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A Tale of Three Cities: Aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism as a new capital among youth in Paris, São Paulo and Seoul

Journal:	<i>Journal of Consumer Culture</i>
Manuscript ID	JOCC-18-0081.R1
Manuscript Type:	Original Article
Keywords:	aesthetic-cultural cosmopolitanism, youth, cross-national comparison, cultural consumption, globalization of culture
Abstract:	<p>This paper adds to the literature on the consequences of cultural capital at the age of cultural globalization by analyzing the ways youth engage in globalized cultural consumption in three cities - Paris, São Paulo and Seoul. Drawing on cosmopolitanism as an aesthetic and cultural stance of openness and on global cultural consumption as providing youth with cosmopolitan skills, we compare the uses of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism in three contexts. We offer an original account of different uses of cosmopolitan cultural skills, which, to varying degrees in the three contexts, signal generational belonging, social distinction, educational and professional success and personal eruditeness and fulfillment. Analysis of recent interviews with 80 youth in each city reveals distinct uses of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism: as a vehicle for self-development (either empowerment or Bildung) in Paris; as a means for the cultivation of social capital for personal status in São Paulo; and as human capital serving for labor market entry and attainment in Seoul. Our findings accentuate that even with the prevalence of cultural globalization in global cities, the functions of cosmopolitan skills remain highly dependent on educational, institutional, cultural, and political contexts at the national level, which create different incentives and opportunities or barriers to experiencing otherness and developing new types of cultural capital.</p>

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A Tale of Three Cities: Aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism as a new capital among youth in Paris, São Paulo and Seoul

1. Introduction

One of the main focal points for research in the sociology of culture has been cultural capital, i.e. the relationships between the skills brought on by cultural consumption patterns and structures of power and inequality in society (Bourdieu, 1984), in terms of employability (Tomlinson, 1999), educational attainment (Sullivan, 2001), and social networks (Lizardo, 2006; Warde and Tampubolon, 2002). Such research has rarely adopted a country-comparative point of view as a tool to extend the theory of cultural stratification and has not specifically focused on the effects of the globalization of culture on the formation of cultural capital.

To address these two gaps, we add to the literature an analysis of the strategic uses of global cultural consumption by youth in cities located in the West (Paris), the South (São Paulo) and the East (Seoul). We discuss the emergence of a new cultural capital in large urban settings that take a leading role in the globalization process, as major sites for the interplay between migration, cultural interpretation and processes of inequality (Sassen, 2001).

We draw on cosmopolitanism as “a cultural disposition involving an intellectual and aesthetic stance of ‘openness’ towards peoples, places and experiences from different cultures, especially those from different ‘nations’” (Szczesinski and Urry, 2002: 468), and focus on a specific type of cosmopolitanism that centers around aesthetic and cultural codes associated with the consumption of globalized cultural products. Cosmopolitanism is particularly relevant in those urban settings (Yeoh, 2005), where the search for the exotic is the norm (Johnston and Baumann, 2014). A key dimension of the globalization that takes place in cities is the making of a new social class of educated individuals who are engaged in cultural consumption and who follow new aesthetic, cultural, ethical and political norms and values associated with a cosmopolitan orientation.

We show how young individuals, in Paris, São Paulo and Seoul manifest curiosity and interest for products and practices whose aesthetic and cultural codes are situated outside of their own national aesthetic canon and cultural corpus. We further show how they employ this aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism in three distinctive ways: as a vehicle for **self-development** (either **empowerment** or *Bildung*) in Paris, as a

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3 means for the cultivation of **social capital** for personal status in São Paulo, and as **human capital** serving
4 as entry for better labor market opportunities in Seoul.
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8 **2. Conceptualizing aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism**

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10 The globalization of cultural industries has initiated significant social and cultural changes, requiring an
11 account of new post-nationally defined cultural skills and dispositions. The proliferation of information
12 coming from every part of the world produces a complex lexicon of aesthetic and cultural possibilities, with
13 a densely connected network of global icons and imaginaries (Appadurai, 1996) that have been analyzed
14 through the perspective of cosmopolitanism (Papastergiadis, 2012). The globalization of cultural industries
15 has also accelerated the aestheticization of everyday life (Molz, 2011), which increasingly defines people by
16 their cultural consumption, signaling generational belonging, social distinction, educational and professional
17 success and personal eruditeness and fulfillment.
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20 Existing research approaches globalized cultural consumption with diverse emphases, but all studies see
21 the consumption of foreign cultural products as indicators of openness toward the culture of the ‘other.’
22 Whether value-laden (Meuleman and Savage, 2013) or inadvertent (Cappeliez and Johnston, 2013; Lamont
23 and Askartova, 2002; Regev, 2013), the consumption of culturally diverse products has been dubbed “global
24 cultural consumption.” The cosmopolitan perspective provides an appraisal of the mechanism of individual
25 openness to the culture of the ‘other’ (Beck, 2006; Kendall et al., 2009; Skrbis and Woodward, 2013), [linking
26 aesthetic and cultural interests with a moral concern about a common belonging to humanity.](#)
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36 Cicchelli and Octobre (2018) offer a definition of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism as a specific
37 orientation toward otherness, i.e., as an individual engagement with cultural images, global cultural icons,
38 and cultural products that originate in “other” ethno-national cultures, forging imaginaries and emotions and
39 [providing opportunities to learn new aesthetic and cultural codes.](#) Aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitan skills
40 enable individuals to traverse physical and cultural borders (Mau et al., 2008), to situate their own cultures
41 in a historical perspective with respect to other cultures (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006), to be engaged in
42 international social relationships (Molz, 2011; Hannerz, 1990), to be culturally ambidextrous (Dharwadker,
43 2011) and [to be able to transcend the global-local opposition and live in a ‘glocal cultural universe’](#)
44 [\(Szerszynski and Urry, 2002: 471 ; Robertson, 1992\).](#)
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52 Analysis of globalized cultural consumption reveals a relationship between aesthetico-cultural
53 cosmopolitanism and structures of inequality and social stratification (Coulangeon, 2017; Rössel and
54 Schroedter, 2015). [For example, urban youth and students tend to be more cosmopolitan than rural youth](#)
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3 and workers (Cicchelli and Octobre, 2017; Katz-Gerro, 2017). Youth tend to be more cosmopolitan because
4 they are placed in the midst of dynamic cultural flows, are highly skilled in multicultural interactions and
5 develop a cultural awareness, openness and knowledge (Seo and Gao, 2015). In the educational context,
6 which legitimizes cosmopolitanism as a desirable disposition, academic qualifications that signal
7 cosmopolitanism are increasingly profitable to individuals in jobs requiring interactions with people of
8 multiple nationalities (Igarashi and Saito, 2014).
9

10 Building on this literature, this paper presents an original attempt to document and analyze aesthetico-
11 cultural cosmopolitanism as a new form of cultural capital that can influence social inequality, either by
12 favoring those with such a capital in the labor market or in a social status market. To do this, we examine
13 how young individuals in three global cities use aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism and how different
14 contexts condition the uses of cosmopolitan cultural capital.
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24 **3. Youth in the three global cities**

25 The comparative design of this research allows us to problematize the notion of the ‘other’ (often the
26 ethno-national other) which stands at the center of the cosmopolitan perspective (Beck and Grande, 2010),
27 and to avoid an ethnocentric appraisal of alterity. Because empirical research on cultural cosmopolitanism
28 has often focused on Western societies, it often entailed perceiving the Eastern and the Southern as the other
29 (Pieterse, 2006). Since the end of the Cold War and the rise of new players in the global arena, a symmetrical
30 approach of the ‘other’ is warranted; as perceived from the West (France), the South (Brazil), or the East
31 (Korea).
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37 Cities are major sites for the flourishing of cosmopolitan skills that can be unequally distributed and that
38 tightly link cultural consumption, power and class to potentially constitute a new cultural capital (Savage et
39 al., 2018: 142). Our chosen sites – Paris (and its suburbs), São Paulo, and Seoul – comparable in size of
40 population, are global cities that can nurture the emergence of a cosmopolitan orientation. The place of the
41 three cities in the global arena can be compared on two dimensions: 1) position in the flow of global cultural
42 products, and 2) diversity of population. Information on both dimensions is summarized in Appendix Matrix
43 1. Paris has a long-lasting worldwide influence and is an established global player (Lombard, 2003); São
44 Paulo is trying to build a regional influence and is an aspirant in the global cultural arena (Ablas, 1993);
45 meanwhile, Seoul rises as a new cultural power (Jin, 2016). In terms of population diversity, there is a high
46 proportion of mixed origins in Paris and São Paulo, whereas Seoul’s population is homogeneous.
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3 Each city shapes a different globalized youth, as summarized in Appendix Matrix 2. In Paris, youth (18-
4 29) represent approximately 17% of the population as compared to 36% elsewhere in France, and the level
5 of unemployment among youth is lower (18.4%) than in the rest of the country (24.9%). This population has
6 mixed origins: 52% of youth born in Paris had foreign origins associated with mixed marriages between
7 locals and immigrants (Tribalat, 2013). The level of education has been rising (80% or more reaching
8 baccalaureate and 60% going to university), but there is also an increasing distrust of the educational system
9 in its ability to prepare youth for the job market (Maurin, 2009). The level of English proficiency of young
10 French people remains low (EF English proficiency Index, 2018), and the educational system remains
11 defensive toward the introduction of courses in English at the university level (Héran, 2013). Yet, Paris also
12 benefits from strong foreign multilateral cultural flows: the influence of American culture is strong but not
13 exclusive, and influences from Europe, Asia, and Latin America are also important. However, ethnic
14 minorities and immigrant communities, residing in Paris, do not see their cultural heritage or languages
15 legitimized in the curriculum of the public-school system.¹

16
17 In São Paulo,² youth (18-29) represent only 9.2% of the population as compared to being 14.3%
18 nationally. Few of them have a university education, but São Paulo has one of the highest rates of educated
19 youth in the country (4.3% versus 1.5%). Nevertheless, youth in São Paulo face a high level of
20 unemployment (24.1% versus the higher national average of 27.8%) (IBGE, 2014). A low proportion of the
21 population in São Paulo is foreign-born (2.3%) and even lower among the 18-29 age bracket (1.8%)
22 However, a large percentage of the population self-declares to be mixed-race (43.1%), including indigenous
23 and African. São Paulo is an important center of cultural production and activities with a concentration of
24 companies and cultural intermediaries supported by private companies and the local government. Existing
25 fiscal incentives to the private sector help create greater accessibility to and visibility of international cultural
26 products. Although there is a high consumption of mainstream global cultural products, there exists a distinct
27 demand for local ones. The primary origin of cultural flows comes from United States for films, TV series,
28 music, and video games.

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30 In Seoul, youth (15-24) make up nearly 13% of the population of 10.4 million. Higher education is taken
31 very seriously among Koreans as educational status is a source of family pride and remains a prerequisite
32 for enhancing one's socioeconomic position in society. Not surprisingly, nearly all of the youth graduate
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54 ¹ The last attempt to introduce optional lessons in Arabic in the primary school system led to a very tense social debate
55 and was rapidly abandoned.

56 ² IBGE, 2010. www.ibge.gov.br/censo2010

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3 from high school (99%), and over 68% in the general population have post-secondary degrees (Moon, 2015).
4 One of the purposes of gaining a higher education and developing proficiency in English is to obtain sought-
5 after jobs in Korean conglomerates as well as high-paying jobs in transnational companies (Koo, 2007). Few
6 immigrants are attracted to South Korea because of its language and strict immigration policies. And,
7 although policies are becoming more pro-immigration due to low birth rates, foreign residents make up only
8 2.8% of the total population (Moon, 2015).
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11 In summary, processes of modernization, immigration, and globalization provide the backdrop for
12 analysis of the way that traditional hierarchies are evaded by aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism in the three
13 cities under consideration.
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19 20 21 **4. Methodology and data collection**

22 To explore the uses of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism among youth in our three global cities, we
23 adopted an approach based on personalized narratives of interviewees about their global cultural
24 consumption. We designed an open-ended interview instrument, which was initially tested, validated, and
25 used in France. We used trained social scientists in Sao Paolo and Seoul to translate and back translate the
26 interview protocol, going through several iterations to make sure the questions are adapted to the local
27 cultural context.
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32 The interview protocol aimed at identifying patterns of global cultural consumption, the vocabularies of
33 motives associated with these patterns (Grauel, 2016) and the consequences of aesthetico-cultural
34 cosmopolitanism in everyday life. The interviews covered five main themes: a) Preference for cultural
35 products (movies, television series and programs, video games, comic books / graphic novels, magazines,
36 books, and media consumption) and criteria for appreciation (e.g., preferences regarding ethno-national
37 origin or for language). b) Narratives about the foreign countries depicted in/by the cultural products and
38 imaginaries about these countries stemming from their cultural products. c) Interest in a foreign country or
39 region of the world and/or self-definition as a cosmopolitan. d) Cultural capital and cultural resources (e.g.,
40 language skills, geographic mobility). e) Socio-demographic data concerning the interviewee and their
41 family.
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49 In Paris, a snowball method was used, starting from students and leading to their contacts. Although the
50 resulting sample is not representative, it does depict a variety of social contexts, including students and
51 workers from different backgrounds, with a good gender balance. Eighty in-depth interviews were conducted
52 between 2013-2015 with youth aged 18–29 years old, 53% female, from various social (25% lower class,
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3 45% middle class and 30% upper class), educational (25% baccalaureate, 25% master degree) and migration
4 backgrounds (50% of mixed origins) and in different positions in the labor market (60% students and 40%
5 having a job).
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8 In São Paulo, 80 in-depth interviews were conducted in 2014 and 2015, with youth aged 18–29 years
9 old, 51% female. These individuals are students (50%), professionals (32%) or unemployed (18%). They
10 belong to different social backgrounds, including poor and precarious groups (37%) – who are working-
11 class professionals (53%), unemployed (32%), or undergraduate students (13%) – as well as middle class
12 (41%) and elite groups (22%) – who are undergraduate (69%) and graduate (11%) students or high-skilled
13 professionals (20%). The selection of interviewees was made through a convenience sample of individuals
14 that study or participate in activities within the universities and cultural institutions that are partners of the
15 local research group.
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22 In Seoul, 84 in-depth interviews were conducted in 2016 and 2017 with youth from varied backgrounds
23 in terms of parental occupation, geographic origin in the country and socio-economic status of the family.
24 Through snowball sampling that started with students at a particular university in Seoul and extended to their
25 peers, a convenience sample was produced and included 65% women within the age range of 18-23. All
26 interviewees were current university students. Since 82% of high school graduates continue on to university
27 and 97% of young Koreans now complete an upper secondary education, and 69.8% with tertiary education
28 according to the OECD (2018), this sample is fairly representative of the youth in Seoul.
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36 **5. The uses of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism: Toward a new capital?**

37 *5.1 Paris: self-improvement or Bildung*

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39 In Paris, a taste for a variety of foreign cultural products coexists with a strong preference for consuming
40 their “original version,” i.e., relying on subtitles rather than dubbed versions or scans in the case of manga.
41 This preference exists even when language proficiency is low, demonstrating how taste is embedded within
42 an aesthetic respect and an appreciation for real sounds and an authentic ambiance. Curiosity draws young
43 individuals to cultures that are regarded as more exotic than familiar, for example, mangas or Korean pop
44 music, regardless of any existing diaspora or language proficiency. Cosmopolitan skills are strongly
45 aestheticized, aesthetics being the first way to encounter otherness, in a context of a multicultural urban
46 area. The most common configuration of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism is linked to cultural self-
47 improvement, either empowerment or *Bildung*, in a context of intense multicultural flows providing easy
48 access to foreign and/or national cultural contents.
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3 The first, **empowerment**, takes place for youth who possess fewer social and cultural resources. For
4 them, aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism is associated with a strong desire to transcend one's social and
5 cultural horizons as well as one's social location. Aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism is a resource used for
6 individual emancipation from social constraints. Camille (20), a waitress, provides a typical example. She
7 holds a baccalaureate in Economics and Social Sciences and lives in a housing project where she shares an
8 apartment with her working-class parents. The closed-off world of the lower-class suburbs to the north of
9 Paris where she lives nevertheless offers unexpected resources, and Camille's cultural consumption choices
10 help her to mark her distance vis-à-vis her community of origin and its value. By using aesthetico-cultural
11 resources as a launching pad, Camille gains access to different cultures and redefines herself as a
12 cosmopolitan person; she says:

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20 *I think that I don't have any power over the countries that surround me*
21 *but on the other hand, I can try to understand, I can try to find out more*
22 *about those cultures.*
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26 By describing herself as “an individual in the world,” Camille tries to transform her aesthetico-cultural
27 cosmopolitanism into a resource, hoping to travel abroad and to raise her children in a cosmopolitan fashion
28 by giving them a taste for travel and foreign languages:

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31 *I haven't travelled a lot but I intend to make up for it when I have the*
32 *money, I want to travel at least once a year, I want my children to travel*
33 *so that they can see that there's more than just France and our customs,*
34 *and if I have the means I want to put them in a bilingual school because I*
35 *want them to be fluent at least in English, and why not other languages, I*
36 *think that in the years to come Chinese is going to become somewhat*
37 *necessary. To go back to me — so I want to travel, I'm interested in what's*
38 *around me and not just in France, honestly I feel like if I really put my*
39 *mind to it I could master English really well, Spanish too, so yeah at any*
40 *rate I think I can say that I'm cosmopolitan.*
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45 The second use of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism identified among the Parisian youth is of an
46 enlightened self-education, i.e., **Bildung**. Contrary to empowerment, this type occurs in a context of
47 abundant resources. For example, Frédéric (22), pursuing a master's degree in political science in a major
48 Parisian university, consumes a large number of cultural products from a wide variety of foreign countries.
49 Frédéric has inherited the cosmopolitan legacy of mobile cultural elites – his mother is French, his stepfather
50 is German, both executives; Frederic lived in Germany, travelled a lot both for study and leisure and speaks
51 French, German, and English. Frederic demonstrates fluency moving between different aesthetic and
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3 cultural codes while maintaining curiosity and compassion for distant cultures. According to Frédéric,
4 authentic contact that allows him to develop a cosmopolitan outlook on the world is synonymous with a
5 kind of cultural ‘immersion’ or ‘impregnation.’ He values the soft skills developed through
6 cosmopolitanism as part of his *Bildung* more than the cultural capital it provides in the educational or job
7 markets; he says:
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11 *I don't think that being a cosmopolitan necessarily means inheriting*
12 *different cultures but rather, on the contrary, knowing how to integrate*
13 *them into your life, knowing how to talk about them, express them, how*
14 *to recognize them, but most importantly really immersing yourself in*
15 *them.*
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18 19 20 5.2 São Paulo: *social inclusion*

21 The interviews in **São Paulo** show that cultural products, both national and international, are highly
22 valued by the elite who seek the social status to be involved with artists and producers and to be perceived
23 as part of a cultural scene. Lower status social groups do not have the same access to resources often due to
24 language barriers. Although São Paulo is home to immigrants from Japan, China, and South Korea, cultural
25 products from these countries are still considered exotic and not likely to be appreciated or consumed. The
26 consumption of American products, mainly in English, is very important, especially for individuals in the
27 middle and upper social strata of society.
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30 The uses of cosmopolitan skills are mainly associated with individuals' socioeconomic background.
31 First, individuals of the upper classes with abundant resources use their aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitan
32 skills to enhance their *social capital*. Marina (20), a undergraduate student whose mother and father are
33 business executives, explains:
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36 *Since I was very young I used to travel with my parents, and the*
37 *experience of knowing other countries became an important ingredient in*
38 *my life. (...) I think the fact that I want to know more about the world*
39 *creates in me a natural interest for international music, films, series, like*
40 *it is a way of connecting to other reality out of my country, without*
41 *necessarily traveling. (...) The fact that I know people in other countries*
42 *also helps me with references, like a band nobody knows here in São*
43 *Paulo, or a TV show they watch only in the United States.*
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52 These opportunities made it possible to consume international cultural goods, mainly from North
53 America and in English. Like Marina, youth from the upper classes have had a strong cultural influence
54 either from their family or from their educational background, and through these means they develop their
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3 cosmopolitan capital (Weenink, 2008) with the feeling of belonging to the world. Furthermore, in São Paulo,
4 the link between cultural consumption and cultural proximity is also strong, as Lucas (23), male
5 administrative assistant (whose mother is a public employee and father is deceased) affirms:
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8 *I have friends who are from Japanese families and I tried to read mangas*
9 *a few times, but I think they are very difficult to understand, or even to*
10 *enjoy it.*
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14 The second use of cosmopolitan skills in São Paulo relates to individuals with scarce resources,
15 who are part of the lower class and face barriers in accessing foreign languages and international travel
16 experiences. However, they are also interested in other cultures. Their exposure relies on the
17 consumption of mainstream products and vicariously through the lives of media celebrities. The
18 findings illustrate the possibility of hybridization, a way of connecting the local to foreign elements
19 that have especially an aesthetic appeal. For example, even though youth wish to consume foreign
20 products, they often consume domestic products due to language barriers. However, they do watch
21 international films or TV programs that are dubbed. Ricardo (18), a male retail store employee whose
22 mother is unemployed and father is a construction worker explains:
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29 *I only listen to music or watch TV in Portuguese, because I don't speak English,*
30 *I don't even speak Portuguese very well (...). I always watch films dubbed in*
31 *Portuguese too. (...) I choose films that have famous actors, they usually are the*
32 *ones I like the most.*
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36 Hybridization is another way by which youth in São Paulo connect famous foreign symbols,
37 familiar because of their visibility on mainstream media, to local products that are connected to the
38 local context. For example, an aesthetic adaptation in the translation of foreign codes that are unrelated
39 to local codes, as Isadora (22), a female undergraduate student and receptionist in a doctor's office,
40 whose mother is a cook in a restaurant and father is unknown to her, points out:
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45 *I think that many musicians and groups in Brazil try to copy the American style.*
46 *Their songs and their video clips are very similar to the last Beyoncé hit, it's*
47 *like mandatory, if you want to have success, follow them. (...) Also I think it is*
48 *good that these Brazilian groups create a version of a American song or*
49 *videoclip, so we can understand it, as well as we feel it is more integrated to*
50 *our home, like showing some of our own things, like our city, neighborhood.*
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54 5.3 Seoul: *educational and occupational attainment*

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3 The data from **Seoul** point to acquisition of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitan skills by youth being
4 **instrumental** for educational and occupational attainment. This is reasonable in a country that is poor
5 in natural resources and therefore highly dependent on its human capital resources. Young individuals
6 strive for educational attainment as a way to be successful and find it profitable to transform
7 cosmopolitan aesthetico-cultural consumption into human capital. There is recognition that gaining
8 cosmopolitan capital is very much part of the current generation's educational asset as Chae-won (22),
9 a female working in a lunch take-away shop and an online second-hand book shop, whose father is a
10 banker and mother is a kindergarten teacher, articulates:

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17 *Nowadays we have to have some global skill, maybe, and we need some global*
18 *information. If I know some foreign language I can use it anywhere and it's*
19 *good to me and I can learn more things.*
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23 Because of strong the reliance of the Korean economy on trade, the factors of success in the labor
24 market depend on their openness to complex non-local norms and ideas as well as how well individuals
25 understand global trends and communicate in foreign languages. With a developing proficiency in
26 English, there is a concomitant interest in American cultural and media products, which are widely
27 available, as Yu-chien (21), a male student of astronomy at a local university, whose father is a
28 physician and mother is a housewife in Seoul, reflects:

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33 *Every Korean is affected by Western culture, particularly American - you can*
34 *see it on people on the street.*
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38 Youth in Seoul enhance their cosmopolitan capital by travelling and studying abroad, learning
39 English and other foreign languages (Chinese, Japanese and Spanish), as well as consuming foreign
40 cultural products. Many of our interviewees learned English and at least one of the above-mentioned
41 languages, as Yu-chien continues:

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44 *Cause nowadays we have to have some global skill, maybe, and we need some global*
45 *information. If I know some foreign language I can use it anywhere and it's good to me*
46 *and I can learn more things.*
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50 This practical application of the cosmopolitan skill suggests an openness and engagement with the
51 'other,' but, unlike interviewees from Paris and São Paulo, the purpose of this engagement is not
52 necessarily to gain an in-depth understanding of the 'other' but rather pragmatic: there is a clear cost-
53 benefit approach in cosmopolitan cultural consumption. Sun-ok (22), a female student of
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3 communication and journalism at a local university, whose mother is a teacher, shares her thoughts on
4 this point:

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6 *I have thought about living in South America...I think maybe for 3 or 4*
7 *years...Because if I work there for 3 or 4 years, I can get enough work*
8 *experience. So, if I come back to Korea I also can get a job more easily.*
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12 And also, Chong-pil (24), a male student studying public administration, whose father is a team
13 leader in chemical industry and mother is a housewife, elaborates:

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15 *...I would like to live in Northern Europe if there is a chance...Learning about*
16 *other cultures is fun, and it helps in the job, because the whole country and the*
17 *whole company should trade with other countries, so the company needs the*
18 *citizen of the world...*
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23 Traveling overseas does not necessarily lead to an interest in other cultures. Some interviewees
24 travel for work or vacation because this is part of the lifestyle of their social group, but they do not
25 engage in cosmopolitanism in any of the cultural domains. So-young (21), a female student of
26 economics, whose father is a professor and mother is a teacher, explains that it will benefit her own
27 career to be interested in different cultures:
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31 *...It depends on whom I am talking to, the country where the person is from.*
32 *When the person comes from America, I try to speak English because I want to*
33 *make my English skills more fluently. I only speak Korean with my Korean*
34 *friends...Ya. I wish to live in America because the second language I can do*
35 *the best is English so I want to learn more about English...Ya. I am really*
36 *curious about a lot. I really want to learn more...because it can definitely*
37 *benefit me. As I said earlier, I want to have a job involving internationally*
38 *helping businesses with other countries' people, leading them. Therefore,*
39 *before business, I have to know their culture, people how they are doing in their*
40 *states, so I think being curious about these cultures can benefit me.*
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45 Sun-ok, earlier quoted, also refers to this point:

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47 *If you have in your resume that you studied abroad in a foreign country, doesn't*
48 *matter a lot which country you will get more chances of getting a job. Of getting*
49 *a good job so that can be like a benefit for me and of course also like*
50 *understanding of other cultures and being more tolerant and like that.*
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54 In addition, while for some interviewees going away to study is very important, coming back to
55 care for parents is essential and a typical stage in the life cycle. Respect for parents and the elderly is
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3 a central family value that persists in Korean society. Therefore, although the expectation that a period
4 spent overseas will greatly benefit employment opportunities in the future pushes many youth to take
5 this step, the expectation that they return to Korea and make good use of the skills learnt is as strong.
6 Many of our interviewees see themselves as first and foremost Koreans and not citizens of the world,
7 and it is the context that pushes them to cultivate the cosmopolitan cultural skill set. Mi-kyung (21), a
8 female studying industrial design, whose parents run a Korean restaurant, summarizes this nicely:
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13 *I would call myself a cosmopolitan, but I think it's not something I decided to*
14 *become. It's more like my context kind of pushed me to become a person who*
15 *speaks another language and travels abroad. It's just basically related to many*
16 *many cultures. I think these days it is a must have for all the students. You need*
17 *to learn more about other countries; you need to learn other languages so you*
18 *can communicate. I think it's really really important.*
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22 23 *5.4 Comparing three uses of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism*

24 A summary of the comparison between the three uses of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism is
25 presented in Appendix Matrix 3. Among young Parisians, the use of aesthetico-cultural
26 cosmopolitanism is not strategic but rather humanistic, leading to an ethical interest in the 'other' and
27 in certain cases to a willingness to be a "citizen of the world." This self-improvement through
28 globalized cultural consumption parallels the concept of art without instrumental purpose, as Kant
29 (1892) puts it in his analysis of aesthetic judgment. This approach has a long history in Europe and
30 still affects the way youth approach cultural industries. Indeed, most respondents preferred to use
31 aesthetic criteria to justify their taste for foreign TV series, movies, or music, demonstrating a French
32 cultural appropriation that rests on a universalistic vision of the arts. In this context, learning about
33 cultural difference is seen as a vehicle to finding one's place in the world and reaching self fulfilment.
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41 In São Paulo, aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism is a reality mostly for the upper classes as a
42 way of enhancing social capital. It is not only a means of connecting to the world and to others but also
43 a way of reproducing distinction in the local society. Due to the strong influence of social inequalities,
44 cultural goods are used mostly as social capital by homogeneous groups comprised of elites and high-
45 middle class individuals without necessarily leading to a cosmopolitan disposition. Individuals from
46 these groups that have contact with other cultures are those that have a strong cultural influence either
47 from their family (who engage in cosmopolitan cultural consumption) or from their educational
48 background. Mainstream international cultural products are visible and accessible in Brazil. However,
49 it is mainly elite groups that can afford the relatively high-priced international products. Youth in São
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3 Paulo have contact with different cultures, but their way of developing their cultural capital is less based
4 on global cultural consumption and more reliant on educational and professional support, which is
5 unequally distributed within the society. In contrast to Korea or even France, few individuals go to
6 universities and unemployment is high.
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10 In stark contrast to Paris, appropriation of cosmopolitan skills in Seoul is highly motivated by
11 instrumental benefits. This is not surprising given that global cultural consumption is greatly valued
12 both by the educational system and in the labor market. As most youth pursue higher education as a
13 way into the labor market, the strategic use of cosmopolitan skills is a critical and distinctive factor in
14 enhancing their CVs and getting a good job. Korean society has heavily invested in education to
15 achieve a competitive place in global markets; hence, global resources are expected to be transformed
16 into human capital and are only marginally motivated by cultural development or aesthetic evaluation.
17 The interviewees in Seoul showed a relatively superficial engagement with the aesthetics of global
18 consumption, characterized by little real immersion. While interviewees coming from families with
19 higher economic status could afford to travel, engage in aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism, and have
20 contact with foreigners, this did not lead to cultural immersion. Related to this aesthetic distance is the
21 centrality of Confucianism, conservative values, and strong family ties, which shape the way young
22 Koreans manage the tension between family expectations and global cultural consumption leading to
23 the conflict between being culturally open and maintaining traditional conservative values and
24 lifestyles. This results in curtailing the deeper engagement with cosmopolitanism by, for example,
25 spending time overseas but returning to Korea, flirting with Western food but preferring Korean
26 cuisine, and favoring a Korean identity to that of a citizen of the world. Engaging in global cultural
27 consumption is strategic and always negotiated in relation to the payoff in the labor market.
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43 **6. Discussion and Conclusions**

44 How can aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism be transformed into a capital? To answer this
45 question, we rely on Jean-Louis Fabiani's (2016) criteria for establishing what a capital is according
46 to his reading of Bourdieu, and apply it to cosmopolitan cultural capital. Three elements indicate the
47 existence of a capital: the specific realms or different types of competing capitals; the convertibility of
48 a cosmopolitan capital into another type of capital; and the institutions that legitimize that capital,
49 thereby ensuring domination. Because of their characterization as global cities, the three research sites
50 offer similar opportunities for competing types of cultural capitals to develop. However, they differ in
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3 the degree to which aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitan capital is converted into other types of capital
4 and in the presence of social institutions legitimizing this conversion.
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6 In Paris, aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism appears as a new generational good taste, widely
7 disseminated and working as a generational inclusive tool. However, there is no institutional support
8 to convert this aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism into cultural capital. The French school system –
9 which in the pre-digital era was the institution that converted cultural skills into cultural capital
10 resulting in a high position in the job market, thus conferring cultural legitimacy and economic
11 advantages (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) – rarely operates this conversion in the global age of cultural
12 industries. There is a strong reluctance to teach in a foreign language and public resistance to English
13 imperialism stemming from media consumption patterns. The exclusion of media cultures from school
14 curricula is equally telling (Barrère, 2011). Global cultural consumption is seen as an expression of
15 free choice with almost no other perspective than personal pleasure, fulfillment and self-development.
16 Nothing can guarantee that the competences acquired in terms of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism
17 will figure among the soft skills desired by the labor market (Mauléon et al., 2014). This leads to a
18 reproduction of family orientation toward cosmopolitanism. Hence, even if aesthetico-cultural
19 cosmopolitanism is not a capital in France, it is socially stratified and more often found among the
20 more educated and mobile youth (Coulangeon, 2017). Nevertheless, individual aspirations may in
21 certain situations transform power relations among youth and suspend class assignment, as shown in
22 the case of Camille.
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36 In São Paulo, cosmopolitan skills and dispositions resulting from global cultural consumption often
37 accrue only to the well-off, as also found in Hedegard's study (2015), and thus act as a renewed version
38 of distinction, a form of class-based practice, in the construction of social capital. For those who are
39 poor and live the difficulties of social inequalities in the city, there are many barriers to understand
40 different cultural codes and to explore with voracity different opportunities worldwide. Still, these
41 young individuals try to localize cultural contents, inserting elements from global products in their own
42 cultural expressions. In these experiences, aesthetic codes are hybridized from international references
43 to national cultural products – as Garcia Canclini (1998) also points out in his analysis about Latin
44 America – showing alternatives to the consumption of global products but not necessarily enhancing
45 the individuals' social capital.
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53 Aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitan is transformed into a capital in Korea primarily in the labor
54 market. One reason for this limited embrace of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism is conservatism
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3 due to Koreans' Confucian roots, deeply rooted in status consciousness in terms of lineage, property
4 and education. Korean society is not uniformly conservative across generations and for the youth,
5 cosmopolitanism often counteracts the effects of Confucianism; the emphasis on tradition is waning
6 and there is a growing centrality of education, which leads to openness and better life prospects.
7
8 Acquiring cosmopolitan skills and dispositions acts as a signal of legitimacy in the labor market and
9
10 since such an undertaking is not without cost in time, effort and money, Korean youth are decidedly
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12 instrumental and strategic in the way they acquire these skills, especially foreign language skills and
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14 travel experiences. The emphasis on cosmopolitan competence encourages youth from all
15
16 socioeconomic backgrounds to acquire this capital in a very hierarchical society. For example, those
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18 students denied entrance to the elite colleges find that their labor market opportunities are limited, and
19
20 in the face of unprecedented high rates of continued youth unemployment and insecurity, one of the
21
22 means to acquire legitimacy and improve their life chances is accessing cosmopolitan capital through
23
24 English study abroad experiences (Anagnost et al., 2013). This enhances their linguistic and cultural
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26 capital, legitimizes them in the eyes of their peers and increases their chances of success in the job
27
28 market. Thus, in Seoul, there is strong institutional support and expectation for demonstrating
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30 familiarity with cosmopolitan cultural codes and foreign languages. Young individuals make
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32 educational and personal choices based on this expectation early on in their educational and
33
34 occupational careers and the costs of engaging with cosmopolitan cultural consumption are negotiated
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36 and often result in a superficial level of cultural engagement. The conversion of cultural capital into
37
38 human capital occurs on multiple axes, relying on competence that draws from Western and Eastern
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40 cultures.

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42 Future research on the comparison presented here is needed to further develop how mechanisms of
43
44 distinction rely on new forms of cultural capital generated in different regions of the world. This can
45
46 be pursued along two lines of inquiry. First, the routes through which and the degree to which social
47
48 institutions can adapt to have a better fit with emerging types of cultural capital. Second, the effect of
49
50 processes of new capital creation on existing cultural and economic hierarchies and inequalities. These
51
52 emphases for future research stem from our finding that even with the prevalence of cultural
53
54 globalization in global cities, the functions of cosmopolitan skills remain highly dependent on
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56 educational, institutional, cultural and political contexts at the national level, which create different
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58 opportunities or barriers to experiencing otherness and developing new types of cultural capital.
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For Peer Review

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Appendix

Matrix 1: The place of the three cities in the global arena of culture

	Paris	São Paulo	Seoul
	City Population: 10 million	City Population: 11 million	City Population: 10.4 million
Place in the cultural flow	<p>Central and worldwide sphere of influence</p> <p>-Universalism of the Parisian culture and tradition of openness -“Exception culturelle” + a long-standing anti-American stance juxtaposes the French highbrow cultural soft power and the American lowbrow culture (Dauncey, 2010; Maurin, 2009)</p> <p>An old global player Important exports (over 9000 million US dollars) and imports (more than 8700 million US dollars) of cultural goods: France has a balanced trade coverage ratio of cultural good (103.5%) (Unesco, 2016)</p>	<p>Peripheral, searching for a regional centrality</p> <p>- Soft power and challenges of social inequalities - Regional influence and cultural barriers (Caldeira, 2000; Rolnik et al., 1990)</p> <p>Trying to play global Exports are low (289 million of US dollars) and imports much higher (almost 800 million of US dollars): a very unbalanced trade coverage ratio (37%) (Unesco, 2016)</p>	<p>Gaining soft power</p> <p>-Japanese and Chinese influence of colonization -US influence since WW II</p> <p>A new global player: Korean export of cultural contents: 2009-2011 Grown from \$2435 million to \$4146 million (KOCCA as cited in Park, 2014)</p> <p>Music gaining global influence since 1990’s in Asia, Latin America, Africa and North America (Seabrook, 2012)</p>
Diversity of population	Mixed origins: High proportion of mixed origins (52%) + regular migration (7%) (Tribalat, 2013)	Mixed origins: Low proportion of foreign born (1.8%) but high proportion of mixed race (43%) + migration (2.3%) (IBGE, 2010)	Homogenous: Low proportion of foreign born or foreign origin (4%) e-Seoul Statistics (2018)

Matrix 2: Youth in three cities

	Paris	São Paulo	Seoul
Demographic	Proportion of Youth: 17% (Calver and Pichard, 2015)	Proportion of youth : 9% (IBGE, 2010)	Proportion of youth in total population 13% (15-24 years)
Social position and occupation	<p>Students: 47% of 18-24 y.o. are students (Calver and Pichard, 2015)</p> <p>18% unemployment rate for youth aged 15-24 (versus 8.7% for all) and 24,9% in the rest of the country (Faucon, 2018)</p>	<p>Students: 4.3% of the youth are in university (INEP, 2017)</p> <p>high level of unemployment: 24.1% (IBGE, 2014)</p>	<p>Students 10% of the total population</p> <p>-86% of all high school graduates go on to college, about 3.3 million students are enrolled in 347 universities – <i>one of every 14 South Koreans is a university student</i></p> <p>e-Seoul Statistics (2018)</p> <p>Unemployment rates 9.9 percent in 2017 for youth 15-29 versus 3.7 for all</p> <p>e-Seoul Statistics (2018)</p>
Education	<p>High level of education: more than 80% reach the baccalaureate and 45% university degrees (Poulet-Coulibandot and Testas, 2017)</p> <p>Educational system remains defensive toward the introduction of courses in English at the university level (Héran, 2013)</p>	<p>Low level of education but the highest in the country: 4.5% (INEP, 2017)</p>	<p>Very high level of education for youth: 99% graduate from high school and over 69% have post-secondary degrees OECD (2018)</p> <p>US based lifestyles and education valued, high level of English proficiency Park (2011)</p>
Cultural devices used by youth	<p>Internet access: 96% internet access (mainly through smartphones) (Gombault, 2013)</p>	<p>Internet access: 67% of Internet access, 96% through smartphones (Cetic, 2017)</p>	<p>Internet access: 99.2% households have internet access 92.6% of the total population use the Internet. 96.8% of South Korean mobile phones had Internet access Internet World Stats (2018)</p>

Matrix 3: Uses of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism

	Paris	São Paulo	Seoul
Global cultural products consumed	Flows coming mainly from Western Europe and the US, and recently Asia (especially Japan and Korea)	Flows coming mainly from the US and Western Europe	Flows coming mainly from the US, Japan and Western Europe in terms of cultural products
Type of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism	An emphasize on aesthetics (sounds, voice) Non-instrumental curiosity about culture (learning to understand)	An emphasis on distinctive cultural repertoire Aesthetic codes are shared within specific groups (learning to reproduce behaviors)	An emphasize on instrumental learning about culture (workplace and social norms and expectations different cultures, language proficiency)
Social sphere relevant to aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism	Media-cultures	Social network	Educational system Job market
Uses of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitan skill	For self-improvement in a context of an absence of institutional support	For social capital towards social inclusion in a context where job opportunities are scarce	For developing human capital enabling entrance into the prestigious strata of the job market