



THE HONG KONG
POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY

香港理工大學

Pao Yue-kong Library

包玉剛圖書館

Copyright Undertaking

This thesis is protected by copyright, with all rights reserved.

By reading and using the thesis, the reader understands and agrees to the following terms:

1. The reader will abide by the rules and legal ordinances governing copyright regarding the use of the thesis.
2. The reader will use the thesis for the purpose of research or private study only and not for distribution or further reproduction or any other purpose.
3. The reader agrees to indemnify and hold the University harmless from and against any loss, damage, cost, liability or expenses arising from copyright infringement or unauthorized usage.

IMPORTANT

If you have reasons to believe that any materials in this thesis are deemed not suitable to be distributed in this form, or a copyright owner having difficulty with the material being included in our database, please contact lbsys@polyu.edu.hk providing details. The Library will look into your claim and consider taking remedial action upon receipt of the written requests.

COSMOPOLITANISM AS NORMATIVELY
GUIDED PARADIGM:
A STUDY OF GREEN LIVING IN HONG KONG

FELIX SAI KIT NG

M.Phil

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

2016

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Department of Applied Social Sciences

Cosmopolitanism as Normatively Guided Paradigm:
A Study of Green Living in Hong Kong

Felix Sai Kit NG

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Philosophy

August 2015

Certificate of Originality

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it reproduces no material previously published or written, nor material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

_____ (Signed)

Felix Sai Kit NG _____ (Name of student)

Abstract

Triggered by transnational risks along with technological advances, Ulrich Beck argued that we are living in an age of cosmopolitanisation, which represents a paradigm shift from a methodological nationalism to a cosmopolitan vision in social science and theory. This assertion has spun a rapid increase in empirical research on really existing cosmopolitanism. There is, however, yet a conceptual framework which allows us to critically scrutinise how the process of cosmopolitanisation is operationalised and actuated. While different researchers focused on different facets and various adopted measurements, the normative dimension of cosmopolitanism, namely cosmopolitan values, has not been reflected clearly in previous studies. Research done mainly on transnationalisation and glocalisation has only made cosmopolitanism a relativistic notion in empirical terms. As an attempt to bridge these gaps, this study first proposes a two-stage investigation for understanding the importance of normative cosmopolitanism and value-based practice in the cosmopolitan process, especially in terms of transnational(ised) and glocal(ised) phenomena. Another step is then taken to illustrate how the inner process of cosmopolitanisation is being practised through focusing on a group of people devoted to promoting and practising green living in Hong Kong. By conducting 18 in-depth interviews and working closely with the respondents, this study hopefully offers not only a snapshot of green living in Hong Kong but also reveals the values that are embedded in the lived experience and lifestyle of these environmentalists.

This research has found that the scope of the moral worldview of these informants has been expanded and informed by certain transnational values through their green-living practice. Meanwhile, the development of their own community and their practice of environmentalism or a normative lifestyle is indicative only of a process of a limited, ‘rooted’ cosmopolitanisation which is considered more as an individual-based or personal-based project rather than one driven by a much broader cosmopolitan vision and as a transnational project for embracing and celebrating a normative global order. In this context, the local actions and everyday practice of green living in Hong Kong at best is only illustrative of a first step in the process of cosmopolitanisation.

Acknowledgements

Many acknowledgments are due to those who have influenced my approach to, and my perspective on, this research project. I am particularly grateful to my thesis supervisor, Dr. David Ip. He has been a mentor to me since I was an undergraduate student at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University (PolyU) in 2010. Without his encouragement and inspiration, I probably would not have been able to develop my own approach and complete this thesis. I am also grateful to Prof. Robert J. Holton for his kind comments on my conceptual framework and the support he gave me for researching the cosmopolitanisation process. Special thanks must also go to Professor Sidney Cheung, Drs Arthur Chang Chun Chia, Timothy Sim, May Tam, David Herold, Anita Koo, and Ching-wa Wong, who have all generously shared their views and inputs into my research project on different occasions. Many thanks must also go to the many scholars I have met only through reading their works, such as Ulrich Beck, Kwame Appiah, David Held, Roland Robertson, Magdalena Novicka, Gerard Delanty, Zlatko Skrbiš and Ian Woodward. Their insights and visions have been most influential to my research.

Likewise I am most indebted to the Department of Applied Social Sciences of PolyU for providing me with an impeccably supportive learning environment that allows me not only to develop my competence in teaching and research but also offers me financial support and opportunities for overseas exchange. In fact, a large part of this thesis was completed while I was visiting the University of Queensland (UQ) as an exchange student. To a student born and raised in Hong Kong, UQ is a source of intellectual fulfilment as it provided me with a serene and detached environment for reflecting on both my research project and *my* life prospects. I especially wish to acknowledge the School of Social Sciences for their hospitality. I would also like to express my special thanks to Dr. Peter Westoby for his generosity in giving me supervision and to Dr. Kristen Lyons for her many inspiring ideas on environmental sociology.

Unreserved gratitude must also go to Drs. Raymond Tam, William Lo, and Guat Tin Ng. They have been continuously giving me their valuable encouragement and support

throughout my academic pathway although Will and Guat Tin have now moved on to teach in other tertiary institutions.

Throughout my study period, I have also benefitted from a network of colleagues, academic or otherwise, that has been instrumental in helping me to get through good and bad times. To my fellow postgraduate students and researchers, Siu Kong, Bryant, Cristian, Michael, Lewis, Francesca, Martyna, Yida, Rosetta, Agnes, Billy, Olivier, Allan and Hangying, the peer support you have extended to me will always be a part of my memory. To the administrative staff in APSS, especially Fanny and Amy, I cannot thank you enough for the continuous assistance you have given me in getting through all the bureaucratic hurdles.

Finally, I am most appreciative of the willingness, openness, and kindness my green-living informants have given to me not only because they graciously took time to participate in my research but because they also showed their friendship in accepting me as a newcomer of their community.

A final word on the usual disclaimer: all the limits and weaknesses of the thesis are mine.

NG Sai Kit Felix

31 March 2016

Table of Contents

Certificate of Originality	i
Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	v
List of Figures.....	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction to the Research Project	1
Aims of the Research and the Research Question	2
Outcomes and Value	2
Theoretical Framework of this Study	3
Green Living as an Illustration	5
An Introduction to Green Living	5
Justification for Cosmopolitanisation in Green Living.....	7
Contexts of Cosmopolitanisation and Green Living in Hong Kong.....	8
Structure of the Thesis	10
Chapter 2: Literature Review and Analysis: Cosmopolitanism as a Normatively Guided Paradigm.....	11
Introduction.....	11
Origins of Cosmopolitanism: A Synthesis of Western and Eastern Ideals.....	11
Western Origins of Cosmopolitanism.....	11
Chinese Origins: Cosmopolitanism and its Moral Practice	12
Revitalisation of Cosmopolitanism.....	13
From ‘Roofless’ to ‘Rooted’ Cosmopolitanism.....	13
Beck’s Thesis of Cosmopolitanism	15
Cosmopolitanisation: Risk, Modernity and Research.....	16
A Cosmopolitan Vision.....	17
Previous Studies on Indications of Cosmopolitan(ised) Realities	18
Attitude, Orientation, Openness.....	18
Identity and Belonging.....	20
Mobility.....	21
Pluralistic Approach.....	21
Rethinking Cosmopolitanisation: A Further Explanation of the Theoretical Framework Adopted.....	23
A Two-stage Model as a Conceptual Framework.....	23
Cosmopolitan Values as Further Foci.....	26
Searching for Value-based Practice in this Study.....	30
Concluding Remarks: Towards a Two-stage Model	31

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology	32
Research Paradigm Adopted - Cosmopolitanism	32
My Position as both Researcher and Participant.....	34
Research Strategies	34
Phase 1: Literature and Documentary Review.....	35
Phase 2: In-depth Interviewing	35
Ethical Concerns	42
Chapter 4: Research Findings – Part 1 – The Practice of Green Living: Themes and Tactics in Hong Kong	43
Introduction.....	43
A Brief History of the Green-living Movement in Hong Kong.....	43
Themes and Tactics of the Green-living Movement.....	45
Individual Level	45
Community Level	50
Societal Level.....	53
Concluding Remarks.....	55
Chapter 5: Research Findings – Part 2 – Green Living and Cosmopolitan‘isation’	56
Introduction.....	56
Values Implicit in Green Living	56
Altruism Embedded in Green Living: A Cost-benefit Analysis of Going Green.....	56
Transnational Values Embedded in Lifestyle Environmentalism	60
Border and Boundary: Factors Catalysing Green Living	62
Individual Level – Personal Health.....	62
Local Level – Informal Education by Local Green Groups	63
Intra-national Level – Urban Development Policies	64
Transnational Level – Accidental Eco-tours.....	65
Perception of Ecological Risks	66
Negative Perception of Ecological Risks.....	66
Formal Education as a Key Factor in Spreading an Awareness of Ecological Risks..	67
Concluding Remarks.....	67
Chapter 6: Research Findings – Part 3 – Green-living People and Cosmopolitan‘ism’	69
Introduction.....	69
Level 1: Cosmopolitan Consciousness	69
Level 2: Cosmopolitan Attitude.....	71
Level 3: Cosmopolitanism in Practice	73
Other Value-based Practices	73
Local Scope of Practice	75
Concluding Remarks.....	78
Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion	79
Introduction.....	79
Indirect Nexus between Cosmopolitanism and Green Living.....	79
Research Contributions and Implications	82
Study Limitations and Future Research.....	83
Appendix 1: Research Questions, Themes and Methods	86
Appendix 2: Form of Background Information for In-depth Interview	88

Appendix 3: Fact Sheet.....	89
Appendix 4: Consent Form.....	90
Appendix 5: Post-interview Comment Sheet.....	91
Bibliography	92

List of Figures

Figure 1: Theoretical Framework of this Study.....	5
Figure 2: A Two-stage Conceptual Model of Cosmopolitanisation	24
Figure 3: Cosmopolitan Components in Previous Literature.....	28
Figure 4: Reflection of Cosmopolitan Values in Human Behaviour	30
Figure 5: Green Living as Cosmopolitan Value-based Practice.....	31
Figure 6: Background Information of Eighteen Informants	40
Figure 7: Three Levels of Green Living in Hong Kong.....	45
Figure 8: Layers of Benefits of Living Green	60

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Research Project

Cosmopolitanism¹ is not a novel idea as its history could go back 2000 years to when it was first advocated by scholars in Greece and Rome, calling on people to uphold moral universalism. It was argued that, as world citizens, individuals should exhibit a sense of belonging and loyalty to the world instead of simply to their own local communities, accepting and caring for others in the world regardless of differences, conceptions of race, culture and language. With its inherent contradictions to commonly held values of kinship and ancestral heritage, the concept of cosmopolitanism has not generally been well accepted. Over the past one to two decades, however, the idea of cosmopolitanism has regained much attention in academic discussions. These discussions have particularly been sparked by the works of some Western scholars, most notably: Ulrich Beck (1998, 2006), David Held (1995, 2010), Gerard Delanty (2009, 2012a) and Kwame Anthony Appiah (1997, 2006), who have re-conceptualised cosmopolitanism as an inclusive ‘both/and’ perspective, highlighting the interplay of the global and the local, and the interaction between universalism and particularism.

Triggered by transnational and ecological risks such as climate change and global warming, Beck (2011b) argued that we are living in an age of cosmopolitanisation² in which everyday life has been increasingly cosmopolitanised, and that this has led to a rapid increase in empirical studies on really existing cosmopolitanism. As yet; however, a framework has not been developed that allows us to critically examine how the process of cosmopolitanisation works. Different researchers have focused on different facets and adopted various measurements, reducing cosmopolitanism to a relativistic notion in empirical terms. The normative dimension of cosmopolitanism, namely its ‘transnational’ values, has not been reflected clearly in the studies of cosmopolitanisation. More importantly, little attention has been paid to the true existence of this process in the East. As an attempt to bridge these gaps, this study aims to propose a conceptual framework for understanding the

¹ For me, cosmopolitanism based on its normative ideals refers to a set of universal human values which can help critically examine transnational, hybrid social realities.

² Living in a world risk society makes cosmopolitanism become compulsory.

importance of normative cosmopolitanisation. This heuristic will be employed to study a group of individuals devoted to promoting and practising green living in Hong Kong. By conducting 18 in-depth interviews, this study will first explore the phenomenon of green living in Hong Kong, and second, investigate the nexus between green living and cosmopolitanism.

Aims of the Research and the Research Question

This study intends to achieve the following objectives:

- Develop a conceptual framework for examining the thesis of cosmopolitanisation as proposed and argued by Ulrich Beck (2011b)
- Identify a set of cosmopolitan values through a review of the literature on the normative and philosophical perspective of cosmopolitanism so as to develop a relevant and appropriate set of values for researching cosmopolitanisation and indicating its existence.
- Explore the phenomenon of green living in Hong Kong by investigating the outlook, motivation, rationale, practice and lived experience of a group of individuals who are actively involved in the green-living movement.
- Use a lens developed to examine the phenomenon of green living in Hong Kong

Given the research objectives stated above, I aim to address this overarching question:

- What is the nexus between green living and cosmopolitanism?

In order to answer the overarching question, the four following questions have to be answered. Based on these questions, the themes, sub-questions and methodologies *used* are outlined in Appendix 1, which was regarded as a research guide.

1. What values can be seen as cosmopolitan core values?
2. What are the themes and tactics of green living in Hong Kong?
3. How is green living cosmopolitan‘ised’?
4. How do lifestyle environmentalists articulate cosmopolitan‘ism’?

Outcomes and Value

This research project is significant in three ways. It is important to develop a framework for understanding the process of cosmopolitanisation in a systemic manner. This can help to

clarify the ambiguities of Beck's thesis on cosmopolitanisation and bring this grand theory down to the empirical level. Additionally, a growing number of empirical studies on cosmopolitanism (or cosmopolitanisation) have emerged; however, most of them were focused on Western societies in European countries and Australia. This focus is due partly to the research being initiated in these regions, and partly because the majority of researchers in the field are based in Western higher education institutions. This study is an attempt to direct its attention to Hong Kong, which was a British colony and is now part of China. Third, while the two existing dominant schools of thought on global development represent a bipolar view of globalisation – the first highlighting the benefits of a free market, the second, the rise of inequality, the loss of state sovereignty and the decline of the local community (Holton, 2005) – this study investigates a 'third way' that focuses on the virtues of cosmopolitanism. Since the French and American revolutions of the late 18th century, the perspective of nationalism has been implicit in the international arena. The discourse of neo-liberalism has also dominated the direction of global development over the past three to four decades. Investigating the process of cosmopolitanisation can therefore shed light on the importance of both structure and agency as well as both its global vision and local situation, which can facilitate the course of remaking globalisation (ibid, 2005).

Theoretical Framework of this Study

This research employs the notion of cosmopolitanism as the basis for unpacking the phenomenon of green living in Hong Kong. Rather than simply transplanting Beck's framework on cosmopolitanisation, however, the theoretical framework of this study³, emphasising normative cosmopolitanism, has been devised for illustrating the dynamics and complexity of the current condition of cosmopolitanisation with particular reference to the cosmopolitan values embedded in some transnational(ised) or glocal(ised) phenomena (see Figure 1).

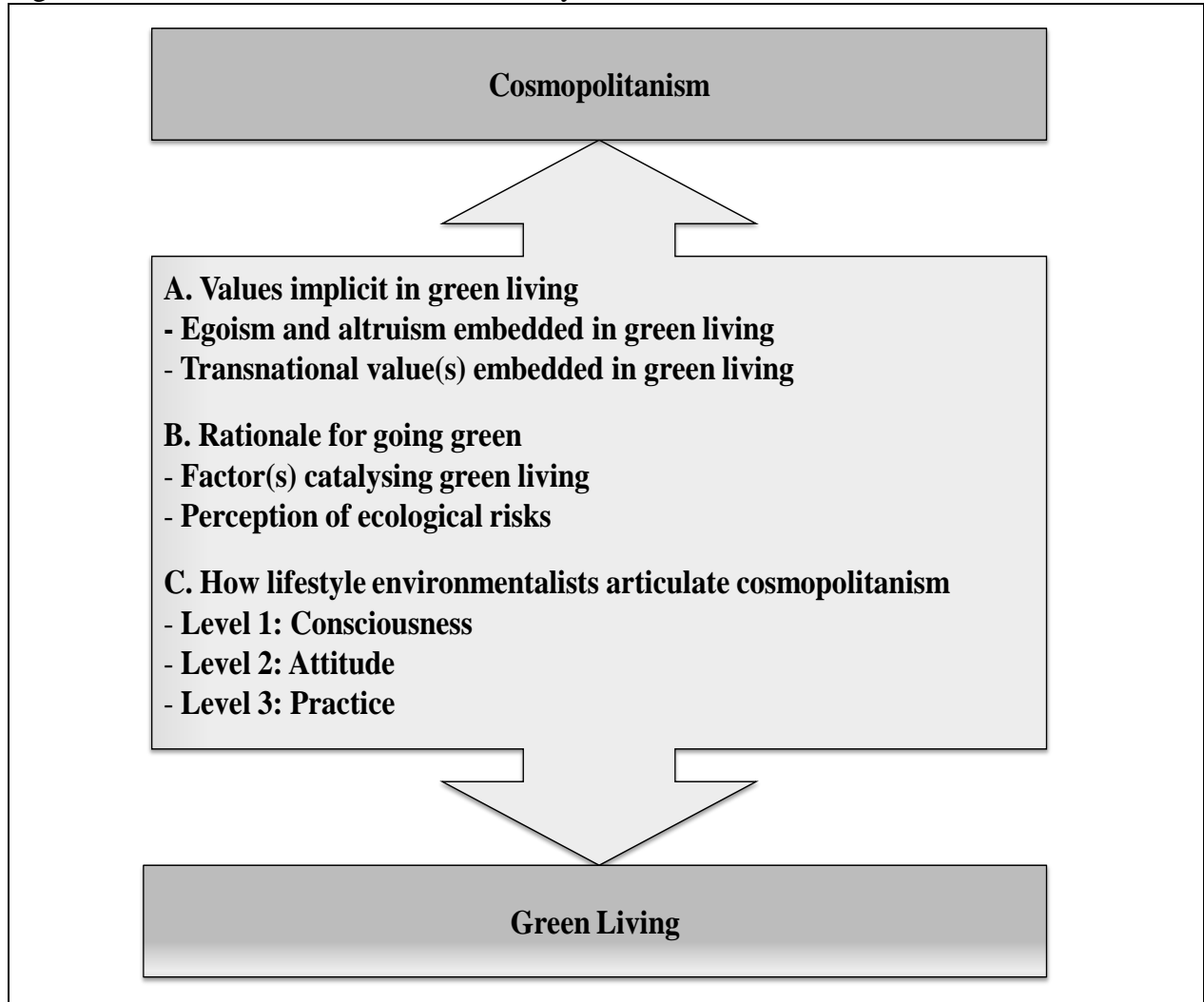
Instead of focusing exclusively on the expansion towards transnationalised (and glocalised) social realities, this study will theorise about the normative aspect of cosmopolitanism in researching the nature of hybrid realities. Green living as a transnational

³Based on the review of the literature on cosmopolitanism, the theoretical framework of this study will be explained and elaborated in more detail in the section titled 'Rethinking Cosmopolitanisation: A Further Explanation of the Theoretical Framework Adopted' in Chapter 2.

movement and a glocal phenomenon in Hong Kong is purposively selected as an illustration of the process. The rationale behind choosing green-living individuals who are devoted to everyday practice rather than orientation, attitude, feeling, belonging and identity is that persistent action is an effective means for reaching cosmopolitanism. Value-oriented or at least value-reflected practice is more likely to arrive somewhere near to a cosmopolitan ideal, in terms of its values and intent.

In order to examine the nexus between cosmopolitanism and green living, this study will investigate three themes: (1) values implicit in green living; (2) the rationale for going green; and (3) how lifestyle environmentalists articulate cosmopolitanism. Under the first theme, this study will explore both altruism and transnational value(s) embedded in green living as a phenomenon. It intends to unravel whether and how green living as a value-based, cosmopolitan phenomenon exists, per se. For the second theme, this study will turn to explore the rationale for 'going green' among lifestyle environmentalists and their perception of ecological risks. This theme aims to investigate what factors triggered their passionate engagement in lifestyle environmentalism. For the third theme, this study will examine how lifestyle environmentalists articulate normative cosmopolitanism, which will be analysed in terms of their consciousness of, attitude to, and practice of, cosmopolitanism.

Figure 1: Theoretical Framework of this Study



Green Living as an Illustration

An Introduction to Green Living

Green living is a sustainable lifestyle, intended for environmental protection and for the improvement of the health of the environment, which requires one to make changes in order to live lightly on this planet. It is also seen as one example of ‘social responsibility activism’ (Haenfler et. al, 2012; Jones, 2002) for the betterment of the earth. Green living values the reduction of one’s carbon footprint by altering one’s lifeways, such as decreasing the reliance on fossil fuels, rejecting all toxic pesticides, ceasing to use plastic, recycling as much as possible and purchasing products made with sustainable resources (Callard and Mills, 2001, p. 9).

Green living is one form of environmentalism which has emerged in the West. Three pieces of literature have been nurturing the development of green living in and across the

West. Helen and Scott Nearing (1954) published 'Living the Good Life'. This book is the story of an urban-living couple pursuing a rural life having minimal money but having the knowledge of self reliance, good health and a simple lifestyle. This book paved the road to the 'back-to-the-land movement'⁴ during the late 1960s and early 1970s, and marked the beginning of the green-living movement of the modern era. Then, Carson (1962) published an environmental science book entitled 'Silent Spring', highlighting the detrimental effects of the indiscriminate use of pesticides on birds. This eventually results in no birds singing. In this context, Carson attempted to accuse the US government of accepting disinformation provided by the chemical companies. Consequently, many were inspired to take part in the sustainability movement, leading to a ban on dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) for agricultural uses nationwide and a limit of its use across the world. Carson's book is also partly responsible for the deep ecology⁵ movement and the grassroots environmental movement. In 1973, Schumacher (1973) published his book 'Small is Beautiful' on moving towards green living by appropriately using technology. Instead of 'big is better' or 'growth is good' which is false economic thinking, the phrase is used to appreciate 'small' because it is the most appropriate scale for an activity and can empower people more to take actions for social change themselves. This classical literature about green living has served as an impetus for nurturing the development of the green-living movement in the West.

This form of environmentalism put emphasis on the importance of individual actions. Recognising the severity of ozone depletion, greenhouse effects and similar environmental and ecological risks, the responsibility of protecting the environment eventually rests on the everyday practice of individuals. As Green (1990) states:

It is only we – the ultimate consumers – who can solve the problems of resource depletion; and of the pollution created by the use of those resources which increasingly threatens our health and our lives. Only we as individuals can take the myriad of small precautions, and achieve the myriad of small economies in our own lives which will add up to the vast reduction in

⁴ The 'back-to-the-yard' movement, which happened mainly in North America, covers a number of agrarian movements. This movement called for urban-living people to grow food from the land on a small-scale basis no matter whether it was for themselves or for others, and to go to rural areas to live a better and simple life.

⁵ Deep ecology as an environmental philosophy can be refined to three principles: wilderness and biodiversity preservation, human population control and, most important, simple living (Barry and Frankland, 2003).

resource usage, waste and pollution upon which our own survival depends (p. 9).

This expectation of individual action is consistent with a cynicism toward a nation-state taking greater responsibility for environmental protection. Green's (1990) explanation reveals some environmentalists' view that the state is largely ineffective in implementing environmental protection initiatives:

Governments will not do it – certainly not on their own. They can only act on the large scale, imposing general restrictions which might cause unnecessary hardship and resentment because they do not distinguish between the infinite varieties of individual circumstances. In any case, the main concern of government is to survive for the term of their natural life – five years or so – which is a lot shorter than the natural life most of us would hope for. They are not likely to impose restrictions or incur expenditure which will bite hard during their lifetime in order to spare a different government from having to take more desperate measure 10, 15 or 20 years' time (p.8).

As a result of this unwillingness of the nation-state to take an active role in protecting the environment, individuals must themselves seize the initiative by 'going green'. Maniates (2001) considered that the actions of 'planting a tree, buying a bike and saving the world' have increasingly and eventually become an individualised responsibility. Thanks to state irresponsibility, the consequences and effects of ecological risks have been individualised and individuals will eventually take a more active role in 'going green'.

In the past, education (Lee, 1994; Tranter, 1997; Wynveen, et. al, 2012), gender (Zelezny et. al, 2000; Tindall, et. al, 2003), social class (Cotgrove and Duff, 1980; Skogen, 1996; Lai, 2000) and religion (Kearns, 1996; Garreau, 2010) were treated as the driving factors behind environmental activism. Nevertheless, little attention has been paid to the nexus between cosmopolitanism and this green-living approach, and this study therefore focuses on this relationship.

Justification for Cosmopolitanisation in Green Living

There are three *reasons that* justify focusing on green living as an illustration of cosmopolitanisation. The first and second reasons are associated with Beck's theory and research focus. Beck (2006) saw depletion of the ozone layer, changes in global climate, cross-border pollution and other ecological crises as major forces of cosmopolitanisation,

which can foster cosmopolitan attitudes toward the legislations of environmental laws, markets, and jobs, etc. (p.93). Beck (2010, 2014) highlighted the importance of a green perspective, stating that creating a green modernity for managing global climate change is important for cosmopolitan players. However, empirical cases are still needed to illustrate the dynamics of this cosmopolitanisation process. Additionally, Beck (2006, 2011b) argued that the existing form of cosmopolitanism is banal and mundane. A global trend of green living has emerged and is localised in different countries and cities. For instance, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, and Greenmap have local branches in Asia, and they have actively educated individuals for civic and lifestyle environmentalism. Its practitioners adjust their indigenous lifestyle to be more environmentally friendly and globally conscious, which is compatible with Beck's description of cosmopolitanisation. The third reason is that this practice showcases green citizenship, in that the daily actions of these practitioners are anchored in the sustainable development of the whole world by acting in a more eco-friendly way. The pursuit of at least one cosmopolitan value – cosmopolitan citizenship – has been clearly reflected in this ecological practice (see i.e. Martinsson and Lundqvist, 2010). What is needed is a further investigation into whether or not these practitioners have also internalised other cosmopolitan values, such as 'transnational' human rights and democracy, in the cosmopolitanisation process. After considering all the above three causes, I chose the case of green living to unveil and illustrate the cosmopolitanisation process.

Contexts of Cosmopolitanisation and Green Living in Hong Kong

Hong Kong has a complex and hybrid history of development. She was a British colony, but after July 1997 her sovereignty was handed over to the People's Republic of China (PRC), and thus she became a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the PRC. Under the Hong Kong Basic Law, Hong Kong can retain its structures, lifestyle and a high degree of autonomy for at least 50 years after the handover. According to the principle of 'One Country, Two Systems', Hong Kong shall not purely be ruled and governed by the national law and political system of the PRC. She can have independent representation in international organisations such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC). She has her own football team representing the SAR in international football competitions. Due to the colonial legacy, particularly in the economic and cultural dimensions, the SAR has become a highly internationalised and developed capitalist quasi-city-state. Many global movements have

been localised, including the green-living movement. For example, local branches of the World Wild Fund for Nature (WWF) and Friends of the Earth were established by a group of Western businessmen and conservationists in early 1980s, with a mission of nurturing a lifestyle approach to environmentalism. Perceived as a local icon of green living, Simon Chau studied in the UK for his PhD and has been inspired by Western environmentalism. He subsequently founded Green Power and Produce Green Foundation with his green friends in the late 1980s, publishing a number of pieces of Chinese literature on green living⁶. This soft approach of the environmental movement (Lai, 2000) has successfully nurtured the green-living movement of recent years.

The city has simultaneously experienced a process of intra-nationalisation (Chao, 2012) since the handover. This intra-national context can serve as an advantage for expanding the scope of green-living practice. Development policy however, has been perceived as a national project. The construction of the Hong Kong–Zhuhai–Macau Bridge, the Guangzhou–Shenzhen–Hong Kong Express Rail Link Hong Kong Section, and the recent North East New Territories Development Plan has been considered for China-Hong Kong Integration. These projects also accelerated the process of urbanisation, adversely influenced the local ecosystem, induced displacement and relocation, and destroyed local traditions and networks. These policies have triggered a critical reflection of hegemonic nationalism. The fear of losing local traditions, interests, culture, identity and independent systems have brought about a period of deep internal and reflexive examination, focusing more on local development in pursuit of human rights, democracy, social justice and even environmentalism⁷. Hong Kong has been developed based on this ‘glonacal’ context (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002).

⁶ For the full list of his Chinese works on green living, please visit his personal webpage at http://www.simonchau.hk/Chinese_B5/publications.htm [Retrieved September 27, 2015]

⁷ Its thoughts and relevant ideas can be found in Chinese literature advocating localism (i.e. Chin, 2011, 2014; Wong, 2014; Lee, 2013; Undergrad, 2014), Hong Kong-based research (i.e. Liber Research Community, 2013; Lo and Ng, 2015), edited volumes on local issues and discourses (i.e. Chan and Wong, 2015; Ma, et. al, 2013; Ma et. al, 2012) and political organisations (i.e. Civic Passion, Neo Democrats, The Hong Kong Autonomy Movement, HK Indigenous and Youngspiration) and politicians such as Gary Fan, Roy Tam; Claudia Mo and Yeung Tat Wong.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 will critically review the history, revitalisation and previous studies of cosmopolitanism. At the end of the chapter, a two-stage conceptual model highlighting its normative dimension is proposed as a theoretical lens for this research. This qualitative study employed literature and documentary reviews and in-depth interviews as its main research methods. How these methods were implemented for data collection is the focus of Chapter 3. Since the research specifically on green living in Hong Kong has not gained much attention in the past particularly in terms of English literature, Chapter 4 will explore the phenomenon of green living in Hong Kong while the nexus between green living and cosmopolitan‘isation’ will be further deliberated and demonstrated in Chapter 5; focusing on how ‘cosmopolitan-ness’ is embedded in the reflexive and unconscious processes of ‘going green’. Chapter 6 will elaborate the nexus between green-living people and cosmopolitan ‘ism’, in an attempt to examine how the participants articulate cosmopolitan values in terms of consciousness, attitude and practice. In conclusion, I will reflect on this study by discussing its research contributions, implications, limitations and the possibilities of future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Analysis: Cosmopolitanism as a Normatively Guided Paradigm

Introduction

Based on a literature review of cosmopolitanism, this chapter discusses the notion in depth as the theoretical lens of this research project, aiming to illustrate further my theoretical framework in support of cosmopolitan normativity. In order to comprehend the contemporary discussion of cosmopolitanism, this chapter first provides a review of the literature relevant to the topic. This review begins with an analysis of the Western and Chinese origins of cosmopolitanism. This was followed by its revitalisation particularly following the collapse of Soviet Union, and a discussion of Beck's thesis of cosmopolitanism. This chapter subsequently examines previous studies done on the indications of cosmopolitanisation. Based on this critical review, I then propose a two-stage model as the conceptual framework of cosmopolitanisation highlighting its normative dimension, explain the reasons for choosing cosmopolitan values and examine the importance of value-based practice in empirical research on cosmopolitanisation.

Origins of Cosmopolitanism: A Synthesis of Western and Eastern Ideals

Western Origins of Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism as a concept is not new, having been initially advocated by public intellectuals in ancient Greece and Rome dating back to over 2000 years ago (Holton, 2009). In Zeno's moment, being cosmopolitan denoted 'being a citizen of the world' and 'having a state of mind that one does not belong to any places' (Fine and Cohen, 2002). The essence of moral universalism was apparently reflected in classical cosmopolitanism, in the embrace of the world. At that time, cosmopolitanism was seen as a utopian ideal that only existed within a small circle of public intellectuals.

Later, in the age of Enlightenment, Immanuel Kant [1724 – 1804] progressed cosmopolitan thought by seeing cosmopolitanism as human rights, our duty of which is to take care of each other without political, economic, and cultural borders, while forming a

‘perfect’ civil constitution for the ultimate goal of perpetual peace (Kant, 2010). Before the First World War, however, this philosophical ideal did not gain popularity, as people were more inclined to think, imagine and work within the container of the nation-state. Instead, the transnational concepts of humanity and human rights were applied largely within national republics. Ultimately, cosmopolitanism was more of a utopian ideal than a touchable value that one is willing to embrace, or a feasible project that one is able to actualise. One thing to acknowledge, however, is that Kant’s work has contributed to the foundation of contemporary legal and political cosmopolitanism including the concepts of human rights and cosmopolitan governance.

Chinese Origins: Cosmopolitanism and its Moral Practice

Cosmopolitanism was not, however, simply a concept invented in the West. Evidence of classical cosmopolitanism can also be found in ancient China. For instance, the ideal of Menicus’ global peace (or great harmony) [Chinese: 大同] based on the Confucian principle of harmony is compatible with Kant’s thoughts of perpetual peace (Delanty, 2009, p.20). Mo Tzu’s ‘cosmopolitan or universal love’ [Chinese: 大愛] demonstrates the very nature of classical cosmopolitanism requiring cosmopolitan empathy for others’ wellbeing. The worldview of cosmopolitanism is also reflected in the Chinese notion of ‘Tian Zia’ [Chinese: 天下], referring to ‘all under heaven’ as a worldview of ancient China, though this Confucian concept was intended to unite a variety of tribes and peoples under central imperial rule (Rofel, 2012, pp. 443-444).

More importantly, the contemporary conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism as an inclusive both/and logic can be traced back to the Confucian perspective of ‘He Er Bu Tang’ [Chinese: 和而不同] meaning ‘harmony (or integration) in difference’ (Chan, 2002, p.197). In other words, while individuals have both differences and uniqueness in essence, they can co-exist in peace. Confucianism also sheds light on the practice of normative cosmopolitanism. According to ‘Great Learning’ [Chinese: 大學] from one chapter of the ‘Classic of Rites’ [Chinese: 禮記], which is one of the ‘Four Books’ [Chinese: 四書], it is imperative to ‘refine one’s morality, keep one’s family in order, govern the nation well and then bring peace to the world’ [Chinese: 修身、齊家、治國、平天下]. This thesis of moral practice reveals that the ideal of achieving global peace must be achieved not by martial arts or violence, but first by being morally responsible to oneself. The scope of this moral root

could and should be expanded only phase by phase. Based on the above examples, cosmopolitanism is not a product of a solely Western ideological project. Contemporary conceptualisations of cosmopolitanism can be traced back to both the ancient West and East. This synthesis is highly relevant to my research framework, which emphasises a cosmopolitan bottom-up perspective, and which attaches importance to the very nature of humanity, rather than global harmony over local roots.

Revitalisation of Cosmopolitanism

Following World War II, there has been a proliferation of international organisations based on transnational principles. The United Nations (UN) was created in 1945 to encourage international cooperation. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was subsequently developed and almost universally recognised as embodying moral principles and being a standard for the rights of human beings around the world. In addition, the establishment of the World Bank, the European Union (EU), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) provide evidence that nation-states are capable of cooperating with each other for mutual benefit; thus demonstrating that human beings can work with the ‘global-other’ beyond their national and local comfort zone. This capacity for international cooperation implies that cosmopolitanism may not be an unachievable political project.

In addition to the rapid increase of regional and international cooperation, the technological advances of the modern age have seemingly accelerated the actualisation of cosmopolitanism. The rapid development of telecommunications and the decreasing cost and shortening time of long distance travel has resulted in an increasing flow of human beings and communication as well as an unremitting flow of commodities and capital. This time-space compression (Harvey, 1989) has provided a springboard for achieving and practising cosmopolitanism.

From ‘Roofless’ to ‘Rooted’ Cosmopolitanism

During the 1990s, perhaps due to the fall of the Berlin Wall, the victory of liberal democracy worldwide led to the hope for a cosmopolitan future. A hot debate on cosmopolitanism⁸ was

⁸This debate is well documented in the book ‘For love of country: Debating the limits of patriotism’

also provoked by Martha C. Nussbaum (1994) in her article titled ‘Cosmopolitanism and Patriotism’. Nussbaum (1994) made a strong claim for the development of a cosmopolitan outlook in which the individual’s first allegiance is to belonging to and respecting the community of humankind, while differences of nationality, class, ethnicity or gender should not be allowed to create barriers ‘between us and our fellow human beings’ (p.3). Though being a citizen of the world sometimes produces boundless loneliness, Nussbaum argued that pursuing cosmopolitanism is still worthwhile. This conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism placed much emphasis on moral universality as the core component of classical cosmopolitanism. According to this logic, patriotism must be replaced by ‘roofless’ cosmopolitanism. In order to pro-actively achieve this normative ideal, Nussbaum suggested ‘cosmopolitan education’ as a second conception of education that primarily values humanity as a whole rather than only one’s own nation-state (p.4). Nussbaum’s stance on this form of cosmopolitanism, however, has been strongly criticised. Appiah (1997, 2006) argued that patriotism is not contradictory to cosmopolitanism and that individuals should not have to abandon their roots in order to embrace the world. Appiah did not totally reject the value of cosmopolitanism, but believed in more moderate concepts of ‘cosmopolitan patriotism’ or ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ in support of cultural diversity. Calhoun (2002) argued that cosmopolitanism of this form is simply a political project based on the hidden agenda of liberalism, which undermines social solidarity. It is only beneficial for roofless ‘frequent travellers’ who therefore do not have to hold responsibility for their own communities. Still others (i.e. Kanter, 1995; Kirwan-Taylor, 2000; Hannerz, 2000) questioned whether or not cosmopolitanism as a new social identity is associated with privileged global elites having higher education levels and incomes.

Though Nussbaum’s claim for a classical type of cosmopolitanism has been widely and strongly criticised, her essay has created an intellectual sphere for the reconfiguration of cosmopolitanism, and subsequently triggered a revitalisation of cosmopolitanism. The use of cosmopolitanism is not simply political or cultural rhetoric. In the political dimension, Archibugi and Held (1995), Archibugi (2008), Held (1995, 2010) advocated cosmopolitan democracy as an alternative to the tensions among nation-states caused by transnational issues such as pollution, terrorism and genocide. Instead of establishing a global government that can exercise absolute power over nation-states, Archibugi and Held suggested allowing a multi-layered governance system to strike a balance between a world government and

(Cohen, 1996).

national and local states. Through creating a global public sphere, decisions could be made through communicative rationality (Habermas, 2003). In the moral dimension, as physical and cultural distance has been decreasing in our globalised world, Appiah (2006) suggested that cosmopolitanism provides a new way of coming to terms with a world of strangers. Appiah argued that individuals should exceed the universality of positivism and the particularity of moral relativism. In an age of globalisation, individuals do have some moral obligations toward strangers throughout the world. Though others do not matter as much as our own kin, we cannot deny the fact that other people do matter. This form of concern and care is not however, purely altruistic. Appiah felt that in a global age, communities should not harm others if they did not want others to retaliate in kind. In addition, if others' situations were becoming intolerable, such as facing genocide, mass starvation or natural disaster, it is possible to assist them at a reasonable cost. In doing so, a giving community will not suffer a great deal because of lending a helpful hand. This approach requires intercultural conversation and cross-border communication as a useful means for understanding otherness, even though differences may persist. Appiah argued that even though communities may hold different values, transnational and intercultural dialogue can help reach a consensus to make decisions.

Simply put, though cosmopolitanism highlights altruism and universalism, it cannot lose the individual and local subjectivity which is the root of further development. This contemporary approach values both the 'cosmo' (the universe) and 'polis'(city-state), both the global and the local.

Beck's Thesis of Cosmopolitanism

Based on a both/and perspective, Ulrich Beck (2000, 2003b, 2009), who was a German sociologist at the University of Munich and London School of Economics and Political Sciences, brought cosmopolitanism into the field of critical social theory. Beck criticised the dominant approach of methodological nationalism using an either/or logic to observe, understand, theorise and deal with current social phenomena. There are two important components of Beck's cosmopolitanism thesis, including the process of cosmopolitanisation and the development of a cosmopolitan outlook.

Cosmopolitanisation: Risk, Modernity and Research

The first component is the course of cosmopolitanisation, which is a social scientific aspect of cosmopolitanism. Beck (2006) argued that cosmopolitanisation is an existing form of cosmopolitanism, in which ‘everyday life has become cosmopolitan in banal ways’ (p.19). According to his theory of risk, the nature of risks inherent in the post-industrial age has become transnational⁹. Climate change is a typical example of ecological risks (Beck, 1995). Industrial modernisation valued the importance of enhancing productivity, but ignored the issues of pollution, food safety, and nuclear radiation. These ecological risks cannot, however, be managed. International and intercultural cooperation is required to manage these risks and ‘all social development – economic, cultural, political and technological – becomes first and fundamentally transnational’ (Beck, 2003a, p. 27).

For Beck (2011a), the world has experienced an epochal shift from the (first) modernity to the second modernity. In the first modernity, people were living in an industrial society in which nation-states could have properly managed risks through their social policies, the redistribution of public goods through such things as health care services, free and compulsory education and other equitable forms of social welfare. Beck argued, however, that we are now living in a world-risk society in which transnational risks cannot be properly controlled by nation-states. Therefore, in order to deal with these risks, nation-states and individuals have no choice but to cooperate with, and to come to terms with, the ‘global-other’. For Beck, this is neither a top-down norm - moral issue (Beck, 2011b) nor a conscious and voluntary choice (Beck, 2006). Beck maintained that this new form of cosmopolitanism is a reflexive process triggered by the challenge of modernisation risks. The ‘global-other’ is always in our midst. The existence of the ‘global-other’ cannot be denied and the world cannot return to the first modernity. Thus, Beck (2011b) argued that we are living in an age of cosmopolitanisation rather than cosmopolitanism. This process of cosmopolitanisation continues to transform everyday life in families, work, and individual biographies through the disappearance of clear separations of borders, markets, states, civilisations, religions, cultures, and lifestyles of normal people. Therefore, according to Beck, this process of cosmopolitanisation is ‘banal’, ‘mundane’, ‘coercive’, ‘deformed’, ‘impure’, ‘latent’, ‘ordinary’, ‘passive’, ‘vernacular’, ‘unconscious’ (Beck, 2000, 2006, 2011a, 2011b), and, due to the shift in modernity, social scientists should start researching existing

⁹ Beck (1992) mentioned three types of transnational risk: financial, terrorist and ecological risks, but this study will focus mainly on its ecological dimension.

cosmopolitanisation, as what is still lacking is more empirical studies to show how society has changed (Beck, 2006).

To measure existing cosmopolitanism, Beck (2006) suggested some examples indicating cosmopolitanisation. These examples include the import and export of cultural goods, dual citizenship, political intensities, language, mobility, flows of communication, travel, levels of activity of transnational organisations and initiatives, criminality, transnational forms of life, transnational reporting, national identities, and ecological crises (pp.92-93). It has, however, never been an easy task to study cosmopolitanisation. On one hand, there are many manifestations of cosmopolitanism, especially when the definition has been widening to a 'banal' or 'impure' form (Beck, 2006). As a grand social theory influencing every aspect of social life, it seems impossible to incorporate all of these facets, and so researching cosmopolitanisation must include transnational and interdisciplinary research partnerships. To advance an understanding of the process, this research study should go beyond a Eurocentric approach and be conducted by more researchers in a variety of communities, countries and regions. On the other hand, these indicators suggested by Beck are more useful in measuring the phenomena of transnationalisation or glocalisation (Robertson, 1994) than that of cosmopolitan normativity.

A Cosmopolitan Vision

The second component is the development of a cosmopolitan vision, which is a normative-philosophical dimension of cosmopolitanism, and an active and voluntary choice. As discussed previously, the world has experienced an epochal transition from the first modernity to the second modernity. In a society exposed to worldwide risk, all social development has become fundamentally transnational. Global risks cannot be managed by adopting a national outlook. Here, Beck argued that nation-states and individuals should develop a cosmopolitan vision by using the both/and perspective to understand social phenomena, to cooperate with the global-other, to deal with global risks, and to achieve a better consequence. Individuals should view global risks as both an opportunity and a threat, recognise local/national differences, acknowledge the impossibility of living in a world without borders and insist on a *mélange* principle interpenetrating local, national, ethnic, religious and cosmopolitan cultures and traditions (Beck, 2006, p. 7). Therefore, under these principles, there should be a fundamental transformation from a national outlook to a cosmopolitan vision, which would be expected to accelerate the cosmopolitanisation process

and actualise the ideal of cosmopolitanism.

Previous Studies on Indications of Cosmopolitan(ised) Realities

Following Beck's advocacy for the research of social scientific cosmopolitanisation, there has been a gradual increase in measuring, examining and understanding cosmopolitanised social reality over the past two decades. This section, therefore, is intended to provide a critical review of these empirical studies. Since there remains little consensus on how to examine cosmopolitanisation, different researchers focus on different issues and approaches when examining cosmopolitanism. Here in this section, these studies are categorised into four themes.

Attitude, Orientation, Openness

The majority of studies have focused on one facet of cosmopolitanisation. Many of these studies defined cosmopolitanism as an attitude, orientation, or openness, but here a variety of indicators were used. Lamont and Aksartova (2002) interviewed both black and white workers in France and the USA and tested their attitude towards racism. The result showed that all of them demonstrated 'their belonging to the community of humankind' (p.17), and disproved Hannerz's argument (2000) that cosmopolitanism is the culture of the upper-middle class.

Roudometof (2005) argued that there should be one continuum between locals and cosmopolitans, which can be examined by considering four types of cosmopolitan attitude. These consist of the degree of attachment to a locality (neighbourhood or city); to a state or country; attachment to and support of local culture; and economic, cultural and institutional protectionism. Later, a cross-national survey was conducted based on Roudometof's cosmopolitan-local continuum. The findings showed that Europeans had become more open to the world than people in other developed countries (see i.e. Haller and Roudometof, 2010; Roudometof and Haller, 2007). Olofsson and Öhman (2007) questioned the operationalisation of Roudometof's cosmopolitan-local continuum, arguing that it was too simplistic to catch all variations through a one-dimensional conceptualisation. Olofsson and Öhman's work drew on data from a survey in Sweden conducted by the International Social Survey Programme in 1995 and 2003, whose empirical study was conducted based on a two-dimensional continuum model. The first dimension measured local-global, place-attached,

and attitude while the other dimension measured the socio-cultural aspect of protectionism-openness. Nevertheless, the issue of their theoretical frameworks lies in the assumption that cosmopolitanism is contradictory to localism, which is not compatible with contemporary cosmopolitanism as discussed.

Informed by David Held¹⁰ (2002), Mau et. al (2008) measured cosmopolitanism in terms of *attitudes* towards global governance, and foreigners (i.e. cultural enrichment from living in their countries, multi-cultural contacts and universal equal rights). Based on a survey of German citizens, the study showed that people having transnational social practices and relations were more likely to develop cosmopolitan attitudes. Toots and Idnurm (2012) studied adolescents' attitudes towards cosmopolitanism in ethnically diverse societies; choosing Russian-speaking students in Estonia, Latvia and the Russian Federation as their target groups. To shed light on who cosmopolitans are, Toots and Idnurm (2012) set out two indicators: attitudes towards *multiculturalism* (i.e. equal opportunity for ethnic minorities and immigrants) and *nationalism* (i.e. national history, flag and the country). Toots and Idnurm (2012) assumed that cosmopolitans should support multiculturalism and oppose nationalism. Toots and Idnurm (2012) found that context matters in fostering cosmopolitan attitudes. Russian-speaking students in Estonia and Latvia demonstrated higher support than local students. Chui and Leung (2014) investigated Hong Kong university students' attitude towards cosmopolitan culture and global citizenship. Through conducting a survey in Hong Kong University (HKU), they found that in general HKU students were quite aware of economic globalisation and personal consumption, but also demonstrated an ethnocentric tendency and apathy towards international affairs.

Similar to regarding cosmopolitanism as an attitude, Skrbiš and Woodward (2007) conducted focus group discussions in Australia to investigate cosmopolitan openness towards economic activity, culture and mobility. They explored further the cosmopolitan schema to conceptualise how Australian people perceived otherness (Calcutt, Woodward and Skrbiš, 2009). This study highlighted the ambivalence of cosmopolitanisation and parochialism, which for the general public, can be an opportunity or a threat. Woodward et. al (2008) used a quantitative approach by using data from the 2004 Australian Election Study, which is a

¹⁰ Held (2002) proposed that the core requirement of cultural cosmopolitanism should include (1) recognising the increasing interconnectedness of political communities in diverse domains, (2) developing an understanding of overlapping collective fortunes, and (3) celebrating difference, diversity and hybridity (p. 58).

national post-election survey, to examine people's attitudes towards globalisation and cosmopolitanism in terms of (1) national economy, (2) personal consumption and choices and (3) culture, diversity and global rights. The results showed that their informants had both cosmopolitan and anti-cosmopolitan sentiments. On one hand, they were positive towards personal consumption, choice, and cultural openness as well as the protections of diversity and rights. On the other hand, anxieties about the vibrancy of the local economy and culture may undermine cosmopolitan openness, empathy and hospitality. Norris and Inglehart (2009) regarded the concept of cosmopolitanism as orientations: (1) having tolerance and trust towards people from different countries and (2) a weaker national identity. Utilising data from the World Values Surveys 2005-7¹¹, they found that the news media played a role in enhancing cosmopolitan orientations.

In summary, most of the researchers defined cosmopolitanism as a cosmopolitan attitude, and orientation openness, which in practice can include a variety of indicators. The limitation of this framework, however, lies in identifying cosmopolitan attitudes accurately, meaning that despite possessing cosmopolitan ideas, individuals may not practise normative cosmopolitanism in reality.

Identity and Belonging

Similar to the previous approach, some researchers regarded cosmopolitanism as identity and belonging. This approach however, is embedded in subjective feelings. Based on a Global Citizenship Programme (GCP) containing academic coursework, study abroad and experiential/curricular learning in Lehigh University, Hendershot and Sperandio (2009) evaluated how the GCP developed a global citizen identity among USA undergraduates. These student respondents considered that becoming aware of differences and participating in activism to promote change are important in developing a global citizen identity. Intersession trips, individual study abroad or international internships, and the experience of engagement with unfamiliar communities, are the key to their global citizen identity development. Bhimji (2008) examined the degree of cosmopolitan belonging among a diaspora. Her target group was second-generation South Asian British Muslim women, who demonstrated the complexity of hybrid identities. However, a cosmopolitan identity as a subjective feeling may

¹¹ For the data archive, please refer to its official webpage, at <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSCContents.jsp>

not necessarily increase cosmopolitan practice and actualise cosmopolitanism.

Mobility

Other studies have focused on the aspect of mobility to investigate how people's lived-experiences have changed. This represents a different approach to previous studies and places an emphasis on physical movement. Thomson and Taylor (2005) investigated how mobility influenced the transition to adulthood among young people in Britain. Their two longitudinal case histories suggested that there was no fixed typology defined in relation to cosmopolitanism and localism as Merton (1968) claimed, but that there was often a tension between cosmopolitanism and localism. Nowicka (2006, 2007) studied a group of transnational professionals to illustrate how mobility changed their lived-experiences regarding home and space. Nowicka found that as a result of the epochal transition from the first modernity to the second modernity, the concepts of home and space have changed. After a three-year qualitative study, Cheshire, et. al (2014) found that Australian family farmers were highly mobile and frequently travelled abroad. These farmers recognised the importance of cultural sensitivities and competencies and gained pleasure from engaging with cultural difference.

In summary, mobility can highlight the transnational lifestyle resulting from the shift to the second modernity, but these cases can be understood only as studies of transnationalisation or glocalisation, which show little association with the normative perspective of cosmopolitanism, except for the experience of engaging with culture diversity.

Pluralistic Approach

Further studies have attempted to incorporate more manifestations of cosmopolitanism by using a pluralistic approach. Szerynski and Urry (2002) unravelled cultural cosmopolitanism in the U.K. by exploring the relationships between local loyalty, global openness and moral connectedness. Szerynski and Urry (2002) concluded that the blending of universalistic dispositions and particularistic local cultures among some social groups has emerged. Szerynski and Urry (2002) found that the process of cosmopolitanisation was not necessarily linear, as the attachment to a geographical location had not changed much, but cultural protectionism had increased over the same period.

Picher (2008, 2009, 2011) applied the subjective and objective measurements of cosmopolitanism to survey research across the globe operationalising cosmopolitanism and

making the distinction between a subjective-identity approach (the feeling of belonging or attachment to the whole) and cosmopolitan orientation, which is a more objective approach towards the other, international political cooperation and immigration. Using data from the Eurobarometer 64.2 (European Commission, 2005), it was found that a considerable proportion of Europeans identified themselves as cosmopolitans, but that this identity did not necessarily bring a higher level of open-mindedness (Picher, 2008). Picher (2009) continued his study by using data from the European Values Study 1999/2000¹², suggesting that the subjective measurement of cosmopolitanism is problematic and the objective measurement of cosmopolitan orientation was influenced by individual-level characteristics (such as gender, age, social class and citizenship) and structural conditions (i.e. GDP and socio-political regime). Picher (2011) then used data from the World Values Surveys 2005-8¹³, and found that having a global identity was more widespread among people of the less globalised world, but having political and ethnical cosmopolitan orientations was more common in the globalised world.

Phillips and Smith (2008) concentrated both on cosmopolitan attitude (i.e. people's feeling towards different races as their neighbours) and cosmopolitan practice (i.e. visited five or more countries; phone overseas at least once a week; have over five foreign friends; spend at least one to two hours a day online; watch programmes on the SBS television station¹⁴ a lot). They found that younger, better-educated and non-religious people were more open to others and suggested that the relationship between cosmopolitan practice and cosmopolitan attitude was not linear. The usage of cosmopolitan practice, however, was still connected only to transnationality. He and Brown (2012) developed three measures constructed from groups of questions to assess how cosmopolitan Asians were. The measures they used were international connections as a cosmopolitan lifestyle, attitudes towards multilateral political solutions and economic internationalisation, and national and supranational identity. The finding showed Singaporeans demonstrated the highest degree of cosmopolitan attributes, followed by Malaysians, Filipinos and Chinese, while lifestyle cosmopolitanism was positively associated with critical cosmopolitanism (i.e. supporting

¹² For the data set, please refer to its official webpage at http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu/frmShowpage?v_page_id=1340485458098603

¹³ For the data archive, please refer to its official webpage at <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp>

¹⁴ SBS is a government-subsidised free-to-air channel that caters to cultural and ethnic communities in Australia.

multilateralism). Using this approach can undoubtedly cover more facets of cosmopolitanism and simultaneously examine the relationship between one aspect and another. Just as with the previous three methods, however, these empirical studies did not clearly reflect the normative perspective of cosmopolitanism in researching cosmopolitanisation.

Rethinking Cosmopolitanisation: A Further Explanation of the Theoretical Framework Adopted

In the last decade, Beck actively called for a cosmopolitan vision in social science research, to understand the true existence of cosmopolitanisation. There is as yet, still no single conceptual framework for researching cosmopolitanisation. This indirectly results in the relativistic facet of the phenomenon while its normative dimension has been mostly ignored. In this study, a two-stage model is proposed as a research heuristic by highlighting normative cosmopolitanism as a further focus, and value-reflected practice as a major force for achieving a cosmopolitan end.

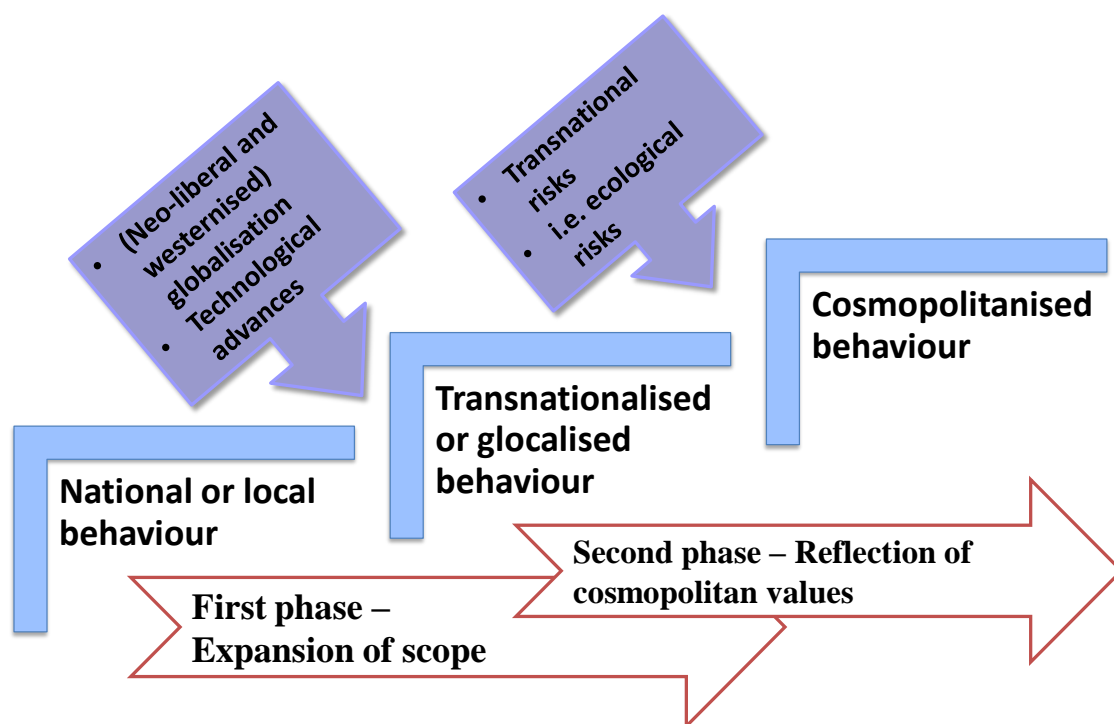
A Two-stage Model as a Conceptual Framework

This study does not intend to deny the ontological significance of cosmopolitanism in a global age, but to further conceptualise the concept of cosmopolitanisation induced by environmental and ecological risks. There are two fundamental issues to which this study pays particular attention.

Considering the complexity of cosmopolitanism, it is difficult, if not impossible, to cover all the facets of multi-dimensional cosmopolitanism by means of one single study. It is expected that different researchers will have developed different approaches by employing different measurements, variables, indicators and questions, since the very nature of cosmopolitanism is impure, mundane and banal. Ultimately, research on cosmopolitanisation seems not to have any common ground, and as a result, becomes increasingly relativistic. The buzzword ‘cosmopolitan’ in this global age can cover everything containing transnational, global behaviour. Its sometimes even refers to global, universal, neo-liberal, exploitative, and Westernised thoughts and phenomena. In a sense, this is highly non-cosmopolitan when considering that (new) cosmopolitanism requests a both/and perspective of transnationality and/or translocality in the social sciences to reconcile universalism and particularism (Beck, 2006; Delanty, 2009). In addition, both Beck’s examples of empirical investigations and previous studies of cosmopolitanism neglect the significance of its normative dimension as it

relates to the research of cosmopolitanised social reality. Nevertheless, without involving the normative component, the research of cosmopolitanisation is eventually another facet of transnationalisation (or glocalisation) studies (Delanty, 2009). Since its core value was neglected, the empirical studies on cosmopolitanisation may be irrelevant to the cosmopolitan ideal. The nature of researching cosmopolitanisation hence becomes empirically relativistic. Therefore, its normative idea is also of significance for guidance in empirical research of it. In this context, a conceptual framework for studying existing cosmopolitanism is needed in an unambiguous way. In an attempt to cast light on this normative process, I argue for splitting it into two distinctive levels, as depicted in Figure 2.

Figure 2: A Two-stage Conceptual Model of Cosmopolitanisation



On the first level, technological advances in communication and transportation along with the neoliberal advocacy of a global market have increasingly blurred national borders, even if borders do still exist. International communication including transportation is less expensive and increasingly common. More important, transnational risks including cross-border pollution, global warming, deforestation, and nuclear crises keep challenging the legitimacy of nationalism and the nation-state. Beck (2011a) argued that communities and individuals

are now living in a world risk society which requires them to discuss, coordinate and cooperate with the global-other more frequently and closely for the sake of managing environmental and ecological risks. At this early stage however, many people still embrace nationalism, and think according to a national outlook. International or intercultural conflicts therefore, have not been completely resolved, even if wars are less frequent. Individuals tend to support transnational, regional, global and neoliberal projects as long as these are exclusively beneficial to their nations. Under these circumstances, the development of society has become increasingly regionalised, transnationalised and glocalised. Even though the world has become more interdependent and interconnected, cosmopolitan values (on the second level) have yet to be clearly demonstrated. People are inclined to patronise transnational and glocal behaviour, but this may be incompatible with cosmopolitan values. For example, people may travel to foreign countries without any commitment to, or respect for, local communities, and claim themselves to be world citizens as if they are more superior and high class. In essence, all of these relevant dispositions, attitudes, orientations, actions, practices, lifestyles, habits may not necessarily reach a cosmopolitan end. Instead, they may only reveal that the scope of human activities has been significantly expanded thanks to various forces such as (re-)colonialism, Western imperialism and neo-liberalism. Some researchers have argued that these are barely the manifestations of 'fake' cosmopolitanism (van Hooft, 2009), but these can be also understood as the pre-conditions of normative cosmopolitanisation, even though cosmopolitan values are not reflected in individual mindsets or behaviour. Thus, the possibility that cosmopolitanisation of this kind may actualise normative cosmopolitanism under certain circumstances should not be excluded.

On the second level, individuals have started critically reflecting on the banal cosmopolitanisation induced by technological advances and globalisation, which brings about transnational(ised) and/or glocal(ised) phenomena and behaviour. However, people gradually are growing increasingly frustrated with the many transnational problems, threats and tensions between transnational bodies, nation-states, and local communities caused by poorly managed ecological and environmental risks, along with the incapability and powerlessness of transnationalisation and regionalisation based on a national either/or logic. Since ecological and environmental risks often evolve into conflicts among nation-states and sometimes into human-made catastrophes, some people (i.e. Beck, 1998, 2000; Lo and Ng; 2013; 2015) have recommended a using a cosmopolitan alternative by developing cosmopolitan citizenship and cosmopolitan democracy and a (normative) cosmopolitan vision of human rights. In this phase, individuals generally agree with cosmopolitan values

including cosmopolitan rights, democracy, citizenship, social justice, cultural diversity, and perpetual peace, with a conceptualisation that is compatible with a transnational both/and perspective. Some values have been gradually internalised in the human mindset and have been unconsciously practised in daily lives, even though individuals may not know or comprehend what cosmopolitanism refers to. For example, under ecological risks, green-living people promote the value of cosmopolitan citizenship by acting environmentally and locally in a global village. Simply put, normative cosmopolitanism is reflected in certain types of transnational behaviour. To examine whether or not some individuals have already stepped into this phase, the research study should relate value-based cosmopolitanism to the second phase of cosmopolitanisation.

Cosmopolitan Values as Further Foci

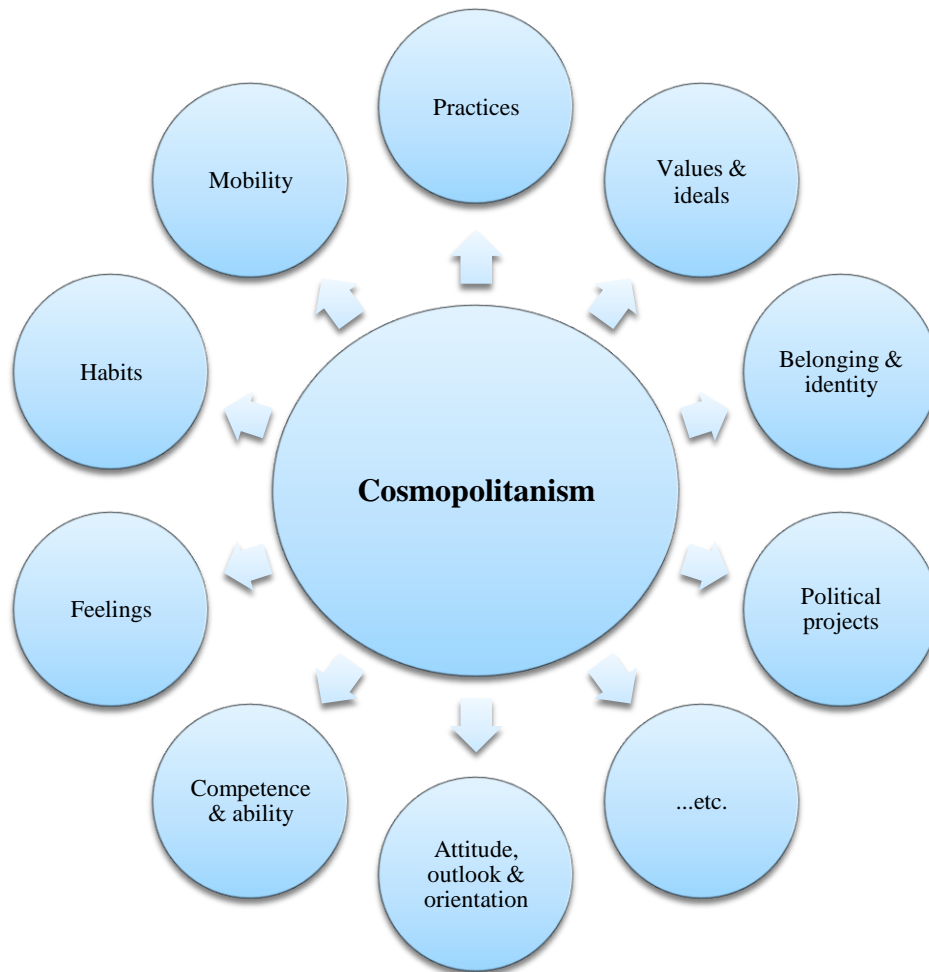
As discussed, locating cosmopolitanised behaviour is a difficult task. The process of attempting to define cosmopolitan behaviour can frequently give rise to contradictions. Global travellers may be curious about other places, traditions or cultures, but they may not feel committed to cosmopolitan rights and justice. The global business elite may hold a snobbish attitude towards those who do not belong to their class and uphold a patronising attitude towards the cultural other, and particularly towards local communities. While refugees are compelled to seek asylum in other countries, they are lacking in the free will to move and may still prefer to stay in their home countries (Kendall, et. al., 2009). It becomes apparent, therefore, that any conceptual framework for describing cosmopolitanism must be more stringent, moving beyond the use of cosmopolitan to distinguish certain groups or individuals from one another (Nowicka and Rovisco, 2009). Beck (2006, 2011b) suggested other predispositions of being cosmopolitans such as dual citizenship, language diversity, transnational way of life, long distance love, and global families. Even if individuals possess all of these transnational dispositions however, it does not mean that a cosmopolitan ideal can be achieved. This is what Beck (2006) described as ‘banal cosmopolitanisation’. Since the nature of cosmopolitanisation is impure and mundane, it seems that whether or not the pursuit of transnationalism and glocalism could arrive at the cosmopolitan ideal remains doubtful.

Figure 3 displays cosmopolitan components in previous literature. As mentioned, most empirical studies measured cosmopolitanism as (1) an individual open attitude, outlook or orientation towards differences, strangers, and the world. Beck (2006, 2011b) and Nowicka (2006, 2007) see it as (2) a transnational, mobile practice revealed in a different way of life or

transnational settings i.e. cross-border education, migration, international travel. This perspective is also captured by some of the empirical studies mentioned above. (3) Cosmopolitanised individuals should belong to their families, groups, cities, countries and to humanity, which shows hybrid identities (Bhimji, 2008). Cosmopolitanism can also be regarded as a (4) competence, such as an ability to adapt oneself into other cultures (Hannerz, 2000). Individuals should (5) support political projects for building transnational institutions, setting up transnational laws and developing cosmopolitan citizenship (i.e. Archibugi and Held, 1995; Held, 2010; Smith, 2007; Vertovec and Cohen, 2002). Cosmopolitanism can also be (6) values, ideology, and ethics applicable to the community of humankind that individuals subscribe to, embrace or even practise (Appiah, 2006; van Hoof, 2009). (7) Practices and actions (Phillips and Smith, 2008) are associated with cosmopolitanism, though they may not be directly attributed to cosmopolitanism. Holton (2009) further added two irrational components: (8) Feelings, desires and emotions that engender cross-cultural solidarities in personal or community life and (9) habits taken for granted in everyday life. In total, there are at least nine types of cosmopolitan-ness¹⁵.

¹⁵ It is admitted that due to the complexity of cosmopolitanised types of behaviour the abovementioned categories may not be completely clear-cut and some other not-yet-included features might be seen.

Figure 3: Cosmopolitan Components in Previous Literature

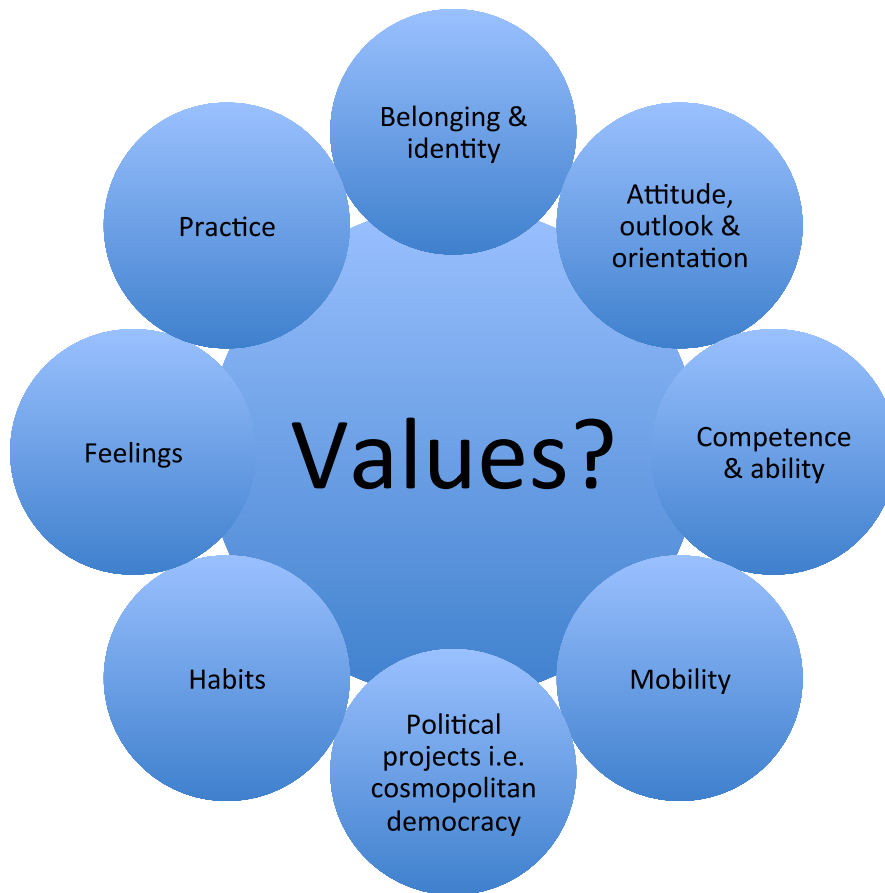


This study, however, will not cover all the facets of cosmopolitanism. A set of cosmopolitan values has been selected to assess the phenomenon of green living. These cosmopolitan core values consist of (1) human rights (see i.e. Anderson-Gold, 2001; Cheah, 2006; Douzinas, 2007; Kant, 2010; Waldron, 2000), (2) perpetual peace (see i.e. Bohman and Lutz-Bachmann, 1997; Huggler, 2009; Kant, 2003; Pojman, 2005), (3) social justice (see i.e. Brook, 2009; Caney, 2001; Delanty, 2014; Pogge, 1992; Moellendorf, 2002; Tan, 2004) (4) democracy (Archibugi and Held, 1995; Archibugi, 1993, 2004, 2008; Held, 1995, 2010), (5) cosmopolitan citizenship (see i.e. Delanty, 2009; Linklater, 2002; Osler and Starkey, 2003; Smith, 2007; Turner, 2000) and (6) cultural diversity (see i.e. Wise, 2009; Delanty, 2011; Turner, 2002; Waldron, 1991; Woodward et. al, 2008). The reason for this selection is that these six values are widely discussed and recognised in the normative perspective of cosmopolitanism. These cosmopolitan values place the importance of a post-national perspective on the conceptualisation of human values, having a consideration of the sense of horizontal and vertical development. On one hand, these core values cherish the universality

of humanity as a whole (Nussbaum, 1999; Sen, 1999; Rostbøll, 2010), but on the other, do not overlook the concept of diversity.

There are two reasons for choosing these cosmopolitan values in framing and researching the phenomena of cosmopolitanisation. First, being cosmopolitanised cannot mean being completely distracted from cosmopolitan values or, at least, being compatible with one of them. As illustrated in Figure 4, attitudes, practice, competence, expressive feeling, identity, and habitual actions should be compatible with cosmopolitan core values. Individuals can be global travellers, members of the global business elite, or refugees. Or, individuals can have dual citizenship, speak ten languages, travel abroad five times a year, and have a long distance love or even a global family. These pre-conditions may not, however, necessarily make individuals intentionally or unintentionally behave according to cosmopolitan values and then practise them in daily lives. Second, few studies have measured cosmopolitan core values before. For example, Mau et. al. (2008) used equal rights as one of the indicators and Woodward, et al. (2008) employed the values of cultural diversity and global rights, with none of these researchers having specifically adopted this normative perspective in their studies. To examine whether or not second level cosmopolitanisation has been achieved, the normative perspective of cosmopolitanism will be focused on in this study.

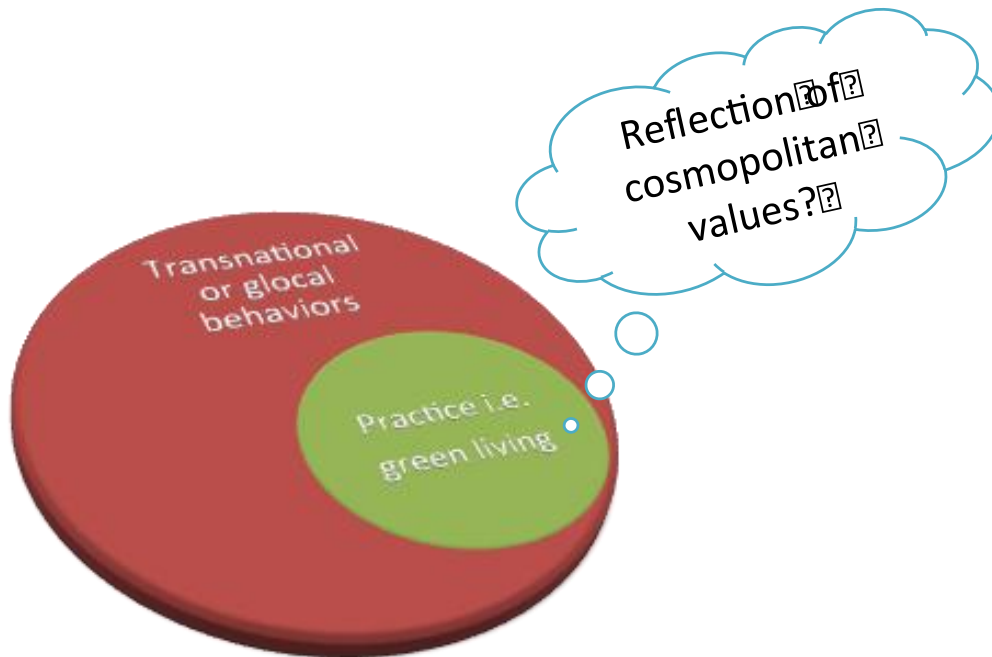
Figure 4: Reflection of Cosmopolitan Values in Human Behaviour



Searching for Value-based Practice in this Study

Until now, a two-stage model of this conceptual framework has been proposed. I now argue that cosmopolitan values should be given a greater role in researching cosmopolitanisation. As the unit of analysis is lifestyle environmentalists, this study focuses mainly on individuals instead of institutions, systems and structures to see whether a set of cosmopolitan values are reflected in the individuals' behaviours. If this study simply investigates their consciousness and attitude toward cosmopolitanism, this may represent some similarity to the superficial approach. Even though people may simply claim that they recognise and feel positive about cosmopolitanism, they may be still a long way from having a cosmopolitan ideal. Thus, this study turns to examine human practice and its association with cosmopolitanism (see Figure 5) on the grounds that action is the most effective catalyst for change. An attempt to examine value-based practice can better cast light on the forces involved, and clearly unveil the cosmopolitanisation process.

Figure 5: Green Living as Cosmopolitan Value-based Practice



Concluding Remarks: Towards a Two-stage Model

This chapter has provided a review of cosmopolitanism from a classical idealistic concept to a contemporary realistic process, from a hegemonic either/or logic to an inclusive both/and perspective, and from a social theory to a social scientific research project. The notion of cosmopolitanisation initiated and argued by Beck has been further conceptualised in this chapter. I argue that the process is not a linear and direct one-stage model stretching merely from the local/national to the glocal/transnational end in a banal way. Through deeply experiencing and critically reflecting on the ecological risks resulting in a paradigm shift, I found that a linear model is insufficient for understanding the cosmopolitanisation process. Therefore, a two-stage, indirect, nonlinear model relating to its normative ideals, and highlighting value-based practice, is proposed as a conceptual framework of this study.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

Research Paradigm Adopted - Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism is the theoretical paradigm I used in this study. Grounded on its values, I regard it as a transformative paradigm (Mertens, 2009) or a new critical theory (Beck, 2003b; Delanty, 2012a). In this regard, doing empirical research cannot only allow me to examine and understand social reality, but also facilitate critical reflections to initiate, redirect or accelerate social transformation. My research paradigm is based on a paradigm shift to methodological cosmopolitanism, meaning that the field of social sciences is re-invented by adopting a cosmopolitan vision¹⁶ (see i.e. Beck, 2000, 2006; Beck and Grande, 2010; Beck and Sznaider, 2010, 2011, etc). This paradigm shift leads to an alternative approach to social ontology and epistemology.

The ontological assumption of cosmopolitanism is that social reality is subjective. There is a reality which is apprehendable, but this reality has been created, shaped, strengthened and eventually predominated by a national perspective that has been taken for granted as true, real, and natural over time, and taken into social and political structure (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation [RWJF], 2008). In the age of globalisation however, the nature of social reality has been increasingly transnational (Beck, 2011b). The rapid growth of transnational organisations, tourism, migration, and international education are evidence of a shift in many people from a national to a transnational mindset. Working against the globalising effect of trade and industrialisation, the proliferation of ecological risks such as climate change, pollution, nuclear crises, environmental degradation and ecological

¹⁶ Due to the emergence of hybrid and transnational ontology, the field of social sciences must be re-invented by adopting a cosmopolitan vision. In order ‘not to become a museum piece’ (Beck, 2005, p.335), it is a mistake to generalise research findings from Western nation-states, especially the USA, to the rest of the world. Social scientists should remove the glasses of methodological nationalism, extensively using the container of nation-state to understand, explain, study and theorise social phenomena. In a global age however, it is necessary to take a both/and perspective by adopting methodological cosmopolitanism, which incorporates local, national, translocal, transnational, and global foci. As the second modernisation has been changing social reality, it is also an opportune time for social scientists to study cosmopolitanisation, especially in terms of the interconnectedness and interdependence of the global, the national, and the local, in the context of ecological risks.

imbalance also exert a significant influence on the everyday lives of individuals and their system of values. The banal, everyday, individualised form of cosmopolitanisation is therefore not a top-down political project, but a by-product of these transnational risks since the industrial revolution, along with technological advances (Beck, 2006). Thus, it represents a form of endogenous cosmopolitanisation, or in effect, a ‘cosmopolitanism from the inside’. The national perspective is increasingly inappropriate, however, as it obstructs social transformation though the world has experienced a changing modernity and the process of cosmopolitanisation has blurred the notions of nation-state and border. Though border and nation-state will still exist, under these circumstances, social science researchers must critically rethink these notions and the appropriateness of perceiving social reality exclusively based on nationalism and the container of the nation-state, and develop a cosmopolitan vision for understanding social reality.

On this basis, I believe, knowledge is located between the objective and the subjective. For me, the changing nature of reality, as discussed, also impacts on the epistemological system. In this regard, I adopt a different outlook by having a sense of diversity, interconnectedness and borderlessness in a transnationalised context to examine cosmopolitan values and green living. This approach stresses the interaction between the objective and the subjective, which is different from the epistemological assumptions according to positivism (or coming afterwards, post-positivism or critical realism) and constructivism. The former assumes that researchers can separate themselves from what they know by acting value-free, and views the nature of knowledge as objective and empirically verifiable. The latter argues that the researchers cannot separate themselves from what they know and knowledge is thus assumed to be subjective and transactional, which is socially constructed by both the research and the would-be-known in the research process. Therefore, knowledge is created via the interaction between the researcher and the researched in a particular setting (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). In this study, however, cosmopolitanism is perceived as a transformative process that moves beyond this dualism of the theory of knowledge. It stands for a post-universal system of knowledge (Delanty, 2012b) without a universal consent for a single interpretation of social reality. Though there is a normative dimension of cosmopolitanism, the interpretation of its social-scientific dimension also depends on specific social, cultural, and historical contexts, and different social actors. Hence, cosmopolitanism as an empirical research project is a normatively guided approach in which the understanding of social reality counts on critical examination and reflection, navigated by cosmopolitan normativity. Therefore, it attempts to contribute to social

transformation in order to resolve ongoing tensions, conflicts and social problems within and among and above nation-states implicitly embedded in the logic of hegemonic nationalism.

My Position as both Researcher and Participant

After I completed my bachelor degree, I worked as a teaching and research assistant at the Department of Applied Social Sciences of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. During this two-year period, I have been involved in a study project entitled ‘Cosmopolitanism and Youth Activism in Hong Kong’, supervised by my current thesis advisor Dr. David Ip. Afterward, I decided to pursue my MPhil study based on cosmopolitanism. The reasons are two-fold: First, I subscribe to normative cosmopolitanism particularly in the context of Hong Kong. Second, my research experience developed my interest in Beck’s thesis of cosmopolitanisation, on which the theoretical framework of this study is based. I have spent some time searching for a transnational phenomenon to conduct an empirical study on the examination of existing cosmopolitanisation. I eventually focused on green living in this study since I have been attracted by the persistence of green-living individuals who devote themselves to practising and promoting green living to improve the health of the environment. In the meantime, by adopting cosmopolitanism as a normatively guided approach, I am sceptical about the individualised approach to environmentalism to some degree.

I admit that I was not a lifestyle environmentalist, and I therefore regarded myself as a social researcher. During my fieldwork, I have interviewed a number of green-living people and have been more involved in the green-living movement. I have acquired green-living knowledge and discussed issues on cosmopolitanism with green-living people. At the end of my fieldwork in January 2015, I had become a core member of a green-living group, the Hong Kong Green-living Map. It means that as apart from being a social researcher, I also identify myself as a research participant of my study. But, I do not think this background may influence my role as a researcher because these conditions offer me both an outsider’s and an insider’s perspectives while researching the topic.

Research Strategies

A qualitative methodology is adopted for an exploratory study of the nexus between cosmopolitanism and green living in Hong Kong. In the meantime, this method is most useful

for exploring ideas for studying specific communities (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). It also helps sensitise new concepts (Flick, 2014), such as normative cosmopolitanisation and green-living movement in this study. As both have not yet been widely studied, a qualitative method can help to broaden the scope while intensifying the depth of the investigation.

Phase 1: Literature and Documentary Review

This research first gathered information from written works regarding cosmopolitanism (and cosmopolitanisation) and green living. In the first place, a literature review of the normative perspective of cosmopolitanism was conducted by using six academic search-engines. It included Google Scholar, Web of Science, Scopus data base and three library research portals, i.e. the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, the Hong Kong Institute of Education and the University of Queensland. This review includes both local and overseas publications and different sources, especially books, book chapters, journal articles, and dissertations. Based on the theoretical framework outlined above, a set of cosmopolitan values was selected for understanding and researching cosmopolitanisation. A review of the literature and online sources on the existing phenomenon of green living was then conducted, which provided a snapshot of green living in Hong Kong. Books and articles written by well-known local environmentalists and online sources, such as pages and groups on Facebook and official webpages of green-living groups and people were sources for this review. This information became a focal point for the generation of questions and themes for the research overall. A qualitative content analysis of such information by theme was then employed for formulating and revising an interview protocol for the next stage of this study.

Phase 2: In-depth Interviewing

Following the literature and documentary reviews, the second phase was constituted using a series of in-depth interviews. This method was adopted for a dialogic exploration of the topic of green living through the theoretical lens of cosmopolitanism, in which both interviewers and informants argued, debated and transformed their understanding of the topic by means of research conversations (Wolgemuth and Donohue, 2006; Roulston, 2014). Based on this dialogic, dialectic interaction between the knower and the research participants, in-depth interviewing can serve as a more useful research tool for this dialogic intention than group discussions, which should be more focused on a few questions.

Semi-structured interviewing or semi-standardised interviewing (Groeben, 1990) consisting of five guided open-ended questions was adopted in this study. The reasons for this are twofold. First, given that green living is expressed in highly individualised and localised ways, rigidly structured interviews could in themselves become an obstacle to the collection of accurate information, as it may not allow the opportunity for participants to offer their experience and insights. Rather, semi-structured interviews can allow for a greater flexibility for the interviewees to express these insights and experiences in a free and relaxed manner (Minichiello, et. al, 1995). For practical reasons however, it is relatively unfeasible to conduct long unstructured interviews with every participant (Tracy, 2013). Particularly in this study, after exploring all the factors and motivations of individuals involved in the green-living movement in the first phase of the research, semi-structured interviewing became very useful for further obtaining specific details (International Training and Education Center for Health [I-Tech], 2008).

Though green-living people are not always visible as confrontational activists and there is as yet no official statistics on the population involved in green living, the statistics on the membership of Hong Kong Green-living Map¹⁷ [Chinese: 全港分區綠色生活地圖] can serve as the approximate population size for this study. Up to the 3rd of October 2015, there have been 1,657 members in this green-living group. It was originally planned that the final sample size would include 20 participants. Upon achieving saturation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) however, it was decided that only 18 interviews were required. With regard to the research context, the fieldwork was carried out during the six-month period from August 1, 2014 to January 31, 2015. What should be mentioned is that over that period Hong Kong simultaneously experienced the Umbrella Movement. Therefore, this social movement inevitably influenced the research context. In particular, some informants invited the researcher to the Occupation camps for interviews and other causal talks. However, this does not undermine, but strengthens the qualitative data because these individualised, eco-lifestylists were more active and public over the period of that social movement, which was

¹⁷ Hong Kong Green-living Map is an online platform. It organises members and volunteers to spot green-living locations on a website and facilitates community building for sustainable lifestyle and development. It involves a number of supporting organisations such as the Natural Network [Chinese: 自然脈絡], the Mapopo Community Farm [Chinese: 馬寶寶社區農場], the Conservancy Association [Chinese: 長春社], and Greenpeace (Hong Kong). It also consists of 24 community districts.

different from the normal period in which they practise green living individually and privately. It helped to locate and observe their behaviour.

This study adopted a combination of two sampling method strategies: Purposive and snowball sampling. Other than four well-known green-living people who are highly devoted to the green lifestyle and were purposively selected as informants for this study, snowball sampling was employed to recruit 'hidden' green-living informants in Hong Kong. The reason for specifically inviting these four individuals was that their everyday green practices are impressively strict and painstaking. This is one of the driving forces behind researching this topic. Apart from these more high-profile cases, the nature of green living is largely invisible and ignored. The study can thus be enriched by the participation of 'hidden greeners'. Therefore, I asked two referees who are actively engaged in green living to introduce a list of people who were also devoted to promoting and practising green living. This method was employed based on an assumption that insiders can more easily identify and recruit appropriate informants who may not be always visible, except for having worked or stayed with them for a long period. Based on this sampling method however, the research may not include some individuals within the green-living field who were not recommended and interviewed in the research process. This is a limitation of the study. Consequently, more effort has been paid to my continuous engagement with the field after the fieldwork, to supplement this gap, even though I did not formally interview more green-living people. After obtaining a sampling frame provided by these referees, informants were contacted and interviewed based on the principle that they were connected with green-living groups¹⁸ and agreed that they actively engaged in the practice of green living. Each interview took around one to two hours. Before and after the interviews, the researcher stayed with fifteen of them for at least three extra hours, which includes working with them, or joining in or organising activities together. The researcher also visited some informants one day per week during the fieldwork in a variety of capacities, such as volunteering at urban farms, assisting in the organisation of community-building events and attending talks and group discussions. Since the researcher kept in touch with the participants, their feedback was sought to ensure interpretive validity, by which the researcher means the accuracy of the interpretation of the inner world of the informants (Johnson, 1997). This feedback can also be used to further explore and examine how sustainably individuals live; as well as ensuring the qualitative validity of each interview (Morse et. al., 2008).

¹⁸ Green-living groups are those grassroots groups which promote a sustainable lifestyle.

In-depth interviews were implemented on the basis of an interview guide (Appendix 1) that was carefully designed and pilot tested for the exercise. The researcher documented the personal backgrounds of the informants (Appendix 2) and the setting of each interview (Appendix 3). Informed consent was sought for recording the interviews (Appendix 4). Each interview was summarised on a post-interview comment sheet (Appendix 5). All verbal recordings were eventually transcribed and subsequently read several times to assure the accuracy of the data. There may be some problems with the issue of translation because the interviews were conducted in Cantonese and transcribed in traditional Chinese and then rewritten and translated into English for direct quotation. In attempts to minimise the impact of this, I sent these translated direct quotations to the research participants to help with the accuracy of the translations, and the published version of this dissertation was copy-edited. On account of having employed a normative-guided approach, which is theoretically and empirically incomplete as a research paradigm, deductive content analysis was adopted for further improvement and description of the theory (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). Due to the adjustment of the cosmopolitan lens applied, an unstructured matrix of categorisation was also used to allow different categories of themes to be created within its bounds (Elo and Kyngäs, 2007).

In summary, eleven are females and seven are males. This is consistent with Jones' study on the lifestyle movement in which more females are involved than males (Jones, 2002). In terms of age, most of the informants selected were young people who can sufficiently illustrate this green form of lifestyle movement, including eight aged between 21 and 30, one between 11 and 20, six between 31 and 40. Three were at the age of 41 and 60. Most of them had no religious background, with only two Christians and one identifying that she believed in the New Age when she spent time thinking about religion as it relates to green living. Except for three informants, most have pursued post-secondary education. What stands out from the table is that most of them study in environment-related disciplines. Out of fifteen who held post-secondary credentials, five majored in the field of environmental science, while three (Ceci, Zoe and Carrie) said that they studied sustainable development in their fields. Six had worked in the commercial sector and one was an undergraduate student. It seems that there is no firm association between their occupations and to what they devote their passion. There were five however, in the third sector, with three fully involved in green-living groups. Three of these were housewives and freelancers who said that their flexible schedules allowed them to devote more time to the promotion and practice of green living. Except Dave, who was a volunteer at a green-living group, all of them were affiliated with

Hong Kong-based green-living groups. Given their level of involvement and the extent to which they had become involved, I developed the impression that they have all been active in practising green living since the 2000s, and as a consequence, came to regard them as part of a new generation of green-living people.

Figure 6: Background Information of Eighteen Informants

No.	Code Name	Gender	Age Bracket	Religious Affiliation	Highest Level of Formal Education	Field of Studies	Employment Sector (Full Time)	Role in Green-Living Groups
#1	Vivian	F	21-30	Christianity	Undergraduate	Environmental Science	Commercial sector	Leadership
#2	Terry	M	31-40	No	Master	Communication	N.A. - Freelance	Leadership
#3	Ceci	F	21-30	No	Undergraduate	Biology	Third sector - GP	Leadership
#4	Kim	M	31-40	No	Sub degree	Fashion & Design	Commercial sector	Membership
#5	Gwen	F	31-40	New Age	Sub degree	Fashion & Design	Housework	Leadership
#6	Dave	M	51-60	No	Sub degree	Engineering	Commercial sector	Volunteer
#7	Tinny	F	21-30	No	Undergraduate	Environmental Science	N.A. - Freelance	Membership
#8	Tony	M	31-40	No	Undergraduate	Environmental Science	Third sector	Leadership
#9	Matthew	M	31-40	Christianity	Sub degree	Communication	Commercial sector	Leadership
#10	Martin	M	21-30	No	Master	Environmental Science	Third sector	Membership
#11	Helen	F	21-30	No	High School	N.A.	N.A. - Freelance	Membership
#12	Ting	F	21-30	No	Undergraduate	Environmental Science	Third sector - GP	Leadership
#13	Bob	M	51-60	No	High School	N.A.	Commercial sector	Leadership
#14	Anna	F	21-30	No	Undergraduate	Business Administration	Third sector - GP	Leadership
#15	Fifi	F	31-40	No	High School	N.A.	Housework	Membership
#16	Zoe	F	11-20	No	Undergraduate	Education	Student	Leadership
#17	Carrie	F	21-30	No	Undergraduate	Urban Studies	Commercial sector	Membership
#18	Sue	F	41-50	No	Sub degree	Fashion & Design	Housework	Leadership

No.	Code Name	Top One to Two Specific Tactics in Green Living during the Last Year that Impressed the Researcher, except for Education Backgrounds, Occupation and Affiliation with a Green Group
#1	Vivian	Ethical consumption
#2	Terry	Promoting the use of green space
#3	Ceci	3 'R's – Reduce, Reuse and Recycle
#4	Kim	Confrontational activism, ethical consumption
#5	Gwen	Eco-enzyme, promoting green economy
#6	Dave	Design of green necessity
#7	Tinny	Planting, ethical consumption
#8	Tony	Confrontational activism, energy saving (i.e. no air-conditioning)
#9	Mathew	Cycling, energy saving (i.e. no air-conditioning),
#10	Martin	Planting, eco-tourism
#11	Helen	Veganism, confrontation activism
#12	Ting	Organic farming
#13	Bob	Veganism, 3 'R's
#14	Anna	Traditional farming, ethical consumption
#15	Fifi	Veganism, eco-enzyme
#16	Zoe	Rooftop farming, ethical consumption
#17	Carrie	Promoting the use of green space, veganism
#18	Sue	Promoting a green economy; green D.I.Y

Ethical Concerns

The objectives of the research do not intend to do harm to the research participants, but help them understand green living as a contemporary social phenomenon. Originally, I decided to ask for permission to use the actual names of the informants throughout my dissertation in pursuit of genuine narrativity. Therefore, in addition to obtaining informed consent from my informants in accordance with the basic principle of ethical research practice (Berg and Lune, 2012; Israel and Hay, 2006), I subsequently asked for permission to write the real-life stories of some participants. A number of informants agreed that their real names along with background information and life experience could be published within this thesis. I am concerned however, about the potential harm and side effects of the disclosure of sensitive information. For example, informants may compare themselves with each other concerning personal information and attitudes and points of view, which might lead to emotional stress and loss of self-esteem. The personal information of the well-known informants i.e. the environmental activists might also draw the attention of the mass media, particularly when they stand up for everyday environmentalism. Additionally, my fieldwork was conducted during the Umbrella Movement, which means that the personal information of my informants may be politically sensitive. Since this dissertation will be published and stored in an open-access database, the informant's personal information can be easily obtained by means of Google, Yahoo or other search-engines. Since some of them are working in the commercial sector, I cannot determine for sure whether this arrangement will do no harm to them in terms of their (future) careers. To resolve these problems, the assurance of confidentiality for all must be sought to guarantee that there will not be any potential harm to the informants. According to this principle, I have taken three steps to uphold the principle of anonymity. All recordings and transcripts were stored in a secure location in my laptop protected by an access code. Another way to secure their confidentiality was the use of pseudonyms instead of actual names in both the transcripts, the names of the files and in the thesis and other publications. More important, after the completion of this research, all recordings and transcripts will be immediately deleted.

Chapter 4: Research Findings – Part 1 – The Practice of Green Living: Themes and Tactics in Hong Kong

Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1, there has been some research done on the environmental movement in Hong Kong, but little attention has been paid to the green-living movement in Hong Kong. As mentioned, this green lifestyle can be traced back to the 1960s. However, what themes and tactics are actually included in this form of lifestyle is not clear yet. In an attempt to provide a general picture of green living in Hong Kong before looking into the nexus between green living and cosmopolitanism, this chapter gives a brief history of the green-living movement in Hong Kong, and presents my research findings and participant testimony in order to categorise its themes and tactics. The chapter will then conclude with a discussion of the scope for expanding the practice of green living.

A Brief History of the Green-living Movement in Hong Kong

The development of the lifestyle approach to environmentalism in Hong Kong is linked to the establishment of the Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOS) which have been educating the younger generation and nurturing actors of the green-living movement. Especially during the emerging phase of green living, the establishment of many Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOS) has had a positive impact on facilitating and accelerating this approach. Inspired by the environmental consciousness of the West, the Conservancy Association (CA) [Chinese: 長春社] was founded in 1968 by a group of professionals (Chiu et. al., 1999). The oldest of the ENGOS, this one had mainly Western members in its early history (Breakthrough concern group [Chinese: 突破關注組], 1990), and it was perceived by the colonial state as a radical group and kept under tight monitoring due to its active involvement in local grassroots environmental struggles. However in 1974, representatives of the CA were invited to join the newly-established Advisory Committee on Environmental Pollution. It then became a ‘good partner’ with the state in environmental protection, by involving in various governmental consultative committees (Chiu et. al., 1999,

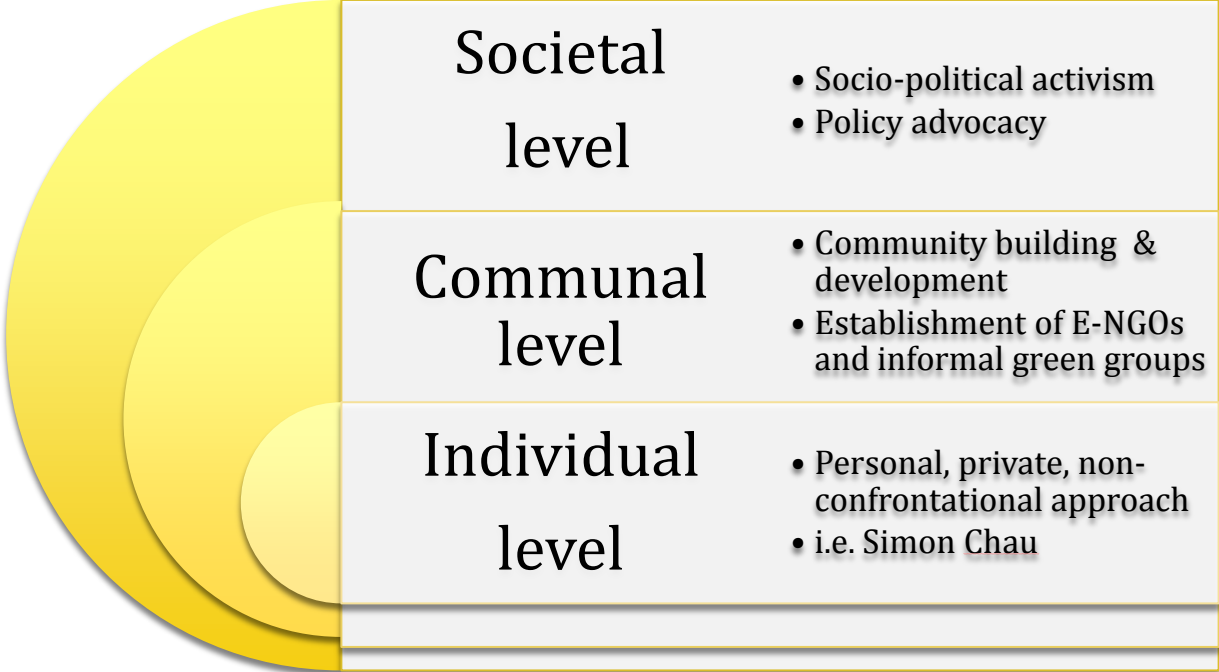
p.56). In 1981, the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (Hong Kong) (WWF), sharing a similar background to the CA, was founded by a group of Western businesspersons and conservationists. Its works concentrate on the management of the Mai Po Marches and the organisation of educational programs. However, some considered that this was a platform for social activities for the upper social class (Breakthrough concern group, 1990). In 1983 a group of expatriates established Friends of the Earth (Hong Kong) (FoE). It was originally isolated from the local Chinese community since the membership was dominated by foreign residents and the local Chinese community was excluded. In the early stages of development, it was actively involved in confrontational activities such as the Anti-*Daya Bay* campaign and an ad-hoc campaign against the setting up of a nuclear-powered freighter in Hong Kong. Since the 1990s, however, FoE has begun focusing more on educational programmes and broadening its membership to include more of the Chinese community (Chiu et. al., 1999).

Established by a group of young middle-class professionals, Green Power (GP) was another important green group nurturing the green-living movement. Its popularity was largely attributed to its charismatic leader, Simon Chau, who obtained his PhD at the University of Edinburgh and was largely influenced by Western environmentalism. After completing his PhD studies, he pursued his academic career in translation at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and then at the Hong Kong Baptist University. In the 1980s, Chau was perceived to be a radical environmentalist since he strongly criticised other ENGOs cooperating with the government and the business sector. By the 1990s, his radical point of view was transformed and he began to advocate an individual lifestyle approach to environmentalism. He called for a paradigm shift in promoting environmentalism by nurturing a sustainable lifestyle (ibid, 1999). After Chau's resignation as chairperson in 1995, GP was criticised for working with big corporations such as CLP Holdings Ltd, Royal Dutch Shell plc, and Hong Kong Disney (Inmedia, 2004). Afterwards, Chau was involved in establishing other green-living groups including the Produce Green Foundation in 1989, the Hong Kong Vegetarian Society in 1994 and the Green Living Education Foundation in 2005.

In summary, there are two characteristics of the emergence of the green-living movement in the last century. First, most ENGOs were established by a group of middle-upper class people, particularly those with Western educational backgrounds. To a large extent, they were not able to mobilise grassroots support for environmentalism. Second, for promoting and nurturing green living most ENGOs were using a consensual approach because most were inclined to cooperate with the state and the business sector (Lai et. al,

1999; Lee and So, 1999). This soft approach to environmentalism was not able to challenge the social and political structure aligned with the discourse of economic development.

Figure 7: Three Levels of Green Living in Hong Kong



Themes and Tactics of the Green-living Movement

Drawing on documentation from two green-living groups i.e. Hong Kong Green-living Map¹⁹ and Friends of Green²⁰ [Chinese: 綠適朋友] (An informal group sharing information on green living in Facebook) and data collected in the in-depth interviews, Figure 7 illustrates that the themes and tactics of green living are divided into individual, community and societal levels.

Individual Level

An individual approach is the foundation of green living, which is a traditional category of environmentalism in Hong Kong. This individual lifestyle approach has long been deemed to be strategically private, persistent and non-confrontational (Haenfler, et. al., 2012) in pursuit

¹⁹ The categorisation of the Hong Kong Green-living Map (2015) is available in its public group on Facebook.

²⁰ The information on this categorisation is available on its Facebook page (Friends of Green, 2015).

of sustainability. This is also the origin of the green-living movement in Hong Kong, led by a group of middle-class environmentalists (Lai, 2000). The representative of this first green generation is Simon Chau²¹ who has guided the green-living movement of Hong Kong since the 1980s. This soft approach to environmentalism (Lai, 1998) was particularly dominant in the 1980s. A variety of themes and strategies were included in this traditional approach as outlined below.

While discussing the notion of green living with the informants, almost all of them would first mention tactics relating to ‘reduce’ and ‘reuse’. These are tactics for saving resources, by, for example: bathing by taking a shower instead of using a bathtub to save water, not leaving any remains when eating, and turning off all the lights when leaving home. These are all traditional means of reducing waste. Bob²² who was a leader of a green-living group mentioned that the first thing he did with green living was to intentionally print on both sides of a sheet of paper, instead of using just one side. Fifi said that her parents always told her that food should not be wasted. Fifi also received the clothes of her older sister, which were passed down to her when she was young. Once she got older, the clothes were in turn delivered to daughters of her relatives. In fact, this tradition of the green lifestyle (passing on clothes to a younger, smaller person when they no longer fit, instead of throwing them away) is closely connected to the factor of social class (Bourdieu, 1984; Tomlinson, 2003). In particular, after the Second World War, these green practices reflected the virtue of frugality, a tradition of a society in which things were scarce. Green living was seen more as a means to save money and resources for families. Bob [Informant#13] challenged this approach, saying that this should not be completely considered to be green living.

Although their actions, i.e. reducing use and reusing items for saving [money] may be environmentally friendly, I don’t really agree that they’re all green. Say, for example, I have a colleague who almost always saves everything as long as these things are his own property, but I found that he wasted a lot of paper, toilet paper in office...

Bob agreed that saving is a pull factor for being green, yet as far as he was concerned environmental sustainability should be the ultimate goal of green living, and the concept of reuse is more than that. Though Bob was stringent about the concept of ‘saving’ in green

²¹ His lifestyle approach will be discussed separately in different sections in this chapter.

²² Please refer to Figure 6 for the background information of my informants. I will use pseudonyms for them in this thesis.

living, he added that this approach is certainly better than ‘doing nothing’. One recent trend is the do-it-yourself (DIY) approach of using eco-enzymes such as homemade cleaner, fertiliser and the like for farming and household use, items that are produced from different kinds of vegetable and fruit dregs, mixed with sugar and water²³. Also, the researcher found that out of thirteen interviewees, three informants were used to bringing and using their own reusable tableware, which included a spoon, chopsticks and even a straw on these occasions. Hence, the interviewer asked further what green items they usually carry when leaving home. Seven items were reported.

- (i) A towel
- (ii) A bottle
- (iii) A lunch box
- (iv) Tableware
- (v) A reusable bag
- (vi) A book (to kill time in order not to use a smartphone too frequently)
- (vii) A larger plastic bag (Just in case some left food cannot be contained by the lunch box)

Helen [Informant #11] expressed her view that these seven necessities [Chinese: 出門七件事] to have away from home are as important as ‘firewood, rice, oil, salt, sauce, vinegar and tea’; they are the seven necessities for beginning a day in Chinese life.

‘Recycling’ is another traditional concern, which is also one of the ‘3 Rs’. For example, mixed rubbish should not be dumped into one single bin, but should be divided into two categories and put in the correct bin: the waste bin and the recycle bins. For waste that can be recycled, people have to further sort it into bins coded with three different colours: the blue bin for paper, yellow for cans and brown for bottles. Since the implementation of the recycling initiative by the government in 1998, it is widely regarded as a mundane practice of green living. Informants agreed that people might usually do it when they see the recycling bins, which is a basic action of being green. However, green-living people apparently do not completely agree with the tactic of recycling in this form. In recent years, this tactic for recycling has been advanced further. For example, an eco-lifestyle campaign on recycling

²³ Please refer to a Facebook group – Making, Sharing, Exchanging Eco-enzymes [Chinese: 環保酵素製作、共享、交流], which was established in 2013 and contained over 22,500 members, retrieved August 2, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/groups/OYIF.Enzyme/>

titled Ending One Type of Rubbish Bin [Chinese: 結束一桶專]²⁴ was launched in 2014 and has since been promoted. As one of the core members, Ceci thought that Hongkongers should learn how to recycle more persistently and carefully by themselves. For one thing, people should learn more about how to recycle, for instance, bottles containing at least three types of plastic, which need further sorting. For another example, the practice of recycling should not be merely a reflexive practice that occurs only when walking by recycling bins. People should also do it persistently at home, and even during demonstrations and protests, which can be illustrated by my special experience with Gwen [Informant #5] who volunteered to serve at a recycling booth along with a group of eco-lifestylists in the Occupation Camp in Admiralty during the Umbrella Movement. When Gwen and the interviewer were chatting and cleaning plastic waste for recycling there, one protester dumped a cigarette pack in the recycling bin in front of the booth. The protestor perhaps perceived that his act was environmentally responsible. Gwen, however, thought that this was not sufficient and immediately responded:

If you don't even know how to recycle simple things like a cigarette pack, how can you fight for democracy in Hong Kong?

Gwen further expressed that recycling a cigarette pack is not simple as it contained different types of materials, which must be sorted first and put in different recycle bins. Dumping it in front of a recycling booth is irresponsible behaviour because it requires extra human power to process it. Gwen felt that even though the protestor joined the movement, his act should be criticised. She felt that recycling is merely an easy task, but the pursuit of democracy in Hong Kong is much more complicated. For Gwen, the implication of recycling for democracy is that people have to act even more consistently, persistently and carefully to achieve democracy.

In recent years, the concept of green consumption, one form of ethical consumption, has been brought into the discourse of being green. As mentioned by Mathew, green lifestylists usually do their utmost to 'reduce' and 'reuse' first. By doing so, consumption can basically be capped. Many of them expressed however, that living and working in such an urbanised city as Hong Kong, made it impossible to completely stop consumption. For those who work in the business sector, the cycle of sales and consumption is the foundation of operating a business. It will be difficult for those who live in the city centre, particularly those close to Central and Tsim Sha Shui, to be self-sustaining without any consumption. They all

²⁴ For more information, please refer to its Facebook page, retrieved August 6, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/grebbish/timeline>

agreed however, that if consumption is necessary, they could purchase some products made in line with the principles of a low carbon footprint and environmental sustainability. In addition to this simple logic of consumption, some even believe that the consumer's behaviour could play a pivotal role in upholding environmental justice. As Mathew [Informant #9] stated:

As long as a lot of consumers develop a green consciousness by making the choice not to purchase 'unsustainable' products, unethical producers will go bankrupt or at least have to be more accountable to green consumers and to the environment.

Consumption, for Matthew, is not only a necessary evil, but also an opportunity for people to express themselves by countering an unsustainable social reality.

For the green-living informants, being green is not a consequence, but a never-ending process that requires them to keep learning green. When asking them about how green they were, most of them identified themselves as 'light-greeners', while only two claimed that they were 'mid-green'. The reason that almost most of them did not claim that they were 'deep-green', though some of them have already been considered models of green living across the city, is that their philosophy is that living green is an on-going process, and that there is always room for self-improvement. It is, therefore, imperative that they keep learning and acquiring more green-living information and innovative skills and, for some (i.e. Bob, Helen, Sue), reach a condition of spiritual harmony in pursuit of the green end. Regarding sources of green-living knowledge, some mentioned that they learned from local green-living masters such as Simon Chau, Lowell Lo²⁵, Lai Shan Lam²⁶ and Mok Ho Kwong²⁷. Comparatively speaking, these masters have more knowledge networks connected to local and transnational green-living groups than ordinary people would have. Others mentioned that the Internet is another essential source spreading green-learning information, knowledge and skills. Learning some green knowledge about transnational forces is not just a privilege of the global elite or frequent travellers. Gwen, Helen and Fifi, who were less mobile because of their personal backgrounds, mentioned that they seldom travelled to other countries for green information, tactics and perspectives. They mainly used the Internet, particularly Facebook, as a platform for obtaining and sharing green-living information.

²⁵ Lowell Lo is a Hong Kong musician and singer and an environmental activist.

²⁶ Lai Shan Lam, also called 'green mama' is one of the founders of the Hong Kong Green-living Map.

²⁷ Mok ho Kwong, also known as Yeah Man, is the Director-general of Natural Network [Chinese: 自然脈絡].

Another crucial component is eating habits. It is common that environmentalists have ceased eating shark's fin and hair weed (Nodtoc flagelliforme). The most typical figure in this issue is Simon Chau. As mentioned, he is the key model for first-generation lifestyle environmentalism. He has promoted and practised veganism for a long time. In recent years, Chau has become a raw vegan meaning that he does not eat food of animal origin and cooked food. There were three vegetarian informants in this study and the rest have an inclination to consume no meat. In reference to the relationship between veganism and green living, Bob argued that the best way to go green is not to consume meat, because farmers have to feed the animals with a larger number of crops. He considered that this is not an effective way to produce food.

Informants admitted that they sometimes needed to relax. Here, leisure is a crucial component. In this hyper-age of urbanisation, particularly in Hong Kong, urban development has been taken for granted in the public and business sectors. Perhaps triggered by these factors, over the past couple of years, there has been an increase in urban farming across the territory²⁸. Some informants, i.e. Helen, Ting, Martin and Bob, have also actively participated in guided eco-tours in order to educate the general public on the importance of cherishing and protecting the natural environment.

Community Level

As depicted in Figure 7, a lifestyle approach consistent with the environmental movement cannot be completely disconnected from the community level. In particular, during the emerging phase of green living, the establishment of many Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOS) had a positive impact on facilitating and accelerating this approach. The Conservancy Association is Hong Kong's oldest ENGO. Inspired by the environmental

²⁸ For example, opposing the North East New Territories Development Plan, some social activists i.e. Tuen Yik Tin, Kaikai Cho, Becky Au and other villagers in Mashipo, Fanling, established the Mapopo Community Farm [Chinese: 馬寶寶社區農場] (2015) in 2010. In addition to urban farming and farming classes, they organise public activities such as guided tours, community markets and a variety of workshops, promoting the notion of sustainable development by emphasising community-supported agriculture and alternative lifestyles. Following the displacement and relocation of Choi Tuen Village, induced by the construction of the Express Rail Link connecting Hong Kong and the Mainland, the New Choi Tuen Village Pioneer Farm [Chinese: 菜園村農業先鋒田] was established in 2012. Some rooftop farms have appeared, e.g. the City Farm [Chinese: 都市農莊] (2015) in 2011, the HK Farm [Chinese: 天台農場] in 2012, and the Very MK Rooftop Farm [Chinese: 旺角天台農場] (2015) in 2014, teaching urban farming skills and leasing fields to urban farmers.

consciousness of the West, it was founded in 1968 by a group of professionals (Chiu et. al., 1999). The World Wildlife Fund for Nature (Hong Kong) and Friends of the Earth (Hong Kong) were established by a group of foreign businessmen and conservationists in 1981 and expatriates in 1983 respectively (ibid, 1999). Since then, more and more formal ENGOs have been set up in Hong Kong. According to the Environmental Protection Department (2015), the number of ENGOs has increased to 22²⁹. Apart from these groups, based on the e-link documentation provided by Greensense (2015), there are ten organisations promoting ecology and conservation³⁰, with five of the organisations promoting eco-tourism³¹, two in business sectors³² and three societies at the university level³³. This proliferation can possibly be attributed to the green logic of the first-generation environmentalists, particularly Simon Chau who actively promoted green living, and who was personally involved in the setting up of different ENGOs i.e. Green Power in 1988, the Produce Green Foundation in 1989, the Hong Kong Vegetarian Society in 1994 and the Green Living Education Foundation in 2005. The presence of so many organisations suggests that apart from the efforts of the green individuals of the first generation, the individual soft approach was in fact constructed and reinforced further by the establishment of ‘formal’ groups. These green-living organisations are registered as societies under the Societies Ordinance and submit to the Police Licensing Office. These formal green groups, however, are subject to many financial constraints in leading and promoting the way to lifestyle environmentalism, especially since their very existence is directly linked to the amount of financial resources they can receive from corporations and government sponsorship (Lai, 1998; Lai, et. al, 1999).

During the last decade, there has been a remarkable shift in this green community in terms of formality. An increase in informal green-living groups has been observed. For example, there have been some popular online networks on and about green living. As

²⁹ It is admitted that this number cannot completely reflect the proliferation of green groups. As there are a number of informal ENGOs without registration and NGO concerning environmental sustainability.

³⁰ Ten are Hong Kong Bird Watching Society, Hong Kong Dolphin Conservation Society, Hong Kong Dolphinwatch, Ocean Park Conservation Foundation, Kadoorie Farm & Botanic Garden, Hong Kong Lepidopterists’ Society, Ichthyological Society of Hong Kong, CowHome, Hong Kong Green Nature Union and Animal Asia Foundation.

³¹ Five are Green Peng Chau Association, Hong Kong Discovery, HK Traveler, Hong Kong Ecotourism Society and Green Square (Luk Sik Gwong Coeng).

³² Two are Green Council and Business Environment Council.

³³ Three are Green World (Chinese University of Hong Kong [CUHK]), Green Post (CUHK) and Greenwoods (HKU).

mentioned, the Hong Kong Green-living Map was formed by renowned green-living people, i.e. Lam Lai Shan in 2012. Its Facebook group page lists over 1,500 members. They have been divided into 25 small communities for researching and sharing green-living locations and information. A sharing platform 'OH YES, IT's FREE: Furniture Freecycle' [Chinese: 無人駕駛自助傢俬徵送] was founded in 2013 and its Facebook group page lists over 27,000 members³⁴. The documentation of its main webpage 'OH YES, IT's FREE' shows that there have been 61 online platforms for sharing and exchanging necessities³⁵. The success of these online platforms can be attributed to technological advances particularly the use of web 2.0, apps and online networking platforms i.e. Facebook. This success does not, however, imply that the formal groups have become useless or obsolete. Instead, it suggests that a number of lifestyle environmentalists are not satisfied with the soft approach and have adopted a harder approach to deal with environmental degradation, pollution and hegemonic urban developmentalism by forming informal groups. Some green informants expressed their dissatisfaction with the constrictive formal structure and culture, which is contingent on donations, and corporate and governmental sponsorship. Sometimes they have to compete with each other for funding, members and volunteers. As one of the organisers of this informal community, Gwen [Informant #5] stated:

If you really appreciate this lifestyle approach stressing the responsibility and importance of individuals, it is best to stay away from this formal structure (registered as a NGO) because you'll be constrained by their structure and administrative procedure. In fact, we've now become an organisation, simply by using Facebook. Why do we pay to register as an organisation?

Together with her green friends Gwen created several informal green groups on Facebook. At present, one of these green-living groups, which shares information about making enzymes for household use, already lists nearly twenty thousand members. Another informant, Bob, also shared a sentiment similar to Gwen's, against the formality of NGOs. He has formerly joined a series of social activities held by a formal green group, after which he made many friends in the activities and formed an informal group with them, sharing information and organising activities on green living. In the beginning, they all shared green information and organised

³⁴ For more information, please refer to its Facebook page, retrieved August 6, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/groups/OYIFurniture/>

³⁵ For more information, please refer to its official webpage, retrieved August 6, 2015 from <http://oyifree.wikia.com/wiki/香港熱門Freecycle群組>

activities via email. Subsequently, they created a closed group on Facebook, having around 500 members in August 2015. They welcome friends of their green friends to join this group. Bob [Informant #13] explained that by using this online platform,

...our green friends pay no membership fee to share and receive any information and to organise and partake in their activities. They can organise and promote some events freely as long as some are interested.

Bob admitted that as a full-time worker in the commercial sector, he must not completely expend his energy and time on operating the group. Nevertheless, he considered it is worthwhile to participate in the informal group even though he has to deal with the administrative work of the group when he leaves his daytime office. In the past, the emergence of formal NGOs was aimed at promoting and reinforcing the soft, consensual approach of the first-generation of lifestyle environmentalists. The responsibility for environmental protection was focused mainly on individual practice. The proliferation of informal green-living groups, however, illustrates that there has clearly been an expansion of scope within the circle of the green lifestyles. In this sense, the forms and patterns of a green lifestyle have been expanded from being merely an individual private behaviour to become interactive behaviour involving an element of the community. Green-living practitioners, especially those who became more engaged with green living after 2000, are obviously not prepared to maintain a condition of deep-green, where they would be disconnected from their communities and even their society. This will be discussed further in the following section.

Societal Level

Prior to the 1990s, an individual approach dominated the trends and development of green living, demonstrating a soft approach to the environmental movement. Due to technological advances plus a reflection on this soft approach among new-generation environmentalists, there has, since the 1990s, been more social and political activism for sustainable development. Members of this new green generation, which have been nurtured with green knowledge as they grew up, are more conscious and aware of the connection between individual and community and society 'living', on the grounds that the first green generation, which was constrained by its socio-economic status i.e. upper middle class and expatriates, was not effective in mobilising individuals toward actualising a green end.

One of the core green activists, Tony [Informant #8] considered that it is important to practise lifestyle environmentalism, but he frankly accepted that he was not able to act in a

deep-green way like a green-living hermit. He considered, however, that his generation could bring the notion to socio-political and policy levels.

Many environmentalists of our age weren't happy with a purely individual approach. It's hard to achieve, and insufficient to merely pursue veganism or raw veganism for a sustainable society. However, in reality, our social structure and political system keep downgrading our environment. That's why we have to connect with society at the same time.

Since the 1990s, the scope of green living has been expanded further to a socio-political level. More lifestyle environmentalists have become aware that everyday life is also politicised. Many social and political actions were organised and led by some socio-politically-concerned green groups, i.e. Greeners' Action and Friends of the Earth. More people have become concerned about the environment, i.e. by protesting against the construction of the Daya Bay Nuclear Plant and other hazardous industries. Environmentalists cannot discuss and practise 'living' simply by adopting an individual approach. Participants thought that confrontational actions are also imperative to make social change. A typical case here is Mathew [Informant#9], who took everyday practice as a political gesture.

I've ridden a bike for travel for around four to five years, joined a number of green groups, and participated in a rally call 'the Ride of Silent' every year. I don't think my actions are contradictory, but for me I concentrate more on an individual lifestyle approach, but that doesn't mean that it isn't politics and I won't participate in any protests and demonstrations.

Matthew felt that riding a bicycle instead of taking a bus and driving a vehicle demonstrates his support for environmental protection and is a political gesture against all operating Bus Corporations that use buses that have no windows that can be opened and use air-conditioners that are turned on even in winter.

Except for Matthew, most of the informants have participated in confrontational social actions for sustainable development. Since 2000, this confrontational approach has drawn much more attention than it ever did before. This is attributable to a series of major infrastructure projects, i.e. the New North East New Territories Development Plan, the construction of the Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macau Bridge and the Hong Kong section of the Guangzhen-Hong Kong Express Rail Link, which are all expected to accelerate the process of urbanisation and damage the natural environment, as well as displace a number of villagers. A critical reflection on development across the city has been triggered by these projects. This

top-down approach to development has in return strengthened the green will of eco-lifestyle activists and project-affected people.

In recent years, though these lifestyle environmentalists have been largely ignored and underestimated by academic research, the media and confrontational social activists, they have, nevertheless, taken a significant role in other social movements, which were eventually and extensively captured by local³⁶ and foreign³⁷ mass media particularly during the 79-day period of the Umbrella Movement. Their ordinary footsteps, i.e. recycling booths and urban farming areas, were easily found in the Occupation camps. Although they did not take an active role in organising political action for democracy, they were actively involved in this collective action and fully demonstrated everyday activism as a form of political resistance, which brings new thoughts and reflexivity to the repertoires of social movements.

Concluding Remarks

There has been an expansion of scope in the practice of green living in Hong Kong. In the past, the themes and tactics of green living as a lifestyle were mainly restricted to an individual approach with the involvement of structural ENGOs. This has since been extended to more informal lifestyle communities and the socio-political dimension. Thus, the ‘lifestyle universes’ of individuals involved in the green-living movement have become more socialised and diversified. This type of expansion reveals that the scope of sustainable lifestyles has been significantly enlarged.

³⁶ Please refer to the following news:

South China Morning Post (2014-09-30) *Top 10 Highlights of Occupy Central so far*. Retrieved April 16, 2015 from <http://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/article/1604461/top-10-moments-occupy-central-so-far>

³⁷ Please refer to the following news:

BBC News. (2014-09-30). *Things that Could Only Happen in a Hong Kong Protest*. Retrieved April 17, 2015 from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-29423147>

Forbes (2014-08-10) *Occupy Central: A Hong Kong Protest Evolved From Planned Sit-In To Leaderless Umbrella Movement*. Retrieved April 17, 2015 from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/kandywong/2014/10/08/occupy-central-a-hong-kong-protest-evolved-from-planned-sit-in-to-leaderless-umbrella-movement/>

The Independent. (2014-09-29). *Hong Kong Protests: Demonstrators Clean Up and Recycle After Night of Clashes with Police*. Retrieved April 17, 2015 from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/hong-kong-protests-demonstrators-clean-up-and-recycle-after-night-of-clashes-with-police-9761598.html>

Chapter 5: Research Findings – Part 2 – Green Living and Cosmopolitan‘isation’

Introduction

In the previous chapter, how the participants practised green living has been presented. There are a series of themes and tactics for practising green living in Hong Kong. Green living is not merely an individual approach, but it has also expanded to the community and the social level. Turning to the nexus between green living and cosmopolitanism, Beck (2011b) argued that the world has experienced the process of cosmopolitanisation. As stated, green living per se reflects the value of cosmopolitan citizenship. This chapter intends to unveil further whether and how these lifestyle environmentalists have been cosmopolitanised. I therefore present the participants’ testimonies regarding values implicit in green living. This is divided into two parts: (1) altruism embedded in green living, and (2) transnational values embedded in lifestyle environmentalism. This is followed by an examination of factors catalysing their green lifestyle. As the participants did not mention ‘risk’ as a catalyst for their green lifestyle and the concept of risk is an important component of cosmopolitanisation in Beck’s theory, I will then investigate their perception of ecological risk to see whether or not these risks have led to their persistent practice of green living.

Values Implicit in Green Living

Altruism Embedded in Green Living: A Cost-benefit Analysis of Going Green

Scepticism is frequently encountered by eco-lifestylists. This is particularly the case when individuals treat environmental protection, or environmentalism, as a code of ethics, which in turn leads to comparison and at times competition as to who is the most genuine. Drawing on the data collected in the interviews, this part therefore turns to examine the interviewee’s perceptions of costs and benefits for practising green living.

The interviewer first asked about the cost of going green. While some participants directly said that they lost nothing and instead they gained a lot, others such as Ting [Informant #12] spent time thinking and then stated:

...(Thinking for 20 seconds) Frankly, I don't think of anything as being lost, or that will be lost.

Since the participants are involved in promoting green living, the interviewer gave them a longer time to think about the costs of green living. After probing deeply into their costs and suggesting the costs of going green, the participants eventually discussed their costs with the interviewer. The most common answers are related to time, energy and money. On the surface, individuals spent much time, energy and maybe some more money by going green. It seemed, however, that these 'inputs' are not of great importance in their subjective world. The participants thought that it was worthwhile and meaningful to live sustainably.

Two informants mentioned that the conflict between family and going green was a cost, but after a period of time, found that their family members changed their attitude toward their green behaviour. For example, Ceci after working in a green group decided to go green and became increasingly stringent. When she involved her family members in the green-living movement by requesting they do recycling at home, her parents became annoyed. After a serious argument, they ceased to recognise her as a family member. After two to three years, however, she found that they gradually became more environmentally friendly because of her silent transforming influence. Their relationship has subsequently improved. Another informant, Helen, became a vegetarian after working in a green-living group. Her parents were worried about the issue of her nutrition when only consuming vegetables because, despite being over 20 years old, for them, Helen was still young. Similar to Ceci's case, Helen's parents have become less worried and ultimately consumed less and less meat. This reveals that the conflict with family members is just a short-term cost of going green.

Participants were also asked if they had experienced losing contact with intimate friends and peers who may not be conscious of environmental protection as a result of them becoming involved in the green-living movement. It seems, however, that for these individuals, the thought of losing friends because of this was an acceptable loss. Bob [Informant#13] stated:

I have nothing to lose and have already gained a lot. I started not calculating the costs and benefits of making friends. Don't tell me you've lost a lot of these so-called friends.

After going green, he came to regard those who did not support his passion as ‘unsustainable friends’. Similar to Bob, Martin who is a green activist added that if someone is not environmentally friendly, he or she cannot make friends with him. Nevertheless, he felt satisfied that he still had many friends supporting his green actions. Simply put, none of the participants mentioned social or public costs. They remained focused on the discussion of individual costs, but for them these were not important.

Informants considered that there are numerous benefits to living green, which outweigh the costs. All these benefits can be sorted into two categories: (a) individual benefits and (b) altruistic benefits (see Figure 8).

Regarding individual benefits, participants generally agreed that going green is advantageous, and they therefore did not give up. For example, Bob, who worked in the business sector, felt that his life has become much more comfortable and he was more easily satisfied. He mentioned that he had always made decisions based on the principle of profit. This is an economic perspective internalised via his career. ‘Going green’ made him generous to himself and others. After becoming vegetarians, Fifi and Helen felt that they were both getting healthier. Fifi who previously suffered from eczema, no longer experiences symptoms, while Helen found that her stamina when she went hiking had improved. Matthew and Tony felt that they have become more well-known across the city because of their persistent green practice. Some informants felt that they have learned many tactics and themes for green living, and that this has been a great benefit to their lives. Anna was happy that the knowledge of recycling and farming that she had gained was very useful in guiding her to a sustainable lifestyle and to becoming a more independent person. Finally, though as mentioned they may lose some types of friends, all agreed that overall they had gained more and closer friends in this lifestyle community during the process of going green. As Martin [Informant#9] said,

I can talk about birds, trees and flowers in these green groups in depth. They (green friends) don’t feel reluctant towards my lifestyle and interests. In this circle, we hang out at weekends together and share our ups and downs with each other. So, I didn’t lose friends and actually have more than ever before.

In short, these green-living people perceived that they gained much more in the individual dimension though these benefits are not materialistic.

It was also found that when the question about benefits was asked, the common answers were about benefits to others. The most direct answer was the benefit to their environment. Operating an urban farm for sustainable development, Anna [Informant#14] believed that green living could benefit the community as a whole.

We use the food left over as fertiliser. We provide good and healthy vegetables, compared with those produced with poisonous pesticides on the Chinese Mainland.

Anna felt that food produced in Mainland China contains many non-known poisonous pesticides, which are harmful to the environment. In the meantime, food waste was common in Hong Kong. She considered that a prosperous city needs more urban farms to absorb this food waste, and use it as fertiliser to run more local farms. It would be beneficial to their environment.

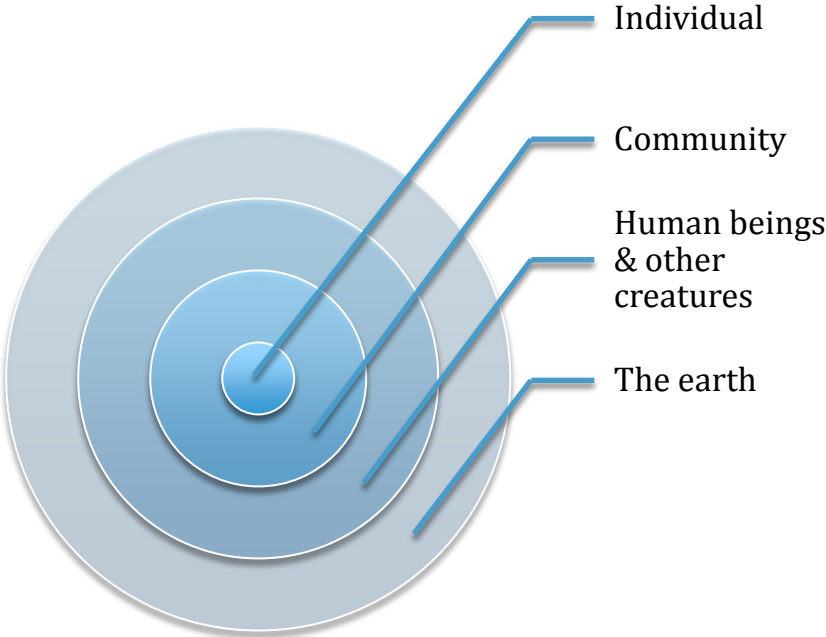
As mentioned by Anna, the use of unknown poisonous pesticides was common on the Chinese Mainland, and cross-border pollution also has an adverse impact on the environment of Hong Kong. Tony, who was an environmental activist, was therefore concerned about the effectiveness of a lifestyle approach, though he devotes himself to promoting and practising green living. He explained that his local actions were not able to resolve the problem of cross-border pollution from China. He argued, however, that a green-living approach is at least being responsible to the place where he lived.

Some informants thought of ecological justice between animals and humans. Matthew [Informant#9] stated:

I feel much happier to do it because my actions can at least uphold the balance between human beings and other creatures. A human being should not be dominant, but we can co-exist. It is not just beneficial to me, but also to the community and the whole ecosystem.

Matthew highlighted the expansion of the scope of green living in terms of the benefits of his everyday practices. Still some informants believed that their everyday actions benefit the earth. Ting thought that it does not matter how little she can do on a global scale, but at least through her actions, the earth will not suffer much from the irresponsibility of one human being.

Figure 8: Layers of Benefits of Living Green



Transnational Values Embedded in Lifestyle Environmentalism

The previous section demonstrates how those green-living people perceived their costs for going green as unimportant costs and green living as beneficial to the environment. Except for this form of altruism toward the environment, in order to uncover further the cosmopolitanness in green living, this section examines the connection between their green belief and cosmopolitan values. The values they hold will now be discussed as these values may have a direct or indirect association with cosmopolitan values.

When asked about their green values, informants argued that there should be more avenues for personal development other than the pursuit of money. Tinny, who had worked in the business sector, considered that most Hongkongers are too materialist and always analyse issues based on a calculation of the economic utility they can generate. The alternative for her and others is sustainable development containing an element of environmental protection and environmental sustainability to balance economic development. Anna, [Informant#14] who operated an urban farm, considered that the choices for living are restricted by the current mode of development. She stated:

If this mode of development keeps going, the city will become homogeneous. Fields will be filled up to make way for luxurious residential buildings and shopping malls. We may have no choice even though some people and the next generation may (want to) enjoy Arcadian life. What we need is a mode

of sustainable development and community-supported agriculture, as a sustainable lifestyle is important.

Apart from the choice of an alternative living, most participants thought that having sustainable development is being more responsible toward the environment, other people and future generations. Most participants felt that by protecting the earth, all creatures can enjoy a natural environment in the future. As discussed previously, the notion of sustainable living has theoretically demonstrated the importance of planetary citizenship, which is also reflected in the physical world.

Many participants mentioned the concept of biodiversity as their belief. As Martin [Informant#10], who is very interested in studying wild birds and botany, said:

The human being is only one of the species in nature. It'd be big trouble for the ecosystem if other species become extinct. We should think about our planet as a whole. You may say I'm a bit New Age, thinking like a flying horse (over the top).

Another informant, Bob [Informant#13], used the concept of biodiversity to explain the importance of cultural diversity. He thought that biodiversity is applicable not just between different species but also within different species.

The world is now dominated by white and Anglo-Saxon people, but that doesn't mean we (non-white people) are worse in nature. Filipinos are thought to be inferior in Hong Kong because here they are mostly domestic helpers. It just means some people win at the starting point.

By applying biodiversity in a human context, Bob valued cultural diversity regardless of race and ethnicity and culture. Since there has been a conflict between Mainland Chinese and Hongkongers in recent years, informants were probed deeply by asking whether or not this perception of cultural diversity is also applicable to Mainland Chinese. All informants showed their openness toward Mainland Chinese. Many thought that the problem is that some do not respect local culture and come to Hong Kong based on their own interests. Participants felt that tourists often think they are superior as tourists who have money to boost or rescue the local economy, but in practice they brought many troubles to Hong Kong. Ceci thought that visitors and immigrants should also respect local culture and show a commitment to support the local community. According to the participants, visitors should also think about others beyond their own interests, otherwise no local communities will ever welcome any people of this kind. Vivian [Informant #1] stated:

There should be an ethics of tourism and immigration that concerns both local communities and others; otherwise it just turns out to be a conflict between different people.

Since Vivian's words showed empathy towards both the local and the translocal, her explanation was compatible with cultural diversity.

These thoughts of sustainable development and biodiversity reflect a transnational vision of citizenship and cultural diversity in which individuals are not only locals fighting for an alternative way of life, but also seen as citizens of a global village acting for the sustainability of the earth. Their belief in green living reveals at least two transnational values.

Border and Boundary: Factors Catalysing Green Living

The previous sections have illustrated that the values are embedded in the universe of the green-living people interviewed. This is reflected in their perceptions of benefits to their environment over and above individual costs and in transnational values mirrored in their lifestyle. This chapter presents the important factors catalysing their green lifestyle. When asked the reasons for 'going green', each participant gave their green story. As reported, after having experienced certain special conditions or events as detailed below, lifestyle environmentalism has become internalised in their mindsets and has been the trigger that has caused them to contemplate the many ecological risks present at the current time, rethink their previous lifestyle and actions, and practise it in their daily lives for a sustainable end. With the notions of 'border' and 'boundary', these conditions and events are categorised into the following four levels: (1) individual level, (2) local level (3) intra-national level and (4) transnational level.

Individual Level – Personal Health

A famous local singer, Lowell Lo, is a typical example. Lo is a green-living practitioner of the first green generation who became passionate in green living after having developed a serious chemical sensitivity. In this study, one informant also mentioned personal health is a driving force for going green. Fifi [Informant#15] had worked in a NGO before she was diagnosed with urticaria. Fifi quitted her full-time job because of the illness. After consulting a doctor several times, she had still not recovered. Her green friend told her about the positive effect of

veganism on healing skin allergies and she reflected on her unsustainable lifestyle consuming meat. Fifi stated:

In the past, I liked eating meat very much. Oysters and sashimi were my favourites. But last year, my husband and I ate meals with these meats more than four times in a week. Afterwards, I found that my skin turned red, tough and very itchy after scratching it. I consulted a doctor, and was diagnosed with urticaria. In the end, I decided to try not to eat meat for a while. After a few weeks, my skin recovered from the allergy. Since then, I've become more consistent about not consuming meat.

After she recovered from the illness, she believed that an environmental problem relating to meat contamination was causing the illness. Fifi was convinced by green-living stories. She then turned to become a vegetarian and has been more involved in other green practices such as recycling and participating in events organised by the green-living group. Lo's and Fifi's cases illustrate that a personal health issue can be an individual catalyst for 'going green'.

Local Level – Informal Education by Local Green Groups

Informal education by green groups is a factor catalysing green living within a local boundary³⁸, but this type of education is more a voluntary choice than a mandatory one. For example, Tony and Zoe [Informant #16] mentioned that they joined and became core members of some green societies in their universities. It seemed relevant to attending an institution of higher education, but indeed participating in green societies in universities does not imply that they were attending some courses and programmes. It only reflects that they participated in extra-curricular activities. The process of participation as members and further involvement in leadership as core members enables them to rapidly absorb more information on how the current mode of development damages the environment and why the future of human beings is at risk. Meanwhile, individuals can be more active by both changing their lifestyles and pushing for policy change.

Green groups are also important in organising social events on nurturing green-living practice. Most of the informants have participated in social events and community activities. However, nobody in the study showed that their interest was directly triggered by

³⁸ Though the informal education by green groups has just taken place within the local area in recent years, it is admitted that, as mentioned in Chapter 1, green-living groups were established by those who were inspired by western environmentalism.

the events themselves. Their green practice was more catalysed by other relevant factors, such as the friendship with green living practitioners and the informal interactions of the participants. For example, Helen [Informant#11], who had pursued a degree in pharmacy, stated:

After joining a social event, I made friends with a green-living master who became my close friend and shared 'green wisdom' with me. I eventually even quitted my study in pharmacy.

Helen thought that it was a waste of time to continuously work in an industry for a job. The engagement with green living is imperative and appealing in her life. She then turned to work in the field of sustainable development even though she realised that the salary range of this occupation must be lower than working in the field of pharmacy. Helen was much happier now that she was able to work for her green career. Another informant, Bob, shared that he made a number of green friends at the activities held by the green groups and that they shared green information and organised some informal activities themselves, which were independent from this green group. Green groups are, however, an important medium of inspiration. Some of the participants were originally interested in environmental studies, and after they chose to work at ENGOS, experienced how to live green by assisting or organising some green-living events. As a consequence, these individuals eventually engaged much more deeply in their green lifestyle even though they may not still work in the same green groups.

Intra-national Level – Urban Development Policies

Another force is the side effect of the intra-national development policy of the Hong Kong SAR and Central Governments. In recent years, there has been a period of civil discontent triggered by many development programmes across the city. Many of these projects have an adverse impact on the environment and local villages. The construction of the Hong Kong–Zhuhai–Macau Bridge was expected to destroy the natural habitat of the Chinese white Dolphins. The Guangzhou–Shenzhen–Hong Kong Express Rail Link Hong Kong Section displaced Choi Yuen Village. The recent North East New Territories Development Plan is expected to displace more villages. As Anna [Informant#14], a villager, stated:

The Plan is destroying and displacing our village. We (with other social activists for a sustainable lifestyle) established an urban farm to resist the

policy because I really like my home and don't want it to be replaced by luxurious and tall residential buildings and shopping malls.

In addition to Anna, other participants such as Kim and Gwen were development project-affected people who became more engaged with a sustainable lifestyle. The pursuit of a sustainable development and lifestyle has been regarded as a symbol of political resistance to the hegemony of economic and political integration between China and Hong Kong in the policy-making process. It is expected that the implementation of these urban development projects will escalate the issues of displacement and replacement of green space and the natural environment, which will in turn trigger the reflexive practice of a greater number of people in pursuit of a sustainable lifestyle.

Transnational Level – Accidental Eco-tours

Transnational factors have become more important in leading people to green living. Some informants mentioned that transnational experiences had allowed them to experience a sustainable lifestyle. It seems however, that having a desire to absorb more green information is not the reason or the main driving force behind joining these ecological tours intentionally. For example, Matthew [Informant#9] had travelled to more than 40 countries prior to the interview, and considered that visiting other countries with green elements was very important in nurturing a greener lifestyle. He mentioned that he travelled with some of his friends who wanted to visit an ecological village in Portugal. At that time, he just wanted to accompany his friends to visit the place. In the end, he considered that he had learned much after this experience.

I remembered that before we went there, we all must prepare something beforehand, such as ecological toothpaste which doesn't contain chemist ingredients. This was something out of my expectation. I was thinking where I can find this toothpaste? I didn't see anything like this in Hong Kong before.

He realised that the Portuguese eco-lifestylists even considered the use of small items, which inspired him to see that green living is everything relating to one's life. Recycling alone, for him, has become insufficient since then. Another informant, Vivian [Informant#1], joined a volunteer programme in Vietnam. This programme has nothing relevant to green living, but the experience was that she went to the countryside near Ho Chi Ming City. She stated:

I dropped by a place where there was a small-scale fire with a strong smell of plastic. It smelt terrible, so I asked about it and eventually discovered that

people there were incinerating rubbish. I heard that they also dump rubbish into to the sea. These are the ways that they manage waste.

After that, she rethought how developed cities managed their waste. Incinerators and landfill sites are always constructed a long way from the city centre, so most residents do not realise how serious the environmental problems and ecological risks are. The experience of witnessing and suffering from the smoke made her practice green living more consistently and persistently.

Perception of Ecological Risks

Since participants did not directly mention ecological risks as the catalyst for their green practice, so that how they perceive these risks was asked subsequently.

Negative Perception of Ecological Risks

Green-living informants generally had a negative perception of ecological risks and their impact on the environment and future generations. They felt a strong sense of uncertainty in the future of human beings. Many informants acknowledged that ecological problems would put human civilisation at risk. Vivian [Informant#1], who worked at an organic farm, was pessimistic about the future of humankind and considered that humankind must become extinct at some point. What people can do is to decelerate the process of extinction.

If you think the extinction of the world doesn't matter to you, then you can keep doing what you want to do. But, human beings will be forced to be more responsive to what they've done after witnessing environmental degradation.

Vivian felt that although humans have recognised these environmental risks and their ecological responsibility, in practice, many individuals have not acted to protect the environment. Though Tony [Informant#8] perceived that ecological risks continuously affect local people, he still felt a sense of powerlessness towards strong but irresponsible states, and admitted that he was not able to do anything to influence their environmental policies.

I understand that many of us (Hongkongers) are not eco-friendly, but we are not the least eco-friendly. They're China and the US. I suffer every day for the inflow of air pollutants. I'm wondering what I can do to change these strong countries.

Tony's perception of ecological risks suggests that ecological risks cannot be easily managed and that individuals can do very little to change the nations' environmental policies to help reverse the condition. Tony believed that practising green living to counter ecological risks become fundamental.

Formal Education as a Key Factor in Spreading an Awareness of Ecological Risks

Many informants mentioned that they learned of these ecological problems at an early age. In the past, Hongkongers have showed a low sense of environmental consciousness (Chiu et. al., 1999). Through the input of the first green generations, the environmental curriculum has been anchored in formal education. Particularly in primary and secondary education, the curriculum has involved classes in civil education and ethics and the discussion of environmental problems and global citizenship. Tony, who was a teacher, argued that the earlier generation of green living advocates should have realised the seriousness of ecological risks and the importance of green living. He added that the first green generation should be criticised for limiting the concept of green living to merely an individual approach that is detached from social structure. Nevertheless, the first green generation has to a large extent been successful in nurturing everyday environmentalism and the responsibility of global citizens by institutionalising these topics and issues regarding ecological risks and individual responsibilities and incorporating them in their educational curriculums. Those who attended environment-related programmes and courses considered that these also helped them comprehend ecological risks and the environmental problems they have encountered. This facilitates the development of a green consciousness, which may nurture them to take some simple green action such as recycling waste when they see recycling bins. This reflective practice, however, is still far from having green living as their everyday behaviour.

Concluding Remarks

The participant testimonies above illustrate whether or not and how lifestyle environmentalists have been cosmopolitan'ised'. Firstly, for these lifestyle environmentalists, 'going green' is not only a lifestyle merely based on individual choice and private interest, but also an altruistic practice that demonstrates an awareness of the world as a whole and a concern about the welfare of future generations. Furthermore, transnational values such as planetary citizenship, sustainable development and biodiversity were reflected in their green mindset. Secondly, there were different types of factors catalysing their engagement in green

living. These include individual, local, intra-national and transnational factors. Though as reported by participants, ecological risks are not a catalyst for their practice of green living, it has significantly contributed to illustrating their green-living practices. In other words, these catalysts, rather than the participants' negative perception of ecological risks, have triggered eco-lifestyle development.

Chapter 6: Research Findings – Part 3 – Green-living People and Cosmopolitan‘ism’

Introduction

After presenting a general picture of green living in Hong Kong and how the process of cosmopolitanisation influences the practice of green living, this chapter explores the nexus between green living and cosmopolitan ‘ism’, and examines further the theoretical framework of cosmopolitanisation as used in this study. As discussed in Chapter 2, the cosmopolitanisation process is framed as a two-stage model. Green living has been a transnational environmental movement, which has become anchored in many places including Hong Kong, reflecting that the phenomenon has reached the initial stage of cosmopolitanisation. By adopting a normatively guided approach, however, this chapter relates (normative) cosmopolitanism to the present three levels of cosmopolitan‘ism’ among lifestyle environmentalists. It aims to see whether or not these green-living individuals have developed a cosmopolitan consciousness, how they feel towards cosmopolitan values and how they practise cosmopolitanism.

Level 1: Cosmopolitan Consciousness

There are two criteria for understanding the level of cosmopolitan consciousness. First, based on the two-stage model of cosmopolitanisation, cosmopolitan consciousness is therefore conceptualised as both the awareness of an expansion of scope in human activity and the recognition of transnational human values. Second, if participants know of the concept of cosmopolitanism, it is also important to know how much they know about the concept.

When the green-living informants were asked whether or not they knew about the concept of cosmopolitanism, few of them were found to have heard the words ‘cosmopolitan’, ‘cosmopolitanism’ or ‘cosmopolitanisation’³⁹. As for those who claimed to be familiar with

³⁹ The question was asked using an English version of the notions first, before translating them into Chinese.

the concept, some in practice misunderstood the concept and confused it with ‘metropolitan’, which for them referred to a large and capital city with a dense population. Others had heard of the concept, but did not comprehend it. It was therefore, necessary to present them with an interpretation of cosmopolitanism in Chinese. Unfortunately however, there is as yet, no perfect translation for cosmopolitanism. Three common interpretations were excluded because the translation made people more confused. The use of ‘Pou Sai Zyu Ji’ [Chinese: 普世主義] puts too much emphasis on ‘universalism’ but ignores the importance of the particular, while the term ‘Sei Hoi Yat Gaa’ [四海一家] refers mainly to the condition that global elites see everywhere as home. Still some other refers to it as ‘Waan Jyu Zyu Ji’ [環宇主義]⁴⁰ which is deemed too complicated and emphasises the universe. The three translations below are from Chinese-English dictionaries and academic books, but again the informants seemed very confused over the terms. For example, translated as ‘Daai Tung Zyu Ji’ [大同主義]⁴¹ or ‘Sai Gaai Daai Tung Zyu Ji’ [世界大同主義]⁴², most authors felt that cosmopolitanism is more a traditional Chinese philosophical ideal rather than a realistic ideology as argued by Beck. When it is translated as ‘Sai Gaai Zyu Ji’ [世界主義], the most common translation⁴³, most felt that too much emphasis was placed on the importance of the world at the expense of any other unit. Even though the most common interpretation contains ambiguity, this translation was used in the end on the grounds that at least it may be heard in daily life.

⁴⁰ For the use of the word, please refer to Harvey, D. (translated by Wang Z. H., and Xu, T. L.) (2014). *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*. New Taipei City: Socio Publishing.

⁴¹ Please refer to Youdao (2015) *Dictionary-Cosmopolitanism*. Retrieved April 19, 2015 from <http://dict.youdao.com/search?q=cosmopolitanism&keyfrom=hao360>

⁴² ibids, 2015

⁴³ Please see the following sources:

Appiah, K. A. (translated by Miao H. J.) (2012). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. Beijing: Central compilation and translation Press.

Wikipedia (2015) *Cosmopolitanism*. Retrieved April 19, 2015 from <http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/世界主义>

Yahoo Hong Kong (2015) *Dictionary – Cosmopolitanism*. Retrieved April 19, 2015 from <https://hk.dictionary.yahoo.com/dictionary?p=cosmopolitanism>

Youdao (2015) *Dictionary-Cosmopolitanism*. Retrieved April 19, 2015 from <http://dict.youdao.com/search?q=cosmopolitanism&keyfrom=hao360>

The content of cosmopolitanism was further elaborated, paying particular attention to the condition of the continuously expanding scope of human activity and the importance of cosmopolitan values in actualising cosmopolitanism. It was found that the informants agreed that the scope of human activity has significantly expanded due to technological advances in communication, while social realities have been gradually transnationalised. This is reflected in the global phenomenon of the green-living movement. The concepts of cosmopolitan values however, seemed strange to the participants. The researcher therefore told them what its core values are. It includes cultural diversity, perpetual peace, democracy, social justice, cosmopolitan citizenship and human rights. They all knew these values and regarded these values as ‘universal values’ [Chinese: 普世價值]. Some of these values such as human rights and democracy were believed to be core values of Hong Kong⁴⁴.

Level 2: Cosmopolitan Attitude

These green-living people were not conscious of the notion of cosmopolitanism, but they all understood these values. It is therefore worthwhile to investigate further what their feelings towards cosmopolitan values were to see whether or not there is a chance that they agree or even immediately feel that they embrace these values⁴⁵.

Since many universal values have been considered the core values of Hong Kong,⁴⁶ and as mentioned, these human values have recorded a wide and rapid expansion horizontally, it is noteworthy to discuss first the participants’ attitudes towards these values. The informants generally subscribed to these moral values, while most perceived that these values are taken for granted and that it is difficult to oppose these values because they underline the imperatives of humanity. This is the reason why they regarded them as ‘universal’ values. It is also found that most participants embraced these values by participating in social and political

⁴⁴ Because of the deteriorating political condition after the handover, there has been a wide discussion of the core values of Hong Kong triggered by a mutual statement published in a newspaper by a group of professionals (please see Cheung, et. al, 2004 for details). The Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies of The Chinese University of Hong Kong (2014) also conducted a study on the core values of Hong Kong.

⁴⁵ ‘Embracing cosmopolitan values’ means that the individuals believed in these values to the extent that they are willing to practise them.

⁴⁶ See Cheung, et. al, 2004 and Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies of The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2014

events. Terry [Informant#2], who was an organiser of an event allowing freecycle⁴⁷ on the first day of the Umbrella Movement, was interviewed on that day. He expressed that it is difficult not to accept these values and added that:

It's unfortunate to organise an event today because it seems many participants may have joined the Occupy Central Movement. But, I don't feel embarrassed by the total number of our participants. It really doesn't matter! I even wrote on the event page on Facebook to encourage our participants to join the Movement at this critical moment.

During the field visit at this sharing event on that day, owners of some booths even encouraged Hongkongers' participation in the Umbrella Movement by providing bottles of water. This event fully embodies their enthusiasm for fighting for universal values in Hong Kong. Since the fieldwork of this study was undertaken during the period of the Umbrella Movement, this is also mirrored in the responses of eight of the informants who requested the researcher to meet up with them at the Occupation camps in Admiralty and Mong Kok, and, most expressed that they had joined the Movement. Hence, as mentioned above, many representatives of the international media were able to capture the active participation of these eco-lifestyle activists in the political event.

Ceci [Informant#3], who was an active advocate of green living, argued that cosmopolitan values are the basis of achieving sustainable development. She was interviewed at the Admiralty Occupation Camp where she was a volunteer at a recycling booth, and she explained:

I don't find there's a contradiction between green living and cosmopolitan values. If you're really a green-living person, you really have to fight for these universal moral values. These [values] are the foundation for an environmentally responsible government.

She thought that environmental problems are to a large extent attributed to the institutional failures of the SAR government, which is colluding with real estate developers for many development projects. Ceci felt that the government did not rule Hong Kong according to universal values. As a consequence, those involved in the environmental movement have to fight for universal values, particularly democracy and social justice, in pursuit of a changed government. Ceci considered that the SAR government is manipulated by a small circle of

⁴⁷ Freecycle means giving and getting stuff for free.

vested interests. To resolve these environmental problems, Ceci thought that universal values are the pre-condition of a green end.

The above testimony reveals that on one hand, most embraced the set of cosmopolitan values after comprehending the concept of cosmopolitanism. On the other, they felt that a cosmopolitan direction is somewhat far away from their current mode of living.

Level 3: Cosmopolitanism in Practice

This section intends to unveil the mode of cosmopolitan practice. As discussed previously, the informants were not consciously aware of cosmopolitan normativity in practising green living. The study found however, that cosmopolitan citizenship and cultural diversity are reflected in their green-living practice to varying degrees and the participants subscribed to cosmopolitan values. I will therefore investigate further whether or not and how participants also practised other cosmopolitan values such as human rights, democracy, perpetual peace and social justice. This is followed by a description of the mode in which they practised these values.

Other Value-based Practices

Most participants fought for human rights and democracy in Hong Kong by means of protests and rallies. As for the values of perpetual peace, the informants expressed the desire that they achieve social change in a peaceful way, particularly through lifestyle movements in Hong Kong. Some argued however, that peace should be an end instead of a means. As Terry [Informant#2] stated:

The way the People's Republic of China rules Mainland China and Hong Kong is very peaceful, but we have to consider whether this form of peaceful governance is based on the use of a gun.

Terry thought that achieving universal values is a path to perpetual peace that is preferable to eliminating those who are unsatisfied. When asked however, whether or not they fought for peace, human rights and democracy in China and other countries through social actions, they admitted that they did not do anything about this.

Social justice is reflected in the behaviour of most informants. This was particularly relevant to their practice of ethical consumption. Many of them expressed that they supported small culturally traditional shops by purchasing their products to resist the hegemony of large

corporations. During the fieldwork process, when making an appointment with Matthew [Informant#9], he requested that the interview not be conducted in any shopping malls or big-chain restaurants. In the end, the interview was conducted in a small Hong Kong-style café, Cha Chaan Teng, on Portland Street near Prince Edward Road. Other than his green consumption, Matthew has also actively promoted and been involved in the practice of ethical consumption by not patronising big-chain supermarkets, in order to support small shops and local businesses. He thought that his practice of ethical living is highly compatible with the pursuit of cosmopolitan justice.

We're different from our last generation. We're willing to spend more buying some products without labour exploitation and supporting the disappearing local traditions. It proves that money is not of the most importance. What matters is the value of social justice.

Matthew felt that the hegemony of economic development in a global age and the real estate development in Hong Kong are the main culprits behind disappearing local traditions. Nevertheless, consumers have the power to bring justice to the community, as he maintained that human beings can be active agents for social change. In addition, following the interview during which I walked with Vivian, it became apparent that she always went to a small green shop in Wan Chai operated by the St. James Settlement, which offered a number of green and organic products. She preferred patronising non-profit-making sectors, the profits of which at least benefit the underprivileged. Sue [Informant#18] also supports small shops and local businesses that have the ideals of fair-trade and collective purchasing from small farmers and producers beyond a local border. In 2014, the Hong Kong Green-living Map was actively involved in collectively purchasing organic rice from a small farmer in Jiangxi. As a member of the Hong Kong Green-living Map, Sue explained:

I received a message from my green friend who said that a farmer from the Mainland received an order from a businessman who made a deal to buy all the rice produced in his field, but in the end this businessman just offered a lower price. So, we decided to organise an event on collective purchase to buy his rice to help him.

Another informant Anna [Informant#14] expressed her discontent that there were many Occupation activists who were not concerned about the relationship between social justice and big business. She explained:

During the Occupation period, many people bought food from KFC and McDonald's to support our everyday movement. They didn't realise how

these transnational fast-food corporations exploit their labourers. That is something we have to reflect on.

Since the researcher had worked in Anna's community market twice a week for four months, it was found that the market sold a number of fair-trade products. Therefore, this notion of ethical consumption matched the ideal of social justice though it does not indicate its explicit manifestation.

Local Scope of Practice

This study focuses on individual practices related to the values of cosmopolitanism. According to the theory of cosmopolitanisation, Beck (2006) argued that the world has become fundamentally transnational. It is, therefore, important to develop a cosmopolitan vision in the social sciences. Drawing on the findings of this study, though ecological risks and technological advances in communication have brought many transnational human activities, in terms of cosmopolitanism as value-based practice, it seems that human activity is still largely limited by a local boundary. Most did not have much to say about practising cosmopolitan values translocally. Some directly mentioned that they did not pay much attention to practising these values translocally. As Bob [Informant#13] stated:

I understood practising cosmopolitan values is important to achieve cosmopolitan values globally. But, it isn't my main concern. I haven't been bitten by this bug.

Bob felt that he was more eager to practise these values in Hong Kong and the application of cosmopolitan values in another city or country is not so urgent that he has to help the global-other. Most participants are only concerned about the relevant issues in Mainland China and foreign countries and did not embrace these values through actions, however, because apparently many thought that these values are not practical for a lifestyle approach. Though all subscribe to these values, to a certain extent, these values are too far away from what happens in their homes so they did not organise or join any confrontational social actions. Sue [Informant#18] argued,

If mainlanders don't fight for democracy and human rights themselves, it is impossible for Hongkongers and foreign powers to press for a change.

Sue thought that even though others may push for a change, this change cannot be sustainable. Many informants drew on the motto of green living 'Think Globally and Act

Locally' to explain their local mode of the practice of green living. As Tony [Informant#8] said,

We can't do anything to change China and the US. Therefore, cosmopolitanism is not so important for our practice. I think if you are really concerned about environmental protection, what you can do is to practise in Hong Kong, which is within the scope of where you live and work and practise.

He thought that his capacity for social change should be focused on the place in which he lives as a first priority. The idea of changing strong countries such as China and the US is not practical for those who are not there. Another informant Zoe [Informant#16] shared a similar thought about change in China.

When I was young, I thought that global warming has to be resolved through the cooperation of all countries, but in reality, it's very difficult to change China's environmental policy. I can't even solve the problems of my own place. So, my feeling was that I'm just powerless. But, I've eventually learned that even though the world is big, we can do things to help by paying attention *to* very small details.

After participating in a training workshop on ecological citizenship in a global age in Japan, Zoe realised that the world could be changed only by specific actions needed to facilitate a larger area of progress. As long as citizens of every country share the same thought, she believed that transnational issues such as global warming and climate change could be properly dealt with. Hence, she argued that the Hong Kong-based grassroots practice is in fact the basis of cosmopolitan citizenship.

Differing from Zoe, who held that it is difficult to make changes translocally, Helen [Informant#11] considered that it is still possible to change a place other than Hong Kong. However, there are some conditions.

I understood the idea of cosmopolitanism. However, in terms of practice, it depends on where you live. Because now I live in Hong Kong, I have to devote my belief to Hong Kong and practise it. But, if I moved to or migrated to Sichuan, I would be concerned with this place and would practise it there.

Helen's testimony suggests that cosmopolitan citizens should have a commitment and sense of belonging to the place where they live. This is an area of the ethics of local commitment that though environmental and ecological problems are perceived as translocal and global, individuals should not be environmentally irresponsible to the place they live in. During the

Umbrella Movement from 26th September 2014 to 15th December 2014, it was expected that the number of tourists in Hong Kong would decrease because of the political instability. However, according to the Hong Kong Tourist Board (2014) the monthly figure increased gradually from September to December 2014⁴⁸, until it also outnumbered the monthly figures for 2013. Gwen [Informant#5] who operated a recycling booth in the Occupation camp at Admiralty observed that there had been a large number of tourists in Admiralty during the period. She did not think that these travellers were helping them and added that:

Some people said that they went to another country to support the social movement there. But the nature of their participation is actually more like tourism, rather than that of engaging with the locals. Actually, they can't help local people except by staying there for a long time or they have connections with the organisers.

She did not like the phenomenon of social movement tourism in which the adventure-taking travellers took photos as if they were visiting a zoo and acted as if they enjoyed the party and shared the photos with the rest of the world on Instagram, Facebook and Twitter. For Gwen, the reality is that other nations cannot help but to rely on China. She always shared the slogan of local action given below.

‘You should save your Hong Kong yourself’.

In her view, locals should be more responsible to the place they live in and love. People should not count on the accountability of the Central Government and the Hong Kong SAR government. She thought that if non-locals intend to contribute to the Movement, they should also engage with local social movements and act as locals.

Instead of residence status and commitment, Anna [Informant#14] explained the limited scope for practice by pointing out the reason that cosmopolitanism is limited to a local mode of practice in Hong Kong.

I think Hongkongers can't think about the practice and scope of universal values beyond a local border because we can't even actualise universal suffrage in Hong Kong. We have to spend time for ourselves first before [worrying about] other non-local issues.

Her perception is that actualising cosmopolitanism has to be a stage-by-stage process and that it is taken for granted that one should take care of the one's local community first. The idea of

⁴⁸ The Umbrella Movement began on 26th September 2014 and ended on 15th December 2014.

changing China is perhaps the next stage after the values have first been achieved in Hong Kong.

Concluding Remarks

There are three features of the nexus between these green-living people and cosmopolitan 'ism'. First, a cosmopolitan consciousness was not well developed in green-living people. Most informants had not comprehended the notion of cosmopolitanism before the interviews. Nevertheless, after reducing the concept to universal moral values, they all understood it. Second, participants regarded cosmopolitan values such as cosmopolitan citizenship, human rights and cultural diversity as 'universal' values. When asked their attitude towards these values, most said they subscribed to these values. Thirdly, through the process of cosmopolitanisation, some cosmopolitan values such as cosmopolitan citizenship and cultural diversity are somewhat reflected in their green practice while other cosmopolitan values such as social justice, democracy, and human rights were articulated through other social actions. In terms of the scope of social actions that are more likely to bring about a cosmopolitan ideal, the practices of the green-living individuals were mostly rooted in Hong Kong, grounded within a local boundary. They were concerned about the relevant issues on/against cosmopolitan values, but most did not embrace these values by acting translocally.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

I developed my research design and methodology for data collection based on the theoretical framework outlined and explained in Chapters 1 and 2. The empirical data collected during the six-month period of my fieldwork was presented in the previous three chapters. In this chapter, the nexus between green living in Hong Kong and the values represented by cosmopolitanism, such as moral, risks, border, and altruism will be critically examined. The research contributions and implications, as well as its limitations and opportunities for future research will also be discussed in detail as a way to conclude this thesis.

Indirect Nexus between Cosmopolitanism and Green Living

This thesis begins with the overarching aim of uncovering the nexus between cosmopolitanism and green living in Hong Kong. Based on the outcomes of the in-depth interviews conducted and the insights I gained through participant observation, it seems that the nexus between cosmopolitanism and green living is generally indirect and limited.

The early environmental movement demonstrated a soft, consensual approach (Chiu, 1999; Lai, 2000), particularly through participating in the burgeoning green economy instead of rallying for a radical environmental policy for protecting the environment. This research finding has suggested that most of green-living people who participated in this research tend to be inward-looking and the efforts they devoted to practise green-living seem to focus more on, or be motivated by, their concern for achieving environmentalism through developing an individual green lifestyle. However, the informants have also suggested that there is a growing tendency among them to embrace a ‘harder’ approach to advancing their environmental cause. Many began to get actively involved in activities that are ‘confrontational’ to show that they are not merely passive, disconnected citizens insulated from bigger issues emerging in their communities or society at large. When an opportunity arises, such as having a mass rally, many are willing to participate and use the occasion to make their environmental cause known. Typically, their presence in Hong Kong’s annual

mass rallies held on July 1 over the past years, the public holiday designated to celebrate Hong Kong's reunification with the Chinese mainland, has been most visible. During the extended 'Occupy Central' or 'Umbrella Movement', they also took charge and set up a recycling centre organising many recycling initiatives to promote not only their ideas, but also their role and responsibility as green citizens to maintain a clean 'occupied' area while also creating social change. Hence in these contexts, the gradual evolution of their habitus over the years from a more self-centred or self-directed outlook to a broader, collective participatory orientation has been significant. However, whether this means that they have adopted a greater or deeper cosmopolitan vision or outlook remains unclear.

One of the questions this research intends to investigate is whether or not the value of altruism, or in a broader sense, transnational concerns for ecological risks, which is often considered by scholars as essential elements of cosmopolitanism (Beck, 1992, 1995), are crucial for catalysing their green practices. Judging by the interview findings, it seems that most informants do acknowledge its importance. For them, 'going green' does not represent only an alternative lifestyle of their own personal choice and interest; they also recognise that in adopting this green lifestyle, it should also mean a commitment to the notion that there is something more than their daily green practices – i.e., that there is a bigger universe called 'the world', and something called 'planetary citizenship' that steers their practices and their relationship to achieve sustainable development and bio-diversity, including humans, animals and the environment. However, on close inspection, one may argue that these are broader 'green' values, but not necessarily cosmopolitan values associated with normative cosmopolitanism, which is more anthropocentric in character.

Apart from this, the findings of this research also suggest that the perception of ecological risks did not seem to play a pivotal role in shaping the informants' green practices, indicating that their perception of ecological risks is not as important as Beck (1995, 2010) asserted. For Beck, global risks are the major forces leading to the cosmopolitanisation of reality (Nowicka and Heil, 2015). Participants in this study, however, indicated their reasons for 'going green' were somewhat more personal, relating to their personal experiences as an individual, or were experienced in local, intra-national and transnational contexts. Specifically, they may find they have developed a sense of ecological urgency internalised by the formal education they received. However, such risks could only broaden their horizons to subscribe to a lifestyle approach to environmentalism instead of just triggering their decision to adopt a green-living practice. At best one may conclude that their awareness of ecological risks has facilitated their embarking on green practices. For another, in terms of their journey

through the cosmopolitanisation process, this has not been a determining factor as argued by Beck.

Considering how participants in the study articulated cosmopolitan values, the association between cosmopolitanism and green-living becomes inconsistent. Firstly, it is evident that the participants in the study were not so conscious of cosmopolitanism as a concept. Most did not comprehend the notion of cosmopolitanism before the interviews. This may be attributed to how the term has been translated into Chinese, and the Eurocentric nature of the concept should also deserve some discussion. For one thing, Beck's ideology of cosmopolitanism is not well known or understood in the Hong Kong context. Nevertheless, after bringing the concept down from a macro level to a more micro level and using indicators such as the 'universal' values of respect for human rights and cultural diversity to illustrate what cosmopolitanism represents, all of the informants began to understand what it mean. They also regarded these values as core values of Hong Kong. When their attitude towards these values was probed further, they agreed that these were the values they valued highly and regarded them as something they had taken for granted. Most considered that these values are the foundation of sustainable development and environmentalism, and these are also the values that drove them to participate in social and political rallies. In this context, one can say that cosmopolitan citizenship and cultural diversity are reflected more often in their green practices. Other cosmopolitan values such as social justice, democracy, human rights are less often articulated in their green practices and only when they participate in other activist actions.

However, even when participating in green and other social actions, the green-living informants seemed to be more locally grounded. They consistently and persistently preferred to opt for local events that represent their 'roots'. As some of them put it, 'the principle is to think globally and act locally'. Many felt they had a much stronger tie or sense of belonging to their local 'roots' and believed that when putting environmentalism into practice, local must come first before proceeding to do anything for the rest of the world, which few considered to be 'the next stage'. Some even suggested that in spite of the technological advances that allow them to benefit from communicating with the globe, they found it more meaningful to participate in actions that are grounded within the local boundary rather than crossing geographical borders physically. This was because these actions could be financially costly, physically tiring or inconvenient in terms of time. In other words, cosmopolitanism is not something they would consider as a top priority in terms of practice.

One should not be surprised by how environmentalism has been practised in a local perspective in Hong Kong. To begin with, the long term influence of Chinese Confucianism needs to be acknowledged. Traditionally, Confucianism is about preaching the same human and moral values of ‘bringing peace to the world’, but more specifically, its teaching is that one should first start doing good by ‘refining one’s morality’ and ‘keeping one’s family in order’ before ‘governing the nation well’. The self/individual orientation is evident. Moreover, although Hong Kong has long prided itself as an international, or even as a ‘cosmopolitan’ city, aspiring to and embracing readily core ‘universal’ values, the return of Hong Kong to China and the subsequent initiatives fueled by the Hong Kong government to foster greater integration of Hong Kong with China in recent years, have, however, simultaneously made Hong Kong more China-centric. This has brought new tensions as well as heightened awareness of the immense differences in economic, social, political and cultural traditions and practices between Hong Kong local residents and Chinese mainlanders living in Hong Kong. This is particularly so when local resources, ranging from access to medical services, public transport, to education and daily consumer items (such as baby formula) are involved. The emergence of a ‘local’ identity among Hong Kong young people has become stronger than ever and in turn caused politics and social issues to take on a more ‘local’ or ‘indigenous’ stance.

Research Contributions and Implications

Cosmopolitanism has regained a lot of attention in recent years after it was revitalised by Beck as a critical theory. However, many social scientists have also found it difficult to bring the theory down to an empirical level. The key contribution this thesis attempts to make is to provide a way for understanding cosmopolitanism as a process empirically by proposing that cosmopolitanism is not only connected with transnationalism and glocalism, but more importantly linked intimately to the normative ideals it proclaims, particularly in terms of transnational human values. Hence, when researching on cosmopolitanism as a process, it would be particularly significant to focus on ‘the second phase’ of cosmopolitanism, i.e., the cosmopolitan values. In so doing, this would bring the abstract theory of normative cosmopolitanism down to a specific empirical project which Beck called ‘social scientific cosmopolitanism’ (Beck, 2006), or cosmopolitanism in action. This has been accomplished by this study, focusing on the practices of green living and environmentalism in Hong Kong

as a way to illustrate how cosmopolitanism works in everyday life for those who choose to adopt green living as a lifestyle.

Admittedly, although green living is gaining strength in Hong Kong, and may be regarded as a step toward cosmopolitanisation by some Hong Kong local residents when compared to what has been discussed and advocated in Western society, particularly in Europe, cosmopolitanisation in Hong Kong has still a long way to go. Based on my observations during the data collection process, except for those practising green living, the concept of cosmopolitanism is not understood by many in Hong Kong. Certainly there may be people who are following the concept from international fashion or current affairs magazines but their understanding of and subscription to its values are a long way off from its normative claims. At the beginning of this thesis, I mentioned that the course of cosmopolitanisation is not a linear and straightforward process, but a two-stage progression. Indeed, the findings have shown that the practices of green living share some elements associated with cosmopolitan values, but as far as its broader normative aspects such as an altruistic nature toward the environment and its claims for being global citizens go, they remain a distant concern. This is perhaps because these values are still regarded as too far removed from their daily lives, although many do treasure such values, particularly in terms of democracy and cultural diversity, as a benchmark for achieving a more cosmopolitan world. In other words, a more pragmatic, and even localised, version of cosmopolitanism is preferred and is being developed – i.e., ‘think global but act local’, and ‘small is beautiful’, seemed to be the guiding principles.

Given most informants’ preference for a localised version of cosmopolitanism or environmentalism, it does not seem very hopeful that cosmopolitanisation could proceed further to a broader normative vision in the very near future as the participants seemed quite reluctant to engage themselves in national and transnational green practices, let alone cosmopolitanism. Their worldview of their green practice seems to have erected a ‘firewall’ around Hong Kong as a city, and there have been some indications lately in Hong Kong that xenophobia and nativism is growing. This may mean that at best, cosmopolitanism is being practised as a lifestyle project rather than a new social movement in Hong Kong.

Study Limitations and Future Research

Admittedly, any attempt to empirically verify a grand theory is ambitious. In this exercise of finding out exactly what cosmopolitanism means and how it has been received and practised

in a specific socio-cultural context like Hong Kong by a group of people who practise green-living, the first limitation one has to face is the immediate task of narrowing the scope of its meanings and multiple manifestations as elaborated by various scholars (see Holton, 2009). To this end, this study focuses on examining, on an empirical level, how cosmopolitanism is experienced on an everyday life basis by people practising a green lifestyle. It is also the intention of this study to find out if the values inherited in environmentalism have been practised only as a set of green values or if these values are being extended to represent a broader set of normative ideals that are associated with cosmopolitanism. However, given the limited time and resources, and hence the small and limited samples, the findings could only be interpreted as tentative and cannot be considered to be generalisable. Still, it is significant to find that in this part of the world, with Hong Kong's unique socio-cultural and political setting, the perception of environmental risks have been somewhat instrumental in practising green living and in inspiring some to take up some of the values that are compatible with cosmopolitanism. However, these values and practices have not been able to lead them to embrace a more encompassing cosmopolitan outlook, which goes beyond being a personal green project and participation in broader cosmopolitanism projects that are committed to uphold global citizenship and alleviation of global concerns, such as actions against wars, human rights protection, settlement of refugees, global inequality, cultural diversity, transnational development, and so on. In this context, while this study cannot reveal the entire extent of cosmopolitanism, the findings do reveal some possible directions for future research.

The first direction would be a dialectic exploration and critique of its epistemological assumption about the interplay of the absolute and the relative (Appiah, 2006), or the normative nature of the cosmopolitan vision Beck (2006) had developed, especially on the transnationality of social phenomena and their global interconnectedness or borderlessness. On closer inspection, this is exactly what this research has confirmed, that the green-living phenomenon is largely guided by the claims of environmentalism (or cosmopolitanisation) rather than by normative cosmopolitanism as discussed by Nowicka and Heil (2015). For this reason, it has become understandable why the green-living people in Hong Kong have not proceeded further in their quest for cosmopolitanism – because without normative guidance, the empirical project of cosmopolitanisation itself is not able to develop a framework for understanding and linking its transnationalised realities. Therefore, this points to a second future research direction, that is, whether it is possible in Hong Kong to see a second phase of

cosmopolitanisation that goes far beyond the inward-direction of living green into normative and ethical projects dealing with global risks as a reflexive practice⁴⁹.

In this study, six transnational human values for representing the transnationality of normative cosmopolitanism were identified and discussed with the green informants. They included 1) cosmopolitan rights; 2) perpetual peace; 3) cosmopolitan justice; 4) cosmopolitan democracy; 5) cosmopolitan citizenship and 6) cultural diversity. These values were discussed extensively among the informants and most agreed that they were good indicators of the humanity of individuals, although some disagreed that human rights and democracy should be considered cosmopolitan values because they were not universally accepted. This also seems to suggest another possible future direction – i.e., if some of these values were not recognised as universal, what then would a non-Western type of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanisation process be?

⁴⁹ This reflexive practice refers to reflection as a critical lens for looking at transnational reality, and a reaction to encountering modernisation risks.

Appendix 1: Research Questions, Themes and Methods

Themes	Questions	Methodology
Q1. What values can be seen as cosmopolitan core values?		
Core values of cosmopolitanism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What can be seen as cosmopolitan values? • What are the core values of cosmopolitanism? • Why does the researcher choose to use cosmopolitan core values to examine cosmopolitanisation? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Literature review of the normative and philosophical discussions of cosmopolitanism
Q2. What are the themes and tactics of green living in Hong Kong?		
Themes and Tactics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do they practise green living? • What themes and tactics are included in the green-living movement in Hong Kong 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In-depth interviews • Documentary
Q3. How are green living cosmopolitan‘ised’?		
Egoism and altruism in living green	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the costs and benefits of ‘going green’? • What do they gain from practising green living? • What do they lose from practising it? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In-depth interviews
Cosmopolitan values embedded in green living	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What value(s) of green living do they believe in? • How do these values relate to cosmopolitanism? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In-depth interviews • Documentary review
Factors catalysing green living	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What motivates them to practise green living? • To what extent are their rationales compatible with cosmopolitanism? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In-depth interviews
Perception of ecological risk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do they perceive ecological risks? • Do ecological risks catalyse their green practice? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In-depth interviews

Q4. How do lifestyle environmentalists articulate cosmopolitan values?		
Consciousness of cosmopolitanism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have they ever heard about cosmopolitanism i.e. cosmopolitanisation and cosmopolitan values? • What do they know about it? • How much do they know about it? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In-depth interviews
Attitude to cosmopolitanism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do they subscribe to cosmopolitan core values? • Do they embrace cosmopolitan core values? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In-depth interviews
Mode of practice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What cosmopolitan practices are they involved in? • How do they practise green living? • Where do they practise green living? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In-depth interviews

Appendix 2: Form of Background Information for In-depth Interview

Background Information for an In-depth Interview

Interview No.:

Name:

Gender:

M / F

Age Group:

11-20 / 21-30 / 31-40 / 41-50 / 51-60 / 61-70 / 71 and above

Religious Background:

Highest Level of Formal
Education:

High School / Sub-degree / Undergraduate / Master / Doctorate

Field of Studies:

Employment Sector (Full-
time):

Green-living Group(s)

Involved:

Role in Green-living Group:

Top One to Two Specific
Tactics in Green Living in
the Last Year that impressed
the Researcher:

1.

2.

Factual Information of an In-depth Interview

Time: _____ : _____ am / pm to _____ : _____ am / pm

Date: _____ / _____ / _____

Place: _____

Interviewer: _____

Interviewee: _____

Special conditions: _____



CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Cosmopolitanism as Normatively Guided Paradigm: A Study of Green Living in Hong Kong

I _____ hereby consent to participate in the captioned research conducted by _____.

I understand that information obtained from this research may be used in future research and published. However, my right to privacy will be retained, i.e. my personal details will not be revealed.

The procedure as set out in the attached information sheet has been fully explained. I understand the benefit and risks involved. My participation in the project is voluntary.

I acknowledge that I have the right to question any part of the procedure and can withdraw at any time without penalty of any kind.

Name of participant _____

Signature of participant _____

Name of Parent or Guardian (if applicable) _____

Signature of Parent or Guardian (if applicable) _____

Name of researcher _____

Signature of researcher _____

Date _____

Post-interview Comment Sheet

Interview setting: _____

Respondent's body gesture: _____

Respondent's use of language: _____

Any difficulties encountered and how to resolve: _____

Interview summary: _____

Bibliography

- Anderson-Gold, S. (2001). *Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Appiah, K. A. (1997). Cosmopolitan patriots. *Critical Inquiry*, 23(3), 617-639.
- Appiah, K. A. (2006). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: WW Norton.
- Archibugi, D. (1993). The reform of the UN and cosmopolitan democracy: A critical review. *Journal of Peace Research*, 30(3), 301-315.
- Archibugi, D. (2004). Cosmopolitan democracy and its critics: A review. *European Journal of International Relations*, 10(3), 437-473.
- Archibugi, D. (2008). *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens toward Cosmopolitan Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Archibugi, D. and Held, D. (1995). *Cosmopolitan Democracy: An Agenda for a New World Order*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.
- Barry, J. and Frankland, E. G. (2003). *International Encyclopedia of Environmental Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London; Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Beck, U. (1995). *Ecological Politics in an Age of Risk*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Beck, U. (1998). The cosmopolitan manifesto. *New Statesman*, 11, 28-30.
- Beck, U. (2000). The cosmopolitan perspective: Sociology of the second age of modernity. *British Journal of Sociology*, 51(1), 79-105.
- Beck, U. (2003a). Rooted cosmopolitanism: Emerging from a rivalry of distinctions. In U. Beck, N. Sznajder and R. Winter (Eds.), *Global America? The Cultural Consequences of Globalization* (pp. 15-29). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Beck, U. (2003b). Toward a new critical theory with a cosmopolitan intent. *Constellations*, 10(4), 453-468.
- Beck, U. (2005). How not to become a museum piece. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 56(3), 335-343.
- Beck, U. (2006). *The Cosmopolitan Vision*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

- Beck, U. (2009). Critical theory of world risk society: A cosmopolitan vision. *Constellations*, 16(1), 3-22.
- Beck, U. (2010). Climate for change, or how to create a green modernity? *Theory, Culture & Society*, 27(2-3), 254-266.
- Beck, U. (2011a). Cosmopolitanism as imagined communities of global risk. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 55(10), 1346-1361.
- Beck, U. (2011b). We do not live in an age of cosmopolitanism but in an age of cosmopolitisation: The 'global other' is in our midst. *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 19(1), 16-34.
- Beck, U. (2014). How climate change might save the world. *Development and Society*, 43(2), 169-183.
- Beck, U. and Grande, E. (2010). Varieties of second modernity: The cosmopolitan turn in social and political theory and research. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 61(3), 409-443.
- Beck, U. and Sznaider, N. (2010). Unpacking cosmopolitanism for the social sciences: A research agenda. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 61 Suppl 1, 381-403.
- Beck, U. and Sznaider, N. (2011). Self-limitation of modernity? The theory of reflexive taboos. *Theory and Society*, 40(4), 417-436.
- Berg, B. L. and Lune, H. (2012). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. (8th ed.) Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson.
- Bhimji, F. (2008). Cosmopolitan belonging and diaspora: Second-generation British Muslim women travelling to South Asia. *Citizenship Studies*, 12(4), 413-427.
- Bohman, J. and Lutz-Bachmann, M. (Eds.). (1997). *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal*. London; Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Breakthrough Concern Group. (1990). From Conservancy Association to Green Power. In S. Chau (Ed.). *Information on Green Living '90*. Hong Kong: Conservancy Association and Youth Literary Bookstore.
- Brock, G. (2009). *Global Justice: A Cosmopolitan Account*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Calcutt, L., Woodward, I. and Skrbiš, Z. (2009). Conceptualising otherness: An exploration of the cosmopolitan schema. *Journal of Sociology*, 45(2), 169-186.
- Calhoun, C. J. (2002). The class consciousness of frequent travelers: Toward a critique of actually existing cosmopolitanism. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 101(4), 869-897.

- Callard, S. and Millis, D. (2001). *Green Living: Eco-friendly Homes, Natural Gardening, Organic Food, Energy Saving, Recycling*. London: Andre Deutsch.
- Caney, S. (2001). Review Article: International Distributive Justice. *Political Studies*, 49(5), 974-997.
- Carson, R. (1962). *Silent Spring*. London: Hamilton.
- Chan, C. K. and Wong, W. I. (Eds.). (2015). *Journal of Local Discourse 2013-14: The China Factor*. Hong Kong: AzothBooks.
- Chan, K. B. (2012). Both sides, now: Culture contact, hybridization, and cosmopolitanism. In S. Vertovec and R. Cohen (Eds.). *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism Theory, Context and Practice* (pp. 191-208). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chao, R. Y. (2012). Intra-nationalization of higher education: The Hong Kong case. *Frontiers of Education in China*, 7(4), 508-533.
- Cheah, P. (2006). *Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, Massachusetts. London: Harvard University Press.
- Cheshire, L., Willing, I. and Skrbiš, Z. (2014). Unrecognised cosmopolitans: Mobility and openness among globally engaged family farmers. *Mobilities*, 9(1), 84-103.
- Cheung, B. L., Lai, K. T. and Chua, H. W. (2004). *Hong Kong Great Speeches*. Retrieved April 19, 2015 from <https://hkspeech.wordpress.com/2004/06/07/維護香港核心價值宣言/>
- Chin, W. (2011). *On the Hong Kong City-state (Hoeng Gong Seng Bong Leon)*. Hong Kong: The Commercial Press.
- Chin, W. (2014). *On the Hong Kong City-state II—Recover the Local (Hoeng Gong Seng Bong Leon II—Gwong Fuk Bun Tou)*. Hong Kong: The Commercial Press.
- Chiu, S. W. K., Hung, H. F. and Lai O. K. (1999). Environmental movements in Hong Kong. In Y. S. F. Lee and A. Y. So. (Eds.). *Asia's Environmental Movements: Comparative Perspectives* (pp.55-89). Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.
- Chui, W .H. and Leung, E. W. Y. (2014). Youth in a global world: Attitudes towards globalization and global citizenship among university students in Hong Kong. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 34(1), 107-124.
- City Farm. (2015). *About Us*. Retrieved April 26, 2014, from http://www.cityfarm.hk/index.php/main/content_us
- Cohen, J. (1996). *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*. Boston: Beacon Press.

- Cotgrove, S. and Duff, A. (1980). Environmentalism, middle-class radicalism and politics. *The Sociological Review*, 28(2), 333-351.
- Delanty, G. (2009). *The Cosmopolitan Imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Delanty, G. (2011). Cultural diversity, democracy and the prospects of cosmopolitanism: A theory of cultural encounters. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 62(4), 633-656.
- Delanty, G. (2012a). The idea of critical cosmopolitanism. In G. Delanty (Ed.). *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitan Studies* (pp. 38-46). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Delanty, G. (2012b). A cosmopolitan approach to the explanation of social change: social mechanisms, processes, modernity. *The Sociological Review*, 60(2), 333-354.
- Delanty, G. (2014). The prospects of cosmopolitanism and the possibility of global justice. *Journal of Sociology*, 50(2), 213-228.
- Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (4th ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Douzinas, C. (2007). *Human Rights and Empire: The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism*. Abingdon, New York: Routledge.
- Elo, S. and Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 62(1), 107-115.
- Environmental Protection Department (2015). *Non-Government Organisations / Green Groups*. Retrieved April 24, 2015, from http://www.epd.gov.hk/epd/english/links/local/link_greengroups.html
- European Commission. (2005). *Eurobaeometer 64.2 [data set]*. Brussels: European Commission.
- Fine, R. and Cohen, R. (2002). Four cosmopolitanism moments. In S. Vertovec and R. Cohen (Eds.). *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism Theory, Context and Practice* (pp. 137-162). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Flick, U. (2014). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research* (5th ed.). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Friends of Green (2014) *Information for Friends of Green*. Retrieved March 28, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/groups/fogfoghk/>
- Garreau, J. (2010). Environmentalism as religion. *The New Atlantis: A Journal of Technology and Society*, 28(Summer), 61-74.
- Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine.

- Green, D. (1990). *Green Living: Personal Action to Save our Environment*. London: Kogan Page.
- Greensense (2015) *Links*. Retrieved April 16, 2015 from <http://greensense.org.hk/en/>
- Groeben, N. (1990). Subjective theories and the explanation of human action. In G. R. Semin and K. J. Gergen. (Eds.). *Everyday Understanding: Social and Scientific Implications* (pp. 19-44). London: Sage Publications.
- Guba, E. G. and Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. (Eds.). *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 163-194). Thousand Oak, CA: Sage Publications.
- Habermas, J. (2003). Toward a cosmopolitan Europe. *Journal of Democracy*, 14(4), 86-100.
- Haenfler, R., Johnson, B. and Jones, E. (2012). Lifestyle movements: Exploring the intersection of lifestyle and social movements. *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social Cultural and Political Protest*, 11(1), 1-20.
- Haller, W. and Roudometof, V. (2010). The cosmopolitan--local continuum in cross-national perspective. *Journal of Sociology*, 46(3), 277-297.
- Hannerz, U. (2000). Cosmopolitans and locals in world culture. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 7(2), 237-251.
- Harvey, D. (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford; New York: Blackwell.
- He, N. and Brown, K. M. (2012). An empirical world of cosmopolitan Asia. In G. Delanty. (Ed.). *Routledge International Handbook of Cosmopolitan Studies* (pp. 427-442). New York: Routledge.
- Held, D. (1995). *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Held, D. (2002). Culture and political community: National, global, and cosmopolitan. In S. Cohen and R. Vertovec. (Eds.). *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice* (pp. 48-58). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Held, D. (2010). *Cosmopolitanism: Ideals and Realities*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.
- Hendershot, K. and Sperandio, J. (2009). Study abroad and development of global citizen identity and cosmopolitan ideals in undergraduates. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 12(1), 45-55.
- Holton, R. J. (2005). *Making Globalization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Holton, R. J. (2009). *Cosmopolitanisms: New Thinking and New Directions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Hong Kong Green-living Map (2014). *Categorisation - Green Map*. Retrieved March 28, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1389806844614821/>
- Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies of The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) (2014). *CUHK Releases Survey Findings on Views on Hong Kong's Core Values*. Retrieved April 17, 2015 from http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/hkiaps/tellab/pdf/telepress/14/SP_Press_Release_20141030.pdf
- Hong Kong Tourist Board. (2014). *Research and Statistics*. Retrieved April 21, 2015 from http://partnernet.hktb.com/en/research_statistics/latest_statistics/index.html
- Hsieh, H. F. and Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-1288.
- Huggler, J. (2009). Cosmopolitanism and peace in Kant's essay on 'perpetual peace'. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 29(2), 129-140.
- Inmediahk (2004). *The Love with Hated between Green Power and Disneyland*. Retrieved March 16, 2016 from <http://www.inmediahk.net/node/469>
- Israel, M. and Hay, I. (2006). *Research Ethics for Social Scientists*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- I-Tech. (2008). *Qualitative Interviews: A technical: Implementation Guide*. Retrieved May 25, 2014, from http://www.go2itech.org/resources/technical-implementation-guides/TIG_5.QualIviews.pdf/view
- Johnson, R. B. (1997). Examining the validity structure of qualitative research. *Education*, 118(2), 282-292.
- Jones, E. (2002). *Social Responsibility Activism: Why Individuals are Changing their Lifestyles to Change the World*. Boulder: University of Colorado.
- Kant, I. (2003). *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch Immanuel Kant*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company.
- Kant, I. (2010). Idea for a universal history from a cosmopolitan point of view. In G. W. Brown and D. Held. (Eds.). *The Cosmopolitanism Reader* (pp. 17-26). Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Kanter, R. M. (1995). *World Class: Thriving Locally in the Global Economy*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Kearns, L. (1996). Saving the creation: Christian environmentalism in the United States. *Sociology of Religion*, 57(1), 55-70.

- Kendall, G., Woodward, I. and Skrbiš, Z. (2009). *The Sociology of Cosmopolitanism: Globalization, Identity, Culture and Government*. New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kirwan-Taylor, H. (2000). The cosmocrats. *Harpers and Queen, October*, 188-191.
- Lai, O. K. (1998). The perplexity of sponsored environment education: A critical view on Hong Kong and its future. *Environmental Education Research*, 4(3), 269-284.
- Lai, O. K. (2000). Greening of Hong Kong? Forms of manifestation of environmental movements. In S. W. K. Chiu and T. L. Lui. (Eds.). *The Dynamics of Social Movement in Hong Kong* (pp. 259-295), Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Lai, O. K., Hsiao, H. H. M., Liu, H. J., Nicro, S. and Lee, Y. S. F. (1999). The Contradictions and Synergy of Environmental Movements and Business Interests. In Y. S. F. Lee and A. Y. So. (Eds.). *Asia's Environmental Movements: Comparative Perspectives* (pp.269-286). Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.
- Lamont, M. and Aksartova, S. (2002). Ordinary cosmopolitanisms: Strategies for bridging racial boundaries. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19(4), 1-25.
- Lee, C. K. J. (1994). Environmental education through geography in Hong Kong. *Geographical Education*, 7(2), 34-41.
- Lee, Y. (2013) *Hong Kong thought: The Rise and Controversy of Local Consciousness*. Hong Kong: Guang Yu Publishing.
- Lee, Y. S. F. and So, A. Y. (Eds.) (1998). *Asia's Environmental Movements: Comparative Perspectives*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.
- Liber Research Community. (2013). Local research manifesto. In *Not Because of Land Supply: The Myth and Truth of Hong Kong Land Problem (Bat Si Tou Dei Gung Jing: Hoeng Gong Tou Dei Man Tai Dik Mai Si Jyu Zan ZoengZoeng)*. Hong Kong: InPress Books.
- Linklater, A. (2002). Cosmopolitan citizenship. In E. F. Isin and B. S. Turner. (Eds.). *Handbook of Citizenship Studies* (pp. 317-332). London; Thousand Oaks; New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Lo, W. Y. W. and Ng, F. S. K. (2015). Trends and developments of higher education research in Hong Kong: In pursuit of a cosmopolitan vision. *Higher Education Policy*, 28(4), 531-534.
- Lo, W. Y. W. and Ng, F. S. K. (2013). A critical reflection on internationalization of higher education in Hong Kong: The search for a cosmopolitan alternative. *Asia Pacific Journal of Educational Development*, 2(1), 37-46.

- Ma, K. F., Leung, M. T. and Wong, W. L. (Eds.). (2012). *Journal of Local Discourse 2011: Gender and Sexuality in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: AzothBooks.
- Ma, K. F., Leung, M. T., Wong, W. L and Chan, C. K. (Eds.). (2013). *Journal of Local Discourse 2012: Government-business Collusion*, Hong Kong: AzothBooks.
- Maniates, M. F. (2001). Individualization: Plant a tree, buy a bike, save the world? *Global Environmental Politics*, 1(3), 31-52.
- Mapopo Community Farm. (2014). *About Mapopo Community Farm*. Retrieved June 26, 2015, from <https://mapopo.wordpress.com/>
- Marginson, S. and Rhoades, G. (2002). Beyond national states, markets, and systems of higher education: A glonacal agency heuristic. *Higher education*, 43(3), 281-309.
- Martinsson, J. and Lundqvist, L. J. (2010). Ecological citizenship: Coming out 'clean' without turning 'green'? *Environmental Politics*, 19(4), 518-537.
- Mau, S., Mewes, J. and Zimmermann, A. (2008). Cosmopolitan attitudes through transnational social practices? *Global Networks*, 8(1), 1-24.
- Nearing, H. and Nearing, S. (1954). *Living the Good Life: How to Live Sanely and Simply in a Troubled World*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Merton, R. K. (1968). *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: The Free Press.
- Mertens, D. M. (2009). *Transformative Research and Evaluation*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Minichiello, V., Aroni, R., Timewell, E. and Alexander, L. (1995). *In-depth Interviewing: Principles, Techniques, Analysis* (2nd ed.). Melbourne: Longman.
- Moellendorf, D. (2002). *Cosmopolitan Justice*. Cambridge: Westview Press.
- Morse, J. M., Barrett, M., Mayan, M., Olson, K. and Spiers, J. (2008). Verification strategies for establishing reliability and validity in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 1(2), 13-22.
- Norris, P. and Inglehart, R. (2009). Citizens: National and cosmopolitan identities. In P. Norris and R. Inglehart (Eds.). *Cosmopolitan Communications: Cultural Diversity in a Globalized World* (pp. 1-29). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nowicka, M. (2006). *Transnational Professionals and their Cosmopolitan Universes*. Frankfurt; New York: Campus Verlag.
- Nowicka, M. (2007). Mobile locations: Construction of home in a group of mobile transnational professionals. *Global Networks*, 1, 69-86.
- Nowicka, M. and Heil, T. (2015). *On the Analytical and Normative Dimensions of Conviviality and Cosmopolitanism*. Berlin: Humboldt University of Berlin. Retrieved

- from https://www.euroethno.hu-berlin.de/de/forschung/labore/migration/nowicka-heil_on-the-analytical-and-normative-dimensions-of-conviviality.pdf
- Nowicka, M, and Rovisco, M. (2009). Introduction: Making sense of cosmopolitanism. In M. Rovisco, and M. Nowicka (Eds.). *Cosmopolitanism in Practice* (pp.1-16). Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (1994). Patriotism and cosmopolitanism. *The Boston Review*, 19(5), 3-34.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (1999). In defense of universal values. *Idaho L. Rev.*, 36, 1-67.
- Olofsson, A. and Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals: An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55(6), 877-895.
- Osler, A. and Starkey, H. (2003). Learning for cosmopolitan citizenship: Theoretical debates and young people's experiences. *Educational Review*, 55(3), 243-254.
- Phillips, T. and Smith, P. (2008). Cosmopolitan beliefs and cosmopolitan practices: An empirical investigation. *Journal of Sociology*, 44(4), 391-399.
- Pichler, F. (2008). How real is cosmopolitanism in Europe? *Sociology*, 42(6), 1107-1126.
- Pichler, F. (2009). 'Down-to-earth' cosmopolitanism: Subjective and objective measurements of cosmopolitanism in survey research. *Current Sociology*, 57(5), 704-732.
- Pichler, F. (2011). Cosmopolitanism in a global perspective: An international comparison of open-minded orientations and identity in relation to globalization. *International Sociology*, 27(1), 21-50.
- Pogge, T. (1992). Cosmopolitanism and sovereignty. *Ethics*, 103(October), 48-75.
- Pojman, L. P. (2005). Kant's perpetual peace and cosmopolitanism. *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 36(1), 62-71.
- Robert Wood Johnson Foundation [RWJF]. (2008) *Common Paradigms*. Retrieved June 4, 2015 from <http://www.qualres.org/HomePhil-3514.html>
- Robertson, R. (1994). Globalisation or glocalisation? *Journal of International Communication*, 1(1), 33-52.
- Rofel, L. (2012). Between tianxia and postsocialism: Contemporary Chinese cosmopolitanism. In G. Delanty. (Ed.). *Routledge International Handbook of Cosmopolitan Studies* (pp. 443-451). New York: Routledge.
- Rostbøll, C. F. (2010). The use and abuse of 'universal values' in the Danish cartoon controversy. *European Political Science Review*, 2(3), 401-422.
- Roudometof, V. (2005). Transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and globalization. *Current Sociology*, 53(1), 113-135.

- Roudometof, V. and Haller, W. (2007). Social indicators of cosmopolitanism and localism in Eastern and Western Europe: Exploratory analysis. In C. Rumford (Ed.). *Cosmopolitanism and Europe* (pp. 181-201). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Roulston, K. (2014). Analysing interviews. In U. Flick (Ed.). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Schumacher, E. F. (1973). *Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered*. London: Bloand and Briggs.
- Sen, A. K. (1999). Democracy as a universal value. *Journal of Democracy*, 10(3), 3-17.
- Skogen, K. (1996). Young environmentalists: Post-modern identities or middle-class culture? *The Sociological Review*, 44(3), 452-473.
- Skrbiš, Z. and Woodward, I. (2007). The ambivalence of ordinary cosmopolitanism: Investigating the limits of cosmopolitan openness. *The Sociological Review*, 55(4), 730-747.
- Smith, W. (2007). Cosmopolitan citizenship: Virtue, irony and worldliness. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 10(1), 37-52.
- Szerszynski, B. and Urry, J. (2002). Cultures of cosmopolitanism. *The Sociological Review*, 50(4), 461-481.
- Tan, K. C. (2004). *Justice without Borders: Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and Patriotism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thomson, R. and Taylor, R. (2005). Between cosmopolitanism and the locals: Mobility as a resource in the transition to adulthood. *Young*, 13(4), 327-342.
- Tindall, D. B., Davies, S. and Mauboules, C. (2003). Activism and conservation behavior in an environmental movement: The contradictory effects of gender. *Society & Natural Resources*, 16(10), 909-932.
- Tomlinson, M. (2003). Lifestyle and social class. *European Sociological Review*, 19(1), 97-111.
- Toots, A. and Idnurm, T. (2012). Does the context matter? Attitudes towards cosmopolitanism among Russian-speaking students in Estonia, Latvia and the Russian Federation. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 43(1), 117-134.
- Tracy, S. J. (2013). *Qualitative Research Methods: Collecting Evidence, Crafting Analysis, Communicating Impact*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Tranter, B. (1997). Environmentalism and education in Australia. *Environmental Politics*, 6(2), 123-143.

- Turner, B. (2000). Citizenship and democracy in a global era. In A. Vandenberg (Ed.). *Citizenship and Democracy in a Global Era* (pp. 18-32). London: Macmillian Press Limited.
- Turner, B. S. (2002). Cosmopolitan virtue, globalization and patriotism. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19(1-2), 45-63.
- Undergard. (2014). *Hong Kong Nationalism (Hoeung Gong Man Zuk Leon)*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University's Student Union.
- Van Hooft, S. (2009). *Cosmopolitanism: A Philosophy for Global Ethics*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Very MK Rooftop Farm. (2015). *Timeline*. Retrieved June 30, 2015 from <https://www.facebook.com/verymk?fref=ts>
- Vertovec, S. and Cohen, R. (2002). Introduction: Conceiving cosmopolitanism. In S. Vertovec and R. Cohen (Eds.). *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context & Practice* (pp. 1-22). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Waldron, J. (1991). Minority cultures and cosmopolitan alternative. In W. Kymlicka (Ed.). *The Rights of Minority Cultures* (pp. 93-119). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Waldron, J. (2000). What is cosmopolitan? *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 8(2), 227-243.
- Wise, A. (2009). Everyday multiculturalism: Transversal crossings and working class cosmopolitans. In A. Wise and S. Velayutham. (Eds.). *Everyday Multiculturalism* (pp. 21-45). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wolgemuth, J. R. and Donohue, R. (2006). Toward an inquiry of discomfort guiding transformation in 'emancipatory' narrative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(5), 1012-1021.
- Wong, Y. M. (2014). *Local Interest, Democracy, Anti-communism (Bun Tou, Man Zyu, Faan Gung)*. Hong Kong: Proletariat Political Institute.
- Woodward, I., Skrbiš, Z. and Bean, C. (2008). Attitudes towards globalization and cosmopolitanism: cultural diversity, personal consumption and the national economy. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 59(2), 207-226.
- Wynveen, C. J., Kyle, G. T. and Tarrant, M. A. (2012). Study abroad experiences and global citizenship: Fostering proenvironmental behavior. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 16(4), 334-352.

Zelezny, L. C., Chua, P. P. and Aldrich, C. (2000). New ways of thinking about environmentalism: Elaborating on gender differences in environmentalism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 56(3), 443-457.