Transclusion vs. Demediation: Ambiguities of Media Practices in Cosmopolitan Re-Embedding Processes

Introduction

There is today much evidence that cosmopolitan outlooks and dispositions – what I will here subsume under the term cosmopolitan ethos – are associated with geographical mobility. Both quantitative and qualitative studies have shown that extensive travel, (trans)migration and/or longer stays in foreign places can be taken as predictors of cosmopolitanism (Pichler, 2008; Kennedy, 2009; Mau et al, 2010; Jansson, 2011). Mobility as such is of little or no significance, however. What matters, are the world opening social and cultural experiences, and the associated elaborations of interpretative frames of reference, which corporeal mobility sometimes leads to. Such experiences, together with other factors, are constitutive of self-transformative “cosmopolitan trajectories”. At the same time, the cliché association, or conflation, of cosmopolitanism with mobile life-paths must be contested. Simply put, many cosmopolitans are not very mobile, as argued in accounts of “rooted cosmopolitanism” (e g Cheah and Robbins, 1998), and many mobile groups do not express much of a cosmopolitan ethos, but move either out of practical necessity, for mere individual pleasure, or within and through securitized and segregated “non-place” corridors (Hannerz, 1990; Augé, 1992; Calhoun, 2003; O’Reilly, 2007; Jansson, 2011).

One aspect of the cosmopolitanism-mobility nexus, which is often overlooked
in academic debates, however, is social temporality, related to individual and shared life-biographies. Individuals and groups are often categorized in a static manner, invoking a division between “more or less” cosmopolitan/mobile groups. Similarly, sociological discourses of nomadism, liquidity and “mobile lives” (e.g. Bauman, 2000; Elliot and Urry, 2011), implicitly refer to particular life phases. Little attention has been paid to why people may actually stop being (globally) mobile, and how such changes relate to the cosmopolitan ethos. Cosmopolitanism is certainly not an entirely stable disposition either. It is structurally embedded and situated in particular time-space contexts, and its general strength and nuances may shift through the life-course of individuals and groups.

The point of departure of this paper, thus, is the need for developing a time-sensitive approach for studying the relationship between (im)mobilities and cosmopolitanism. Such an approach, which provides a focus on re-embedding, regards time in a social and existential sense, notably in terms of the life-course (Giralt and Bailey, 2010), but also with regards to broader structural shifts and their impacts on the life-conditions of individuals and groups. As Giddens (1990) argues in his theory of abstract systems, modern life in general, and mobile lives in particular, are sustained through systemic processes of social disembedding, making the individual less tied to a particular place and its resources. However, this development is not one-directional, but may change via re-embedding processes throughout the life-course. Studying re-embedding processes means that we can critically discuss how different approaches to home and the world are colliding, negotiated, and fading into one another in different ways during different stages of life.

This paper presents a qualitative case study of internationally mobile class fractions, understood as cosmopolitan subjects, who have settled down in the Swedish
countryside. The study, which is inspired by Bude and Dürrschmidt’s (2010) arguments contra “flow speak”, looks at both return migration to familiar environments, and gentrifying counter-urbanization; the setting up of alternative places of cosmopolitan belonging in uncharted non-metropolitan areas (cf Halfacree, 1997, 2007; Phillips, 2002, 2004). There are two inter-connected research questions. The first question concerns the ways in which the cosmopolitan ethos is negotiated and articulated as mobile life-biographies touch ground and lifeworlds solidify through active place making. The second question regards how cosmopolitan re-embedding processes are related to certain forms of media practices, and, by extension, to mediatization. Mediatization is understood in terms of Krotz’s (2007) notion of a meta-process, that is, an overarching, internally complex, even contradictory, movement through which various realms of social life become dependent on processes and resources of mediation. This study pays attention above all to the socio-material indispensability of new media technologies, referring both to the inclusion of private media as naturalized parts of social life, and to the normalized expectations on infrastructural access. Such dependencies and normalizations are not technologically determined, but evolve through social processes, and in context-specific ways.

Integrating the mediatization framework with a time-space sensitive approach to cosmopolitan re-embedding, the study advances three points. Firstly, the spatial solidification of cosmopolitanism, via the typically, but not always, gentrifying mechanisms of “elective belonging” (Savage et al, 2005; Savage, 2010), sustains transclusive constructions of the home-place (see Bude and Dürrschmidt, 2010), where new information and communication networks are indispensable resources. Secondly, cosmopolitan re-embedding processes articulate a shift towards the more
existential side of cosmopolitanism; the association with mankind, nature and history. Such existential desires, which tend to drive cosmopolitan subjects towards a solidification of the lifeworld, relatively speaking, operate largely in opposition to the mediatization process, involving a social quest for demediation. Thirdly, and consequently, the re-embedding of cosmopolitanism illustrates the general push and pull of mediatization in relation to concrete reconstructions of the self. The balancing of the indisputable need for complex connectivity through media networks (transclusion), and the desire to set oneself free from informational pressures and the monitoring power of abstract systems (demediation), noticeable among re-embedded cosmopolitan subjects, underscores the dialectical nature of the mediatization meta-process.

Notes on the Empirical Data

This paper is based on interviews conducted within the research project [Name deleted for blind reviewing], funded by the Swedish research agency [name deleted for blind reviewing]. The aim of the project is to promote an understanding of the conditions and developmental potential of the Swedish countryside in transitional times, characterized by mediatization and globalization. Whereas the overall project draws on qualitative as well as quantitative data in order to grasp “the globalized countryside”, the results presented in this paper are based primarily on our qualitative interviews. They have been carried out in two different municipalities, located in the regions of Värmland and Skåne. These municipalities have been strategically (but also practically) chosen based on their geographical location at the margins of
expansive regions. Both places are within a one-hour drive to a mid-size town or city, but are at the same time suffering from the infrastructural limitations of the Swedish countryside. Both regions have rich natural resources and therefore the potential for tourism. Hence, regarding socio-demographic aspects, these places may very well be compared to other rural areas in Western/European countries.

In total, we have interviewed 27 persons: 12 in Skåne and 15 in Värmland. Most of the participants have been interviewed in their capacity of being “inhabitants” of these areas, but a few municipal politicians and officials have also been interviewed. The interviewees have been selected via what might be called a “strategic snowball selection”, in which people in local networks (e.g., a rural association) have been contacted, and who have then recommended other possible informants. Consequently, we have managed to include people who have lived in the area all their lives, as well as in-migrants with varying degrees of local anchoring.\(^1\)

The individual cases presented in this paper are taken from the study in Värmland. They represent particularly interesting articulations of cosmopolitan re-embedding, whereas my broader analytical points are also grounded in the larger material. In agreement with ethical principles, the interviewees as well as the local communities have been anonymized.\(^2\)

**Cosmopolitanism and the Home-Place**

It is common to take mobility, and the mobilization of society as the starting point for

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\(^1\) The author wants to acknowledge, and is most grateful to Xxxx Xxxx for conducting interviews with Dutch in-migrants.

\(^2\) This study is also designed as a preparatory exploration within the research project [xxx], funded by [xxx], launched in 2012.
discussing cosmopolitan outlooks and practices. Here, however, I want to start with the human being and his or her existence in space. Mobility is clearly not the initial condition of our lives. As Tuan (1977) describes, we are born immobile, and begin our explorations of space within the closest vicinities. Successively, we learn to identify and master the codes of certain places and thus feel “at home” in them. Sometimes, the circuits of our daily lives – the regular rhythms of working life, the commuting between the home-place, the office, and other places of everyday significance – link different places together into regional patterns that become places in themselves (ibid: 183). For some individuals and groups the constellation of familiar places and circuits expand even to the global level, for example through professional careers involving much international travel. Still, as human beings we all know that our more or less mobile lives are a temporary state, linked to certain life phase(s).

For the purpose of understanding cosmopolitan re-embedding processes, there are two broad points worth making in relation to place and human existence in general. Firstly, there is a difference between “knowing” and “knowing about” a place, corresponding to the difference between a fully embodied experience and a more cognitive or observing approach to place. We can learn very much about a place through reading magazines and books, but we do not know it before we have acquired the “feel” of actually being there. However, this does not rule out the social significance of also knowing things about a place. As Tuan points out (ibid: 170-1), when places must be defended, or during processes of socio-spatial transformation, such as the regeneration of urban areas, or the development of new regional infrastructures, the ability to see one’s home-place from a distance, to define it as a conceptual place, is a crucial asset from a political point of view. This is where the
relationship to place, and the ability to produce it, becomes a contested and socially segregated matter.

In a similar fashion, the cosmopolitan ethos involves cognitive as well as emotional components; referring roughly to the interplay between reflexive interpretation and empathy. These components are mutually reinforcing, which also implies that a genuine understanding of the Other benefits from an understanding of the life conditions of the Other. Such contextual understandings may stem from various forms of mobility – corporeal, imaginative, mediated (cf Elliot and Urry, 2011: 15-6) – but cannot gain any deeper meaning until there is also a more embodied familiarity with the places of the Other. Many frequent travellers never get to know any other places than those that are staged particularly for them (as a market), or stay within more or less gated cultural enclaves (Beaverstock, 2002; O’Reilly, 2007). Likewise, the thesis of mediated cosmopolitanism and global empathy (see Chouliaraki, 2006; Robertson, 2010) pertains to a limited, and socially structured, part of the cosmopolitan spectrum (Lindell, 2012). At the same time, however, broader cultural knowledge and schemes of interpretation (the “knowing about”) are essential to what Glick Schiller et al (2011) call “cosmopolitan sociability”, understood as the capability of finding common ground for communication beyond cultural differences, and to the self-contesting type of “cosmopolitan imagination”, advocated by Delanty (2009). Cultural repertoires are thus key for turning cosmopolitan experiences into “politics of place” (Harvey, 1996).

Secondly, whereas human beings may negotiate and alter their spatial relationships throughout their lives, certain spatial attachments are difficult to escape or fully (re-)invent. For example, not all places that we know and feel attachment to qualify as home-places; places where we emotionally belong, and can anchor our
identities. In Tuan’s (1977) view, home is a place into which one has invested oneself in a complete and intimate way, through the entertainment and organization of properties, social relations and life narratives (see also Wise, 2000). Indeed, one may feel “at home” in many different places, as well as in broader spatial entities, such as a nation-state; there are different emotional shades and depths defining these experiences, all of which are important to the sense of home. However, the establishment of an intimately private home-place is often a critical matter, especially among mobile groups, since it demands time, and ultimately roots. Roots can never be invented or arbitrarily constructed at a particular place, but must grow successively out of early life experiences in a certain setting, or cluster of settings, or achieved through intense, life defining experiences related to for example work and family life – the “becoming rooted” in place (Tuan, 1977).

Taken as a general pattern, these two points also apply to those groups of various backgrounds and standings that we call cosmopolitans. Whereas the desire for home and homeland should not be romanticized, or seen as a universal ideal or emotional category, one should not assume that such desires are weaker among cosmopolitans than among others. Rather, the combination of a cosmopolitan ethos, the inclination to explore and problematize seemingly taken for granted categories of culture and belonging, and a felt need to belong and maintain strong bonds to particular places, raises existential questions. As Bude and Dürrschmidt (2010) argues, such questions, related to various experiences of ambiguity, such as “homesickness”, have often been overlooked in sociological analyses of globalization. In their view, “the theory of globalization needs to (re)discover the more mundane notions of home and belonging without immediately suspecting parochialism” (ibid: 493).
The creation of home is thus not to be understood as an anti-cosmopolitan project per se, since a home is not an isolated or static place. As Massey (1994: 170-71) points out, the home is “constructed out of movement, communication, social relations which always stretch beyond it”. This is also what Tuan (1977: 157) suggests when he distinguishes estate from range: “Estate is the traditionally recognized home or dreaming place of a patrilineal descent group and its adherents. Range is the tract or orbit over which the group ordinarily hunts and forages”. Both “estate” and “range” are thus invested with meaning and emotion, but in different ways – the former pertaining to social integration and memory; the latter to survival and a sense of spatial freedom. Thus, home, or a sense of belonging, can even be considered as the precondition for “real” cosmopolitan practice. The ideal of cosmopolitanism is not about getting rid of cultural differences and identifications, but (a) to find deeper human values and shared human interests beyond such differences (Glick Schiller et al, 2011), and (b) to be willing to host and support the Other in one’s home, that is, to express hospitality in practice (Silverstone, 2007: 140). Here, we encounter another ethical and existential ambiguity that saturates cosmopolitanism. Whereas the cosmopolitan ethos strongly opposes enclosed home environments, such as gated communities, there is also a more basic need for a secure platform, a sense of belonging and continuity, tied especially to family life, through which hospitable manners can actually evolve (Jansson, 2011).

Bude and Dürrschmidt's (2010) discussion of return migration, or “homecoming”, relates directly to the existential dilemmas of cosmopolitan life-biographies. To Bude and Dürrschmidt, the “homecomer” stands for the insight that the home may be open to the globe, that the home can be a site of transclusion. This means that whereas the homecomer is “prepared to get entangled in local networks of
commitment and responsibility” (ibid: 493), he or she also transplants parts of the outside world into the home, thus stretching the openness of place. The figure of the homecomer underscores the social temporality, and the fundamental irreversibility of life, discussed above. All human beings have to deal with their only life, which then becomes a matter of actually “solidifying multiple options into a liveable existence” (ibid: 484). This process occurs through what Bude and Dürrschmidt call *lived selectivity*, which stresses that the structuring of various options into a coherent life trajectory is limited not only in a social sense (depending on habitus), but also in terms of the life cycle itself.

Even though Bude and Dürrschmidt do not take on board the question of cosmopolitanism as such (and even conflates cosmopolitans with mobile elite groups), their perspective involves a set of useful concepts for approaching the cosmopolitan ethos, and associated practices, as socially and materially (re-)embedded phenomena. In the forthcoming sections I expand on this basic theme through empirically grounded analyses. In addition to the homecomer, my analysis integrates an associated figure, namely the settler, or in-migrant, whose mobile life-trajectory involves the same existential ambiguities as the homecomer’s, but is characterized by the setting down of roots in previously uncharted terrain.

**Three Cases of Cosmopolitan Re-Embedding**

As stated above, the image of cosmopolitans as high flyers, who travel light, enjoying the excitements of encountering cultural differences and shifting between cultural code systems – typically associated with Hannerz’s (1990) anthropological work, and
often reproduced in the globalization literature – has its limitations. Whereas this image corresponds to the notion of a boundary transcending cosmopolitan sociability (Glick Schiller et al, 2011), often found among mobile groups with high amounts of network capital (Urry, 2007; Elliot and Urry, 2011), it has a tendency of reproducing a flawed understanding of “the cosmopolitan” as somebody who is detached from the “real world”, and refrains from putting down roots anywhere. Such a view of cosmopolitanism becomes paradoxical, because cosmopolitans in this guise would never be able to engage in any deeper sense with the Other. The vision of a truly self-contesting dialogical imagination (Beck, 2006) would remain a superficial “technique”, or an ideal at the level of cultural value. Ultimately, cosmopolitanism would operate as a counter-force to social change, rather than as an avenue towards social and cultural emancipation.

My empirical research on cosmopolitan re-embedding tells a different story. In particular, it tells a story about people who maintain a rather passionate relationship to place, expressed both through their travel experiences and through their deep involvement in the social matters of their home-place. The general picture unveils a desire, at a certain time in life, to discover and create a place called “home”. Such an embodied, and elective, relationship to place may then compensate for mobile, and largely un-rooted life trajectories. Still, as the following three cases show, depending on life conditions there are various shades to these place-making projects. The significance of time is particularly important: firstly, in terms of roots and family heritage, which might provide a sense of “natural” connection to a place, and, secondly, in terms of the life-course, and the fluctuation of life opportunities and constraints.
CASE 1: Synergetic re-embedding

Knut and Richard is a gay couple around 60, living in an old heritage house in the small countryside community Granby. The house, in which they have lived only a few years, is the inherited family home of Richard. They both have countryside backgrounds but also wide experiences of global travel, and in Knut’s case an international professional career within the educational and political sectors. Previously they lived in Stockholm, and before that Knut lived in several other countries and cities including the US, Algeria, Berlin and Brussels. Both individually and as a couple they can be described as cosmopolitans, expressing a typical willingness to engage with the Other, and to experience the everyday life of the Other “for real”, as Knut puts it. This pertains to foreign places, as well as to their new home-place Granby and its population.

Knut: Our goal was to return, and as I said, we wanted to “whirl around some dust” here before retirement. It would have felt foolish to arrive here at 65 and sit like “the two old men who nobody knows”… So the goal was to get to know people here… Richard, you know people since you are from here, but I also wanted to become someone else than just ‘that pensioner who has lived in Stockholm all of his life and led an odd kind of life’, and whatever they might say…

In spite of Richard’s family heritage, moving to Granby was not as simple as “moving home”. Besides the fact that Knut is not from the same region, but more of a settler, their global lifestyles and experiences caused concerns that they might feel a bit “out of place”. They thus did not want to wait too long until moving to the house in Granby, and quite soon Knut started to feel integrated. He has engaged himself in local organizations related to both politics and culture, and is interested in the preservation of their estate. Still, their home-place is not to be seen as an enclosed
space; on the contrary, when Knut and Richard talk about their home, it is described in terms of both transclusion and motility (Kaufmann, 2002). Their home is an open space, as well as an ongoing creative project and a node, which allows for various temporary exit routes through travel and/or mediations.

*Knut:* If you have lived in a bigger city you think that a smaller town lacks that pulse that you want… then you could just as well live out in the green… […] I actually like the peace and quiet here, and that it doesn’t happen very much. And the inspiration grows from within, I love this house and it’s the best house we could have… So this is the place with a capital P, we have created it and this is our niche, and through the Internet we have connections to the world, and when we are travelling it’s always nice to come home and have […] all this space.

The case of Knut and Richard provides an interesting illustration of how different kinds of assets and energies are negotiated within a relationship over time. Knut and Richard belong to the type of middleclass “elective belongers” that Savage et al (2005) identify; social agents who have enough capital (cultural and economic) to settle down in a place where the socio-spatial properties (aesthetically, infrastructurally, etc) (bene)fit their lifestyle. But whereas Knut is the one in possession of larger amounts of educational and network capital, Richard adds the concrete opportunity for the rooting and convergence of their life biographies. As a joint life-project this can be seen as a case of “synergetic” re-embedding, and represents a hybrid form of homecoming and settlement. We can also relate this condition to Savage’s (2010) discussion on the politics of elective belonging. Savage distinguishes the type of aesthetically oriented settlers that characterize most gentrification processes from what he calls “dwellers”; those who do not question their roots, and take pride in their family history. In the latter case (symbolized by
Richard), whereas homecoming certainly means returning as somebody with broadened cosmopolitan experiences (partly through Knut), it also involves the re-enactment of spatial attachment and continuity.

**CASE 2: Radical re-embedding**

A more radical case of settlement, which also involves migration, is Mirijam and her family. Mirijam was born and raised in the Netherlands, then lived for ten years in the USA, including New York, San Francisco and Georgia, with an American husband. She also lived in several other countries before moving to the Swedish countryside with her children and new husband, who is also Dutch, but had a vacation cottage in the Swedish countryside since before. Mirjam is well educated and together with her husband she runs a company focusing on health care combined with a bed & breakfast, all of which fit in the 18th century farm tenancy. Mirjam has found it more difficult to get integrated in this local community than in other places where she has lived. She ascribes this partly to the sedentarism of the countryside, and partly to the fact they have brought in a lot of new ideas (and visitors) through their business. Still, she finds people to be very helpful when she asks questions and engages in the local activities; “you have to open your doors and you have to get involved in what’s going on in the community and not ask what they can do to get you more involved”.

Over time, the family’s social and emotional investments in the home-place, the company and community life have generated a sense of attachment and belonging. Mirijam’s new settlement is thus a good example of elective belonging, corresponding to a need for solidification at a certain time in life. Still, she takes pride in her mobile and cosmopolitan life-trajectory, and wishes that her children would get the same opportunity.
Mirijam: We started this conversation with saying that I didn’t really have roots, or my family doesn’t really have roots. But I discovered then, thanks to Sweden… that I started to love Sweden, I started to love Värmland, and I’m getting attached to it. […] […] I’ve had my share of cities. I don’t want that anymore. Well, the negative is, what I said, for the children, that I find… I don’t… you know, I had the experience of living like I said, in middle of Manhattan, where I’ve been working […] So what is a little bit heavy is of course here for the children, that I find that for them… I had my share of going out and meeting so many people… that’s more difficult for them.

We are here reminded of the limitations of the lifecycle, and the fact that certain prioritizations must be made (if there are any choices), in this case regarding the potential life-trajectories of the children. Furthermore, similar to the case of Richard and Knut, connectivity, motility and exitability are crucial ingredients to the settlement of Mirijam and her family. These conditions can only be achieved through access to various kinds of infrastructures, including digital media networks. The sense of existential freedom provided by the open spaces of the countryside is enhanced by new means of communication, keeping the home open to cosmopolitan encounters and opportunities.

I didn’t want to live too far out in the country so… it’s still, I think it’s very central where we are living. We live out in the country, but still, it’s 45 minutes to go to Karlstad or 20 minutes to go to Storvik. So, that’s one of the reasons, because of the unspoiled nature… and you know, with the Internet it doesn’t really matter where you are. It’s the experience… […] I’m a member of different social networks… Friend Feed, Ecademy, Twitter, Facebook, so all this social networking on the Internet. So that’s mainly the connections that we are having with customers and yes, Skype… and e-mail of course. Creating blogs, writing blogs and responding to blogs, yeah, that’s very good… it works really fine.
Miriam’s story represents a situation where mediatization contributes to the integration of professional and family life, and where the home-place, which is also the place of business, becomes an ongoing, transclusive life(style) project. This situation establishes an interesting dynamic between, on the one hand, the strikingly liquid patterns of mediated connectivity and interaction, and, on the other hand, the geo-spatial solidification of the cosmopolitan life-trajectory. The pattern is significant to gentrifiers in general (Rofe, 2003; Savage, 2010) and rural gentrifiers in particular (Halfacree, 2007; Phillips, 2002, 2004), whose habitus and position within a transnational social field (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004), together with the possession of “network capital” (Elliot and Urry, 2011), provide the platform for acting within and upon previously unfamiliar settings in an aesthetically and ethically progressive way. At the structural level, the mediatized engagement of these groups in non-urban areas, which is still a quite recent and geographically clustered phenomenon in Sweden, can be seen as part of the cosmopolitanization process (Beck, 2006), providing new political opportunities for social change in regions of post-industrial stagnation. But it also extends the mechanisms of social segregation, and distinction, through which social space is “translated, with more or less distortion, into physical space, in the form of a certain arrangement of agents and properties” (Bourdieu, 1997/2000: 134).

**CASE 3: Experimental re-embedding**

The third case refers to a process of homecoming, articulated not through permanent dwelling, but through temporary residence during vacations. Stellan, who works as a university professor, spends five weeks every summer in the small community of Granby Bruk, where his family has its origins. Like many other descendants of the
factory workers of Granby Bruk, Stellan and his family has inherited a property in the picturesque surroundings by the lake. Stellan and his wife have sometimes considered the idea of moving there permanently, but such a project would be difficult to combine with their professional careers. Still, for Stellan the summer period functions as an existential reconnection to his roots, as well as a reflexive contemplation of his own identity. In his childhood and youth Stellan lived in a number of different places around the world—such as Uppsala, Paris and the Congo—and he therefore cannot point out any obvious starting-point for his life trajectory. Rather, it is Granby Bruk, which he has visited every summer since childhood, that provides the spatial and emotional epicenter of his biography. It is a place in which he feels genuinely at home. As a boy, Stellan often thought it was depressing to hear the elders talking about the closed-down plant, which cast a constant shadow over the place; but more recently the community has regained its spirits due to tourism, and Stellan has begun to engage in local events and projects:

*Stellan:* It is quite refreshing with all the Norwegian, German and Dutch summer-guests who pop up in the neighbourhood as a cosmopolitan contribution to this extremely local and historically conscious group, which me, my father and uncle and other rooted relatives kind of cultivate... And it is very good that others enter our community. But it is hard to piece together these different cultures, because it is hard for these continental summer-guests to sort of get into this... at the same time they want to. [...] To go here is to make a time-travel back in time – it is an industrial culture, and the gender roles are very cemented, which I also fall into. [...] My wife and I have discussed this a lot – the old-fashioned gender roles that almost force themselves upon you. And sometimes I put on an apron and stand with my wife, serving coffee, which is regarded as a peculiarity in this context ... [laughter]

Stellan’s view confirms the above-mentioned problem of getting access, as an
outsider, to close-knit communities where a sense of shared family history prevails. Even though Stellan himself, as well as his friends and siblings, express a cosmopolitan outlook and show hospitality to the Other, integration becomes difficult in practical terms. There always remains a difference between those who have roots in Granby Bruk, and those who have not, let alone that this difference to some extent can be transcended through cosmopolitan sociability. As testified by the interview extract, also traditional gender structures take time, even generational shifts, to alter. In spite of that, it is worthwhile to note that Stellan’s social performativity, typical for the mobile, well-educated middleclass, does work upon those structures, even though direct confrontations and conflicts are avoided.

The case of Granby Bruk gives a snapshot of Harvey’s (1996) ideas on the significance of “authentic” space (here, the combination of nature and the cultural heritage of the glass factory) as a desirable asset and hotbed for radical place-political ideas. However, the (re)vitalization and (seasonal) gentrification of Granby Bruk, which also means its incorporation within network society via the tourism industry, has made it more difficult for Stellan to create his pocket of tranquility and contemplation. There is now more pressure within the community to participate in various projects. In addition, there is a growing communicational stress related to Stellan’s job, where total disconnection has become a more and more unthinkable condition. The fact that there is insufficient mobile coverage and no Internet connection to their house has started to generate ambiguity.

I feel as if I don’t have a good idea of what’s going on. It feels as if I want to be involved and have control, then I would have to raise my own media-intensity; it must become much higher. And this is a direct conflict with how I feel—because I notice that this is deeply related to existential values of cultivating your relationship and having time to fade into each other. So this
stands in direct conflict with being off with my wife and to unwind and calm down... To communicate with her or to be connected and communicate about a whole lot of things that stresses me up, so this is a pretty difficult conflict.

Again, the temporal dimension becomes extremely important to consider in the context of cosmopolitanism and the media. Stellan’s experiences stem from a collision between an imposed structural change, related to a process of disembedding through new means of communication, and the cosmopolitan orientation towards holistic, existential reflexivity. Stellan believes that the practical need for online access during vacation will soon become inevitable also with regards to the broader realms of everyday life, notably the demands of his children. His rather dull prediction is thus that re-embedding will become an increasingly difficult matter; he will soon have to establish his seasonal off-line time-space through further discipline and reflexive strategies.

**The Mediatized Social Temporality of Cosmopolitan Re-Embedding**

The above cases illustrate of the mind-body dualism of Tuan’s (1977) experiential perspective of place. Whereas these cosmopolitan subjects invest great amounts of emotional energy into their place-making projects, expressed through creativity related to the home-place itself (aesthetic improvements, preservation, etc), as well as to local cultural activities (musical events, exhibitions, etc), they also approach their home-place through a more conceptual attitude. As to the latter, they are engaged both in local history and in the position of their community and region in the global
context. A typical example is the involvement in development projects with funding from the EU. This pertains to all three cases, and tells us something about the correlations between spatial appropriation, social position and mobility patterns. As Savage (2010: 118) points out: “The ability to value places is dependent on having a wide enough set of reference points to allow comparison and evaluation. [...] Hence, a strange oscillation between belonging and not-belonging, where deeply felt love of place can go hand in hand with a sense of the fragility by which one is connected to it”.

Somebody who has travelled, worked and lived longer periods in different countries, has good capacity to put the local community into perspective. In addition, the possession of educational and cultural capital, which has also given shape to certain patterns of mobile experiences among our informants (related to careers in education, politics and medicine), cannot be overlooked. Previous research has shown that cosmopolitan value orientations are linked to cultural rather than economic capital (Phillips and Smith, 2008), and that there exists a synergetic effect related to transnational experiences (Mau et al, 2008). The present case study spreads further light on these interaction effects, and also shows how they play into the process of place-making. As Tuan (1977: Ch 12) argues, the ability to see one’s home-place from afar can become a political asset, a resource for governing social change (see also Merton, 1949/1968; Gans, 1962).

What we are dealing with here is thus a particular (albeit statistically typical), and socially positioned shade of cosmopolitanism. As given from the outset of the study, it is linked to a privileged habitus and mobile life-biographies. Still, it provides a general affirmation that the cosmopolitan ethos is subject to negotiation, similar to the way in which habitus, as Bourdieu argues (1997/2000: 161), is worked upon
throughout the life-trajectory of a social subject. Even though these changes are brought about through social negotiations concerning the individual and joint life-plans of a household (cf Berger et al 1973), the persons appearing in this case study have had relatively good opportunities, in capacity of their habitus, to transcend the limitations of lived selectivity and initiate re-embedding processes that align with the cultural markers of elective belonging. Through the mediation of time, what we may think of as social timing, these negotiations may turn out as more or less synergetic, radical or experimental social occurrences. Still, what unites the cases is that none of the re-embedding processes have implied any temporal dislocations affecting the sense of Self, and the continuity of habitus (cf Giralt and Bailey, 2010).

Here, we can start unveiling the interplay between time-space specific re-embedding processes and the mediatization meta-process. In all three cases above, Internet and broadband networks are represented as particularly important assets for keeping in touch with private as well as professional acquaintances. The re-embedding processes are dependent on these material resources, and thus less likely to occur in cases where such infrastructure as well as other resources are not in place. This observation corresponds to Halfacree’s (2007, 2010) distinction between gentrifying and radical counter-urbanization (see also Jansson and Andersson, 2012). In the latter case countryside settlement is associated with an ideologically motivated break with the technological structures of urbanism and global capitalism. Gentrifiers, by contrast, seem more inclined to entertain their networks, deploying their network capital for setting up new businesses (as in Mirijam’s case) and engaging themselves in local events and development projects (as in Knut’s case). To mobile groupings inter- and transnational networks then provide linkages not only in space, but also in time. Media access becomes indispensible for preserving a sense of coherence within
the life-biography, which is also to say that neither habitus nor ethos is fundamentally altered, but merely re-embedded. Part and parcel of this is the sense of “exitability”, which points to the possibility not only of moving somewhere else, but also of “un-doing” this particular process of re-embedding.

**Transclusion vs Demediation**

As seen above, mediated connectivity is indispensable for glocal forms of interaction, as well as for maintaining a sense of social continuity within, and beyond, processes of cosmopolitan re-embedding. For cosmopolitan subjects, then, networked communication attains an essential time-binding role. Furthermore, the spatial practices that mediated connectivity enables, give shape to cosmopolitan politics of place. This is not only a matter of directly applying the media for political purposes, such as within local development projects, but also of building bridges that open the local place to further inflows of people and ideas, and for realizing creative place-making projects (e.g., restorations) that affect the internal dynamics of the community. This is particularly obvious in the case of Mirijam, whose professional and private realms intersect, establishing the home-place as a genuinely transclusive place for socializing as well as business. It is a place that experiences and ideas may *flow through*, and thus bring to life.

This does not exclude that the media are also crucial for establishing the home-place as such, of course. As Moores (2012) argues in his proclamation of a “habitation/orientation paradigm” for media studies, the appropriation of various media, both in material terms, and in terms of routinized behavior, are important to
the construction of the home-place as a place of intimate belonging. We can relate this observation to Tuan’s (1977) discussion of range versus estate. The media do not operate merely as agents of the range, but are also important for constituting the estate, materially and through various processes of symbolic anchoring (see also Andersson, 2008). Still, one of the most pervasive consequences of mediatization, and what is meant by transclusion, is that the distinction between range and estate becomes increasingly difficult to sustain. The two categories collapse into one another. Patterns of transnational connectivity (range) require material infrastructures that also order and reproduce the comforts of the modern home-place (estate); and once the comforts of the home are put in place, external links and flows are difficult to discontinue. For obvious reasons, this dualism between transclusion and demediation is further accentuated within cosmopolitan lifeworlds, particularly during processes of re-embedding.

The critical issue, then, becomes how to encapsulate those experiences of tranquility, harmony and intimate spatial belonging that are at the core of the re-embedding processes we have studied. From a cosmopolitan perspective, this desire is not only a matter of finding time and place for re-connecting with deeper existential questions, expressed as a desire to “touch ground”, to withdraw from intense mobility, sociality and mediation. The cosmopolitan ethos also entails a desire for not getting stuck in segregating abstract systems of mediated surveillance (Jansson, 2011), thus embodying a social critique of the dependencies of mediatization. This double articulation of demediation is most explicitly articulated in the interview with Stellan, who points to the increasing pressure, in terms of self-discipline and life-strategy, that mediatization fosters. His view highlights that the everyday indispensability of communication infrastructures threatens the intimacy and rootedness of the local
estate. If such intimacy has to be reflexively constructed and made the object of too much planning, it loses its authentic character. Fundamentally, the existential desire to being in place with all one’s senses requires time.

The cosmopolitan ambiguity between transclusion and demediation involves various shades, however. It is articulated in different ways and with different strength depending on time-space context in general, and the history and direction of the life-course in particular. Mirijam, for example, expresses little concern for demediation, even though she is very clear as to her general need for finding a slower life-pace. In her case, settling down in the Swedish countryside has even created an accentuated need for mediated connectivity, in order to make a living and keep in touch with friends. In other words, identity still needs a range, an interface, which may be narrow, or, as with cosmopolitanism, broader or in scope. This observation leads us back to Tuan’s (1977: 167) general observation that the making of a home-place also involves reflexivity and visibility, through which “a conscious sense of self and of the things associated with the self, including home and locality”, is established. This sense, which can be achieved through social recognition, mobility or mediated experiences, is exactly what Knut refers to when he describes the feeling of returning to “the place with a capital P”, “our niche”, after times of travelling.

Conclusion

What can the past mean to us? People look back for various reasons, but shared by all is the need to acquire a sense of self and of identity. I am more than what the thin present defines. (Tuan, 1974: 186)
In this study I have tried to delineate the ways in which the cosmopolitan ethos is re-embedded through alterations of mobile life-courses towards conditions of place-making and solidification of the self and the lifeworld. I have paid particular attention to how these processes are related to mediatization. The findings underscore the status of mediatization as a complex meta-process, which integrates oftentimes-contradictory sub-processes, and whose regimes of dependency are negotiated in different ways under different social conditions, as well as over time. In the context of cosmopolitan re-embedding, the media are indispensable for maintaining global networks and enhancing cultural creativity through the production of transclusive home-places. Mediatization thus reproduces the cosmopolitan life-course as an open-ended space of opportunities, and enables a sense of continuity also in times of solidification. At the same time, however, this study has pointed to the ethical and existential ambiguities that media dependency may lead to in cosmopolitan lifeworlds in general, and in relation to re-embedding processes in particular.

This is also tied to the internal complexity of the cosmopolitanization meta-process, the fact that the increasing magnitude of flows and encounters are often at odds with individual and communal needs for rootedness, as well as tranquility. Whereas cosmopolitanization thus integrates various forms of anti-cosmopolitan movements at the structural level (Beck, 2006), one must also recognize the tension that cosmopolitan identities harbor at the most fundamental level of self-making. There cannot be any socially or ethically “pure” and stable form of cosmopolitanism; the cosmopolitan ethos is grounded in very real life conditions, and re-negotiated during the life-course, as cosmopolitan subjects, just like others, have an oscillating need for looking backwards as well as forwards. Here, the media provide a key resource for managing such negotiations without causing major ruptures to habitus.
References


