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The Role of Cosmopolitanism in Tourism Studies

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Abstract

The concept of cosmopolitanism plays an important role in our multicultural world, as it helps to understand and to find solutions to problems that can be caused by a globalized condition of the world. There is a lot of perspectives on interpretation of cosmopolitanism. In this Master thesis, cosmopolitanism is understood primarily as a competence or practice. The aim of the research is to explore how certain cosmopolitan characteristics can potentially be developed through tourism practices. Thus, eight Russian young women with a relevant experience have been interviewed. The results of this research show that tourism can provide us with a potential area for acquiring and developing a cosmopolitan competence. Tourism helps to see other countries and peoples with your own eyes. At the same time, it brings new challenges in understanding foreign cultures, what may lead to either positive or negative results in developing certain cosmopolitan characteristics.

Keywords: Cosmopolitanism, risk, adventure, gender, communication.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Tourism plays an important role in our lives. It generates both positive and negative influences on societies. In the research that informs this thesis, a potentially positive role of tourism is emphasized for our globalized world. According to Pirc (2014), currently, we are more aware of the plurality of the world in many ways. It has become much easier to gather information about the peoples of the world compared to previous generations. Consciousness about other cultures has increased greatly. Pritchard, et.al (2011) believe that the number of responsible tourism intellectuals is increasing. These intellectuals are interested in gaining “tourism knowledge which directly relates to the challenge of creating a more just and sustainable world” (Pritchard, et.al 2011: 942). According to Pritchard et. al (2011), global consciousness involves an understanding that we are interdependent, vulnerable and responsible to each other, to the natural world, and to the planet. This statement closely coincides with the concept of cosmopolitanism. From a moral perspective, cosmopolitanism is based on the idea of humanity: we are all humans and we have moral obligations to other human beings (Pirc 2014: 133). According to Swain (2009), relationships between tourism and cosmopolitanism have been poorly investigated. Having said that, Swain purports that an interdisciplinary Cosmopolitan Studies literature is developing.

The notion of cosmopolitanism has emerged since ancient times. In the 4th century BCE, it was used “to refer to an imagined community of intellectuals beyond the confines of their Greek city state” (Salazar, 2010: 56). Literally, cosmopolitan means “a citizen of the world”. The very translation from Latin of this word reminds us that we live in one world and that we are responsible not only before our community in which we were born or where we live, but also for the whole planet. That is why it is important to develop in ourselves certain cosmopolitan characteristics that can help to maintain peace between peoples of different cultures. Thus, the aim of the research reported in this Master’s thesis was to explore the potential for tourism practices to be a positive element in maintaining international relationships and recognizing global citizenship feelings. Certain scholars (Swain 2009, Molz 2006, Salazar 2010) believe that to be more cosmopolitan we need to engage with other cultures, which can be done by experiencing different tourism practices. To be able to successfully deal with others, a person should have “a flexible intellectual and aesthetic

openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity” (Salazar, 2010: 56). In this regard, cosmopolitans should be tolerant, respectful and enjoyable of cultural differences as well as have a sense of global belonging. According to Salazar (2010), anthropologists view tourism as a cosmopolitanism practice, in other words, travelling helps to acquire cosmopolitan knowledge or cultural capital.

1.2 Research Question

The aim of this Master’s thesis is to illuminate the potential for developing certain cosmopolitan characteristics through tourism practices. More specifically, the research question focused on how young Russian women describe their touristic practices, and analyze how they express and use a cosmopolitan competence in such descriptions. Later in this thesis, an explanation of what kind of definition of cosmopolitanism was operationalized and applied in this research is provided. That definition informed the empirical data gathering during in-depth face-to-face semi-structured interviews in informal settings (cafes) as well as analysis of these empirical data.

For the interviews, eight informants were selected. The informants were young Russian women, who had an experience of traveling abroad. Some of them also had an experience of living abroad. In the course of the interviews, several topics arose: the role of travelling in developing a cosmopolitan competence, the importance of communication in using a cosmopolitan competence, the role of risk in travelling and adventure as a purpose of travelling, and gender restrictions that may occur in a holiday trip.

In this research, the theory chapter is situated before the methodological chapter to make it easier to understand what is meant in certain parts of the methodological chapter. The methodological chapter contains certain notions that may confuse the reader. In this regard, methodological chapter follows the theory chapter.

Chapter 2 Cosmopolitanism and Cosmopolitan competence

Cosmopolitanism is a very broad concept. Vertovec and Cohen (2002) categorized understandings of cosmopolitanism in extant literature into six groups. In developing the categories, Vertovec and Cohen (2002) drew on the works of scholars, such as Swain (2009), Salazar (2010), Snee (2014), Molz (2006), Hannerz (1990), Szerzynsky and Urry (2006). The first of the six groups links the meanings of cosmopolitanism to a socio-cultural condition. Vertovec and Cohen think that in the contemporary world, the basis of cosmopolitanism condition is globalization. This cosmopolitan condition presupposes the following characteristics: transportation systems are more developed and it is easier to travel across long distances; mass tourism; large-scale migration; multiculturalism; and the rapid development of telecommunications. In the second group, cosmopolitanism is viewed as a philosophy or worldview. Vertovec and Cohen argue that contemporary political philosophers tend to divide themselves into communitarians and cosmopolitans. Communitarians are people “who believe that moral principles and obligations are grounded in specific groups and contexts” (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002: 10). Cosmopolitans argue that moral obligations may arise from specific national groups. The third group describes cosmopolitanism as political project I. According to this approach, cosmopolitanism can be created from above, e.g. in the form of international organizations (the UN, the EU) or, it can be created from below through the activities of new transnational social movements, e.g. the movement against Genetically Modified Organisms (Vertovec & Cohen 2002: 11-12). The fourth group is classified as political project II. This understanding of cosmopolitanism is based on the fact that there are multiple subjects. Cosmopolitan politics insists that people have and are encouraged to have multiple affiliations, because a person has a variety of identities (Vertovec & Cohen 2002: 12-13). In the fifth group, cosmopolitanism is viewed as an attitude or disposition. A cosmopolitan outlook presupposes the willingness to engage with the other, and an openness to different cultures (Vertovec & Cohen 2002: 13). In the sixth group, cosmopolitanism is understood as a practice or a competence. According to Vertovec and Cohen, cosmopolitan competence is a personal ability to interpret or to deal with other cultures successfully. Such competencies stretch from consumerism, in other words, globalization of tastes in food, music, clothes, literature, etc., to learning and practice, for example, learning languages, travelling, etc.

Interest in the concept of cosmopolitanism in Tourism Studies has only appeared recently. Swain (2009) argues that cosmopolitanism has mainly been considered as “a philosophical, moral or cultural perspective” (Swain 2009: 516). She claims that such an abstract viewing of the concept cannot be applied to interpreting the phenomena in real life. According to Swain (2009), currently, there is a tendency to materialize the concept of cosmopolitanism in order to understand how it is embodied in people’s everyday life and tourism practices. This materialization of cosmopolitanism manifests itself in the concept of embodiment. According to Swain (2009), in the early 21st century, intellectual and aesthetic orientations toward cultural and geographical difference have been formed. These orientations can be understood in terms of either cosmopolitan practice or cosmopolitan personhood.

Among other scholars, who discuss cosmopolitanism as a practice or a person’s outlook are Szerszynski and Urry (2002). They talk about seven cosmopolitan predispositions and practices. The first cosmopolitan predisposition is extensive mobility. People have the right to travel by various means: corporeally, virtually, imaginatively. Subsequently, people have few constraints when they travel either physically or virtually. For example, people can be prevented from travelling in a physical way because of foreign affairs. What is more, people can be prevented from imaginative or virtual travelling because of internal policy. We used to think that mobility presupposes only corporeal movements from one place to another. However, mobility can be virtual and imaginative due to technologies and other sources. So, we can engage in imaginative travel by reading a book or watching a film. Virtually, we can be in two places simultaneously when we have a skype conversation. The second predisposition is the ability to consume the otherness en route. This means that people are capable of consuming many places, environments and peoples on the way. This is very closely connected with the right to travel. According to Szerszynski and Urry (2002), consumption processes can be important for cosmopolitanism. When we participate in consumption processes in and through the media, “we can experience ourselves as part of a dispersed, global civicness united by simultaneously watching with millions of dispersed others” (Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 471). The third predisposition is curiosity. People show curiosity about places and cultures. Showing curiosity is one’s ability to enter into a different culture, which is an important constituent of cosmopolitan competence. The rest of the cosmopolitan predispositions were not clarified in Szerszynsky and Urry’s article. However, Hannerz’s (1990) understanding of cosmopolitanism coincides with the other four cosmopolitan predispositions that were named by Szerszynsky and Urry.

Thus, the fourth predisposition is risky encounters. People want to be involved in risky encounters with the 'other'. In this way, they show a willingness to engage with the other, which is an important characteristic of a cosmopolitan (Hannerz, 1990: 239). Cosmopolitans are open to risks posed by new things in different cultures. The fifth predisposition is mapping. People are able to map or reflect aesthetically upon different places and cultures. Thus, people show an "aesthetic and intellectual stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences, they search for contrasts rather than uniformity" (Hannerz, 1990: 239). The sixth predisposition is openness to others. People should be open to an other's cultures. According to Hannerz, cosmopolitanism presupposes "relationships to a plurality of cultures understood as distinctive entities. (And the more the better)" (Hannerz, 1990: 239). Cosmopolitan should appreciate the diversity itself, the coexistence of different cultures. The seventh predisposition is semiotic skills. People should possess semiotic skill to interpret images of other and their own nation-states. Hannerz argues, that cosmopolitanism can be understood as a competence. A person should be able to make his or her "way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting and reflecting. And there is a cultural competence ... in manoeuvring more or less expertly with a particular system of meanings and meaningful forms" (Hannerz, 1990: 239). In this regard, all these seven predispositions and practices can be included into a cosmopolitan competence.

Swain as well as Szerzsynsky and Urry tend to materialize the concept of cosmopolitanism. These three were interested in how cosmopolitanism can be embodied in people's everyday lives and in tourism practices. Swain mostly concentrated on cosmopolitanism as a practice or competence, while Szerzsynsky and Urry investigated it primarily as a consumption practice. However, according to Vertovec and Cohen's understanding of cosmopolitan competence, it is a personal ability to interpret or to deal with other cultures successfully. Such competencies stretch from consumerism to learning and practice. In this regard, the scholars investigate two different sides of the one coin.

Swain (2009) argues that cosmopolitanism cannot be measured yet, because of its abstract meaning. In this regard, she mentions Schueth and O'Loughlin's empirical measure of cosmopolitanism. They investigated societal attitudes and tried to measure such a cosmopolitan characteristic as a feeling of belonging to the world as a whole. In the course of their empirical investigation, the scholars found out that gender and religion do not influence

cosmopolitan outlook significantly, while age and education do (Swain, 2009: 513). Despite the fact that scholars made an attempt to measure cosmopolitanism, they interpreted this concept in an abstract way, which does not match Swain's material understanding of cosmopolitanism.

Swain (2009) argues that the combination of practice and personhood leads to the analytical tool of embodiment. Such an analytical tool helps to explain how people perform and practice their orientations, identities and power through their body. She believes that concentration on the body does not simply mean sensuality, for example, feelings and doings, or biology. Rather, it means cultural performances, identities and power relations of human interactions (Swain, 2009: 510). These performances, identities and power are manifested in values, ethics and laws that are constructed in certain social systems. In this regard, cosmopolitanism is embodied in tourism subjects in the form of identities, performances and power. So one of the questions posed in Swain's article is how cosmopolitanism is embodied (Swain, 2009: 515).

The tourist as an embodied cosmopolitan subject is poorly investigated (Swain, 2009: 516). However, Molz (2005, 2006, 2007) has attempted to address this. She reflexes on tourist's cosmopolitan traits in her works. According to Swain, Molz's thesis is that highly mobile people perform a kind of cosmopolitanism that can be understood as both a cultural disposition and a physical orientation toward our world. Molz (2006) is interested in how round-the-world travelers embody such cosmopolitan characteristics as mobility, tolerance and openness to different cultures not just as a cultural disposition, but also as a physical orientation toward the global.

In her research, Molz tries to find out how certain characteristics of cosmopolitanism, such as flexibility, adaptability, tolerance and openness to difference, are embodied by a specific group of travelers. Molz introduces the concept of 'fit', which can be interpreted in two ways. From the one hand, 'fit' refers to the traveler's physical condition, such as their physical preparation for travelling or their embodiment of a sense of tolerance or openness to the world. Travelers may work out, buy and pack clothes and equipment, assemble first aid kits and pack protective items, such as sunglasses, insect repellent, or get immunized against a variety of diseases. Thus, in working out travelers make their body ready to go global and be open to the world (Molz 2006: 5-7). From the other hand, it denotes suitability "and refers to

the traveler's ability to blend in and navigate through a variety of geographical and cultural environments" (Molz, 2006: 6).

Sometimes travelers want to blend in with locals. Or, they may want to blend in with a more generic community of travelers, a community in which it is not clear from where a person is or to where he/she is going. "They are not trying to fit in somewhere but anywhere" (Molz, 2006: 14). But not all bodies adapt to the environment in the same way. Some bodies are more adaptable than the others. For example, this ability of adaptability can be influenced by the colour of skin or sex. Molz argues that in today's globalized world new identities have been created. Thus, we can talk not only about national identities, but cosmopolitan identities, as well. Her article *Getting a "flexible eye": round-the-world travel and scales of cosmopolitan citizenship* (2005) is dedicated to investigating this relationships between cosmopolitan and national identities. The importance of education in acquiring cosmopolitan identities is a debatable question (Swain 2009). For example, Schueth and O'Loughlin argue that being more cosmopolitan depends on education, while Swain (2009) doubts it and provides an example of an illiterate Sani woman, "who is as cosmopolitan in her knowledge of Sani culture and the outer world as other educated Sani people" (Swain, 2009: 518). She is a shaman, at the same time she produces and sells souvenirs for tourists. According to Swain, she was aware of the international consumer culture and their willingness to experience authenticity of the other. In this regard, she always wore a traditional Sani costume to perform the role of Sani producer. Thus, it is not only being a tourist opens people's minds. Sometimes being a host, can help you to develop certain cosmopolitan characteristics.

The problem of the necessity of education is also discussed in the book *Cosmopolitan journey?: difference, distinction and identity work in Gap Year travel* by H. Snee. Snee analyses in the book the usefulness of a gap year for young people in becoming cosmopolitan persons. She understands the notion of being cosmopolitan as "a global citizen who is open to cultural difference" (Snee, 2014: 1). Gap year travelling coincides with the idea of being cosmopolitan: mobile, engaged with the world, and eager for new experiences. Gap years cause global citizenship and awareness of international inequalities (Snee, 2014: 1-10). However, gap year travel is a highly contradictory practice. Young people are supposed to travel to other countries in order to acquire cosmopolitan knowledge/cultural capital. Instead of this, a lot of people consider this practice as a privilege of elite and that people take a gap year just for fun. Thus, there is a question, whether everybody can be

cosmopolitan or just a particular group of people. In this regard, Swain complemented Molz's research, which only investigated Western, white, privileged English speaking travelers, by applying Molz's methods to other groups of backpackers.

Grinstein and Wathieu studied expatriates, whom they defined as:

“people who take a work or study assignment in a foreign location, independently or sent by an organization to which they belong—often a multinational corporation” (Grinstein & Wathieu 2012: 338).

They investigated two groups of people; cosmopolitan expatriates and non-cosmopolitan expatriates. In their article, they try to answer the question “whether cosmopolitan identity involves openness and adaptability to new environments or instead favors maintaining a global lifestyle that persists across environments” (Grinstein & Wathieu 2012: 337). The scholars measured the level of cosmopolitanism by using the following items: cross-cultural openness and diversity; broad experience in many countries; interest in travels and stays abroad. These items were measured by using seven-point Likert agreement scales. Thus, under non-cosmopolitan expatriates they understand people who stick to their previous choices in new environments. For example, they buy products that are transported from their own country or cancel an appointment to the doctor until the next trip to their home country. Non-cosmopolitan expatriates are characterized by maladjustment. On the contrary, cosmopolitan expatriates are less likely “to be driven by preference persistence and gradual adaptation” (Grinstein & Wathieu 2012: 338). The scholars expected cosmopolitans to be characterized by curiosity, sense of adventure, openness to diversity. Moreover, cosmopolitan expatriates use semiotic skills actively while consuming cultural differences and are eager to be engaged in local experiences. At the same time, cosmopolitans hesitate to permanently adjust to any local environments (Grinstein & Wathieu 2012: 338). In the course of investigation, Grinstein and Wathieu found out that the expected duration of trips could influence cosmopolitan behavior. In short-duration trips, cosmopolitan expatriates adjusted more to new environments than non-cosmopolitan expatriates. In long-duration trips, non-cosmopolitan expatriates adjust more to the foreign country while cosmopolitan expatriates prefer a global lifestyle (Grinstein & Wathieu 2012: 337). The authors argue that cosmopolitans can be more open and adaptable than non-cosmopolitans. However, cosmopolitans tend to look for global consumption patterns that they bring with them wherever

they go. It is not likely for expatriates with a cosmopolitan identity to be driven by preference persistence and gradual adaptation. It is common to consider cosmopolitans as people who are driven by curiosity and their adventurous nature, open to the diversity of cultures. Thus, sometimes the adaptation process is like an emotional struggle. We can continue to develop a cosmopolitan competence till we are ready to experience this emotional struggle. Otherwise, we stop appreciating the local culture and tend to engage into a global lifestyle.

For the purposes of their research, they applied a measurement scale of cosmopolitanism that was based on different sources. According to the scholars, one of the items in the main conceptualization of cosmopolitanism was openness to diversity. Other items were in tune with viewing a cosmopolitan as a person with a rich travel experience and an interest in travelling and staying abroad (Grinstein & Wathieu 2012: 340). Thus, Grinstein and Wathieu as well as Molz, think that a cosmopolitan presupposes corporeal mobility. Such an approach does not match Swain or Szerszynsky and Urry's approaches; these three believe that in order to develop your cosmopolitan competence, it is not necessary to travel. It is possible to be virtually or imaginatively mobile to be cosmopolitan as well.

In conclusion, for the purposes of empirical analysis of my research, the concept of cosmopolitanism was interpreted on two levels. On the first level, cosmopolitanism is understood as a competence or practice that help to deal and interpret other cultures. According to Vertovec and Cohen (2002), such a competence presupposes both consumerism (globalization in tastes in food, music, clothes, literature, etc.) and learning and practice, for example, learning languages and travelling. According to Swain, it is important to materialize the concept of cosmopolitanism to make use of it in real life. Materialization of this concept lies in the notion of embodiment. Considering all the scholars that have been discussed in the present chapter, cosmopolitanism was studied as an embodied practice in tourism activities in this Mater's thesis. In other words, I will follow the scholars that tend to investigate how certain cosmopolitan predispositions or characteristics are embodied in human practices and competences. On the second level, cosmopolitanism can be engaged to a certain level to the cosmopolitan predispositions that were allocated by Szerszynsky and Urry (2002). These predispositions are virtual, imaginative and corporeal mobility, consumption of places, peoples and cultures on the way, curiosity about other cultures, willingness to engage in risky encounters, mapping and semiotic skills and openness to diversity. Moreover, cosmopolitan characteristics, such as flexibility, adaptability and tolerance, which were studied by Molz

(2007), can also be important in understanding a cosmopolitan as a personal characteristic. In this regard, Szerszynsky and Urry's as well as Molz's understandings of cosmopolitanism are combined. However, cosmopolitan characteristics, such as virtual, corporeal, and imaginative mobility do not coincide with Molz' or Grinstein & Wathieu's interpretation of cosmopolitan characteristics, as these three investigated people who experienced only corporeal mobility.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This methodological chapter describes how the empirical research that informed this thesis was designed and conducted within a framework of qualitative inquiry. The choice of qualitative inquiry can be explained by its ontological, epistemological and methodological relevance to the research question, which was presented in the Introduction chapter. Within a qualitative paradigm, qualitative in-depth individual interviews were chosen as the most suitable technique, because of the type of analysis that was to follow empirical data collection. The design of the interview guide is also presented in this chapter. Following the interview guide, the criteria for selecting the target group are described and explained. Finally, the chapter describes how my Master's research corresponds to research ethics principles. The main principles of research ethics were implemented during the research process.

3.2 Qualitative Research

In the thesis related research, a qualitative method was chosen, because the research question presupposed exploratory analysis. Qualitative research emphasizes understanding the world from the point of view of its participants. In the framework of a qualitative perspective, social life is considered as the result of interaction and interpretations. Subsequently, if a qualitative approach is chosen, a phenomenon can be interpreted “in terms of the meanings people bring to them, humanizing problems and gaining an ‘emic’, or insider’s, perspective” (Phillimore and Goodson 2004: 4).

Qualitative inquiry is in tune with a constructivist paradigm. From an ontological point of view, constructivists “believe there is no reality other than what individuals create in their heads” (Mason 2014: 51). Thus, the idea of multiple realities coincides with the very nature of the researched notion of cosmopolitanism. From an epistemological point of view, if constructivists think that there is no objective reality or universal truths, the researcher can gain knowledge by interacting with those being studied (Mason 2014: 52). In this regard, this kind of knowledge is supposed to be gained by interacting with people to find out their attitudes and behavior in relation to the studied concept of cosmopolitanism.

The method of qualitative interviewing was chosen to conduct the thesis research as it matched a qualitative epistemology. According to McGehee (2012), the usefulness of any research method depends on its fit with the research question. Interviewing is well-suited “when the researcher wants to learn about the experience and perceptions of the informant.” (McGehee 2012: 365). Thus, I intended to interview informants to find out about their travel experiences and their perceptions of what they had experienced during those trips. According to Hannam and Knox (2010), semi-structured interviews allow us to construct knowledge while interviewers and informants negotiate meanings and understandings. In this regard, the thesis research was conducted with the help of in-depth, semi-structured individual interviews to obtain narratives that were recorded on the recorder in informal settings.

According to Jennings (2005), it is important to establish rapport with respondents before interviewing them, because trust and respect are necessary to produce reliable empirical data. Thus, establishment of rapport between the interviewer and the interviewees consisted of several stages. First, despite the fact that I did not know the people, whom I interviewed, I knew that we had at least one common contact person, who had advised me to interview this or that person. This contact person may have given basic information about me to informants. The fact that I was not a random person from the street may have established a certain level of trust. Second, I contacted my future informants myself. After my initial contact, people indicated that they would be interested in participating in an interview. I contacted potential informants via social networks or mobile phones. I informed the participants about the theme and the aim of my research and offered for them to read an information letter (see appendix). All the respondents had no previous experience participating in interviews. However, all of them seemed eager to participate in an interview and nobody cancelled any appointment. Finally, to make our meeting as comfortable and relaxing as possible, I decided to conduct the interviews in cafes. The idea of interviewing people at home was rejected, because as a rule, Russians invite only well-known people into their homes. Otherwise, people may feel confused and uncomfortable when they have to host strangers at home.

People who were familiar to me advised the participants of my research. I asked people, if they knew of people with a certain travel background. In this way, I selected my informants to facilitate the process of establishing rapport. Finally, eight participants were selected. The age of the participants varied between 21-25 years old. All the respondents had a relationship to Arkhangelsk. Some of them live there at the time of the research; others lived there some time

ago. Specifically, two respondents lived in Arkhangelsk, while others did not. Among the informants, generically, there were students and workers. Four informants were students, three of whom had a job, and one person combined studying with working.

Russian, female, young tourists were chosen for different reasons. I was interested in a certain group of people, who could demonstrate certain cosmopolitan characteristics. In selecting informants, potential informants were advised by those whom I knew in order to filter out candidates that did not fit the criteria and to enhance the level of trust between the informants and myself as the researcher. The choice of nationality of the researched group was determined by the nationality of the researcher. Such a decision about nationality is in tune with the principles of qualitative research. According to Phillimore and Goodson (2004), the adequacy of the researcher's interpretation is under question in qualitative tourism studies. Thus, the nationality of the researcher may influence the way of interpreting phenomena. In this regard, he or she should possess common cultural background with his/her informants in order to adequately interpret their behavior. Otherwise, if the interpretation of empirical data was inadequate, it can cause issues with some of the principles of ethics. Moreover, Russian nationality was chosen for practical reasons. First, I lived in Russia when I conducted my research. So, I had to find people who were accessible to me. Second, it was better to interview people in their mother tongue, as it allows people to express themselves fully. Besides, interviewing people in their native language makes them to be more talkative. The age of the target group was determined by the research of Schueth and O'Loughlin. According to Swain (2009), those scholars argued that age significantly influences a cosmopolitan outlook. Thus, the younger a person is, the more cosmopolitan the person. And, as was stated earlier, the more likely a person has a cosmopolitan competence, the more suitable she would be for participating in my research. Moreover, Schueth and O'Loughlin argued that gender does not greatly influence a cosmopolitan outlook. However, according to Valentine's (1989) concept of the 'geography of women's fear', which was applied in Wilson and Little's article (2008), it might be more difficult for women than for men to embody certain cosmopolitan characteristics. Thus, application of the criterion of gender was inspired by certain literature (Wilson & Little 2008, Elsrud 2005, Jordan & Aitchison 2008). Reading this literature made me curious how women use and express a cosmopolitan competence in unfamiliar environments. Besides, being a woman, the researcher can adequately analyze behaviors of other women, what is in tune with a constructivist approach.

I decided to record the interviews instead of taking notes during it, because the former lessens interference with the interview process (Jennings 2005: 111). It also allowed the interview to be more informal and for me to be able to observe participant's behavior. In addition, transcripts of interviews could contain a lot of information that might be missed during an interviews or interpreted wrongly. However, recording informants' stories created several difficulties that will be discussed in the ethics section.

The interview guide's themes were followed loosely in order to include any emergent research themes that had not been included from the start. With respect to this, in interviews, both the researcher and the respondents participated in producing meaning about certain phenomena. In other words, they are co-producers of knowledge related to the research (Hannam & Knox 2010). The analysis of interview transcripts conducted by reiterated reading. I familiarized myself with the content of the interview transcripts by reading and re-reading them. I put myself back and forwards, from theory to analysis, constantly.

3.3 The Interview Guide

According to McGehee, a qualitative approach allows the researcher to loosely follow an interview guide of open-ended, broad questions. This makes it possible to guide "the informant toward her/his reconstruction and interpretation of the topic of study" (McGehee 2012: 365). Subsequently, my interview guide consisted of 5 topics that were loosely discussed with the respondents. The first topic involved warm-up questions to encourage the respondents to be more talkative and relaxed. The second topic focused on the respondents' last holiday. They described, where they traveled, what difficulties or unacceptable things they had faced. The third topic was dedicated to preparation for travel. The content of this topic was inspired by Molz's work (2006) on the concept of 'fit'. In her article, she discussed physical preparation for travelling. She described how travelers embody cosmopolitanism through the concept of 'fit'. The fourth topic related to the use of cosmopolitan competence during holidays abroad. Respondents were asked to describe how they imagined an ideal tourist, a typical Russian tourist and how they behaved while travelling compared to an ideal and typical tourist. This topic seemed to be the most difficult to discuss, because it presupposed that informants would reflect a lot on either issue. Often, the informants answered questions in this section with 'I have never thought about it before'. The fifth topic aimed to determine how much physical mobility was important for developing a cosmopolitan competence. The choice of this topic was influenced by Swain's article, *The Cosmopolitan*

Hope of Tourism: Critical Action and Worldmaking Vistas and Salazar's article, *Tourism and Cosmopolitanism: a View From Below*. These scholars discussed in their articles whether it is necessary to travel in order to be cosmopolitan. They claimed that one does not need to travel to have a cosmopolitan outlook. Thus, I decided to ask the respondents what they thought about that and what their narratives said about them.

3.4 Ethics

The present research has been designed and conducted using the general principles of research ethics. According to Veal (2011), the researcher should have certain skills and qualifications as well as to identify herself/himself with the organization to which they are connected and may benefit from the research. Moreover, considering the principle that a subject's participation should be voluntary (Veal 2011: 103), certain steps were undertaken in regard to this. All the participants were given the information letter in which it was indicated that participation in the research was voluntary and that they could withdraw their interview transcripts if and whenever they wanted. In addition, the information letter contained the researcher and supervisor's address details, the aim of the research, and the time that the research would take. Thus, the respondents were supplied with full information concerning the research. One more principle of research ethics is that researched subjects should not be harmed (Veal 2011, Jennings 2010). In other words, participants should not feel anxiety, embarrassment, inferiority or stress during the research process (Jennings 2010: 106). In this regard, I was very careful when I asked the respondent to describe how they understood rather complex and abstract concept of cosmopolitanism. Often, respondents answered that it was difficult and refused to reflect further. In that case, I tried to ask questions that would help them to reflect on this issue. If this did not help, I did not insist on them answering the question. However, more or less, all the respondents tried to reflect on this question. Besides, some of them began to be interested in the notion of cosmopolitanism and asked me how I understood it. Thus, I can conclude, that nobody felt inferiority, because the atmosphere of the interviewing process was rather relaxed. However, several respondents felt certain tension when I said that the conversation would be recorded. Some informants were surprised and seemed nervous at first. Others even began to speak louder. I said as politely as I could that it was not necessary to speak loudly and the respondents lowered their voices. Later, they forgot about the recorder and behaved more freely and naturally. That is why it was a good idea to begin my interviews with warm-up questions. While answering such questions, the informants became used to the recorder and became more relaxed and talkative. Finally, with regard to

ethics, the respondents were granted anonymity and confidentiality. All the names were replaced by numbers (#1, # 2 and so on). The names and contact details of research subjects were known only to me, the researcher. The copies of these details were stored in my laptop, which was always at home. In addition, my laptop is and was password protected. Thus, only I had access to the laptop. Furthermore, all the conversations that were recorded on the recorder were deleted immediately after generating hard-copy on the computer.

To sum up, the main principles of research ethics were respected in my thesis' research. Specifically, the researcher had a qualified supervisor, the informants voluntarily participated in the research, information letters were given to all participants, and the contents of the letters were discussed with each person in detail. The research did not cause any harm to the informants, and the empirical data was honestly and rigorously analyzed and interpreted.

Chapter 4 Analysis

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the analysis of the gathered empirical data is presented. Interviews were conducted to find out how Russian female tourists express and use cosmopolitan competence. Based on theory, we know that some or all of the following predispositions can characterize a cosmopolitan identity. First, a person should be mobile. That means that he/she has the right to travel not only corporeally, but virtually as well. Second, a person should be able to consume many places and environments on the way, when he/she travels from one point to another. Third, a person should be curious about places, cultures and peoples. Fourth, a person shows a willingness to engage in risky encounters with the 'other'. Thus, if something is unfamiliar and different, they do not hesitate to experience it. Fifth, a person should be capable of reflecting on different places, natures and societies. Sixth, a person possesses the semiotic skill to interpret images or signs of different cultures. Finally, a person shows openness to other cultures and peoples. For the analysis of my research, the following sources that were discussed in the theory chapter were used: Grinstein and Wathiell (2012), Hannerz (1990), Molz (2005, 2006, 2007), Swain (2009), Szerszynski and Urry (2002), Vertovec and Cohen (2002).

Thus, the analysis chapter includes four themes. The first one is 'the role of travelling in building a cosmopolitan identity', where respondents question the primary role of travel in culture acquisition. By culture acquisition is meant the essential preparation for engaging in-depth with a culture. These essential preparations may include different activities that help you to understand another culture, from learning a language to communicating with representatives of this or that culture. The second theme is "importance of communication in negotiating a cosmopolitan identity". Here the role of direct inter-cultural dialogue in encounters with people of different cultures is discussed. The third topic "Risk/adventure" shows us the role of risk acceptance, uncertainty and inexperience in making travel decisions and in performing a cosmopolitan identity. The fourth topics is "gender". In this section, the focus is Valentine's concept of 'geography of women's fear' and its implementation in respondents' stories about difficulties they faced while travelling.

4.2 The role of travelling in developing cosmopolitan competence

Certain scholars (Swain, 2009) claim that tourism does not always develop certain skills, such as tolerance, because tourists do not always fully engage in and with different cultures and peoples. You cannot have a deeper understanding of a culture if you are not curious about peoples and cultures. However, is travelling the only way to engage with other cultures? Or, are there better ways to gain a deeper understanding of other cultures from other sources of information, such as books, media and so on?

Several topics arose when interviewees tried to answer if they thought that they could understand other cultures more deeply only by travelling, or if there are other ways that were just as good, for example, by reading books, watching films, or consuming foreign products at home?

The first topic problematizes the importance of travelling in acquiring cosmopolitan skills, such as mapping and semiotic skills that have been mentioned by Szerzsynsky and Urry (2006). By mapping, they mean the ability to reflect aesthetically and intellectually upon other cultures is understood. Semiotic skills are necessary for adequate interpretation of other cultures' signs. The respondents speculate whether one could develop cosmopolitan skills without travelling. According to the informants in this research project, travelling could be important in order to understand other cultures deeply. Some informants were for this idea; others were against it. There were those, who thought that deep understanding of culture is only possible when you combine travelling with other sources of information. In particular, respondent # 8 says:

“Actually it is better to visit this culture. It gives a 100% result. However you may do without it. For example, I studied Swedish for 3 years and I knew everything about the Swedish. Because, we studied them deeply. We watched video, our professor told us a lot of stories from her life, we read a lot. ... So, it is possible to understand it when you are at home, but you won't understand it fully until you see this yourself. But, you can if you are motivated and strongly interested. You can do everything.” (Respondent #8)

As we can see, the person is hesitating. She cannot decide for herself what is better for deep understanding of a culture. Initially, she says that travelling is better than learning at home.

After this, she remembers her own experience and begins to understand that travelling is not the main option. Finally, she concludes that full understanding of a certain culture is impossible without neither travelling nor learning at home. First of all, this may show that she is thinking over the question and she thinks that travelling is important in culture acquisition. At the same time, this response implies that cultural acquisition can be impossible without preliminary preparation. You cannot understand a particular culture fully only by visiting it, without knowing its history and traditions. Later in the interview, she says that the Swedish humor is strange, but she accepted this strangeness because she was prepared for it, she had an idea about it before. Respondent #2 also thinks that complete understanding of an-other culture lies somewhere between travelling and learning at home, which can be traced in her answer. She replied:

“I think that to learn a culture you need to immerse yourself into it. It means that it is necessary to watch certain movies, read certain books, to experience something. For example I can read about the dish, Paella, what it looks like or I can see it in the films. But I never understand this dish until I try it.” (Respondent #2)

Unlike respondent #8, respondent #2 has never studied a certain culture for a period of time. However, a must-do part of her preparation for a trip is to read about the country she is going to visit. Or, when answering the question, why she visits popular sightseeing places, if she can read about them on the Internet, she says:

“I want to see it with my own eyes. I mean that I want myself to come, to watch and to understand ... that I have seen this in my life.” (Respondent #2)

Here we can also see that reading is not enough for respondent #2. At the same time, this answer suggests that the respondent is not sincere in striving for a cosmopolitan identity. Thus, there is a question if she wants or does not want to engage with the other, which importance is emphasized by Swain, (2009), Molz (2006), Vertovec and Cohen (2002) and Szerzsynsky and Urry (2006). If the answer to this question is yes, it is possible to say that she tends to visit a certain place to make a tick in her travel list. Such a motivation to travel does not seem cosmopolitan. Thus, it is possible to say that a cosmopolitan outlook presupposes qualitative acquaintance with different cultures, rather than quantitative.

The second topic concerns the importance of living abroad to understand a particular culture. Deep understanding of a foreign culture takes a lot of time. Thus, respondent # 1 says:

“Yes, it is better. It is even better not only to visit it, but to live in it at least for a year or a couple of months. In that case you can feel the culture well enough”. (Respondent #1)

This person has never studied, lived abroad or studied a particular culture for a long time. She feels frustration and disappointment about such short-duration trips. For her, travelling is the only way to learn about the cultures. At the same time, she understands that simple touristic visits are not enough for culture acquisition. She may feel that such short visits are not enough for her and she needs more time to learn a particular culture more deeply. Respondent #4 says:

“I think that you should not only visit it as a tourist but to live in it to deeply learn this culture. Of course, all these (books, films...) can help but if we speak about acquisition with a culture you need to live there for a long time.” (Respondent #4)

Here the respondent also emphasized the importance of living abroad for a long period of time to get a deeper understanding of a culture. Moreover, the use of certain words and phrases, such as ‘acquisition with a culture’ (an essential preparation for engaging in-depth with a culture), tells us that respondent #4 might have reflected on this topic before our interview. Such an answer might tell us about her educational, work or travelling experience. Thus, the indication of a cosmopolitan characteristic – the ability to reflect on a particular culture in order to make her way into it, can be traced in her answer (Szerzhynsky and Urry, 2006).

The third topic refers to the importance of bodily sensations in developing cosmopolitan skills. Specifically, cosmopolitan characteristics, such as aesthetic and intellectual reflection about other cultures can be embodied while travelling abroad. Respondent #7 answers in the following way:

“It is possible to learn it. You can learn everything when you are in your home place. However, you can feel it and it flows through you only when you visit it. It will be still a deeper knowledge.” (Respondent #7)

Here, we can see that the quality of a trip is important for the informant. She emphasizes the importance of bodily sensations. True knowledge about the culture can be gained only from bodily experiences for her. Here, she shows the preference of corporeal mobility over the virtual and imaginative mobility. Thus, according to respondent #7, it is more likely to construct a cosmopolitan identity by travelling corporeally, which does not coincide with Szerzhysky and Urry's view on the importance of corporeal mobility for acquiring a cosmopolitan competence. Respondent #5 also emphasizes the importance of corporeal mobility in developing a cosmopolitan identity:

“You cannot learn it deeply. You need to be there. You cannot enter into the spirit of another city or culture when you are in Russia, for example. You need to go there to breathe the air of a city, to observe the mode of life, the people. Because everywhere, everything is absolutely different. People wouldn't travel if everything was the same.”
(Respondent #5)

What is more, the respondent shows her willingness to engage with the Other, which is another important cosmopolitan characteristic (Swain 2009, Molz 2006, Vertovec and Cohen 2002, Szerzhysky and Urry 2006). She appreciates the plurality of cultures and diversity itself, which is in tune with cosmopolitan predispositions that were discussed in the theory chapter. Moreover, she thinks that all people or at least some people, who travel, think in the same way, otherwise they 'wouldn't travel if everything were the same'.

Considering the theory chapter, Szerzhysky and Urry (2006) believe that mobility is not only about physical travel. They argue that virtual and imaginative mobility is also important for developing a cosmopolitan competence. This is a view that is not shared by Swain and Molz. For Szerzhysky and Urry, the importance of travelling is acquiring a cosmopolitan competence. Taking into consideration the informants' responses, on one hand, corporeal mobility is important in developing such cosmopolitan skills as mapping and semiotic skills. On the other hand, informants emphasized the importance of imaginative travelling in developing the same skills. Imaginative mobility is about learning at home, when you read books, watch films, communicate with representatives of this or that culture. In this regard, corporeal mobility is not the only way of improving your cosmopolitan identity. Rather, you can do it virtually and imaginatively. At the same time, some of the respondents emphasized effectiveness of living abroad compared with travelling in developing cosmopolitan

characteristics. They said that it was not enough for them in many cases to understand this or that culture deeply when they stayed there for a short period of time. Corporeal, imaginative and virtual mobility can be important tools in tourism practices that aim to enhance our awareness about other cultures and peoples and in realizing our responsibility for people not only inside our country, but outside of its borders as well.

4.3 Importance of communication in using a cosmopolitan competence

According to Guardado (2012), language plays an important role in human interconnectedness and the recognition and cultivation of global cultural diversity. However, its importance is not always recognized. In the interviews that I conducted for my Master's thesis, the informants stressed that both verbal and non-verbal communication can be important for developing a cosmopolitan competence to interpret or to deal with other cultures successfully, which coincides with (Vertovec' and Cohen's understanding of cosmopolitanism). For example, if one does not know the language and non-verbal rules of behaviour of a certain country, it may influence such cosmopolitan predispositions as openness to diversity and curiosity about places and cultures. According to Szerzhysky and Urry (2006), curiosity is one's ability to enter into a different culture. Verbal and non-verbal communication may prevent us from getting into the particular culture. At the same time, it may make it easier to adapt to other cultures.

According to Robinson (2013), dialogue can be important in practicing touristic activities. However, language and its usage in conversations are under-researched in tourism discourse. Robinson (2013) believes that the term 'intercultural dialogue' can help to investigate complex themes of cultural diversity and plurality. According to Hannerz (1990), recognition of cultural diversity and plurality is an important cosmopolitan characteristic. It is a sign of openness to other cultures. Meanwhile, dialogues that occur at a micro-level (between hosts and guests) are poorly explored. Tourism gives the opportunity for cultures to contact one another directly in any significant way. Such a direct contact between the cultures can help to understand that the 'other' is not simply the exotic, but rather something ordinary for someone. In this regard, respondent #3 was asked to describe what had been changed in her life after having lived in France for half a year. She answered:

“I try to perceive a situation from another point of view, to put myself in somebody’s shoes and I try ... that they are not just strange, but rather they act in the following way and it is quite normal.” (Respondent #3)

Thus, the respondent appears to be struggling in persuading herself that “the ‘other’ is not simply the exotic” and she has advanced in this task. In this regard, direct contact with locals can help in constructing a cosmopolitan identity. Thus, when you understand that the other is not simply something exotic, you recognize the plurality of cultures, which is one of cosmopolitan characteristics that was discussed in the theory chapter. Moreover, such behavior demonstrates developed semiotic skills, when a person tries to maneuver “more or less expertly with a particular system of meanings and meaningful forms (Hannerz, 1990: 239). Further, Robinson says that, this is difficult to understand, because tourists often lack cultural reference points, the most basic of which is language. According to respondent # 3, in her case, this lack of cultural reference points began to reduce only after a year and a half. Thus, this process demands time. Sometimes it takes more time, sometimes–less. All in all, one cannot acquire these cultural reference points immediately.

According to Bakhtin, dialogue is taken to mean discourse that is able to increase our understanding of differing perspectives, create new understandings, and which generates a change in a situation. All these relate to cosmopolitan characteristics, such as mapping and semiotic skills. Through dialogue one opens aesthetically and intellectually toward divergent cultural experiences. Dialogue can help to develop skills to interpret symbols of another culture. For Bakhtin, it is dialogue that has the potential to transgress cultural borders.

“Dialogue refers to a social process of meaning-making through ‘language in action’; going beyond the spoken word to include aspects of tone, sound and body language. ... The goal of dialogue is a deeper understanding of the ‘other’, bearing in mind that the tourist is also the ‘other’” (Bakhtin, 1981 cited by Robinson, 2013:30).

According to Szerzsynsky and Urry as well as to certain respondents, a combination of corporeal and virtual/imaginative mobility is important for deeper understanding of the other culture. Subsequently, dialogue plays an important role in this process.

Several respondents point out that language barriers were a problem for them when they were abroad. Respondent #1 recalled only one difficulty that really bothered her. She said that when she had a holiday in Finland she faced the problem with a language. Considering the fact that she knows English I was surprised and asked her: “You mean that your knowledge of English was insufficient?” She answered:

“I lacked the knowledge of Finnish. Sometimes it was necessary to know it. For example, I could not read the names of the products in a shop.” (Respondent #1)

Respondent #3 says that a language barrier was very obstructive. And it became easier to connect with people when a language barrier went away. She said that she could not communicate properly in the company of her boyfriend, because his speech was fluent and the jokes were unclear. Respondent #6 noted that in the beginning, there were difficulties because of language. She could not express herself properly. She said that she sounded very primitive. Both respondent # 3 and respondent # 6 emphasized the fact that when you do not know a language you cannot make an impression of yourself as you want it. You are not the same person when you communicate in a foreign language, compared with your native language. In this regard, the knowledge of a language helps you to tell a story about yourself in tune with your own impression of yourself.

According to Robinson, when a tourist breaks free of a script and starts composing a story himself/herself, he/she interprets this as a personal achievement. Thus, learning the language opens up experiences that can strengthen inter-cultural dialogue. When a tourist does not speak the language of the ‘other’, he/she feels vulnerable and dependable (Robinson 2013: 31). Such a feeling of vulnerability and dependability was evident in almost all the interviews.

The importance of English language was emphasized in the interviews. According to the respondents, you need not know all the languages, but you should know at least English to feel comfortable abroad. Respondent #8 said that she did not face any difficulties connected with language in either Finland, or Egypt. She commented:

“We tried to speak in Finnish in Finland and it was clear more or less despite the fact that we did not know Finnish enough. But we could speak English, so we had not got any problems.” (Respondent #8)

Respondent #4 was asked if she learnt certain phrases or useful expressions before a trip:

“No, I speak English. – But people speak English well enough not in all countries. – It is their problem if they live by virtue of tourism.” (Respondent #4)

So we can see that respondent #4 thinks that English is a must-have knowledge in today's world, especially for countries whose economy is based on tourism. At first glance, such an answer does not seem cosmopolitan in nature at all. According to cosmopolitan predispositions that were allocated by Szerszysky and Urry, it is important to appreciate the diversity of cultures and all its elements. One of a culture's elements is a language. Thus, the plurality of languages should be recognized as well, which cannot be traced in the statement made by respondent # 4. However, she might have no intention to eliminate the role of other languages. She simply meant that in today's globalized world everybody should know at least one language that can be understood almost everywhere. It happened so, that nowadays such a language is English. She considered knowing the English language as a skill that should not be questioned. For her, an English speaking skill is like the ability to use a PC. When you do not know the basics of PC you fail in many spheres.

At the same time, respondent #3 said that learning greetings or simple phrases of the other culture was very important:

“You can just learn some elementary phrases to please people, to show your respect for a culture by learning something.” (Respondent #3)

This respondent wanted to say that nowadays the knowledge of English language is not enough to show your openness to a certain culture, in other words, to use your cosmopolitan competence. A person with a cosmopolitan competence should show the appreciation of the plurality of cultures as well as languages, which leads to tolerance. In order to show your kind attitude and sincere interest in people of the country you visit, you should learn at least “hello” and “thank you” in their native language. This statement demonstrates that by learning a certain language you show your openness to other cultures and can implement your cosmopolitan competence more successfully.

According to Robinson, it can be difficult for tourists to fulfill ordinary actions in unfamiliar environments, such as to find the toilet through signs in another language, to order a meal from a menu they cannot understand, to worry about whether the public bus they are on actually goes back to their hotel. Thus, respondent # 6 pointed out the problem with toilet rooms in Prague. She says:

“they [toilet rooms] are not everywhere. They are often chargeable. Logistics of these toilet rooms has not been thought through, if it is possible to say so. I mean that it is difficult to find them in shopping malls, for example. Or, they are not everywhere in metro stations...and they are chargeable... and they are dirty. Especially, at metro stations. They are of the Turkish type. Everything is uncomfortable. When you are a tourist ... for example, when you do not have an opportunity, when your home is far away, you cannot find water to wash your hands.” (Respondent #6)

This respondent described this situation as the main and the only problem that she faced in Prague. Such an insignificant difficulty may turn out to be a problem that is hard to overcome if you lack certain cultural reference points, in particular a language. Heidegger views such situations as “the fear of metaphysical insecurity and testimony to the authenticity of experience” (Heidegger, 1962 cited in Robinson 2013: 31). Trust is how we may negotiate our angst (Robinson 2013: 32). Thus, we show our trust when we overcome our fears (when we get into a taxi, go into an unsigned street, or eat outside of the hotel) (Robinson 2013: 32). By trusting, we may show our curiosity, in other words, our ability to enter into another country. Moreover, it is a sign of willingness to engage with the Other. According to Szerszynsky and Urry, cosmopolitans are open to risks that are caused by new things in different cultures.

As for non-verbal communication, it may also cause certain problems. For example, respondent #3 said that elementary rules of behaviour cannot be explained even by the bearers of a particular culture. She told the story when her sign of politeness was interpreted wrongly from her point of view. She recalled:

“the French smile everywhere. I wanted to be polite so much... Once we stopped at the gasoline station at 8 o'clock in the morning and there was a man near our car. Our sights met and I smiled, because it is strange not to do it when you look at each other so seriously. And he didn't understand this smile absolutely. He looked at me strangely

and went away. Now, I don't know when and where it is appropriate to smile.”
(Respondent #3)

From this experience, it is evident that the respondent has observed the behavior of the French for a certain period of time and she has noticed certain rules of behavior (the rules of smiling) that were peculiar for her. What is more, she analyzed her behavior and compared it with the behavior of the French. There is no doubt that these were semiotic skills and skills of mapping that helped the person to deal with a particular system of meanings (Szerzsymsky and Urry 2006). Consequently, this respondent possessed a rather developed cosmopolitan competence. Respondent #6 also thought that she had a problem with interpreting a certain gesture adequately. In particular, she commented:

“I expected that people in Barcelona do not speak English. But only once a woman did not help me. I asked her because I was confused in the metro stations. I asked her if she spoke English and that I needed help. She said “no English” and turned her face to the machine to take her ticket. I tried to address her, but she stretched an arm and I could interpret it as either ‘keep a distance’ or ‘wait’. After taking the ticket she went away.” (Respondent #6)

Here we can see that the respondent hesitated in interpreting the gesture of the woman. If she were sure that it meant ‘keep a distance’ she would have gone away. However, she was not sure. That is why she continued to wait for help from the woman. What combines these two responses is that they themselves begin to talk about non-verbal communication and its interpretation. The very fact that they arise as topics themselves shows us that these respondents can reflect upon differences between cultures and they do it in a habitual manner like they often reflect about things in the same way and it is not an outstanding topic for discussion for them. Thus, it is possible to say that respondents # 3 and # 6 use a cosmopolitan competence both in their home country and abroad.

Adaptation to the other culture is a long process. Often, it includes struggling with a cosmopolitan identity. However, according to Molz (2006), adaptability is an important part of the concept of cosmopolitanism. In the theory chapter, the research made by Grinstein and Wathieu (2012) was discussed. They investigated adaptation processes of cosmopolitans and non-cosmopolitans. The scholars found out that expected durations of trips could influence cosmopolitan behavior. In this regard, respondent #5 preferred in her long-duration sojourn in

China that she adopted a global lifestyle, rather than adjusting to new environments. She noted how it was difficult to accept Chinese culture because of people's behaviors. First of all, she lacked private space. She said:

“For example, they never wait when people leave a bus or a train, they try to get into immediately. You cannot face the same situation, for example, in St. Petersburg or in Europe. ... there is always a mass of people when you are in a bus and nobody knows about a private space there. ... Some time later you also begin to hustle, stop to find a private space or to move without disturbing others.” (Respondent #5)

She interprets as indelicate that the Chinese come to you in the street and ask you to take a photo with you or touch your hair and say how beautiful you are or vice versa what a devil you are. At the same time she thought that:

“Hong Kong is an optimal city, because there are a lot of foreigners there and all the Chinese speak English. The residents of Hong Kong behave like Europeans and their way of thinking is Europanized. It is a pleasure to speak with them.” (Respondent #5)

Contrasting Hong Kong with the rest of China could mean that what she actually cannot accept about China is the fact that it is not as globalized as certain countries. She could not understand why they are so isolated. For her, being involved in globalized processes is a sign of civilization. She may view the Chinese as if they are behind the times. For respondent #5 adaptation is a back-and-forth process. Indeed, Grinstein and Wathieu (2012) claimed in their article that gradual adaptations are not likely for expatriates with a cosmopolitan outlook. What is more, it is possible to trace in the respondent's answer and in the work, written by Grinstein and Wathieu, that there is a limit in which living abroad or tourism can contribute to developing a cosmopolitan competence. This means that by living abroad and travelling, a person can develop a cosmopolitan competence to a certain degree and after that it stops developing, instead it can lead to an appreciation of a global style of living, rather than a mode of living of a particular culture.

Sometimes an unusual behavior of foreigners may change our own behavior in our home country. When we compare a foreign culture with our own culture, we can notice what we like and what we dislike about these two cultures. We can reflect on what can be borrowed from

another culture to make our life in the home country more pleasant to live. Thus, we may see that a certain type of behavior is strange for us and we may accept it or not. When you accept a certain type of behavior we can talk about openness to the Other. By reflecting on this issue, we demonstrate semiotic skills that are an important part of cosmopolitan competence (Szerzysky and Urry 2006). Respondent #8 knew Swedish culture very well, but she also faced a kind of Swedish behavior that surprised her very much. She knew from her academic studies in Swedish culture that the Swedish always keep face but she has never seen how they did it in real life. Once in a canteen, she and the rest of her group tried to put the plates on the conveyor, but they did it in the wrong way. She says:

“I felt with my back the tension behind me, but nobody said anything, nobody helped, nobody shouted at us, they stood in silence.” (Respondent #8)

Moreover, she was surprised that the Swedish were polite, they always smiled, they asked you ‘how are you going’ or greeted you. Despite the fact that she had been prepared for such a behavior, she did not expect that she would be surprised to see how the Swedish behave in real life, but she was surprised all the same. Thus, we can see again that imaginative mobility is not enough for entering into another culture, which is supported by Swain’s (2009) and Molz’s (2006) research. It is always a combination of imaginative and corporeal mobility that helps you to improve your cosmopolitan identity. Respondent #6 also discussed her expectations and her reaction to these expectations. She noted that she expected that tactile sensation would be very important in Spanish culture, but “it discouraged and puzzled” her very much when she was a volunteer at the Russian theatre festival and she met Spanish actors at the airport. They hugged her immediately and each person kissed her on her cheek three times. Although they had only met each other “for the first time in their life”. She talked about this occasion very emotionally. She looked confused. However, later she added:

“there were no negative emotions ... But the very next day, I was prepared for this and everything was ok. I mean that I liked them at once, I was not hostile to them. Then, it became clear that it is a part of their culture and I had no problems. Rather, it was a little bit funny. Maybe it was an eccentricity that you can accept. ... You accept this, but all the same you pay attention to this, you do not do it mechanically. You make a tick in your head that, yes, now it is going to happen and you are ready, you hold the breath, allow your cheek for a kiss...I mean it does not happen mechanically.” (Respondent #6)

While this respondent accepted this unfamiliar behavior, she continued to consider it as something exotic. She was struggling with herself. On the one hand, this kissing tradition was strange for her. On the other hand, she understood that it is just a part of somebody's culture, where it is absolutely normal.

On the contrary, respondent #3 commented, how such unusual behavior may change you and you may begin to apply the same pattern of behaviour in your own country, which is a sign of flexibility that is an important cosmopolitan characteristic (Molz 2006). She said:

“in the course of time, you begin to get used to it. For example, in France, the importance of politeness is much more higher than in Russia. And if you stepped on somebody's foot, both of you will apologize. Or, when I met my friend in Moscow and we went to the café, she said to me after some time that she have not seen for ages a person who said so many ‘thanks’ and ‘please-s’.” (Respondent #3)

In this case, the respondent observed unusual behavior, accepted it and adapted it in her own culture. Consequently, living abroad is important for integrating certain patterns of behavior of another culture into your own one.

4.4 Risk/Adventure

According to Szerszynski & Urry (2002, 2006), risking encounters with the “other” is a one of the cosmopolitan predispositions. The concept of risk plays an important role in tourism studies (Cater, 2006). In my research, the notion of risk was interpreted from the point of view of flow experience theory suggested by Csikszentimihalyi (Csikszentimihalyi, 1975 mentioned in Cater, 2006: 318). This theory purports that “when there is a balance between the skill required and the challenge inherent in an act, positive feedback occurs in terms of satisfaction” (Cater, 2006: 318). The flow experience is “one of complete involvement of the actor with his activity” (Csikszentimihalyi, 1975: 36 cited in Cater, 2006: 318). Priest and Bunting applied this flow experience theory in adventure tourism studies (Cater, 2006: 318). They illustrate the relationship between risk and competence in practicing an activity. According to Priest and Bunting, risk is the potential to lose something of value, while competence is a combination of risk, behavior, knowledge, experience, attitude and confidence (Priest & Bunting, 1993 cited in Cater, 2006: 319). Thus, when the competence

is high and the risk is low, there is place for exploration and experimentation. When the competence decreases and the risk increases; they match each other, and adventure happens. Finally, when the risk is much greater than the required competence, misadventure can occur. As we can see, risk is a constructed phenomenon and the perception of risk depends on a person and the context of a particular situation.

The concept of risk and cosmopolitanism are closely interrelated. Taking into consideration the definition of competence offered by Priest and Bunting (1993), cosmopolitan competence can be defined in the following way: it is a person's ability to manage the meaning between different cultures when risky encounters are undertaken. The meaning can be managed with the help of a certain type of behavior, knowledge, experience, attitude and confidence. Hence, The flow experience theory can be applied to the concept of cosmopolitanism. In this regard, when there is place for risky encounters a cosmopolitan competence is applied in such encounters, and an adventure occurs. Thus, if a person possesses more or less a cosmopolitan competence and he/she is going to undertake a trip, it can be concluded that he/she is possibly looking for an adventure. In this regard, adventure is one of the goals, which is pursued while travelling.

According to Priest and Bunting (1993), confidence is one of the components of a competence. Confidence in the framework of a cosmopolitan practice can depend on different factors: knowledge of a language, a traveler's personality and previous travel experience. There are people who have little experience in travel practices. However, it does not prevent them from travelling. The question is: do inexperienced travelers pursue an adventure when they undertake certain types of trips? As it appeared in my interviews, uncertainty and inexperience in tourism practices may influence the choice of destination and activities fulfilled there. Minnaert (2014) conducted research on the role of tourism inexperience and uncertainty in making travel decisions. According to Minnaert, inexperience is suggested as a source of anxiety (Minnaert, 2014: 285). The findings of her research (2014) show that the higher the levels of anxiety in social tourism participants, the less suitable are particular tourism products to facilitate tourism participation. Minnaert argues that inexperienced tourists are not well studied in tourism literature (Minnaert, 2014: 285). It is possible to say that when people choose package tours or already well-known places, it is not a sign of poor cosmopolitan outlook. On the contrary, it could be the sign of a cosmopolitan identity. According to the flow experience model, people choose certain types of destinations that

match their cosmopolitan competence, in other words, a destination should coincide with their previous travel experience and confidence in order that they can achieve an adventure experience while traveling. Because of travel inexperience, the respondents might choose package tours.

Thus, respondent # 7 says that she has not been abroad often:

“I have been in Belarus, ... in Abkhazia, Egypt and Finland. So I have been abroad a little.” (Respondent #7)

Here, we can see that the respondent describes herself as an inexperienced traveler. Then, she describes her plans for her next holiday and compares it with her previous beach holidays:

“But now I’m planning my holiday trip myself and I want to see some beautiful sceneries or experience something active. I’m open for more new impressions. I don’t want only to lie on the beach. I want so much to ride a sled with these husky dogs...” (Respondent #7)

The respondent tells us that she is tired of her usual spending holidays on the beach and now they do not associate for her with an adventure. She is looking for other destinations where she can find adventurous experiences. Following these comments, she talked about the book that she had recently read. This book was about India. Having described its content, she concluded that she would like to visit India, but that she preferred to only be in hotel territory. In this regard, I asked her: “Wouldn’t you like to visit a district of Indian slums?” She answers: “Only with a guide”. Thus, it seems that she thinks that she is experienced enough for certain destinations, and inexperienced for other ones. Finally, she named a place that she wants to visit during her next holiday. It is Karelia (situated in Russia). She says:

“I’m just planning to buy a package tour. If I had been in Karelia and I had an impression of it, I’d rather go on my own. And now I’m fifty-fifty. I want to go here and there. And I don’t want to spoil my impression by such a mess. When I go there, maybe someone will give advice on something or share his/her experience.” (Respondent #7)

We can see that she simply does not want to spoil her holiday because of her inexperience. However, such a type of holiday is all the same an adventure for her. Thus, the perception of an adventure depends on the personality of a traveler. Respondent # 3 also thinks that inexperience may influence her impression of a city. She says:

“When I was in St. Petersburg for the first time ... It was a package tour. Generally, I did not go where we were not guided. That was main streets and sightseeing. When you have seen these main things, you begin to be interested in something else. ... I followed the plan of that tour because I did not know where to go. Of course, you can ask somebody... but no, later you can do it, when I’m there the 2-3 time in this place.”
(Respondent #3)

This respondent emphasized the importance of experience to be able to organize your holiday trip by yourself. To reiterate, we can see that perception of an adventure changes in accordance with experience.

When tourists are not experienced enough and lack certain knowledge, this can cause uncertainty in making travel decisions (Minnaert, 2014: 286). Minnaert opposes the notion of uncertainty to the notion of risk. In this regard, uncertainty is something unknown, while risk is something known. Thus, risk perception can depend on socio-economic factors, age, gender, and culture (Williams and Balaz, 2012 mentioned in Minnaert, 2014: 286). As a rule, people prefer the known to the unknown, risk to uncertainty (Fox and Tversky, 1995 mentioned in Minnaert, 2014: 286). According to Minnaert (2014), the effect of risk on travel decisions is well studied compared to the role of uncertainty. However, Minnaert noted a study conducted by Qital, Lee, and Soutar (2010). They compared “the impact of risk versus the impact of uncertainty on travel decisions” (Minnaert, 2014: 286). According to those three scholars, higher travel experience leads to a reduction in the role of uncertainty factors. Minnaert made a connection between these findings and the findings made in her research. Particularly, after experiencing tourism products considered as ‘low anxiety’, such as day trips, beneficiaries can decide to experience tourism products with higher anxiety, such as residential holidays. Thus, the level of uncertainty can be low enough when you take a day trip, especially when it is taken with a group (Minnaert, 2014: 286). Minnaert (2014) further argued that spending a holiday in a group was lower in uncertainty compared with an individual trip. In this regard, after experiencing a tourism product with low uncertainty,

uncertainty associated with this product can become just a risk, because of higher familiarity with a product.

According to Elsrud (2006), travellers who choose package tours want to reduce as much risk as possible. Thus, the consumption of risk (as action, expression or choice of destination) can be important in tourism practices. As far as tourism is considered as a corporeal mobility, what is a cosmopolitan characteristic according to Swain (2009) and Molz (2006), risk may influence development of a cosmopolitan competence.

Participation in risk/adventure is important for self-narrating (Cater, 2006: 321). “The journey is often presented not only as a risk but as a risk well worth taking, a means of self-transformation and self-discovery” (Frederick and Hyde, 1993 cited by Elsrud, 2006: 181). Thus, Elsrud defines an adventurer (from the point of view of backpacking discourse) as someone who takes “risks” in “strange encounters” with nature, local transport, food, and social interaction” (Elsrud, 2005: 127). Subsequently, such a definition of adventurer closely coincides with the notion of a cosmopolitan, who take risks in encounters with the Other (Szerzynsky and Urry 2006). Elsrud does not make a distinction between ‘true’ and ‘false’ adventure. Adventure lies in the basis of a social constructionist perspective, which means that something becomes an adventure only when it is defined as such by a person himself/herself. In this regard, adventure is a cultural or social construction (Elsrud, 2005: 126). Such a definition of an adventurer suits my research because my respondents perceive adventure differently.

According to the findings of Elsrud, many respondents perceived the journey “as an arena for constructing adventurous identities while simultaneously giving rise to questions and negotiations concerning the gender of these identities” (Elsrud, 2005: 130). Adventurous female travelers are often seen as something strange and unacceptable “in a practice where male traveling still defines the norms” (Elsrud, 2005: 127-128).

Elsrud claims that not all travelers think that adventure is worthy. Some of the mainly young interviewees in her study thought that the journey was hard enough without any extra real or constructed risks. “To these travelers, staying ‘on the beaten track’ was important and safe, as were avoiding some of the local food and rough living conditions” (Elsrud, 2006: 187). Thus, many of the respondents said that comfort was important for them. For example, respondent #

2 describing the difficulties that she faced in Riga, mentioned a problem with water. Specifically, she said:

“For example – water. It was cold in the hotel. Often, there was not enough hot water to wash in Riga. It was a negative moment and I did not understand: how is it possible? You cannot not provide your guests with hot water, can you?” (Respondent #2)

Thus, we can see that comfort is important for this respondent. She cannot accept rough living conditions. Considering the fact, that this respondent has never travelled alone and she has always stayed at hotels and that she prefers package tours, she is inexperienced in other types of holidays. In this regard, it can be concluded that the trip itself is risky enough for her without extra constructed risks. Thus, she chooses staying ‘on the beaten track’. Respondent # 7 admired a woman from her work place, who traveled a lot, rafted down a river, and stayed at a camping site. At the same time, she says:

“Well... I do not know... somewhere in the group... camping site...to sleep in a tent somewhere in a forest. I don’t know... Sometimes I want to be in comfort.” (Respondent #7)

On one hand, she is obsessed with the idea of an extreme holiday. On the other hand, she felt that she did not have enough experience and this idea should be postponed. Thus, it is also better for this respondent to stick to more or less a familiar type of holiday.

As was stated earlier, adventure is one of the goals that people with a cosmopolitan competence pursue while travelling abroad. Thus, seeking adventure experiences is a part of a cosmopolitan identity. Pursuing an adventure shows that a person wants to be involved in risky encounters with the other. A person with a cosmopolitan identity is open to risks posed by new environments, peoples and cultures of another country. However, what is important to notice, how adventure can be demonstrated in many ways.

First of all, unfamiliar foods can be seen “as an encounter with the otherness” (Molz, 2007: 77). What is more, consuming “the global” is one of the cosmopolitan predispositions that was discussed in the theory chapter. Molz argues that when a traveler can “eat the other”

while on the move, they consume “not only the differences between their own White, Western culture and other cultures but also the differences among various others” (Molz, 2007: 77). Moreover, she thinks that culinary tourism is mostly about performing a sense of adventure, adaptability and openness to any other culture. Thus, among other reasons to travel, respondents identified trying food that cannot be found in their country. It is a demonstration of adaptability and openness. What is more, respondent #5 told a story of how she had eaten grasshoppers in Beijing, which is a sign of performing adventure and curiosity. She said it in a rather casual way:

“Yeah, when I was in Beijing I tried grasshoppers. There is a famous street in Beijing where you can find a lot of stuff like grasshoppers. I decided to try namely grasshoppers because they are not as disgusting as cockroaches, but rather more acceptable. I was just curious about it.” (Respondent #5)

Here we can see, that cockroaches are too risky for her. It is necessary that there is a balance between risk and competence (she has already tried something unusual before grasshoppers, so she had a certain experience). In this particular case, the balance was found in the choice of grasshoppers, not cockroaches.

On the contrary, we can see how uncertainty and inexperience in trying unusual food can cause so called ‘misadventure’. Respondent #8 could not demonstrate adventure and curiosity when she was not able to eat surströmming (Swedish traditional dish). It was too unpleasant for her. However the primary motivation was quite cosmopolitan in nature, when she and her friend decided “to find out at last what it is – surströmming”. First of all, consuming ‘the global’ (in this case – fish) is one of the cosmopolitan predispositions (Szerzsymsky and Urry 2006). Second, consuming this ‘unusual’ fish can be seen as a risky encounter with Otherness. Finally, they demonstrated openness to the Swedish culture by making an attempt to try this kind of fish. They bought a can of this fish and took it to the university. When they opened it there was “a disgusting” smell. The smell prevented the respondent from trying it.

Third, preparation for a trip is also important for being ready to perform a cosmopolitan identity. So, when a person thoroughly plans his or her holiday or chooses a tour instead of independent trip is not always a sign of lack of curiosity. Often, people do not want to spoil their impression of a city because of their incompetence in making a program for a holiday.

They prepare thoroughly because they do not want to waste time on their holiday searching for a certain piece of information. For example, respondent #8 says:

“I try to get the maximum out of the holiday. That is why I get up with an alarm clock in order not to sleep all day long. I sleep for a long time at home because there is nothing to visit there, but it is not the same when you are on holiday.” (Respondent #8)

High control of your holiday can be a sign of curiosity. At the same time, respondent #6 says that she doesn't prepare herself thoroughly because she wants to preserve the element of surprise and adventure. She is always open to what the locals may advise.

4.5 Gender

According to the empirical data gathered during my research, while travelling, it is more difficult for women than men to embody certain cosmopolitan characteristics. Wilson and Little mentioned in their article (2008) that men and women use, perceive and access public places differently. These all relate to the concept of geography of women's fear (Wilson & Little 2008). Wilson and Little apply Valentine's (1989) concept of the 'geography of women's fear' in their research (2008) on solo female travelers. Having conducted in-depth interviews, they found that women “perceived travel fears relating to others' perceptions, a susceptibility to vulnerability, a sense of restricted access, and a feeling of conspicuousness” (Wilson & Little 2008: 167).

Wilson and Little say that “females tend to be more highly and intensely constrained than men in seeking access to leisure and tourism activities” (Wilson & Little, 2008: 168). The authors try “to make sense of the discourse of fear that surrounds women's leisure and travel” (Wilson & Little, 2008: 168). The article is grounded on a poststructuralist perspective, which implies that places and spaces are socially and physically constructed. Thus, fear can be constructed and reconstructed in various sources, such as film, media and fiction, to emphasize women's vulnerability (Wilson & Little, 2008: 170-171). That being said, Jordan and Aitchison argued that when tourism providers sell their products and services, they “often link sex and tourism in their publicity material, frequently depicting women as the sexualized objects of the gaze” (Jordan and Aitchison 2008: 334). Because of certain constraints, which women may face while travelling abroad, they may avoid certain places or people. According to Szerzynsky and Urry (2006), people, who possess a developed cosmopolitan competence, should

appreciate risky encounters with other cultures, and show curiosity in order to be able to enter into a certain culture. Considering the concept of geography of women's fear, these cosmopolitan predispositions are conditioned by gender. There is no doubt that such a behavior pattern can prevent women from performing certain cosmopolitan characteristics, such as curiosity and risking encounters with the other.

Jordan and Aitchison (2008) investigated how men's gaze can influence the embodied experiences of women travelling alone. They used Foucault's view of "power as fluid, negotiated and differentially influencing all encounters between people at a micro-social level" (Jordan and Aitchison 2008: 329). Jordan and Aitchison (2008) believe that contemporaneously women have become more exposed to gazing because of higher mobility. Having conducted their research, Jordan and Aitchison found that:

"the women in this study believed themselves unable to be in most heterogeneous holiday spaces without becoming the objects of 'the local gaze' of men" (Jordan and Aitchison 2008: 343).

Relatedly, respondent #3 said that she had experienced harassment in France. She was going to a club with a girl who advised her to pay attention to her appearance, because the last time, the girl had not been allowed in as she was wearing sneakers. She continued:

"Of course I put on a dress and high-heeled shoes. I just wore beige nylon stockings, shoes and a coat of a medium height that was fully buttoned. When I left the metro station, people whistled and I did not understand why." (Respondent #3)

We can see that this girl thought that she looked absolutely normal (at least, according to Russian standards). She did not expect that locals would have interpreted her appearance in the wrong way. She also noticed that when she got to the club and entered into it, she was surprised even more, because the majority of people in the club looked even more inappropriately dressed than she was. An inappropriate look meaning wearing "provocative" clothes. She said that she could not even imagine how these people got into the club in such provocative clothes. She suggested that maybe they did not use the metro in such cases, maybe they used only taxis. Thus, we can see, that lack of knowledge of elementary rules can

cause misunderstandings on both sides. When I asked her about her reaction to this situation; she answered:

“Yes, I was very nervous and worried a lot that we did not look appropriate. ... On the night, you know, I wasn't comfortable. ... I felt ashamed.” (Respondent #3)

We can notice that this respondent tried to analyze how she looked from the point of view of foreigners, which can also be considered as a developed semiotic skill (Szerzsynsky and Urry 2006).

Respondent #6 told a story of how she could not get into her place of living for a long time because of her misinterpretation of a man's behavior. She stayed at her friends' place, who lived in the suburbs. She told:

“I left my house. When I started to close the door, a man approached me and began to speak with me. He looked terrifying: there were horrifying scars near his mouth. He did not speak English. He tried to get into the house and repeated all the time two words in English that I could understand ‘Saturday’ and ‘ladder. ... When he approached me very closely I was scared. I closed the door and hurriedly went away. ... I walked for a long time around the hill; I crossed the park several times. I waited for at least two hours. I felt very uncomfortable. ... Later, my friend explained that my friend had borrowed a ladder from this man on Saturday and he just wanted it back.” (Respondent #6)

Here, we can see not only the problem of fear of being injured, but also fear as a problem of language. The lack of knowledge in Spanish and prejudice against the man made it impossible to be open to diversity. This even restricted her access to her home. Thus, we can see that certain factors may make it more difficult for women to use their cosmopolitan competence wherever and whenever they want.

Respondent #4 described the following situation when she was in Egypt:

“I was in a swimming costume and went down to the swimming pool. The hotel personnel stared at me. I felt myself like a monkey in the zoo. Or, that they were very

intrusive and they did not understand simple politeness that you smile because you are polite. However they interpreted it wrongly.” (Respondent #4)

Here, we also can trace possible misinterpretations from both sides. She interpreted such gazes as intrusion in her life. Next time, she may avoid certain places even inside the hotel.

The plans of respondent #5 were ruined when she needed to visit one of the districts in Berlin:

“I left the metro station and there was 150% Arabians. I just turned back and went away.” (Respondent #5)

Respondent #7 said that a girl should not visit alone certain parts of Istanbul, because she may not return. Particularly, she said:

“It means that you should know in advance where a girl with fair skin can go and where she cannot go.” (Respondent #7)

These examples show us the role of stereotypes in negotiating cosmopolitan identity. In this particular case, stereotypes play a negative role; they prevent girls from demonstrating curiosity.

Thus, all the respondents try to avoid certain places or to not be alone when they go somewhere out of a hotel. The typical behavior among them when facing harassment was to ignore it or to move away from it. Thus, the Russian women tried to find their own way while determining how not to compromise themselves as cosmopolitans.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

In conclusion I would like to say that the results of this research have shown that tourism can play a positive role in our society by helping to develop cosmopolitan characteristics. Tourism opens up a potential space for developing cosmopolitanism that underpins our globalized world. In our multicultural world, we have common problems that should be solved. Enhancing cosmopolitan characteristics is important, as it helps to understand other cultures and to deal with them successfully. Sometimes cultural misinterpretations can be crucial and lead to various conflicts. Thus, it is necessary to develop cosmopolitan competence to avoid such conflicts.

In the course of qualitative in-depth individual interviews, rich empirical data materials were gathered. In order to conduct my interviews, literature on the concept of cosmopolitanism in tourism was reviewed. To operationalize the concept of cosmopolitanism in tourism, five topics for the interview guide were formulated. These topics included warm-up questions, last holiday experience, preparation for a holiday trip, use of cosmopolitan competence abroad, and the importance of physical mobility. In this regard, the concept of cosmopolitanism was interpreted on two levels in the research undertaken for this thesis. On a more basic level, cosmopolitanism was interpreted as a competence or practice. According to Vertovec and Cohen (2002), cosmopolitan competence is a personal ability to interpret or to deal with other cultures successfully. For example, consuming foreign food, music, or literature and learning languages or travelling. According to Hannerz (1990), this cosmopolitan competence or practice helps to make his or her way into other cultures through observing and reflecting. It coincides with a cultural competence that means interpreting more or less expertly a particular system of meanings and meaningful forms. By narrowing down the concept of cosmopolitanism, one can talk about the cosmopolitanism predispositions allocated by Szerszynsky and Urry: virtual, imaginative and corporeal mobility, consumption of places, peoples and cultures on the way, curiosity about other cultures, willingness to take risky encounters, mapping and semiotic skills and openness to diversity. What is more, flexibility, adaptability and tolerance, which were studied by Molz (2007), can be also considered as cosmopolitan characteristics. In this regard, embodiment of these cosmopolitan characteristics by Russian female tourists abroad was studied for the research that informed this Master's thesis.

From the start of my research, certain findings of the research were predictable; others were not so evident. Considering the research question, it is possible to say that the young Russian women, who participated in my research, definitely possessed a cosmopolitan competence and used it while travelling. In my research, I argue that there is not a simple division between cosmopolitans and non-cosmopolitans. Rather, everybody who participated in my research had certain cosmopolitan characteristics that more or less developed. In this regard, some of the Russian women used a cosmopolitan competence more successfully, while others were not so successful in using it. All the same, the Russian women possessed a cosmopolitan outlook and demonstrated it on different levels. One of the questions in my research was how much travelling is important in developing a cosmopolitan competence. According to my findings, it can be important, but it is not the main source for improving cosmopolitan characteristics. Earlier, Szerzsynsky and Urry (2006) argued that not only corporeal mobility is important in acquiring certain cosmopolitan characteristics, but imaginative and virtual mobility also play a significant role in this process. This perspective was supported by many of my respondents. What is more, a combination of corporeal and virtual/imaginative mobility was the most effective way of improving one's cosmopolitan competence. Besides, some of the respondents emphasized the importance of living abroad in deeper understanding of another culture. They mentioned that they lacked time to understand a foreign culture when they had a holiday there.

The respondents also mentioned how communication and communication skills may influence the use of a cosmopolitan competence. Both verbal and non-verbal communication may prevent us from engaging with people from different countries, or vice versa to enhance our ability to enter into the other's culture. The knowledge of a language may make it easier to enter into another culture. However, it is not a guarantee of successful communication with representatives of other cultures. Sometimes, non-verbal communication can influence our attempts in dealing with other cultures even more greatly than verbal communication. According to my informants, you may know a language, particularly English, but it does not guarantee you will be successful in using cosmopolitan competence if you do not know unspoken rules of the country—its cultural reference points. In this regard, it seems that again a combination of knowledges of verbal and non-verbal communication rules is an effective way of successfully implementing one's cosmopolitan competence.

My research did not plan to discuss the role of risks and adventures in tourism practices of cosmopolitans. However, these themes often appeared in the interviews and they could not be ignored. The emerging question about the influence of travel inexperience on perceiving risk and adventure can be explained by the age of the respondents as well as by the nation and the gender. Certain scholars (Elsrud 2006, Minnaert 2014) argue that women and men perceive risk and adventure differently. But it is not only about gender differences; even women themselves perceive adventure differently due to their travel experiences. The argument of my research is that if the aim of a trip is pursuing an adventure it can be considered as a cosmopolitan characteristic. Indeed, all the respondents demonstrated in their interviews that they had a willingness to undertake risky encounters and one of the main aims of their trips was to engage in adventurous experiences. Types of travels, destinations, tourism practices differ from respondent to respondent. Nevertheless, all of them showed a cosmopolitan outlook through their travel choices.

Finally, the influence of gender on using a cosmopolitan competence was questioned. The findings reveal that there was an influence of gender on certain cosmopolitan characteristics, such as curiosity about other cultures, consumption of 'the global' and willingness to engage with the other. However, it does not mean that women are less cosmopolitan than men. They seek for other ways to improve their cosmopolitan competence and develop certain cosmopolitan characteristics. The Russian women, who participated in my research, may have certain restrictions because of their gender, however, as one of the respondent said: "But, you can if you are motivated and strongly interested. You can do everything". Women are more challenged than men when cultural differences occur.

The concept of cosmopolitanism is a fruitful field for further research. It is possible to explore the factors that influence a cosmopolitan outlook. In this regard, new and different criteria could be applied to a target group. First of all, concerning limitations of the present research, men could be interviewed as well to find out how they embody certain cosmopolitan characteristics while travelling compared with women. Secondly, people of different ages and nationalities could be investigated regarding the same subject. What is more, it would be interesting to study people with different educational background as the participants of this research had more or less the same level of education (higher education).

As for tourism industry in the North, people who work there and who do not travel themselves can be studied. One can explore how such workers develop their cosmopolitan characteristics. It is in tune with the research made by Salazar (2010) who investigated tour guides in Indonesia and Tanzania. Moreover, tourists can be investigated as well. By investigating tourists, other research methods can be applied, for example participant observation. Tourist can be observed for a longer period of time and in the field. The concept of cosmopolitanism can be explored in the framework of social media, such as Trip Advisor. It is possible to study how the ideals of cosmopolitanism are expressed in such texts. This may allow to trace differences and similarities between various cultures.

As for the theory on cosmopolitanism, this concept can be investigated from the point of view of the cosmopolitan condition as it presupposes mass-tourism. Then, it would be interesting to investigate political and non-political organizations that influence cosmopolitanism. According to Swain, the more material understanding of cosmopolitanism, the more useful it is for the research field. Thus, more investigations should be undertaken in order to develop further material to further understandings of cosmopolitanism.

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Appendix: Information Letter

Information letter

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in the present interview!

The topic of my master thesis project in Tourism Studies is how Russian women use and express their cosmopolitan competence while travelling. Thus, the interview contains the following topics: 1) general information about the respondent; 2) description of the respondent's last holiday; 3) preparation for a holiday; 4) using a cosmopolitan competence during the holiday abroad; 5) cosmopolitanism vs. mobility.

The in-depth qualitative interview lasts for about 60 minutes. The time depends on how much an interviewee is going to say on this topic.

All the answers are granted anonymity. Besides, respondents can withdraw from the project at any time after the interview if they have any regrets.

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