretical candor brings, the recounting of the fieldworkers research "networking" and the evidence that the disclosure of the fieldnotes brings. The ethnographer's path is discussed in the chapter on Interviewee's Background and the fieldnote evidence is presented extensively in Parts I-III of the Results of the Study. The theoretical framework is returned to in the final chapter on Conclusions.

Mind mapping was the first step in organizing the research material and it proved to be the most convenient method in giving a concrete view of

the actual topics and sub-topics of the interviews. It was during this process that the themes arose and chapters began to find shape and form. I decided to cut the interviews according to the themes and topics arising. Placing the excerpts on an improvised foot-by-foot cardboard platform, I was able to divide, mix and re-arrange the topics and themes into piles. Arrows were drawn from one theme to the next to help conceptualize how the themes were related to one another. It became clear that based on the bulk of the research material, three major categories were discernable that had direct impact on the research question. I divided these into three "Parts" and titled them: Part One: Globalization, Part Two: Identity and Adjustment to Globalization and Part Three: "Side Effects". Under each Part I have gathered excerpts from key words of the interviews. At times this was challenging, since the flow of thought is impossible to sever or control. Often the same sentence had all the major key words, which made placing the excerpt under one theme in a Part very difficult. Due to this, one may notice that the code of the excerpt (for example code number (77)) can be found in more than one place under different themes. A major part of the analyzing process took place during the organization of the mind map and the skeleton structure of the research results began to materialize.

This preliminary work was part of the analyzing process. A hermeneutical approach seemed to be the most natural way of handling the accumulating information. Although originally I had not chosen a specific method of analysis, my personal approach to the research material seemed to come close in many aspects to that of the hermeneutical method of analyzing text and understanding meaning.

Hermeneutics has its roots in foundationalism, which was the view that knowledge could be constructed or built upon fragments of earlier "infallible" knowledge. Descartes believed that if a clear, unhampered understanding of knowledge was possible, that foundation could be built upon to create a better understanding of truth and reality. However foundationalism lost popularity with the criticism that knowledge cannot

be constructed from “nothing”, and the increasing appreciation of the uncertainty and contingency of perceived reality. A process called the “hermeneutical cycle” was a response to the idea of an absolute unchangeable knowledge. “Hermeneutic” is from the Greek “hermêneuô”, to interpret or translate. Originally it was connected to the interpretation of religious texts, but developed into the meaning of the practice and process of interpretation. The hermeneutic cycle refers to the process of returning to the source of study to understand and interpret meaning and reality in new ways. “...Hermeneutics represents not so much a highly honed, well-established theory of understanding or a long-standing, well-defined tradition of philosophy as it does a family of concerns and critical perspectives that is just beginning to emerge as a program of thought and research. Hermeneutical theories of understanding argue that all human understanding is never ‘without words’ and never ‘outside time.’” (Wachterhauser 1986, 3). As the research progressed into written form, the discourse between the interviewer and interviewee became a text through transcription, a written work. Both speech and writing are “alternative and legitimate modes of the realization of discourse”, but writing involves characteristics that distance the text from the discourse (Ricoeur 1982, 13). Although in a discourse situation the interviewee’s intention and meaning often overlap, in the written text this possibility is absent and there is no way to return to the situation to verify the meaning that the interviewer has given in the transcription.

The approach to the analysis and interpretation of the research material was to return to the original material as often as possible, while bearing in mind that there are certain fundamental truths to each subject matter in spite of the challenges posed by discourse and text interpretation. The aim has been to balance between an interpretive approach and the truth of reality. Just as physical laws of nature govern the material world, so also do certain laws of reality govern the more contingent world of human science and action. Through the accumulation of information, interdisciplinary dialogue and establishment of agreed upon

facts of reality, the understanding of knowledge and truth evolves and develops. Unfortunately truth is often seen strictly as something subjective, never definite nor absolute and reality only as individual interpretation which provides no means for the establishment of knowledge. Hirsjärvi, Remes and Sajavaara point out in their book "Tutki ja Kirjoita", how the researcher, the informant and the reader all will have their own views and interpretations on the research material (Hirsjärvi, Remes & Sajavaara 1997, 221.) Hopefully enough room has been left for differing interpretations, without being spineless towards the necessity of agreed upon knowledge.

### **Interviewees Background**

The interviews were conducted during the late spring of 2001 and early autumn of 2001. Initially a newspaper add was run in the Jyväskylän University's student paper "Jylkkäri". The add boldly stated: "Looking for open minded students for cultural gradu". The original draft for the add had been more reserved. However, it immediately brought two replies via email. Dates were set, one per week, allowing time to transcribe the interviews from tape recorder to paper and make adjustments to the questions. The interviews were recorded with a handy pocket sized tape recorder. The first two interviews took place at Café Elonen, the next two were recorded one at the informants workplace and the other at the informants home. One interview was done at the researcher's home since it was more convenient for the informant to meet there. The last interview to be done took place later in the autumn and was recorded at the University Library. Talking with the interviewees turned out to be easy, natural and fun. The first response to the newspaper add came from a young English student at the University of Jyväskylä who's first long-term trip was to England in 1998 for a year of work and language practice. The second reply came from a graduate of Russian philology and international politics at the Universities of Kouvola and Tampere. Her first long-term trip was to the Soviet Union in 1991. What

was initially only meant to be a three month language course ended up turning into nearly six years of living abroad in Russia and the Baltic's.

The other interviews happened through accident and good luck. A neighbor of ours in the Jyväskylä University Student Village had lived abroad for five years. We met at the local playground where our children played together and we talked about our travels. She readily agreed to be interviewed for the topic of cultural globalization. She is currently finishing her master's studies in physical therapy at the University of Jyväskylä, but at the time of her travels she worked as a contract physical therapist in the USA, Michigan and Dallas.

This brought to closure the first three interviews. During the summer months I transcribed the interviews, but soon felt it time to look for a few more people willing to discuss the topic of globalization from the perspective of their travels. I consulted with a researcher at the Jyväskylä University who was able to suggest a few people who might be interested in the topic. I contacted a married couple who have both traveled extensively for long and short term periods. Their academic background is in psychology. As a child the wife lived in Brazil from the age of 11 to 13. This time has left a strong impression on her, and she became an eager traveler, especially to Africa, during her student years. The husband has also traveled in Africa, though for short periods only. During his student years he lived abroad in Holland for a year, but he continues to travel often due of work. These contacts were more awkward to initiate, since there was no previous connection involved. I had to contact the couple "out of the blue" and was not certain whether the topic was going to truly interest them. In this case the use of email felt like a less intrusive and rude way to initiate contact. The interviews went well and I feel that an important perspective was achieved exactly because of the freshness and unfamiliarity of the situation: it was valuable to speak with people whose orientation had not earlier been concerned with globalization. These two interviews were transcribed within a short time, after which I printed out all 5 of the nearly 1.5 hour

interviews, which made about 60 pages of transcriptions. Reading through the interviews, I was able to re-live the situations, hear the answers and even see the expressions and body language of the people. Having this chance to hear what people have to say on globalization, culture and identity was invigorating and I would have enjoyed having more time to spend discussing these current issues.

The last interview to be done was in late autumn of 2001. In class, I met a student who had lived in Africa for 8 years. He was interested in my topic and we agreed to arrange a time for an interview. This was exiting, since I had been able to speak with people who have traveled in Europe, the United States, South America and Africa. It would have been interesting to have gathered an even broader scope, from Asia and the Middle East and Australia, but my resources would not have allowed such a vast study. His family moved to Kenya on missionary work when he was a child. He grew up there, went through the educational system and graduated from High School before moving back to Finland to start his studies at University. His major is in political science with a minor in journalism. With this last interview I felt I had gathered a fair amount of data on a relatively broad scale, representing different academic backgrounds, both men and women of different ages.

After the interviews had been transcribed, I used the Microsoft Word 97 program to number each paragraph of each interview. The quotation numbers in parentheses correspond with the original transcription paragraph numbers. I have chosen to refer to the informants according to their first and last name initials and have numbered them according to the order in which the interviews were done. None of the informants felt a great need for anonymity, but this mode of reference felt appropriate.

## The Researchers Background

A short description of the researcher's first truly memorable trip may help in explaining the interest in cultural globalization. I grew up in North Carolina, USA. When I was seven, my mother moved to Finland in 1981 to teach English at local schools and Universities. We traveled whenever finances allowed it and sometimes even when they didn't. One of the most memorable trips we did was to Nigeria. My Mother was convinced I should get to know my fathers side of the family and so in June 1987 we boarded Finnair to Moscow and the following day flew with Aeroflot from Moscow to Lagos via Libya. I had just turned thirteen, had had no previous contact with Africa, a developing country or my family. I was nervous and unhappy being thrust into such an unfamiliar situation. When the plane landed at the Lagos airport, the Nigerian passengers clapped and sang and friendly handshakes were showered on the pilots, something quite unheard of on Finnish airplanes. Soon I was getting off the plane. Instead of experiencing staggering heat and blazing sun the air was warm, rich and rainy, full of the smells of tropical rainforest, ripe fruit and roasting peanuts (yes, even at the airport!). Walking through the airport full of beautiful, rich, vibrant colors and people my spirits rose. By the time I reached the gate and saw my family whom I had never met before in my life, waiting with happy and anxious faces, I had lost nearly all my anxiety. The two weeks spent with warm and unreserved people had a tremendous effect on me. I was amazed by the similarities and intrigued by the differences. After that, I became an eager traveler and enjoyed meeting and getting to know different people.

The experiences of living abroad and traveling abroad have influenced my interest in current issues concerning culture on a global scale. I have been lucky, that when traveling I often find myself dependant on the knowledge and help of the local people of the country. The trip to Nigeria was an experience that came at a very good time; at thirteen I

was old enough to understand what was going on, but young enough not to have the typical prejudices that unfortunately so often come with age. It is a highly impressionable age, a time when most youth are unconsciously making major choices on their identity and the construction of their understanding of their surroundings. If we were to have visited Tenerife, stayed at a hotel and gone sight seeing by taxi, I doubt the trip would have left a very great impression on my identity. Carting water to the bathtub, picking up live chickens for dinner and visiting the family patriarch were real, honest, cultural experiences that sparked an interest for others beyond my own immediate local, national or cultural surroundings. Many of the things the informants talked about I could recognize as having experienced at one time or another, particularly thoughts on identity and belonging, cross-border family ties and feelings on the polarization of different spheres of life on a global scale.

#### **4. Results of the Study**

Ulf Hannerz boldly states in his article on “Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture” that: “There is now a world culture, but we had better make sure that we understand what this means. It is marked by an organization of diversity rather than by a replication of uniformity. No total homogenization of systems of meaning and expressions has occurred, nor does it appear likely that there will be one any time soon. But the world has become one network of social relationships, and between its different regions there is a flow of meanings as well as of people and goods.” (Featherstone 1990, 237). I found Hannerz’s article very interesting in light of the interviews. Hannerz discusses questions on globalization, world culture and cosmopolitanism from the view of travelers. His article is “an exploration of cosmopolitanism as a perspective, a state of mind, or – to take a more processual view – a mode of managing meaning” (Featherstone 1990, 238). Hannerz describes two types of cosmopolitans, those with “an orientation, a

willingness to engage with the Other” and those with “a state of readiness, a personal ability to make one’s way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting and reflecting” (Featherstone 1990, 239).

The article describes different types of travelers; businessmen and expatriates who would rather have stayed home, tourists who are more interested in culture as a “spectator sport” than actually having real experiences with the local culture and cosmopolitans who are looking for an opportunity to immerse themselves in other cultures. Undoubtedly there could be and are many more types of travelers and most likely no person is one “type” of traveler (expatriate/tourist/cosmopolitan) all the time. I found it intriguing to see how the results of the interviews, the answers and opinions on traveling, identity, culture, globalization and world citizenship correlated in many ways with Hannerz’s thoughts. Based upon the answers given by the interviewees, it would seem that some of the time, many of the interviewees alternated between “a willingness to engage with the other” and “a personal ability to make one’s way into other cultures” (Featherstone 1990, 239.) There also could be seen variations between being ‘eager cosmopolitans’, ‘homesick businessmen’ and ‘sun loving tourists’.

A more in depth analysis of results will come with the following chapters. I have left the arena of categorizing more to the discretion of the individual reader. There will be no official categorization of the interviewees by the researcher, since it is impossible to fully know and understand the thoughts and feelings of another person during a lifetime, not to mention a 90-minute interview efficiently enough to be able to categorize them.

## Part I: Globalization

Part one on Globalization deals mainly with topics connected with definitions and descriptions of globalization, positive and negative feelings towards global developments, analogies to globalization, comparison of globalization from a Finnish / foreign view and the shift of the perception of speed and space. Also the themes on feelings on traveling and how it has expanded the understanding of the world and of global events and brought the world into closer contact are combined in this part. I feel that particularly the chapters on Experience and Adventure, Broadening of Understanding and The World Comes Home are exiting glimpses into a budding of a cultivated consciousness of the world.

TA5: I see globalization more as a common knowledge, a common civilization. Maybe I'm just not interested in economy! (77)

Globalization is not often seen as part of a process of becoming 'civilized', or as a civilization process. Usually it is portrayed solely as an unequal economic development causing polarization between peripheries and social sectors. Through defining globalization through an accumulation of "common knowledge" it would be natural to conclude that this common knowledge should also be seen as a "common civilization".

MW3: ...I see globalization as the development of technology and through that the development of different things. Even with TV and all 12 channels you see what is happening in other countries, TV producers have more influence than 50 years ago. (88) ...It's a prerequisite of globalization. (90)

Generally the informants saw globalization either as technological development or as economic expansion.

TA5: I don't think it has anything to do with economy. I think it has more to do with the Internet or something, with the flow of information. If I could define the word globalization, it would mean that people become more and more aware of what it is like in other parts of the world. Information is moving, ideas are moving and at the same time differences shrink - or then differences begin to cause anxiety. (77)

Many of the informants' defined globalization as the development of technology, computer networks, commercialism and information flow. The flow of information on global events and social and economic conditions of different areas of the world has helped to bring people into closer contact with one another. The strict borders of "Us" and "Other" have begun to crumble. Indirectly the media is seen as having tremendous influence over what images are fed to the public, what becomes popular and what is seen as dangerous or ambiguous.

KT6: It's mainly an economic view; the origins are in the economics of society, worldwide. In my opinion, globalization is exactly economic globalization. (53)

Some saw globalization also as an economic and commercial intensification of interaction and institutions and as a "cultural integration" and the birth of "global sub-cultures":

MA4: I've basically thought of globalization as an economic, financial thing but maybe I've also thought of it as a kind of cultural integration. (59) In a sense life is a culture of post-modernity, there are many different subcultures and in a way the subcultures are global. I think globalization has many tiresome aspects; I can't stand these Pokemons and that kind of stuff, which may be important to children but are so shamelessly commercial and marketed as such. These are the most disagreeable aspects of cultural globalization, though it is financial. I

don't know if the Pokemons or some Disney stuff can even be seen as culture or whether it's economics. (61)

A very interesting definition of globalization was one that was explained through the terms of social development, rather than the more common terms of technology and economy:

SK1: I think it means that people see the connections of the entirety, the globe is seen as a whole and one isn't continually and obsessively self-centered. In practice globalization is a social development just like the European Union and other similar economic developments, which are tied to social development and interaction. People's mentality change and they see this new way and their conception of the world becomes wider. (185) It's a process with a certain direction, though there are contradictory processes. But the whole "construction" moves in a certain direction. (199)

It is interesting to see how the term "contradictory processes" was used to depict how globalization may on the one hand bring benefits while on the other hand it causes setbacks in development. "Processes" refers to the fact that globalization is not a process, but a multitude of processes which confuse the participants and make understanding what is actually happening challenging.

LK2: Globalization, what is it...? (14) I was just thinking about what it actually is ... I wonder whether internationalization and globalization is the same thing? If I think about internationalization, then trading with Sweden, for example is international, but is it global? Or how about taking a ship to Sweden? (48)

This is a good question to ask: is indeed globalization the same as internationalization? Reading through literature on globalization it became clear that though there is still some debate on these two terms, globalization refers to things on a worldwide level, while

internationalization mainly deals with intra-national things, agreements, events and happenings between two or more countries. As the social and political connections between nations and peoples intensify, it is becoming increasingly apparent that few developments can be considered to have little or no effect on a global scale.

### Control over Globalization

In a majority of the interviews, the discussion moved into trying to grasp the process of globalization and its effects on one's self and other people. All of the informants more or less felt "swept" away by the process of globalization, but attitudes towards that feeling varied from resignation and acceptance to an open helplessness.

LK2: ...is this world just becoming a place where someone else can dictate the terms, say this is good, give the arguments "here they are, choose me anyway, you have no choice, I'll make you take that direction in any case". On the other hand, are people curious and brave by nature, is there a desire to experience? Could this be transferred to our own country where it could develop into something, a kind of exchange of information and experiences? And how could one prevent it? There is no way I guess; somehow it just feels that the wheels just keep on turning. (131)

Often macro-level changes are experienced as something beyond the individuals reach. In the following quote, no stand is taken on the value or lack of value of globalization; it is simply seen as the 'way of things', as a neutral process in which the individual is unable to influence its progress:

MW3: It's the kind of thing you can't do anything about, it exists in any case and it progresses all the time. I can't estimate its worth; I think it's quite neutral. (66)

KT6: Yes, I think globalization is an inevitable development; you can't do anything about it anymore. (55)

Does the word "anymore" imply in this context that at one time something could have been done about globalization? "Anymore" could be considered to imply "it's too late" and to make do with what is.

TA5: I think that it is a phenomenon that just exists and comes – we're all more and more part of one and the same thing. But as far as influencing things, I think you can change the way things develop, exactly through children, through what you choose to teach them. (79)

The above quote I find particularly encouraging; the 'inevitable' process of globalization is seen as an interconnection and dependency upon one another. A very positive view is taken with the possibility of being an active part of globalization. Child education is a concrete, tangible thing most any individual can be a part of; the effects can be great and most of all, long lasting. Educated children will be able to bring up educated children. Few efforts have the potential to be as self-duplicating and rewarding. Throughout the interviews this was often mentioned by those informants who were parents, as the easiest way and, in some cases, the only way of having a say in the globalization process.

MW3: I think it's something that can be affected... I suppose a person's conception of the world is greatly affected by how one sees one's own possibilities in changing things. If one believes fatalistically that what happens just happens and one can't do anything about it, then probably --- one feels less able to control these things. But on the other hand, if one has a typical individualistic Yankee attitude, then it's like I can, I'm able and I will! Then you see better the possibilities to change things. I'm more of a fatalist who doesn't believe - but of course you can influence things. For example, if "we don't use the Internet in our family,

period!” then you’re not open to the experience, or “we won’t buy a TV, period!” Well, then you’re not a part of this globalization process, even though you can’t prevent it. I suppose one’s own view and understanding of the matter directs one’s behavior, so one can be quite active in taking action either for or against if you believe it’s useful. (70)

The above quote describes through cultural comparison how great an effect individuals may or may not have on global developments.

MA4: You can’t change those things alone, there are few things a person can do, even at the local level. In your own life, you can try and pick the raisins from a pulla, teach your kids good things, teach them to avoid bad things, so it begins from small actions. I’m not terribly stressed even though I can’t influence globalization. I suppose it’s self-evident, but I think you can do something small in your own life. (97)

Again individual initiative on a grassroots level is brought forth in the thought of teaching children good values. On the one hand it is seen that one can effect things, but in the following sentence the individual’s incapacity to influence globalization is stated, which is yet again counteracted by the thought of being able to do “something small”.

There seems to be a cautious mentality discernable in the interviews. Few felt that there was truly something concrete they could do or even should do concerning global processes. Confidence in knowing what can be done and knowing how to do it is not common. Knowledge of one’s capacities and capabilities can be interpreted as overconfidence in one’s abilities or seen as a type of arrogance. It is better to be cautious and ‘humble’ and to know your place among things. On the other hand this mentality could be interpreted as being a certain type of realisticness, but on the other hand it can paralyze the individual’s courage to be involved with things that are commonly seen as too ‘big’. Globalization is seen as a ‘big’ thing, the individual’s helplessness to be an active and effective part of such a huge ‘mass’ is hopeless. On the

other hand there are contradicting feelings of impotence and resilience, a refusal to take things 'lying down'. Most of the interviews mirror forth these competing feelings. A "typical Yankee individualistic attitude" of "I can, am able and will" combined with a solid and realistic understanding of global developments could produce a more optimistic attitude and realistic understanding of the possibilities among the public.

### Globalization and the European Union

Some of the interviewees used the European Union as an analogy and example of the process of globalization in a comparative manner:

LK2: In a way, Finns were well prepared, our foundation is so stable. EU propaganda started very early, people were given time to think and consider joining. If the EU can be considered as part of the process of globalization. People are given more time to consider things and to think about where we're going. (125)

Through cultural comparison global processes are more easily grasped:

LK2: Maybe Finland also has been an isolated country especially concerning affairs and people, but now all kinds of barriers have fallen down. It may be because the EU has made it easier for things to move around, or technology and traveling move faster. And the Nokia's and others are totally international and multinational and don't even have a home country anymore. (101)

The following informant identifies the conflict of advantages and disadvantages of any process:

MW3: It brings both good and bad things. It's a bit like joining the European Union. I can't estimate its value; there are both advantages and disadvantages.

This informant points out how often countries and peoples are put in difficult situations and forced to make hard decisions when it comes to global developments:

LK2: Lithuania is at a tie on whether or not to join the EU but, on the other hand they don't have anything else, they definitely want to join. That too mainly comes from "the top", they absolutely want to become a member of the EU since they have no alternatives, they have to get in so they can cope. Somehow it doesn't really seem genuine that the country is integrated according to EU norms, they make similar laws though the country has been lagging behind, they establish similar norms and structures as Germany's without thinking whether they'll work in that society, but in principal they then correspond with EU norms and the country will be eligible for the EU. They would be in then, but is that right either? (131)

This same concern could be applied, for example, in the question of the globalization of economic systems and the effect it has on different areas and peoples of the world. Is it right that countries are forced into political uniformity, but on the other hand can cooperation take place unless there are common institutions and methods of organization? The European Union could be seen as an analogy to globalization, as a way of predicting what types of problems and challenges nation states may be facing with global developments.

### Need for Values

The values debate I divided into two separate parts based on the general feelings of the informants. Throughout the interviews repeatedly thoughts on the threat of globalization were voiced. The value's debate has been going on for quite a few years now. It is hard to pin point where and when the debate on value's exactly began, for religious history and past conflicts on ideology, theology and politics could all be

considered to be part of a debate on values. In recent history, values have been discussed and debated in political circles, non-governmental organizations, activist groups and individual forums. One of the most prominent arenas for the discussion on values has been United Nations conventions, forums and summits. Although values, just as morals and ethics, are one of the major building blocks for societies and cultures around the world, participants of these forums have found it challenging to attain consensus in discussions concerning global values. Doctor Margaret T. Tuomi discusses the challenge that the value's debate poses: "In cross-cultural contacts, the ability to recognize common principles expressed in a variety of ways is a valuable skill." She goes on to state, that: "principles -" should be "recognizable as the same values as their own society holds dear" (Tuomi, 2001, 26). Though Tuomi is speaking of school environments, the demand for creating a values base for the interaction of diverse peoples is as challenging in the classroom as on an international arena.

TA5: Globalization needs values. It must be guided! (89) Values are exactly what are needed. That may have been what was worrying me, I mean that the values that are the basis of this progressive process are not the values I myself would support, it seems to progress only on the conditions of the rich countries. In reality poor countries can't appreciate themselves and even if they could they wouldn't be able to defend themselves in this situation. (83)

It was interesting to see in the interviews how the problem of the lack of values and the need for values were interloped, people had controversial feelings on values, but on the other hand felt that they were necessary. There seems to be a general unspoken agreement on what values should be maintained, but an underlying doubt as to the possible implementation of the values seems to keep the informants cautious in their opinions, which shows as a conflict between hopefulness and doubtfulness.

KT6: I think we need values in this game. For example there are plans to tax stock jobbing (fraud) in benefit of the country of production. This is quite a good principle, one more value, but more of them are needed. (55)

In spite of some pessimism, many informants were adamant on the need for globally compatible and agreed upon values. Others pointed out how globalization changes many moral values, maybe for the better or worse:

MW3: It changes values, if it's allowed, for example it will broaden and loosen moral values. (82)

The dilemma on the debate of the establishment of globally compatible values was raised by many of the informants:

MA4: I don't know who'd dictate the values, according to whose values would this happen and would it necessarily be good...? I think pluralism is important, though the word is a bit stupid, but it would be important to uphold the possibility of making choices, you could choose whether to have an American burger or an Armenian dish. I don't know how we can uphold this but there certainly are ways to do it, politics are about dictating values, right? (99)

### Threats and Lack of Values

Dividing this topic into two separate chapters and comparing them with one another showed how little was said on exactly what values are needed, the types of values and how these values could be established. It was much easier to identify the threats caused by the deficit of values; economic polarization of rich and poor, cultural disintegration, commercialism and the threat of cultural uniformity. The values discussion had a tendency of being problem oriented and descriptive.

MA4: I don't know who'd dictate the values, according to whose values this would happen and I don't know whether it would necessarily be a good thing. (99)

An interesting look into the values debate in Russia came up:

LK2: I think Russia is somehow in a value crisis, it definitely has nothing and when I think about how everything in Finland was built little by little during the past fifty years after the Second World War and where we are now... there, in ten years they develop from the gramophone to amazing equipment, it's a terrible leap. Materialistic values are more important there, whether I'm going to have bread today is more important than whether this is permanent and whether it's based on good values, on sustainable development. It's important to think about our possible common values: can globalization be based on something. All countries move at different paces, structures of different societies work differently; religion has a lot of power... (50)

In spite of partial pessimism, the informants' thoughts on the lack of values is a sure indicator that the topic was experienced as important and timely.

TA5: A disadvantage will be the idealization of certain countries and cultures, there are so many threats – I see too many threats, peoples disappearing and hurting themselves and their cultures by rushing head on into changes. If I hadn't traveled around I would be more ready, more open to new things, new influences. Maybe I've become more cautious. (81)

The informant points out that lack of values is a threat to cultural diversity particularly for developing countries. Globally agreed upon values would hopefully guarantee the continued existence of local and cultural diversity:

TA5: I haven't thought a lot about what it means but if I had time, I'd be interested in finding out what kind of threat this imposes to developing countries. I see it as a threat specifically for the developing countries. Money comes and money goes, but what I'm worried about is disappearance of the uniqueness of cultures. Information should come hand in hand with respect for your own culture. I'm afraid this won't happen in poor countries, they'll just keep adopting everything from other countries without considering whether it suits them or not. (77) There's also the danger of inequality within the culture, some benefit while others suffer. I somehow feel that it's very elitist. Some can "afford it", others can't. (91)

There is an uneven direction to the flow of globalization. There are unequal relations of cultural power between the 'West' and the rest of the world:

KT6: Globalization is useful – for westerners. Because of it the standard of living rises. A good example of this is international trade. Supranational companies, who operate in several countries, are expressly a product of globalization. If Nike produces tennies in Bangladesh by child labor it benefits us 'cause we can buy cheap shoes. But the child who works long days in that factory on the other side of the world doesn't benefit from globalization. Its work, but the child won't gain anything from it. It benefits us, and the owner of the company or the stockholders, but for some critical thinkers, most westerners see globalization as a kind of "countries-come-closer-to-each-other" phenomenon or "the-poor-come-closer-to-the-rich" thing, while in reality the rich grow away from the poor. (51)

Unbridled and uncontrolled economic growth was also seen as a true threat of globalization, due to its lack of a value bases upon which to orientate:

MA4: It really has these both sides and, somehow, I'm afraid that when you think about which of them is economically more efficient and productive, then of course it's uniformity. I think it will end in a fiasco. The fact that money and the making of money determine what kind of things will be successful is more frightening than the possibilities. (97)

There is no politically binding, official arena for the establishment of values or the conduction of the affairs of people. It is obvious that one of the reasons why globalization is seen as such a controversial matter is that there is no common agreement on behavioral norms, political and economic laws and means for the maintenance of security among nation states or even within nation states. There should be means for the agreement upon certain principles to which people can commit to, regardless of national, cultural or religious backgrounds. Indeed it would seem that many people would be ready to commit themselves to certain principles, but as it came out in the interviews, it is challenging to establish values and intimidating to commit to them.

### Comparing Globalization Abroad and at Home

I asked the informants to describe what kinds of differences came to mind when thinking of globalization from their own national background and comparing it to their experiences abroad. The replies were very different, based on what part of the world the travelers had been in. The following informant lived in Russia for nearly five years, and her description of the effects of globalization and the vacuum that the fall of communist ideology caused in the former Soviet Republic remind one of a rocky road:

LK2: If we compare this with Russia, everything happens fast, people never have time to plan and changes happen continuously! In a way, the individual has no possibility to choose. People don't know what's good or what's bad, or what's good for me and what's good for society.

Often, quite likely, they are in conflict. Compared to that we have order. We have freedom of speech, we exchange thoughts and even argue, but there they don't have any direction. That leads to a state of mind of "I'm living here and I don't care what happens to this country". Russia has always collapsed time and again. Somehow Finland follows a safe path of globalization. Out there it is rather rocky. (125)

In the cultural comparison of the ex-Soviet Union, globalization was identified as causing more instability, particularly with values:

LK2: But if we compare this with the old Soviet Union which wasn't a global state, and think of where the boundaries have gone, and how absolutely everything flows over borders, people, things, money, absolutely everything – thoughts, ideas, values, everything. And actually, ideology was terribly strong there but when people found out it's totally false, what replaces it? What does globalization cause there, where do they get stable values? (48)

Time compression was identified as speed blindness in building Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The same argument could be applied to other countries facing globalization.

LK2: In Russia it's like "whatever I get today is ok". They don't understand that their own efforts also have social impact. No one wants to pay taxes; everyone just tries to avoid them. How can you build a nation like ours? They envy us "you have such a good country, your schools are free, and your roads are good". That is also this "speed blindness", as if a nation could be built in a minute! Individuals must participate in the building process. (52) Finland has "transparency", it doesn't matter if it's the EU or something else in question, and the advantages and disadvantages are brought forth. A certain sincerity and transparency. (129)

Perhaps globalization would also require “transparency”. Advantages and disadvantages should be spoken of openly both on political levels and among the general public. People should be given a chance to be active participants even in macro level developments such as globalization.

The tangible challenge of the actual introduction of technological development and the necessity of a gradual accustoming of the average African to such appliances such as the Internet was brought up. KT6 spent nearly half his life in Africa and brought forth the polarization that technological globalization has in the continent:

KT6: ...Some say that the Internet will bring Africa closer to the West – that’s not true. Only the elite will come closer to the West because most Africans don’t even own a TV or a computer, they have no access to the Internet and they don’t know anything about it. How can we then assume that the Internet would increase interaction if people in the rural areas don’t even know what it is? The elite will come closer to the West, which means that the gap between the proletariat and the elite will grow. You can ask if this is only a means of dominating, a way created by a governing class, the Western countries. What does globalization mean to some African farmer? Globalization doesn’t mean anything to him, he doesn’t profit from it in any way, though it doesn’t seem to hurt him either. (47)

The following informant points out how western eagerness to “help” developing countries may not come from a real understanding of how to actually help developing areas:

KT6: ...it’s a completely different thing to help the poor because of moral obligation than to really help them. For example, earlier when they built wells they drew the exact spot where to drill and waited for the village folk to use it. During the inspection visit they asked whether they’d used the well, but the answer was no, they had waited for “Mr.

Builder” to draw water from the well, since it was his well. They had their own well a little way off. (105) It’s a completely different thing when we go there with our gauges, “we’ll build a well right here”, if it hasn’t been a part of people’s everyday life. We should pay attention to the culture of the country where we’re going to build things. I doubt that we’d use a well built on the university campus! I mean that if some Internet isn’t a part of your world, then it doesn’t necessarily work if someone just brings you a computer and an Internet connection and says “surf away!”, so...!

Both Russia and Africa can be considered to be developing regions, but in the United States, globalization may take on a very different face. The following informant describes how egocentric and nationalistic the States can be, with little need to be concerned with happenings outside of its borders. These interviews were done before the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, which has had an extremely sobering effect on the average American. Very quickly and very shockingly the “world” came home.

MW3: When you come from a small nation for whom survival has meant creating positive relations with neighboring countries, learning new languages... and understanding that we are only a small part of the world. Since we were little we’ve studied geography and know of other countries and how people live and act. Then we went to the States! They don’t teach geography to the kids, they teach them that THIS is the world, they even have a Word League of Baseball! Everything is the WORLD’s biggest – a huge nation, where the basic mentality is “who cares what others do”, “we’re so big and so terribly powerful”, “we don’t have to learn other languages”, “and we can send a nuclear bomb just like that and ha”! “Well, too bad if that happened”, “I’m sad”. There was clearly an attitude of “we don’t need anybody”, so their approach to globalization is very different. They globalize among themselves! Of course there are some people who really understand that the States are a part of the world, a big part, but still just a part, but unfortunately most

of them don't care. And if they do travel abroad they don't want to be open-minded, they don't want to open their eyes and really see what's there. I had patients who said they'd been abroad. They called Europe "The Old World", and talked about how miserable it was, how in Germany there were poor people and how happy they were to get back, everything is so well in the States, "we at least have freedom!". I didn't see it that way, to me, freedom doesn't mean the kind of freedom they admire, I felt it was more a society full of restrictions. But to them it's a curse if you say something like that, you have no right to criticize them. If you're foreign, you have no right, "If you don't like it, why did you come!? Go away!". I never got comments like that 'cause I kept my mouth shut, but my friend heard it at least once a day! (72)

### Time and Space Compression

The concepts of time and space are of great interest to anthropological, and sociological research. How man perceives the space around him, his surroundings and environment greatly affect his views himself. This in turn affects the identity, and his identity will change with the passage of time. Emil Durkheim felt that time is more of a social construct in culture, rather than a natural condition. Man has been able to manipulate the flow of time through technical equipment, religious rhythm (the daily prayers of the Muslims), political organization, economy and even ecology. Concepts of time and space differ according to culture and country, social contacts and personal preferences. Certain terms have been developed to help depict the different perceptions of time. Linear time, cyclical and oscillating time as well as temporal time are some terms used to depict concepts of time. Immanuel Wallerstein has developed five different concepts depicting perceptions of time and space: episodic geopolitical TimeSpace, events and happenings in immediate history; cyclical-ideological TimeSpace, a way of rationalising and explaining history; structural TimeSpace, a means of explaining historical phenomenon and the "way of things"; eternal TimeSpace,

which is a type of timeliness and spacelessness, something “eternal” like the concept of humanity; and transformational TimeSpace, that explains exceptional historical occurrences and their effects on humanity.

The shrinking of space, the increasing momentum of speed and the ‘virtual’ collapse of time it takes for information, ideas and people to move from one place to another is staggering. Globalization could be considered to be a literal and realistic shift in people’s perception of space. Business, politics, relations all exceed national boundaries. This is not new, but the magnitude of interaction is unprecedented in past history. Although the world has always been interconnected, it is due to technical, political and economic development that the world is now seen as a globe, and that “space” seems to have shrunk to a global neighborhood. The amount of time that this has happened in adds to the incredibility of the change and poses a challenge for the individual to adapt. One may be caught between conflicting feelings of nostalgia and progress. In nostalgia, past time is experienced as a desirable life-world with a need to try and maintain or recreate it in the present, while on the other hand admiration for progress and the advancement of prosperity is desired. One’s identity often rely heavily on these concepts of time.

The informants brought up how their generation has experienced tremendous technological leaps and bounds. There are reminiscences of teenage years when there were but two TV channels or that one music program per week that played exotic music. Technological development in travel connections has made it simple and easy for nearly anyone to travel to nearly any place in the world. The informants pointed out how coming generations will grow up with these developments, but would they feel as dramatic as they did for us?

MA4: At the moment we live in a period of transition. I don’t know if it’s a privilege, but things happen very quickly and violently. I think our

generation has seen quite an extraordinary change. Globalization has a phenomenon of speed, everything happens quickly. When I was young I had pen pals whom we ordered from some firm and after a few weeks I received an English guy's address who would be waiting for my letter. Pen pals were awfully exotic, that this stamp is from a foreign country, like from a totally different world. Now you go to the computer and open a chat channel, there can be anyone from any country. Or then you can make these Internet phone calls where it's possible to transmit pictures and all kinds of stuff, so it's quite a quantum leap. But when I think about my daughter, whose three-years-old, it's hard to imagine what could be an equal leap in the flow of information or in international relations. (105)

Technology is seen as the initial contributor to globalization, which in turn brings people into closer and more intense contact, making the world feel "smaller":

MW3: Maybe it's more about the development of technology. We couldn't travel around like this, in a moment from one place to another if we didn't have highly developed airplanes, computers and means of communication. During the Gulf War there was live broadcasting of the events, before it wasn't possible but now it is. Things are transmitted more quickly, the world has become "smaller". I believe that all this has happened because of technological development, because of globalization. It enables international cooperation, traveling, the standard of living has risen and that's why traveling is possible. (64)

Many informants identified technological development as the cause for a feeling of time and space compression:

LK2: ... Companies... technological development, traveling and equipment develop faster, time and traveling become shorter. It's in everyone's possibility, anyone can travel. (127)

Comparing memories from childhood with current experiences makes life seem more hectic and fast paced now:

MA4: When I was a teenager everything happened very slowly, I definitely belong to the last generation who sat by the TV every Saturday in hope of hearing a good song and knew that there's just those two programs each week when you could hear some swed or swing. Soon after that, in less than ten years, youth culture has internationalized terribly, Pokemons and Digimons are here the same time that they're in Japan. I don't know why, has electric communication changed so very much or is it only because of the sharpening of commercial systems, but things happen really rapidly. Where I'm from there was only one channel at the time and everyone more or less watched the same programs and we talked about them in school. When a John Wayne movie came everyone had seen it, but now it's a corny thought, there are dozens of channels...! (59)

The following informant compared how globalization is experienced from the perspective of different generations; them, their parents and nowadays youth. The informant felt that each generation is better equipped to handle the pace that global development presents the world:

LK2: In a way one's thoughts travel along a time line; when I think of my own parents who are so very Finnish, they've traveled, but not much compared to me, but how about the next generation? Somehow it seems that people become more and more open and mature and free, globalization spreads and interaction between different cultures increases. Some twenty-year-olds or fifteen-year-olds are more ready for internationalization or globalization than I'd have been at that age, not to mention my parents! In a way speed and development is more far-reaching and faster. (99)

This informant pointed out that though development feels very fast, we are still only in the early stages of development. They also compared how different generations experience globalization:

MW3: Technology develops all the time and we're still in the very early stages of it. I remember in the States we met some people at church who were computer wiz's. They were engineers who were designing all this stuff and they told us about this thing called "The Internet", it's a kind of "global thing" and you can even make free phone calls to Finland through the Net and talk as long as you like! We thought "it can't be true!?" It wasn't that we were stupid, we just didn't have any friends in the computer business and we had never used a computer at home, so it was a totally new thing for us. In three years we were phoning Finland and all over the world via the Internet! So it's very fast, I mean the pace of development. What we know now will probably be outdated in two years. Globalization progresses at such a terrible speed, its explosive. When I think of our kids, what kind of world of technology they'll grow up in they won't be amazed by anything! Globalization is a completely different thing for them than it is for us who grew up with black-and-white TV! (66)

This quote is interesting in view of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center:

MA4: I often watch broadcasts on satellite channels, if there's some bigger news I watch CNN. There's its own morbid fascination when you see explosions live... in fact, I can remember the first times the USA attacked [Gulf War] , it was live on CNN, I was lying on the living room floor, it all somehow felt terribly dumb ... (69)

The media has utilized technological development to the utmost. It is possible to be a direct observer of global events, which increases the feeling of time and space compression. News doesn't take weeks or days to travel, it comes immediately. The gruesome collapse of the

World Trade Center was broadcast live on every major television station as it happened. This kind of instant access to information and news has a strong impact on the individuals psyche; how do you react seeing people die on television in real time? Not even in our wildest futuristic visions were we mentally or morally prepared to see and experience the suffering of millions daily on television.

### Traveling

This chapter on Globalization and Traveling and the following chapter on Impetus for Traveling were originally one chapter. I divided them into two units for manageability. There is also some differences of emphasis: the second chapter deals more with feelings of adventure and experience from a personal perspective, while the present chapter deals with traveling and globalization from a slightly more general perspective. However, the themes are interconnected and should be read as two units of one chapter.

Travelling and tourism has increased popularity in anthropological study steadily over the years. According to the World Tourism Organization, tourism has steadily increased. The only slump tourism has suffered was during the 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center. Then tourism dropped by 1.3 % to 688 million, the only significant decrease since World War II. Tourism has proven to be one of the most resilient industries, during crises people usually postpone their travels instead of canceling them altogether which results in a pent up demand in traveling after the crises if over. In spite of setbacks in services, the crises seems to have helped underline the importance of tourism to national economies. Just during the 1990's, tourism increased from 457.3 million arrivals annually to 698.8 million arrivals by the year 2000.

Different people travel for different reasons. Some travel because they need room and space to become them selves and explore their

possibilities. Others travel out of curiosity for the foreign and an appetite for adventure. Yet others travel out of necessity, because of work or studies. Families may also have an influence on one's desire to travel outside national borders. Introverted families may well find their children craving for that which is different and exotic, extroverted families usually aren't taken by surprise to see their children directing their course abroad. I asked the informants what had prompted their desire to travel. The replies were very different. One said that he has never really even had a "desire" to travel, its fun, but his trips have been work orientated, not allowing him much time to enjoy the host country. Another saw herself as part of a trend, playing a role in the unraveling of globalization. Family influence has been great in three cases, one in which the mother could not afford to travel, but instilled a desire in the children to travel and explore the world. Another family traveled when the children were still young, making traveling and living abroad a normal part of the children's lives. The third family moved abroad and basically "never looked back". However, most all of the individuals could be described as all having a personal curiosity. The degree of the curiosity varies from individual to individual as do the circumstances of the travels, the duration and attitudes in each case.

Each informant can be seen as part of a global development. Though the travels happen for different reasons at different times, all have been able to be a part of this because of the revolutionary developments of the past century in the field of technology. I have sub-titled the following excerpts according to what particularly stood out in the individual's expressions.

Individual Initiative and Gaining Insight through Traveling:

TA5: Everything begins with the individuals. They are the ones who find the solutions. Traveling, I believe has an essential influence. How small this world becomes in people's minds is exactly due to this. Even with the Internet and literature, I still believe that traveling is the most

essential way to gain insight into things. It alone isn't enough, of course. Even political decisions are made by individuals, they've had to open their minds to the world. (81)

Traveling was not only seen as a way of bringing people into closer contact with one another, but also as a means of understanding current issues and finding solutions for many challenges.

The Individual as Part of a Trend of Globalization:

SK1: I see myself as part of a greater development, maybe as a part of globalization. Even if my travels are quite fresh, they are unique experiences for me. But if I'd look at this through the eyes of an outsider, I'm just part of a developing trend; you travel more, you may spend longer periods abroad. It isn't necessarily so amazing, you meet people from different places, have friends here and there and blah blah, and so on. There may be certain groups of people, who are more orientated to it, so maybe it's a part of globalization that boundaries shift or cease to exist. Leaving becomes easier, more people do it, and it isn't necessarily considered as such an extraordinary thing. Though personally it's always amazing. (205)

The above quote puts personal experience into a historical perspective of globalization.

Circumstances of Work:

MA4: In fact, I've never really been a frequent traveler. In the beginning of my studies I've inter-railed a couple of times, these kinds of "obligatory" trips. Actually, all my trips have been work orientated in some way. I've done some basic holiday trips to Ireland or Poland, but these trips to Africa have all been work related and during some of them I haven't even had any free time, stupid of course to fly all the way there and then work all the time. And these trips in Europe were ruled by

work, so there hasn't been any kind of burning desire to travel. Of course they've been nice but I haven't sought out opportunities to travel. Well, I did have to apply for that year in Holland, it all kind of happened because one of my friends intended to go there but then he cancelled and they asked if anyone would be interested. I'm not at all sorry I went; it was a really nice year. (18)

This informant pointed out how their travels were less due to a desire to travel than out of necessity.

Cosmopolitan Competence:

KT6: ...My departures are quick, I don't need to think or check my calendar to decide that I'll leave in February if someone tells me I have some work there and there, then I can depart immediately. I can pack my bags quickly, traveling doesn't stress me at all. For others it's like hard labor, but I almost anticipate it. I plan the routes in a relaxed way, I don't stress, I go along with the situations, I don't have to know six months in advance my routes and draw them on a map. I can relax and be myself in any situation.

The informant felt comfortable traveling and didn't mind the pressure of change. Instead of seeing traveling as a feat, they saw it as a routine and even enjoyable experience.

### Impetus for Traveling: Experience and Adventure

The Effect of Family Travels:

TA5: My mother has traveled because of my father's work, that's why we went to Brazil, they weren't "globetrotters". Actually, after the time spent in Brazil, they became more like that. My father has had to travel a lot because of work. We've been to every continent, except Australia,

so, in that sense, they've traveled a lot and are interested in traveling, so they weren't surprised that I was interested. They weren't against it in any way, perhaps a bit afraid on my behalf, it [Africa] was a strange place for them, they hadn't been there before. (46)

The above quote shows how anyone can become an eager traveler, in spite of age or occupation.

#### Personal Restlessness:

TA5: I think it's both, I think I'd have gone – it's hard to say how Brazil influenced this, I mean, if I hadn't been there. I suppose I'd have had a kind of yearning and restlessness anyway, something which hasn't come from home. It's probably the same kind of restlessness that my father had at the time he went to Brazil. Maybe it's because of both of these. My mother and father have always been interested in moving about, they don't like to stay home, in a sense they like to move from place to place and travel even in their home country. (48)

Early travel experiences often encourage the individual in continuing traveling later on.

#### Own Curiosity and Desire to Break from the Mold:

SK1: I don't know! I've never done "traditional" trips down "South", like a trip to the Canaries with the family. My parents haven't either, so I haven't "inherited" anything from them... My mother now that she's older, after being widowed, has done lots of these trips down South, but there hasn't been anything which would have accustomed me to that kind of cosmopolitan life. (44) I interpret it that I've always wanted to go abroad and I was interested in English... I didn't want to be someone who'd just stay in Finland. I wanted to go places and see real culture, I wanted more than just to stay in Finland and speak English with other Finns or something like that. That language course was the first step in

that... But however, I don't know if even before that I had a basic restlessness, which didn't manifest itself until I was older. (46)

Besides family influence contributing to the informants interest in traveling, nearly all spoke of their own personal restlessness and desire to travel.

Desire for Adventure and Excitement :

LK2: Even work become very interesting and then when you're able to live at a kind of turning point in history where a socialist state is crumbling...! In a way, at the time everything was possible in that country, maybe it still is possible, but somehow when there are no rules and all law systems, absolutely everything falls to pieces. Then people's customs start to change and maybe also their values and morals, anyone could do anything, I don't mean anything nasty, but in any case living was more free and exciting just at the time when you're young and searching for new experiences. (18)

What a unique experience, to be at the turning point of a Nation, the possibilities and the excitement of change are exhilarating. Traveling gives an opportunity to experience many things that otherwise would take a lifetime to experience.

Experience and Cultural Competence:

LK2: Maybe the starting point was that I had to get away, if I'd known that I'm going to stay there, if someone would have told me the moment I jumped on the train, that you're going to stay there for four years, it would have been terrifying to leave, but I thought that I'm only going to stay a couple of months, until I realized that it's possible to stay and live there, that I could stay even for a year, so, it worked out well for me. And I felt that I was developing professionally, that gave energy as well. (93)

Traveling gave the informant confidence in their capacities. Being in difficult situations and finding that one can manage and even prosper in those situations builds identity and contributes to self-esteem.

#### The Effect of Family Influence:

MW3: My parents have influenced me in the way that they both come from poor conditions, my father doesn't have any education and my mother's education is at college level. My mother's dream has always been to travel around and study languages and she's terribly sorry that she hasn't been able to do what she wanted and so she implanted in the minds of us, her children, a kind of desire to see the world, to explore without prejudice, to find things out and study languages. That's probably where I've gotten a kind of buzz to go and experience things. During secondary school, I wanted to go abroad as an exchange student but we couldn't afford it and that was very hard for me because it was my dream. But the idea probably began to develop in my mind, and then when I graduated as a gym instructor I thought now I can realize my dream for the first time. Our parents didn't influence our reasons for going to America, actually nothing did. We didn't even want to go to America. It was out of practical reasons; we couldn't go anywhere else, they needed gym instructors, so we went there. That's how I think my family has influenced this. (4)

#### "Ignorance is Bliss" When Traveling:

MW3: Yes, it takes "that something". When you're leaving, you've never been there before and you really don't know what you're doing, I really believe you don't know what your doing, but you're so anxious and excited about this new adventure and the fact that you're going somewhere and you don't know what it's going to be like and anyway you're positive that it will be a good experience and you're going to get a lot out of it. Somehow you leave in a kind of ecstasy, a bit like doing a

trip “down South”, “yeah, let’s go!”, but after the first romance period ends and reality kicks in, that’s the moment you realize for the first time that, “Oh my God, what have I got myself into?!”. But at that moment you can’t just leave! And the longer you stay there, the better you realize what price you pay to get that wonderful experience. (46)

This informant felt that traveling takes a bit of insanity; one doesn’t know what one is getting into, but on the other hand would not want to back out of the situation even if given a chance.

#### Escaping Expectations and Finding Oneself :

TA5: I do feel that I’m “liberated” from my parent’s expectations or from those of the family. And certainly in some sense, I fled these things, which was a liberating experience, unconsciously it was like: “hurray! Mom didn’t call to ask what I’ve done today”. So I got a kind of independence. Maybe I was searching for a kind of rootlessness like, what is me, really me, and what is “something else”. (111) I think I’ve a strong yearn to get away. All the time there’s a feeling of wanting to leave and experience something new and wanting to have adventures. And I don’t want to travel to some warm place like Tenerife; I’d rather take a local bus somewhere, getting some of that “nourishment”... (73)

#### The Sensitive and Unprejudiced Mind of a Child:

TA5: I think it greatly depends on age. I had already been in school for a couple of years, I could already speak some English, so I fancied that I knew stuff and things weren’t so horrible: I knew how to behave in school and I didn’t have to learn many new things all a once. I think that was good. And I’ve been able to keep up some of my Portuguese skills. So indeed, I think I was probably more open minded and felt I could handle things. I was at such a sensitive age, to injustice and things like that, so I was able to understand these things and was sensitive to them. And I suppose that it was also quite a naturally unprejudiced age.

(69) You see things and have opinions and already there is a desire to get out of the home, that the home isn't what fills your entire world. I think it is a very good age if you want it to have an impact, before school it doesn't really matter much. When I was in Brazil, the best thing was probably that my parents let us manage on ourselves. They were madly daring. We went to school and back by ourselves, we saw for instance an armed robbery, so they really didn't protect us in that way. The other Finns who were there were protected. They went to school by bus and they were fetched, so our living in Brazil certainly gave us a feeling of being able to cope and manage. (71)

Just by browsing through the sub-titles one gains an insight as to how traveling can be seen as a part of globalization; one gains cosmopolitan competence and the understanding of things increases. Family culture obviously affects the individual's desire to travel and their readiness to deal with global issues. However, the individual's general personality plays the most prominent role in the initiative to travel. Curiosity, desire for adventure and excitement or a general desire to develop language or professional skills abroad can be considered to be genuine traits of an individual's personality that may or may not have had any family background influence.

### Broadening of Understanding

When first starting out on the project of the interviews I was curious in finding out whether globalization actually has anything to offer the individual. I was also interested in finding out that if globalization really did have something to offer individuals, then what was it? The replies were encouraging. Though globalization has brought computer and Internet technology into our homes, traveling has been made easy and accessible to all, we have instant access to information and news and have all the material comforts that a developed nation could want, none of these were mentioned as something rewarding for the individual. Not

one informant said that globalization is useful or rewarding for them because of these material developments. What was encouraging to see was that each person seemed to have been rewarded “intellectually” or “ethically”. Unfortunately there doesn’t seem to be a term for the type of visionary development that the individuals were speaking of. Traveling has helped the individuals to understand their surroundings more holistically, to understand other people better, to question some of their own old assumptions and attitudes and to experience on a concrete level how developments in one part of the world affect the rest of the world.

Some of the key words and expressions were: understanding things more deeply when having experienced them yourself and understanding that things don’t always happen the way the media portrays it. Becoming more concerned for and caring for others and being less self centered. Seeing the influence of one event on the whole world, learning to interact with people from different cultures and countries and the decreasing of prejudice.

Understanding Things in Practice:

SK1: Understanding has expanded; in a way you understand things more deeply when you’ve seen them yourself. Of course many people think – that you have to accept (others) and of course in theory you must, but it sinks in a totally different way in practice. (106)

There is little doubt that very practical things are learned and reinforced when interacting in other cultures and with other peoples. Whether traveling contributes to this is left to how individual decides to use those experiences.

The Educative Value of Actual Experience:

KT6: When talking of developing countries, they only talk about two things: either about the animals or about war, conflicts and catastrophes. I myself tried to explain that Africa is more than what they show on TV, nature and catastrophes. There's joy, there is development, there's much more than just nature. Elephants and lions don't just jump around in backyards; there are special areas for them. And one should be able to tell the difference between human habitations and natural conservation areas, something which many people can't do! And about the wars, for example during the Rwanda war, everyone knew about the war because of media reports, we were on the other side of Lake Victoria but we had nothing to worry about. However, my friends wrote from Finland to ask if everything was ok now that there was a war. They didn't realize that Lake Victoria is the second biggest lake in the world and if something happens on one side of it, it doesn't necessarily reach the other side. Maybe I've realized that events in Africa don't always happen the way the media portrays them. The media brings up only certain things from time to time. People get the image that horrors happen only once a year while they are happening all the time but the media just doesn't report them because people have become indifferent and then the media become indifferent and then they don't even bother to report it. (23, 27)

This informant expressed a sentiment often uttered by those who have experienced living in a developing area not on the average citizen's main route of travel. The media creates images of places and peoples that don't necessarily correspond much with reality. Relying exclusively on media accounts for accurate information on any topic are second hand accounts often colored by political sentiments and personal prejudices. The media unfortunately is also tied to market forces, which dictate to a certain degree what and how things are portrayed to the public. It can be difficult to meet other people's prejudices, when one has first hand experiences on an issue.

Experience as a Personal "Eye Opener":

MW3: It really has helped me. I'm a very self-centered person so it has been very important to get to know other people from around the world. Especially the time I spent in Dallas was particularly a time when we got to know people from different parts of the world. It was a touching experience and an eye opener. Somebody else might by nature find it easier to be concerned and care for others, but I'm very self-centered by nature! But that experience changed me a lot. (101)

Continual media coverage's of certain types of happenings can often have a pacifying effect on the individual. The above informant felt that traveling had given them an opportunity for personal contact with diversity, which had helped them to put things in perspective.

The Expansion of the Understanding through the "World Map":

SK1: I've adopted a way of thinking where I see things as a "picture", if I think of a place, I picture where it's situated. So, in a way, the picture has broadened from a map of my own country or of my locality so that I see the whole globe and if something happens here it influences things all over the world, and vice versa. (185)

This informant pointed out how traveling has enabled them to better understand how things are connected in a globalizing world.

The Ability to Interact with Others and the Decrease of Prejudice:

KT6: If people know how to behave among each other, then many prejudices can be avoided, for example it would be difficult for me to claim that an African is a lazy person! Which is quite a common opinion because most people don't know any Africans. It's good to learn to interact with people from different cultures, from different countries, people's prejudices decrease. If I was shut up in a box all the time and didn't meet different people, I would be quite different. Selfishness

probably decreases, at least partially, due to learning how to interact with different people. (57)

The above quote touches on two important topics: the lack of knowledge and the need for knowledge. Through personal experience the informant was able to either verify or disqualify information and measure the truth of the matter. Knowledge gained through actual experience is like empirical study: it helps to decrease superstition and prejudice.

The Positive Effect on Attitudes:

MA4: Actually, I see both pros and cons, there's also quite a lot of good in it. Even the Joensuu skinheads will eventually see more foreigners and they will come in contact with them or their kids some day, but it must have some kind of effect on attitudes, a stranger isn't a threat anymore. And after all, not all good things were invented in Finland; for example, good dishes are made elsewhere besides Finland! (83)

The informant pointed out how globalization has dual processes in it: both negative and positive at the same time. They felt that in the long run, on the grassroots level, globalization is more likely to have a positive, rather than negative influence on people.

### The World Comes Home

This chapter is titled 'the world comes home' as an analogy of how during the past century world wide events have come to our door step through media coverage's on television, immigrant and refugee flows and international political events. One could say there is a double meaning; on the one hand the world literally has come to our homes, but on the other hand one could say that the world has begun to mean home for us. Still 50 years ago mankind was divided into 'races' and

categorized into levels of intellectual capacities. National borders included or excluded one 'race' from another and that which was beyond one's national borders was often seen as strange, foreign, exotic, but not as a part of normal 'humanness'. Slowly, through the past century, human interaction has expanded and intensified from region to region. What does the world look like, for those who are a part of the flow of globalization? Is the world familiar or foreign, exiting or discouraging?

MW3: Now if I see on TV that something has happened somewhere then it becomes personified right a way, it isn't anymore like "again those floods in Bangladesh...", now I think that "I wonder how Nuri's relatives are doing, have they lost everything?", so I realize that it's not just numbers like the media portrays it, it becomes personified, I understand that there are real people who have feelings and who really go through these catastrophes. That has become stronger. Before I was like "oh well, something happened there again". For example, now that I'm a mother, I think that what if my child would drown at age three, how painful it would be! In a way it has made living more horrible because you really feel the pain of others more concretely because you have a contact point. If you think of Nigeria and your friends from Nigeria, their parents and friends are there and when there is trouble then it all comes home in a totally different way, even if you'd never been there. (99)

The informants spoke of how their travels helped them to see the similarities and appreciate the differences of the people they came in contact with. Many of the informants were in the lucky position to be able to experience the diversity and everyday life of 'mankind' in their travels. One woman spoke of "the symphony that comes from differences", while another experienced "the life of the people, picking tea leaves instead of growing corn to feed their children". Experiencing the world through hand on interaction is bitter sweet. On the one hand it is uplifting, while on the other hand it is sobering. As one person put it "it becomes personified, it's not just numbers".

TA5: I've always been interested in the world. It's difficult to say what kind of influence traveling has had or how the time in Brazil affected me. On a concrete and emotional level an awareness of the West's power games has become clear, like in Kenya I saw kilometers upon kilometers of fields where tea is grown for supranational companies who export it out of Kenya and then import the refined product back in to Kenya. And this was the most fertile area in Kenya where they could grow anything! So these kinds of things make me furious. These kinds of emotional experiences would not have come unless I'd had traveled. (54)

These types of experiences have the potential to increase the feeling of being in the 'same boat' together. In a sense it is not far from the truth, there is only this one world. Of all of the things globalization has to offer people, the understanding of being inseparably together in the enterprise of 'humankind' would be priceless. All successful interaction and cooperation between peoples, businesses and institutions, would have to be based on such an understanding of the oneness of humanity. Not all travelers experience their trips as an expansion of understanding, but those who do are very privileged.

MW3: Of course everyone is different, but the symphony that comes from difference, different individuals and contacts changes that. I've myself thought a lot about it, it actually was a real experience for me in the States. I had friends from Nigeria and France, so, from Europe, Africa, the Orient, the Far East, from different parts of the States and from South America, so the similarity on a global level. (97)

TA5: You see and experience the life of the local people, picking tealeaves instead of growing corn to feed the children. I think especially the time I spent in Brazil has affected my way of seeing things; I'm aware of inequality. It's terribly difficult for me to see people leaving

food on their plates... this didn't come from home, it came because of traveling. I think traveling has affected these things. (56)

Many spoke of the experiences of the everyday life of the people they were among. The informants often spoke of how it brought into focus many of the principles spoken of, but not implemented.

LK2: I have a kind of routine that makes it easier to make friends, anyway people are people no matter where they're from. Maybe I've learned some of that "Eastern bloc"; you sort of know when you can yell and when you should keep your mouth shut. Intuition. (38)

Traveling can enhance cultural competence and communicational skills. One of the most common points spoken of by the informants was the essential similarity of the people they had come in contact with on their travels.

MA4: When I went to Africa, the main thing I remember was the similarity, differences are quite superficial. I noticed that so many things are so similar after all. In Holland, my attitude was more like "this is Europe" and a part of Western Europe and a part of the Nordic countries in a way, but there I noticed much diversity in people's attitudes. (42)

Many of the informants spoke of their travels through the terms diversity and similarity. Actual experience of other peoples everyday life's can put many prejudices to rest and many facts into place.

MW3: It was an exciting experience when we went to the States, on the one hand the similarity, people lead everyday life's everywhere, when you're on holiday it's covered up and you don't realize that the local people live everyday life's even if they run a restaurant, that still is their everyday life. So similarities like that. (96)

The averageness of people, their thoughts, plans, worries and hopes often surprise people, since they are the same thoughts and feelings each individual experiences. Though this may be understood on an intellectual level, it gains more meaning on the emotional level if experienced first hand. One of the more memorable things from our visit to Nigeria was the uncannily similar sense of humor we all seemed to share.

TA5: I started thinking of what my own travels have given, I actually believe that when you've seen how different people are and still how similar, their everyday life is full of exactly the same thoughts; when will they get to bed and what will they eat, is the same no matter if it's Africa or some other place. But values and goals and possibilities are terribly different. (81)

Many of the things the informants mentioned scattered through the interviews were value oriented such as support of peaceful solutions, opposition of social and economic inequality, concern for environmental issues and the well being of humanity on a global level. Each informant expressed resentment to injustice, exploitation and prejudice. Though most informants felt that Finland is "home", still they were touched by events that take place far from their native homes among people they have never met and probably never will meet.

## **Part II: Identity and Adjustment in the Process of Globalization**

The second part deals with the individual's response and adjustment to the process of globalization. In general, globalization is seen as having a de-centering force particularly among national identities. This second part deals with what the interviewees had to say on the issue of identity, how it has changed and developed during their travels. Also the issues of locality, nationality and world citizenship were combined in this part to

serve as a comparison with one another. When abroad, does one feel more Finnish and while in Finland feel more foreign? This part is closely linked to the third and last part on “Side Effects”, which deals with the side effects that come from living abroad. In general identity is closely linked to nationality, and the experience’s of becoming ac-cultured to another country or culture is not something most people are prepared for.

Adjustment to traveling and living abroad can also help one adjust to the shift of identity one experiences in a globalizing world. Frequent traveling and moving may leave an individual feeling insecure of themselves and their identity, but on the other hand one can use these changes of environment to enhance one’s own capacities and through that the feeling of security in one’s identity:

LK2: It’s just part of traveling, you stop each time, they stamp your papers and passports, in a group of tourists you often hear complaints, but you don’t pay attention to it anymore and you don’t complain about it. (74) I may be strict with my own affairs but I’m easier on other people, but I can be more critical with myself. Maybe that is identity; that you know who you are and you can be yourself in those other places, you sort of have to accept yourself as you are also in those foreign places, you have to know that they do this and others do that and I must know about it in this environment. Maybe I’ve sort of become more patient. (76)

Traveling can also serve to strengthen one’s personality, which also serves to bolster one’s identity. One may also find that new skills and abilities are learned along the way:

LK2: What I’ve gotten from all these trips is that I can attain something, one’s will strengthens, those countries are chaotic, but if you want to get somewhere you can do it and somehow you can transfer this same thing to Finland as well. Things aren’t impossible and when tourists

complain about insignificant matters, you just don't pay attention to those kinds of things anymore. Maybe it's that I can see things more broadly. (93)

### Globalization and National Identity

In *Modernity and its Futures*, Stuart Hall speaks of national cultures as a “distinctly modern form. The allegiance and identification which, in a pre-modern age or in more traditional societies, were given to tribe, people, religion and region, came gradually in Western societies to be transferred to the national culture. Regional and ethnic differences were gradually subsumed beneath what Gellner calls ‘political roof’ of the nation state, which thus became a powerful source of meanings for modern cultural identities.” ( Hall, 1992, 292)

SK1: I remember when I was in Belgium; we were at a café one night. I overheard people talking at the table next to us, they were having an intellectual discussion and one of them was absolutely convinced that after so and so many years, there will be no such thing as nation states, they'll all just be a part of one European Union and alliance and they all will be part of a “world world”. I'm not sure if I agree with this but in principle I do. I haven't thought about it much but, in a way, there are like two developments; on the one hand we join alliances and create larger entities, but at the same time every darned nation and language group demand their independence, autonomy, rights, they're crying out after their identity, there are cries for help; “oh no!”, like; “I, I, I don't want to drown in this!!!” Some places allow more autonomy for this. In Belgium there's this never-ending language quarrel between the French speaking people and the Flemish. I don't know if there is a solution, but in spite of the internal friction it's still a part of the EU. I mean, in a sense there are two conflicting developments internally. (189)

From the interviews I gathered quotes dealing with some of the parallel and conflicting developments of globalization. The process of globalization causes a simultaneous trend of collapse and construction. On the one hand, traditional ways of organizations collapse, while on the other hand new modes of organization and cooperation are being established. New alliances and unions are formed, while individual peoples and ethnic groups “are crying out after their identities” as one informant put it. One can sense a desire to “join the world” in the fast pace of change, but simultaneously a fear of losing traditional ways and identities prevail.

MA4: Yeah, some shared experiences, shared national experiences for Finns - it's hard to imagine what they'd be. When I was young, everyone basically watched the same programs on TV, so everyone my age remember the explosion at the Lapua factory, the funeral was broadcasted, so in a sense that was a kind of shared national experience. In a way life is a culture of post-modernity in the sense that there are many different subcultures and the subcultures are in a way global. (61)

The informants put emphasis on different things. A particularly interesting discussion was on national identity. Is there such a thing as national identity; is it not all more or less a constructed code of meanings meant to indoctrinate diverse groups into a single group? The informant's thoughts on the importance of “living culture” and “real, local culture” being closer and more accessible to the average individual was emphasized in one interview.

MA4: Maybe this kind of artificial national identity will die out, but the kind of “Elovena” Finnishness, which doesn't really exist and isn't actually anywhere. Maybe things like kalakukot [fish pastry] or lörtsytt [apple pastry] or rieskat [unleavened bread] will survive, maybe somewhere they have Easter bonfires, somewhere 1st of May bonfires, somewhere Midsummer bonfires, so that it truly becomes a real culture,

not any cliché culture. I think national culture is more or less a learned and taught culture, of what being Finnish is, I mean. You are expected to say “sisu” [perseverance], “Finns have sisu”. Actually it’s hard to imagine where this idea comes from and “sauna” and “Talvisota” [the Winter War]. I have no contact with the Talvisota or any Finnishness like that, for me local culture is more real and important to which I have a real connection to; I can remember my mother baking perunarieska [unleavened potato bread], so for me that is “living” culture. I might not be totally clear, I can’t quite put my finger on it myself, but this nation state identity isn’t a living thing, it’s learnt thing, that comes from school while the real local culture doesn’t necessarily, though it can be connected to nationality, but it has more of a “local color”. If the culture which people are connected to is a living culture, it won’t cease to exist. In fact, national identity may disappear under the pressure of globalization but I don’t think it’s any kind of loss at all. (109)

National identity is the accepted norm of an individual’s identity. However, in practice the organization of identity on a national level is a rather unilateral form of identity. National identity is a large-scale mechanism of meanings that is very difficult, once created, for an individual to participate in editing and developing. The individual is expected to humbly acquire the ‘agreed’ upon pieces of identity thus becoming ‘a Finn’, ‘an Englishman’. Hall speaks of knowing what it is to be “English because of the way ‘Englishness’ has come to be represented, as a set of meanings, by English national culture.” (Hall 1992, 292). Does the aloofness of national identity actually help in the prompting of sub-cultures where the individual can have more direct influence on the cultural forms of representation?

National culture was constructed during a time when people’s identities were still closely tied to the locality of their everyday life. At the time of introduction the idea of a national culture was deemed impossible and unmanageable. But over a short period of time, a generation or two, the idea of a “trans-local”, *national* culture, took root so substantially that it

is difficult to imagine the time before 'Finnishness' was a national culture.

### World Citizenship and Identity

Many of the things the informants said on how their understanding of global events developed through their travels makes the impossibility of world citizenship questionable. Though the informants themselves found world citizenship dubious from the political and social perspectives, from an ideological perspective it would seem possible, indeed many of the informant's attitudes gathered in the chapters on the "Broadening of Understanding" and "The World Comes Home" imply it to be far from impossible. However, from an operational point of view it was clear that world citizenship is seen as something rootless and even un-natural. The informants felt that one must have roots in something, be it a place, people, social structure or mother tongue. Comparing the material on "Broadening of Understanding" and "Globalization, World Citizenship and Identity" with each other, I see how the description of the positive effects of traveling on the informants world views corresponds with my definition of world citizenship, while the informants definition of world citizenship corresponds with my views of a decentralized individual. This paradox is interesting, and may be due either to a misunderstanding or misinformation between the interviewer and interviewees. In any case, the informants were not hampered down by the interviewer's views of world citizenship, but were given freedom to interpret and describe their thoughts on world citizenship as they saw it.

TA5: How do you evaluate world citizenship? In my opinion, it can be a good or a bad thing. If we take it to mean that people feel responsible for the whole world, then it's a good thing. That you feel that what you do here affects "the Philippines" then in that sense it would be a positive thing. But on the other hand, I believe that every person knows where

they're from and everyone needs that feeling of knowing where one belongs. A person can't be a world citizen in a way because one's home has to be somewhere, one's roots must be somewhere, maybe in some culture or near some other person, in some specific building, but however, they are somewhere – (85) In that sense, I don't believe in world citizenship. I don't believe one could be rootless. I myself was in Brazil for two years and when we were younger, we moved every four years from one locality to another just in Finland, so I'm not from anywhere here in Finland and I wish we had some place besides our summer cottage, but I'm glad that I have at least that. So in that sense, I don't believe that world citizenship could exist on a concrete level but if I meant a kind of common, shared responsibility, then it could exist. (87)

World citizenship was generally seen by the interviewees as a 'nation-less' individual, without identity or culture, and as a kind of rootless 'drifting' between 'places', a negative condition. The Interviewees viewed world citizenship from a literal form. When viewed from an ideological perspective some of the interviewees saw it as a 'feeling of responsibility for the world':

LK2: If I think about my identity, then yes, I feel Finnish though not "henkeen ja vereen" [heart and soul], however citizenship gives a sense of identity. I wouldn't say that I'm a world citizen since I'm not and maybe I don't even want to be, somehow it feels safe to have roots somewhere. I accept people going from one place to another and I think that globalization is ok and it brings many good things, but I still belong somewhere. (107)

MW3: I find it hard to understand world citizenship. You must get your identity from someplace. Even if your identity was built on many different pieces still there must be roots in it, maybe a mother tongue or a social structure. We don't grow up in a vacuum – it's hard to understand. So, even if you'd travel a lot and your identity would consist of bits and pieces, you still have a mother tongue or a language you

prefer to use. (55) I could never be so rootless. It would be different if I was a suitcase child [matkalaukkulapsi], lived in many different countries and many different cultures. I have a friend who was a suitcase child, her parents were in Canada as missionary workers, she's a citizen of both Finland and Canada, and now that she's older, she has spent long periods of time in Africa and Saudi Arabia doing missionary work. And she really feels rootless and sometimes she doesn't even want to make new friends because she knows she has to leave them soon. I have never met anyone who I would classify as a world citizen. (53)

KT6: One's mind can expand. I don't think that suitcase children and world citizenship means that you read about world citizenship in a book and then go out and try and become a world citizen, in my opinion that's not world citizenship, it's more of a natural built in action. Of course, one can develop into a world citizen through reading, but the vision is totally different. (91) There are no separate roots, in a way the roots are in world citizenship itself, you are able to handle different things, but on the other hand, you can adapt to new things. (93) ...A world citizen who still is Finnish. (81)

### Local Identity and the Myth of the Nation State

Particularly in one interview the discussion centered on the topic of local identity and the myths of national identities. This is an important topic in the debate on globalization, since globalization is often accused of causing an "erosion" of national identities. Stuart Hall describes five different aspects of what he calls the "imagined community". National cultures are not very old conceptions, consisting of elements such as "the narrative of the nation, as it is told and retold in national histories, the media and popular culture" providing "a set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols which represent the shared experiences, sorrows and triumphs and disasters which give meaning to the nation". There is also the "emphasis on

origins, continuity, tradition and timelessness. National identity is represented as primordial” (Hall 1992, 293). Hall quotes Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983, 1) on the invention of tradition “ ‘Traditions which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented.’ ” (Hall 1992, 294). The fourth example given by Hall of the narrative of the nation is “the foundation myth: a story which locates the origin of the nation, the people and their national character so early that they are lost in the mists of time” and lastly: “National identity is often symbolically grounded on the idea of a pure, original people or ‘folk’”. (Hall 1992, 295)

MA4: Finnishness...? Well, I don't feel that I'm so strikingly Finnish, it hasn't been a very important matter to me. If I compare it with local characteristics, then they are much closer to me than that kind of 'Finnishness'. The Finnish clichés like birches by the lakeshore or Midsummer bonfires are quite strange to me, in our part of the country, there are no lakes, there's a river, and we didn't have Midsummer bonfires, so, actually, the Finnish clichés come from the part of Finland where there are lots of lakes. (73)

The feeling of 'un-easiness' with national cultural identities that individuals may have may be explainable through the fact that most of the cultural constructions of national identities are actually fabricated.

MA4: I suppose in Lapland, there's a kind of "provincial" spirit, local identity is probably stronger there than anywhere else, and one part of it is the attitude "we versus the rest of Finland", and that develops when you grow up there. And I'm not patriotic, I'm a conscientious objector [siviilipalvelusmies], and patriotic values have never really concerned me. I'm Finnish all right, I've nothing against it, but that doesn't really tell much about me. Maybe, when I'm abroad, it becomes more visible, that I'm a Finn from Finland. I can't deny that I feel a bit uncomfortable with that, all those clichés, the nature, the bright summer nights; they're all clichés all right. In my own life, my own real roots are more essential

and there's of course a lot of Finnishness in them, but there's a lot of Lapland's own local color and in a sense, there's also some internationality in it. Sweden is on the other side of the river and the border is completely meaningless, members of the same family live on both sides of the river. As a child I traveled to Sweden during recess, we went swimming in Sweden, our school's indoor swimming pool was there, the doctor's emergency service is there every other week, a big part of my father's family live there, both of my mother's older brothers are Swedish. Nationality and the border are indefinite, they aren't that important. (77)

The above excerpt I found particularly interesting to imagine in a global arena. What would it feel like to grow up with family sprinkled throughout an area rather than a nation? How would individuals experience identity and culture in that case?

MA4: In the north, for example, the culture of the western border doesn't change when you cross the border. You can go quite far, actually, all the way to central Lapland in Sweden and towards Norway and you'll find villages that have Finnish names, and close to the border, people speak an old variation of Finnish. There, the phenomenon of becoming Swedish has existed from the 40's on. It was governmental politics; you were punished in school if you spoke Finnish. In the markets you can use marks, the prices are marked in both languages and all the service workers speak Finnish - there are no clear signs of [borders]... (79)

Many find it easier to speak of local culture for many reasons. It is close to the individual, accessible, easy to grasp and comprehend since it is not usually a large scale construction that would be intimidating, like world citizenship. Local culture is also unique, one could say there are more local cultures in the world than national cultures, both in principle and in practice. In reality, local culture is seldom threatening on any level (political, cultural, intellectual) and as long as it does not border on

fanaticism it is usually seen as harmless diversity, though formerly certain political regimes have felt that any cultural diversity, be it local, ethnic or religious, hampered the object of their regimes.

Fear of globalization eroding the nation state and destroying national identities is very likely due to the fact that this is exactly what nationalism did to local identities. Hall says: "instead of thinking of the global replacing the local, it would be more accurate to think of a new articulation between 'the global' and 'the local'." (Hall 1992, 304). This may mean that national constructions of identity and culture would slowly retreat, but it would be unlikely to cease to exist, since the basic elements, which it was built upon, were local elements of older cultural systems. However, a stifling, stagnant nationalism would very likely cease to be popular:

MA4: ...Of course, I don't want to despise patriotic feelings but they can't come from anything else than from a kind of 'hammering'. (111)  
The nation state is quite a young idea. I don't know if someone has specifically figured out which kinds of symbols are effective, but they work like glue, so even a country like the USA which is ethnically diverse and scattered and religiously and culturally peculiar in every way, still has a common American identity which actually doesn't even exist economically, culturally, ethnically or religiously. As if a Jew from New York has something in common with a Mexican from Los Angeles, but maybe their hearts overflow with the feeling of being able to live together in that "cradle of democracy..." I think it's more or less similar in European national states. (113)

### **Part III: "Side Effects"**

The third and last part of the research results helps create a holistic perspective of travelers as part of the process of globalization. I have

collected four different categories of the 'side effects' of traveling mentioned by the interviewees: culture shock, language shock, returning home shock and feelings on displacement. Not all informants experienced these in the same degrees, nor are these categories the only types of shock and surprise individuals may experience in traveling. This final part may seem problem oriented, depending on the view of the reader. However, the views collected in this part can also be experienced as a learning opportunity to understand one's culture, surroundings and world more thoroughly. I will return to this matter more specifically in the last chapter on Conclusions.

First there follows a brief overview on culture shock before the interviewees own thoughts are presented. The informant's quotes deals with some of the more typical reactions people experience when traveling abroad from their home countries. Some of these are familiar from earlier works in cross-cultural studies or from personal experiences. Cross cultural studies became popular in the 1970's due to the increasing consciousness of the flow of peoples; legal and illegal refugees, students, ex-patriots and 'globe trotters'. Formerly Westerners had been interested in questions of culture from an inquisitive spectator perspective, but with the increasing flow of people, questions on cultural adaptation, culture shock, assimilation and acculturation from a moral and ethical view began to gain popularity.

Culture shock is the mental stress caused by the strain of having to rapidly adjust to different cultures. Especially for travelers this can be a common experience. Those who are entirely immersed in the language and customs of another society without a break will experience different fazes of culture shock at different times. The different fazes of culture shock can overlap one another. In the beginning the individual may experience a 'romance' stage during which the new culture is experienced as exiting. Feelings of wanting to immediately return home or a sense of constantly being compared to by others and of sticking out like a sore thumb are typical to the second stage of culture shock.

Culture shock can hit at different times depending on the length of the stay. Feelings of withdrawal, disorientation and loneliness, criticism of the host culture and glamorizing the home country is often common. The actual reaction to culture shock varies from person to person, some react by immersing themselves in the host culture and becoming as culturally competent as possible. This is particularly common for children, who are not yet acculturated in their family's ethnic or national culture and are open to influence and supple to change. For those who enjoy traveling, these feelings of anxiety can create a need to 'fit in' as soon as possible and may help instigate adaptation.

The final stage of culture shock is usually solution oriented. The individual may resort to humor as a coping mechanism or may to their best capacity integrate within the culture. Those who have moved to a different cultural area will continue to experience different fazes of culture shock, but their skill to cope with it will increase steadily. There are, of course, those who never learn to cope with cultural change and instead become introverted and depressed. Transculturating people, like travelers, who meet cultural changes on a regular basis, are likely to experience some form of culture shock.

I divided the third part into four sub-themes that I noticed the informants speaking of in connection to their travels: culture and language shock, returning home shock and displacement shock. I found the parts on return shock and displacement particularly interesting in the context of globalization. It would seem that the practical structure of national culture and identity give little room for the individual to combine, without stress, pressure or disapproval from their "original" cultural companions, elements from their new cultural experiences. This is manifested in different ways. Some of the informants have experienced humorous situations in which they find themselves having to "re-learn" their own culture in very practical ways; what is appropriate to say in different situations, how to behave in stores and banks, even how to dress. I remember from my own experiences of returning home form the States

to Finland, of always having to adjust the volume of my voice down a few decibels.

### Culture shock

It was interesting to see that the informants discerned different kinds of cultural shock, such as language shock, profession or work related shock and culture shock in general. As one informant put it: "it was like getting hit in the face with a wet rag"(SK1,134).

MW3: It was all a shock! It was intertwined; I can't say which one of them was a greater shock. It was a huge shock when I went to the hospital. It was a Level One Trauma Center; here it would correspond to HYKS or The Turku University Central Hospital. I was a contract gym instructor, I mean I was hired and I didn't even know what that meant in practice. So, there were many shocks on all levels, there was culture shock; the States is a completely different country, but then there was this professional shock also, I hadn't realized what I was getting into professionally and then the language shock, so, I was going through many levels of shock. Also my marriage faced a new situation. Matti had been working before that, he had never been unemployed nor had to stay at home. Now he spent the days at home 'cause he couldn't go anywhere, he didn't have a car while I was at work, he waited for me at home, staring at the clock, waiting to go out with me, and when I came home from work I just wanted to burst out in tears cause I hadn't been able to understand anything all day and had done stupid things and when I got home, the first thing he asked was "where are we going? Let's go somewhere!" I only wanted to lie down and weep! The beginning really was a shock! (12)

I asked how they handled the culture shock. An antidote to culture shock is knowing as much as you can about where you are. Trying to

find patterns and interrelationships, and fitting the pieces together as quickly as possible is one way of getting cultural competence and finding your feet once again:

MW3: what I did was I kept my eyes open and all doors open and let everything that could come in, come in. I tried as hard as I could to become as American as I could as quickly as possible. And that was the only thing I could do in that situation. The first three months were the greatest time of adjustment but even if we still were there the fine-tuning wouldn't be over. That I think it takes years, at least in my case. But for the main lines these three months were enough. After that, I no longer was stressed at work, I no longer felt like crying after a day's work, my patients began to understand me and I began to understand them, my notes started being good enough so that my boss didn't have to rewrite them and I passed the exams, the greatest, the most important, the most urgent things were taken care of by that time – (19)

Another informant identified several different types of shock that the individual may experience. The 'grand' shock of the first out-of-country experience, a 'relative' shock during the first period in a host country and the 'lesser' shock of returning to a familiar country:

SK1: It's easier if you go to a country you've already visited, you know how to act, things don't differ greatly from town to town but still there are some differences, well, like for example moving even that is irritating, all that packing – if you go for the first time, it's a huge shock, if you've been abroad before, the shock is smaller, if you've going to the same country again, the shock is even smaller, but it still exists. So it's the change itself, it isn't necessary to make a huge fuss about the culture changing. If you're used to it, you have a kind of basic mechanism for adapting. But still change is a bit stressful. At least the two or three weeks before my departure I just snapped at everyone, like "get out of my way!", "I still have this and that to clear up" – there's so many things

to do – I have to organize things here in Finland, I have to organize things at the other end. So stress comes just because of practical things. (144)

This informant specified that it is not really the culture that one reacts to, it is the change that is the real shock. I find this an interesting observation; it may be that culture is being used as an easy scape-goat in 'culture shock'. 'Culture' is in its basic nature holistic and coherent, since culture consists of pieces of overlapping elements common to all peoples and cultural areas throughout the world. For example, when speaking of 'culture clash' the focus seems to have slipped from the initiators to the elements. In practice it is the people that clash, their assumptions, ideologies and opinions. From this view it would therefore be more accurate to specify that culture shock is actually the shock of change that an individual experiences through interaction with others.

Long term travelers, those specifically who live abroad for long periods of time are prone to experience a type of cultural shock of stress caused by the strain of having to rapidly adjust to change. Exhaustion is a typical feeling, too many changes too quickly, and sometimes with little hope of stability:

LK2: At this point it's quite tiring in a way, you're always facing new people, new things, new environments, even if it were really interesting and even a positive thing, it somehow saps your strength. Maybe if one stayed there longer it would be easier, but in just a few years, six years, so much has happened, so many different people and cultures and so much adjusting – I don't know if I'm the type who has the courage to go to new places, who doesn't in a sense fall apart easily, but I can't deny that it hasn't eaten away at me, somehow tiring...(78)

## Language shock

Culture shock is something that most people know to be aware of when they set out on their journeys. Few, however realize before hand what a great shock language will be. Language is the key with which one can enter into meaningful interaction with others. Refugees arriving in foreign countries whose languages would have been nearly impossible to acquire before hand, such as Finnish, will experience an overwhelming feeling of isolation and incapacity. Lack of the local language skills throws adults back into the shoes of a child; one is not able to read, write, understand or speak. Feelings of stupidity, idiocy, humiliation and stress are overwhelming. I remember the feeling of being paralyzed by my incompetence to understand what was going on when we first arrived in Finland.

Even in cases where there is a basic language competency, the shock of interacting with people whose mother tongue is the language you have been studying in school can still be quite great:

MW3: ... On language, I had overestimated my skills a bit, I was in an over-positive euphoria, hah! It was a real surprise when we got there. (10) My situation was that I had a Finnish boss, who met us at the airport, took us to our rental flat and said get some rest now, we won't talk about things till tomorrow. It was wonderful that we had a chance to sleep and clear our minds there. Next morning, he helped us with shopping, helped us understand where we were, "what country, what currency" and it wasn't until after that, we started to talk about work. By the forth day I had started work. Up till then I had only spoken Finnish with my boss. (12) If I think of my language skills in the beginning, when I went to the hospital I understood less than half of what was said to me and that was a huge shock. (13)

For someone whose professional competence is with languages this shock can be quite strong. After a successful language experience it may be difficult to remember that one is only human when it comes to learning:

SK1: In that way, Belgium was different because I had already been somewhere, but, in a sense, it was more difficult because the language was different. In the beginning I spoke English so badly that I couldn't believe it was true, I had studied the language for years! But after a while I could speak it. I was quite confident when it came to my language skills. But when I went to Belgium: I was like; I don't understand anything they're saying! That's where it hit me! It was quite a blow to my identity. You feel stupid and see how people stare at you like an idiot. It's not that you're stupid it's that your language skills are so insufficient that it gives an impression of an inadequate person. That bugs you and I had some difficulties with it because, in a way, I'm too proud, you should humble yourself and learn the language, and that's what I didn't realize at first. You've got to accept it so that you could learn the language. And then, hah, well, it's really terrible that feeling of humiliation when the others stare at you and especially the French speaking people! But when they know you're an exchange student they kind of understand why you speak the way you do, at least some of them do... (114) In a way you can separate language shock and culture shock, so in a way I'd say that the language [process] was left unfinished, I didn't reach a level in language skills that I wanted to have. I mean that I don't feel confident at all and I wouldn't necessarily speak French – at all. The shock phase hit me first like a wet rag in the face, like: damn it I'm helpless in this environment! I remember listening to train announcements and thinking “where the hell is that train supposed to be going?!” I couldn't make out the name of the railway station, the direction of the train traffic, where the train was going, when it was arriving, what time it was, but then I suppose I adapted to the culture and the shock started going away so I got with it quite quickly. (134)

In many cases language competency is a basic building block of identity. A person's assurance of their capacities and competence often rests on how they are able to articulate themselves and how easily they are understood by others. Something that may cause some embarrassment and uneasiness for 'returnees' is when people of your own cultural background boldly point out your 'difference' or change:

MW3: In fact, I even had an accent when we came back. Already after two years I had an accent but no one dared to say anything until one doctor asked me "have you been in Finland long?" I answered that yes I have and asked why he asked and he said that your – let me think now, he put it that "your R or N and K don't sound Finnish anymore!" Well! And at the desk they asked me how my last name is spelled, is the first letter V or W, and I answered that W, A, L, L, I, N, and the employee just gave me a withering look and probably thought "what an idiot, I know how to spell Wallin, I just asked what the first letter was." But in the States they always spell out the entire name and it's totally normal! But – hah! So yes, it was a shock to come back, we had really changed a lot. (27)

### Returning Home Shock

Tourists seldom experience any 'severe' forms of return shock, for the periods they are abroad are very short compared to those who have lived abroad. It is no joke to return to one's home country or culture, fond memories of home that kept one going while abroad may suddenly be less than glamorous on returning. Often the very things that were totally intolerable abroad, such as bureaucratic procedures, are even more irritating at 'home'. 5 out of 6 of the informants were able to identify different types of return shock, though there were varying degrees, from serious experiences of culture shock to more humorous re-adjustment:

LK2: I remember when I came back from Moscow, I watched people paying bills at the automat with those bar codes and I thought that I'd never learn to do that, how did people manage to do those kinds of things?! (30)

The following informant knew to be prepared for culture shock when returning home from the States:

MW3: I was afraid of it beforehand because we had been in Finland only twice during those five years, two weeks at a time. And during the whole period we spent in the States, we had only a few contacts with other Finns. I was anxious and afraid – I'm negative by character so I always prepare for the worst-case scenario so I avoid being disappointed! It's a habit. So I thought of all the bad things I possibly could and because of that the actual physical return to Finland wasn't terrible, but for Matti, who always has a positive attitude, the homecoming was sheer hell, unfortunately. I was like an alien in Finland. I had to relearn everything; when I was shopping I forgot to weigh the fruit, they didn't understand us at the banks, we didn't know how to use cell phones, what on earth is a text message?! We had totally lost track! We went to buy a stereo and they had some of those little Sony cassettes, are they MDs or what? We didn't understand what they were, did everyone use these?, and the clerk was like "yes, of course everyone does", although actually he was exaggerating, but still we thought, "Hmm, have we lost track so completely?" (25)

Television, movies and the media are becoming increasingly important tools in generating trends of culture in the West that returnees may find utterly incomprehensible:

KT6: At first, adapting felt very difficult, especially when I'd been away for so long. All the TV programs that people watched... I had totally lost track because I didn't know what was happening on "Love Boat" or "The Bold and the Beautiful", phrases like "Mis' Viljoo on?" [have you seen

Viljo?], I couldn't understand where these phrases were coming from, or why people wanted to "hokea" [repeat] different things they heard through the media...? (61)

Returning to one's native country may be particularly hard for a child. The child's social surroundings can be very unforgiving, other children tease 'the new kid' and even adults and family members may be indifferent and intolerant to the child's situation and try to encourage acculturation to the child's 'rightful' culture in an overbearing manner. This kind of cultural 'indoctrination' was a common policy with indigenous children, but it is also surprisingly common for children returning with their families to their native countries. It is an odd feeling to be accepted in the foreign culture, but not in one's native culture:

TA5: I experienced culture shock when returning from Brazil! Maybe I was so naïve, so anxious, so ready for everything different – I was eleven when I went there. I remember how I thought everything was so wonderful, the people were friendly, they were sweet, it was beautiful there, it was warm and wonderful. And when I came back to Finland the kids started to tease me in school and suddenly, it wasn't such a great thing that I had lived abroad; I was "different". When we came home in February, people were pale, I didn't know how to swear, I dressed neatly. In Brazil, students address teachers formally, in Finland they're like "up yours", so it was a culture shock, I felt that I didn't belong here, I wasn't a Finnish kid, I didn't belong among these people, and that's probably the reason why I wanted to go back to Brazil. So with people came the shock. I was accepted there but here, in my own home country I wasn't accepted. Actually I don't know why I didn't go through as strong a culture shock when we went to Brazil. Maybe it was because we went to live in a kind of Brazilian middle-class area. However, I went to a local school, I didn't go to a fancy English school like the other Finnish kids. So though I didn't speak Portuguese, I went to a Portuguese school. I remember how confused I was, but a child's world is composed of such small things that the biggest shock was

when we got our school reports; everyone's grades were shown on the report cards. There were the subjects and the grades of each pupil and you could see them all, I mean that the same paper was given to everyone and I saw that line of zeros after my name on the report - I got a good grade only in English, so on this level I experienced shock, I mean it's hard for a child to be different. (64)

The informant compared the feelings of adjustment she went through when returning from Brazil as a child, and returning from Kenya as an adult. The feelings of not belonging were stronger in the former case, and in the latter a sensitivity to the inequality between the 'West' and the 'rest':

TA5: I adjusted very easily to the local community but I never adjusted to "African" culture. So, in that case also I think it was harder for me to come back. While I was in Kenya, there was shortage on sugar and flour. You had to buy flour on the black market because they were rationed, and you had to get food for the kids, but when I came back to Finland and saw the store shelves full of dozens of different brands of washing detergents I felt that this all is vanity. So also in that sense it was a shock to come back. Somehow all that extra – I remember the Olympics at Seoul, watching millions of marks of fireworks shooting up and I felt that... for me it has always been harder to come back, harder to accept where I'm from. So it has never felt like it's a "lottovoitto" [lottery], a "blessing to be born in Finland", on the contrary. (69)

### Displacement

One of the most uncomfortable feelings for transnational travelers is the feeling of displacement. The strictness of national cultural identity contributes to feelings of displacement, of not belonging 'here or there', of hopping from place to place, a continual feeling of dis-contentment and inability to satisfactorily combine cultural experiences.

When people say things like: “your R and K don’t sound Finnish anymore” they are unconsciously participating in a method of pushing the person back into the cultural mold. Most cultures and peoples participate in a silent form of keeping up cultural barriers. However, this is becoming increasingly more difficult, the flows of people, ideas, media and the development of transnational institutional organizations inevitably will continue to create cultural hybridity, sub-cultures and with time, new cultures.

Not Being Finnish nor American:

MW3: Another danger in going abroad is that when you come back you don’t quite feel Finnish anymore, but you’re not American either, and you never will be. When you’re in the USA you know what it’s like in Finland: for example if your mother phones and tells how the lilies-of-the-valley and lilacs are blooming and it’s so green everywhere and the nights are getting lighter, you can see it all in your mind and you think “how wonderful!”, I mean that you know exactly what she’s talking about and you’d like to be there. But then, when you go to Finland, you realize that it’s great to be back but it was also really great to be in the States; I’m doing well there and I have a new life there, new friends, and it’s wonderful to be there too. So you don’t feel quite home anywhere, you can’t “rest in peace”, your heart yearns all the time to the other place! You can’t settle anywhere; you can’t decide where you want to be! (46)

It’s not uncommon that traveling increases the individual’s appetite for traveling some more. This can cause frustration when realizing that one cannot combine all the best sides of the places one has visited.

Rootlessness:

KT6: If you move a lot from one place to another, you’ll have some problems. When you move from place to place a lot you don’t feel at

home anywhere. You've lived a short time here and a short time there. You have, well – scattered roots. It's a bit like a mycelium; you have more than just one root. So rootlessness is kind of a problem sometimes, you don't really know where your home is. And when someone asks me where I'm from it's really hard to define! (83)

Hall speaks of the: “complicated cross-overs and cultural mixes which are increasingly complicated in a globalized world. It may be tempting to think of identity in the age of globalization as destined to end up in one place or another: either returning to its ‘roots’ or disappearing through assimilation and homogenization.” (Hall 1992, 310). This is an interesting question in the context of travelers, who have a national/local cultural identity and locality, but who have acquired through traveling other national/local cultural identities. In the informant's case, they look Finnish, sound Finnish and therefore should be Finnish.

Escaping Abroad and Identity:

TA5: When I returned from Brazil I decided I am NOT staying with these idiots!! And probably because of this I went to Africa at the time. Now I feel that I belong here but many times I feel like I don't. (96)

It is not an uncommon feeling to be disappointed when returning home to one's own country. Being disappointed in a host country is not as upsetting as coming “home” and coming face to face with reality.

Not Belonging Here or There:

LK2: Someone once said that you develop a kind of love-hate relationship for Russia, which may be true... after a while, I may be ready to go abroad again. I don't know if I'll want to go back there again but right now I feel like catching my breath. Is it that home is where you feel safe? Although, even that feeling has worn off a little because I've

been away for so long, however when I come back to Finland it's like coming "home". (80) Somehow you begin to feel that you'll never entirely belong to that other country either. You won't, no matter how well you speak the language, there's that something – and you learn to understand how they think and act, but some little part is always missing. But when you come back to Finland the feeling of missing something doesn't disappear. In my case, it was things like paying bills at the automat or some Pirkka Pekka Petelius, all these kinds of things, people are laughing at something and you feel that you don't quite get it. (30)

The construction of national cultural identities allows little space for a cross-cultural person to belong in either country. One will always be Finnish, but not the same kind of Finn as one would be if they had never traveled abroad or immersed themselves in another culture. Creating a feeling of belonging and home may take a while to re-establish, but with time most people find a suitable balance:

Adjusting to the Home Country:

KT6: Still just a couple of years ago I felt stuck on an airplane, between two cultures; I was always either going or coming. Now I'm kind of used to it, I feel "Finnish" now that I've lived here for so long. But traveling is really my "thing". You asked where I would place myself, well, I think that probably in Finland. Before I placed myself in Africa because we lived there. (65)

The following informant assumes different modes of identity in different languages acquired through their travels:

TA5: I think I'm a different person when I'm abroad; when speaking English I'm a researcher and a psychologist, in Portuguese I'm terribly social. I remember Brazil as a paradise and that's why I don't dare to go back, I'm afraid the image would shatter. (96)

## 5. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to, through interviews and discussion, get in contact with real people in real global situations and piece together a picture through which to gain a better perspective of globalization, culture and identity through the eye's of the individual. Globalization is such a multifaceted phenomenon, which can be studied from many different perspectives, by many different levels and disciplines of research. I chose travelers as a representative group of people who definitely can be considered to have had contact with transnational, international and global issues. Travelers are not the only group who come in contact with global issues: researchers, social workers, art designers, farmers and many more come face to face with globalization. Not all travelers can be considered to fall into a category of people who have experienced global issues and have opinions or thoughts on globalization in view of their travels. Travelers are a vast group and each individual falls into more than one category, something that was obvious when doing the interviews. In some cases it was hard to tell where exactly the thoughts on globalization, culture, identity and values emerged from (personal opinion, family upbringing, religion education, etc.). However, I suspect that this is a challenge of any research topic, not just one dealing with as diverse a group as travelers and as broad a topic as globalization.

The research set out asking questions such as: what exactly is the process of globalization that touches on the individual lives of people the world around? What role do travelers play in the diffusion, creation and substantiation of ideas, views and attitudes, and can this globalization process be considered to be part of a creation of a global culture or civilization? Reading and re-reading the interview material has helped the interpretive process of analysis. Each reading brought forth new thoughts and new ways of interpreting the material. However,

there are limits to interpretation and hopefully the boundaries of propriety have not been breached in the assumptions. It is in this final chapter that I would like to discuss globalization as a part of the process of civilization from the perspective of the informants' quotes.

Based on what the informants said on globalization it is clear that it is perceived as a controversial phenomenon. Also based upon the informants own experiences of different types of cultural shock in response to traveling also confirms that individuals who are an active part of the process of globalization experience that controversy on a very concrete level. What informants seemed to react to most strongly was the lack of a value base upon which the individual could, on a personal and collective level, act constructively in globalization and to the demand of change. The informants' views on cultural issues, the interdependence of mankind and the world at large were reinforced in their travel experiences.

Tuomi states that "humankind has slowly begun to realize itself as one entity" (Tuomi 2001, 50) and goes on to quote The State of the World's Children 1995 document: "The United Nations *Report on the World Social Situation* heralded the "*historical and inspiring fact*" that the world was being made one, and endorsed the hope of the historian Arnold Toynbee that "*the 20<sup>th</sup> century will be chiefly remembered in future centuries not as an age of political conflicts or technical inventions, but as an age in which human society dared to think of the welfare of the whole human race as a practical objective.*" (Tuomi 2001, 50-51). Though globalization is a controversial process both on an abstract and concrete level, the influence it has had upon the informants has reinforced their perceptions for the need of equality and equity on a global scale: *KT6: I think we need values in this game. (55), TA5: Globalization needs values. It must be guided! (89) Values are exactly what are needed. That may have been what was worrying me, I mean that the values that are the basis of this progressive process are not the values I myself would support. (83), MA4:I think pluralism is important,*

*though the word is a bit stupid, but it would be important to uphold the possibility of making choices, you could choose whether to have an American burger or an Armenian dish. (99)*

From a terminological perspective, words such as globalization triggered descriptions of a controversial phenomenon: SK1: *“...there are like two developments; on the one hand we join alliances and create larger entities, but at the same time every darned nation and language group demand their independence, autonomy, rights, they’re crying out after their identity, there are cries for help. In a sense there are two conflicting developments internally.” (189)*, polarization of West and “rest”: TA5: *“I haven’t thought a lot about what it means but if I had time, I’d be interested in finding out what kind of threat this imposes to developing countries. I see it as a threat specifically for the developing countries. “(77)*, ambiguous or neutral: MW3: *“It’s the kind of thing you can’t do anything about, it exists in any case and it progresses all the time. I can’t estimate its worth; I think it’s quite neutral.” (66)*, while the word culture seemed to steer the informants thoughts directly to nationality and national and local characteristics: MA4 *“I have no contact with the Talvisota [Winter War] or any Finnishness like that, for me local culture is more real and important to which I have a real connection to; I can remember my mother baking perunarieska [unleavened potato bread], so for me that is “living” culture.” (109).*

This is understandable, since the research topic was presented in a slightly polarized way (for example the topic Comparing Globalization Abroad and at Home), therefore making it natural for the informants to follow the researchers lead. Interestingly enough, the term identity was not approached directly as such, more often it came up intertwined within other topics, particularly those topics touching on the individuals personal transformation processes such as the issues spoken of in chapters Displacement and Returning Home Shock. Some direct thoughts on identity did come up: national identity was seen as an artificial construction: MA4 *“I think national culture is more or less a*

*learned and taught culture, of what being Finnish is.” (109), local identity as a positive means of identity construction: MA4 “In my own life, my own real roots are more essential and there’s of course a lot of Finnishness in them, but there’s a lot of Lapland’s own local color and in a sense, there’s also some internationality in it.” (77). Thoughts on identity were most vibrant in topics that helped to bring out the contrasts of real life situations, such as local vs. national, or national vs. global.*

The role that travelers play in globalization is concrete. In a very concrete and practical way travelers pick up new ideas and views in their journeys and implement them in their everyday life: their perceptions of the world, the manner in which they bring up their children, choose a career or view current issues: SK1 *“Understanding has expanded; in a way you understand things more deeply when you’ve seen them yourself. Of course many people think – that you have to accept (others) and of course in theory you must, but it sinks in a totally different way in practice.” (106), KT6 “I myself tried to explain that Africa is more than what they show on TV, nature and catastrophes.” (23). TA5 “I think you can change the way things develop, exactly through children, through what you choose to teach them. “(79). Though these gradually become part of the traveler’s identities, the ground was initially fertile for the sowing of such seeds. It is unlikely that the informant’s feelings on the need for values, their views on the broadening of understanding and thoughts on “the symphony of differences” would have been such prominent experiences in their travels unless they had initially been open to such principles: TA5 *“I suppose I’d have had a kind of yearning and restlessness anyway, something which hasn’t come from home.” (48).**

The understanding that: *“people are people no matter where they are from” (LK2, 38), is a sentiment voiced by each of the informants in the interviews. It is a basic principle, which has been reinforced through the tangible experiences of the travelers. As one informant said: “it would*

*be difficult for me to claim that an African is a lazy person” (KT6, 57), it is obvious that a principle has been reinforced through an experience.*

The question whether travelers contribute to the gradual establishment of a global culture or civilization, it is clear that on an ethical and moral level it is budding mainly into an attitude, a way of viewing the world and seeing people and current events. From such a perspective one could say that on an abstract level a culture of global awareness is taking on form and meaning, manifested in the informants opinions on values, distaste to unbridled capitalist globalization, and the desire to safeguard the rights of all peoples regardless to national, ethnic and religious backgrounds: *“I can’t stand these Pokemons and that kind of stuff, which may be important to children but are so shamelessly commercial and marketed as such. These are the most disagreeable aspects of cultural globalization, though it is financial.”(MA4, 61), “Information should come hand in hand with respect for your own culture. I’m afraid this won’t happen in poor countries, they’ll just keep adopting everything from other countries without considering whether it suits them or not. (TA5, 77).* As was clear from the informants’ thoughts on world citizenship, it is quite unlikely that an operational and institutional global culture would be possible at this stage.

However, a cultivation of a global consciousness was evident from the interviews and in the informant’s thoughts. As one informant put it: *“I see globalization as a common knowledge, a common civilization” (TA5, 77),* while another saw globalization as: *“a social development” (SK1, 199).* Opinions on taking *“responsibility for the world” (TA5, 87)* allude to a budding sense of a global consciousness. From this perspective it would seem a matter of time before such a consciousness would develop into material forms of realization during the next generations. Tuomi’s definition of world citizenship as *“the inclusiveness of all humankind and a concern and loyalty for the well-being of the whole planet” (Tuomi 2001, 55)* finds forms of manifestations in many of the informant’s feelings and thoughts: *“If we*

*take it to mean that people feel responsible for the whole world, then it's a good thing. That you feel that what you do here affects "the Philippines" then in that sense it would be a positive thing. (TA5, 85), "it's not just numbers like the media portrays it, it becomes personified, I understand that there are real people who have feelings and who really go through these catastrophes. That has become stronger. Before I was like "oh well, something happened there again". For example, now that I'm a mother, I think that what if my child would drown at age three, how painful it would be! In a way it has made living more horrible because you really feel the pain of others more concretely because you have a contact point." (MW3, 99).*

These thoughts were originally scattered throughout the interviews' and the informants themselves did not connect their opinions and views with any "grand theories" of cultural globalization and civilization. The informants left the researcher with the impression of a cautious and humble mentality towards questions on morality and civilization, often teetering between skepticism and positivism: *"I don't know who'd dictate the values, according to whose values would this happen and would it necessarily be good..." (MA4, 99).*

In general the informant's traveling seemed to have strengthened their personality and identity and enhanced ethical perspectives on current issues: *"What I've gotten from all these trips is that I can attain something, one's will strengthens, those countries are chaotic, but if you want to get somewhere you can do it and somehow you can transfer this same thing to Finland as well. (LK2, 93), "If Nike produces tennies in Bangladesh by child labor it benefits us 'cause we can buy cheap shoes. But the child who works long days in that factory on the other side of the world doesn't benefit from globalization. Its work, but the child won't gain anything from it. It benefits us, and the owner of the company or the stockholders, in reality the rich grow away from the poor." (KT6, 51).* Any experience has the potentiality to enhance ethical and moral perspectives. These experiences abroad, in many of the

cases, has helped enhance views on certain moral principles concerning cultural and global issues concerning humankind. Globalization is a multifaceted, complicated and demanding process, which requires those involved an ability to change, adapt and develop.

Have the informants changed, due to globalization? At the offset it would seem difficult to answer such a question. How does one measure change, especially in an individual whom one has known only briefly through an interview experience? This question is hard to answer not only because change is difficult to measure, but also because it is difficult to define what exactly causes change in any individual. Have the informants changed because of globalization, or because of circumstances, upbringing, religion or something else? The question of change can be more easily approached from the point whether globalization has changed the way they live, and the way they view the world. Of course this arrangement is still questionable; is it globalization, which has changed the way one lives or views the world? When tackling a macro-scale topic such as globalization, one must choose and settle with a group, an element, an object of some sort that will symbolize that macro-scale topic on a micro level. Like mentioned earlier, one could have chosen some other group to represent the grassroots, the micro level, of globalization.

Travelers were chosen for this research, to represent globalization. Travelers use the material benefits of global development; transportational development to get from place to place and technological development to maintain communication and contact through email, the Internet or phone calls with their dear ones. However, most importantly, travelers cannot avoid coming into contact with people from other countries, cultures, ethnic and religious backgrounds, dealing with different languages, social structures and cultural mentalities. Though disagreement on the definition of globalization continues, there is not doubt that it definitely is a phenomenon enveloping culture, ethnicity, language, social structure,

religion and many other aspects within it. Based upon this, choosing travelers to represent a group dealing with issues connected directly to globalization was a safe choice.

Has globalization changed the way the informants' live and how they view the world? Yes, globalization has changed the way the informants live. They all travel. Voluntarily or out of necessity they travel, experience different cultures and learn to communicate in different environments. This has changed the way they view other people and how they view current global issues, for example the description on Lithuania's dilemma whether or not to join the EU (LK2, 131). As one informant said: *"Traveling, I believe has an essential influence. How small this world becomes in people's minds is exactly due to this. Even with the Internet and literature, I still believe that traveling is the most essential way to gain insight into things. It alone isn't enough, of course."* (TA5, 81), they felt that traveling is the most essential way of understanding things connected to globalization, in understanding in a new way, our world.

Being connected to globalization so concretely has also affected many of the informants' ethical views and values. As two different informants put it: *"If I was shut up in a box all the time and didn't meet different people, I would be quite different. Selfishness probably decreases, at least partially, due to learning how to interact with different people."* (KT6, 57), *"I've always been interested in the world. It's difficult to say what kind of influence traveling has had or how the time in Brazil affected me. On a concrete and emotional level an awareness of the West's power games has become clear, like in Kenya I saw kilometers upon kilometers of fields where tea is grown for supranational companies who export it out of Kenya and then import the refined product back in to Kenya. And this was the most fertile area in Kenya where they could grow anything! So these kinds of things make me furious. These kinds of emotional experiences would not have come unless I'd traveled."* (TA5, 54) From the quotes one can tell that

traveling and seeing the way of things has affected how acutely many of the informants experienced ethical issues and how it molded their values. Whether globalization has changed the informants' values from one perspective to the next is questionable. One informant did point out that traveling has made them more cautious towards globalization, but whether this has actually changed a value or values, is not elaborated on in the interview. Since there is no factual evidence that globalization has changed the informants' values, it would be safe to say that it has enhanced their former value bases.

Globalization and traveling has changed the informants' vision of time and space. The world seems to have gotten smaller, to have shrunk, and things seem to happen extremely fast. As one informant put it: *"its explosive!"* (MW3, 66) and another: *"things happen very quickly and violently. Globalization has a phenomenon of speed, everything happens quickly."* (MA4, 105). At the same time as it has changed how they see time, it has also changed how accessibly they view the world: *"Companies, technological development, traveling and equipment develop faster, time and traveling become shorter. It's in everyone's possibility, anyone can travel."* (LK2, 127). How consistent these changes in perceptions of the world, ethical views and of time and space are is impossible to say. Change is a liquid like process in which it is hard to tell where it began and when it will end.

The most interesting find of the study was seeing what exactly the informants' felt was valuable from their experiences of globalization. In the beginning the study asks whether globalization can be seen as a process of culture or civilization, as a creation and substantiation of a "global" mentality. Based on the informants' quotes gathered into chapters on Broadening of Understanding and The World Comes Home, one can see that the contacts the informants have gotten through their travels has sharpened their concepts on moral issues, ethical views and values. Since the individual is the first building block of society, what the individual acquires as their moral bases can be

considered to be the leaven, which will leaven and influence society around them. Out of the things that the informants considered to be useful to them personally, no one mentioned Internet privileges, or fast transportation technology. None of the informants spoke of the material nor economic benefits of globalization in their lives. One informant pointed out that they have never felt that it is a: “[lottery] *a lottovoitto, a “blessing to be born in Finland”, on the contrary.*” (TA5, 69). This is interesting, since globalization has a tendency to be interpreted solely as being an economic development, and is often studied solely from that perspective. The thought of globalization as being also a cultural development is not often spoken of.

Globalization has been studied from the perspectives of social sciences, international relations and politics, only some of which were introduced in the beginning of this work in the chapter on Globalization. However, globalization is seldom studied as a development affecting individuals and their cultures for an anthropological view. The thought of globalization as possibly having a “civilizing” effect may seem even more far-fetched. However, based on the comments collected in this work, it would seem that the informants’ travels and experiences abroad, their contacts with culturally different people and relative indifference in personal material benefits of globalization has indisputably enhanced, effected and influenced many of the things the informants felt important; mainly their personal conduct and perspectives in moral and ethical issues. Seeing other peoples’ everyday lives has affected how the informants see their own everyday lives: *“the local people live everyday life’s even if they run a restaurant, that still is their everyday life. So similarities like that.”* (MW3, 96). How the informants actually implement these views was not the aim of the study, interesting though it is.

The question of the role of the traveler in globalization could be said to be one of diffusing and substantiating attitudes and mentality. These informants represented a group of people whose mentality was value

orientated. Traveling alone does not cause moral or ethical development, nor does it alone create values, culture or civilization. But the informants in this study, represent a group of people, whose original value base was strong and who, through traveling, gained concrete contact with the world. Through their travels, they gathered and gleaned information, which further influenced their value bases. Returning to their homes they further affect people around them, their friends and family, either consciously or sub-consciously. What this tells us of the process of globalization is, that though it is a macro-level phenomenon, it is carried forward on the micro level, by individuals. It emphasizes that though globalization is a controversial macro process, with many trends that can be studied from many different perspectives and academic backgrounds, it also can be studied from the micro-level.

Studying globalization on the micro level was not easy, mainly due to the general assumptions of the informants as well as academic circles, that globalization is strictly a macro scale economic-political phenomenon. The Individual seems to be seen as unimportant flimsy seed being bounced about by the contrary winds of a process they can never hope to comprehend nor direct. These prejudices to the study of globalization from an anthropological perspective hampered the entire process of the research. There is little anthropological research on globalization and no opportunity to air thoughts and discuss views in academic circles. Geertz stated that: "...most effective research communities are not much larger than most peasant villages and just about as ingrown", describes how difficult it can be for outsiders to grasp the conflicting views of research communities or to be part of a meaningful dialogue. (Geertz 1983, 156-7). Peter Burke follows the tradition of Elias and Foucault in his study of the process of civilization in popular culture in early modern Europe. Studying macro scale development from the grassroots level is not uncommon in anthropology. Global developments should be studied from all perspectives as well as levels of study. Studying globalization as a

graduate thesis is bold, but not unnecessary in gaining insight into a developmental trend, macro scale though it be.

The main questions of the research dealt with the role of the individual in globalization and the process of globalization as potentially a part of civilization. These questions were answered, but only to a certain degree. To be able to answer these questions more thoroughly, further research would have to be done, either by returning to the original group of informants, or by gathering a new group of informants. Is it important to study globalization from the grassroots level as cultural or civilizational change? It would seem odd for anthropology to pass an opportunity to study a trend affecting so many people the world around, and of making a contribution in creating a holistic understanding of such a diverse phenomenon, which will eventually effect peoples national, local and ethnic cultures.

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## Appendix A: Demographics of the Informants and the Interviews

Informants' background presented in table below:

Name:	Sex:	Year of Birth:	Academic Background:	Travel Locations:	Length of Stay:
SK1	Female	1975	English & Intercultural Studies	<b>West Europe:</b> England & Belgium	England 1 year, Belgium ½ year
LK2	Female	1967	International Relations & Russian	<b>East Europe:</b> Soviet Union, later Russia & the Baltic States	All together 6 years abroad
MW3	Female	1972	Physical Therapy	<b>North America:</b> USA, Michigan & Texas	5 years
MA4	Male	1965	Psychology	<b>Europe:</b> The Netherlands, <b>Africa:</b> Kenya, Namibia & Zambia	The Netherlands 1 year, Africa, work related traveling
TA5	Female	1967	Psychology	<b>South America:</b> Brazil, <b>Africa:</b> Kenya, Namibia & Zambia	Brazil 2 years, Africa 1 year and work related traveling
KT6	Male	1976	Social Sciences	<b>Africa:</b> Tanzania	8 years

**TABLE 1: Informants demographics**

The demographics of interviews presented in following table:

Name:	Time of the Interview:	Method of Recording:	Place of the Interview:	Length:	Transcribed:
SK1	Spring 2001	Tape recorder	Café Elonen, Jyväskylä	90 min.	21 pages
LK2	Spring 2001	Tape recorder	Café Elonen, Jyväskylä	90 min.	15 pages
MW3	Late Spring 2001	Tape recorder	Researcher's home, Jyväskylä	90 min.	15 pages
MA4	Summer 2001	Tape recorder	Informant's work place, Jyväskylä	90 min.	12 pages
TA5	Summer 2001	Tape recorder	Informant's home, Jyväskylä	90 min.	8 pages
KT6	Late Autumn 2001	Tape recorder	University Library, Jyväskylä	90 min.	10 pages

**TABLE 2: Demographics of the Interviews**

UNPRINTED SOURCES IN THE POSSESSION OF THE RESEARCHER

## Appendix B: The Template of the Interviews

The following template illustrates the structure of the theme interviews:

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- Interviewees Background
- Academic Backgrounds
- Early Travel Experiences
  - first travel experiences
  - where
  - when
  - how long
- Travels Later in Life
  - where
  - why
  - how long
- What Effected Interest in Traveling
  - family
  - personality
  - current situation
- Identity
  - national
  - local
  - personal/family
  - development through travels
- How did the Travel Experiences Effect Identity
  - effects of the place
  - effects of the experiences
  - national characteristics between home and abroad
  - identity crisis
- Thoughts on Communication
  - communication in foreign countries, cultures
  - language and non-verbal communication
- Returning Home from Travels
  - feelings on change
  - shock
- Thoughts on Travel Experiences
  - friends
  - accepting/seeing difference
  - thoughts on globalization
  - thoughts on identity
- Comparing Travel Experiences Between Countries
- Adjusting to Traveling
  - easy
  - hard
  - adjusting to change
- Thoughts on Globalization in General
  - trends
  - aspects
  - effects on people
  - effects on political relations
  - effects in individual peoples lives and relations
- Feelings on Globalization
  - negative
  - positive
- Possibilities of Effecting Globalization
  - how
  - necessity of effecting values
- Comparing Experiences of Globalization
  - comparing how different nations/peoples respond to trends in globalization
- Values
  - does globalization effect values
- Thoughts on Culture
  - personal culture
  - global culture
  - national culture
  - local culture
- World Citizenship
  - alternative to nationality
  - rootless entity
- Returning Home/ Going Abroad
  - shock
  - cultural shock
  - language shock
- Hands on Experiences of Globalization Acquired Through Traveling
  - bringing the world closer
  - making friends
  - learning cultural skills
- Future Travel Plans