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**Against all odds: Evidence for the ‘true’
cosmopolitan consumer**

A cross-disciplinary approach to investigating the Cosmopolitan
Condition

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MSc in Media and Communications

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Against all odds: Evidence for the ‘true’ cosmopolitan consumer

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Condition

Saskia Scheibel

ABSTRACT

Inspired by the soaring recent interest in the concept of cosmopolitanism the present study attempts to tackle the profound question of whether cosmopolitanism can to some degree supersede globalisation as the dominant framework to understand cultural, political and economic reality (Woodward et al., 2008). In particular, it seeks to investigate its applicability to the realm of consumption. Whilst cosmopolitan values do not put global products in the shelves – as perhaps globalisation does – such values may act to motivate whether they are taken off the shelves. This idea, however, has not yet established itself in academic literature as social scientists dismiss global consumption as ‘banal cosmopolitanism’ (Beck and Sznaider, 2006) and marketing scholars, in turn, seem to prefer more tangible parameters than cosmopolitanism for their research on global consumption (Kapferer, 2002).

The purpose of this study is therefore to empirically examine the relationship between cosmopolitanism and (global/local) consumption by drawing from and contributing to different academic disciplines. The particular questions investigated here are a) whether there is an association between cosmopolitanism and global consumption preferences, b) how well cosmopolitanism can explain global consumption preferences in comparison to established antecedents, and c) whether there is a ‘non-banal’, cosmopolitan type of consumer amongst all global consumers. To approach those questions a survey with 103 Berliners was conducted measuring cosmopolitan attitudes, attitudes towards global products (AGP), towards local products (ALP) and a combination of both (AGLP) as well as consumer values and indicators for banal consumption. In accordance with expectations the findings confirm a positive association between cosmopolitan attitudes and AGP. The data furthermore suggest that cosmopolitanism (overall) may be a better predictor than the other tested consumer values. The results, however, also reveal an unexpectedly strong positive association between cosmopolitan attitudes and AGLP. Finally, a typology of consumers preferring global products identified one group of consumers that contradicts the notion of banal cosmopolitanism and instead suggests a cohort of ‘true’ cosmopolitan consumers.

This study is to be considered less of a contestation of existing theories than it is a refinement. The value of the results, thus, lies primarily in their ability to encourage scholars to constantly challenge dominant theories and build new bridges towards other disciplines.

INTRODUCTION

“The consumer [...] is guided by aesthetics rather than ethics, and is concerned less with political ideology than with an individualized ‘right to enjoy, not a duty to suffer’.”

(Stevenson, 2003, pp. 129; Bauman, 1998, pp. 31)

The above claim builds upon the notion of trivial mass consumption associated with contemporary (capitalist) societies. One of the key meta-processes of modernity, that is considered responsible for the rise of consumer cultures of such nature, is globalisation (Tomlinson, 1999, Stevenson, 2003). Through the provision and marketing of standardised global ‘superbrands’ economic globalisation has not only homogenised consumer tastes worldwide but also promoted the kind of banal consumer behaviour the quote refers to (Klein, 2001). Consequently, globalisation is perceived as a “hegemonic project” (Worth and Kuhling, 2004, pp. 32) that determines everyday local experiences – such as consumption - without being a central figure in most people’s awareness (Tomlinson, 1994, pp. 154). Whilst it seems easy to accept this top-down principle as a valid description of contemporary production and consumption cycles, there are scholars - such as Hier (2008) - suggesting that the simple assumptions attached to the concept of globalisation are gradually undermined by a new emerging notion: reflexive cosmopolitanism. Advocates of this view grant the modern individual a greater amount of self-awareness with regards to their behaviour combined with a cosmopolitan orientation (Hier, 2008). Contrary to globalisation, cosmopolitanism is considered a largely bottom-up process coming from within society rather than forced upon by institutions (Roudometof, 2005, Brown, 2009). Beck and Sznaider (2006) seem to be convinced that the twenty-first century is going to become an age of cosmopolitanism. Assuming this was true and cosmopolitanism increasingly shapes social and cultural reality, the trivial nature of consumption, as described above, could consequently be transformed into a more political one. It is important to consider, however, that the cosmopolitanisation of society is yet far from being completed (Beck and Sznaider, 2006) and (consumer) culture in all its complexity is influenced by various meta-processes and movements (Krotz, 2007). Nevertheless, this study is inspired by the idea that there is already an observable link from cosmopolitanism to consumption which would - at least partially - challenge the intuitively valid opening quote.

Although a relation between the two concepts seems logic, contemporary academic literature rarely acknowledges the possibility of a link (Woodward et al., 2008, Egger, 2006) which is probably due to the fact that the two concepts are situated within different academic

disciplines. Cosmopolitan discourse almost exclusively takes place in the social sciences and humanities where only passing reference is made to consumption by entitling it as a 'banal' form of cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002, Beck and Sznaider, 2006) – which, however, does not seem worthy of any further empirical exploration from that side.

The investigation of consumption comes predominantly from a marketing or psychological perspective (Jackson, 2004, Merz et al., 2008) and is concerned with questions of global and local when it comes to brands. However, cosmopolitanism - other than globalisation - is hardly been taken into consideration as a potentially influencing factor (Levitt, 1983, Kapferer, 2001, Caldwell et al., 2006, Ghemawat, 2007). This is particularly surprising as the assumed causality between values, attitudes and behaviour deduced from psychological research (Ajzen, 1991, Schwartz, 1996) has been widely applied to studies on consumption (Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010). If cosmopolitanism is, in fact, a present value (Tomlinson, 1999, Brown and Held, 2010), potentially manifesting itself in attitudes, people would be likely to express those attitudes in their everyday behaviour - possibly in their consumer behaviour.

This brief insight into the subject illustrates how it may be possible, and indeed desirable, to link the two concepts and bridge the gap between those disciplines in which they are so deeply embedded. With this in mind, the attempt is to conduct a study that goes beyond the boundaries of a single academic discipline, in order to fill this apparent void in empirical research. The necessity for such cross-disciplinary studies has been recognised by many scholars stressing the importance of seeking new connections between allegedly distinctive fields of study (Jackson, 2004, Sassen, in Rentanen, 2006). By investigating the relationship of cosmopolitanism and consumption the aim is to contribute to the theoretical understanding of the concept of cosmopolitanism and also to provide evidence that challenges the widespread position amongst social scientists that cosmopolitan practices, such as consumption, have nothing to do with 'real' cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002). In addition to that, the current study is attempted to complement marketing science by suggesting that today's consumer preferences are not necessarily as trivial as claimed in the beginning, but instead can be somewhat related to political ideology, i.e. cosmopolitan values. This study is not primarily concerned with providing managerial implications for marketing practice but rather focuses on the conceptual level.

THEORY

Cosmopolitanism

The trial (and error) of defining cosmopolitanism

In order to investigate the relationship of cosmopolitanism and consumption it is crucial to firstly define the rather intangible concept of cosmopolitanism. Although cosmopolitanism only recently gained a great amount of interest as an object to study, its idea actually goes back to the Enlightenment and ancient Greece whereby philosophers, such as Immanuel Kant, stressed the need for a world community and world governance based on the notion of human interdependency and shared morality (Delanty, 2006, Brown, 2009). The term *cosmopolitan* has its origin in the Greek language and is mostly translated as ‘citizen [politis] of the world [cosmos]’ (Roudometof, 2005), although Beck (2002) actually translates it as ‘citizen of *two* worlds’, the ‘cosmos’ (universe) and the ‘polis’ (city). The latter meaning implies that the global and the local are not opposites in this concept – which has been confirmed by several scholars (Beck, 2006, Roberts and Arnett, 2008) - whereas the former could be interpreted as privileging the global and consequently as an alienation from the local. This slight ambiguity attached to the literal meaning gives an indication of how difficult it is to agree on a broader, uniform definition and interpretation of the concept amongst academics (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, Roudometof, 2005, Beck and Sznaider, 2006). The concept has been approached from different academic angles such a philosophy (Kant, 2003), politics (Held, 1995), or sociology (Beck, 2002), just to name few. Accordingly, definitions vary from describing it as “a large, ancient, rich and controversial set of political ideas, philosophies and ideologies.” (Beck, 2002, pp. 25), a “moral and ethnic standpoint suitable for 21st-century global life” (Roudometof, 2005, pp. 113) or the “social-psychological openness to difference” (Calhoun, 2003, pp. 538).

In addition to finding a universal definition, it is hard to draw the line between cosmopolitanism and closely related or competitive concepts like *globalism*, *transnationalism* or *universalism* as they are somewhat intertwined and overlapping (Roudometof, 2005, Beck, 2002, 2006). All of them are in some way related to the supposed polarities of global/local or national/international (Beck, 2006). There is little agreement, though, on how they are related to one another and whether there are any causal relationships between them, such as transnationalism leading to cosmopolitanism or globalisation leading to cosmopolitanism (Roudometof, 2005). The conceptual fuzziness associated with those concepts could potentially result in issues on a theoretical as well as

methodological level when further investigating them. For the aforementioned reasons a well-defined theoretical framework is critical to the quality of this study. Beck and Sznaider (2006) provide a useful overview of the concept that pays attention to the different dimensions associated with cosmopolitanism. The two authors distinguish between *normative-philosophical* cosmopolitanism, which refers to the original Kantian notion and *empirical-analytical* cosmopolitanism being concerned with the social realities of cosmopolitanism - measurable and observable within contemporary societies. Since this is an empirical study, the latter is the one of interest and will, thus, be further explored in the following.

Cosmopolitanism in empirical reality

When it comes to real, existing cosmopolitanism, you need to make two important distinctions, first of all between intended and unintended cosmopolitanism and second of all between attitudes and practices. According to Beck and Sznaider (2006) cosmopolitanism in the normative sense needs to be conscious and voluntary being characterised by a set of ethical values and attitudes in support of the idea of a world community. It is not made entirely clear, though, what exactly that means. Is the self-categorisation as a world-citizen (Szerszynski, and Urry, 2002, Calhoun, 2003) enough to be considered a cosmopolitan? Or is it the mere appreciation and openness towards cultural differences (Szerszynski, and Urry, 2002, Hannerz, 1996)? Are attitudes enough at all or do you have to actively engage in caring for 'distant others' as a public actor (Chouliaraki, 2008)? Unfortunately, there are no consistent or explicit answers to those questions in academic literature (Beck and Sznaider, 2006). Hannerz (1996) probably gives the most precise answer by stating that 'true' cosmopolitans feel the desire to immerse themselves in different cultures whether that manifests itself merely attitudinal or in form of certain behavior.

Another heavily debated question is whether cosmopolitanism is the choice or predisposition of a certain elite or whether it can be observed in broader society (Turner, 2002, Beck, 2002, Szerszynski and Urry, 2002, Calhoun, 2003, Beck and Sznaider, 2006). A reason for why it is associated with elites is because socio-economically privileged people have better resources allowing them to surround themselves with different cultures and cultural artefacts (Hannerz, 2004). However, when it comes to everyday consumption, global products are omnipresent and not necessarily more expensive than local ones – au contraire (Kapferer, 2001). Therefore, consumption theoretically provides an opportunity to express cosmopolitan values also for the less privileged. However, Beck and Sznaider (2006) state in this context that cosmopolitan consumption practices are rarely conscious or voluntary and

thus do not reflect 'true' cosmopolitanism. They claim that "the emerging cosmopolitan of reality is also, and even primarily, a function of coerced choice (...)" (pp. 7) which is why they suggest the notion of *cosmopolitanisation*, a structural process emerging as a side-effect of economic globalisation (Beck, 2002). Practices such as travelling or the consumption of music, food or media from outside of people's own national borders are thereby not considered to be rooted in the openness towards different cultural experiences Hannerz (2004) attributed to cosmopolitans. For this reason, Beck (2002, 2006) depreciates all such cosmopolitan practices as 'banal cosmopolitanism'. This categorisation corresponds with Hannerz' (2004) notion of 'thick' (political) and 'thin' (banal) cosmopolitanism. However, Hannerz (2004) at least does not foreclose the possibility of an overlap between the two. Other scholars state that cosmopolitanism can manifest itself in both, attitudes as well as practices (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002) but without going into further detail. None of those authors actually empirically investigates the relationship between cosmopolitan attitudes and practices, thus, there is no empirical evidence for or against Beck's (2002) theory of 'banal cosmopolitanism'. Admittedly, there is little doubt about the existence of such a trivial, passive form of cosmopolitanism, yet empirical research is needed to differentiate between banal cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan practices that are an expression of cosmopolitan attitudes and therefore 'true' cosmopolitanism. Unfortunately, research on cosmopolitanism as a whole is characterised by an imbalanced ratio of theoretical and empirical studies (Nye and Donahue, 2000, Mau et al., 2008).

There are a few studies that have empirically examined cosmopolitanism on the micro-level (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002, Mau et al., 2008, Woodward et al., 2008), however, there is neither much academic debate about their results, nor are they easy to relate to one another. Szerszynski and Urry (2002) conducted an explorative, qualitative study finding "some evidence of a 'cosmopolitan civil society'" (pp. 477) and some indications for 'banal globalism'. What remains unclear, however, - as the authors admit themselves - is the relationship between awareness, attitudes and practices related to cosmopolitanism. Mau et al.'s (2008) research is similar to this study as it explores cosmopolitanism on a conceptual level by relating it to transnationalism. It is only concerned with cosmopolitan *attitudes* though, and therefore does not address the notion of 'banal cosmopolitanism' at all, unlike Woodward et al. (2008) who provide the only empirical research that combines the investigation of globalisation, consumption and cosmopolitanism. The issue is, however, that the study measures 'true' cosmopolitan attitudes and consumption-based cosmopolitanism separately without actually linking the two - albeit mentioning the link. It thus does not answer the question of whether consumption practices can be rooted in 'thick' cosmopolitanism and consequently whether Beck's (2002) notion of 'banal cosmopolitanism'

can be translated into empirical reality. The reason why this has not yet been addressed might be the lack of a methodological framework because Woodward et al. (2008) point out the difficulty attached to the operationalisation of their research questions. This strengthens the cross-disciplinary approach of that study because a single academic discipline might not provide sufficient theoretical and methodological input to investigate the relationship between cosmopolitanism and consumption.

Although Woodward et al.'s (2008) study does not contribute significantly to exploring this relationship, their results illustrate that there is "a variety of different expressions of 'cosmopolitanness'" (pp. 8) which supports or at least does not dissent the idea of expressing 'true' cosmopolitan values through banal practices. Ultimately, consumption practices are "the ghosts of the society that carries their names" (de Certeau, 1984, pp. 35) which means that they can, indeed, reflect present values within societies. Additionally, referring to the individual level Stevenson (2003, pp. 77) claims that "the meanings involved in consumption are important sources of modern identity." (Stevenson, 2003, pp. 77, based on Røpke, 1999) and identity is often related to cosmopolitanism (Borja and Castells, 1997, Beck, 2002, Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). Consequently, 'cosmopolitan consumption' could function as a tool to construct a cosmopolitan identity and would thus not be as banal as claimed by Beck and Sznaider (2006). In order to define 'cosmopolitan consumption' it is essential to take a look at the literature on consumption.

Global consumer culture

Approaching global consumption (by climbing up the 'Ivory Tower'?)

When approaching consumption literature you are confronted with two different strands of research, namely consumer culture theory (CCT) and consumer behaviour (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Whereas the former - rooted mainly in sociology and anthropology - is concerned with explaining the symbolic, ideological and ritual meanings of consumption, the latter arises from marketing science and seeks practical, managerial implications that help controlling consumption in a commercial sense whilst more or less neglecting the social and cultural dimensions of consumption (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). CCT thus seems like a promising paradigm for this study as takes into account symbolic and ideological meanings attached to consumption. However, the marketing-driven consumption research dominates the field, especially when focussing on questions of global and local (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Those studies predominantly follow micro-economic and psychological approaches rather than socio-cultural ones (Levitt, 1983, Kapferer, 2002, Ghemawat, 2007).

Furthermore, marketing studies on consumption are not known for generating a great amount of theory and if they do it is often criticised as “ivory tower theorizing” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005, pp. 875). Nevertheless, those marketing studies could be useful to complement the framework necessary for this study.

Consumer culture as per described by the social sciences is concerned with the (overlapping or conflicting) practices, meanings and identities related to consumption taking into account underlying social processes and structures (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). The notion of *global* consumer culture (GCC) is always directly linked to economic globalisation by describing it as an increasingly homogenised culture of consumption lived by consumers worldwide, enabled through the provision of standardised global products and reinforced by global (mass-)media. Central to this notion are therefore global brands such as *Nike*, *Coca Cola* or *McDonald's* produced by powerful corporations (Jackson, 2004, Merz et al., 2008). In opposition to that are local consumer cultures (LCC) being perceived as the traditional consumer culture of one's home country, and accordingly local products (Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010). By embracing either GCC or LCC consumers are considered to add meaning to their lives by consuming respective products (Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010).

The main concern of marketing studies investigating global and local consumption, however, is not to study those deeper meanings but rather to optimise marketing strategies and consumer segmentation (Kapferer, 2002, Schuiling and Kapferer, 2004, Ghemawat, 2007). Although some marketing scholars acknowledge the potential (political or cultural) meanings attached to the consumption of global or local products (Watson and Wright, 2000, Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010) the majority focuses on economies of scale and revenue (Levitt, 1983). Educated from this perspective there is a commonly shared notion of the ever-expanding global brand and the nearly extinct local brand - the latter is considered cost-inefficient and inferior when it comes to brand value (Kapferer, 2002, Quelch, 2003). In opposition to this rather dominant notion, some scholars stress the point that there is some form of resistance to globalisation which is why it revitalises rather than erodes local consumption (Quelch, 2003, Jackson, 2004, Merz et al., 2008). Since this seems to be an important debate in marketing literature there is a lot of empirical research examining preferences for global or local products (Kapferer, 2002). Although this study comes from a social science perspective and has a different focus, marketing research can give important input, most notably because cosmopolitan research lacks empirical studies investigating practices such as consumption as per discussed in the previous chapter. For this reason it seems worth taking a short trip to the 'Ivory Tower'.

Empirical investigation of global versus local product consumption

First of all, you need to define what exactly is meant by global and local products. Whilst global products are “marketed and distributed in many countries around the world” (pp. 19), often in a standardised matter, local products are tailored specifically for the needs of local markets and consequently only available locally (Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010). Applying those definitions to cosmopolitanism, you can conclude that the feeling of belonging to the world community associated with cosmopolitanism corresponds predominantly with the consumption of global brands. You need to be careful though, because as Beck (2002) claims cosmopolitanism is not a rejection of the local, consequently cosmopolitan consumers could also consume both, global as well as local products.

As mentioned above there is a lot of empirical research coming from marketing scholars investigating global and local consumption, resulting in a variety of different approaches. One of those strands of research, for instance, studies the perceptions attached to global brands and the resulting brand equity. The key debate surrounding this approach discusses how perceived ‘globalness’ of products affects the perceived quality and brand loyalty in comparison to perceived ‘localness’ (Schuiling and Kapferer, 2004, Merino and Gonzalez, 2008, Natarajan and Thiripurasundari, 2010). It does not provide a useful framework for this study, though, because it fails taking into account any political meanings related to global and local products. Nevertheless, it illustrates the trivial dimension of consumption which needs to be kept in mind. The same applies for the *country-of-origin-effect* approach which studies the positive association consumers have with certain countries in combination with specific industries or product categories, for example fashion made in Italy or cosmetics made in France (Liefeld, 2006, Pecotich and Ward, 2007). This approach, however, only accounts for global brands and thus does not allow comparisons between global and local.

Research on ethical consumption sometimes opposes global and local products since the former are often considered ‘evil’ (Klein, 2001) whereas local products have a reputation for being produced ethically (Seyfang, 2001). Those studies actually examine the influence political attitudes can have on consumption choices. The notion of *consumer ethnocentrism* provides another – but very different – explanation for why consumers may prefer local products over global. Here consumers grant their own cultural environment a superior status and express this attitude through consumption choices (Shimp and Sharma, 1987, Watson and Wright, 2000, Balabanis et al., 2001).

A further strand of research takes a broader look at different ideological factors - such as values and beliefs - as well as demographics and socio-economic factors that potentially determine preferences for global or local products (Batra et al., 2000, Zhang et al., 2005, Alden et al., 2006, Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010). Studies from those authors give evidence for associations between materialism, nostalgia, age, social class or cultural heritage (western or non-western) and preferences for global/local products (Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010). Interestingly, Steenkamp and de Jong (2010) measure attitudes towards global products (AGP) and attitudes towards local products (ALP) as well as attitudes towards a combination of global and local products (AGLP) which corresponds with the idea expressed in cosmopolitan literature that global and local are not necessarily antagonists (Beck, 2002). Although Steenkamp and de Jong (2010) predominantly focus on AGP and ALP in their analysis, for this study AGLP could be a relevant dimension.

It stands to reason to include cosmopolitanism into this strand of research since it is considered an emerging value as per discussed earlier. Additionally, even within the spheres of marketing research consumption is regarded a tool for identity construction (Lamont and Molnar, 2001) – just as cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002). Cosmopolitanism might, thus, have predictive qualities with regards to global/local consumption preferences. Surprisingly, hardly any study seems to include it as an empirical variable. Steenkamp and de Jong (2010) relate universalism to consumption and find that it positively correlates with a preference for global brands – universalism is, however, not cosmopolitanism. Alden et al. (2006) name cosmopolitanism but do not actually theorise or measure it. Cannon and Yaprak (2001) were one of the first scholars to mention the term *consumer cosmopolitanism*, however, they use it for the development of a new segmentation strategy for international marketing without going far beyond the borders of their own discipline. They consequently disregard the exploration of the conceptual links this study is interested in. Caldwell et al. (2006) as well as Thompson and Tambyah (1999) conducted empirical studies relating cosmopolitanism to consumption but only by interviewing very ‘special cases’, such as expatriates, people with multi-cultural backgrounds or frequent travellers.

According to Riefler and Diamantopoulos (2009) consumer cosmopolitanism has potential to become a growing field within marketing research but is “currently still in its infancy as empirical studies remain scarce” (pp. 414) - due to a lack of appropriate measurement instruments as they reveal. Furthermore, the existing studies are often hardly based on contemporary cosmopolitan literature á la Beck, i.e. they do not have a strong theoretical basis.

All things considered, it is to conclude that main stream consumption research has so far neglected cosmopolitanism to a great extent even when trying to explain preferences for global or local products. However, contrary to cosmopolitan research, the field shows a lot of empirical studies that outline ways in which you can approach global and local consumption and allude to potential influencing parameters.

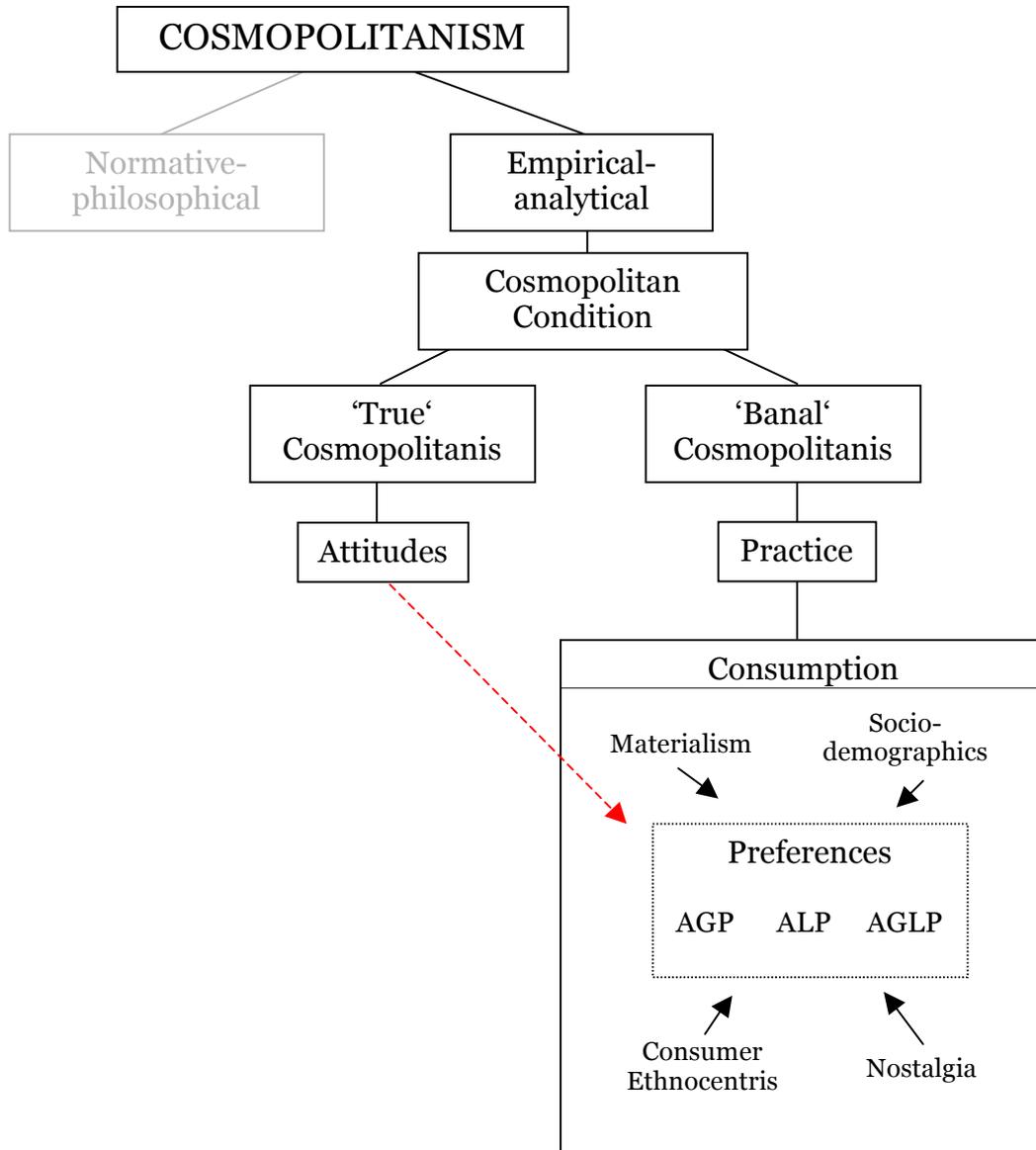
Conceptual framework

The literature review has revealed research gaps in both, cosmopolitan research as well as consumption studies. Whilst the former is characterised by a lively theoretical debate about contemporary cosmopolitanism across the full spectrum of social sciences, the latter hardly acknowledges it – least of all on a theoretical level. Cosmopolitan research, in turn, lacks empirical studies, particularly with regards to cosmopolitan practices such as consumption, whereas marketing science generates a great amount of relevant empirical research (i.e. global versus local products). The theoretical framework for this study needs to embody both concepts cosmopolitanism as well as global/local consumption. Since no academic discipline provides sufficient theoretical input for both concepts, the theoretical framework used can be imagined as a puzzle with pieces from both disciplines.

The outer frame is formed by Beck and Sznaider's (2006) notion of banal cosmopolitanism as part of their wider description of the cosmopolitan condition. Cosmopolitan practices in the form of consumption are central to this idea as they are regarded unconscious and involuntary and thus not truly cosmopolitan. Hannerz' (1996, 2004) description of 'true' cosmopolitans – characterised by having the desire to experience different cultures - is used as a complement to Beck and Sznaider's banal cosmopolitanism. This allows the distinction between 'true' and 'non-true' cosmopolitanism as well as attitudes and practices.

To define the core of banal cosmopolitanism Steenkamp and de Jong's (2010) attitudinal constructs - attitudes towards local products (ALP), attitudes towards global products (AGP) and attitudes towards a combination of both (AGLP) - are used. The underlying motivational structure in their model form consumer values like materialism, nostalgia and consumer ethnocentrism. This serves as the nexus of the framework and allows the investigation of the relationship between the two concepts as well as the comparison with other relationships.

Figure 1: Conceptual framework



Note: simplified illustration, based on Beck and Sznaider (2006), Hannerz (2004), Steenkamp and de Jong (2010)

Research questions and hypotheses

This study is attempted to close a gap in contemporary research by relating the concept of cosmopolitanism to the concept of (global/local) consumption. A bridge between the two has not yet been built properly (Woodward et al., 2008) despite several hints towards a potential relationship. The main research question emerging from the literature review is:

Is there a relationship between 'true' cosmopolitanism and consumption preferences for global/local products, and if so of what is it characterised by?

Arising from this rather general question are three sub-questions:

RQ1: Are consumers with strong cosmopolitan attitudes also the ones that prefer global products?

Based on Hannerz' (1996) conception of a 'true' cosmopolitan and Steenkamp and de Jong's (2010) definition of global products there is a chance that people with a strong cosmopolitan orientation express this attitude by consuming products that are purchased in many countries worldwide. This sub-question investigates the type of association between the two concepts and thereby contributes to the answer of the overall research question by confirming whether there is a relationship between the two concepts and which direction it has. In case this question is to be negated, Beck and Sznajder's (2006) notion of banal cosmopolitanism would be empirically confirmed. However, based on the literature review the opposite is to be expected which leads to the corresponding hypothesis. H1: *There is a positive statistical association between cosmopolitan attitudes and AGP.*

RQ2: Can cosmopolitan attitudes function as similarly precise antecedents for AGP, ALP and AGLP compared to materialism, nostalgia and consumer ethnocentrism?

Motivated by Steenkamp and de Jong's (2010) study results illustrating how materialism, nostalgia and consumer ethnocentrism can predict AGP, ALP and AGLP, this question seeks to determine the strength of the relationship between the two concepts in comparison to other relationships and tests the qualities of cosmopolitanism as an antecedent for consumption preferences. If cosmopolitanism turns out to be a useful antecedent, this would enhance the urge for marketing scholars to take into account a sociological concept such as cosmopolitanism. The fact that many cosmopolitan researchers emphasise the increasing importance of cosmopolitanism as an analytical framework for understanding social, political and *economic* change (Woodward et al., 2008) leads to the second hypothesis. H2:

Cosmopolitan attitudes can explain a greater extend of variance in ALP, ALP and AGLP than materialism, nostalgia and consumer ethnocentrism.

RQ3: What subgroups of consumers are there among those who prefer global products?

Despite the expected relationship between cosmopolitanism and consumption, several marketing studies discussed in the literature review show evidence that that there are also more trivial reasons why consumers prefer global products (Natarajan and Thiripurasundari, 2010). This indirectly supports the theory of banal cosmopolitanism and illustrates the complexity attached to the subject. Consequently, you cannot expect all consumers who prefer global products to have a cosmopolitan orientation but rather different types or subgroups of global consumers of which assumably one consists of ‘true’ cosmopolitans. The answer to this question gives an idea about the exclusivity of the relationship between cosmopolitanism and consumption. H3: *There is one subgroup among global consumers that is less ‘banal’ and more cosmopolitan than the rest.*

METHODOLOGY

Research Strategy

Rationale for method

The strategy developed to collect the data necessary for investigating the research questions outlined above focuses on survey as the exclusive method. Given the nature of the research question(s) an instrument of quantitative research is the logic choice since the relationship between different concepts (i.e. cosmopolitanism and global consumption) forms the centre of interest (Buckingham and Saundres, 2004, de Vaus, 2002). Due to the structured, numerical data generated through surveys the method allows the measurability of the strength of any expected associations (May, 1997), which is particularly critical to RQ1 and RQ2. The key attempt of this research is to explain the link between several already theorised concepts which is why it can be considered rather explanatory than exploratory. Surveys are well applicable for the former, whilst less appropriate for the latter being concerned with phenomena that are little known about (Buckingham and Saundres, 2004).

Survey has been used quite frequently to investigate the concepts relevant to this study (Cannon and Yaprak, 2001, Alden et al. 2006, Mau et al., 2008, Woodward et al., 2008, Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010). Mau et al.'s (2008) quantitative study particularly serves as a role model since it investigates the relation between cosmopolitanism and another theoretical concept (transnationalism) and thus bears resemblance to this study.

All of the above mentioned studies use attitudinal constructs to measure cosmopolitanism and consumption preferences which encourages in following this approach. Although survey is an adequate and popular methods to measure attitudes (Oppenheim, 2004, ay, 2007) it needs to be mentioned that qualitative interviews offer an alternative when measuring attitudes and values (Seale, 2004). Admittedly, qualitative interviews might reflect the complexity of people's attitudes towards cosmopolitanism and global/local products better than a survey as they go beyond pre-categorized answers. Szerszynski and Urry's (2002) empirical study, for instance, generates a deep - though not broad - understanding of emerging "Cultures of Cosmopolitanism" (pp. 461) by exploring the concept through qualitative interviews and focus groups. The potential lack in depth related to surveys is yet the sacrifice that needs to be made when aiming at associations between concepts since this is not possible through qualitative research (Hakim, 1987). Furthermore, contrary to surveys, qualitative interviews do not allow any inferential claims (Bryman, 2001) – such, however,

would be beneficial to this study. In particular RQ3 only really seems interesting if the results can be generalised to a wider population consisting of different groups within society.

For the aforementioned reasons qualitative interviews disqualify as a method to answer the research questions satisfactory, despite their potential superior accuracy. Survey can, thus, be considered the most appropriate method for this study. The pilot study did not expose any major issues with the method itself.

Limitations and sources of error

Social scientists often remark doubts about surveys being able to capture the complexity of social reality (May, 1997, Bryman, 2004, March, 2004). Due to the structured nature of the method, i.e. pre-defined answer categories, you can neither question underlying motivations nor incorporate detailed explanations (Hakim, 1987, de Vaus, 1996, May, 1997, March, 2004). A slightly simplified reflection of reality is, however, sufficient to answer the research questions. However, surveys also entail the danger of a distorted reflection of reality (May, 1997). The main sources of error are thereby *sampling errors*, *measurement errors* and *non-response-errors* (Moser and Kalton, 1993). The former refers to misleading results due to bias samples, i.e. non-probability samples (Fowler, 2001). In the case of this study, for instance, recruiting volunteering participants online is likely to generate skewed results as the medium internet itself bears the risk of excluding certain socio-economic groups (Helsper, 2011). This, in turn, can particularly affect the occurrence of cosmopolitan attitudes as they are claimed to be class-specific (Roudometof, 2005). Such effects, however, can be confined by a) defining your population appropriately and b) ensuring that the sample represents the population to the greatest possible extent whereby all members have an equal chance of being selected (Moser and Kalton, 1993, Fowler, 2001).

With regards to measurement error the critical parameters are *reliability* and *validity* (Hoinville and Jowell, 1977, Hakim, 1987, de Vaus, 1996, Bryman, 2001, March, 2004). In order to create valid items measuring cosmopolitan attitudes and consumption preferences you need to use indicators that actually measure the concepts of interest (Bryman, 2004) rather than closely related concepts, for instance transnationalism (Roudometof, 2005). This is best to obtain when constructing the questionnaire based on established theory and previous empirical studies (Buckingham and Saundres, 2004). Reliability is a measure indicating the reproducibility of the data generated by a survey and can be assessed through a number of procedures, such as test-retest or internal consistency tests (Fink and Litwin, 1995).

Finally, *social desirability bias* and is often suspected to occur in surveys potentially leading to false conclusions (Buckingham and Saundres, 2004). This needs to be kept in mind when constructing the questionnaire as cosmopolitan attitudes are likely to be considered desirable and consumer ethnocentric attitudes rather undesirable. Another common way of dealing with uncomfortable questions is merely refusing to answer certain questions or dropping out completely resulting in non-response errors (Moser and Kalton, 1993).

All of the above mentioned sources of error associated with surveys can be limited, albeit not entirely eliminated, through a careful research design and a pilot study (Fink and Litwin, 1995, March, 2004). The input generated through the pilot study has been incorporated into the procedures explained in the following.

Implementation

Population

The population chosen for this survey are the inhabitants of Berlin, Germany, which are - excluding under-aged people - in total 2.9 million (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2010). When studying global/local phenomena a city is often advantageous as you might lose a lot of information using an entire nation as the population (Borja and Castells, 1997). A western society seems appropriate as cosmopolitanism is still associated with the more affluent (Roudometof, 2005).

Sampling and recruitment

The ideal sample, if you intend to generalise from the sample to the population, would be a simple random sample drawn from an official list of all Berlin inhabitants (May, 1997). However, such a list is not accessible for this study. Multi-staged cluster sampling based on post-codes is considered a good alternative (Alreck and Settle, 1995, Fowler, 2001, de Vaus, 2002). Regrettably, the pilot study showed that this strategy is too time-consuming given the limited time frame and resources. A more efficient strategy - still containing a random element - was needed. The sampling frame for this study is, therefore, a list of all (registered) clubs in Berlin (<http://www.berlin.de>) enabling to access groups rather than individuals. The disadvantage of this sampling strategy is that you exclude Berliners that are not a member of some kind of club - supposedly very old and disabled people. Unfortunately this is an unavoidable trade-off given the circumstances.

To ensure probability 12 clubs have been randomly selected through multiple stages (see Appendix A). The survey interviews were conducted face-to-face through a self-completed hard copy questionnaire in the respective clubs. This sampling mode is expected to generate the highest response rate and to limit the discontinuation rate (Fowler, 2002).

Fieldwork was carried out during July 2011 and generated a total of 103 participants. This is unfortunately less than expected as the response rate in some clubs was quite low despite the face-to-face approach which reduces the precision with which the results can be generalised to the population (Antonius, 2003)^[1].

The quality of the sample, however, seems acceptable as it has similar tendencies in socio-demographic distribution (sex, age, income) compared to the real population of Berlin (Statistik Berlin Brandenburg, 2010). Merely the higher educated people are slightly overrepresented which may be due to random error, increased non-response among the lower-educated or the fact that there are generally more higher-educated people being members in clubs. A more detailed description of the sample distribution will follow in Chapter 4.

Altogether, some sampling error is to be expected since the sampling strategy had to be a compromise between theoretically ideal and practically realisable. This needs to be kept in mind when interpreting the results.

Questionnaire

Socio-demographics. The questionnaire begins with a few socio-demographics functioning also as an easy ‘warm-up’. The items are based on the *World Value Survey* (2005) as well as the German National Surveys (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010).

The following attitudinal constructs have been operationalised through sets of indicators using 5-point *Likert* scales (Bryman, 2001). They have been adapted from previous studies and translated into German. To limit possible social desirability effects short introductory texts precede each concept to reduce the ‘fear’ of answering honestly.

Cosmopolitan attitudes. Since there is no one dominant scale for measuring cosmopolitan attitudes (Riefler and Diamantopoulos, 2009), the most appropriate items - corresponding with sociological theory - from different studies have been used (Cannon and Yaprak, 2001, Mau et al., 2008, Woodward et al., 2008). In order to mix positive and

^[1] margin of error of about $\pm 9\%$ at the 95% confidence interval

negative statements some have been reversed. According to the reliability test the scales have good internal consistency^[2].

AGP, ALP and AGLP. The scales measuring attitudes towards global/local products have been adapted from Steenkamp and de Jong (2010). The statements reflect a preference for global products (AGP), local products (ALP), a combination of both (AGLP) as well as a disinterest, respectively for three different categories (brands, food and clothes). The original items contained some double-barrelled statements and were very long which is why they were slightly improved to reduce cognitive effort (Iarossi, 2006). Presumably due to variation among the different product categories, the internal consistency is slightly lower than for cosmopolitanism^[3].

Consumer Values. The scales for materialism, nostalgia and consumer ethnocentrism have been adapted from Shimp and Sharma (1987), Richins and Dawson (1992) and Holbrook (1993). All of them have been slightly improved in wording after the pilot study (negative statements, double-barrelled questions), however, the internal consistency for materialism was still relatively low^[4].

Banal consumption. To further investigate how banal people's consumption preferences are, scales have been created to specifically measure Beck and Sznajder's (2006) idea of banal cosmopolitanism. In accordance with their description, four dimensions of banal consumption (unawareness, inconsiderateness, forced choice, convenience) have been identified and corresponding indicators created. Since there does not seem to be any pre-existing research to base these items on they have been tested more thoroughly, in a test-retest^[5] procedure using a small sample of 15 respondents. Reliability was good^[6] and there were no major issues with the scales reported by the test-respondents.

Finally, there are a few open questions rounding off the survey whereby respondents are asked to spontaneously name the brands they associate with certain product categories.

Although the questionnaire contains all scale levels the majority is formed by interval variables. This allows the type of analysis necessary to answer the research questions, i.e. correlation (RQ1), multiple regression analysis (RQ2) and cluster analysis (RQ3) (de Vaus, 2002). The analytical procedures applied are further explained in the context of the results.

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

^[2] Chronbach's $\alpha = .81$

^[3] $\alpha = .616$ (ALP), $\alpha = .532$ (AGP), $\alpha = .534$ (AGLP), $\alpha = .539$ (disinterest)

^[4] $\alpha = .33$ (materialism), $\alpha = .62$ (consumer ethnocentrism), $\alpha = .52$ (nostalgia)

^[5] There was a gap of ten days between the first test and the retest.

^[6] All correlations significant at the 1% level, correlation coefficient $> .719$

Analysis and findings

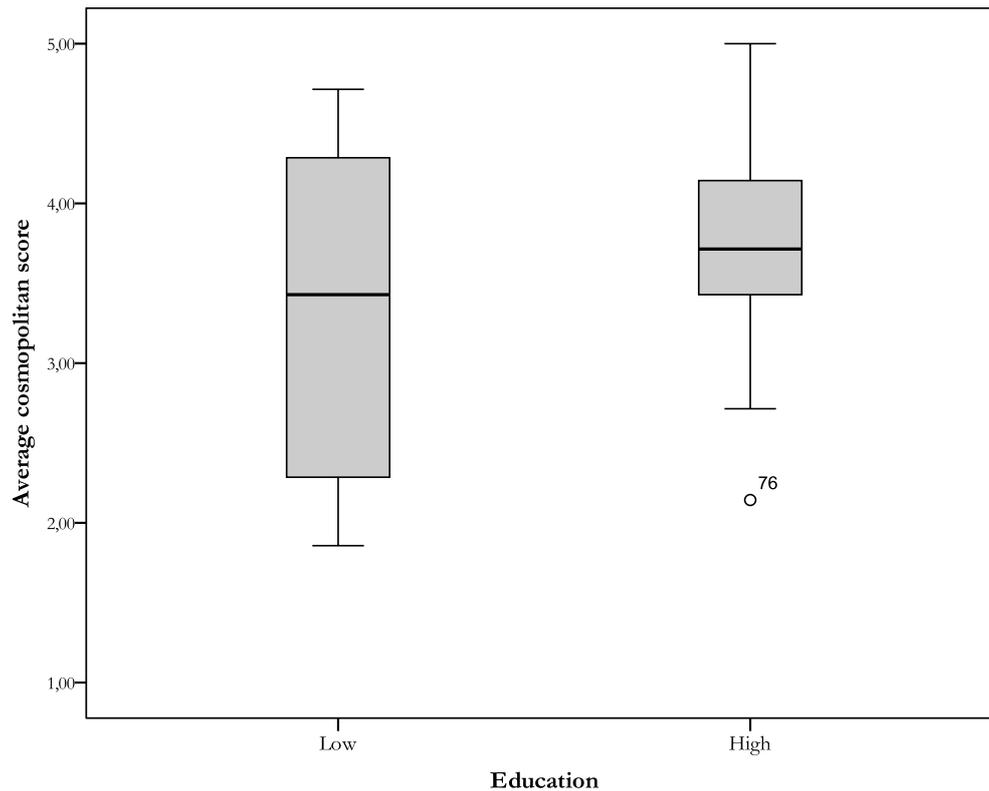
General descriptives

To put the results of the analysis into (social) context, it is crucial to shortly outline the sample drawn from the Berlin population. It consists of 47 (46%) males and 56 (54%) females. As mentioned before the educated people are slightly overrepresented compared to the actual population with 36% being categorised as lower educated and 64% as higher educated^[7]. In terms of age the respondents are distributed quite evenly among the different age groups (18-24 = 14%, 25-34 = 26%, 35-49 = 22%, 50-64 = 24% and 65+ = 14%) which corresponds well with the actual population. Resulting from the sampling strategy the sample contains participants from all 12 Berlin districts whereby 49% currently live in a former East-Berlin district and 36% in a former West-Berlin district. The rest lives in districts combining areas of former east and west. With regards to income about a third of the respondents (35%) earn below 1000€ (net per month), another third (32%) between 1001 and 2000€ and the rest above that. Among the latter, however, only five people belong to the income class 4000-7000€ and only one person earns more than 7000€ net per month.

To measure cosmopolitan attitudes respondents have been asked to agree or disagree on a scale from 1 to 5 with seven statements expressing (non-)openness towards and (dis-)interest in immersing themselves in different cultural environments as well as questions of belonging. A mean score for all cosmopolitan items has been calculated for each respondent – whereby a higher score corresponds with higher cosmopolitan attitudes. The mean score of the sample is 3.6 with a minimum of 1.86 and a maximum of 5.00. Out of all respondents 12% are categorised as having rather low cosmopolitan attitudes, 26% medium and 62% higher cosmopolitan attitudes^[8]. There is a significant positive association (at the 1% level, $p < .000$) between cosmopolitan attitudes and education whereby 75% of the respondents with higher cosmopolitan attitudes are also higher educated compared to 92% of the ones with lower cosmopolitan attitudes being lower educated (see Figure 2 for comparison of mean scores). Age does not seem to be strongly related to cosmopolitan attitudes ($p = .677$), neither does sex ($p = .483$).

^[7] Respondents are categorised as *higher educated* if they have completed A-level education (Abitur) or higher.

^[8] Average score below 2.5 = low, above 3.5 = high, in between the two = medium

Figure 2: Boxplot cosmopolitan attitudes (higher versus lower education)

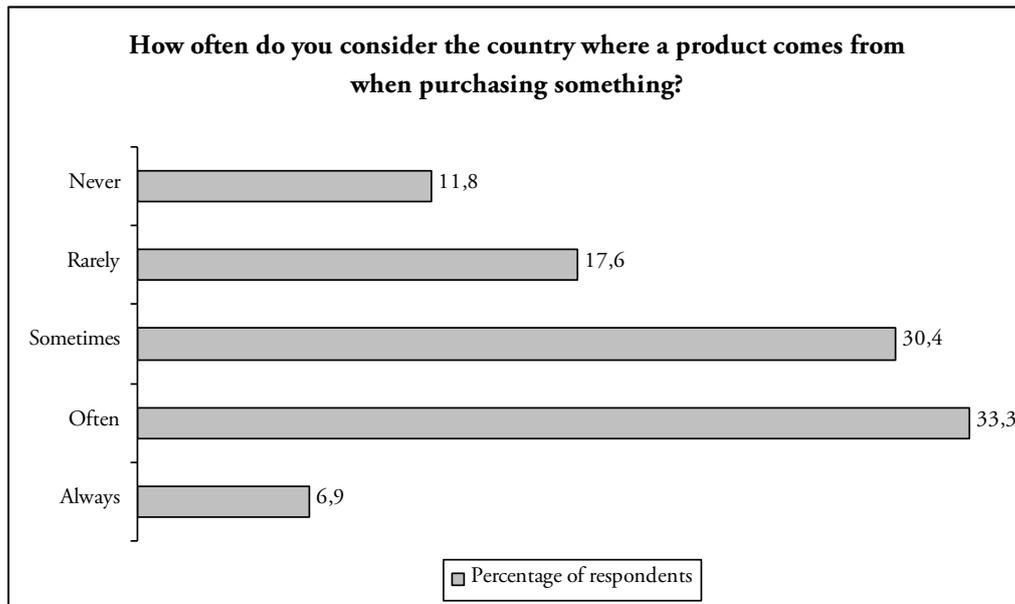
Note: N = 103

To investigate preferences for global/local products respondents were asked to which level they agree with statements like “I prefer to buy local brands that are sold only in Germany rather than brands that are bought by consumers in many countries around the world.”. The average agreement was 2.9 for global product preference, 2.4 for local preference, 3.7 for the preference of a combination of both and 2.5 for disinterest. Additionally, it has been calculated with which dimension each respondent agreed the most. This analysis has confirmed that the majority of respondents (76%) agreed the strongest with statements supporting a combination of global and local products, compared to only 12% for global and local products respectively. However, some agreed to a similar level with two dimensions. Among those that prefer local brands the majority is lower educated whereas the majority preferring a combination of global and local products is higher educated. There is a significant relationship (at the 1% level, $p = .008$) between education and those preferences, however, some of the cells in the crosstabulation contain less than five cases.

The items created to test the banality of the respondents generated some interesting results. As you can see in Figure 2, the majority of the participants claim to consider the country where a product comes from *often*. It therefore seems as if a decent amount of the

respondents, in fact, consciously purchases global or local products. Nevertheless, there are also 29% who *rarely* or *never* take the product origin into account. This becomes even clearer through the items testing people’s awareness as 30% state that they do not know whether they buy predominantly global or local products and 17% have no idea which products dominate the supermarkets in their area.

Figure 3: Consideration of product origin



Note: N = 102

Furthermore, 23% of the respondents admit that they would be very likely^[9] to purchase more local products if there was a greater choice whereas only 7% would be very unlikely. The agreement on the statement “I buy whatever is offered by the big supermarkets irrespective of where it comes from.” is relatively evenly distributed among the respondents. Unlike that, the majority of respondents (68%) confess to care less about a products origin if they like a brand^[10].

Finally, the analysis of the open questions illustrates that the first brands that ‘pop’ into the participants minds are predominantly global (*L’Oréal, Coca Cola, Nike*) across all product categories, apart from beer where most named regional (*Berliner Pilsner, Berliner Kindl*) or national brands (*Warsteiner, Radeberger*).

^[9] Agreement on a scale from 1 to 5 (1 = very unlikely, 5 = very likely)

^[10] Agreement of 4 or 5 on a scale from 1 to 5

The product preferences of 'true' cosmopolitans

The first hypothesis states that there is a positive statistical association between cosmopolitan attitudes and AGP. A correlation analysis has, therefore, been done - one-tailed since based on the theory the assumed association is directional.

The results of the analysis show that there is a significant (at the 5% level) positive linear association between cosmopolitan attitudes and AGP ($r = .168$, $p = .046$). There is furthermore a negative association ($r = -.256$) between cosmopolitan attitudes and ALP which is significant at the 1% level ($p = .004$). Interestingly, the strongest association was found between cosmopolitan attitudes and AGLP ($r = .366$, $p < .000$).

Based on those results you can conclude that the assumption expressed in hypothesis 1 could be corroborated. However, although the association with AGP is significant (at the 5% level) it is relatively weak in relation to the association between cosmopolitan attitudes and AGLP which somewhat diminishes the success of confirming the hypothesis.

The predictive qualities of cosmopolitan attitudes

To answer RQ2 a multiple linear regression model it has been created examining how much of the AGP, ALP and AGLP can be explained through cosmopolitan attitudes. Cosmopolitan attitudes as an antecedent are thereby compared to the predictive qualities of materialism, nostalgia and consumer ethnocentrism which have been confirmed to explain those consumption preferences before (Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010). Cosmopolitan, materialistic, nostalgic and ethnocentric attitudes are treated as independent variables and the AGP (and in a different model ALP as well as AGLP) are defined as the dependent variable. Attaining a high R^2 is not the primary concern of this regression analysis, instead the comparison of the explanatory variables is the focus.

The results for the regression model for AGP show that cosmopolitanism ($B = .205$, $p = .099$) and nostalgia ($B = -.373$, $p = .003$) explain AGP best. Cosmopolitanism is, however, only significant at the 10% level whereas nostalgia is significant at the 5% level. The regression coefficients (B) illustrate how AGP increases by 0.205 if cosmopolitan attitudes are increased by 1 point on the scale. In contrast, AGP decrease by 0.373 when nostalgia increases by 1. Materialism ($B = .044$, $p = .754$) and consumer ethnocentrism ($B = -.037$, $p = .727$) do not seem to explain a great amount of variation of AGP.

The second regression model using ALP as the dependent variable reveals that consumer ethnocentrism ($B = .314$, $p = .002$, significant at the 1% level), cosmopolitanism ($B = -.233$, $p = .041$, significant at the 5% level) and nostalgia ($B = .190$, $p = .093$) explain the variation of the dependent variable significantly. Materialism, again, does not seem to be a useful antecedent ($B = -.017$, $p = .896$).

Finally, the results for the regression model for AGLP (see Table 1) illustrate that cosmopolitanism explains the greatest amount of variance in AGLP ($B = .417$, $p < .000$) compared to the other values of which none are significant.

Table 1: Extract from the multiple regression model for AGLP

Model	Coefficients ^a				
	Unstandardised		Standardised		
	Coefficients		Coefficients		
	Regression Coefficient B	Standard Error	Beta	T	Sig.
(Constant)	2.244	.771		2.912	.004
Average cosmopolitanism	.417	.108	.410	3.859	.000
Average nostalgia	-.132	.108	-.115	-1.219	.226
Average materialism	.026	.122	.021	.209	.835
Average consumer ethnocentrism	.102	.093	.108	1.105	.272

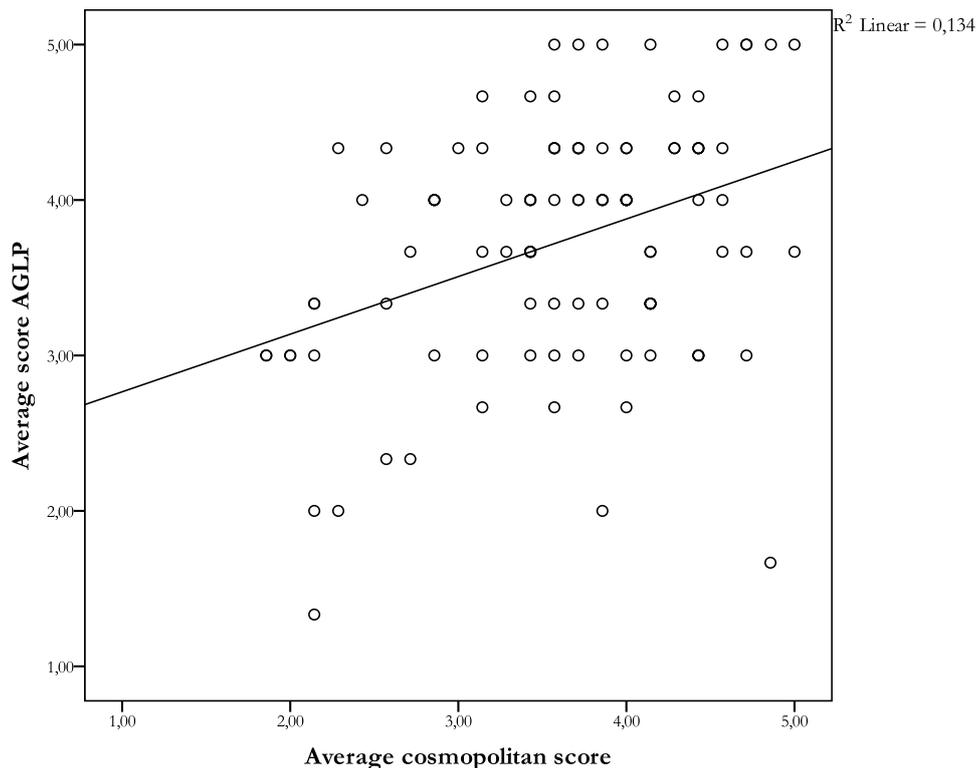
a. Dependent Variable: AGLP

Based on those results, Hypothesis 2 – predicting that cosmopolitanism can function as a similarly precise antecedent for AGP, ALP and AGLP as materialism, nostalgia and consumer ethnocentrism – can be mostly confirmed. For AGP and ALP cosmopolitanism was only the second best predictor - albeit still significant (at the 10% level for AGP and 5% level for ALP). For AGLP cosmopolitanism was by far the best – and only significant – predictor. You can therefore conclude that cosmopolitanism is a similarly good antecedent for global and/or

local consumption preferences in most instances and, in fact, often even better compared to established consumer values. The results again exposed the underrated relationship between cosmopolitanism and AGLP.

As illustrated by the scatterplot (Figure 3) the level of precision with which to predict consumption preferences based on cosmopolitanism is not very high ($R^2 = .134$) but that was not to be expected as there are a number of other influencing factors (see Chapter 2).

Figure 4: Scatterplot visualising the association between cosmopolitan attitudes and AGLP



A typology of global consumers

The theory and analysis thus far indicate a great complexity attached to preferences for global products. On the one hand there is (now) evidence suggesting that cosmopolitan attitudes can somewhat explain AGP, on the other hand the results also signify different underlying motivations. The third research question therefore seeks for a way of meaningfully grouping people with positive attitudes towards global products.

Filtering those respondents with positive AGP^[11] (N = 61) a cluster analysis has been conducted to find distinct groups of global consumers. WARD's method^[12] (hierarchical cluster analysis) has been applied to form the clusters as it is known to outperform most other methods in practice (Punj and Stuart, 1983, Aldenderfer and Blashfield, 1984). Based on the theory (Beck and Sznajder, 2006, Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010) the items measuring the banality of people's consumption behaviour as well as cosmopolitanism and materialism have been chosen as the classifying variables. However, only one item per dimension of banal consumption (awareness, considerateness, forced choice, convenience) has been included^[13] to avoid correlations (Mooi and Sarstedt, 2011). All variables were standardised already.

As WARD's method can be sensitive to outliers (Aldenderfer and Blashfield, 1984) extreme outliers, detected through other hierarchical methods^[14], have been eliminated before the final analysis was run. The analysis produced four distinct groups in which all classifying variables are significantly different^[15]. A simultaneously run k-means analysis created quite similar clusters^[16].

The following types of global consumers have been found:

The Globalisation Surfer. Respondents in this cluster have the lowest cosmopolitan attitudes and are most materialistic in comparison to the other groups. They seem to be rather convenient as they tend to buy whatever is offered by main stream supermarkets. They are not very likely to take into account where a product comes from when they purchase something - especially if they like a brand its origin becomes unimportant to them. They tend to be convinced most products offered are global. Respondents in this group are relatively young, by trend well-educated and more likely to be from West-Berlin.

^[11] Minimum average score of 3 for AGP

^[12] Euclidian Distance as distance measure

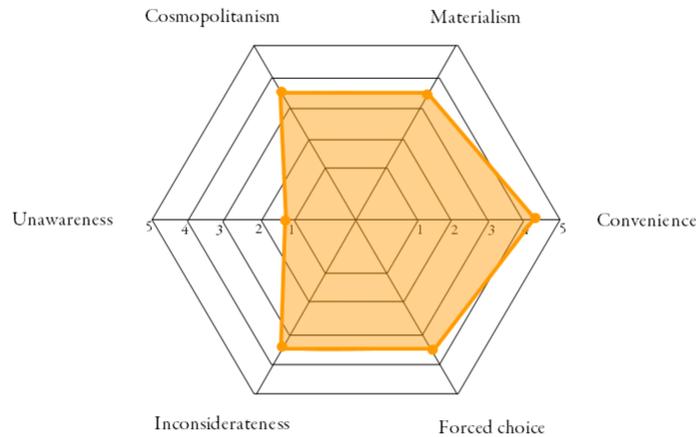
^[13] Question 8) = *considerateness*, 13a) = *forced choice*, 14a) = *convenience*, transformed variable created from question 11) and 12) (average score: "I don't know" = 1, other = 5) = *awareness*

^[14] Single-linkage, among others

^[15] One-way ANOVA: Materialism is significant at the 10% level (p = .060), cosmopolitanism at the 5% level (p = .022), all others at 1% level (p < .000)

^[16] For cluster 1: 9/18 are similar, cluster 2: 9/13 similar, cluster 3: 10/10 similar, cluster 4: 15/16 similar

Figure 5: The classifying characteristics of *The Globalisation Surfer*

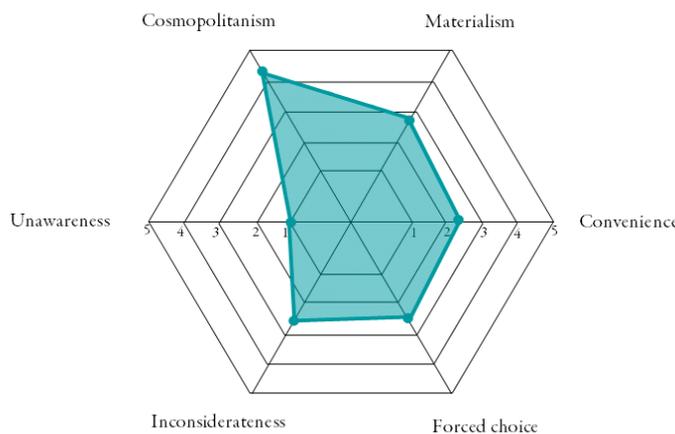


Note: Illustration is based on the approximate average cluster scores for each of the classifying variables (see exact figures and scales used in Appendix F), N = 17

The Cosmopolitan Consumer. Respondents belonging to this cluster have by far the highest cosmopolitan attitudes and are not materialistic in comparison. They seem to be very aware of what they buy and claim not to be likely to purchase more local products if there was a greater choice. Furthermore they do not seem to rely on what is offered by the big supermarkets, convenience is therefore unlikely to determine their consumption behaviour. In comparison to the first cluster, those people are more likely to think that local products dominate the offer.

Respondents in this group are more likely to be female, middle-aged and highly educated.

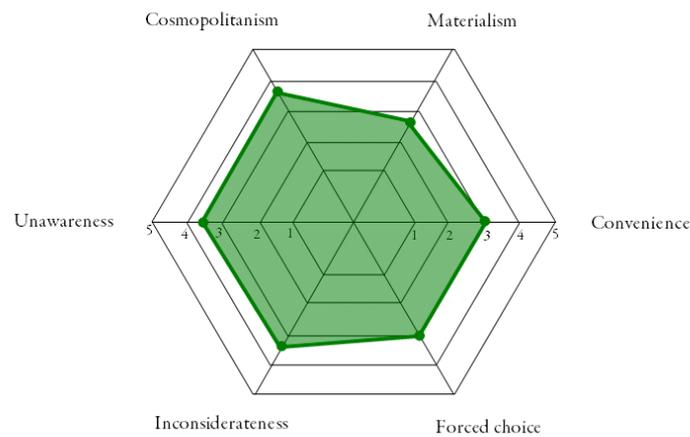
Figure 6: The classifying characteristics of *The Cosmopolitan Consumer*



Note: Illustration is based on the approximate average cluster scores for each of the classifying variables (see exact figures and scales used in Appendix F), N =13

The Blind Globalist. Respondents in this group stand out through their extreme unawareness and their unconscious buying behaviour with regards to global and local products. They have a strong tendency not to know (or care) what they themselves buy and what is predominantly offered by the big supermarkets. They are neither materialistic nor very cosmopolitan and also otherwise rather unremarkable. Respondents in this cluster are the least educated and on average the oldest in comparison to all other clusters.

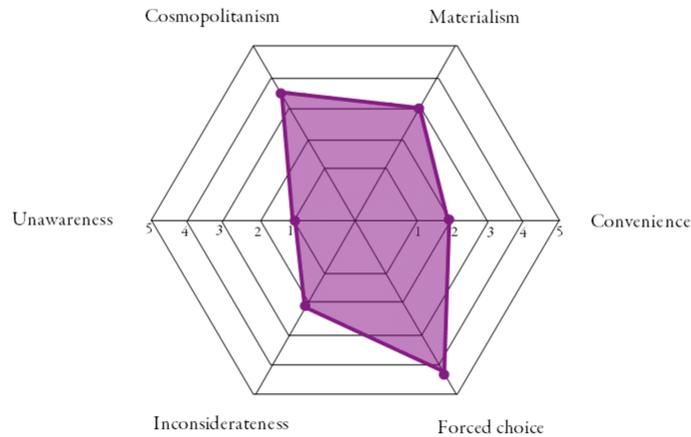
Figure 7: The classifying characteristics of *The Blind Globalist*



Note: Illustration is based on the approximate average cluster scores for each of the classifying variables (see exact figures and scales used in Appendix F), N = 10

The Victim of (globalised) Circumstances. This group of global consumers is characterised by relatively low cosmopolitan attitudes and medium materialism. They seem to be very aware and conscious with reference to their global/local consumption and do not shy away from additional effort related to shopping elsewhere than the main stream supermarkets. What is most noticeable about this group is their very high likelihood of buying more local products if there was a greater choice. Also, they have the lowest average income of all groups.

Figure 8: The classifying characteristics of *The Victim of (globalised) Circumstances*



Note: Illustration is based on the approximate average cluster scores for each of the classifying variables (see exact figures and scales used in Appendix F), N = 16

Table 2: Additional characteristics of the four groups of global consumers

	<i>Globalisation Surfer</i>	<i>Cosmopolitan Consumer</i>	<i>Blind Globalist</i>	<i>Victim of (gl.) Circumstances</i>
Socio-demographics				
Sex	Balanced	More female	Balanced	Balanced
Age	Youngest	Mid	Oldest	Mid
Education	High	High	Lowest	Mid
Income	Mid	Higher	Higher	Lowest
Other				
AGLP	Lowest	Highest	Mid	Mid
Think super-markets are dominated by	Global products	Local products	Don't know	Global products
Ad hoc brand associations	Global	Global	Mixed	Global

Note: Tables shows tendencies only, for exact figures and scales used see Appendix F

Base: participants with positive attitudes towards global products (average score for AGP ≥ 3 , n = 61, excluding outliers n = 56)

The results generated through the cluster analysis corroborate the assumption that within the large group of consumers that like global products there is one subgroup that is less banal in their consumption and has considerably higher cosmopolitan attitudes; *The Cosmopolitan Consumer*. Hypothesis 3 can therefore be confirmed.

Discussion

Reflection on results

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between the (sociological) concept of cosmopolitanism and the (marketing) concept of global/local consumption. The overall research question thereby asks a) whether there actually is an observable relationship between ‘true’ cosmopolitanism, i.e. cosmopolitan attitudes, and preferences for global/local products and b) what characterises this relationship. The preceding results, indeed, confirm the existence of such a relationship through positive statistical associations between cosmopolitan attitudes and AGP as well as AGLP and negative associations between cosmopolitan attitudes and ALP. The cosmopolitan oriented respondents in this study have consequently a tendency to prefer global or even more so mix global and local products. A preference for local products only does, however, not seem to be compatible with their openness to the world. Referring back to the literature, this corresponds with Hannerz’ (1996) description of ‘true’ cosmopolitans whose cultural interests cross their national borders. Presupposing consumption is a tool to express such values (Stevenson, 2003) a cosmopolitan-minded person would be expected to have an interest in consuming products that are not *only* typical for their own cultural environment. Of course that does not necessarily mean that all ‘true’ cosmopolitans express their attitudes through consumption behaviour since there are other practices such as travelling (Beck and Sznaider, 2006, Hannerz, 1996), political engagement (Held, 1995) or humanitarian responsibility (Chouliaraki, 2008) which have not been considered in this study. Furthermore, some cosmopolitan-minded consumers might not see much cultural difference in most global products because brands such as Nike or L’Oréal are often associated with Western societies in general (Klein, 2001) rather than a specific country. The scale used (adapted from Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010) is not differentiated enough to grasp such nuances which creates a methodological challenge to be addressed in future research. Nevertheless, the results for RQ1 and RQ2 confirm a relationship between the two concepts of interest and are, thus, indicative of the existence of a ‘non-banal’ cosmopolitan consumer.

Although the first and the second hypotheses have been largely confirmed, the results were somewhat surprising as the correlation between cosmopolitan attitudes and AGP was considerably weaker than the one for AGLP. In addition to that, the multiple regression analysis exposed that cosmopolitanism can explain AGLP better than merely AGP when compared to other alleged antecedents. Despite the hints in the literature, this has not been expected to such a degree - albeit fortunately still been grasped by questionnaire. Those results conform with how Beck (2002) interprets the literal meaning of the term 'cosmopolitan' as being part of *two* worlds; in this case the global and the local. The results of this study therefore provide empirical evidence for the notion that global and local are not opposites in the context of cosmopolitanism whereby people may adhere to the local whilst being world-open at the same time (Beck, 2002). For marketing research this finding probably adds an unpleasant complexity to the subject as there are no easy managerial implications to be drawn from it, such as ethnocentric consumers prefer local products and cosmopolitans prefer global. This, however, is one more reason to investigate in more empirical research on cosmopolitanism. Even though the regression models used in this study did not explain a huge percentage of the variance in AGP/ALP/AGLP the findings showed that in comparison to more 'established' antecedents (materialism, nostalgia, consumer ethnocentrism) cosmopolitanism has a lot of potential to contribute to the understanding of consumption preferences.

In the context of RQ3 it needs to be discussed how the remaining findings not only challenge yet also partly confirm Beck and Sznajder's (2006) notion of the banal consumer. The explicit specifications Beck and Sznajder (2006) assign to 'banal cosmopolitanism' ("unseen", "unintended", "coerced", "ritual" (pp. 7-8)) have been reflected not only in the entire sample but also – and critically – in those with positive attitudes towards global products, as per exposed by the global consumer typology. However, the cluster analysis also revealed one type of consumer who contradicts with those attributes. This group – *The Cosmopolitan Consumer* - is characterised by significantly higher cosmopolitan attitudes and low materialistic values. Buying global products, for them, seems to be a conscious and voluntary decision independent of hypothetical variation in offer. Based on those characteristics you could say this type of global consumer might like global products because they see an opportunity in expressing their openness towards the world by consuming products that come from outside of their national borders. Accordingly, this cluster can be interpreted as evidence for the existence of a 'true' cosmopolitan consumer.

The Globalisation Surfer, in contrast, is remarkably convenient. Due to their materialistic attitudes you might conclude that they seek pure pleasure rather than political ideology in

global products and take the 'path of least resistance' when it comes to consumption. They correspond well with the notion of the hedonistic consumer (Bauman, 1998) which is why their preference for global products is expected to be sensitive to trends; currently they appear to happily surf on the 'wave of globalisation'. Beck and Sznajder (2006) would label this type of consumer - deservedly so - as a 'banal cosmopolitan'.

The same applies for *The Blind Globalists* for whom the whole discussion about global versus local products does not seem to exist or be of any interest. They tend to be desperately unaware of their own choices and inconsiderate regarding a product's origin, and yet they seem to be positively minded towards global products. Their characteristics correspond with the unawareness of cosmopolitan practices Beck and Sznajder (2006) emphasise.

The Victims of (globalised) Circumstances represent a group of consumer that claims to be very likely to swap to local products given the right circumstances. This cluster is, admittedly, the hardest to interpret. Their preference for global products seem to be rooted in something else than pleasure, political attitudes or convenience. A possible explanation might be given by their low income. As mentioned in Chapter 2, global (everyday) products are often cheaper due to mass production and manufacture in cheap labour countries (Kapferer, 2002). Buying global for them could consequently be a conscious yet not volitional decision. If local products were cheaper their preference for global products might decrease considerably. However, price is only one possible interpretation of their characteristics. Other parameters that more or less force them to prefer global brands are conceivable. Regrettably, which ones exactly did not become obvious through the data collected in this study.

Altogether, the typology of global consumers generated very important and interesting results with regards to Beck and Sznajder's (2006) framework surrounding cosmopolitan practices. Whilst the authors depreciate all cosmopolitan practices as 'banal' this research gives evidence that there is a certain type of consumer that does not comply with this idea of the 'banal cosmopolitan'. Although you cannot retrace underlying motivations directly from the cluster analysis, you can confidently state that *The Cosmopolitan Consumer* likes global products, is cosmopolitan-minded and claims to make conscious and unforced purchase decisions. Accordingly, a positive attitude towards global products – presuming it translates into buying behaviour - does not have to but *could* be rooted in cosmopolitan attitudes. It is therefore too easy to 'tar all global consumers with the same brush' by saying cosmopolitan consumption is fundamentally banal. A more differentiated approach, building on the existing framework, is needed and the possibility of the existence of a 'true' cosmopolitan consumer - within the Berlin population - is undeniable.

Reflection on methodology

As illustrated by the discussion the research design and methodology applied enabled the answering of the overall research question. Using survey as the method the relationship between cosmopolitanism and global/local consumption has been successfully operationalised; an association could be observed and its nature further described.

What the results did not generate were deeper motivational insights behind the respondent's preferences as this is something to be achieved much better using qualitative methods (Seale, 2004). Depth, however, was not the primary concern of this study since the intension was to link not only two concepts but (at least) two disciplines on a large scale – ideally generalising the results to the wider population of Berliners. Qualitative research, however, could complement the findings by validating and further exploring the subgroups of global consumers as particularly the interpretation of one cluster was challenging. This is where the limits of quantitative research become apparent. Given the clusters from this study and their key parameters, the selection of participants for qualitative studies becomes easier. More importantly, this large scale survey illustrated that the link between the concepts is not a phenomenon related only to 'special cases' such as people with transnational backgrounds or expatriates as assumed in previous studies (Thompson and Tambyah, 1999) but can be found in broader society.

Surveys, in general, are considered to tempt researchers to manipulate – whether wilfully or not - due to the fixed, predetermined categories (de Vaus, 1996) and thus do not leave much room for 'surprise'. This study, however, proved to generate some relatively unexpected findings. Not only were competing values (materialism etc.) included in the questionnaire and compared to the predictive qualities of cosmopolitan attitudes but additionally all analyses have been made for AGP, ALP and AGLP although the research question mainly referred to AGP. Only that way the strong relationship between AGLP and cosmopolitanism could be detected.

Although the separate measurement of cosmopolitanism, consumption preferences and the dimensions of banal consumption worked well in the context of this study, the questionnaire bears resemblance to a patchwork. Future research should be attempted to further develop the scales, ideally towards one integrated scale for banal global consumption inspired by Steenkamp and de Jong's (2010) scales as well as the measures created for banal consumption. Prior to that, the scales measuring the dimensions of banal consumption need to be slightly optimised. Although the different dimensions proved to be reliable in isolation

it is not one comprehensive instrument yet. As one of the dimensions has a different measurement level, for some analyses several transformations were necessary to use all of them together. Nevertheless, the results those ‘novel’ scales generated were crucial to the contribution of this study.

The biggest issue within the methodology of this research was probably the sampling and recruiting of participants. Because the original sampling strategy turned out to be unrealisable, a more efficient strategy was applied; groups of people (clubs) formed the sampling frame. This approach made it difficult to estimate the final sample size resulting in a considerably smaller number of respondents than hoped for (N = 103). Although the quality of the sample seems acceptable when compared to the actual population, it is questionable whether you can make precise generalisations from the sample to the Berlin population – albeit tendencies should be similar. Claims about the proportion of Berliners belonging to the group of *Cosmopolitan Consumers* would thus be vague and have been avoided. Additionally, a comparison between different cultural environments (Western versus non-Western societies) could be interesting because many marketing studies already include so-called ‘emerging markets’ into their studies on global/local consumption (Batra et al., 2000). Cosmopolitan research, in contrast, is predominantly conducted in Western countries thus far (Mau et al., 2008, Woodward et al., 2008). The Cosmopolitan Consumer, however, might become a phenomenon observable in different cultures.

CONCLUSION

Inspired by the broad idea that ideologies organise day-to-day practices (de Certeau, 1984) and the assumption of cosmopolitanism becoming one of the key ideals of the century (Beck and Sznaider, 2006), this research was concerned with the empirical investigation of the relationship between cosmopolitanism and everyday consumption practices. According to most cosmopolitan theory the ‘consumption’ of cultural difference can be considered a banal form of cosmopolitanism (Beck and Sznaider, 2006). Consumption research, in turn, hardly acknowledges cosmopolitan values in their marketing-driven global versus local consumer debate (Ghemawat, 2007). Whilst the literature review identified the link between the two fields of study as a research gap, it also uncovered several clues for the existence of an association between ‘true cosmopolitanism’ and global/local consumption.

Based on theories and previous studies from both academic disciplines it was hypothesised not only that people with higher cosmopolitan attitudes would be the ones with the most positive attitudes towards global products but also – and more importantly – you can to some degree explain consumption preferences with cosmopolitan attitudes. Those presumptions have been confirmed by analysing the data generated through a survey. However, more so than preferences for global products, cosmopolitan attitudes seem to explain preferences for a combination of global and local products as correlations between those two attitudinal constructs were even stronger.

A cluster analysis of the data has, furthermore, identified four distinct types of consumers out of those who like global products. Assuming that the notion of banal consumption and consequently ‘banal cosmopolitanism’ is not to be dismissed altogether, it has been hypothesised that the typology would generate one group of consumers whose cosmopolitan attitudes seem likely to be reflected in their preference for global products. In fact, *The Cosmopolitan Consumer* appears to personify this type of consumer whereas the remaining three groups cover the different attributes specifying banal cosmopolitanism (Beck and Sznaider, 2006).

Taken together, the results provide evidence for the complexity attached to cosmopolitan practices, i.e. global consumption. A relationship between cosmopolitanism and consumption seems to exist and you cannot ‘lump together’ global consumers as one undifferentiated mass of banal cosmopolitans. The effects of ‘hegemonic’ globalisation (Worth and Kuhling, 2004) became visible in those three types of consumers who appeared to have developed sympathy for global brands for trivial reasons like pleasure, convenience, ignorance or a lack of choice.

On the other hand, the notion of reflexive cosmopolitanism (Hier, 2008) seems to take effect at the same time - even if on a smaller scale - referring to the group of 'true' cosmopolitan consumers.

The findings of this study contribute to the social sciences on the one hand - by challenging (partly confirming and partly disconfirming) Beck and Sznaider's (2006) theory of cosmopolitanisation. Future research should invest in more theory-generating empirical studies in order to refine existing frameworks. A more differentiated concept for the cosmopolitan condition acknowledging cosmopolitan practices as a possible expression of 'thick' cosmopolitanism (Hannerz, 2004) is needed. The results should on the other hand inspire marketing science to overcome the boundaries of economics when examining global consumption. Cosmopolitanism proved a useful framework, particularly when trying to understand why consumers show loyalty towards local and global brands at the same time.

In general, future research is urged to – alongside possible methodological improvements – consider longitudinal studies examining cosmopolitan consumption as global consumption is not only a measure for globalization (Haygood, 2003) but possibly also for the diffusion of reflexive cosmopolitanism. Quantitative research is therefore still crucial for understanding the cosmopolitan condition. However, it should go hand in hand with qualitative studies since only they can reveal the deeper motivational paths guiding the 'banal' as well as 'true' cosmopolitan consumer.

Referring back to the statement opening this study one can conclude that the majority of consumers are still "guided by aesthetics rather than ethics", however, a potentially increasing minority is indeed "concerned with political ideology" (Stevenson, 2003, pp. 129) when making a purchase - and cosmopolitanism could be one of the driving forces.

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