Edited by Julie Emontspool and Ian Woodward

COSMOPOLITANISM, MARKETS, AND CONSUMPTION

A CRITICAL GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption

Julie Emontspool • Ian Woodward
Editors

Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption

A Critical Global Perspective

palgrave
macmillan

Editors
Julie Emontspool
Odense M, Denmark

Ian Woodward
University of Southern Denmark
Odense M, Denmark

ISBN 978-3-319-64178-2 ISBN 978-3-319-64179-9 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017956730

Cover illustration: Robert Bender / EyeEm

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Acknowledgements

As in most academic projects, this collection is a group effort that builds on the valuable advice and help of many collaborators. We therefore wish to thank all who contributed to this project, to our close colleagues who have supported the project and provided us with many ideas, advice and types of assistance.

In particular, we want to express our gratitude to the publisher, Palgrave Macmillan, for commissioning the collection, and especially Sharla Plant, Amelia Derkatsch, Harriet Barker and Jack Redden for their swift responses, patience and enthusiasm about the project. We also thank the anonymous reviewers of our collection proposal for their constructive feedback.

This collection would not have been possible without the valuable contributions of its authors, whose hard work and innovative approaches allow this collection to live up to its goal of providing a critical, global perspective on the concept of consumer cosmopolitanism and its role in the marketplace.

We are also extremely grateful to the members of our interdisciplinary research group, 'Consumption, Culture and Commerce', at University of Southern Denmark's Department of Marketing and Management, for advice and support during this process. In particular, we very much thank Cristiano Smaniotto for his help with the book's formatting.

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

1

Introduction

Julie Emontspool and Ian Woodward

The globally networked world, where many people have a shared sense of a planet as a whole and experience this through mobility, work, technologies and exposure to the media, seems perfectly suited to the proliferation of the idea of cosmopolitanism. The attractiveness of the concept is manifold and its implications compelling. Accordingly, cosmopolitanism today is made from a potent blend of ideology, social hope, self-narrative, social performance and social fact. Most contemporary commentators have concurred that cosmopolitanism is associated with a conscious openness to the world and the potential for a relational dialogue with people and things that are culturally different (Hannerz, 1990). The adoption of a cosmopolitan outlook involves 'an everyday, historically alert, reflexive awareness of ambivalences in a milieu of blurring differentiations and cultural contradictions' (Beck, 2006, p. 3). As summarised by Delanty, in broad terms 'cosmopolitanism is about the extension of

J. Emontspool (✉) • I. Woodward
Department of Marketing and Management, University of Southern Denmark, Odense, Denmark

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_1

the moral and political horizons of people, societies, organisations and institutions' (Delanty, 2012, p. 2). The cosmopolitanism question at the level of empirical inquiry concerning practices and individuals, then, is essentially whether or not people begin to develop feelings of responsibility for widening circles of strangers (Appiah, 2007). It asks how they seek to understand and be changed by incorporating others' viewpoints and practices which are apparently very much unlike their own, and how they feel responsible for environments far away from them, including for non-human agents like ecological and climatic systems.

At the level of institutions and markets, the cosmopolitan question becomes one of network embeddedness and connectedness and how 'the formation of cosmopolitanism is coterminous with the growth of attachments among humans and nonhumans in certain configurations. What configurations sustain cosmopolitanism? How do they grow?' (Saito, 2011, p. 131). In this collection, we partly set ourselves and our authors the task of exploring the links between individual practices and meanings, and the networked attachments that find and structure them through explorations of markets and consumption practices.

This collection is in line with the empirical turn that has been embraced widely within contemporary cosmopolitanism studies. While researchers currently grapple not only with the abstract philosophical dimensions of the concept, they increasingly seek to understand how every day, vernacular forms of cosmopolitanism work, and how people acquire and learn cosmopolitan competencies and habits (Kendall, Woodward, & Skrbiś, 2009; Noble, 2013). In this context, it is not an exaggeration to observe that consumption opportunities and practices, whether mundane or ecstatic, constitute a large part of people's engagements and encounters with diversity and cultural difference. Furthermore, these consumption practices connect networked topographies of capital with individuals, households, neighbourhoods and consumer tribes. In this collection, we assemble authors who address such connections, responding to the fundamental question of in what ways this consumption might matter for diffusing cosmopolitan cultures and in what ways it might complicate them, or even deform them. And, in what ways can scholarship from diverse disciplinary perspectives work with each other to shed light on these questions?

The purpose of this book is to examine the relational mediation and performance of cosmopolitan ideals and cosmopolitanisation processes for consumption and market practices. The book expands current perspectives on cosmopolitan consumption from a focus on Western-educated elites towards a global perspective, acknowledging the diversity of cosmopolitanisms in an increasingly mobile world. It combines social scientific and business and marketing approaches to cosmopolitanism, bringing the strongest and distinctive elements of both approaches to bear on the problem of how consumption relates to cosmopolitanism. Assembling a set of researchers from around the globe, it advocates an interdisciplinary approach to exploring the cosmopolitanism consequences of consumption by combining insights from research in sociology, anthropology, cultural studies and consumer research. By discussing not only the positive side of cosmopolitanism but also the problems and challenges related to it, such as environmental consequences, labour exploitation and cultural domination and the way these problems become cosmopolitan questions by way of consumption, this book takes a critical look at issues and practices of cosmopolitan consumption and marketisation.

Book Structure

The chapters in the book conceptualise a range of ways that consumption, materials and attachments matter for understanding possibilities for the diffusion and adoption of cosmopolitan sensibilities, lifestyles and cosmopolitics.

In Part I of the book, the authors address broadly the dimension of personal consumption and how it may help people think in cosmopolitan ways and indeed to perform a type of cosmopolitan identity, asking how and in what ways such consumption might matter for expanding universes of belonging and overcoming boundaries and barriers of cultural difference. This section of the book therefore outlines the research questions and problems addressed in the volume, as well as conceptualises and maps key debates and questions within the field. Chapter 2 by Woodward and Emontspool offers an overview of existing research

linking cosmopolitanism and consumption and delineates current challenges and questions emerging from this construct in global marketplaces. Chapter 3 by Kipnis critically assesses current cosmopolitanism studies in consumer research, highlighting that they do not necessarily differentiate between foreign and global product preferences. On this basis, the chapter offers recommendations for improving the measurement of consumer cosmopolitanism in multicultural marketplaces. Chapter 4 by Cicchelli and Octobre studies how young consumer generations approach aesthetic cosmopolitanism given the widespread global connectivity of this generation in today's marketplaces. Specifically, this chapter addresses the link between cosmopolitanism and status for those generations and proposes a sociological way for thinking through temporal changes in consumer patterns via their idea of the 'cosmopolitan amateur'.

Part II of the book addresses the idea that cosmopolitanism is more than just ideas and values, but circulates through a symbolic, material and aesthetic economy related to styles, aesthetic forms, material surfaces and cultural performances available to particular publics who are able to transform them into things with cosmopolitan consequences. Accordingly, it illustrates how cosmopolitanism is expressed in and by spatial and material contexts in the marketplace. It also allows for discussion of the ways in which cosmopolitanism is constituted by a symbolic, material and aesthetic economy related to commercial and public spaces, and cultural performances. In Chap. 5, exploring young people's consumption in Sao Paulo, Brazil, Riegel studies the interactions between brandscapes and cosmoscapes in global urban contexts. This chapter sheds light on the way the branding landscape in economically developing global cities constitutes cosmopolitan experience devoid of consumers' physical mobility. Chapter 6 by Figueiredo, Bean and Larsen investigates how service environments build cosmopolitan experiences. It studies the case of the restaurant Red Rooster Harlem, which combines a diversity of cultural identities. Doing so, this chapter illustrates how servicescapes may offer narrative templates and resources for cosmopolitan consumption experiences. Chapter 7 by Eduardo de la Fuente studies the aesthetic and material qualities of architecture and built forms. Taking off from new research applications within material studies which focuses on the

qualities of surfaces, it initiates a debate between aesthetic and ordinary cosmopolitanism on the one side of this emergent area of 'surface studies', and on the other, it deals with the question of how concrete as a material may suggest cosmopolitan openness or, its contrary, being closedness.

Consuming difference brings into focus questions of ethical and global forms of social action, especially when consumption is sometimes based on appropriation of difference, symbolic domination and transformation into social status and cultural capital. Part III of the book therefore explores ethical and humanitarian consequences of cosmopolitan consumption and markets. Indeed, while the moral side of cosmopolitanism rests on aspirations of unity and equality of humankind and the world, in practice, cosmopolitan consumption can foster both social and economic inequality, which renders this type of consumption challenging. This section consequently discusses how morality, politics and social responsibility interplay with cosmopolitanism in global marketplaces. Chapter 8 by Rojas Gaviria studies the link between consumers' moral commitment to charity and cosmopolitanism. Using the case of a peer-to-peer lending platform, the chapter shows that cosmopolitan concern for other can support charity efforts. It thereby sheds light on how the marketplace may support individuals' moral commitments to others. Chapter 9 by Verderame explores how festivals become incubators of cosmopolitan culture. It defines the features of the festival as cosmoscape and identifies barriers to the formation of an imagined cosmopolitan community. Chapter 10 by Fozdar explores how consumers navigate the dilemmas of cosmopolitan morality and the desire to protect local workers and businesses. Doing so, it illustrates how anxieties about cultural difference intersect with everyday consumption practices and moral consumption considerations.

All in all, this book thereby discusses how cosmopolitan consumption reveals cultural dimensions of the marketisation of difference—how are global things made, how do they move about parts of the globe and how do they reflect cosmopolitan aspirations? Part IV offers concluding perspectives on the role of cosmopolitanism in global marketplaces through two theoretical reflections. Both chapters provide reflections on current research and future opportunities for studying cosmopolitanism in

consumption and markets. Chapter 11 by Kjeldgaard addresses the relevance and future opportunities of studying cosmopolitanism, markets and consumption in the field of consumer culture theory, and studies of marketing more broadly. Chapter 12 by Skrbis draws more widely on debates about contemporary global issues, reflecting on the relevance and future opportunities of studying cosmopolitanism, markets and consumption in the field of sociology.

References

Appiah, K. A. (2007). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Beck, U. (2006). *The Cosmopolitan Vision*. Cambridge: Polity.

Delanty, G. (2012). *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*. London: Routledge.

Hannerz, U. (1990). Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture. *Theory Culture & Society, 7*(2), 237–251.

Kendall, G., Woodward, I., & Skrbiś, Z. (2009). *The Sociology of Cosmopolitanism: Globalization, Identity, Culture and Government*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Noble, G. (2013). Cosmopolitan Habits: The Capacities and Habitats of Intercultural Conviviality. *Body and Society, 19*(2–3), 162–185.

Saito, H. (2011). An Actor-Network Theory of Cosmopolitanism. *Sociological Theory, 29*(2), 124–149.

Julie Emontspool is Associate Professor at the Department of Marketing and Management of the University of Southern Denmark. She holds a PhD in Management Sciences from Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium, and joined faculty in Denmark after a brief research stay at Schulich School of Business, Canada. Her main research interests relate to the market consequences of contact between cultures, in particular consumer acculturation, cosmopolitanism and globalisation. Her work about cosmopolitanism, globalisation and migration has among others been published in *Consumption Markets and Culture, International Marketing Review, Advances in Consumer Research, European Journal of International Management* and in various book chapters.

Ian Woodward is Professor at the Department of Marketing and Management of the University of Southern Denmark. He has research interests in the sociology of consumption, aesthetics and material culture, and in the cultural dimensions of cosmopolitanism. His critical survey of the field of material culture studies, *Understanding Material Culture*, was published by Sage in 2007. With Gavin Kendall and Zlatko Skrbis, he is co-author of *The Sociology of Cosmopolitanism* (Palgrave, 2009) and with Zlatko Skrbis he published *Cosmopolitanism, Uses of the Idea* (Sage/TCS, 2013). Most recently he published the co-authored book *Vinyl, The Analogue Record in the Digital Age* (Bloomsbury, 2015, with Dominik Bartmanski) and co-edited a book titled *The Festivalization of Culture* with Andy Bennett and Jodie Taylor (Ashgate, 2014). He holds faculty adjunct positions at Griffith University, Australia, and the Yale University Center for Cultural Sociology, New Haven. Woodward is a member of numerous journal and book series boards.

Part I

The Cosmopolitan Concept: Definition, Uses and Challenges

2

Conceptualizing the Field. Consuming the Other, Marketing Difference

Ian Woodward and Julie Emontspool

The concept of cosmopolitanism is an idea of ancient philosophical origin now rejuvenated within a variety of research fields and increasingly applied across the social sciences and humanities. Though deployed in various ways, at its core it houses a family of associated concepts related to understanding practices and structures of seeking connection and dialogue with culturally different others. Within this broad frame, cosmopolitanism is composed of multiple intellectual threads, including being a normative philosophy, ethical habits, modes of transnational governance, a socio-cultural process, and a cultural practice (Beck, 2006; Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Vertovec & Cohen, 2002; Woodward, Skrbiś, & Bean, 2008). In the context of this book, building on the idea that cosmopolitanism assists researchers in exploring encounters with diversity in everyday settings (Appiah, 2007; Delanty, 2011; Hannerz, 1990; Nussbaum,

I. Woodward (✉) • J. Emontspool
Department of Marketing and Management, University of Southern Denmark, Odense, Denmark

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_2

1996), we explore the mediation and possibilities of these encounters in the context of consumption practices, consumer experience, and market processes.

Cosmopolitanism has captured the imaginations of researchers because it represents social and political critique and hope and because it offers a rigorous, expansive, and innovative body of theory for conceptualizing the hybrid and relational aspects of the globally networked social world. The ancient idea that a person could be a citizen of the world has never seemed so concrete in technological terms, nor so ethically and politically necessary, until recent times. Not only are there more opportunities for various types of mobilities and engagements with difference and Otherness in both local and global settings, there are compelling reasons and demands for an ethics that connects universal values with practices of respect for local value and difference (Appiah, 2007). The demands and opportunities of a cosmopolitan ethics are multi-scalar; they offer as much for urgent global problems related to extreme inequalities and geo-political complexities related to refugees and asylum seekers, as they do for having respect for difference and diversity within local neighbourhoods.

In the last decade or so, picking up on the utility of the cosmopolitanism concept, researchers have begun to empirically explore meanings and practices of cosmopolitan openness and ethics in a variety of forms and settings (Delanty, 2012; Rovisco & Nowicka, 2011). In this collection we adopt a similar strategy, but take a particular focus on cosmopolitan ethics as mediated and experienced through market arrangements and consumption practices. Such a juxtaposition of fields might at first seem incompatible. There is a long-standing, seemingly instinctive, tendency in political and social thought to counterpose markets and consumption practices as profane and in opposition to the ethics of care, hospitality, and progressive social change embedded in cosmopolitan ideals. We do not seek to take the opposite point of view and argue for the inherent goodness of market processes, far from it, but we do at least wish to explore scientifically and from various actor and network positions the complexities, contradictions, and relational processes embedded within global markets and consumption practices. Forcefully adopting a similar position in his review of the relationship between conceptions of civic life

and consumption, Schudson critiques this anomaly, stating that 'marketers may romanticize consumers, but social critics are unlikely to', and that the default tendency is to suggest that 'either consumption is in itself unvirtuous because it seeks the individual's own pleasures, or its displacement of political activity has unfortunate consequences for the social good' (Schudson, 2007, p. 237). He concludes that 'it is high time to put both of these notions in the trash rather than the recycling bin' (Schudson, 2007, p. 237).

The myopic pattern which finds markets, consumption, and ethics to be mutually exclusive categories is found repeatedly in the field of cosmopolitanism studies, where the political and ethical dimensions of the idea are assumed to be unattainable through anything except an unlikely utopian combination of pure thought, world government, and reflexive ethical deliberation. Researchers have tended, for example, to passively endorse Calhoun's well-known, searing critique of the class basis and naive optimism of cosmopolitanism: 'food, tourism, music, literature and clothes are all easy faces of cosmopolitanism, but they are not hard tests for the relationship between local solidarity and international civil society' (Calhoun, 2002, p. 105). Calhoun's argument about the easy and soft faces of cosmopolitanism seems straightforward and, in some contexts, is undoubtedly correct, as a range of empirical evidence can show. In its appeal to critical values, it is also certainly politically viable, but it doesn't necessarily make for good social science. By working with a contrastive distinction about the inherent incompatibility between cosmopolitan solidarity and democracy on the one hand, and everyday forms of cosmopolitanism on the other, his argument is destined never to find the truth about either. We are steadfastly against making such assumptions and wish to at least leave open our research imaginations to identifying the cosmopolitan possibilities—and points of closure of cosmopolitan values and practices—afforded via various types of consumption practices and market arrangements.

Our argument is based on the understanding that transnational flows of things, people, and images not only create possibilities for cosmopolitan consumption scapes, but that in various ways—both positive and negative as explored by authors in this collection—consumer practices and market systems might mediate, network, and perform cosmopolitan

ethics. In their important empirical reflection on this topic, Szerszynski and Urry (2008) suggested that the selling of mundane forms of cosmopolitan style may go hand-in-hand with more fundamental and progressive social-structural changes. Rather than being mere surface features, and apparently trivial aspects of globalization, they do, in fact, have an important symbolic value and are harbingers of wider social changes. On the side of leisure and lifestyle, we have travel shows and newspapers based around food, adventure, and dimensions of luxury and mobile discovery; on the political and economic side, daily news devotes itself to international events, traumas, and dramas, which can either suggest to us the need to cocoon and insulate ourselves further from the world or can also encourage us to take actions which confirm our own investment in the global meaning of social events.

In this chapter, we begin by discussing these processes as they are based in research literatures within the fields of sociology and business and marketing studies, offering an overview of existing research linking cosmopolitanism and consumption. Additionally, we further delineate current challenges and questions emerging from the cosmopolitan agenda in global marketplaces.

Philosophical Roots of an Aesthetic and Ethical Concept: The Idea in Antiquity

It would be incorrect to understand the interest in cosmopolitanism as something novel, forged solely from late-globalisation processes around mobilities and media. Undoubtedly the renewed interest in cosmopolitanism emerges from awareness of the ethical possibilities afforded by such flows and globally networked scapes. As sociologists alert to the historical origins of the cosmopolitanism concept have shown (Inglis, 2012; Turner, 2006), it has a noteworthy lineage, and although in modern terms its essence is inherently about forms of social solidarity, the cosmopolitan ideal can be traced back to antiquity, specifically having its origins in the philosophical thought of the Cynics and Stoics. In ancient Greece, Diogenes of Sinope, founder of the Cynic school, provides a foundational statement on the meaning of the concept which continues to provide a

key reference point for contemporary understandings. Diogenes declared himself to be *a-polis* (without a city), *a-oikos* (without a home), and *kosmopolites* (a citizen of the universe) (Inglis, 2012). Advocating a radical universal position, Diogenes's statement provided a challenge to the meaning of citizenship in ancient Greece, resonating today as an ideal standing as a significant challenge to contemporary conceptions of citizenship. In the first place, his statement denied the value of an exclusive belonging to the Greek polis. In addition, as a related principle which is at the core of cosmopolitan ethics, the statement emphasizes that an individual might feel a sense of belonging to the community of the world as a whole. The question of what such a sense of belonging might entail, and the extent of its commitment to distant others in the world, is an—or, perhaps *the*—essential cosmopolitan question. The simplicity of Diogenes's statement, in its attractive combination of freedom to have mobility around the world coupled with a strong sense of commitment to universal values of humanity, still resonates as an *ur*-statement on the meaning of cosmopolitanism. As illustrated by Inglis (2012), Roman Stoics such as Marcus Aurelius and Cicero further developed the sentiment of a universal brotherhood within the context of the Roman empire by advancing the idea that there was a common citizenship and that the world was to be understood as a single state or city so that care could be extended to people everywhere, regardless of borders or nationalities.

In the writings of Enlightenment philosopher Immanuel Kant, we see a complex, idealized sense of cosmopolitan values related to the governing role of states, cooperation among nations, and conditional forms of hospitality to citizens from outside the nation. For Kant, world peace is associated with free states, the equality of citizens, and with rational forms of freedom where people subject themselves to reasonable lawful constraints in the interests of community good. In relation to his cosmopolitan vision, Kant saw world history as driven by a principle of peaceful evolution, where war and hostility were eventually deemed incompatible with meeting human and social interests and so peaceful means of cooperation were required and especially facilitated through commercial exchange and contract. The history of the world was associated with the flow and spread of people across the planet and the inherent potential for conflict based on cultural differences such as language or religion. With the growth of inter-

national trade and the spirit of commerce, over time what necessarily develops is a system of peaceful relations between states, and between cooperating individuals. From this arise the grounds for a 'universal cosmopolitan condition', such that a violation of the rights of people in one part of the world is experienced as a violation of human rights, as if the population were an entity with universally agreed human values. While globalization processes provide the opportunity for exploitation and conflict, for example, via colonial processes and processes of economic extraction, a normative philosophy of cosmopolitan virtues provides a potential counterpoint to such processes and an implicit valuing of universal human values.

Thinkers in classical sociology and social philosophy such as Marx, Durkheim, Saint-Simon, and Comte all explored aspects of cosmopolitanism, the effects of global capitalism on the formation of forms of international solidarity, possibilities for the formation of a world society, the balance between national and cosmopolitan forms of social belonging, and the changing character of obligations to others. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx famously commented on the cosmopolitan character of capitalist production and consumption, yet his suggestion served to show how systems of economic extraction and exploitation required cosmopolitan outlooks for strategic purposes. It was not until the 1990s that cosmopolitanism once again became a topic of intense research interest and philosophical speculation, spurred on partly by the extensive, growing literatures on globalization and their suggestion that the opportunities for global connections might foster renewed possibilities for identities and solidarities beyond the local and national. Important works by Nussbaum (1996), Beck (2002a, 2006), Cohen (1996), Appiah (1996), Vertovec and Cohen (2003), and Held (1995) all consolidated the growing interest in cosmopolitanism and sparked debates and research innovation across the social sciences and humanities more broadly.

Cosmopolitanism: Definition and Dimensions

Cosmopolitanism as a field of research continues to effervesce and evolve dynamically in a range of disciplinary areas, yet as Skrbiś, Kendall, and Woodward (2004) argued in their sociological take on the topic,

definitional variations, empirical fuzziness, and conceptual gaps and contradictions still characterize the field. Such diversity of approaches gives the field vitality and relevance, but also demands additional definitional clarity. To this end, the fundamental distinction made by Beck between cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanization allows us to differentiate between cosmopolitanism as a political and cultural philosophy and ideal and cosmopolitanization as a social process. Such a distinction, though basic, helps us to heuristically distinguish normative and philosophical elements from complexities of socio-cultural interactions and practices. In the following discussion, we elaborate this distinction with an eye on key positions in existing consumer research on the topic.

On the one hand, we can understand cosmopolitanism as a political philosophy and ethical ideal of openness and connection to others who are distant to, or different from ourselves, by virtue of important identity markers such as nationality, ethnicity, or religiosity, for example. In sociological research and in the context of the framing power of consumption practices, the study by Woodward et al. (2008) operationalized cosmopolitanism in such a way, weighing-up preferences for consumer cosmopolitanism in terms of choice, variety, and self-enhancement against anxieties about threats to national identity and the perceived health of the national economy posed by global processes. This field of research is by now very large. At the empirical level, however, the concept of cosmopolitanism is receiving more frequent attention in a variety of applications in sub-fields like urban studies (e.g. Binnie et al., 2006), transnationalism and diaspora studies (e.g. Rajan & Sharma, 2006), modes and practices of cross-cultural engagement (e.g. Lamont & Aksartova, 2002), and studies of locality and belonging (e.g. Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2005; Skeggs, 2004; Szerszynski & Urry, 2006). As a cultural phenomenon, cosmopolitanism is defined by an engagement with and openness to other cultures, values, and experiences. Such a cultural outlook is identified as underpinned by new types of mobilities of capital, people, and things (Beck, 2006; Hannerz, 1990; Szerszynski & Urry, 2006, 2008); elaborated, flexible, and heterogeneous outlooks and modes of corporeal engagement among citizen-publics that are grounded in cultural-symbolic competencies founded in a type of 'code-switching' capacity (Bernstein, 1972; Chaney, 2002; Emmison, 2003; Hall, 2002);

and an expanded, inclusive ethical core emphasizing worldliness and communitarianism (Hannerz, 1990; Nussbaum, 1996). Now the literatures defining these characteristics are relatively well-established, new questions arise about their robustness, stability across social settings, and their basis in networks, spaces, materials, and zones of social performativity.

On the other hand, and developing the previous point, we can highlight the process of cosmopolitanization, which refers to the gradual process of social, cultural, and political change whereby individuals and social institutions orient themselves to the challenges and opportunities posed by new forms of transnational, global mobility, and interconnections. The strong theoretical approach is best exemplified in the work by Beck and colleagues (2006; see also Beck, 2012; Beck & Sznaider, 2006), who present a vision of cosmopolitanism fitted with an epistemological core that challenges the basis of mainstream social scientific theory. The clearest expression of this challenge is their critique of methodological nationalism—a critique that is shared with studies of transnationalism (e.g. Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002)—which emphasizes the limitations flowing from social sciences' 'silent commitment to the nation-state' (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 4). The newly emerging interdependencies of culture, politics, environment, and economy call for a radical break with the nation-state-centric tradition of doing social science research.

Because it reminds us that cosmopolitanism is both a social fact attributable in part to increased global mobilities and a process of socio-cultural change that it is neither guaranteed nor complete, this distinction between the mechanics and processes of movements of people and things on the one hand and on the other the ethical, political, and cultural modes for responding to such processes is important. More broadly, this conceptual distinction comes to constitute the central difference between theories of globalization conceived as the study of the mechanics of mobilities and fluidities unfixed from constraints of time and space, in contrast to the ethical, normative challenge of how these processes affect socio-cultural and political structures of social solidarity. Though the former group of processes provide the background and substance for cosmopolitan possibilities, they are neither necessary, nor sufficient, for it to happen. On the other hand, this latter ethical dimension is probably the

essence of cosmopolitanism theory and its expression in forms of everyday practice, paralleling broader studies about ethical consumption (Littler, 2008).

When we examine existing studies around cosmopolitanism and markets, we can see that they have predominantly approached cosmopolitanism from two main directions, detailed in the following sections: (1) market-driven intercultural exchanges taking their roots in transnationalism and globalization studies as well as other theories of cultural contact and (2) linkages of cosmopolitan consumption with status, mobilities, and power.

Market-Driven Intercultural Exchange

Cosmopolitanism studies inscribe themselves within the larger field of research regarding contacts between cultures in a global market, approached in sociology, in marketing and consumer research as well as in other disciplines. Studies about cross-cultural consumption (Brewer & Trentmann, 2006; Howes, 1996; Miller, 1995; Steiner, 1994) have provided valuable insights relative to the ways in which global flows of people, products, money, and information shape contemporary societies (Appadurai, 1990). In addition to directing our focus on a multiplication of cultures in contact, which can be part of cross-cultural consumption studies but is not automatically included, adopting a cosmopolitanism lens allows for a focus on ideological and ethical consequences of the conscious adoption of consumption behaviour centred on cultural diversity.

In marketing and consumer research, this linkage between cross-cultural consumption and cosmopolitanism has been explored in such a way, addressing how cosmopolitan adoption of other cultures' products relates to and contrasts with consumer ethnocentrism rejecting such products (Carpenter, Moore, Alexander, & Doherty, 2013; Cleveland, Laroche, & Papadopoulos, 2009; Lee & Mazodier, 2015; Roth, 2006; Zeugner-Roth, Zabkar, & Diamantopoulos, 2015). In this context, the concept of consumer cosmopolitanism has mostly been used as a characteristic determining consumer product choice, purchasing behaviour, and responses to brand origin (Yoon, Cannon, & Yaprak, 1986).

Consumer cosmopolitanism thereby represents a socio-cultural trait, understood as a set of habits, practices, and tastes, influencing consumers' purchase and consumption decisions (Cleveland et al., 2009). The construct of consumer cosmopolitanism then becomes an index or variable constituted by three key dimensions: (1) open-mindedness, (2) diversity appreciation, and (3) consumption transcending borders (Riefler, Diamantopoulos, & Siguaw, 2012).

Chapter 3 in this book, written by Eva Kipnis, critically discusses the contributions and limitations of such an approach. It proposes avenues for updating current studies in consumer behaviour such as described in the previous paragraph using advances in the field of sociology. Furthermore, it offers a specific focus regarding cosmopolitan consumption in multicultural marketplaces (Demangeot, Broderick, & Craig, 2015), where cultural diversity becomes commonplace, and where we might observe a shifting landscape of the production and consumption of difference.

Status, Mobility, and Distinction. Consuming Otherness and Enhancing Self

Research into cosmopolitanism tends to enact and reproduce important skeins in the field of sociological consumption studies, addressing cosmopolitan consumption as a form of cultural appropriation in a global world, as a mode of distinction, and as a way of acquiring and performing cultural capital. In both the sociological field of consumption, and consumption in marketing and business studies, the figure of Bourdieu directly and indirectly looms large when considering the links between consuming difference, social status, and cultural capital. Working from this tradition, the strongest and most visible framework for making sense of cosmopolitanism is by conceiving it as a practice related to the performance and acquisition of social status and cultural capital. This skein is founded upon a Bourdieusian logic of the social distributions and uses of taste and analysis of the marketized field dynamics of cultural production which also draw upon and shape relations of cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Building on this field more directly, it develops

from more recent research literatures on omnivorous consumption which extended Bourdieu's insights to take account of shifting social structures and opportunities around class, locality, and global mobility. In these literatures, the underlying assumption is that cosmopolitanism is a practice which asserts specialized, globally oriented tastes as a means of demonstrating cultural superiority or as a badge of distinction (Cappellini, Parsons, & Harman, 2016; Emontspool & Georgi, 2016). The cosmopolitan has a breadth of knowledge and experience within diverse cultural and consumption settings, the technical and intellectual resources or 'capital' to gain employment across national boundaries, and typically has an ability to traverse, consume, appreciate, and empathize with cultural symbols and practices that originate outside their home country (Hannerz, 1990; Skrbis & Woodward, 2011).

In this sense, we could think of the cosmopolitan as similar to the cultural omnivore identified in literatures on aesthetic tastes, who has an ability to appreciate and discern rules and repertoires associated with cultural symbols or forms that originate across cultural boundaries (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996). Within sociology, it is from Peterson's research on omnivorous cultural consumption that the groundwork has emerged for this understanding of the emergence of the cosmopolitan consumer. Originally operationalized as a means of working with Bourdieu in different social and historical contexts, Peterson (1990) asserted the importance of newly marketized global and world musics for cultural consumption patterns among elites. Taking quite a radical departure from Bourdieu, if not in methodology and approach but in terms of conceptualization and findings, Peterson and his colleagues assembled evidence to show the situation had quite strongly shifted from univorous consumption which mapped closely onto cultural location and class, towards omnivorous consumption and the intermingling of diverse aesthetic genres and consumption styles across social and taste groups. In Peterson's case, such a process was explained in part by reference to diversifying music markets and the globalization of musical genres (for a later interpretation, see Regev, 2013). Whatever the modes of aesthetic circulation, omnivorousness also becomes a symbol of specialized cultural knowledge and appreciation, linked more broadly to enhanced social status and moral worthiness. Thus, while the omnivore is generally

understood through the diversity or range of consumption preferences, by musical genre or cuisine types, for example, cosmopolitanism crucially, and perhaps problematically in terms of measurements of linkages between practices, attitudes, and values, addresses the ethical dimensions of such processes. It is a particular type of cultural capital that demonstrates one is able to appreciate the cultural products and practices of others, suggesting openness, awareness, and flexibility which are 'important resources in a society that requires social and geographical mobility, "employability", and "social networking"' (Van Eijck, 2000, p. 221). Such a credential is understood as an important emergent form of capital in a globalizing world, as Peterson and Kern (1996, p. 906) argued in their seminal piece on the topic:

> While snobbish exclusion was an effective marker of status in a relatively homogeneous and circumscribed WASP-ish world that could enforce its dominance over all others by force if necessary, omnivorous inclusion seems better adapted to an increasingly global world managed by those who make their way, in part, by showing respect for the cultural expressions of others.

One of the first to cross the sociology and marketing studies divide within this area was sociologically inspired marketing scholar Douglas Holt, working within and also somewhat against key traditions in US-based sociological studies of culture. One of the first references to cosmopolitanism in consumer research finds itself in his studies concerning consumption differences between consumers of high- and low cultural capital (Holt, 1998). Consumers possessing high cultural capital tend to engage in a conscious search for cultural diversity and exotic experiences. They are thereby often 'early adopters of novel, exotic or otherwise sophisticated social trends' (Holt, 1998, p. 61). In its earlier conceptualizations, consumer research therefore attributes local and cosmopolitan orientations to individuals of lower and higher cultural capital, respectively, high cultural capital enabling individuals to incorporate multiple cultures in their lifestyle and develop a taste for the exotic (Holt, 1998).

Along with linkage to high cultural capital, cosmopolitanism has been connected to mobility, privilege, and power. Thompson and Tambyah

(1999), for instance, frame consumer cosmopolitanism as a set of consumptive and identity opportunities which are afforded as remnants of colonialism (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). This colonial legacy of expatriation and cosmopolitanism is illustrated through the travels by expatriates from more privileged regions of the world to emerging economies (Hutchings, Michailova, & Harrison, 2013; Tambyah & Subrahmanyan, 2001). In such a view, we can see a progressive cosmopolitanization of global elites and their desire to perform cosmopolitan detachments from local context. Such a sentiment also continues to frame sociological theory and research, notably promoted by Calhoun (2002) in his piece on the cosmopolitan 'class-consciousness' of frequent flyers. The motif of the cosmopolitan as privileged, globally mobile, and in possession of surplus capitals has thereby become one dominant motif in cosmopolitan studies: for example, Kanter's (1995) 'world class', Kirwan-Taylor's (2002) 'cosmocrats', Calhoun's (2002) 'frequent travelers', or Hannerz's (2004) 'foreign correspondents'.

Cosmopolitan consumption practices and their expression as cosmopolitan ethics thereby relate in complex ways to mobilities. Temporary migrants, sometimes also called 'sojourners', are mostly seen as cosmopolitan (Luedicke, 2011; Visconti et al., 2014). Sojourners' temporary stay is assumed to encourage them to live out their cosmopolitan ideals by exploring the diversity of multiple host environments in addition to home and host cultures (Jafari & Visconti, 2014; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). Especially migrants with high cultural capital are more readily conceptualized as cosmopolitans (Grinstein & Wathieu, 2012; Hutchings et al., 2013). In this type of approach, the cosmopolitan is then identified as a relatively privileged social actor, distinguished by a command of resources—financial, cultural, and social—that enhance mobility of various kinds and allow, if desired or needed, a capacity for detachment from local settings.

This important tradition of empirical research into the rise of the so-called 'global consumer' has extended into more critical and generalized reflections on the power relationships inherent in 'consuming the other'. Critically developing Bourdieu's approach, Skeggs (2004) argued that to command such cultural resources and to 'consume' them, or become entangled with them for the purposes of building or enhancing self,

amount to a subjectivity of entitlement which once again alerts us to the power relations inherent in some forms of cosmopolitan consumption. If cosmopolitans are indeed particular types of 'symbolic specialists' (Kendall, Woodward, & Skrbiś, 2009) who are culturally equipped with specialized ways of consuming and appropriating or using cultural difference to enhance status, then cosmopolitan forms of consumption represent a type of social power. It may indeed be a way of 'eating the other' (Hooks, 1992), which is imbued with a politics of domination. As Hage (1998) has also argued forcefully, this style of participatory, pleasurable 'cosmo-multiculturalism' (Hage, 1998), complete with the indulgence of fantasies of authenticity, fosters an individual's accumulation of transnational symbols, and his or her experience of another culture, such as food, or way of life. Here there is an observable dual process occurring: such consumption purports to suggest that otherness is valued on its own terms, but at the same time, it tends to value certain forms of otherness, frequently for the purpose of enhancing self, and through categories established via legitimated means of cultural authority (Warde, Martens, & Olsen, 1999). In this sense, it is an appropriation based upon certain moral attributions: it knows what is to be valued, it knows what is culturally useful, and it knows what potential uses such resources could be put. In short, being a type of claim for refinement or superior knowledge, such practices become incorporated into games of status.

The links between social class and cosmopolitan practices, at least in terms of various forms of convivialities, practicalities, and cultural repertoires of 'getting along', have thus been argued to be less clear than first imagined (Chytkova & Kjeldgaard, 2011; Datta, 2009; Lamont & Aksartova, 2002; Werbner, 1999). It might be the case that exposure and access to cosmopolitan scripts and outlooks is becoming more open and free, though the way these scripts are expressed and the power one has to make them work in particular ways becomes the key question and matter of interest. Chapter 4 by Cicchelli and Octobre provides some first answers in this respect, studying aesthetic cosmopolitan consumption among younger generations of consumers (18–29 years). Expanding the work on cosmopolitanism into the realm of cultural products such as comic strips, movies, magazines, and games, they detail how generations who grew up with globalization consume in a cosmopolitan way. The

authors find that cosmopolitan consumption among young people remains socially stratified in France, but that socio-cultural differentiations of upbringing, linguistic competence, and gender give rise to new configurations of cosmopolitan consumption.

Changing Contexts for Cosmopolitanism

Social scientific studies exploring cosmopolitanism and consumption very often take as starting point the individual consumer, as if they alone initiate and coordinate particular avenues of consumptive choice. As the markets perspective shows, and as mainstream sociological critiques have also argued (e.g. Warde, 1994), consumer choice is merely one side of the story and must be situated within relevant market and circulation structures. Cosmopolitanism, however, demands the adoption of a broader frame which can be related to two dimensions: on the one hand, cosmopolitanism requires a cosmopolitanization, not only of individual consumption practices but also of the material and spatial structures and networks in which the consumer is embedded. On the other hand, individuals' increased reflexivity about globalization processes (Giddens, 1991; Robertson, 1992) leads them to pay more attention to ethical and moral questions related to cosmopolitan world citizenship. Each of these dimensions is detailed in the following sections, along with indications as to how the chapters in this collection contribute to each dimension.

Material and Spatial Implications

Our take on cosmopolitanization processes, a premise of this book, is that for most people 'being cosmopolitan' is based around and afforded by various types of consumption practices, ideals, and discourses. In addition, and alongside skills, competences, and capitals, the capacity for people to 'be cosmopolitan' cannot be attained without the organization of transnational markets which provide opportunities for cosmopolitan types of exchange. Market environments such as supermarkets, for example, become increasingly cosmopolitan in their product offers, selling

products originating from diverse countries in the world (Maxwell & DeSoucey, 2016). Existing research has focused on how complications and antinomies of consuming cultural difference are articulated in social contexts. Reducing intercultural exchanges to market interactions, status games, and propertized processes of cultural accumulation overlooks facets of everyday or routine interaction which occur in everyday settings and domains. For example, Mica Nava's (2007) historical research shows how cosmopolitanism was organized to exist within the decoration and product range of large department stores in early twentieth century London. Promoted by commercial interests as an alternative to what certain entrepreneurs saw as stultifying and insular forms of traditional British modernism, this form of popular cosmopolitanism existed within the sphere of commerce, and was able to use the pleasures of shopping to introduce notions of exoticness and difference, and to give expression to the idea of London as a cosmopolitan city. In contemporary settings, Anderson (2004) has developed the idea of a 'cosmopolitan canopy', usefully indicating the spatial dimension of everyday cosmopolitanism where mixing occurs across the usual boundaries of class and race as routinal components of everyday life. One might also refer to the contemporary cultural festival as a space of cultural cosmopolitanism (Delanty, Giorgi, & Sassatelli, 2011). The contemporary festival has become one principle site for representing, encountering, incorporating, and understanding aspects of cultural community and cultural difference (Bennett, Taylor, & Woodward, 2014). We therefore assert that a significant yet comparatively understudied component is the underpinning of cosmopolitanism in market arrangements, production systems, symbolic representations that perform the desiring and dreaming of difference, and emergent consumption practices that allow people to 'eat the other'.

The relevance of questions about consumption to the field of cosmopolitanism should be seen both in macro- and micro-contexts, and what is to be highlighted are indeed the connections between both scales which are themselves subject to instabilities and shifts. At the macro-social scale, cosmopolitanism matters if we think both in terms of the glocal character of marketization processes and systems of global commodity construction, extraction, and circulation. Things circulate, and as they circulate they are symbolic carriers of difference and distinction which rely on an

aesthetics of difference, but they are also 'agencements' (MacKenzie, 2008), which articulate and shape the cosmopolitan nature of the social. Given the role of urban settings as hubs for cosmopolitanism (Yeoh, 2005), cities and rural environments gradually dissociate, global cities, for instance, becoming more similar to each other than to the countryside around them (Sassen, 2000, 2010). Global cities are thereby crucial nodes in a global world, where creativity and innovation, the excitement cosmopolitans long for, is widely accessible (Rojas Gaviria & Emontspool, 2015; Yeoh, 2005). These places promote contact with multiple cultures (Kipnis, Broderick, & Demangeot, 2013), encouraging cosmopolitanism possibilities. Riegel (Chap. 5) provides a further perspective on this theme, illustrating cosmopolitan consumption in Brazil, which dissociates cosmopolitan consumption from it colonial heritage of expatriation and cosmopolitanism highlighted in previous studies (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999).

Beyond this, and what extends such processes well beyond globalization, is that the nature of what people consume and how they consume it, including the meanings they assign, is consciously or unconsciously changed by such regimes. With the increase and acceleration of global mobility (Appadurai, 1990; Robertson, 1992), consumers nowadays have the ability to 'interact with the people, products and norms of multiple cultures in a variety of marketplace situations' (Demangeot, Broeckerhoff, Kipnis, Pullig, & Visconti, 2014, p. 3). Multicultural marketplaces where a large cultural diversity co-exists in one place thereby become increasingly common (Demangeot & Sankaran, 2012). Thus, we can talk of various types of global consumers, and consumers of difference, from omnivores, to polyvores, to cosmopolitans. For example, using the case of the restaurant 'Red Rooster' in Harlem, Figueiredo, Bean and Larsen (Chap. 6) develop an exploration of how the material setting of a service environment supports cosmopolitan consumption. They find that the material semiotics of objects in a place enable cosmopolitan performances, activated differentially by the restaurant's clientele.

As a consequence, multiple levels of analysis (co-)exist for research about cosmopolitan consumption. These levels can be micro-societal (individual level), meso-societal (cosmopolitan communities of consumption), or macro-societal (a cosmopolitan world system of societies taking inspiration

from Robertson, 1992), but also reflect cosmopolitan cities, cosmopolitan companies, and more. A critical global perspective on cosmopolitan consumption needn't integrate all levels, but at the least, it should consider the potential interrelations between these levels. For instance, the study of individual consumers' cosmopolitanism may be 'moderated' by their residence in a cosmopolitan city such as Singapore (Yeoh, 2005) and differ from individual consumption behaviour in rural environments or less cosmopolitan cities. De la Fuente's chapter in this collection, Chap. 7, extends this argument even further by exploring the material surfaces that communicate and afford cosmopolitan ambience and performance. Moving beyond material culture studies' interest in object or thing circulation, de la Fuente applies this analysis of surfaces to consider how texture, surface, and the 'skins' of social experience can circulate moral and ethical values.

Ethical and Moral Cosmopolitanisms

Cosmopolitanism as a political and cultural program is partly about politics, governance, ethical outlooks, inclusive policies, boundaries, and porousness of the nation-state. The idea of cosmopolitanism describes a social, cultural, and political process whereby people can feel connection, not only to local and national others and territories of belonging but to the world as a whole. Cosmopolitanism also is often taken to refer to a general orientation of openness, including an open and receptive attitude towards the geographically, culturally, and embodied Other, and the possibility of some form of connection and dialogue with people and things that are culturally different to oneself. Cosmopolitanism thus also involves a process of decentring oneself and one's own socio-cultural values in favour of understanding points of universal human commonality, and reflexively seeing cultural differences as an opportunity for growth, dialogue, and connection, rather than separation.

All these things form part of the intellectual universe of discussions about cosmopolitanism. The development of cosmopolitanism is in large part enabled by transnational mobilities of people and things and is thus an idea apparently well suited to a super-diverse global age. However, its ethical demands are complex and not necessarily directly

tied to such processes. Indeed, they might develop in ways which directly counter such directions. Studies about cosmopolitanism and consumption have laid a large accent on aesthetic cosmopolitanism. Yet cosmopolitanism also includes a political perspective with a view to planetary implications, considering 'global governance, world democracy and moral debates regarding human rights' (Germann Molz, 2011, p. 33). Cosmopolitanism involves a universal responsibility towards other inhabitants of this world (Appiah, 2007). From such a perspective, equality and solidarity across nations become increasingly relevant (Nowicka & Rovisco, 2009), also in the marketplace. Previous research has addressed the role of aesthetic and moral cosmopolitanism in consumption behaviour, highlighting that consumers may use brands such as 'Starbucks' and 'Second Cup' to display both interest for foreign (coffee) cultures and a concern for fair trade with coffee farmers (Bookman, 2013). Further, humanity becomes increasingly aware that it is part of a global risk community. Environmental risks, global financial risks, and social risks such as increasing social inequality render consumers more concerned about the influence of global events on their lives (Beck, 2002a; Beck & Levy, 2013). First studies, for instance, established links between the desire to adopt environmental sustainability and cosmopolitanism (Dobson, 2005; Grinstein & Riefler, 2015). Cosmopolitan citizenship may therefore involve a concern for the environment in a global world (Stevenson, 2002). Existing research, for instance, illustrates this point by demonstrating how consumers may combine discourses about aesthetic and moral cosmopolitan ideals in their adoption of food trends such as New Nordic Food, which gain global popularity by providing an aesthetic spin on local consumption, deemed to be more sustainable (Emontspool & Georgi, 2017).

Aside from considering ethical consumption behaviour, the morality of cosmopolitan consumption more generally can benefit from further study, addressing what makes a certain type of consumption behaviour right or good on the scale of a global humanity. For instance, marketers' advertisement of products targeted at cosmopolitan consumers may simultaneously involve silencing the working conditions of the producers of these products. Studying the morality of cosmopolitan consumption behaviour thereby offers a critical perspective on the potential

problems of the cosmopolitan consumption ideology. Three chapters in this collection offer such a critical perspective. Rojas Gaviria (Chap. 8) discusses the moral intricacies of philanthropic peer-to-peer lending. She argues that moral cosmopolitanism finds its translation in the marketplace when individuals integrate global moral considerations with concrete elements of their everyday life. Solidarity with strangers becomes then an act of banal cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002b), where everyday actions engage global moral ideals. Verderame (Chap. 9) proposes that festivals such as the Festival of Europe in Florence can serve as incubators for cosmopolitan culture but struggle to fully generate a cosmopolitan-imagined community of Europe. When it comes to the creation of a European community of belonging, much progress can therefore still be made in order to create a cosmopolitan culture, a goal for which the author identifies future opportunities. Fozdar (Chap. 10) finally provides a critical perspective on consumers' dilemmas between morals ideals of human equality and those of protecting the wellbeing of local workers, where nationalism and cosmopolitanism compete for moral superiority.

Conclusion: A Framework for Consolidating Interdisciplinary Approaches

This chapter offers a diverse discussion of cosmopolitanism research through the adoption of perspectives centred on material, spatial, as well as ethical and moral articulations of the concept. In their totality, the chapters included in this collection combine to illustrate these perspectives, reflecting the pioneering efforts in sociology and consumer research to provide a multi-level study of cosmopolitan consumption and markets that incorporates both aesthetic and ethical ideals. Such an approach allows for expanding research about cosmopolitan consumption beyond the individual (and often Western) consumer, and for the adoption of a truly critical, global perspective on cosmopolitanism, markets, and consumption.

References

Anderson, E. (2004). The Cosmopolitan Canopy. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 595*(1), 14–31.

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. *Theory, Culture & Society, 7*(2), 295–310.

Appiah, K. A. (1996). Cosmopolitan Patriots. In J. Cohen (Ed.), *For Love of Country*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Appiah, K. A. (2007). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Beck, U. (2002a). The Cosmopolitan Perspective: Sociology of the Second Age of Modernity. In S. Vertovec & R. Cohen (Eds.), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism—Theory, Context, Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Beck, U. (2002b). The Cosmopolitan Society and Its Enemies. *Theory, Culture & Society, 19*(1-2), 17–44.

Beck, U. (2006). *The Cosmopolitan Vision*. Cambridge: Polity.

Beck, U. (2012). Redefining the Sociological Project: The Cosmopolitan Challenge. *Sociology, 46*(1), 7–12.

Beck, U., & Levy, D. (2013). Cosmopolitanized Nations: Re-Imagining Collectivity in World Risk Society. *Theory, Culture & Society, 30*(2), 3–31.

Beck, U., & Sznaider, N. (2006). Unpacking Cosmopolitanism for the Social Sciences: A Research Agenda. *The British Journal of Sociology, 57*(1), 1–23.

Bennett, A., Taylor, J., & Woodward, I. (2014). *The Festivalisation of Culture*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Bernstein, B. (1972). *Class, Codes and Control*. London: Paladin.

Binnie, J., Millington, S., & Young, C. (2006). Introduction: Grounding Cosmopolitan Urbanism. Approaches, Practices and Policies. In J. Binnie, S. Holloway, S. Millington, & C. Young (Eds.), *Cosmopolitan Urbanism*. London: Routledge.

Bookman, S. (2013). Branded Cosmopolitanisms: 'Global' Coffee Brands and the Co-Creation of 'Cosmopolitan Cool'. *Cultural Sociology, 7*(1), 56–72.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge.

Brewer, J., & Trentmann, F. (2006). *Consuming Cultures, Global Perspectives: Historical Trajectories, Transnational Exchanges*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Calhoun, C. (2002). The Class Consciousness of Frequent Travelers: Toward a Critique of Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism. *South Atlantic Quarterly, 101*(4), 869–897.

Cappellini, B., Parsons, E., & Harman, V. (2016). 'Right Taste, Wrong Place': Local Food Cultures, (Dis)Identification and the Formation of Classed Identity. *Sociology, 50*(6), 1089–1105.

Carpenter, J. M., Moore, M., Alexander, N., & Doherty, A. M. (2013). Consumer Demographics, Ethnocentrism, Cultural Values, and Acculturation to the Global Consumer Culture: A Retail Perspective. *Journal of Marketing Management, 29*(3–4), 271–291.

Chaney, D. (2002). Cosmopolitan Art and Cultural Citizenship. *Theory, Culture & Society, 19*(1), 157–174.

Chytkova, Z., & Kjeldgaard, D. (2011). The Modern Woman Myth as a Means of Cosmopolitan Cultural Capital Accumulation: A Gendered Acculturation Perspective. *Research in Consumer Behavior, 13*, 199–216.

Cleveland, M., Laroche, M., & Papadopoulos, N. (2009). Cosmopolitanism, Consumer Ethnocentrism, and Materialism: An Eight-Country Study of Antecedents and Outcomes. *Journal of International Marketing, 17*(1), 116–146.

Cohen, J. (1996). *For Love of Country*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Datta, A. (2009). Places of Everyday Cosmopolitanisms: East-European Construction Workers in London. *Environment and Planning-Part A, 41*(2), 353–370.

Delanty, G. (2011). Cultural Diversity, Democracy and the Prospects of Cosmopolitanism: A Theory of Cultural Encounters. *The British Journal of Sociology, 64*(4), 633–656.

Delanty, G., Giorgi, L., & Sassatelli, R. (2011). *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere*. London: Routledge.

Demangeot, C., Broderick, A. J., & Craig, C. S. (2015). Multicultural Marketplaces. *International Marketing Review, 32*(2), 118–140.

Demangeot, C., Broeckerhoff, A., Kipnis, E., Pullig, C., & Visconti, L. M. (2014). Consumer Mobility and Well-Being among Changing Places and Shifting Ethnicities. *Marketing Theory, 15*(2), 271–278.

Demangeot, C., & Sankaran, K. (2012). Cultural Pluralism: Uncovering Consumption Patterns in a Multicultural Environment. *Journal of Marketing Management, 28*(7–8), 760–783.

Dobson, A. (2005). Globalisation, Cosmopolitanism and the Environment. *International Relations, 19*(3), 259–273.

Emmison, M. (2003). Social Class and Cultural Mobility. *Journal of Sociology, 39*(3), 211–230.

Emontspool, J., & Georgi, C. (2017). A Cosmopolitan Return to Nature: How Combining Aesthetization and Moralization Processes Expresses Distinction in Food Consumption. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 20(4)*, 306–328.

Germann Molz, J. (2011). Cosmopolitanism and Consumption. In M. Rovisco & M. Nowicka (Eds.), *Ashgate Research Companion to Cosmopolitanism* (pp. 33–52). Farnham: Ashgate.

Giddens, A. (1991). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.

Grinstein, A., & Riefler, P. (2015). Citizens of the (Green) World? Cosmopolitan Orientation and Sustainability. *Journal of International Business Studies, 46*(6), 694–714.

Grinstein, A., & Wathieu, L. (2012). Happily (Mal)Adjusted: Cosmopolitan Identity and Expatriate Adjustment. *International Journal of Research in Marketing, 29*(4), 337–345.

Hage, G. (1998). *White Nation. Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*. Annandale: Pluto Press.

Hall, S. (2002). Political Belonging in a World of Multiple Identities. In S. Vertovec & R. Cohen (Eds.), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism – Theory, Context, Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hannerz, U. (1990). Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture. *Theory, Culture & Society, 7*(2), 237–251.

Hannerz, U. (2004). *Foreign News. Exploring the World of Foreign Correspondents*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Held, D. (1995). *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Nation-State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Cambridge: Polity.

Holt, D. B. (1998). Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption? *Journal of Consumer Research, 25*(1), 1–25.

Hooks, B. (1992). Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance. In *Black Looks: Race and Representatio*. Boston: South End Press.

Howes, D. (1996). *Cross-Cultural Consumption: Global Markets Local Realities: Global Markets, Local Realities*. London and New York: Routledge.

Hutchings, K., Michailova, S., & Harrison, E. C. (2013). Neither Ghettoed nor Cosmopolitan: A Study of Western Women's Perceptions of Gender and Cultural Stereotyping in the Uae. *Management International Review, 53*(2), 291–318.

Inglis, D. (2012). Alternative Histories of Cosmopolitanism: Reconfiguring Classical Legacies. In G. Delanty (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*. New York: Routledge.

Jafari, A., & Visconti, L. M. (2014). New Directions in Researching Ethnicity in Marketing and Consumer Behaviour: A Well-Being Agenda. *Marketing Theory, 15*(2), 265–270.

Kanter, R. M. (1995). *World Class: Thriving Locally in the Global Economy*. New York: Simon & Shuster.

Kendall, G., Woodward, I., & Skrbiś, Z. (2009). *The Sociology of Cosmopolitanism: Globalization, Identity, Culture and Government*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kipnis, E., Broderick, A. J., & Demangeot, C. (2013). Consumer Multiculturation: Consequences of Multi-Cultural Identification for Brand Knowledge. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 17*(3), 231–253.

Kirwan-Taylor, H. (2002, October). The Cosmocrats. *Harpers and Quee*n, 188–191.

Lamont, M., & Aksartova, S. (2002). Ordinary Cosmopolitanisms Strategies for Bridging Racial Boundaries among Working-Class Men. *Theory, Culture & Society, 19*(4), 1–25.

Lee, R., & Mazodier, M. (2015). The Roles of Consumer Ethnocentrism, Animosity, and Cosmopolitanism in Sponsorship Effects. *European Journal of Marketing, 49*(5/6), 919–942.

Littler, J. (2008). *Radical Consumption: Shopping for Change in Contemporary Culture*. London: McGraw-Hill Education.

Luedicke, M. K. (2011). Consumer Acculturation Theory: (Crossing) Conceptual Boundaries. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 14*(3), 223–244.

MacKenzie, D. (2008). *Material Markets: How Economic Agents Are Constructed*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Maxwell, R., & DeSoucey, M. (2016). Gastronomic Cosmopolitanism: Supermarket Products in France and the United Kingdom. *Poetics, 56*(June), 85–97.

Miller, D. (1995). *Worlds Apart: Modernity through the Prism of the Local*. London and New York: Routledge.

Nava, M. (2007). *Visceral Cosmopolitanism : Gender, Culture and the Normalisation of Difference*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Nowicka, M., & Rovisco, M. (2009). *Cosmopolitanism in Practice*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Nussbaum, M. C. (1996). Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism. In M. C. Nussbaum & J. Cohen (Eds.), *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Peterson, R. A. (1990). Audience and Industry Origins of the Crisis in Classical Music Programming: Towards World Music. In D. B. Pankratz & V. B. Morris (Eds.), *The Future of the Arts*. New York: Praeger.

Peterson, R. A. (1992). Understanding Audience Segmentation: From Elite and Mass to Omnivore and Univore. *Poetics, 21*(4), 243–258.

Peterson, R. A., & Kern, R. M. (1996). Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore. *American Sociological Review, 61*, 900–907.

Rajan, G., & Sharma, S. (Eds.). (2006). *New Cosmopolitanisms: South-Asians in the US*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Regev, M. (2013). *Pop-Rock Music: Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism in Late Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Riefler, P., Diamantopoulos, A., & Siguaw, J. A. (2012). Cosmopolitan Consumers as a Target Group for Segmentation. *Journal of International Business Studies, 43*(3), 285–305.

Robertson, R. (1992). *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.

Rojas Gaviria, P., & Emontspool, J. (2015). Global Cities and Cultural Experimentation: Cosmopolitan-Local Connections. *International Marketing Review, 32*(2), 181–199.

Roth, K. P. (2006). *The Impact of Consumer Ethnocentrism, Consumer Cosmopolitanism and National Identity on Country Image, Product Image and Consumers' Purchase Intentions*. Paper Presented at the EMAC Doctoral Colloquium, 2006.

Rovisco, M., & Nowicka, M. (2011). *The Ashgate Research Companion to Cosmopolitanism*. London: Routledge.

Sassen, S. (2000). New Frontiers Facing Urban Sociology at the Millennium. *The British Journal of Sociology, 51*(1), 143–159.

Sassen, S. (2010). The City: Its Return as a Lens for Social Theory. *City, Culture and Society, 1*(1), 3–11.

Savage, M., Bagnall, G., & Longhurst, B. (2005). *Globalization and Belonging*. London: Sage.

Schudson, M. (2007). Citizens, Consumers, and the Good Society. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 611*(1), 236–249.

Skeggs, B. (2004). *Class, Self, Culture*. London: Routledge.

Skrbiś, Z., Kendall, G., & Woodward, I. (2004). Locating Cosmopolitanism: Between Humanist Ideal and Grounded Social Category. *Theory, Culture & Society, 21*(6), 115–136.

Skrbis, Z., & Woodward, I. (2011). Cosmopolitanism and Cultural Openness. In M. Rovisco & M. Nowicka (Eds.), *The Ashgate Companion to Cosmopolitanism*. London: Routledge.

Steiner, C. B. (1994). *African Art in Transit* (Vol. 94). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stevenson, N. (2002). Consumer Culture, Ecology and the Possibility of Cosmopolitan Citizenship. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 5*(4), 305–319.

Szerszynski, B., & Urry, J. (2006). Visuality, Mobility and the Cosmopolitan: Inhabiting the World from Afar. *The British Journal of Sociology, 57*(1), 113–131.

Szerszynski, B., & Urry, J. (2008). Cultures of Cosmopolitanism. *The Sociological Review, 50*(4), 461–481.

Tambyah, S. K., & Subrahmanyan, S. (2001). American Expatriate Wives: Gender, Class and Nationality in Transnational Suburbia. In M. C. Gilly & J. Meyers-Levy (Eds.), *Na—Advances in Consumer Research Volume 28* (pp. 143–145). Valdosta, GA: Association for Consumer Research.

Thompson, C. J., & Tambyah, S. (1999). Trying to Be Cosmopolitan. *Journal of Consumer Research, 26*(3), 214–241.

Van Eijck, K. (2000). Richard A. Peterson and the Culture of Consumption. *Poetics, 28*(2/3), 207–224.

Vertovec, S., & Cohen, R. (2003). *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Visconti, L. M., Jafari, A., Batat, W., Broeckerhoff, A., Özhan Dedeoglu, A., Demangeot, C., et al. (2014). Consumer Ethnicity Three Decades After: A Tcr Agenda. *Journal of Marketing Management, 30*(17–18), 1882–1922.

Warde, A. (1994). Consumption, Identity-Formation and Uncertainty. *Sociology, 28*(4), 877–898.

Warde, A., Martens, L., & Olsen, W. (1999). Consumption and the Problem of Variety: Cultural Omnivorousness, Social Distinction and Dining Out. *Sociology, 33*(1), 105–127.

Werbner, P. (1999). Global Pathways. Working Class Cosmopolitans and the Creation of Transnational Ethnic Worlds. *Social Anthropology, 7*(1), 17–35.

Wimmer, A., & Glick Schiller, N. (2002). Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences. *Global Networks, 2*(4), 301–334.

Woodward, I., Skrbiś, Z., & 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.

Yeoh, B. S. A. (2005). The Global Cultural City? Spatial Imagineering and Politics in the (Multi)Cultural Marketplaces of South-East Asia. *Urban Studies, 42*(5–6), 945–958.

Yoon, S.-J., Cannon, H., & Yaprak, A. (1986). Evaluating the Cymyc Cosmopolitanism Scale on Korean Consumers. *Advances in International Marketing, 7*, 211–232.

Zeugner-Roth, K. P., Zabkar, V., & Diamantopoulos, A. (2015). Consumer Ethnocentrism, National Identity, and Consumer Cosmopolitanism as Drivers of Consumer Behavior: A Social Identity Theory Perspective. *Journal of International Marketing, 23*(2), 25–54.

Ian Woodward is Professor at the Department of Marketing and Management of the University of Southern Denmark. He has research interests in the sociology of consumption, aesthetics, and material culture and in the cultural dimensions of cosmopolitanism. His critical survey of the field of material culture studies, *Understanding Material Culture*, was published by Sage in 2007. With Gavin Kendall and Zlatko Skrbis, he is co-author of *The Sociology of Cosmopolitanism* (Palgrave, 2009) and with Zlatko Skrbis he published *Cosmopolitanism, Uses of the Idea* (Sage/TCS, 2013). Most recently he published the co-authored book *Vinyl, The Analogue Record in the Digital Age* (Bloomsbury, 2015) and co-edited a book titled *The Festivalization of Culture* with Andy Bennett and Jodie Taylor (Ashgate, 2014). He holds faculty adjunct positions at Griffith University, Australia, and the Yale University Center for Cultural Sociology, New Haven. Woodward is a member of numerous journal and book series boards.

Julie Emontspool is Associate Professor at the Department of Marketing and Management of the University of Southern Denmark. She holds a PhD in Management Sciences from Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium, and joined faculty in Denmark after a brief research stay at Schulich School of Business, Canada. Her main research interests relate to the market consequences of contact between cultures, in particular consumer acculturation, cosmopolitanism, and globalization. Her work about cosmopolitanism, globalization, and migration has among others been published in *Consumption Markets and Culture, International Marketing Review, Advances in Consumer Research, European Journal of International Management* and in various book chapters.

3

On Decomposing the 'Thick' and the 'Thin' for Measuring Cosmopolitanism in Multicultural Marketplaces: Why Unpacking the Foreign and Global Aspects of Cosmopolitanism Matters

Eva Kipnis

Among concepts representing one's conscious openness to 'different others' (such as world-mindedness and internationalism), cosmopolitanism is perhaps one that continues to receive most attention from researchers investigating how such openness plays out in material fabrics of culture(s), with two main avenues of enquiry evolving. The first encompasses the study of cosmopolitanism as a phenomenon encapsulating the sociocultural dynamics towards modernity and intercultural engagement (re)produced in consumption practices (e.g., Besnier, 2004; Cannon & Yaprak, 2002; Goldstein-Gidoni, 2005). The second represents the work of international consumer behaviour scholars, concerned with examining how cosmopolitanism translates into consumption-oriented attitudes and behaviours towards non-local products and brands, to inform international business operations (Alden, Steenkamp, & Batra, 2006; Batra, Ramaswamy, Alden,

E. Kipnis (✉)
Sheffield University Management School, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, UK

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_3

Steenkamp, & Ramachander, 2000; Okechukwu & Oneyemah, 1999; Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999; Zhou, Yang, & Hui, 2010). A particular contribution offered by the latter stream of studies that so far received limited consideration in the wider context of cosmopolitanism research is the development of scales measuring cosmopolitanism (e.g., Cannon, Yoon, McGowan, & Yaprak, 1994; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Cleveland, Laroche, Pons, & Kastoun, 2009, 2011; Riefler, Diamantopoulos, & Siguaw, 2012; Zeugner-Roth, Zabkar, & Diamantopoulos, 2015).

Scale development is a process of developing a research instrument that translates qualitative (abstract, unobservable) constructs into numerical units 'to provide an empirical estimate of each theoretical construct of interest' (Gerbing & Anderson, 1988, p. 186), following a set procedure and rules to ensure reliability and validity of obtained estimate(s). That is, a scale represents a theoretical construct discerned into a set of expressions (referred to as items) that capture the construct attributes to estimate its prominence and variability within a surveyed population sample. Application of scales enables consumer behaviour analysts to examine, using mathematical analyses techniques, the dynamics in and interplay between the factors underlying consumption practice trends within sizeable samples of populations representative of the consumer sphere in question (e.g., particular demographic group, national market overall, etc.). These factors can range from goods-specific preferences (such as performance expectations and quality evaluations) to broader sociopsychological stances (such as cultural values and attitudinal dispositions).

As many mass markets across borders and continents became routinely accessible to a wide range of businesses, determining and/or forecasting, at levels of national markets, factors underlying consumer expectations and responses to cultural associations assigned to products and brands gained momentum. International consumer behaviour research emerged as a discipline focused on informing businesses' culture-based marketing practices through profiling cross-nationally uniform and/or nationally unique factors informing these expectations and responses in consumer spheres. In pursuit of this goal, scholars working in the international consumer behaviour domain widely drew and continue to draw from theorisations stemming from cross-cultural sociology, psychology, anthro-

pology, and consumer culture studies, to develop and/or validate a host of scales capturing the role and impact of such sociocultural phenomena as nationalism (Balabanis et al., 2001; Druckman, 1994), patriotism (Han, 1988), ethnocentrism (Shimp & Sharma, 1987), (cultural) animosity (Klein, Ettenson, & Morris, 1998), and cosmopolitanism—which is discussed in this chapter—on consumer expectations and intentions.

In relation to consumption practices, cosmopolitanism has been broadly defined as a manifestation of [culturally] open consumer mindset through greater likelihood 'to adopt products from other cultures' (Cleveland et al., 2009, p. 120). Given this characteristic, it is unsurprising that international consumer behaviour research came to widely utilise cosmopolitanism as a determinant factor of favourable responses and intentions towards non-local perceived brands (Balabanis & Diamantopoulos, 2004, 2008; Cleveland et al., 2011; Kaynak & Kara, 2000; Reardon, Miller, Vida, & Kim, 2005; Vida & Reardon, 2008). The recent decade has seen a rise of studies developing and/or utilising quantitative measures of cosmopolitanism to support researchers and managers in capturing and examining the manifestation of a cosmopolitan outlook in consumption contexts (e.g., Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Cleveland et al., 2009, 2011; Riefler et al., 2012; Zeugner-Roth et al., 2015).

With continuingly increasing volumes of international trade, development of psychometrically sound measures of consumption cosmopolitanism is indeed a valuable contribution to business research and practice. Furthermore, although developed with the primary goal of informing business operations by determining and/or forecasting consumption intentions as informed by non-local cultural associations assigned to brands, quantitative studies utilising cosmopolitanism scales emerged from international consumer behaviour research field can offer broader insights. Large-scale studies of dynamics in consumer expectations and intentions informed by cosmopolitanism and its interplay with related phenomena such as nationalism, (anti)globalism, and so on present a potent avenue for unpacking the broader sociocultural discourses of people and societies navigating and negotiating cultural differences and tensions as they occur in the marketplace. Gaining these insights can advance our understanding of whether and how major sociopolitical

shifts such as those we observe to unfold (for instance, Brexit) can affect sustained intercultural engagement and relations in the future.

However, a major obstacle for these promising research directions is that extant cosmopolitanism measures are somewhat disconnected from the evolution of cosmopolitanism as a sociological phenomenon. That is, so far cosmopolitanism scales have been almost solely theoretically grounded in an *international* viewpoint on 'culturally different others' (e.g., 'others' are assumed to be beyond national borders). Yet contemporary sociocultural realities have evolved in how, ideologically, the notion of cultures and 'cultural others' now exists in both unlocalised (delocalised and translocalised) and localised conceptual domains (Craig & Douglas, 2006), thus presenting impetus for unpacking and decomposing the conceptual groundings of these measures.

Recently emerged stream of research on multicultural marketplaces (Demangeot, Broderick, & Craign, 2015; Kipnis, Broderick, & Demangeot, 2014; Rojas Gaviria & Emontspool, 2015; Seo, Buchanan-Oliver, & Cruz, 2015) highlights that many contemporary national markets are intra-nationally diverse and interconnected, whereby multiple types of cultures can co-exist and interact with consumers in the forms of physically localised (through market/workplace/personal interactions) and virtual/imaginary (through media/art) experiences. In a similar vein, the contemporary perspectives on cosmopolitanisation of societies (see Chap. 2 by Woodward and Emontspool)—and, consequently, adoption of a cosmopolitan outlook by individuals and groups in these societies—indicate that cosmopolitanism as such evolved to encompass *transnational* and *intra-national* dimensions that are not necessarily dependable on and simultaneous with one another (i.e., Beck, 2000; Roudometof, 2005; Skribs & Woodward, 2007; Woodward, Skrbis, & Bean, 2008).

From this premise, this chapter examines the face validity of the existing approaches to measuring cosmopolitanism in multicultural marketplaces and proposes directions for further advancement of cosmopolitanism studies across qualitative and quantitative consumer research domains of enquiry. It begins with a review of the recent sociological perspectives on the evolved conceptual groundings of cosmopolitanism. Next, the existing cosmopolitanism measures in marketing literature are examined,

considering the degree these measures represent the contemporary philosophical underpinnings of the cosmopolitanism theory. In light of this synthesis, the chapter proposes the concept of multicultural marketplaces as a paradigm enabling better understanding of the disconnects that exist in extant theorisations and scale operationalisations of cosmopolitanism in consumer research and calls for decomposing the dimensions of cosmopolitanism evidenced in sociological research.

Contrasting the Evolved Nature of Cosmopolitanism Construct and Its Operationalisations in Consumer Behaviour Research

As theories in social sciences evolve, so does the need for refinement of the existing approaches to their measurement to better capture the construct of interest (Netemeyer, Bearden, & Sharma, 2003). This section considers recent insights from sociology literature that point to a notable shift in how cosmopolitanism as a phenomenon and the notion of one being cosmopolitan can be manifested amid environments and contrasts these insights with the extant operationalisations of the cosmopolitanism construct in the context of consumption through measurement scales. This synthesis shows that, although making several valuable contributions to advancing our understanding of how cosmopolitanism is manifested in consumption environments, approaches to operationalising consumer cosmopolitanism through measurement scales may require further refinement to capture its evolved nature.

The Evolved Cosmopolitanism Construct: Contemporary Sociological Insights

The last decade and a half of sociological inquiries into cosmopolitanism indicates a substantial shift to the qualitative nature of the construct. The review presented in this section focuses on four key pieces that present

conceptually and/or empirically derived suppositions that the cosmopolitanism construct evolved such that it becomes salient in two domains with distinctly different conceptual boundaries. This review is not meant to concern itself with the historical evolution of the cosmopolitanism notion (for a comprehensive overview, see Woodward and Emontspool's Chap. 2). Rather, it aims to show that, collectively, recent sociological stream of research into cosmopolitanism presents with a common thread of thought questioning whether cosmopolitanism, as a construct reflecting an individual disposition of intellectual and aesthetic openness and readiness to make way into and engage with different cultures, should be assumed only characteristic for persons who transcend, whether corporeally or in their imaginary, national spaces and borders. Importantly, these sources point to the need for going beyond Tomlinson's (1999) reworked notion of 'glocalized cosmopolitanism' as one's willingness and capacity to simultaneously live between and construct integrated meanings of the global and the local (national) cultural domains, and examining whether more than one face of cosmopolitanism exist.

A decade and a half after his influential piece 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture' (1990), Hannerz (2005) revisits his thinking on cosmopolitanism to distinguish and posit two interconnected 'faces' cosmopolitanisms. He draws parallels with the research on nationalism that distinguishes 'ethnic' (that assumes ethnocultural homogeneity as a criterion of individuals making a nation) and 'civic' (that assumes individuals' commitment to a nation as a criterion that overrides cultural backgrounds) faces of nationalism, to interrogate whether the political and cultural cosmopolitanism should be considered as two facets of the cosmopolitanism construct. He argues that one main aspect required to be overcome by cosmopolitanism theorists is the sense that a 'rooted cosmopolitan' is somehow an oxymoron. Although Hannerz (2005) neither elaborates this idea much further nor offers a definition of a 'rooted cosmopolitan', his point problematises one of the key current controversies in contemporary cosmopolitanism discourse: are willingness to encounter, appreciate, and engage with diverse cultural experiences and commitment to the idea of 'global citizenship' *both* necessary pre-requisite characteristics of a cosmopolitan outlook?

In a similar vein, Szerszynski and Urry (2002) present empirical findings to highlight that the notion of 'global' has different salience and meanings for different population groups within one nation. Some groups, while engaging in localised openness and care, express cultural hostility to immigrants as 'others' crossing their national borders. At the same time, they suggest that some of their findings point to evidence of emerged 'cosmopolitan civil society' in minds of some groups that integrates awareness of shrinking world with the ethics of 'care based upon various proximate groundings' (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002, p. 478). While stressing that their findings are exploratory, authors suggest that 'there is no one form of cosmopolitanism' (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002, p. 469) and call for acknowledgement of the changes in the context within which social and political life need to be understood.

Woodward et al. (2008) further test the question of whether and how cosmopolitanism is related to globalisation. This study showcases that the relationship between the cosmopolitan outlook and views on globalisation is complex and at times somewhat troubled. In particular, some of their findings parallel those by Szerszynski and Urry (2002) by uncovering a series of defensive anxieties concerned with whether, for a nation, 'being global' poses risks for jobs, culture, diversity, and the environment. To this end, authors suggest that one form of cosmopolitanism can encompass openness to the 'others' from different communities within a locale (for instance, a different ethnic or regional group) and question the universality of cosmopolitan outlook as a social phenomenon, calling for further research into 'multiple cosmopolitanisms'. However, although identifying the complexity of the cosmopolitanism phenomenon, the studies reviewed above fall short of offering a coherent approach to conceptually unpacking the cosmopolitanism construct. Indeed, if multiple (and possibly mutually exclusive) cosmopolitanisms exist, how should one attempt to capture and analyse them? And how should cosmopolitanism theory move beyond the premise of strive for 'citizenship of the world' (whether integrated with national belonging or not) being one of the core underpinnings of cosmopolitanism?

The work of Roudometof (2005) offers a number of important contributions for unpacking these controversies further. First, Roudometoff

(2005) refocuses the debate concerning the philosophical nature of cosmopolitanism from the notion of globalisation to transnationalism. Importantly, transnationalism differs from the idea of 'global village' as it accounts for the possibility of multiple social spaces and communities that can be constructed and exist—some through globalisation channels—in global, transnational, and/or local domains. Such multiplicity suggests that, for some, cultural diversity and cosmopolitanisation can be conceived 'from within' national borders (Beck, 2000). Next, Roudometof (2005) offers a categorisation of 'thin' cosmopolitanism as a detachment from locale combined with openness to and acceptance of cultural diversity on a global scale and 'thick' or 'rooted' cosmopolitanism as an expression of commitment to a particular locale (country/region) combined with willingness to engage with some of the 'cultural others' but not necessarily on a global scale. Finally, Roudometof (2005) stresses the importance of acknowledging the notion of pluralised borders, whereby 'the simple fact that two individuals live in the same state does not necessarily mean the same social borders bind them [… they …] can inhabit markedly different "life-worlds" and be closer to or farther from people who live outside the borders of the state they live in' (p. 116). Hence, the notion of 'one local and one global world' for all individuals in a given nation becomes contrived when considered from the perspective of transnationalism, necessitating further inquiry into both: (1) dimensions of cosmopolitanism (as suggested by Hannerz, 2005 and Woodward et al., 2008) and (2) changes in the context within which cosmopolitanism as a phenomenon should be understood (as suggested by Szerszynski & Urry, 2002).

Taken together, the works reviewed in this section present impetus for re-examining operationalisations of cosmopolitanism construct in consumer research and interrogate whether and how contextual and sociological changes evoking greater complexity and divergence of the cosmopolitan outlook play out in consumption. With this in mind, the next section revisits the extant cosmopolitanism measures in international consumer behaviour literature and puts forward an argument for the need of a paradigm within which the 'thick' and 'thin' dimensions of cosmopolitanism can be decomposed in light of sociocultural changes in the national contexts and individuals' conceptions of cultural self and 'others'.

Cosmopolitanism in Consumer Research: Current Perspectives and Measurement Approaches

In comparison to sociological and anthropological research, the interest of marketing and consumer scholars to cosmopolitanism is relatively new. Although dating back to just under 25 years to the seminal work of Cannon, Yaprak, and colleagues (Cannon & Yaprak, 1993, 2002; Cannon et al., 1994) and Thompson and Tambyah (1999), it continues to receive a steadily growing attention as one of the theories pertinent to the study of consumption in conditions of globalised marketplace. Over the history of its presence in the marketing and consumer behaviour body of knowledge, several notable advancements have been made in conceptualising and operationalising cosmopolitanism as a construct relevant to consumption research. In light of space limitations and the purpose of this chapter, this section will predominantly focus on considering contributions concerned with developing cosmopolitanism measurement scales for use of marketing researchers and managers.

Table 3.1 below presents a summary review of extant consumer behaviour studies offering measures of cosmopolitanism and examining the nomological relationships of the cosmopolitanism construct with other constructs relevant to marketing and consumer research. It shows that, while making a number of valuable discoveries concerning the manifestation of a cosmopolitan outlook in consumption tendencies and patterns, when considered together, these studies' findings present with disconnects that somewhat parallel the evolved complexity of the cosmopolitanism phenomenon identified in the sociological school of cosmopolitanism thought discussed in Sect. 2.1. Broadly, the work of Cleveland and colleagues (e.g., Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Cleveland et al., 2009, 2011) links cosmopolitanism with the idea of 'citizenship of the world' manifested in preference of global perceived brands, while Diamantopoulos and colleagues (e.g., Riefler et al., 2012; Zeugner-Roth et al., 2015) identify the relationship between cosmopolitanism and a more general openness to cultures of foreign countries manifested in willingness to buy foreign perceived produce. It is important to note that these disconnects

Table 3.1 Summary of key extant studies offering operational measures of cosmopolitanism

Source	Brief study description	Conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism	Key findings and conclusions
Riefler and Diamantopoulos (2009)	Review and replicate the CYMYC scale by Cannon et al. (1994) as the first scale developed for operationalising cosmopolitanism in consumption context	Based on identified inconsistencies of CYMYC, propose a definition of cosmopolitan consumer as 'an open-minded individual whose consumption orientation transcends any particular culture, locality or community and who appreciates diversity including trying products and services from the variety of countries' (p. 415)	Identify a number of conceptual shortcomings of CYMYC scale, namely: • lack of an explicit conceptual definition of cosmopolitanism as a consumption orientation construct; • problematic content validity of a number of items comprising CYMYC scale; • polarity of cosmopolitanism-localism continuum

(*continued*)

Table 3.1 (continued)

Source	Brief study description	Conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism	Key findings and conclusions
Riefler et al. (2012)	Develop and validate a three-dimensional C-COSMO scale (12 items), examples of items measuring each dimension as follows: • Dimension 1—open-mindedness: 'When travelling, I make a conscious effort to get in touch with the local culture and traditions'; 'I like having the opportunity to meet people from different countries' • Dimension 2—diversity appreciation: 'Having access to products from many different countries is valuable to me'; 'The availability of foreign products in domestic market provides valuable diversity' • Dimension 3—consumption transcending borders: 'I like watching movies from different countries'; 'I like trying things that are consumed elsewhere in the world' Combine operationalisation of C-COSMO scale and a scale measuring 'consumer localism' defined as 'consumer's engagement and interest in local activities, events, and products' (p. 296)	Building on Riefler and Diamantopoulos (2009), conceptualise consumer cosmopolitanism as 'a three-dimensional, second-order construct capturing the extent to which consumer: (1) exhibits an open-mindedness toward foreign countries and cultures; (2) appreciates the diversity brought about by the availability of products from different national and cultural origins; and (3) is positively disposed to consuming products from different countries' (p. 287)	Identify presence of two types of cosmopolitan outlooks in different population segments: • 'Pure cosmopolitan': moderately attached to locale of study; • 'Local cosmopolitan': highly attached to locale of study while also highly cosmopolitan. Identify cosmopolitanism as a predictor of consumers' general willingness to purchase foreign products (without distinguishing between global or specific foreign associations)

(*continued*)

Table 3.1 (continued)

Source	Brief study description	Conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism	Key findings and conclusions
Zeugner-Roth et al. (2015)	Adopting a social identity theory approach, combine operationalisation of C-COSMO scale (Riefler et al., 2012) with measures of national identity, consumer ethnocentrism, and country attitudes, to examine the relationship of in-/out-group sociopsychological orientation traits with product judgement and willingness to buy foreign vs. domestic products	Adopt conceptualisation by Riefler et al. (2012)	Demonstrate consumer cosmopolitanism, along with consumer ethnocentrism and national identity serving as predictors of domestic vs. foreign perceived products. Similarly to Riefler et al. (2012), identify two consumer segments harbouring different cosmopolitan outlooks, that is, 'pure cosmopolitans' and 'national cosmopolitans'. Conclude that in different consumer segments, either in-/out-group favourable orientation towards own nation and other foreign countries can prevail or be harboured together, differentially affecting consumption patterns.

(*continued*)

Table 3.1 (continued)

Source	Brief study description	Conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism	Key findings and conclusions
Cleveland and Laroche (2007)	Develop a measure of cosmopolitanism (12 items) as a dimension of acculturation to global consumer culture (AGCC), for example, items for cosmopolitanism are as follows: • 'I am interested in learning more about people who live in other countries'; • 'I enjoy exchanging ideas with people from other cultures or countries'; • 'I like to observe people of other cultures, to see what I can learn from them'; • 'I enjoy trying foreign food'; • 'When travelling, I like to immerse myself in the culture of the people I am visiting'	'The term cosmopolitan loosely describes just about any person that moves about in the word, but beyond that and more specifically, the expression refers to a specific set of qualities held by certain individuals, including a willingness to engage with the other (i.e., different cultures), and a level of competence towards alien culture(s)' (p. 252)	Validate AGCC scale with a view to develop a model linking AGCC as a construct capturing global cultural influence and ethnic identification as a construct capturing local cultural influence on consumption behaviours: '… AGCC scale has components that reflect personal traits and qualities that are associated with outward, worldly orientation (COS [cosmopolitanism])' (p. 257)

(*continued*)

Table 3.1 (continued)

Source	Brief study description	Conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism	Key findings and conclusions
Cleveland, Laroche, and Papadopoulos (2009)	Develop a measure of cosmopolitanism (6 items), reducing the measure by Cleveland and Laroche (2007), for example, items are as follows: • 'I enjoy exchanging ideas with people from other cultures or countries'; • 'I enjoy being with people from other countries to learn about their views and approaches'; • '*I find people from other cultures stimulating*'[a]. Combine operationalisation of developed cosmopolitanism measure with scales measuring consumer ethnocentrism (Shimp & Sharma, 1987) and materialism (Richins & Dawson, 1992) to examine adoption of globalised (conceptualised to be represented by cosmopolitanism and materialism) versus localised (conceptualised to be represented by consumer ethnocentrism) consumption tendencies across a range of product categories	Build on Hannerz (1992) and Skrbis et al. (2004) to define a cosmopolitan label to describe 'people who frequently travel, are routinely involved with other people in various places elsewhere' (p. 119) and harbour a conscious openness to the world, cultural differences, and willingness to engage with the 'other'	Demonstrate that contextual/circumstantial influences (such as product category, usage, visibility) can increase salience of localised (appealing to local cultural traditions), cosmopolitan (connoting membership in transnational communities), and materialistic tendencies. Building on this discovery, argue that globalisation and cultural homogenisation are 'neither interchangeable nor inevitable' (p. 139)

(*continued*)

Table 3.1 (continued)

Source	Brief study description	Conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism	Key findings and conclusions
Cleveland et al. (2011)	Utilise a reduced (6 items) version of Cleveland and Laroche's (2007) scale. 5 items as in measure validated by Cleveland et al. (2009), 1 item (in italics below) from the original 12-item scale. Examples of items are as follows: • 'I enjoy exchanging ideas with people from other cultures or countries'; • 'I enjoy being with people from other countries to learn about their views and approaches'; • '*Coming into contact with people of other cultures has greatly benefitted me*'[a]. Combine operationalisation of cosmopolitanism measure with measures of individual and national cultural values (Schwartz, 1999), and Hofstede's (1980, 1991) national cultural value indices to test 'links between individual/cultural value systems and cosmopolitanism—a construct allied to global culture and the intensification of cultural flows across borders' (p. 941)	Distinguish cosmopolitan outlook (in contrast to pluralist outlook) as 'an ethos of cultural openness' that favours 'loose, multiple cultural narratives' (p. 935) and holds universal aspirations and less allegiance to any particular community	Identify links between cosmopolitanism and such values as autonomy, universalism, and harmony[b]. Propose linking of cosmopolitanism and values as an approach to segmentation that will identify world-minded consumers that are likely to choose global perceived brands to reinforce membership of global community and/or assert a cosmopolitan self-image

[a]This item is included in the original 12-item scale by Cleveland and Laroche (2007) but is only present in one of the 6-item reduced versions by Cleveland et al. (2009) and Cleveland et al. (2011)

[b]It is important to note that the study also identifies cross-national differences in the values related to cosmopolitanism that is attributed to greater diversity within one of the two national markets included in the study (Canada)

are highlighted not as a criticism of validity of the studies reviewed here but as an illustration of the evolved complexity and lack of unanimity concerning theoretical groundings of cosmopolitanism in broader literature being reflected in the empirical findings emerging from operationalisation of cosmopolitanism in consumer behaviour research literature. In fact, remaining lack of coherence and clarity in sociopsychological underpinnings of cosmopolitanism theory is recognised in both streams of studies reviewed in Table 3.1 when drawing their conceptualisations and operationalising measure development. For instance, Riefler et al. (2012) note that 'regrettably, contemporary literature uses the term 'cosmopolitanism' very loosely and unsystematically, frequently neglecting to provide a theoretical definition of its underlying meaning in the particular context' (p. 286), while similarly, Cleveland et al. (2011) highlight that 'no definition for cosmopolitanism has achieved consensus' (p. 935).

Importantly however, both streams of work provide valuable empirical support to the notions of 'thick' (rooted) and 'thin' cosmopolitanism uncovered by sociological studies. Riefler et al. (2012) and Zeugner-Roth et al. (2015) demonstrate consistent presence of two sizeable segments of populations that harbour a cosmopolitan outlook in different ways whereby 'pure cosmopolitans' are moderately attached to the locales of these studies and 'local (or national) cosmopolitans' are highly attached to the locales of these studies while also presenting with a cosmopolitan outlook. Cleveland et al. (2009, 2011) uncover that contextual (such as national cultural values) and circumstantial (such as product category, visibility of consumption, and usage) consumption influences can increase or decrease salience of localised versus globalised appeals for individual consumers, impacting their behavioural tendencies towards brands. Furthermore, all studies identify a range of future research directions stressed as pertinent to further unpacking the implications of cosmopolitanism and its complexity for consumption studies. A particularly significant identified direction is the need to recognise and examine the role of intra-national cosmopolitanism in consumption decisions. That is, acknowledging that globalisation and cultural homogenisation are 'neither interchangeable nor inevitable' (Cleveland et al., 2009, p. 139), these studies point out that in multicultural national markets where multiple ethnocultural groups co-reside together, it is likely that consumers may differ in terms of their cultural

outlook and consumption as they transcend their 'own ethnic group's cultural boundaries' (Zeugner-Roth et al., 2015, p. 301).

In sum, while providing valuable insights into cosmopolitanism in consumption contexts, these studies highlight a number of important avenues for further investigation, particularly with regard to continuing unpacking measurement of the cosmopolitanism construct. First, it is necessary to consider how the notion of 'localism' should be understood in the context of multicultural, intra-nationally diverse locales. Extant cosmopolitanism measures integrate items using terms 'countries' and 'cultures' either together or interchangeably. From face validity perspective, such integration of these two notions can be somewhat problematic in intra-nationally culturally diverse consumer spheres. Multiple cultures now extend over and are present in several national locales, posing questions to the conceptual meanings of 'localness' and 'non-localness' of cultures other than global (Demangeot et al., 2015; Kipnis et al., 2014; Rojas Gaviria & Emontspool, 2015; Seo et al., 2015). Second, and more specifically relative to consumption, it is necessary to examine together the relationship between cosmopolitanism and global versus foreign cultural preferences. Extant conceptualisations and measures provide little basis for differentiating consumer responses to and preferences of brands assigned with global versus foreign meanings. However, such a broad operationalisation may be problematic when considered from the perspective of brand positioning decisions. Global and foreign cultural meanings have been demonstrated to be 'nomologically different and evaluated differently' by consumers (Nijssen & Douglas, 2011, p. 114). Indeed, some consumers have been shown to seek acquisition of world citizenship, or belonging to global community, through consumption of global brands (Strizhakova, Coulter, & Price, 2008). Conversely, other consumers view global products as a threat to cultures all over the world losing individuality, embarking on a quest for authenticity—strive for strengthening of social bonds to a particular culture established through possession of objects with symbolic characteristics perceived to legitimately and uniquely characterise this culture (Leigh, Peters, & Shelton, 2006; Oberecker & Diamantopoulos, 2011). Hence, it is logical to assume that some consumers may harbour preference for brands that are perceived as *foreign but not global*, and vice versa. Adding another layer of complexity,

in intra-nationally diverse environments, a culture foreign to a locale itself can be localised in minds of consumers if such culture is seen to become an integral part of the social fabric of a given society: for example, Cheung-Blunden and Juang (2008) argue that it is necessary to appreciate the historical evolution of several colonial and post-colonial nations whereby multiple cultures have 'made roots' into these locales. From consumption perspective, this complexity may translate into selective openness to brands and products associated with localised foreign cultures only.

A paradigm helpful for redressing the imbalances in conceptions of cultures' situatedness in country environments is one of multicultural marketplaces (e.g., Demangeot et al., 2015; Kipnis, Emontspool, & Broderick, 2012; Kipnis et al., 2014; Kipnis, Demanogeot, Pullig, & Broderick, 2016; Rojas Gaviria & Emontspool, 2015; Seo et al., 2015). As outlined in the next section, it redefines the evolved conceptions of culture(s) and unpacks the implications of this dynamics for individuals' construal of cultural self and others, thus making way for refining the conceptual groundings and boundaries of consumer cosmopolitanism.

Multicultural Marketplaces: A Paradigm for Decomposing Consumer Cosmopolitanism

Defining a Multicultural Marketplace

Several recent works in psychology, sociology, human geography, and consumer culture research critiqued the default assumption of cultural uniformity of national societies within the traditional paradigm of culture studies and offered alternative theorisations. For instance, Morris, Chiu, and Liu (2015) propose the notion of polycultural psychology. They point out that 'values vary more within countries than between countries' and attribute this variation to intercultural contact being 'an age-old aspect of human existence' (p. 634) whereby individuals may seek and take influences from multiple cultures and thus become conduits for cultural dynamics and transformations. In a similar vein, but also highlighting that the era of globalisation has galvanised intercultural contact and exchange to unprecedented levels

of complexity and intensity, studies in human geography and sociology suggest that many contemporary societies have emerged into contexts of 'commonplace diversity' (Wessendorf, 2013) or 'superdiversity' (Vertovec, 2007) where people 'live multiculture' (Neal, Bennet, Cochrane, & Mohan, 2013).

In the area of consumer research, these transformed views on cultural composition of societies have been recently formulated as a concept of a multicultural marketplace (Demangeot et al., 2015; Kipnis et al., 2014). As such, the multicultural marketplace is defined as a 'place-centred environment (whether physical or virtual), where the marketers, consumers, brands, ideologies and institutions of multiple cultures converge at one point of concurrent interaction, while also being potentially connected to multiple cultures in other localities' (Demangeot et al., 2015 p. 122). This definition highlights that nations, as politically and geographically defined societies and markets, have evolved to host a multitude of different cultures interacting within and across their borders.

On an individual level, ongoing existence in the 'lived multiculture' conditions facilitates the complexity and diversification of cultural identity and values dynamics whereby individuals can form/abandon/integrate links to any number of cultures and cultural groups that may or may not be confined to their ethnocultural/national backgrounds (Jamal, 2003; Kipnis et al., 2014; Luedicke, 2011, 2015; Peracchio, Bublitz, & Luna, 2014; Seo & Gao, 2015). Such evolved complexity and diversification of cultural identification within geographical boundaries of a given multicultural marketplace problematises the view of in/out group as 'us versus others from beyond a national border'. Indeed, in a multicultural marketplace, one does not necessarily need to transcend national boundaries of own locale to experience cultural diversity and to internalise different, possibly multiple, cultures. Furthermore, in intra-nationally diverse contexts, multicultural experiences, as well as their conduits (people, brands, services, institutions), can be conceived as linked to one locale only or multiple locales, whether physically or virtually. Hence, the multicultural marketplaces' paradigm dictates a necessity to reconsider how the notions of culture(s) and cultural others are conceived by people and whether such evolved worldviews may explain the recently observed controversies in manifestations of cosmopolitanism.

Culture, Cultural Identification, and Cosmopolitanism in Multicultural Marketplaces

Multicultural marketplaces' literature (e.g., Craig & Douglas, 2006; Kipnis, 2014; Kipnis et al., 2012, 2014, 2016) distinguishes four following processes of culture (re)appropriation in relation to the locale: (1) localisation (whereby uniqueness of a culture is defined exclusively through its origins in a locale); (2) delocalisation (whereby a culture linked to a particular geographical locale is reappropriated to be distinctly present in multiple locales); (3) translocalisation (whereby a homogenous, translocally universal new type of culture is conceived to represent the idea of global unity); (4) hybridisation (whereby two or more cultures are converged to make a new culture). On an individual level, these processes are considered to inform evolved conceptions of cultures. Consider the following definitions of the three types of cultures' conceptions present in a multicultural marketplace (see Kipnis et al., 2014; Steenkamp, 2014):

Local culture (LC):	values, beliefs, material objects (products) and symbols characteristic of one's locale of residence that originate in the locale and uniquely distinguish this locale from other locales
Foreign culture (FC):	values, beliefs, lifestyle, products, and symbols originating from and represented by an identifiable overseas source (country or group of people) and is known to individuals either as culture-of-origin, diasporic culture of ethnic ancestry or a culture of an aspired-to source with no ancestral link
Global culture (GC):	translocally universal values, beliefs, lifestyle, products, and symbols that are developed through contributions from knowledge and practices in different parts of the world and symbolise an ideological connectedness with the world regardless of residence or heritage.

It is now relevant to remind the reader of the notion of pluralised borders by Roudometof (2005). This notion pinpoints that, while globalisation, as a political-economic process, resulted in emergence of multicultural marketplaces that are characterised by intra-national diversity and transnational interconnectedness through migration and convergence of media, technology, and market channels, from cultural dynamics perspective, it brought about an unprecedented change and complexity in how cultures evolve and inform individual worldviews. The definitions of LC, FC, and GC given above indicate that GC, as a culture emerged through translocalisation, is the only type of culture likely to consistently hold 'from beyond borders' associations. Conversely, FC definition indicates that, while the *origin* of a given foreign culture is acknowledged to be from overseas, its *conduits* (e.g., group of people) can be *localised physically*. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that, when deriving a sense of cultural identity, the notion of cultural others may become disentangled from the notion of nation-based locality (Holliday, 2010). That is, since individuals can interact with, and possibly internalise, localised, translocalised, and delocalised cultures through contact with (multi)cultural conduits either present in or remote from the locale, their conceptions of 'cultural others' will also differ.

Such a perspective provides an explanation for the emerged multiple forms of cosmopolitan outlook uncovered by sociological research (e.g., Hannerz, 2005; Woodward et al., 2008), as well as for the dual nomological linkages between cosmopolitanism and global and/or foreign brand preferences identified by international consumer behaviour studies (e.g., Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Cleveland et al., 2009, 2011; Riefler et al., 2012; Zeugner-Roth et al., 2015) summarised in Sect. 2. It also highlights a need for refinement of consumer cosmopolitanism theorisations and measurement approaches to reflect these emerged complexities, thus opening several pertinent directions for future research. Indeed, product and brand evaluations by consumers within one national marketplace can be underpinned by either 'thin' or 'rooted' cosmopolitanism which will inform different expectations and responses and will necessitate marketing decisions to position brands on either translocalised (global) or delocalised (foreign) set of cultural meanings. Thus, measurement scales that reflect these two emerged dimensions are necessary.

Furthermore, it is necessary to explore whether 'rooted cosmopolitanism' may take form of openness to and solidarity with 'certain cultural others' *within boundaries* of one's locale, while opposing the ethos of openness to and solidarity with 'all cultural others' on an international/global scale (Skribs & Woodward, 2007). Recent anecdotal evidence suggests that such forms of selective openness can be harboured, as exemplified in immigrant/diasporic votes in Brexit referendum (Shakle, 2016) and US presidential elections (Bierman, 2016). Hence, consumer cosmopolitanism may not necessarily reflect appreciation of diversity on an international scale. By examining the relationships between the 'rooted' cosmopolitanism and constructs such as nationalism and/or globalism in national consumer spheres, consumer behaviour research can offer new insights into evolving dynamics of international and intercultural relationships.

Conclusions

This chapter reviews and contrasts evidence of the evolved conceptual nature of the cosmopolitanism construct emerged from sociological body of knowledge with the approaches to measuring cosmopolitanism in consumption contexts developed by consumer behaviour scholars. It identifies that a number of conceptual disconnects remain in theorisations of cosmopolitanism that may be particularly significant in the contexts of multicultural marketplaces whereby the notion of 'border crossing' transitioned from geographical (national) to cultural boundaries whether in inter or intra-national sense. In particular, the chapter highlights that unpacking whether the different 'faces' of cosmopolitanism (e.g., 'thin' versus 'thick') may be informing different preferences of global versus foreign perceived brands is relevant. Also, it indicates that future work is needed to further examine whether 'rooted' cosmopolitanism may be manifested as appreciation of diversity and openness to intercultural contact, but on an intra-national scale.

Overall, the chapter highlights a need for greater interdisciplinary consolidation of cosmopolitanism research in general, and consumer cosmopolitanism in particular, to advance our understanding of the evolution

of the cosmopolitanism phenomenon in contemporary realities. That is, while versatility of the cosmopolitanism construct has been recognised by scholars across social sciences, ongoing synthesis of findings by inquiries approaching examination of cosmopolitanism from different perspectives can uncover less obvious controversies and underlying tensions in its manifestations. This work is particularly pertinent in today's world whereby conceptions of cultural 'us' and 'others' vary dramatically within and across national societies. Indeed, as many national markets emerged as intra-nationally diverse and interconnected environments, concerted efforts across the social science disciplines and methodological traditions to examine the drivers and outcomes of borders' pluralisation (Roudometof, 2005) are required.

Specifically, integrating qualitative and quantitative perspectives on cosmopolitanism manifestations in consumption contexts can bring to the fore dynamics of intercultural relations underpinning cosmopolitanism evolution and progress refinement of consumer cosmopolitanism theory. That is, although extant consumer cosmopolitanism measurement scales are grounded in the broader cosmopolitanism theory, remaining lack of coherence and clarity on conceptual boundaries of the cosmopolitanism construct pose challenges to operationalising cosmopolitanism in this field of study (Cleveland et al., 2011; Riefler et al., 2012). Findings of extant international consumer behaviour studies that developed cosmopolitanism scales demonstrate linkages between cosmopolitanism and both translocalised (e.g., Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Cleveland et al., 2009, 2011) and delocalised (e.g., Riefler et al., 2012; Zeugner-Roth et al., 2015) cultures informing consumption preferences. Yet, while this may be the case, these preferences are not necessarily harboured simultaneously and dependable on one another. Further qualitative investigations are therefore required for discerning the decomposing nature and dimensions of cosmopolitanism. In a similar vein, qualitative consumer cosmopolitanism inquiry would benefit from building on discoveries by international consumer behaviour studies to examine in greater depth the nomological linkages between cosmopolitanism and other phenomena encapsulating people's attitudes to intercultural and international engagement, such as globalisation and multiculturalism, and conceptions of cultural 'others' such as nationalism and cultural prejudice. No other

than Hannerz himself (Hannerz, 2005) points out that 'to be "at home in the world" may be as much a question of breadth as of warmth—it may entail having a similar range of experiences out there, of others and of oneself, personally or vicariously, as one has closer at hand, in a local community or in a nation' (p. 212). Therefore, recognising the diversification and variation in the very notion of cosmopolitanism may inform more nuanced examinations and interpretations of culture-informed plurality in consumption.

References

Alden, D. L., Steenkamp, J.-B. E. M., & Batra, R. (2006). Consumer Attitudes Toward Marketplace Globalization: Structure, Antecedents and Consequences. *International Journal of Research in Marketing, 23*(3), 227–239.

Balabanis, G., & Diamantopoulos, A. (2004). Domestic Country Bias, Country-of-Origin Effects, and Consumer Ethnocentrism: A Multidimensional Unfolding Approach. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science, 32*(1), 80–95.

Balabanis, G., & Diamantopoulos, A. (2008). Brand Origin Identification by Consumers: A Classification Perspective. *Journal of International Marketing, 16*(1), 39–71.

Balabanis, G., Diamantopoulos, A., Dentiste Mueller, R., & Melewar, T. C. (2001). The Impact of Nationalism, Patriotism and Internationalism on Consumer Ethnocentric Tendencies. *Journal of International Business Studies, 32*(1), 157–175.

Batra, R., Ramaswamy, V., Alden, D. L., Steenkamp, J.-B. E. M., & Ramachander, S. (2000). Effects of Brand Local and Nonlocal Origin on Consumer Attitudes in Developing Countries. *Journal of Consumer Psychology, 9*(2), 83–95.

Beck, U. (2000). *What Is Globalization?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Besnier, N. (2004). Consumption and Cosmopolitanism: Practicing Modernity at the Second-Hand Marketplace in Nuku'alofa, Tonga. *Anthropological Quarterly, 77*(1), 7–45.

Bierman, N. (2016, November 9). Not All Immigrants Are Voting Against Donald Trump. *Los Angeles Times*. [Online]. Retrieved January 8, 2017, from http://www.latimes.com/nation/politics/trailguide/la-na-election-

day-2016-not-all-immigrants-are-voting-against-1478621533-htmlstory.html

Cannon, H. M., & Yaprak, A. (1993). *Toward a Theory of Cross-National Segmentation*. Annual Meeting of the Academy of International Business, Hawaii, USA, October 1993.

Cannon, H. M., & Yaprak, A. (2002). Will the Real-World Citizen Please Stand Up! The Many Faces of Cosmopolitan Consumer Behavior. *Journal of International Marketing, 10*(4), 30–52.

Cannon, H. M., Yoon, S. J., McGowan L., & Yaprak, A. (1994). *In Search of the Global Consumer*. Annual Meeting of the Academy of International Business, Boston, USA, March 1994.

Cheung-Blunden, V. L., & Juang, L. P. (2008). Expanding Acculturation Theory: Are Acculturation Models and the Adaptiveness of Acculturation Strategies Generalizable in a Colonial Context? *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 32*(1), 21–33.

Cleveland, M., & Laroche, M. (2007). Acculturation to the Global Consumer Culture: Scale Development and Research Paradigm. *Journal of Business Research, 60*(3), 249–259.

Cleveland, M., Laroche, M., & Papadopoulos, N. (2009). Cosmopolitanism, Consumer Ethnocentrism, and Materialism: An Eight-Country Study of Antecedents and Outcomes. *Journal of International Marketing, 17*(1), 116–146.

Cleveland, M., Laroche, M., Pons, F., & Kastoun, R. (2009). Acculturation and Consumption: Textures of Cultural Adaptation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 33*(3), 196–212.

Cleveland, M., Papadopoulos, N., & Laroche, M. (2011). Identity, Demographics, and Consumer Behaviors: International Market Segmentation Across Product Categories. *International Marketing Review, 28*(3), 244–266.

Craig, S. C., & Douglas, S. P. (2006). Beyond National Culture: Implications of Cultural Dynamics for Consumer Research. *International Marketing Review, 23*(3), 322–342.

Demangeot, C., Broderick, A. J., & Craign, S. (2015). Multicultural Marketplaces: New Territory for International Marketing and Consumer Research. *International Marketing Review, 32*(2), 118–140.

Druckman, D. (1994). Nationalism, Patriotism, and Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective. *Mershon International Studies Review, 38*(1), 43.

Gerbing, D. W., & Anderson, J. C. (1988). An Updated Paradigm for Scale Development. *Journal of Marketing Research, 25*(2), 186–192.

Goldstein-Gidoni, O. (2005). The Production and Consumption of 'Japanese Culture' in the Global Cultural Market. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 5*(2), 155–179.

Han, C. M. (1988). The Role of Consumer Patriotism in the Choice of Domestic Versus Foreign Products. *Journal of Advertising Research, 28*(3), 25–32.

Hannerz, U. (1990). Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture. In M. Featherstone (Ed.), *Global Culture* (pp. 295–310). London: Sage.

Hannerz, U. (1992). *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hannerz, U. (2005). Two Faces of Cosmopolitanism: Culture and Politics. *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift, 107*(3), 199–213.

Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-related Values*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Hofstede, G. (1991). *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*. London: McGraw-Hill.

Holliday, A. (2010). Complexity in Cultural Identity. *Language & Intercultural Communication, 10*(2), 165–177.

Jamal, A. (2003). Marketing in a Multicultural World: The Interplay of Marketing, Ethnicity and Consumption. *European Journal of Marketing, 37*(11/12), 1599–1620.

Kaynak, E., & Kara, A. (2000). Consumer Perceptions of Foreign Products. An Analysis of Product-Country Images and Ethnocentrism. *European Journal of Marketing, 36*(7/8), 928–949.

Kipnis, E. (2014). *Consumer Multiculturation: Consequences of Multicultural Identity Dynamics for Consumption*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University.

Kipnis, E., Broderick, A. J., & Demangeot, C. (2014). Consumer Multiculturation: Consequences of Multi-cultural Identification for Brand Knowledge. *Consumption Markets and Culture, 17*(3), 231–253.

Kipnis, E., Demanogeot, D., Pullig, C., & Broderick, A. (2016). *Consumer Multicultural Identity Affiliation: A Framework for Segmentation in Multicultural Marketplaces*. Working Paper, Coventry University.

Kipnis, E., Emontspool, J., & Broderick, A. J. (2012). Living Diversity. Developing a Typology of Consumer Cultural Orientations in Culturally Diverse Marketplaces: Consequences for Consumption. *Advances in Consumer Research, 40*, 427–435.

Klein, J. G., Ettenson, R., & Morris, M. D. (1998). The Animosity Model of Foreign Product Purchase: An Empirical Test in the People's Republic of China. *Journal of Marketing, 62*(1), 89–100.

Leigh, T. W., Peters, C., & Shelton, J. (2006). The Consumer Quest for Authenticity: The Multiplicity of Meanings Within the MG Subculture of Consumption. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science, 34*(4), 481–493.

Luedicke, M. K. (2011). Consumer Acculturation Theory: (Crossing) Conceptual Boundaries. *Consumption, Markets and Culture, 14*(3), 223–244.

Luedicke, M. K. (2015). Indigenes' Responses to Immigrants' Consumer Acculturation: A Relational Configuration Analysis. *Journal of Consumer Research, 42*, 109–129.

Morris, M. W., Chiu, C., & Liu, Z. (2015). Polycultural Psychology. *Annual Review of Psychology, 66*, 631–660.

Neal, S., Bennet, K., Cochrane, A., & Mohan, G. (2013). Living Multiculture: Understanding the New Spacial and Social Relations of Ethnicity and Multiculture in England. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, 31*(2), 308–323.

Netemeyer, R. G., Bearden, W. O., & Sharma, S. (2003). *Scaling Procedures: Issues and Application*. Tousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Nijssen, E. J., & Douglas, S. P. (2011). Consumer World-Mindedness and Attitudes Toward Product Positioning in Advertising: An Examination of Global Versus Foreign Versus Local Positioning. *Journal of International Marketing, 19*(3), 113–133.

Oberecker, E. M., & Diamantopoulos, A. (2011). Consumers' Emotional Bonds with Foreign Countries: Does Consumer Affinity Affect Behavioral Intentions? *Journal of International Marketing, 19*(2), 45–72.

Okechukwu, C., & Oneyemah, V. (1999). Nigerian Consumer Attitudes Toward Foreign and Domestic Products. *Journal of International Business Studies, 30*(3), 611–622.

Peracchio, L. A., Bublitz, M. G., & Luna, D. (2014). Cultural Diversity and Marketing: The Multicultural Consumer. In V. Benet-Martinez & Y.-Y. Hong (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Multicultural Identity* (pp. 438–461). New York: Oxford University Press.

Reardon, J., Miller, C., Vida, I., & Kim, I. (2005). The Effects of Ethnocentrism and Economic Development on the Formation of Brand and ad Attitudes in Transitional Economies. *European Journal of Marketing, 39*(7–8), 737–754.

Richins, M. L., & Dawson, S. (1992). A Consumer Values Orientation for Materialism and Its Measurement: Scale Development and Validation. *Journal of Consumer Research, 19*(3), 303–316.

Riefler, P., & Diamantopoulos, A. (2009). Consumer Cosmopolitanism: Review and Replication of the CYMYC Scale. *Journal of Business Research, 62*(4), 407–419.

Riefler, P., Diamantopoulos, A., & Siguaw, J. A. (2012). Cosmopolitan Consumers as a Target Group for Segmentation. *Journal of International Business Studies, 43*(3), 285–305.

Rojas Gaviria, P., & Emontspool, J. (2015). Global Cities and Cultural Experimentation: Cosmopolitan-local Connections. *International Marketing Review, 32*(2), 181–199.

Roudometof, V. (2005). Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization. *Current Sociology, 53*(1), 113–135.

Schwartz, S. H. (1999). A Theory of Cultural Values and Some Implications for Work. *Applied Psychology, 48*(1), 23–47.

Seo, Y., Buchanan-Oliver, M., & Cruz, A. G. B. (2015). Luxury Brand Markets as Confluences of Multiple Cultural Beliefs. *International Marketing Review, 32*(2), 141–159.

Seo, Y., & Gao, H. (2015). Towards a Value-Based Perspective of Consumer Multicultural Orientation. *European Management Journal, 33*, 30–36.

Shakle, S. (2016, August 25). Meet the Immigrants Who Voted for Brexit. [Online]. Retrieved January 8, 2017, from http://www.politico.eu/article/immigrants-who-voted-for-brexit-luton-migration/

Shimp, T. A., & Sharma, S. (1987). Consumer Ethnocentrism: Construction and Validation of the CETSCALE. *Journal of Marketing Research, 24*(3), 280–289.

Skrbis, Z., Kendall, G., & Woodward, I. (2004). Locating Cosmopolitanism. *Theory, Culture & Society, 21*, 115–136.

Skrbis, Z., & Woodward, I. (2007). The Ambivalence of Ordinary Cosmopolitanism: Investigating the Limits of Cosmopolitanism Openness. *The Sociological Review, 55*(4), 530–547.

Steenkamp, J.-B. (2014). How Global Brands Create Firm Value: The 4V Model. *International Marketing Review, 31*(1), 5–29.

Strizhakova, Y., Coulter, R. A., & Price, L. L. (2008). Branded Products as a Passport to Global Citizenship: Perspectives from Developed and Developing Countries. *Journal of International Marketing, 16*(4), 57–85.

Szerszynski, B., & Urry, J. (2002). Cultures of Cosmopolitanism. In *The Editorial Board of the Sociological Review* (pp. 461–481). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Thompson, C. J., & Tambyah, S. K. (1999). Trying to Be Cosmopolitan. *Journal of Consumer Research, 26*(3), 214–241.

Tomlinson, J. (1999). *Globalization and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Verlegh, P. W. J., & Steenkamp, J.-B. E. M. (1999). A Review and Meta Analysis of Country-of-origin Research. *Journal of Economic Psychology, 20*(5), 521–546.

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and Its Implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 30*(6), 1024–1054.

Vida, I., & Reardon, J. (2008). Domestic Consumption: Rational, Affective or Normative Choices? *Journal of Consumer Marketing, 25*(1), 34–44.

Wessendorf, S. (2013). Commonplace Diversity and the 'Ethos of Mixing': Perceptions of Difference in a London Neighbourhood. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 20*(4), 407–422.

Woodward, I., Skrbis, Z., & 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.

Zeugner-Roth, K., Zabkar, V., & Diamantopoulos, A. (2015). Consumer Ethnocentrism, National Identity, and Consumer Cosmopolitanism as Drivers of Consumer behavior: A Social Identity Perspective. *Journal of International Marketing, 23*(2), 25–54.

Zhou, L., Yang, Z., & Hui, M. K. (2010). Non-local or Local Brands? A Multi-level Investigation into Confidence in Brand Origin Identification and Its Strategic Implications. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science, 38*(2), 202–218.

Eva Kipnis is a Senior Lecturer in International Marketing at the University of Sheffield. Her research is focused on consumption in multicultural environments and the impact of marketing activity on people's wellbeing and engagement in constructive versus damaging behaviours. Eva's prior work appeared in the *Journal of Business Research, Marketing Theory, Consumption, Markets & Culture,* and other outlets.

4

Aesthetico-cultural Cosmopolitanism: A New Kind of 'Good Taste' Among French Youth

Vincenzo Cicchelli and Sylvie Octobre

Subject to wider and wider diffusion, cultural products today are increasingly consumed by audiences that are geographically distant from their sites of production, and that are moreover at times unfamiliar with the specific aesthetic and cultural codes being disseminated; this is especially true for young people's cultural repertoires. This text seeks to examine how young people, in France, engage with the globalization of culture from a cosmopolitan perspective, that is, the relation to and inclusion of Otherness through cultural consumption. To address this question, we shall draw on a French survey (N = 1605) titled 'Cosmopolitisme culturel ordinaire chez les jeunes' ('Ordinary cultural cosmopolitanism among youth')[1] that was designed to describe how young French men and women (aged 18 to 29 years old) consume widely circulated international cultural products and subsequently structure transnational artistic and cultural imaginaries for themselves. This analysis presents aesthetico-

V. Cicchelli
Gemass, CNRS/Paris Sorbonne, Paris, France

S. Octobre (✉)
Ministry of Culture and Communication, Paris, France

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_4

cultural cosmopolitanism along a spectrum of configurations (five in total) that account for the majority of young individuals; it thus distances itself from the view of cosmopolitanism as a phenomenon associated only with cultivated, well-travelled, and multilingual European elites (Calhoun, 2002; Cicchelli, 2016; Coulmas, 1995). Nevertheless, social variations linked to living conditions, capital, resources, and aspirations are not absent from this spectrum, which thus allows us to conduct an analysis in terms of internal inequalities within aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism. We can then ascertain whether the globalization of cultural products has truly democratized one's relationship to the world and others, and in fact now constitutes a highly inclusive generational standard of 'good taste' in the French context. Even if this form of aesthetic and cultural cosmopolitanism is socially stratified, it appears so widely shared among young people that we must reconsider the distinctive effect of 'good taste'. First, with regard to the scale of consumption: although the Bourdieusian concept of 'good taste' applied to a national framework has been amply discussed (Lamont & Lareau, 1988), the notion of cosmopolitan 'good taste' seeks to encompass consumption at a larger scale. Second, with regard to the use of this 'good taste', Bourdieusian 'good taste' applied to a small segment of society that was highly educated and characterized by its penchant for distinctive artworks (such as operas); it thus served as an intranational social marker (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979]). On the contrary, cosmopolitan 'good taste' takes into account the shift towards omnivorism and the proliferation of cultural lifestyles in a digital world, ultimately representing the temperament required to inhabit the world as a whole.

Aesthetico-cultural Cosmopolitism in a Global World

The concept of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism has been used to examine the cultural dynamics of transnational processes (Germann Molz, 2011; Giorgi & Sassatelli, 2011; Hannerz, 1990; Papastergiadis, 2012; Regev, 2013; Urry, 1995). This text is based on the idea that,

thanks to the effect of powerful transnational movements, aesthetic, cultural, ethnic, and religious alterity are omnipresent in our contemporary societies (Skrbis & Woodward, 2007). As a result, we must adopt an appropriate approach to grasp the logic of cosmopolitan socialization in everyday life (Cicchelli, 2014), especially if we wish to understand how people relate to globality and its outcomes through global cultural products and imaginaries (Skrbis & Woodward, 2013).

As young people in France are particularly engaged in cultural consumption (Octobre, 2014a) and participate in the aestheticization of daily life amid a context of growing multiculturalism (Liepoviesky & Seroy, 2013), they are a valuable barometer of the aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitan turn. Numerous examples of youth cultural participation suggest that contact of varying degrees, either real or virtual, with international cultural products modifies one's framework for the acceptance of foreign tastes (Cicchelli & Octobre, forthcoming). Such cosmopolitan encounters through cultural consumption raise a series of questions for the sociology of cultural engagement, however. How should we understand the cultural mutations engendered by the growing consumption of cultural products that combine with or adopt foreign cultural codes? What are the references and new criteria of appreciation involved, and how do these construct a new aesthetic, even a renewed form of cultural capital? Does constant contact with transnational products change one's relationship with alterity, either real or imagined?

From the Internationalization of Repertoires to a Cosmopolitan Approach

We therefore examine aesthetico-cultural consumption—especially the modes of consumption used—as well as imaginaries that shape people's relationship to the world. Most young French people read Japanese mangas (reading from right to left), watch American movies (often in the original English, with subtitles), listen to 'music of the world',[2] and are familiar with monuments from around the world (the Statue of Liberty,

the Taj Mahal, the Great Wall of China, etc.). Some individuals display a preference for viewing cultural products in their original language, a preference which is often unrelated to their own language skills or cultural knowledge: our data shows that 41% of French young people only master French,[3] but that 75% of them listen to music in a foreign language. The same applies to movies: 56% of young people watch movies in a foreign language.

Drawing on these widespread features of consumption and imaginaries among young people in France, we propose a theoretical approach that differentiates itself from analyses solely focusing on the internationalization of cultural repertoires or the mobilization of cultural competencies (even though we take these dimensions into account): instead we shall focus on the reflexive process engendered by cultural consumption. This study does not seek to determine the varying weight of specific foreign products in cultural repertoires; in fact, the interviews conducted would be an inefficient means to that end, seeing as most young people cannot actually trace the very specific ethno-national origins of the products they consume. In certain cultural industries, such as the movie or music industries, talents, sounds, and aesthetics from different countries are often combined, with actors, producers, and technicians all hailing from different parts of the world. Nor can the language(s) used serve as shorthand for cultural origin: even if France is characterized by a strong attachment to the French language, which is part and parcel of the integration process for foreigners, at least half of all French pop-rock music is produced in English, as well as some movies. Nor can the presence of the original language be used to gauge linguistic competency. In fact, France possesses a strong tradition of the original language diffusion of cultural goods, especially movies and TV series (primarily in English with subtitles), even though a large segment of the population does not master a foreign language. This distinguishes French consumption habits from those of its European neighbours, such as Italy, where dubbing is the norm, or the Netherlands, where English is widely used among the population. Therefore, what is at stake here, rather than the 'objective' ethno-national classification of cultural goods, is the 'subjective' ethno-national classification of aesthetics, elaborated by the consumers themselves according to their standards and experiences. Stemming from our

understanding of cosmopolitan orientation, we highlight the importance of the *intention* to discover new cultural products and use them to understand alterity and inform one's relationship to the world. Therefore, cosmopolitanism does not only result from the pervasiveness of global media nor does it come from the sole exposure to global products.

We define the concept of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism, on the one hand, as a strong attraction and curiosity with respect to cultural practices and products from elsewhere, whether these have localized references or not and whether the latter are authentic or reinvented, and, on the other hand, as a kind of hybridization with national cultural forms or localized individual appropriations that shape cultural imaginaries from all around the world. A third dimension should be added to this definition: the development of a form of self-assertion that is linked to the desire to understand the Other, in order to better understand oneself (Cicchelli, Octobre, & Riegel, 2016).

Everyday Cosmopolitanism and Social Stratification

Investigating cosmopolitanism from the perspective of individual awareness means looking at cosmopolitanism 'on the ground' as a set of actions and attitudes, and considering ordinary people rather than archetypal cosmopolitans engaging in ordinary cultural activities (such as global business elites, refugees, expatriates, cultural connoisseurs, or experts). However, this does not mean that no social stratification of ordinary cosmopolitanism occurs in everyday life.

In the existing literature, a strong opposition often separates those who believe that cosmopolitanism is the purview of the elites (Calhoun, 2002) and those who believe, on the contrary, that there exists a kind of 'ordinary', 'banal', or 'everyday' cosmopolitanism (Skrbis & Woodward, 2007) which at least partially transcends class divisions. However, the quotidian is in no way banal (DeNora, 2014): the music that we listen to, the movies that we watch, the newspapers that we read all engage us, cognitively and emotionally, helping to shape our relationship with the world. Although the term 'banal' has been used to describe everyday

forms of cosmopolitanism, it highlights something else entirely: not the trivial nature of these behaviours, but the fact that they are widely disseminated across sociologically different population groups, which might lead us to rethink the mechanisms of social stratification. We argue here against the prevalent association between aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism and well-travelled, cultured elites, an association which in turn serves to overvalue the national embedding of individual culture. New forms of cosmopolitanism may emerge, which reconfigure social stratification measured against travel and linguistic skill, but most especially the individual desires and aspirations to experience alterity. Moreover, while from the consumer's point of view, any reception of a foreign product is necessarily localized, including if this localization operates using stereotypes, one's national culture is no longer de facto the most valuable.

Some studies have questioned the ability of cultural consumption to structure social class (Holt, 1998). The shifting forms of cultural legitimacy in a globalized world (Coulangeon, 2011) challenge the heuristic ability of the social classes (and of cultural stratification from a Bourdieusian perspective) to account for individual trajectories of cultural consumption, which can in fact be better expressed using the idea of banal cosmopolitanism. The transformation of the cultural field must be taken into account. As culture becomes dematerialized, the material aspects of cultural capital increasingly lose importance. And as it becomes more and more globalized, culture requires an approach that accounts for its new 'post-national' embodied forms, skills, and dispositions and for the process through which those skills and dispositions are transformed (or not) into cultural capital. Being massified, it also demands an analysis of the widespread forms of culture that exist between the 'haute' and 'mass markets', the core and the periphery, and across generations, age, and gender. Being serialized and mass produced, the cultural field now produces a complex lexicon of aesthetic and cultural possibilities and favours the proliferation of signs coming from every part of the world, consequently requiring the analysis of a number of new imaginaries of the world. The symbolic power of cultural capital thus appears to have shifted to new forms of exclusionary class boundaries.[4]

Our hypothesis is that aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism has become a consumption standard, emblematic of a new generation's 'good taste'.

While it is powerfully inclusive, it also necessarily excludes some individuals. Thanks to the circulation of cultural products, aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism is one of the most widespread forms of openness to others. It is considered in good taste to boast of one's diverse personal interests, even if, in reality, the diversity of products consumed is at times relatively limited.

Data and Methodology

We shall examine aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism at the intersection of various cultural repertoires (taking into account 11 types of consumption: TV series, other TV programming, movies, recorded music, video games, books, comic books, newspapers and magazines, websites and blogs, radio broadcasting, and social media) and a number of artistic and cultural imaginaries.

Cultural repertoires are described in three ways: the proportion of products according to national origin (as stated by the young people interviewed); preferences for the language(s) of origin or French; and preferences for products according to their national origin. Imaginaries are described using two lists (one of artists and the other of monuments, both national and international) across three dimensions: degree of familiarity (direct/indirect/none); preference (like/don't like); and the value attributed to artists and monuments according to an aesthetic register (beauty, genius); a cultural register (defining one's vision of the world); a national register (representative of a country); or a universal register (belonging to human heritage).

Aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism with regard to consumption patterns is hence defined by the intersection of two dimensions:

1. The morphology of cultural repertoires, described using three kinds of indicators:

   (a) The proportion of products according to national origin (four options: exclusively or primarily French, equally French and foreign, primarily or exclusively foreign, not applicable);

(b) Preferences for the language of origin (six options: exclusively in French, primarily in French, equally in French and in a foreign language, primarily in a foreign language, exclusively in a foreign language, not applicable);
(c) Preferences for products according to their national origin (three options: preference for French products, preference for foreign products, no preference).

2. The morphology of transnational imaginaries in terms of artists and monuments also described using three types of indicators:

(a) Degree of familiarity: young individuals were asked if they were familiar with each item on each list (directly or indirectly) (yes = 1; no = 0);
(b) Taste: individuals were then asked if they liked each item or not (yes = 1; no = 0);
(c) Associated value registers: individuals were asked what value they attributed to artists and monuments (from 0 to 5), invoking four different value registers associated with global imaginaries, an aesthetic register (beauty, genius), a cultural register (defining one's vision of the world), a national register (representative of a country), and a universal register (belonging to human heritage).

We are thus able to simultaneously measure the degree of openness of cultural repertoires and imaginaries and their strength in terms of appreciation/rejection, by looking at the choices made with regard to forms of consumption and the aesthetic value awarded according to varying registers. A structure of consumption, an intention or rejection, and various scales of legitimacy are thus placed along the local/global axis to define the different configurations of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism.

For our analysis, we developed a joint system of classification applied to large arrays of mixed data (quantitative and qualitative, simultaneously continuous, ordinal nominal and binary) (Nakache & Confais, 2003; Wong, 1982). This approach had several phases: first, the data was

homogenized with a view to using a single point of similarity among the individuals to be categorized (Euclidean distance) and a single criterion for aggregation (minimum loss of inertia, Ward's criterion). Second, two classification techniques with different principles (ascending hierarchical classification and K-means clustering) were used in combination (Benzécri, 1992; Le Roux & Rouanet, 2010); third, the classes obtained were described and the category centres were positioned on a factorial map to determine the orientation and dispersion of the categories. The classification established takes into account 26 axes of the multiple component analysis, that is, 50% of total inertia.

Five Configurations

Our analysis describes five configurations, which are unevenly distributed among 18- to 29-year-olds. This analysis allows us to understand aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism less as a kind of ideal type than as a continuum of configurations: the latter are in fact constructions that lead to five different attitudes, ranging from a fundamental openness to alterity, to a strong avowed preference for national products—and to the non-consumption of cultural products regardless of their source. We shall present these five configurations below, in order of decreasing representative weight among young people (Cicchelli & Octobre, 2017).

Inadvertent Cosmopolitans[5]: Swept up by the Tide of Cultural Globalization

This group accounts for 34% of young people with open consumption patterns. They watch both foreign television shows and French shows, and they listen to French music and foreign music equally. However, they do not partake in consumption activities where linguistic appropriation is more complex. In addition, as these individuals already read few books, magazines, or comic books, they are equally unlikely to read in a foreign language. Immersed in the world of mainstream culture, which is

primarily Anglo-American, such individuals express a preference for foreign (primarily American) films, as well as for foreign television shows. But they do not watch these films or shows in their original version, instead always preferring dubbed versions. More than three-quarters of these young people exclusively watch films in French. In addition, half of them only play video games in French.

The taste and consumption profiles of inadvertent cosmopolitans illustrate that individuals in this group are among those who watch the most mainstream television entertainment, in particular reality TV, game shows, and music competitions, as well as films and television shows (which are dubbed on the main channels, and sometimes subtitled on cable channels). This group also consumes a large proportion of animated products and has a marked preference for horror movies and procedural or action-based television shows (i.e., genres where dialogue and cultural background are not significant elements). Moreover, the individuals in this group tend to like R&B and rap in particular, which are predominantly international genres, and this music tends to make up the bulk of their daily radio-listening habits. When playing video games, this group primarily plays sports games.

The relative absence of voluntary investment in this group—hence the configuration's name as inadvertent cosmopolitanism—is reflected in the group's low level of familiarity with the monuments and artists on the questionnaire. One-third of these young people obtained a very low score for familiarity with monuments, and two-fifths obtained a low score; the same kind of distribution can be observed with regard to familiarity with artists. This low level of familiarity is linked, in similar proportions, with low levels of appreciation for artists and monuments, but equality with *distaste* for more than one-quarter of all individuals in the group. As these individuals are only passingly familiar with artists and monuments, they do not express strong opinions one way or another. If we observe the specific forms taken by its appreciation for artists and monuments, we can see that the aesthetic sensibility of this group is low, with individuals granting little value to artists and monuments in the elaboration of their worldview. For these individuals, monuments and artists are not national emblems, nor are they elements that contribute to a broader view of humanity.

Specific Cosmopolitans: Openness Through Reading

Coming in second, this group represents 32% of the population aged 18–29 years old. It is composed of young people who have an appreciation for foreign products, especially in terms of books, websites, and blogs (all thus associated with reading). While these individuals place significant importance on French television, radio, and websites in their cultural repertoires, they are less invested in the consumption of films and television shows than other groups. On the flipside, they read more, especially foreign publications. These young people are almost twice as likely as the average to read foreign comics; two-thirds of them occasionally read books in a foreign language (i.e., one-third more than the average). Moreover, they are almost four times more likely to read the foreign press. Media preferences in this group are divided: these individuals prefer foreign television shows, but national television programming of other kinds. In addition, their modes of consumption favour French as the language of appropriation; whether in dubbed or subtitled versions, they prefer French when watching films (twice as much as the average) and television shows (almost twice as much), but also when they listen to music (eight points higher). Despite this, foreign languages remain the majority in their forms of appropriation, in particular for television shows. The media consumption patterns of this group therefore show the traces of a kind of inadvertent cosmopolitanism tied to the existing supply of media products on offer, and of a more voluntary kind of cosmopolitanism in the case of certain, targeted acts of consumption (in particular for TV shows), while their reading practices are more actively oriented towards international publications.

In terms of books, the tastes of this group are rather eclectic: they read classics, science fiction and fantasy, romance novels and essays as often as self-help, travel guides, or other practical books. In terms of the press, they read daily newspapers but also general interest magazines, tabloids, travel magazines, women's magazines, and other cultural interest publications. In terms of websites, the young individuals in this group are particularly interested in sites that deal with academic studies, professional activities, daily life, travel, and fashion.

Generally speaking, the young people in this group exhibit the same omnivorism: they like drama, science fiction, and historical movies; police and medical procedurals; political, science fiction, fantasy, and historical shows; as well as sitcoms. With regard to other television programming, this group tends to watch the news, cultural and scientific programming, and travel shows. On the radio, they listen to the news, as well as musical shows, debates, phone-in shows, interviews, game shows, and the like, while their musical tastes combine French music, pop, rock, jazz, world, and classical music.

In addition, they have a rich array of reference points: individuals in this group are very familiar with monuments and artists, and are also the most likely to express appreciation for these two. They have highly developed aesthetic sensibilities: their stated appreciation for monuments and artists stems from their admiration for beauty. In turn, this aesthetic gaze explains the important value that they confer to monuments and artists when developing their perspective on the world, their country, and humanity in general. Their aesthetic horizon resembles that of a nation whose borders are open to the outside world, both individually and collectively.

Cosmopolitan Fans: Openness on Principle

Third in order of size (accounting for 17% of the young people interviewed), this group represents those individuals most invested in the consumption of foreign products, with the latter largely present across all sectors of their cultural repertoires. These individuals thus prefer foreign music (close to 7 out of 10, or 1.6 times more than the average) and foreign films (almost 4 out of 5, or 1.5 times more than the average). They also like foreign TV shows (9 out of 10, or 1.3 times more than the average) and foreign video games (3 out of 5, or 1.6 times more than the average). Two out of five individuals in this group primarily read foreign comic books (four times more than the average), two out of five primarily read foreign books (more than twice as likely as the average), and, most notably, close to two out of every five individuals read the foreign press (four times more than the average), which makes them more actively

cosmopolitan in this sector than the preceding group. More than a quarter of these individuals also consult foreign websites on the Internet (or 3.6 times more than the average), and one out of every ten exclusively consults foreign websites and blogs (three times more than the average). The consulting of websites and blogs is part and parcel of this openness, since this group is twice as likely as the average to at least occasionally consult foreign sites and blogs.

Members of this group are cosmopolitan fans because their stated reference points are most often foreign products: in terms of TV shows (nine out of ten), films (three out of five), and, more notably, in terms of music (three out of five, or 1.3 times more than the average) and television programming (one out of seven, or two times more than the average). The modes of consumption used in this group also speak to its openness: this group includes the largest number of individuals who use foreign languages in their cultural consumption patterns. Almost two out of every five individuals primarily watch films in their original versions (not dubbed), and close to one out of every five exclusively watch films in their original versions (respectively, three times and 4.5 times more than the average). One-third of individuals in this group watch TV shows primarily or exclusively in their original versions (i.e., close to two and three times more than the average, respectively). They are also more likely to listen exclusively (more than twice as likely) or primarily (1.5 times more likely) to music in a foreign language. Individuals in this group likewise use foreign languages in video games (four times more likely than the average). As they are attracted to foreign literature, they also tend to read books in languages other than French four times more often than the average (i.e., four out of ten individuals).

The taste and consumption profiles of the young people in this group reveal that they are avid cultural consumers, but not the most frequent television viewers; when they do watch television, they tend to choose cultural or scientific programmes. Part of their audio-visual consumption takes place on the Internet, as evidenced by their eclectic tastes despite their relative distance with regard to television specifically. These individuals like action movies, animation, documentaries, horror, science fiction, and historical films, but also political, action, fantasy historical, and animated television series, which are all genres for which

international production leads the market. These young people listen to a lot of music (displaying the same eclectic tastes, they like pop, rock, techno, dance music, heavy metal, jazz, world, and classical music) and play video games (also of different genres, but favouring in particular arcade, adventure, role playing, simulation, strategy, puzzle, sports, and platform games). In addition, they read books, comic books, and the press and consult websites and blogs (partially as part of their interest in music, film, and video games, but also because they are interested in politics and travel). Moreover, these individuals exhibit their openness to the world when reading the press: they are more likely than others to read daily newspapers and consumer publications as well as magazines focusing on culture, travel, nightlife, and technology. Their ideal library contains multitudes: *manga*, Franco-Belgian 'bandes dessinées,' and Anglo-American comics, classics, political essays, and science fiction alongside travelogues and geography tomes.

This group has a wealth of reference points, even more than the preceding group, both in terms of familiarity and taste, but it differentiates itself from the other groups most notably by expressing distaste, especially with regard to the artists on the questionnaire. This group therefore appears to be more selective than the preceding one. These individuals also stand out from their peers in the previous group on account of the fact that their appreciation for monuments is less nationally defined and their appreciation for artists is more reflective of an appreciation for global cultural heritage. They are thus less concerned with national identity and more involved in developing a vision of the world that reflects its shared humanity.

National Fans: Rejecting Cultural Globalization

The fourth configuration accounts for 11% of the sample population aged 18 to 29 years old and describes those young individuals characterized by a stated preference for national products, whether in the composition of their consumption repertoires, their modalities of consumption, or the creation of their imaginaries. Even though these individuals are similarly exposed to international mainstream culture, they make highly

selective choices with regard to the source of their preferred cultural products. They are five times less likely than the average to watch foreign films, almost systematically favouring French cinema. Their choices are much the same in terms of television shows, as they are more than eight times more likely than the average to watch only French TV shows. These individuals are three times more likely to only listen to French music. More individuals in this group do not play video games at all (half versus two-fifths); those who do play prefer French games (three times more than the average). This group is less interested in reading (four out of five don't read comic books, more than half don't read books, and more than one-fifth don't read magazines). Individuals in this group are likewise less engaged with the Internet (more than a fourth do not consult websites), but they are on the contrary very active on social media, once again favouring French-language interactions. Their stated preferences reinforce this national focus: in terms of films, shows, television programming, and music, individuals in this group are the most likely to express a strong preference for French content (close to eight times more than the average for television shows, five times more for movies, and two times more for recorded music).

Their taste and consumption profiles illustrate that these are moderately invested cultural consumers: they watch a moderate number of movies, but a large number of TV shows (where they prefer sitcoms, medical procedurals, and romance, in other words the kinds of show that are aired on the main television channels); most of them never play video games, don't read (except for the occasional tabloids or childrearing magazines), and one-fourth of them never consult websites or blogs on the Internet. Their televisual watching is shaped by their access to films and TV shows, as well as reality TV, game shows, and music contests (individuals in this group listen to fewer genres of music, primarily listening to French pop, R&B, and hip hop). Unsurprisingly, they primarily use French in their consumption of cultural products: they almost exclusively watch TV shows in French and, primarily watch films, other television programming and play video games in French. The only exception is music, where mainstream Anglophone hits remain popular. Moreover, this group massively prefers dubbing to subtitling when watching foreign films or shows.

Individuals in this group possess few cosmopolitan references with regard to either monuments or artists: they are familiar with few of them and like even fewer, expressing strong distaste for a number of artists. Much like inadvertent cosmopolitans, individuals with a strong national preference do not have levels of familiarity and tastes that evolve in a parallel fashion: even though they are largely unfamiliar with cultural products, they express strong dislikes for many of them.

Impossible Cosmopolitans: Cultural Retreat

This group, the smallest in size (6%), includes individuals who have lower levels of cultural consumption than average with regard to most of the products studied. In addition, they even refrain from certain emblematic forms of consumption such as listening to recorded music or watching television shows. Due to their low levels of cultural consumption, individuals in this group are only weakly linked with the cosmopolitanism spectrum; moreover, they lack any sort of preferences in terms of their choice of content. Individuals in this group do not watch television shows, and they are four times more likely than the average to not watch any television programming at all. They are similarly four times more unlikely to play video games or to read books, comics, or magazines. In addition, they do not exhibit any kind of specific preferences in terms of content or tastes: depending on the size of the offer and ease of access (e.g., in terms of television), these individuals may shift from a mixture of foreign and national products (e.g., in terms of music) to primarily national products. Their only cosmopolitan trait is that while they are also less likely to use social media, such individuals are more likely to have foreign contacts if they do. Moreover, while they are averagely familiar with monuments and artists, their aesthetic sensibility is much weaker, and very few individuals said that monuments helped to fashion their worldview; no attachment or particular form of representation was expressed in that regard. Most significantly, in all three cases these individuals refrain from associating these references with a value register.

Social Variations of Aesthetico-cultural Cosmopolitanism

Even though aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism is widespread among youth, the issue of social status, age, and gender cut across all five configurations, highlighting their internal variations. Hence, inadvertent cosmopolitans tend to live in rural areas or small/medium-sized cities and have low educational levels. The majority of them are in the workforce, where they have low-skilled and low-paying jobs as blue-collar workers or office employees. They are likewise more likely than most to be married and saddled with family duties (some of these individuals are moreover single parents). They come from uneducated, low-income backgrounds where traditional family structures, including stay-at-home mothers, are the most prevalent, which naturally has repercussions on how they view work and leisure. The intergenerational social reproduction of family structures is generally supported by their choice of partner, who is in most cases likewise little educated and quite familiar with the work world and its difficulties (a high percentage of their partners have been unemployed at some point). Involuntary aesthetic cosmopolitans, who are largely fluent in French thanks to their family environment, include young individuals from a Francophone linguistic tradition as well as the children of immigrants from Africa.[6] Thanks to the school curriculum, they benefit from learning two foreign languages, although the majority of them state that they do not fully master those languages.

The specific cosmopolitans group, which skews slightly female and includes more individuals from the 25–29-age range, possesses some of the highest education levels in the sample and the largest number of senior managers, executives, and intellectual professionals. Endowed with both academic and economic resources, individuals in this group are likewise more advanced in their life trajectories (more than two-fifths already have children). These individuals are on track to reproduce their social situation: their parents are likewise educated and belong to the middle or higher socio-professional classes. In addition, their marital homogamy means that they chose partners with similar, if slightly lower status socio-economic profiles (white-collar employees, for instance).

They primarily live in large cities, where academic, cultural, and professional resources are concentrated. This group contains the largest number of individuals who master foreign languages: while a little more than one-fourth of this group only speaks French, more than one-third masters two foreign languages, and a little less than another third is fluent in three foreign languages. This multilingualism is largely the product of education, since most of these individuals come from French-speaking households and families. It should be noted, however, that for specific cosmopolitans, education produces a higher level of mastery than for the previous group.

The members of the cosmopolitan fans group, which skews slightly male, are the youngest in the study, those with the highest education levels, and those most likely to live in an urban environment. Most of these young individuals are still students, but those who work are more likely than the average to have entered into higher professional positions. Their mothers and fathers are also among the most educated in the sample, the majority of them working in higher socio-professional occupations and paired in highly homogamous couples. This homogamy is replicated in the choices made by the young individuals who have a partner. The young people on the edges of the cosmopolitan fans group largely grew up in a French-speaking environment, but to a lesser extent than the previous group.[7] Their multilingualism is also thanks to education. This group includes the largest number of individuals who state that they are fluent in three languages, as well as the largest number of those who state that they learned three languages in school or in their professional lives.

The individuals in the national fans group, which skews slightly female, are rather less educated. When they are employed, they are generally labourers and other blue-collar workers. Close to one out of every seven has been unemployed. Possessing fewer academic resources and thus encountering more difficulties on the labour market, close to half of these individuals also have families (and some are single parents). The living conditions experienced by those in this group are thus more difficult than those for the other groups; as a result, their relationship to leisure activities is different. These individuals come from less educated families which are steeped in working-class (largely male) culture, where stay-at-home

mothers are the norm, and if they work, women are in intermediate occupations. Here again, social reproduction goes hand-in-hand with homogamy: those who are in couples have chosen partners that are likewise little educated and who belong to the same socio-professional classes (primarily the working class). These individuals can be found in urban areas of all sizes. This configuration displays poor language skills, including with regard to French. While young people in this group might initially benefit from linguistic environments that are richer than the average on account of their families (in particular because of the presence of Arabic), they benefit slightly less than others from the two-language curriculum at school, in part because their schooling tends to have been shorter (many stop before the baccalaureate). Most importantly, these individuals are the most likely to state that they only speak French, which limits their modes of appropriation of cultural products in foreign languages.

Finally, the impossible cosmopolitans group, which skews heavily male, includes rather well-educated individuals who stand out because they come from heterogamous families (where their parents have highly different qualification levels and modes of labour market insertion). As a result, these young individuals are confronted with hybrid socio-cultural models and work ethics, linked with specific insertion trajectories: some of them will become blue-collar workers, but most will become tradespersons and small business owners, jobs for which the link between educational level and income level is in fact the least linear. The partners chosen by these individuals also reproduce their parents' heterogamy, as many are married to senior executives and managers. Members of this group primarily live in large cities. These individuals have significant language skills: close to six out of ten state that they are fluent in several languages (one-third are fluent in two and one-fifth in three). These young individuals are more likely than average to come from working-class immigrant families (5% were born in Northern Africa, 2% in Francophone African countries, 2% in other European Union countries, and 1% in other African countries). They are also the most likely to experience multilingualism within their couple, even if the majority still speak French with their spouses. However, these language skills are not mobilized in their forms of cultural appropriation.

Two different experiences of youth are thus pitted against each other. In one of them, adolescence ends when one enters into the labour market and marries, relatively young, thus putting an end to any experimentation (if such had even taken place). In another experience, youth is stretched out as individuals follow longer and longer academic paths, at least partially with a view to 'discovering oneself', a widespread ambition among the middle and upper classes. The stratification linked to education levels and lifestyles is combined with the various forms of stratification tied to the cultural offer available where one lives: individuals living in rural areas or small towns are more likely to be inadvertent cosmopolitans, whereas the inhabitants of large cities, where the cultural offer is myriad, tend to be more active cosmopolitans (specific and fans). More than one-third of inadvertent cosmopolitans reside in small cities, whereas more than two-fifths of cosmopolitan fans live in large cities; one-fourth live in Paris and the surrounding region.

Finally, one more opposition should be highlighted, as it supports previous observations regarding cultural practices (Donnat, 2005; Octobre, 2014b): the opposition between men and women is structured in two different ways. First, men are more likely to participate in cultural retreat, while women on average tend to have higher levels of participation. Second, more men exhibit the most active forms of engagement with diversity, whereas more women state ethno-national preferences. As a result, three-quarters of the individuals in the impossible cosmopolitanism group are men, but men also make up three-fifths of the cosmopolitan fans group, while women account for three-fifths of the national preference group. This gender effect can derive from two structural components of cultural consumption. First, some cultural interests are more common among women or men (Donnat, 2008), hence facilitating the apparition of an aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitan stance. This is, for example, the case for book-reading: in France, reading books is predominantly a female habit, a tendency that has only grown over generations. Similarly, video-gaming is more common among men; hence they are more likely to develop a cosmopolitan approach to games. Therefore, women are more numerous in the specific cosmopolitans group, which is characterized by openness through reading, whereas men are more numerous in the cosmopolitan fans group, where video-gaming plays an

important part. Second, cultural engagement in France is influenced by gender, as women are more inclined to pursue cultural interests in general, whereas men are more attracted by sports or other kind of leisure activities: this can account for the presence of a majority of men in the impossible cosmopolitans group. The presence of more women in the national fans group is due to the consumption of national TV programming and TV shows broadcasted during the day. When they read, women also like national tabloids. They are also more likely than men to enjoy 'variété française' (French pop music).

In Praise of a Cosmopolitan Education in a Global World

In one or another of its many guises, cosmopolitanism affects the vast majority of young people in French, independently of their language skills. In fact, it depends on whether these language skills are reinvested in the consumption of cultural products in a foreign language. Although it is evident that language skills are unevenly distributed, it nonetheless seems that across the board, some languages are predominantly used in cultural consumption (English), while others are less so (Arabic). For some individuals, linguistic abilities are transferable skills that can be applied to other pursuits (academic, professional, cultural, etc.); language skills thus become a source of capital. For others, however, due to their uncertain or precarious social situation, similar language skills are not transformed into cultural capital and are in fact 'destroyed'.

This invites us to look at the question of cosmopolitan education. Can aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitan become a tool to educate young people in a global world? To that end, cosmopolitanism should be embedded within a broader curriculum that includes elements that are not conveyed solely by major cultural industries and which stem from a political worldview. In France, schools, which have long operated as the main institutions for converting capital and legitimizing cultural dominance, do not in fact effect this conversion in terms of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism in the context of globalization. This can be seen in the various debates on foreign language education, the resistance to English (Héran, 2013) as

a language strongly linked to media consumption, and the relegation of so-called mother tongues such as Arabic to the family sphere (Cheikh, 2010). We can also clearly see this phenomenon at work in the exclusion of cultural media from school curricula (Barrère, 2011; Maigret & Macé, 2005). In other words, French schools do not offer a form of cosmopolitan education, nor do they exploit the cosmopolitan dimensions of youth culture for educational benefit.

Moreover, on the job market, there is no guarantee that skills in terms of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism will be among the 'soft skills' often praised by the champions of 'new management' (Mauléon, Bouret, & Hoarau, 2014); while many people mention their hobbies and travel on their résumés, these elements are far from playing a decisive role in the hiring process. The cosmopolitan character of most young people is therefore still poorly recognized and underused.

Conclusion: A Generational Sense of 'Good Taste'

Aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism can be seen as a new standard of 'good taste', whose power is correlated with the omnipresence of global cultural products. This 'good taste' acts as a common ground for young people, as certain knowledge of global brands and the experience of 'global products' create a kind of 'cosmopolitan cool' (Bookman, 2012). This good taste is based on a self-reflexive vision of the world produced through aesthetico-cultural consumption, as well as the creation of cultural imaginaries and their associated values. This good taste is generational in so far as more than 80% of young people position themselves on the cosmopolitan continuum.

Each configuration of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism corresponds to a different response to cultural globalization: the first is immersion without any particular intentionality (inadvertent cosmopolitans); the second is engagement, which can take two forms (specific cosmopolitans, primarily through reading, and cosmopolitan fans, marked by a general openness to diversity); the third response is rejection (national fans); while the fourth is retreat (impossible cosmopolitans). These forms

of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism are situated along a continuum of possibilities, where no 'pure' forms can serve as a measurement standard; in fact, the various combinations, degrees, and levels of cosmopolitanism—'impure' forms (Beck, 2011)—that are observed are in fact reversible, since they are shaped equally by real aesthetic experiences and symbolic relationships with the world, its objects, and cultural representations.

Some quantitative studies have suggested that a refined relationship to culture can, more or less implicitly, produce a standard of preference for the exotic and faraway, accompanied by effects of rarity and difference: the high value placed on cultural eclecticism thus becoming a new form of legitimate culture (Peterson, 1992), an ostentatious openness to diversity (Fridman & Ollivier, 2004). Could aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism reproduce the mechanisms of cultural distinction employed by certain social classes in the past, and thus reinstate the dominance of a new globalized elite, the big winners of global competition? Our results indicate that even if it is no longer the purview of the ruling classes, this generational standard of good taste is socially stratified and can thus exist outside of the upper classes, as already shown by Lamont and Aksartova (2002), who identified different forms of openness to others, including among the lower classes. Our configurations of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism in fact illustrate that first and foremost, cosmopolitanism affects the vast majority of young people (eight out of ten) and, second, that aesthetico-cultural openness has become more democratic. Among our configurations, only the cosmopolitan fans can be viewed as an elite (accounting for fewer than one out of every five individuals). The spread of aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism can be explained in two different ways: first from a structural point of view, via the transformation of the world of youth, which has become more urban, more educated, more mobile, and more multicultural; second, via the transformation of the cultural universe for young people, which is now defined by eclectic tastes (omnivorism) and the growing use of cultural resources to establish one's identity.

We can therefore view aesthetico-cultural cosmopolitanism as a new sensibility in the history of ideas, a history marked successively by the notions of courtly love, childhood, human rights, equality, feminism, the

question of identity and authenticity, and so on. From this point of view, it cannot be emphasized enough that this form of neo-cosmopolitanism represents the cornerstone of contemporary civic education, much like the role played by emancipation during the Renaissance, by reason during the Enlightenment, by sentiment during the Romantic period, and by exoticism during the first half of the twentieth century. The culture of ordinary men and women at the beginning of the twenty-first century is *necessarily* cosmopolitan, at least to a certain degree. For young people, cosmopolitanism has thus been stripped of the exoticism associated with the colonialist worldview that characterized the capitalist nationalism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Cicchelli & Octobre, 2017).

Notes

1. This quantitative study was financed by the French Ministry of Culture and Communication. The questionnaire (N = 1605, face-to-face, hour-long interviews) was composed of a national sample stratified by age, gender, and location in metropolitan France.
2. In France, this category accounts for very different types of music from an aesthetic or cultural point of view, but all of them come from non-Western countries or regions of the world (Africa, South and Central America, Asia, etc.).
3. Despite the compulsory teaching of two foreign languages starting in middle school (most often English and Spanish) and a growing multicultural population (one-quarter of French children and adolescents are of foreign origin), multilingualism among French youth remains relatively limited: 59% of young individuals state that they are fluent in at least one other language (30% master one foreign language, 23% two, and 6% three or more). Among those individuals who say that they are fluent in at least one foreign language, 50% say that they speak English, 19% Spanish, 6% German, 4% Arabic or Italian, 3% an African language, and 2% Portuguese.
4. The recent discussion between Savage and Mills (see Mills, 2014; Savage et al., 2013, 2015) underlines the importance of these changes in multidimensional social class construction.

5. This adjective refers to the opposition described by Motti Regev between *advertent* (voluntary) and *inadvertent* (involuntary) *cosmopolitanism* (Regev, 2007).
6. Second or even third generation, since 90% of the young people in this group were born in metropolitan France and 2% in overseas territories.
7. 'Only' 86% of these individuals were born in France.

References

Barrère, A. (2011). *L'éducation buissonnière, quand les adolescents se forment eux-mêmes*. Paris: Colin.

Beck, U. (2011). Cosmopolitanism as Imagined Communities of Global Risk. *American Behavioral Scientist, 55*(10), 1346–1361.

Benzécri, J. P. (1992). *Correspondence Analysis Handbook*. New York: Marcel Dekker.

Bookman, S. (2012). Branded Cosmopolitanisms: "Global" Coffee Brands and the Co-creation of "Cosmopolitan Cool". *Cultural Sociology, 7*(1), 56–72.

Bourdieu, P. (1984 [1979]). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Calhoun, C. (2002). The Class Consciousness of Frequent Travellers: Toward a Critique of Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism. *South Atlantic Quarterly, 101*(4), 869–897.

Cheikh, Y. (2010). L'enseignement de l'arabe en France, Les voies de transmission. *Langues et Migrations, 1288*, 92–103.

Cicchelli, V. (2014). Living in a Global Society, Handling Otherness: An Appraisal of Cosmopolitan Socialization. *Quaderni di Teoria Sociale, 14*, 217–242.

Cicchelli, V. (2016). *Pluriel et commun. Sociologie d'un monde cosmopolite*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Cicchelli, V., & Octobre, S. 2017. Aesthetico-Cultural Cosmopolitanism and French Youth - The Taste of the World. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cicchelli, V., & Octobre, S. (forthcoming). Aesthetico-Cultural Cosmopolitanism Among French Young People: Beyond Social Stratification, The Role of Aspirations and Competences. *Cultural Sociology.*

Cicchelli, V., Octobre, S., & Riegel, V. (2016). After the Omnivore, the Cosmopolitan Amateur. *The Global Studies Journal, 9*(1), 55–70.

Coulangeon, P. (2011). *Les métamorphoses de la légitimité culturelle. Inégalités culturelles dans la France d'aujourd'hui*. Paris: Grasset.

Coulmas, P. (1995). *Citoyens du monde. Une histoire du cosmopolitisme*. Paris: Albin Michel.

DeNora, T. (2014). *Making Sense of Reality, Culture and Perception in Everyday Life*. London: Sage.

Donnat, O. (2005). La féminisation des pratiques culturelles. *Développement culturel, 147*.

Donnat, O. (2008). *Les pratiques culturelles des Français à l'ère du numérique*. Paris: MCC.

Fridman, V., & Ollivier, M. (2004). Ouverture ostentatoire à la diversité et cosmopolitisme: vers une nouvelle configuration discursive? *Sociologie et sociétés, 36*(1), 105–126.

Germann Molz, J. (2011). Cosmopolitanism and Consumption. In M. Rovisco & M. Nowicka (Eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Cosmopolitanism* (pp. 33–52). Farnham: Ashgate.

Giorgi, L., & Sassatelli, M. (2011). Introduction. In L. Giorgi, M. Sassatelli, & G. Delanty (Eds.), *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere* (pp. 1–11). London: Routledge.

Hannerz, U. (1990). Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture. *Theory, Culture and Society, 7*(2–3), 237–251.

Héran, F. (2013). L'anglais hors la loi? *Population et sociétés, 501*.

Holt, B. D. (1998). Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption? *The Journal of Consumer Research, 25*(1), 1–25.

Lamont, M., & Aksartova, S. (2002). Ordinary Cosmopolitanisms. Strategies for Bridging Racial Boundaries among Working-Class Men. *Theory Culture Society, 19*(1), 1–25.

Lamont, M., & Lareau, A. (1998). Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Developments. *Sociological Theory, 6*(2), 153–168.

Le Roux, B., & Rouanet, H. (2010). *Multiple Correspondence Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Liepoviesky, G., & Seroy, M. (2013). *L'esthétisation du Monde. Vivre à l'âge du capitalisme artiste*. Paris: Gallimard.

Maigret, E., & Macé, E. (2005). *Penser les media-cultures*. Paris: Colin.

Mauléon, F., Bouret, J., & Hoarau, J. (2014). *Le Réflexe Soft Skills. Les compétences des leaders de demain*. Paris: Dunod.

Mills, C. (2014). The Great Britain Class Fiasco: A Comment on Savage et al. *Sociology, 48*(3), 437–444.

Nakache, J. P., & Confais, J. (2003). *Statistique explicative appliquée*. Paris: Technip.
Octobre, S. (2014a). Deux pouces et des neurones. Paris: MCC.
Octobre, S. (Ed.). (2014b). Question de genre, questions de culture. Paris: MCC.
Papastergiadis, N. (2012). *Cosmopolitanism and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity.
Peterson, R. A. (1992). Understanding Audience Segmentation. From Elite and Mass to Omnivore and Univore. *Poetics, 21*, 243–258.
Regev, M. (2007). Cultural Uniqueness and Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism. *European Journal of Social Theory, 10*(1), 123–138.
Savage, M., Devine, F., Cunningham, N., Laurison, D., Miles, A., Snee, H., et al. (2015). On Social Class, Anno 2014. *Sociology, 49*(6), 1011–1030.
Savage, M., Devine, F., Cunningham, N., Taylor, M., Li, Y., Hjellbrekke, J., et al. (2013). A New Model of Social Class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment. *Sociology, 47*(2), 219–250.
Skrbis, Z., & Woodward, I. (2007). The Ambivalence of Ordinary Cosmopolitanism: Investigating the Limits of Cosmopolitan Openness. *The Sociological Review, 55*(4), 730–747.
Skrbis, Z., & Woodward, I. (2013). *Cosmopolitanism. Uses of the Idea*. London: Sage.
Regev, M. (2013). *Pop-Rock Music: Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism in Late Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.
Urry, J. (1995). *Consuming Places*. London: Routledge.
Wong, M. A. (1982). A Hybrid Clustering Method for Identifying High Density Clusters. *Journal of the American Statistical Association, 77*(380), 841–847.

Vincenzo Cicchelli is Associate Professor at University Paris Descartes and Research Fellow at Gemass (CNRS/Paris Sorbonne). His research and teaching interests are in global studies, cosmopolitanism, and youth conditions. His last book is Aesthetico-Cultural Cosmopolitanism and French Youth - The Taste of the World. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017 (with Octobre S.).

Sylvie Octobre is Researcher at Deps/Ministère de la culture et de la communication. Her main focus is cultural sociology with an age, generational, gender, and cosmopolitan perspective. Her last book is Aesthetico-Cultural Cosmopolitanism and French Youth - The Taste of the World. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017 (with Cicchelli V.).

Part II

Cosmopolitan Spaces

5

Global Brands and Cosmopolitanism: Building Cosmopolitan Attitudes Through Global Consumers in São Paulo

Viviane Riegel

The patterns of current global flows explain the growing internationalization of cultural production and consumption, which produces effects on the composition of aesthetic and cultural tastes. By analysing this process, we are able to identify tensions and interactions between global trends and local contexts that result in what Robertson (1992) called 'glocalization'. This phenomenon manifests itself in various cultural forms, such as miscegenation or hybridization (Amselle, 2001).

The connection of the local cultural context with the global one can be based on the principles of action and classification, on the habitus that individuals have to build their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Those who have access to higher education, increasingly internationalized, and to international cultural production acquire a taste for differentiated cultural goods and form a cosmopolitan lifestyle based on their everyday practices of cultural consumption.

V. Riegel (✉)
Department of Communication and Consumption Studies, School of Advertising & Marketing (ESPM), São Paulo, Brazil

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_5

Within this contemporary context, in which global brands are analysed as agents in the reproduction of this cosmopolitan lifestyle, our discussion is based on the relational formation of a global consumer culture. Featherstone (1991) argues that based on the cultural capital formed by consumption, individuals adopt a lifestyle consciously, creatively consuming objects that belong to global culture. Global culture, which moves between homogeneity and heterogeneity, has several flows, including the 'mediascapes' and the 'ideoscapes' (Appadurai, 1990) increasingly present in the daily lives of inhabitants in major global cities. This fact can be easily understood by the globalization of human symbolic exchanges, such as communication processes, which have gained a prominent role in contemporary society.

Among the possibilities of different 'scapes' within global flows, we introduce the analysis of 'brandscapes' and 'cosmoscapes', and their interactions. 'Brandscapes', explained by Thompson and Arsel (2004), are understood as brand experiences, or the consequent influences of global symbols that compose the speech of brands' language, and the meanings that consumers translate from the idea of this experience. 'Cosmoscapes', proposed by Kendall, Woodward, and Skrbis (2008), are a set of spaces, practices, objects, and images that sustain and build networks in which cosmopolitan commitments can be possible.

Through contemporary brandscapes and cosmoscapes, individuals experience global practices without leaving their country, enjoying wide exposure to global symbols, spaces, practices. Yet, there are challenges to integrate diverse cultures and identities within this process, especially when the symbolic exchange, proposed by brands, is essential to build experiences of a cosmopolitan lifestyle. Construction of meaning occurs through the spectacles of brands, which are a diverse experiential set of consumer culture practices present in individuals' everyday lives (Riegel, 2013). Given this contextual embeddedness, a comparison between consumption behaviours in global cities is needed, in order to identify their similarities and differences. Therefore, we propose the following research questions to guide our chapter: How do individuals consume global brands in non-western global cities? How is this consumption connected to cultural symbols and to the building of cosmopolitan attitudes?

Within this discussion, the objective of this research, drawing upon a study within the city of São Paulo, Brazil, is to understand young people's global brands' consumption and their different possibilities of interaction that may lead to the building of cosmopolitan attitudes, as well as the representations of local and global cultural symbols that are present in these imbrications. The analysis of these findings aims to establish comparisons with two strings of studies: (1) those that indicate how global brands' consumption can be understood (Alden, Steenkamp, & Batra, 1999; Oyama, 2009; Schuiling & Kapferer, 2004), by analysing individual brands' consumption in São Paulo in different brand contexts, exploring the relation of practices of consumption to cultural symbols and attitudes; (2) those that explain how cosmopolitan attitudes are connected to consumption practices (Cleveland, Laroche, & Papadopoulos, 2009; Kelley, 2010), by deepening the perspective of cosmopolitan attitudes in several dimensions, particularly those related to the study context of global brands' consumption of young people from a non-Western context such as São Paulo.

This research on global brands is inserted as part of an international research project on everyday aesthetic cosmopolitanism (Cicchelli, Octobre, & Riegel, 2016). Within the categories used to understand the contact of young people with the Other, we inserted more elements related to consumption and media, and among them, global brands in the Brazilian study. This specific analysis allows us to understand cosmopolitanism based on ordinary consumption practices by incorporating the perspective of global 'scapes' within these individuals' daily lives.

Within contemporary changing social contexts, the analysis of cosmopolitanism is multilayered and has both material and spatial implications (see the discussion in Chap. 2, by Woodward and Emontspool). This study on global brands focuses on a micro-societal, individual level in order to understand how cosmopolitan attitudes can be reproduced through consumption practices, and it is interrelated both to the meso-level regarding brands and lifestyles communities, and to the macro-level, considering that brandscapes are part of the global flows concentrated mainly within global cities. Our analysis is based on individuals' narratives and their ordinary consumption practices, which are both material (products and objects' exchanges) and symbolic (community belonging,

lifestyle sharing, distinction setting, aspirational living). These practices take place both in physical (private, public, and urban spaces) and in digital spaces (digital advertising, social media), both in local (in their cities of origin or in specific places where they move to, temporarily or permanently, and connect to) and global (at home or while travelling abroad and maintaining contact with global symbols and products) perspectives.

This research's contribution is based on an analysis of individuals' global brands consumption, which may be related to the development of cosmopolitan attitudes. To studies of global brands' consumption, this chapter connects the circulation and agentic capacities of cultural symbols and attitudes. Adding to studies of cosmopolitan attitudes, it identifies several possibilities related to global brands' consumption that reflect different individual experiences of cosmopolitanism in particular in non-Western contexts.

Cosmoscapes: Cosmopolitanism as a Scape Within Global Consumer Culture

In the global world, identities are related to communities of consumers that are built on symbols. Those symbols are mainly related to brands, products, and lifestyles (Lash & Lury, 2007). Given the centrality of consumption as a social practice, the delimitation of these communities takes place through different consumption styles, a point underscored by the widely applied work of Bourdieu (1984). Consuming becomes therefore a way for identity construction, the main practice of individual's everyday lives, which is based on the mediation and appropriation of global flows. The global productive system becomes a motor and is given impetus by consumption practices, in a way individuals produce and consume global culture.

The spread of global consumer culture is conditioned by distinctive resources including what Appadurai (1990) refers to as financescapes, technoscapes, ideoscapes, and mediascapes. Global mediascapes present and disseminate information. Their importance is not only to create forms of entertainment or information consumption, but also to supply

cultural material needed for the imagination of what would be considered global. Global consumer culture therefore depends on global media to create a sense of global identity and of memory, without which any cultural identity is incomplete. At the same time, globalization and standardization of consumer culture around the world have also encouraged the localization and the heterogeneity of demand, as well as contestation and resistance to global companies and brands (Featherstone, 2006).

Global consumer culture is increasingly complex, fuelled significantly by new levels of luxury at the top of the social structure, with the celebration of lifestyles and consumption patterns of the rich. But to those below, who watch celebrity and elite consumption in the media, their consumption is more about dreams, besides occasional purchases of cheaper luxury goods. The global production system becomes a motor and is continued by consumption practices, so that individuals inevitably consume and produce global culture. Macro trends of cultural consumption are shared between capitalist societies and are associated with economic, cultural, and political processes of globalization.

In the face of a society connected through networks and their mobilities (Urry, 2000), we are challenged to understand cosmopolitanism, both by its principle of moral commitment with an essential humanity and by its transformational dimensions from multicultural encounters. The question that arises in this society is embedded in the relationships between the self, the Other, and the world.

A cosmopolitan perspective on the study of the dynamics of globalization of contemporary societies is justified by the mixture of cultures and identities that shape the lives of people—how they are being confronted with cultural differences (Beck, 2006). Once the 'global other' is a reality (Beck & Grande, 2010, p. 417), there is therefore the need for a cosmopolitan approach that is based on how individuals, communities, and institutions deal with otherness and plurality.

Cosmopolitanism combines experiences of various media with various forms of consumption experience—cinema, video, restaurants, spectator sports, and tourism, which have different national and transnational genealogies. Some of these practices may start out as extremely global (in a global consumer culture) and end up as very local, while others might have the obverse trajectory.

As Skrbis and Woodward (2013) claim, there is especially a need to continue to look at the manifestations and possibilities of cosmopolitanism in common everyday lives' people encounters. Developing this, the four pillars of cosmopolitan socialization that can be highlighted according to Cicchelli and Octobre (2013) are aesthetic, cultural, political, and ethical. They are designed as different ways of dealing with otherness and as different expressions of the cosmopolitan spirit in a world where the boundaries are, paradoxically, more porous and more rigid. In this project, we focus the discussion on cultural consumption and the aesthetic perspective of global culture that is permeated by this consumption. Examples of such cultural cosmopolitanism can be found in the theories of mobility and forms of consumption, hybridity, and networks. Cosmopolitanism is a concept historically constituted intellectually in relation to ethics, politics, and migration, and though this situation is changing, it is less frequently acknowledged in relation to ordinary and banal situations such as everyday cultural consumption.

Consumers seek differences in multiple processes through the consumption of certain cultural goods, which become a means of social differentiation driven by cultural appropriation. These cultural meanings inevitably merge with the process of global economic expansion to form the 'cosmoscape' (Woodward & Kendall, 2008). Comparing the consumption of cultural, global, or local, goods, we seek to understand the banal cosmopolitanism of consumer culture, which can be the basis to build the cosmoscape. As a basis for discussion of the analysis of the cosmopolitan lifestyle through cultural consumption, we also specifically analyse the role of brandscapes.

Brandscapes: Brands as a Scape for Communication Spectacle and Consumption Experience

The economic base of the brand, expressed through its ability to provoke familiarity, confidence, and consumer comfort and in turn leading consumers to repeat purchase, helps create an affective economic order. The products themselves are only vehicles for the brand; they are 'cultural

objects' that result from what Lash and Lury (2007) call 'reification of the media'. In a society of brands, the subject is constituted by purchasing items that signify and represent openly others' desires, dreams, and aspirations.

Just like the product, the brand is also a commodity associated with symbolic consumption. The materialization of its speech, that is, its expressions and narratives, characterizes and maintains its symbolic universe. The brand's experience is, in this context, the landscape proposed by Thompson and Arsel (2004) as the 'brandscape', with the influences of global signs that compose the speech of this language, and the meanings that consumers translate from the idea of this experience.

The brand, as a symbol of the globalization of consumer culture, has an identity that transcends ideological, territorial, and cultural borders, meeting individuals who understand and crave their representation around the world, who desire to consume the brand's speech, and who follow the 'logic of the brand' proposed by Semprini (2006, p. 83). In a critical perspective, Arvidsson (2005) argues that brands and their management instruments permeate our life-world: advertising in all its forms, product placements in films, video games and other media products, corporate sponsorship of everything from sport events to exhibitions and children's schoolbooks, and not least, the ubiquitous 'logos' that adorn our bodies. The need of the goods as merchandize is questioned, and the product range, added of 'experiential commodities' (Arvidsson, 2006, p. 35), grows, since the products of the post-industrial era have already been turned from equipment-proficient technology to more complete and focused concepts on the consumer. In other words, a brand is not a product or a good in itself, but the associations that the brand produces for consumers.

While appearing in many formats, these 'brandscapes' have a common element: the generation and exploitation of affect from the consumer subject. Promising something completely consumable, in order to enhance experience with the brand and allow consumers to discover their most intrinsic meanings and thus cementing their relationship with the brand, 'brandscapes' are spaces whose experience provokes emotions, which will resurface at the moment when they rediscover the brand anywhere else in their lives (Wood & Ball, 2013).

Brandscapes reconstruct the consumer as an affective body that has desires and seeks pleasure while moving through the spaces of consumption. The success of brandscapes therefore requires more commitment on the part of the subject, since it requires the adoption of a lifestyle, not only emotionally but in patterns of spatial and embodied behaviour. Brandscapes are critical regarding the involvement of consumers into work that cannot be immediately identified as such-either according to the autonomist Marxist conception of immaterial labour, or in the perspective of practices of prosumption as a continuum between production and consumption (Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2008).

In the field of consumer studies, Alden et al. (1999) indicate that globally positioned brands may be more attractive than local brands. Their study documents how global brands can be especially successful in less developed countries. In another study, conducted by Schuiling and Kapferer (2004), part of the data comes from the advertising agency Young & Rubicam on consumers of global brands in Europe. They show that in mature markets such as the European ones, local brands (specifically from the food market) are often classified as superior in terms of affinity and quality, compared to global brands. Oyama (2009) analyses Japan's regional brandscape in Asia and says that even as the ubiquitous presence of American brands has been taken as a part of the Americanization process, Japanese brands have been associated with a process called regional 'Japanization'. These three studies present not only a process of centralization of influence from global brands—the hegemonic brandscape—as in the case of developing countries, but also a process of localization and value enhancing of local practices, as in the case of developed European countries. A process of regionalization can also occur in an exchange of the central reference to local powers (Cayla & Eckhardt, 2008), which may represent a cultural influence that is closer and more present.

Based on this discussion of global brands' consumption and its connection to cosmopolitanism, I propose some possible questions: Would it be possible to form a cosmopolitan style based on glocalization, employing elements of the global consumer culture of key global brands? Would these relationships be built by the spectacles of brands on brandscapes in the everyday practices of cultural consumption, reproducing a cosmopolitan lifestyle and forming cosmoscapes?

The Methodology of Studying Global Brands' Consumption and Its Connection to Cosmopolitan Attitudes

In order to understand how interactions with these global brands in their brandscapes may be involved in the formation of cosmoscapes, we analyse the practices of global brands' consumption that could be connected to cosmopolitan attitudes.

From the analysis of communication strategies of global brands in global cities, we understand the consumption practices that follow the symbolic hegemony proposed in the concept of brandscape. These practices occur in local settings, in spaces of communication and consumption of global cities, mainly through mediascapes flows that drive interactions with global brands (Riegel, 2013).

This study will follow the discussion of how brandscapes are relevant panoramas in contemporary society and will search for an understanding of the interactions of global brands with individuals' everyday practices in non-Western global cities, that potentially build cosmopolitan attitudes. This path aims to contribute to global brands' consumption studies (Bengtsson, Bardhi, & Venkatraman, 2010; Cayla & Eckhardt, 2008), regarding its relationship with national boundaries, the global marketplace, and transnational imagined communities.

In existing studies of cosmopolitan consumption attitudes, two issues were analysed: (1) cosmopolitanism as an important precedent for global brands in various categories of consumption (e.g., electronics, luxury items); (2) cosmopolitanism, from exposure to mass migration and mass media, with an orientation positively related to global consumption (Cleveland et al., 2009). This existing study, conducted in eight countries (Canada, Mexico, Chile, South Korea, India, Sweden, Hungary, and Greece), states that consumers with cosmopolitan lifestyles claim to have the desire to participate in a global community, even if it means they have interactions with it through global brands, the media, or technological means—a factor that shows the relevance of the global cultural scapes, in this case especially the brandscape, the mediascape, and the technoscape (Cleveland et al., 2009). To have global interactions, therefore, does not

require individuals to travel or live in another country, or have social interaction with the Other.

Through a qualitative study, this discussion sheds more light, more specifically, on cosmopolitan attitudes. In order to do so, in this research I make comparisons to the analysis of Kelley (2010), who identified the relationship of Brazilian consumers with cosmopolitan attitudes. The selection of São Paulo as a locus to the field work is explained both because it is a global city within the Southern Hemisphere, Latin America, and Brazil, and it has a peripheral reality, different from those of other central and Northern global cities, such as New York, London, and Tokyo.

This study is part of a larger international research project called 'Cultures juveniles à l'ère de la globalisation' (Youth cultures in the age of globalization), which aims to develop a comparative study from the cultural perspective of globalization on the construction of aesthetic cosmopolitanism among young people from France, Israel, and Brazil. In the Brazilian research site, we have deepened the study of media and consumption, in order to understand individuals' consumption and its relation to global culture, including the analysis of global brands consumption.

The development of this qualitative and experimental study with young people (18–24 years old) in the city of São Paulo was conducted through interviews, social media interaction's analysis, and focus groups. For the first part, we undertook 40 in-depth interviews with young individuals in February 2015. The selected individuals interact with brands physically or virtually through different consumption practices. The interview structure was divided into three parts: cultural consumption, global culture, and international experiences/aspirations. The interview excerpts presented in this chapter are not quotes, but researcher summaries of the interviewees' perspectives, translated from Portuguese to English. This enables us to highlight some of the main findings and the diversity of experiences from the narratives of these individuals.

Based on the analysis of the interviews, during six months (from July to December 2015), we gathered a collection of social media interactions (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube) of individuals with three brands from five market segments (Food and Beverage, Technology, Automobile, Travelling, and Social Organizations), one luxury, one mass consumption, and one most valued brand of the segment[1]—this is an emic characterization, emerging from the interviews—as presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Global brands

Food and beverage	Technology	Automobile	Travelling	Social organizations
Moët Chandon	Apple	BMW	Louis Vuitton	Médicos sem fronteiras
McDonald's	Samsung	Toyota	Airbnb	Oxfam
Coca-Cola	Google	Jeep	Disney	Anistia Internacional

The second part of this study connected the interviews and the social media analysis through the organization of two focus groups in March 2016, with four young people each. The focus groups had a three-part structure for discussion: (1) from the excerpts of individual interviews, it was proposed that individuals comment on their identification with global brands from these narratives, and then narrate their own way of seeing the theme; (2) from the possible elements connected to global brands, individuals were invited to search digital media images, text, and other elements to share in a social network with comments; (3) young people participated in an interaction with global brands' posts on Facebook.

Brandscapes in the Process of Cosmoscapes Building: An Analysis of a Study with Young People in São Paulo

Analysing the responses from the interviews with young individuals in São Paulo regarding global consumption, we find that they preferentially consume goods of international origin with a concentration of North American products, primarily, but equally they affirm to consume national goods. There isn't, by the origin of these goods, a relevant interest on Latin America, and it also does not appear as a region known by these young people, in different aspects (social, cultural, economic, political). They mention not only North America but also Central Europe as influential regions in their consumption's patterns. The factors of greatest interest in their contact with the Other and with international goods are more related to aesthetic diversity and multiplicity of tastes, and less associated with the development of a world view or a specific value of local/global symbols. This refers to the amount of different

cultural aspects that can be known and consumed, and not necessarily to the deepening of these interactions and of contact with cultures from other countries.

Interactions with Global Brands

When we specifically analyse the interaction with global brands, participants in the São Paulo study claim that the most important aspect is the diversity of products that they can consume as global symbols of distinction. They do not relate the experience with global brands as a way to develop their world view, or as a means for them to interact with cultural aspects of a specific country. They identify high value in brands from the USA. However, global brands from Latin America were cited as not relevant for these young people, demonstrating the lack of interaction and knowledge of the region (unlike the studies by Cayla & Eckhardt, 2008; Oyama, 2009, through the analysis of Asian brands', specifically Japanese ones influence in their own region). The technology brands they consume are North American, mainly regarding the value of status that exists in this consumption category. The food/beverage brands demonstrate the cultural resemblance to Central Europe, in line with the knowledge they have of the region, but also because of the influence of immigration that occurred in the city of São Paulo from European countries (such as Italy and Germany). Likewise, European fashion brands were strongly identified as positively relating to desirable forms of consumption for these young people. Therefore, these two regions of influence (USA and Central Europe) can be understood by the local and global meanings they have for Brazilians (as explained by Bengtsson et al., 2010; Schuiling & Kapferer, 2004). Brazilian global brands were mentioned (for their general knowledge, for familiarity), but there is no appreciation of quality or cultural connection to the consumption of local products. There isn't, however, a specific relation of value to this Brazilian imaginary with the consumption of these individuals.

São Paulo, Brazil, and Latin America can be analysed as fundamentally marked by an intense heterogeneity. Moreover, Kelley (2010) argues that within the Brazilian context, the local perception is that social participation within the global community is related to the consumption of global

brands and its diversity, incorporating a more normative perspective and with a positive disposition towards the consumption of these brands.

The findings demonstrate that there are mainly two possible processes by which cosmopolitan attitudes might form through consumption practices: (1) some global brands are part of the local consumers' taste regime, and this proximity creates the possibility of cosmopolitan encounters and the building of an aesthetic cosmopolitanism; (2) some of the dispositions located within individual consumers could relate to a shared *habitus* among different groups in different global cities, and these groups could be agents to establish a cosmopolitan lifestyle (those that appropriate and give validity to their taste for global cultural goods and practices).

Firstly, considering the possibility of cosmopolitan attitudes (some global brands are part of the local consumers' taste regime) in consumers, based on São Paulo's interviewees,[2] there is first an aspiration for a lifestyle referring to the USA, identifiably US fashions and perhaps above all their electronic products:

> Fabio, 20, preferably consumes products of foreign origin, with concentration of North American brands. He consumes Brazilian products, but does not give much value to them. He has travelled several times to the United States and values their brands as well as the experience of their fashion style, or of being connected continuously to technology products.

> João, 22, emphasized the value that he gives to electronics of North American origin, mainly Apple products, which for him are the most technologically advanced and of better quality. Having an Apple product is to be able to connect with others who have the same lifestyle and recognize the value of this brand.

There is also the experience of finding specific and exotic products in different countries, as a way of connecting to local cultural elements:

> Tania, 18, talks about the importance of knowledge of different places and their specific brands, like drinking a soda that only exists in one country (he mentioned the Inka Cola), or buying a local chocolate. The exotic flavour is a form of contact with the country while you are traveling.

Finally, it involves the experience of bringing Brazilian's cultural elements abroad and showing them off as a way to maintain the connection to the place where they originate. In the interviews, a young woman highlights the value of Brazilianness, affirming that she admires the histories of Brazilian brands such as Havaianas and Natura, and also considers they are very interesting gifts for foreigners, since the Brazilianness inherent to them makes her feel proud of her country. In the focus groups, a young man agrees and says that the proposal of bringing Brazilian brands for foreigners is a good one, because he often gives soccer shirts from Brazilian teams and Havaianas to foreigners as a gift. It is also important to say that soccer teams' brands may be Brazilian, but sportswear brands are mostly international, and he mentions that their quality is important, such as Nike, Adidas, or Mizuno.

When discussing these interview excerpts with young individuals in both focus groups and asking them to comment on their identification with global brands, we found some similarities and differences from the interviews. To summarize, regarding the aspiration for a lifestyle in particular reference to the USA, this study finds that the respondents on the one hand relate global brands to safety, but on the other hand associate their consumption with conformity, lack of creativity, as well as lack of critical engagement with the brands' histories.

The interactions in the focus groups support this idea: agreement comes from a young woman who consumes brands because of their distinction value, as consuming them makes her feel culturally 'safe'. Consequently, she prefers to pay more because of the higher quality of the brand. She considers that the amount of high-quality products from the USA is bigger than other countries of origin. But another young woman disagrees and explains that she doesn't value American brands because of their high price, and she also points out the connection of American clothing brands to a history with slave labour. She considers those who wear mainstream American brands as boring people with no creativity. Specifically considering technology brands, they tend to disagree and consider the possibility of buying another global brand, Samsung, which is not American. One young man says that the value given to North American products is not based on quality. He thinks there are good quality American brands, but not all of them. Another

young man highlights that he chooses technology brands because of price and criticizes Apple's consumers because he considers them as elitists, who he charges as seeking status and distinction. When discussing the connection of specific and exotic products in different countries, as a way of connecting to local cultural elements, a young woman agrees with the idea of searching for knowledge, because when she travels she always wants to try local food, exotic and curious products, and for that she asks suggestions for those who already know the place. As an example, she mentions the green tea Kit Kat from Japan. Differently, a young man says that this search can be interesting, but only when the local brands are established and of high quality.

Secondly, regarding the possibility of cosmopolitan attitudes (some of the dispositions found within consumers could relate to a shared *habitus* among different groups in different global cities), there is a distinctive preference for European brands and their products which reflects migration history in the city as well as some global cultural influences from this region, related mainly to high standard products and elite's consumption lifestyle.

> Sandra, 19, said that she searches local food brands because she thinks they are of good quality, but also mentions some luxury or high value goods that are mainly of European origin. She mentions the European descendants of her family as a door for her curiosity towards brands from this region, like Lindt (chocolate), Ladurée (macarons), Barilla (pasta). This knowledge allows her to choose products differently, particularly for special moments.

The orientation for global consumption as another possibility of finding cosmopolitan attitudes is focused, according to the São Paulo's consumers interviewed, in travel experiences, and through them the contact with different cultures. First, there is the experience of travelling to many places and reproducing it in social gatherings:

> Andrea, 20, says that the most important aspect is the diversity of brands that she consumes, most of them international, from different countries. Thus, she knows the world and can tell her friends about her trips, showing that she knows products and brands from different countries.

When discussing these interview's excerpts with young individuals in both focus groups, the similarities and differences found can be summarized as follows. For purposes of social distinction connecting high standard products and elite's consumption lifestyle to global brands, a young woman agrees that her family's European tradition is an important influence for choosing brands, such as Volkswagen for cars, or Nestlé for chocolates. A young man partly agrees, because he also likes to buy global food brands, such as chocolate and pasta, because of their quality. Yet, he thinks that quality is more important than country of origin, meaning that he doesn't choose the product simply because it is European, for example.

With a critical perspective on travel experiences and social reproduction of distinction, a young man points out that the consumption of global brands is not the smartest choice, and he prefers to look for local brands. He mentions global fashion brands, such as Hollister and Abercrombie, as elitist's brands, and because of this characteristic, he avoids buying their products. Another young man affirms that price should be the most important factor for choosing a brand, and he thinks we should be critical about the consumption system, giving more value to an individual's lifestyle, and not collective/branded ones.

In these examples of both possibilities regarding brands' consumption and the connection to global culture as a way to build or perform cosmopolitan attitudes, there is a strong connection to elite groups and their own lifestyles because of the high value of the products, as well as the access to the experience of travelling abroad. This is an important discussion in the reality of a city as São Paulo, once it is global due to the flows that cross the city and its scapes (connecting it to similar lifestyles found in global cities). Nevertheless, it is also a globally peripheral city with a substantial socioeconomic divide, and with different realities for participating of global interactions, such as owning electronic devices, learning a foreign language, being able to buy foreign products, or travelling abroad. This relation confirms the analysis from Kelley (2010) that Brazilians would relate their participation in the global community by the logic of consumption in order to have multiple, short-duration contacts which do not specifically represent deep involvement with the culture or experiences of the Other.

Associations and Meanings Connected to Global Brands

In the second part of the two focus groups, individuals were invited to search digital media images, text, and other elements from one of the brands of Table 5.1, and then to share it on their timelines on Facebook with comments (with any possible reaction to it). The posts were shared with the hashtag #cosmocult, so we could trace and analyse the possible interactions with them.

We have four examples of posts they selected and shared on their timelines (one from Coca-Cola, one from Google, one from Disney, and one from Anistia Internacional—Amnesty International). None of the participants chose an Automobile brand's post, so we don't have an example of an interaction for this market segment. The selected brands are also the most valued ones of their segments, and this fact shows how awareness and value are related to the brand's recall in a scanning process, as the one proposed in this activity for discussion. Apart from Amnesty International (based on the UK), all other brands are North American.

Coca-Cola's post has a picture of two bottles and the text says (in Portuguese): 'Tell the truth, it can be with family or with friends, but one thing we know: Sunday lunch is better with Coca-Cola', followed by a blinking emoticon and a hashtag #SintaOSabor (Taste the feeling, the brand's latest signature). João Vitor shared the post with the text (in Portuguese): 'As far as I can remember, Sunday without Coca-Cola is not Sunday! Coca-Cola is life hahahahah'. He agrees with the message sent by the brand, and he mentions he drinks Coca-Cola everywhere, in any moment; he even considers himself as 'addicted' to it. He also says the brand is present in his life, as a childhood memory, and generally as a friend. This close connection to the global brand transforms it into an ordinary and adapted element in his daily consumption practices.

Google's post has a video presenting the Google Translator tool and the text says (in Portuguese): 'Explore the world in more than 100 languages! google.com/translate'. Hanna shared the post with the question (in Portuguese): 'Does someone know if these translations are made by local people or if they are interpreter translators?' She is trying to understand the quality of one of Google's products and wondering how this technological

tool works. Technology products are not always understood by their users, and the video presentation focuses on the explanation of its applications, not on its mechanics. Here, Hanna's question also presents a separation between the language proficiency of a native speaker and of a foreign language speaker, the first being able to work with more details of the language, and the latter having a more general knowledge.

Disney's post has many pictures of The Jungle Book's characters. The film's cast is presented (in Portuguese): 'Get to know the cast of the original version of #MogliOMeninoLobo (The Jungle Book). April 14th on the movies'. Jessica shared the post with a heart emoticon. She explained that The Jungle Book's story reminds her of her childhood when she watched the Disney animated film. She said that Disney movies have been part of her life. The brand brings her memories of special moments as well, as travel experiences to Disney's parks. Going to the USA and visiting these places is a way of connecting to familiar products and symbols. The North American culture is already known, and there is an aspiration to consume their cultural products and visit the country's emblematic sites.

Amnesty International Brazil brings a link and the image of a newspaper's (O Globo) article on the Anti-Tism Law for discussion. The text (in Portuguese) states: 'Fear Culture: the Anti-Tism Law's approval requires a careful reflection on the acceptance of risks of going backward on the rights of a democratic State, on behalf of preventing risks of supposedly tists attacks, especially during the Olympic Games #Rio2016. Read the article from Atila Roque, Anistia Internacional Brasil's executive director, published this Monday (28), in the newspaper O Globo >> http://glo.bo/1PATuWr'. Gabriela and Irina shared the post, and Irina added a text (in Portuguese): 'Slurry's Tsunami'. The local discussion is considered a very important political issue for both young women, who pointed out the fact that a global event or possible international threats, such as tist ones, cannot overrule Brazilian rights, and the need of a public awareness of this process. Irina emphasized the role of social organizations, global (International Amnesty) and local (social movements). These imbrications of both global political and social issues with local needs, as well as global and social organizations, were mentioned by Gabriela as a result of the global context where we live in, and the resulting challenges of this process.

When discussing specific examples from brands' messages, we find a strong connection to global brands, mainly North American and

well-known ones. This close contact maintains a mainstream trend of consumption practices (as we can see for the Coca-Cola and Disney's posts), but it also can connect to the possibility of diversity and a critical perspective of consumption (as proposed by Hanna's sharing of Google's post), or even a discussion of local problems and needs related to global issues (as presented by Gabriela and Irina, and the International Amnesty's post). While these associations are not novel in themselves, they highlight the Brazilian respondents' participation in global debates, which form the basis for the third part of this study.

In the third and final part of the focus groups—young people participating in an interaction with global brands' posts on Facebook—we used the analysis developed in the data collection from social media on the same brands present in Table 5.1. This analysis showed, through a conjoint analysis of interactions with these brands, five main categories of posts or comments, each characterizing respondents' focus on one type of global societal debate through global brands: Lifestyles, Celebrity endorsement, Aspiration/Desire/Love, Engagement, Reaction/Complaint. For the focus groups, one post on Facebook from each of the 15 brands, related to each of these 5 possibilities, was chosen, with a total of 75 posts. In the focus groups, each participant selected three posts from any of the brands (not repeating a market segment) with which they identify. They were not aware of the categories of each post, so in the analysis of their explanations, we will compare their perspective with the posts' main characteristics.

In the first category, Lifestyles, the selected post (from Moët & Chandon Brasil's Facebook timeline, posted on March 18th, 2016) is from the beverage luxury brand Moët & Chandon. The text (in Portuguese) exclaims: 'Friday night promises!', followed by the hashtag #moetmoment. The image and the text form a background for the main brand promise, celebration, and the idea of setting a specific time and place for it, and Friday night in the city is one of the options considered by Moët & Chandon as moments.[3] This moment could take place in any big global city in the world, and these men could be of several nationalities. The post is on the Brazilian Facebook's brand page, but the city or the people are not particularly identifiable as locals. This post represents a lifestyle of young people with money who like to have fun with style. Those who like or share it would be part of this group or would look for it, as an aspiration, which is a common trait for luxury brands.

This post was selected by two different participants for the discussion. Both were impressed by the central men on the image, an afro descendant, since it is not common to see this representation of rich people in Brazil. They both like the difference and think they would feel closer to the brand if it continuously showed a disruptive message. They connect to the proposal of celebration, but not exactly to the social status of this group. One of discussants also compared the small amount of likes on this post, related to other posts of the other brands. This connects to the idea of an exclusive group, meaning that the brand and the post's idea would be shared by few. Furthermore, it highlights how the respondents relate local meaning of status as related to geographical descendance to the brands' global communication, aspiring to participation in a global though non-elitist lifestyle.

In the category Celebrity Endorsement, the selected post (from Louis Vuitton's Facebook timeline, posted on January 14th, 2016) is from the luxury brand Louis Vuitton. The video is from a social campaign of the brand in a joint venture with Unicef, named Make a Promise for South Africa.[4] The post's text mentions the ball that happened in Los Angeles with several celebrities, as it is the case of Jennifer Connelly (on the frozen frame), to promote the campaign. In the hashtag #MakeAPromise,[5] there are other pictures of this event and other messages about the campaign, all of them connecting to the Louis Vuitton's page. The use of celebrities for luxury brands campaigns is common, and here it has even more potential due to its social nature. Going to the ball (in Los Angeles), buying the necklace created for the campaign (in Louis Vuitton's stores), or donating money (from anywhere) would be ways of contributing to the South African children at risk.

The participant who chose this post mentioned that it is good to see that luxury brands and their consumers are involved in social campaigns. This would be a way to give back to the society that faces strong economic inequality. Using celebrities is also a way of giving more visibility to these problems and engaging people to help. Even if they are not aware of what happens in South Africa, they can do something, donating money or consuming a luxury product, in order to help. Again, a contextualized meaning is associated with the global brand, raising reflection and possibly debate about global inequality.

For the category Aspiration/Desire/Love, the selected post (from Google's Facebook timeline, posted on July 30th, 2015) is from the technology brand Google. It focuses on a video episode from the 'Nat and Lo' series, two people who make videos about Google's tools and post it on a YouTube page.[6] This episode shows the Translator tool, and the text explains how to use the smartphone to translate texts instantly. Technology brands tend to show their solutions as practical and convenient ways of solving ordinary challenges. Tutorial and explanatory videos are a way of explaining how to use new tools, hence promoting the consumption of the brand of its products. The idea of desire and love is related to the feeling of trust and friendship with the brand, and this is especially the case for personal consumer technologies. Because of their apparent indispensability, as they were someone close helping to find a solution for your problems, answering your questions anytime you want, these brands are desired and cherished, as a friend, as someone you can trust your needs.

The first comment in the post confirms the affection for the brand: 'I love You' with a heart and a kiss emoticons. The participant chose this post because of this comment as well, and highlighted the amount of likes to this post, which shows the attachment people have for Google. Consuming its tools would be a way of confirming the feelings in this relationship with the brand.

In the category Engagement, we selected a post (from the Doctors without Borders's Facebook timeline, posted on June 15th, 2016) from the social organization brand Doctors without Borders. The image gives the idea he is ready for adventure. Social organizations promote their work not only to receive donations but also to recruit volunteers who would like to work for their cause. The man and the place are not localized, so it could be anyone, anywhere in the world. And this is important for engaging people to help this organization, since anyone could contribute to give support to people in need in different parts of the world.

Some of the comments are very positive and supportive for the cause, and two of our discussants selected this post because of the connection people have to this kind of organizations, 'How can we help?'. Yet, as they also pointed out, there are comments that show people are sad or think this is an important cause, and still write something as to keep their distance, as 'Take care yourself', which could be understood both as a way of being worried with those working and also saying you do your work by

yourself. In general, engagement happens through comments or sometimes donations, but volunteering is not something that appears so often. The respondents' hesitations to engage with these causes seem to relate to a dilemma between prioritizing self-care and care for others, which could be hypothesized to relate to existing inequalities in the Brazilian context.

For the last category, Reaction/Complaint, we selected a post (from Toyota Brasil's Facebook timeline, posted on March 24th, 2016) from the automobile brand Toyota. The picture of a Toyota car, produced for advertising. Automobile advertising is usually focused on showing technical features of the product and special performance or design as differential. They are produced in different countries, and they show images of places around the world, without a close contact with local spaces. The category reaction is mainly based on comments by consumers through social media, usually negative ones, but sometimes it also shows responses from the brand.

Two discussants chose this post because of the irony of the comments, mentioning the high price of the car compared to its quality, and also questioning the landscape chosen for the picture, because someone who buys a car of this value wouldn't go for an adventure. The reaction here shows the difference of the ideal image created by the brand and the real practice of consuming its product. One of the participants also reacted to the consumers of automobile brands, saying that they are usually after status, not worrying about the environment, or even having an adventurous lifestyle. As in the first two categories, the responses in the Brazilian context are (re)contextualized. Here, the respondents identify differences between local status consumption as dissociated from adventurousness, and the global image of adventure communicated by the global brand. Furthermore, the respondents critically view the campaign, echoing global debates about the possibility for global brands to be moral.

Through this selection of brands' posts and the discussion of its contents with different characteristics, we understand the way global brands are consumed in a context such as Brazil, following a more standardized pattern, or questioning and proposing different perspectives for this interaction. The five market segments have their own traits, but the brands that represent them share this connection to global flows and the proposal of possible global values and lifestyles. The consumption of this proposal is not homogeneous, as has been shown here, and it is also

multifaceted, meaning individuals can relate to brands in different moments and for different purposes, according to their own codes or to the specific interaction that is taking place. The discussion of these interactions remains linked to global debates about morality, status, and inequality. There was no specific issue regarding the locality of the brands' propositions, or even the adaptations on consumption, yet in their interpretations, respondents nonetheless highlighted occasional difficulties of affiliating with the promoted images This also means that mainly the world view resulting from the consumption of global brands is still general and not localized, and that there is no singularity of different cultural codes that could relate to cosmopolitan attitudes, since there is no specific involvement with the culture or experiences of the Other, even for social purposes, such as the ones connected to social projects or organizations. While reflecting a search for brands different from the local ones, the type of cosmopolitan consumption encountered here thereby somewhat differs from the forms of cosmopolitan consumption identified in Western contexts.

Final Considerations

The building of cosmopolitan attitudes—based on the consumption and experiences with global brands—for individuals in non-Western global cities is a process focused on the logic of consumption of global symbols with little interest for local symbols, although there is also—naturally—cultural consumption of local goods. The cosmoscape is very close to the brandscapes and global mediascapes, but distant from local and regional ideoscapes.

For individuals from São Paulo specifically, the relation of the global city with global flows has connections with the elite's global cultural symbols, mainly of North American origin, also connected to the reality of technoscapes, relevant both in the marketplace and on the everyday practices of these individuals. Additionally, young people have cultural relations and interactions with global brands and symbols of European origin, a fact that is explained by the history of the city, which is partially responsible for the hybrid formation of the local population. The brands' spectacles that are experienced locally reflect and refract the global

symbols in the city. The reproduction of the cosmopolitan lifestyle is promoted by global brands, through consumption, similarly to different global cities. In São Paulo, the same way as analysed by Alden et al. (1999), there is greater attraction for global brands than for local brands, confirming the difference between least developed and more developed economies, such as the European or the Japanese cases. Cosmopolitanism thereby expresses itself here not as a search for diversity per se, but as a desire to participate in the global (consumption) community.

By connecting to Kelley's (2010) study on Brazilians and deepening the perspective of cosmopolitan attitudes related to young people's global brand consumption in São Paulo, we also verify that these individuals search for participation in the global community through consumption. Global brand consumption is a representation of several global symbols and values. It takes place through the reproduction of lifestyle and celebrity figures in a more homogenized way, but also through shared and localized issues, regarding social movements, aspirations, interactions, and reactions to brands' proposals for consumption. This means that cosmopolitan attitudes can be found mainly through a process of de-identification with global values that are shared by global brands, but are not related to specific localized cultural codes.

This research contributes to the literature in three main ways: (1) it shows how consumers can relate to global brands' proposed experiences within their brandscapes; (2) it brings together glocal practices of consumption and shows how there are two possibilities related to the formation of cosmopolitan attitudes; (3) it relates brand experiences and consumption to cosmopolitan encounters and aesthetic socialization in a Southern, Latin American, and Brazilian global city.

Studying cosmopolitanism in a context such as São Paulo, with its diverse ethnic and racial formation, brings light to some of the challenges of reflexivity and connection to the Other, even in a city built as a cultural kaleidoscope. Consuming diversity means within this context a connection to central cultural–economic influences, such as the European or the North American, and a social distinction, from Latin Americans or Brazilians (as a general national belonging) and even a racial discrimination, mainly to African Americans, connected to the slavery history.

The consumption of global brands reveals a relevant socioeconomic divide in the city and in the country due to possibilities of connecting to

other cultures, such as owning electronic devices, learning a foreign language, being able to buy foreign products, or travelling abroad. Also, consuming some global brands does not represent for itself cosmopolitanism, even in a diverse context, and it may in fact reflect a lack of interest in cultural diversity. This can be understood through the fact that, instead of aiming for cultural diversity external to oneself, the consumer prefers recreating an internal diversity by combining brands reflecting their own origins and experiences (such as travelling and cultural consumption).

The relations between global brands consumption and the process of building a world vision are still distant, which demonstrates that this cosmopolitan socialization is mainly aesthetical and distinctive, as it is mainly linked to mediated technological development and new forms of communication. The focus of these experiences is concentrated on diversity and multiplicity of global symbols, and not on fostering a view of the Other as a way of fostering cosmopolitan practices beyond consumption.

Notes

1. Our research assistants Débora Yukie Yoshimoto and Hanna Bakor were responsible for the data collection and participated in the analysis of data material.
2. The interview's excerpts are presented as summaries of the interviewees' narratives, translated from Portuguese to English.
3. To see more examples, the hashtag has several posts https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=%23moetmoment
4. http://eu.louisvuitton.com/eng-e1/lv-for-unicef/lv-for-unicef#/home
5. https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=%23makeapromise
6. https://plus.google.com/+NatandLo/videos

References

Alden, D. L., Steenkamp, J. B. E. M., & Batra, R. (1999). Brand Positioning Through Advertising in Asia, North America and Europe: The Role of Global Consumer Culture. *Journal of Marketing, 63*(January), 75–87.

Amselle, J. C. (2001). *Branchements: Anthropologie de l'universalité des cultures*. Paris: Flammarion.

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjunction and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. In M. Featherstone (Ed.), *Global Culture*. London: Sage.

Arvidsson, A. (2005). Brands: A Critical Perspective. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 5*(2), 235–258.

Arvidsson, A. (2006). *Brands: Meaning and Value in Media Culture*. London: Routledge.

Beck, U. (2006). *Qu'est-ce que le cosmopolitisme?* Paris: Aubier.

Beck, U., & Grande, E. (2010). Varieties of Second Modernity: The Cosmopolitan Turn in Social and Political Theory and Research. *The British Journal of Sociology, 61*(3), 409–433.

Bengtsson, A., Bardhi, F., & Venkatraman, M. (2010). How Global Brands Travel with Consumers: An Examination of the Relationship between Brand Consistency and Meaning across National Boundaries. *International Marketing Review, 27*(5), 519–540.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (R. Nice, Trans.). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Cayla, J., & Eckhardt, G. M. (2008). Asian Brands and the Shaping of a Transnational Imagined Community. *Journal of Consumer Research, 35*(2), 216–230.

Cicchelli, V., & Octobre, S. (2013). A Cosmopolitan Perspective of Globalization: Cultural and Aesthetic Consumption among Young People. *Studies of Changing Societies: Comparative and Interdisciplinary Focus, 3*(7), 3–23.

Cicchelli, V., Octobre, S., & Riegel, V. (2016). Reflections on Global Culture and Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism. *Global Studies Journal, 9*(1), 55–70.

Cleveland, M., Laroche, M., & Papadopoulos, N. (2009). Cosmopolitanism, Consumer Ethnocentrism, and Materialism: An Eight-Country Study of Antecedents and Outcomes. *Journal of International Marketing, 17*(1), 116–146.

Featherstone, M. (1991). *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*. London: Sage Publications.

Featherstone, M. (2006). Genealogies of the Global. In: M. Featherstone, C. Venn, R. Bishop and J. Phillips, Special Issue on Problematizing Global Knowledge. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*(2–3), 387–392.

Kelley, J. (2010). *Global Consumer Culture: Consumers' Global Brand Attitudes in Brazil and Germany*. Global Branding Conference, 2010. Conference proceeding.

Lash, S., & Lury, C. (2007). *Global Culture Industry: The Mediation of Things*. Cambridge: Polity.

Oyama, S. (2009). The East Asian Brandscape: Distribution of Japanese Brands in the Age of Globalization. In C. Berry, N. Liscutin, & J. D. Mackintosh (Eds.), *Cultural Studies and Cultural Industries in Northeast Asia: What a Difference a Region Makes*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Riegel, V. (2013). *Global Consumption Culture: Global Brands' Influence in Social Practices*. ASA Annual Meeting 2013—American Sociology Association, New York.

Ritzer, G., & Jurgenson, N. (2008). *Producer, Consumer … Prosumer?* Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, August, Boston, MA.

Robertson, R. (1992). *Globalization*. London: Sage.

Schuiling, I., & Kapferer, J. N. (2004). Real Differences Between Local and International Brands: Strategic Implications for International Marketers. *Journal of International Marketing, 12*(4), 97–112.

Semprini, A. (2006). *A marca pós-moderna*. São Paulo: Estação das Letras.

Skrbis, Z., & Woodward, I. (2013). *Cosmopolitanism: Uses of the Idea*. London: Sage.

Thompson, C., & Arsel, Z. (2004). The Starbucks Brandscape and Consumers' (Anticorporate) Experiences of Glocalization. *Journal of Consumer Research, 31*(3), 631–642.

Urry, J. (2000). *Sociology Beyond Societies*. London: Routledge.

Wood, D. M., & Ball, K. (2013). Brandscapes of Control? Surveillance, Marketing and the Co-construction of Subjectivity and Space in Neo-Liberal Capitalism. *Marketing Theory, 13*(1), 47–67.

Woodward, I., & Kendall, G. (2008). *Cosmoscapes and the Promotion of Uncosmopolitan Values*. The Australian Sociological Association Annual Conference.

Viviane Riegel is a Researcher of the Department of Communication and Consumption Studies at the School of Advertising & Marketing (ESPM) in São Paulo, Brazil. After finishing a Masters in Communication and Consumption at ESPM, she went to the University of Maryland to start her PhD in Sociology on Global Theory and continued her research about Global Brands at Goldsmiths College in London. She's been on the faculty of ESPM since 2006, where she has researched and lectured in two areas: Mobilities and Global Studies; Global Brands and Consumption Studies. She holds an assistantship to her research project on Cosmopolitanisms in Brazil from CAPES (2015–2018).

6

Cosmopolitanism and Its Sociomaterial Construction in the Servicescape

Bernardo Figueiredo, Jonathan Bean, and Hanne Pico Larsen

Cosmopolitanism is often referred to as an openness to other peoples and cultures (Hannerz, 1990), a disposition (Hannerz, 1996), "an internalized otherness of others" (Beck, 2004, p. 153). It is often also portrayed as the cultural skills (Hannerz, 1990) required to consume cultural diversity and be reflexive about this process. As such, cosmopolitanism involves "a set of cultural competencies which enable individuals to see things, participate in or with them, and use them in such ways that they are identified and

The original version of this chapter was revised: Brookman was changed to Bookman inside the text and reference list. The correction to this chapter is available at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_13

B. Figueiredo (✉)
School of Economics, Finance, and Marketing, RMIT University, Melbourne, VIC, Australia

J. Bean
University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, USA

H.P. Larsen
Department of Marketing, Copenhagen Business School, Frederiksberg, Denmark

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_6

identifiable as cosmopolitan" (Kendall, Woodward, & Skrbis, 2009, p. 10). Therefore, being and feeling cosmopolitan is intimately connected to one's ability to perform cosmopolitan practices and taste (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998). Cosmopolitans vary in their level of cosmopolitan competence, that is, their ability to engage in the symbolic mix-and-match work needed to recognize and connect objects from diverse cultures and their ability to be reflexive about this process (Binnie & Skeggs, 2004). Indeed, despite differing implementations of cosmopolitanism as a construct (such as outlook, dispositions, set of skills, and competence), the bulk of business and marketing studies engaging with cosmopolitanism has been centered on the consumer, focusing on how cosmopolitanism is embodied and performed (Holt, 1997; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). Much less attention has been paid to the role of objects, technologies, images, spaces and material exchanges (Skrbis & Woodward, 2013), and networks (Saito, 2011) in the constitution of cosmopolitanism. Business and marketing studies have long established how the servicescape (Arnold & Price, 1993) structures performances of specific consumer ideologies and competence, but we know little about how servicescapes (Sherry, 1998) enable and support the performance of cosmopolitanism. We address this oversight by discussing how elements in the material environment provide necessary resources to support cosmopolitan performances.

Consumers use marketplace resources to pursue identity projects and exhibit cosmopolitan cultural competency (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). The practice and display of cosmopolitan competency enable cosmopolitan consumers to create and maintain symbolic distinctions between themselves and others and around cosmopolitans as a group. For instance, in a study conducted in a small town in the USA, high cultural capital consumers displayed cosmopolitan competencies, while those with low cultural capital did not (Holt, 1998). Research also suggests that displays of cosmopolitan competence are more salient in cosmopolitan spaces—those densely occupied by cosmopolitan consumers—because the attempt to create symbolic distinctions from surrounding cosmopolitan fellows demands finer gradations in cosmopolitan display of competence (Holt, 1997). The marketing literature has discussed the constitutive role of consumption objects in consumption practice and competence (Arsel & Bean, 2013; Dion, Sabri, & Guillard, 2014; Sandıkcı & Ger, 2010; Woermann & Rokka, 2015), while studies in the sociology of consumption have attended to the materiality of cosmopolitanism (Anderson, 2004; Bookman, 2013; Saito,

2011; Skrbis & Woodward, 2013) and its role in creating "cosmoscapes," or zones "structured by particular spatial and social characteristics which afford cosmopolitan socialisation" (Kendall et al., 2009, p. 154). It follows that an effective cosmopolitan cosmoscape provides cosmopolitans with needed resources to express competence and further differentiate from other cosmopolitans in their ability to further cosmopolitan identity projects (Rojas & Emontspool, 2015). However, there is very little understanding of how marketplace resources such as consumption objects and material settings support the display of cosmopolitan competence.

To further investigate how objects act as resources for the display of cosmopolitan competence, we draw on four concepts from studies of science and technology: (1) input spaces, (2) conceptual blending, (3) inscription, and (4) the twin concepts of shifting out and shifting in. This theoretical terminology can help account for how objects' meanings become associated with objects and other actors. These concepts help researchers understand how objects act as symbolic resources that create specific affordances for cosmopolitan competence. They also account for how the arrangement of objects and the design of the servicescape can help provide a fertile ground for cosmopolitan performances. We apply our conceptual framework to analyze arrangements of objects in a quintessentially cosmopolitan servicescape revolving around the New York restaurant Red Rooster Harlem, which is owned by the Ethiopian–Swedish–American celebrity chef Marcus Samuelsson. After working at and starting several other restaurants elsewhere in New York City, the Red Rooster's location in Harlem signals cosmopolitan values by virtue of its off-center location and reference to an underground cultural scene (Bartmanski & Woodward, 2015). In the description of this context, we explain how this servicescape works as a cosmopolitan canopy (Anderson, 2004), where "communities of diverse strangers [and objects] emerge and materialize" (p. 15). Our analysis draws from interviews with Samuelsson, representations of Samuelsson and Red Rooster Harlem in the popular media, and recurring observations at the restaurant (2010–2016). We detail the role of selected objects in anchoring cosmopolitan performances and examine how these objects are orchestrated to support and enable cosmopolitan performances.

In the next section, we detail the various terms we use to develop our conceptual framework. We then move forward by applying the framework to examine a specific area of Red Rooster Harlem, known as the Wall, and explain how it enables performances of cosmopolitanism.

A Conceptual Toolkit for Understanding Material Semiotics

To develop a conceptual framework that can account for how the ideology of cosmopolitanism is materially supported by objects in this cosmoscape, we adopt a perspective toward objects and agency from studies of science and technology. This broadly interdisciplinary field focuses on grounding the social construction of knowledge and meaning in "the realities of matter and energy … to recognize the critical roles that natural and technological landscapes play in shaping those constructions" (Scott, Martin, & Schouten, 2014, p. 3). The shift in agency is a key element for material semiotics (Law, 2008). We stress that the study of material semiotics differs from what is conventionally called semiotics (Greimas, 1985), and, instead, is closer to what is known as object semiotics (Barthes, 1972). As opposed to object semiotics, however, material semiotics as developed and applied in science and technology studies is grounded on actor–network theory (Akrich & Latour, 1992; Law, 2008) and feminist theories (Haraway, 1992), which assume all actors in a network perform relations that are simultaneously material (between things) and semiotic (between meanings) and which is a situated way to "study agency and *agencies* in plural as extended or distributed over times and place" (Kontopodis, 2012, p. 7). From this perspective, it is not just people, such as consumers and managers, which play a crucial role in the performance of cosmopolitanism, but also objects and other material elements in the servicescape. In this sense, our approach is a response to Saito's (2011) critical assessment of the work of Beck (2003, 2006) and other researchers of cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2007; Delanty, 2012) who point out the lacking theorization of the mechanisms through which cosmopolitanism happens. In line with Saito's goal, our approach aims at exploring the mechanisms that enable and create cosmopolitanism and "provide a more solid theoretical foundation for emerging research on the topic" (p. 124). Saito focuses on the network structures of openness and closeness to foreign humans and objects and employs Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to shed light on the interconnections between the actors in the network. Our focus, instead, is on the symbolic affordances enabled by objects. We borrow several concepts from science and technology studies to build an explanatory framework for mechanisms that support the sociomaterial semiotics of cosmoscapes.

Input spaces. One useful concept from science and technology studies is the notion of "input spaces," which are "mental spaces constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action" (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, p. 3). Cosmopolitanism is often associated with cultural omnivorousness and the capacity to see and act in the world through different cultural lenses. We argue, that these cultural lenses are not only ways of seeing the world, but they also actually refer to diverse input spaces—ways of making sense of the world—which were created through exposure to the different places or cultures cosmopolitans have lived in.

Conceptual blending and running the blend. Another useful concept is conceptual blending and its constitutive process of "running the blend." Initially developed by Fauconnier and Turner (1998), the theory of conceptual blends holds that a fundamental process in thinking is the emergence and elaboration of structure that arises from the combination of two or more "input spaces." For example, upon learning to use a computer, we come to understand quickly that dragging one kind of icon, a representation of a document, to another kind of icon, a representation of a garbage can, is akin to placing an actual piece of paper in the bin. Here the first icon represents one input space and the second icon represents another input space. By dragging one to the other, we create a conceptual blend of two input spaces. However, the conceptual blend has properties that were not part of either formative input space. New properties emerge from the blend created by overlapping input spaces. Returning to the example of the computer interface, we learn that dragging one icon onto another can result in different outcomes such as deleting a file, moving a file from one place to another, launching a program, or creating an attachment for an email. In Fauconnier and Turner's terminology, the discovery and extension of emergent structure to different contexts (that is, learning what dragging can and might do) is called "running the blend." Consumers run the blend to situate consumption objects in their lives and in culture. For example, the American Girl brand "pairs ordinary dolls with elaborate historical and personal stories to aid in the conceptualization and enactment of the historically rooted stories" (Diamond et al., 2009, p. 123). One such doll is Addy, who escaped slavery in 1864 and moved to Philadelphia with her mother. Following Fauconnier and Turner (1998), generalized knowledge about the specific historical period of 1864 can be understood as an input space

representing slavery and racial discrimination. American Girl also sells a book telling Addy's life story. This can be considered as another input space. The culturally constructed category of doll, represented by the object, can be considered a third input space, associated with toys and play. We argue cosmopolitan consumers become skilled at "running the blend" with input spaces that represent different cultures and modes of thinking. Running the blend combines input spaces in a dynamic blend with emergent properties.

Materially anchored conceptual blends. In influential work, Hutchins (2005) extended Fauconnier and Turner's theory by showing how conceptual blends are materially anchored, arguing that the material world supports, stabilizes, and extends cognition. Using the example of a queue of waiting people, Hutchins explains that there are two abstract input spaces that are blended: the visual perception of many people arranged in a distinct line (input space 1), with the thought that those in the line are waiting for something to happen (input space 2). A further blend (input space 3), enabled by the material properties of bodies in space arrayed in a line, facilitates what most people think of as orderly behavior: joining the line at its end. In other words, the anchoring of these input spaces on the array of bodies in line allows us to tell from the material cues who was in line first. Structure emergent from this materially anchored conceptual blend helps us find our own place in line as well as estimate how long we have to wait. Moreover, material anchors help stabilize the conceptual blend. The array of bodies stabilizes ideas of lining up and waiting, tying both together. Following Hutchins' theory, the black doll at American Girl Place, its clothing, and other contextualizing elements in the material environment materially anchor the conceptual blend formed by these three abstract input spaces, stabilizing the blend and tying the meanings together in a durable way.

This simple notion is quite powerful because a materially anchored blend can unite input spaces that may be contradictory or difficult to imagine, such as the "both/and" logics (Beck, 2006) found in cosmopolitan ideology (e.g., home/away; local/global; here/there). Thus, the work of employing diverse cultural contexts can be facilitated by an object's role in stabilizing conceptual blends. When one thinks about a multicultural food festival, for example, the layout that organizes the flow of peo-

ple in the market and physically links together food stalls from various cultures is a materially anchored conceptual blend. Materiality lends stability to the blend, allowing cultural contradictions to coexist. For example, consider an Olympic display with flags representing many nations. This material ensemble communicates both the significance of locality (through the input spaces represented by each flag) and globality (through the blended space containing all flags) even though these ideas are clearly in tension with each other. In this case, we say the display of flags becomes a material anchor that stabilizes the conceptual blend, making it not only a physical incarnation of the blend but also a resource with multiple cultural affordances that support the display of cosmopolitan competence.

Re-inscription, Shift-in and Shifting out. From Akrich and Latour (1992), we borrow and adapt the twinned concepts of inscription and re-inscription and shifting in and shifting out. Inscription refers to the attribution of meaning to an object. Re-inscription is the attribution of another layer of meaning to the same object, creating "a complication, a folding, a sophistication" (Akrich & Latour, 1992, p. 262) to the ensemble. The concepts of shifting in and shifting out deal with how representations are chained together across geography, time, and identity. In their words, shifting out is a displacement to another frame of reference, while shifting in indicates a return to the point of departure. We adapt these concepts to indicate the capacity of the object to evoke one of its inscribed input spaces (often representing another geographical, temporal, or identitarian space) and link these input spaces back to the experience of the here and now. To continue with the example of the American Girl Place (Diamond et al., 2009), the Addy doll is inscribed with multiple input spaces (including slavery). The object is said to shift out in time as it evokes a different time (i.e., it creates a temporal variation to a different frame of reference) associated with the American Civil War. The doll shifts out in identity as it evokes a different role or person (an African-American girl who flees from slavery) and it shifts out in space when it evokes another geographical territory and its associated culture (Philadelphia in the USA). The doll shifts back to the here-and-now in the context of the American Girl store and in the moment of play. The experience of the input spaces is contextual and enriched by dynamic variations in role, time, or space. Thus, by shifting in and out to different

frames of reference, material anchors act as nexuses that bring meanings collected from real and imagined pasts and futures, identities, and places into the here-and-now of experience.

We argue that these four blocks of concepts are especially useful to understanding how objects support the cosmopolitan experience via the inscription and re-inscription of multiple input spaces. It is precisely this capacity of encompassing inputs spaces of diverse (and often foreign) origin that characterizes what Beck (2006) called cosmopolitanism's "internalized otherness of others." The capacity of one object or one ensemble of objects to convey both/and logics (Beck, 2006), a sense of being worldly (Hannerz, 1990), and a sense of virtual travel (Urry, 1990) are all associated with a more mundane cosmopolitanism (Skribis, Kendall, & Woodward, 2004). Material objects anchor the input spaces of a conceptual blend and become accessible as they shift out in time, space, and identity to facilitate cosmopolitan performances of knowledge of multiple input spaces associated with various cultures. This process will become clear as we apply this conceptual framework to understand how the material semiotics of the Rooster Wall support cosmopolitan performances.

The Red Rooster Harlem and the Rooster Wall

The context for our study is a typical cosmopolitan space: The Red Rooster Harlem, which is operated by celebrity chef Marcus Samuelsson. Located just north of 125th St. on Malcolm X Blvd. in Harlem, the restaurant is only steps from an express stop on the 2/3 subway line, putting it 20 minutes from the tourist mecca of Times Square. The materials in the interior—different types of wood, burnished metal, caramel-hued distilled liquors in huge glass dispensaries—communicate luxury and trendy style. The restaurant has been consistently busy since it opened in 2010, thanks in part to a limited reservations policy that keeps the bar stuffed with patrons hoping for a last-minute table. The restaurant has a global and local pull; on most nights, there are a number of white Swedish tourists dining alongside local New Yorkers. As the *New York Times* puts it, "the glory of the Red Rooster Harlem is that everyone really is there, actually making the scene: black and white, Asian and Latino, straight

and gay, young and old" (Sifton, 2011). The restaurant works as a "cosmopolitan canopy [that allows] people of different backgrounds the chance to slow down and indulge themselves, observing, pondering, and in effect, doing their own folk ethnography, testing or substantiating stereotypes and prejudices or, rarely, acknowledging something fundamentally new about the other" (Anderson, 2004, p. 15).

Yelp reviews and bloggers echo a point made by mainstream restaurant critics: the Red Rooster Harlem is worth a visit, but not because of—perhaps even in spite of—the food. It's the scene that has value. As one blogger put it,

> Red Rooster is a special and different restaurant. Not because it has great food, I have eaten much tastier and more reasonably priced food elsewhere. But there is no other place in New York that has the same ambience, location and character, at least in my experience and opinion. It is low-fi and high-fi at the same time. It is yellow and brown and black and white. It is gay and straight. It is female and male. It is old and young. It is casual and dressed up. It is beer and cocktail. It is Old Fashioned and Cosmopolitan. It is noisy. It is crowded. It is lively. It is cheerful. It is cool. It is awesome! (https://pursuitoffood.wordpress.com/2012/03/14/red-rooster-harlem/)

In an interview (02/23/2012), Samuelsson identified three customer segments: the Harlemite, the visitor, and the New Yorker, acknowledging the importance of each segment, as they are all needed together to co-create the cosmopolitan space. The menu (see Fig. 6.1) is themed and reflects a cosmopolitan influence: fried chicken is called "yard bird," reflecting Jamaican slang, and the Manhattan cocktail is retitled a Brownstoner. Yet the emphasis is not on the consumption of food and drink; it is the entire material scene: the designed space, the food, and the people in the space that creates the possibility for cosmopolitanism.

In the same interview, Samuelsson discussed his business not as a restaurant, but using the empowerment terminology common to boosters of platform "solutions" such as Uber: The Red Rooster Harlem is a place where transformation occurs. He talks about teaching his front of house employees to iron their shirts, to shave, and show up for work on time, but also about how his customers find delight in the gospel concerts presented by his employees. Samuelsson explanations made clear that the

Fig. 6.1 Menu (Source: Collage made by authors from different parts of the menu)

transformative effect of the restaurant was carefully considered, referencing it as a "third place" where the targeted customer groups—the Harlemite, the New Yorker, and the visitor—could add to and learn more about global and local cultures: "We wanted and needed three types of diners to give the Rooster the flavor that we considered the yummiest: Harlemites, the men and women (regardless of color) who are our neighbors, whose very existence provides the culture and color that is Harlem; downtown diners who love restaurants and great food; and out-of-towners who have traveled from as far away as San Francisco, Sweden, and South Africa" (Samuelsson & Chambers, 2012, p. 307) In Samuelsson's conception of the space, it is clearly intended to be didactic: "the Harlemite may want to know about Abba, the New Yorker is curious

about or wants to show their friends … about Harlem … the visitor … may just want to know about Shakespeare. So this is a place of discovery." He continues, "here, I'm not at home, I'm at the third place, right, and I'm learning something … there's also some very terroir things about Harlem especially around the demographic of Harlem, the center of that is an African-American base, then you have another immigrant base who is Latin, then you have the people who've lived here for 10 years or under, which is white, Jewish, black, white, gay, whatever it is, right, and there should be something that speaks to all of that … and points towards the direction where we are going and where we came from" (Interview with Samuelsson 02/23/2012). In contrast to the often-used metaphor of a melting pot, this corresponds with Samuelsson's idea of America as a "salad bowl" where "each component in a salad complements the other while remaining distinct" (Samuelsson, 2009, p. 79).

The bar (Fig. 6.2) area occupies approximately half the space of the Red Rooster Harlem and is closest to the street and entry. It was placed there intentionally to seem welcoming (Samuelsson & Chambers 2012, Samuelson 2016). The bar is the heart and soul of the restaurant: "I wanted

Fig. 6.2 Bar (photo by Hanne Pico Larsen 2015)

a restaurant that housed fine, fun dining and welcomed everybody—Latinos, Italians, Haitians, Africans, Jewish people. I wanted a bar anchored by the beats" (Samuelsson, 2016, p. 40). The bar is shaped as a horseshoe, or in Samuelsson's own words: "… the counter itself needed to be voluptuous. Screw being hip, I wanted the bar to be the shape of hips. God knows all of Harlem needed something to hold on to" (Samuelsson, 2016, p. 41). On the wall next to the bar, a set of reclaimed wood shelves run along the north wall of the restaurant, and three bar-height tables, each with four stools, are tucked in along the shelves. In this area, live music is frequently performed at the themed nights, such as El Barrio Night, Sunday Gospel Brunch, and Sunday Jazz. According to Samuelsson: "the music had to move from gospel to jazz, to hip-hop seamlessly" (Samuelsson, 2016, p. 40).

Samuelsson refers to the shelves to as "The Rooster Wall" (http://www.marcussamuelsson.com/news/seeing-red-the-rooster-wall) (Fig. 6.3). The wall is loaded with relics, old vinyl albums, books in different languages on various topics, colorful mementos, and other items showing the patina of wear and tear, including a pair of Samuelsson's

Fig. 6.3 The Rooster Wall (photo by Hanne Pico Larsen 2012)

old sneakers (he is an avid collector). In addition; small vials of liquid, jars with dried food staples, maps and rainbow flags, and Polaroids of guests. The display inspires curiosity and carries an air of authenticity as the things come with a (hi)story. Samuelsson notes, "I always wanted a shelf to tell my story to Harlem—the books tell my journey from my old Swiss cookbooks to *Amharic for Beginners*" (Samuelsson & Chambers, 2012, p. 300). It is not a static display; the content and arrangement of the items on the shelves changed in the course of our research, but Samuelsson states that "all have some significance to the area and even individual employees of the restaurant" (http://www.marcussamuelsson.com/news/seeing-red-a-look-into-red-rooster).

The following section applies our material semiotic conceptual framework to show how four objects from the Rooster Wall, including *Amharic for Beginners*, support cosmopolitan performances.

Objects as Material Anchors for Conceptual Blends

All objects on the Rooster Wall carry legible meanings of their own. To illustrate the conceptual framework, we focus on a few objects from the wall, which were assembled to become the topic of a blog post authored by Samuelsson. Because the objects in the post are described in detail, the blog post also allows us to understand how Samuelsson perceives the role of these objects in the Wall. In his post, the Chef calls out four objects—three books and a boxing glove (Fig. 6.4)—as "treasured items that hold a deep meaning to either Harlem or my own personal journey" (http://www.marcussamuelsson.com/news/seeing-red-the-rooster-wall). The first book, *Amharic for Foreign Beginners*, communicates the intention of its owner, and its worn, creased cover offers evidence of use. The second book, *Escoffiers Stora Kokbok*, is written in Swedish, while the reference to the famous French chef Escoffier and the similarity of the Swedish "kokbok" to the English "cookbook," complemented by a color illustration of a smiling girl holding up a roast and plate of vegetables clearly indicate its purpose. The third book, James Baldwin's

Fig. 6.4 Treasured items (source: http://www.marcussamuelsson.com/news/seeing-red-the-rooster-wall, accessed 2016)

novel *The Fire Next Time*, comes already re-inscribed, not only through the presence of a photograph of an older black man holding a young child but because its publisher has printed a promotional quote on the cover calling the book "an extraordinary human document—a classic." Finally, the boxing glove carries its own meanings as an instrument of pugilism. Each object can be seen as connected to one or many input spaces. *Escoffiers Stora Kokbok* takes us to Sweden, but also to the world of cooking. Similarly, *Amharic for Foreign Beginners* takes us to Ethiopia and the challenge and opportunity of learning another language. Their presence on the shelves of the restaurant help anchor these input spaces in the here-and-now of the Red Rooster Harlem experience. These objects do not have fixed positions on the Wall. Following cosmopolitanism call for flexible engagements (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002), Marcus Samuelsson is constantly changing objects and moving their position on the shelves of the Wall. We comment on them as they appear in the picture from the blog, which is in itself, a particular performance of the cosmoscape, one that is representative of the intentions of the promoters of the Red Rooster Harlem.

Shifting out and back in. Adding more complexity to the setting, the meanings inherent in all four of these objects are re-inscribed with new meanings through their presence in the restaurant, but also through Samuelsson's description in the blog post. *Amharic for Foreign Beginners* is attached both to Samuelsson's Ethiopian "heritage" and his "early journey to Sweden." Then, we learn that the cookbook belonged to Samuelsson's adopted grandmother Helga and contains "traditional Swedish recipes" with handwritten notes from Helga. James Baldwin's book, which documents race relations in 1960s America, is recommended to "anyone," a clear indication of the importance of social justice. Finally, the gloves are re-inscribed with words written by Samuelsson himself: "We the hungry are driven by our passion. We have cooked so long, served so many, with so little. We are now qualified to serve you, the People of Harlem." By loading additional meaning onto the gloves, Samuelsson has re-signified these objects as symbols of the willingness to honor and serve the local people of Harlem. These objects have meanings of their own, but through either the assembling efforts of the designers of the space or by simply being positioned at the center of a complex network of meanings, the books and the boxing gloves are layered with additional meanings.

Note that the new meanings overlaid in the process of re-inscription all serve to widen the world of meanings and associations of these objects and connect them to a bridging narrative associated with Samuelsson's own biography and brand. In other words, these additional meanings increase the affordances of these objects in terms of the input spaces (space, time, and identity) they anchor. Samuelsson's blog post (http://www.marcussamuelsson.com/news/seeing-ed-the-rooster-wall) uses shifting out and shifting in to incorporate the three books and the boxing gloves into the Red Rooster experience. When customers of the restaurant interact with the wall, these objects can provide access to a new input space through the process of shifting out. For instance, the book *Amharic for Foreign Beginners* provides a possibility to shift out in space, time, and identity because by creating a virtual displacement to other frames of reference representing another geography (Ethiopia), another time (Samuelsson's birthdate), and another identity (Samuelson, the Amharic learner). Similarly, the book *Escoffiers Stora Kokbok* evokes other frames of references linked to Sweden,

Samuelsson' childhood and his grandmother's personality, a story which is elaborated in Samuelsson's biography and a key component of many of his media appearances. But the materiality of these objects also shifts meanings back in. These input spaces are brought to life by the materiality of the books. The input spaces are experienced by cosmopolitan customers as part of their here-and-now and as components of *their* cosmopolitan experience. For Samuelsson, the book "is on display at the Rooster so guests of my restaurant can also share in my culinary experience" (http://marcus-samuelsson.com/news/seeing-red-the-rooster-wall). This is not to say that customers live these input spaces, but instead they have a chance to interact with these input spaces because of the presence of the books. The resulting cosmopolitan experience—and the subsequent cosmopolitan performance—is a result of the interactions of customers and their input spaces with the input spaces afforded by these objects. In other words, the input spaces materialized by the objects become resources for cosmopolitan performance. Because cosmopolitan performances involve displaying "cultural omnivorousness, ethnic tolerance, and cosmopolitics" (Saito, 2011), objects that are capable of creating clear spatial, temporal, and identitarian shifts become very useful for cosmopolitan performances. Their usefulness is increased when the "spatio-social entanglements and connections" (Bartmanski & Woodward, 2015, p. 138) in which cosmopolitans are embedded are organized around certain patterns that highlight these shifts out. We develop this idea further in the next section.

Patterning. The question for those designing cosmopolitan places is how to select and assemble material anchors so that they can best enable cosmopolitan performances by orchestrating actions in that space. Patterning refers to the act of assembling objects to leverage the effects of shifting out and in. Here is where assembling the right objects comes into play. When objects such as *Amharic for Foreign Beginners, Escoffier's Stora Kokbok*, *The Fire Next Time*, and a boxing glove are assembled in the material space of the Rooster Wall, or the virtual space of Samuelsson's blog, their similarities and differences become apparent. Most legible in the Rooster Wall are the spatial and temporal shifts: from Harlem to Sweden and Ethiopia and back again. Each element points to a different time and a different space, underlining the plurilocal, multicultural nature of the Red Rooster Harlem. This means that someone (e.g., the

designer of a cosmopolitan space similar to the Red Rooster Harlem) can prompt performances of cosmopolitanism by selecting objects that diverge in the way they shift out (Akrich & Latour, 1992) to places, times, or identities. Alignable differences (Zhang & Markman, 1998), that is, differences between elements connected to the same category of comparison (e.g., place of origin), are likely to be more salient for consumers' cognitive processing. For example, when many objects are assembled together, and the objects share common a symbolic shift out to a different place (e.g., when each dish on a menu points to a different country), this difference becomes much more apparent for those who experience these objects (i.e., place of origin becomes salient). Thus, patterning, the selection, and arrangement of objects that highlight differences in input spaces related to space, time, and identity can make anchored objects more salient for individuals engaged in cosmopolitan performance.

As evidenced by Samuelsson's blog post, shifts in identity follow the same pattern as the spatial and temporal shifts: the Rooster becomes aligned with Samuelsson's Ethiopian heritage, his Swedish grandmother and Escoffier, James Baldwin and the protagonist of Baldwin's novel, and the spirit of fighting embodied by a boxing glove. Because of the objects' presence in the restaurant, these input spaces also become accessible, shifting back in to offer resources for customers to compose the cosmopolitan experience in the Rooster. The general effect of this materially anchored conceptual integration of input spaces is that the various objects become part of a unified pattern while their differences are highlighted instead of downplayed. This mixing without merging has been described as how cosmopolitan ideology works (Beck, 2006). The cosmopolitan vision is one that underscores multiplicity (Delanty, 2012) of composing elements, rejecting any form of fusion that may obscure multiplicity. Beck describes this as "the both/and logic of inclusive differentiation," where "one constructs a model of one's identity by dipping freely into the Lego set of globally available identities and building a progressively inclusive self-image" (Beck, 2006, p. 4).

Running the blend. Running the blend refers to the moments of interaction between those experiencing the objects and the input spaces afforded. The cosmopolitan experience only comes to life in the Red

Rooster Harlem when its guests interact with the objects, integrating anchored objects with their own input spaces to create cosmopolitan performances. For instance, the boxing gloves and Baldwin's novel are often perceived by patrons of the Red Rooster as contributing to evoking spaces, times, and identities related to Harlem's past and the civil rights movement. These are important themes for cosmopolitan performance, especially in the moral aspects of cosmopolitanism. Moral cosmopolitanism proposes a vision of a shared humanity, respectful of legitimate difference that generates obligations toward other human beings. For Appiah (2007), the process of learning about heritage and feeling that one is a global citizen indicate a cosmopolitan way of being in the world. If every human being has a global stature, one needs to get along with the other, be open to the other, and learn about the other. In Appiah's words, cosmopolitans "take seriously the value not of just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that make them significant" (2007, p. xv). The Red Rooster Harlem enables moral cosmopolitanism through its material anchors. For instance, the gloves and book on Rooster's wall highlight the active role the restaurant plays in the transformation of a gentrifying Harlem neighborhood and seek bridges to Harlem's African-American heritage and the pivotal role of its civil rights movements promoting equality and citizenship of African Americans. For those coming to the Red Rooster experience with understandings of the role of Harlem in American History, running the blend becomes a performance of contemplation and participation in these types of cosmopolitan performances.

In addition, upon seeing the elements on the Wall, a cosmopolitan visitor may understand the Red Rooster as a part of a global phenomenon of valorization of heritage that accompanies the gentrification of the neighborhoods (Zukin et al., 2009). As Vinny explains, "Overall, I enjoyed my visit to Red Rooster and I can see why people in the neighborhood like it. While inside, you get the feeling that they are trying for a Harlem Renaissance and I support that ideology" (Yelp Review, 02/28/12). Vinny positions himself as an outsider to the Harlem world. However, as a cosmopolitan individual, he expresses fraternal appreciation for the gentrification of Harlem's service spaces, the so-called Harlem Second Renaissance, even though Vinny does not relate to this context at all.

Although the objects on the Wall evoke the symbolic space of cultural differences, each individual may have a different "reading" of the Wall. An individual's personal and cultural background and past activity in the restaurant leads each to integrate differently the objects and the space. Faucounnier and Turner (1998) describe this process as elaboration, referring to the emergent properties and dynamics of the conceptual blend (here, the blend is the cosmopolitan experience of multiple localities) developed through imaginative mental simulation, according to principles in the blend (i.e., their constitutive input space and the patterning of shift outs in time, space, and identity, underlining the importance of cultural diversity).

Other Yelp reviews illuminate the process of animation and the interpretation underlines the customer experience. Here, an ecstatic Mona Lisa describes her restaurant experience to the Red Rooster Harlem:

> [Do you] like modern museums and new American food? Well, this is the place for you! Last week, my co-workers and I had lunch here to celebrate our birthdays. From the moment I stepped in, I couldn't believe the amount of art/history displayed at the restaurant. With so much to see and marvel over, the space felt like a homage to Marcus Samuelsson's persona and the Harlem Renaissance. (Mona Lisa, Yelp Review, 02/03/2011)

In the Red Rooster Harlem, customers come from different cultures and localities, which has implications for the creation of the cosmopolitan experience. The objects in the restaurant have been tuned to appeal to the three customer segments Samuelsson targets—the Harlemite, the New Yorker, and the international tourist. Each one of these segments is likely to interpret the arrangements of objects in very different ways. A Harlemite or someone knowledgeable about Harlem may read the arrangement of objects as a sign that Harlem has arrived on the global scene. Here are consumer review notes the presence of objects that point to other localities:

> The restaurant was handsomely designed and decorated--among other things, the rustic shelving had an ABBA vinyl and a playboy featuring Pam Grier. Not out of place given Samuelsson's background and excellent taste. Basically, he had me at hello … Tell me that Harlem is having its second

> renaissance and I'll tell you that Marcus Samuelsson is among those leading it. (Sei S, Yelp Review, 01/30/2011)

Here, local customer Sei recognizes the worldly references as an attempt to depict Harlem as belonging to the global scene along with a process of its rapid gentrification. At the same time, New Yorkers with some background on American and Harlem history may appreciate the Red Rooster Harlem's engagement with promoting Harlem's heritage. Andy, a Yelp reviewer from New York, celebrates the engagement with civil rights, observing that:

> The walls [of the Red Rooster Harlem] were adorned with art and mementos reflecting this neighborhood's role in American and African-American history—while certainly powerful the decor was subtle enough that it didn't knock you over. Five stars there. (Andy, Yelp Review, 2011)

As customer A.W. from Bronx explains, "the decor was definitely fun and filled with an array of items to keep your mind occupied while you wait for your table." (Yelp Review, 05/31/2011). Objects were arranged to make customers think and question the relationships between different localities and cultures, as well as their relevance to matters of world citizenship and civil rights.

Elaboration is an important part of Fauconnier and Turner's theory, because it allows for the idiosyncrasy of the customer experience, recognizing that new thinking and emergent relations may occur when one particular person, or group, "runs the blend" (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998). This relationship between elaboration and working with materially anchored input spaces is called running the blend in recognition of the individual's role in creating situated experience—in this case, of cosmopolitanism. The individual elaboration of the cosmopolitan experience is based on the symbolic affordances provided by the material resources on the Rooster Wall. Patterning objects in time, space, and identity increases the affordances of various object networks and creates the material semiotic conditions for customers to engage in running the blend. But to run the blend, customers need to bring their own input spaces to achieve completion. Completion is a cognitive process that

allows customers to infer additional relationships between objects, by drawing on abstract concepts and pre-existing knowledge, even though these relationships are not directly represented by the objects (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998). For example, when boxing gloves are put next to Baldwin's novel, notions of struggle and civil rights may be evoked by knowledgeable customers; Baldwin's novel and the book Amharic for Foreign Beginners may incite the customers to cultivate ideas about how civil rights are a part of heritage learning, in the same way Amharic was for Samuelsson. Thus, for the designer of the servicescape, assembling these objects in space goes beyond choosing elements that share similarities. The juxtaposition of difference is essential to inviting the customer to engage in completion, which sets the stage for a personal experience of the cosmopolitan marketplace.

Because the cosmopolitan ideology relies heavily on the idea of multiplicity (Lawhon & Shion, 2011) and performance of competence (Binnie & Skeggs, 2004) the personal experience of completion is particularly suited to the promotion of cosmopolitanism. Although there is a common understanding of the value of different cultures and the importance of diverse localities, scholars of cosmopolitanism highlight the importance of embracing a multitude of possible paths. The competent cosmopolitan will be well versed in the content related to various input spaces and well skilled in the cultural code-switching (Briley, Morris, & Simonson, 2005) and cultural swapping practices (Oswald, 1999) required to perform cosmopolitan omnivorous competences. Cosmopolitans do find objects with multiple affordances (such as the ones described here) valuable because completion provides the cosmopolitan with room to showcase and further develop competence in sensemaking through engaging with objects.

In summary, these three processes—shifting out and back in, patterning, and running the blend—complete the process of creation of a cosmopolitan servicescape. In the first stage, objects were loaded with specific meanings to underline what the servicescape designer wanted them to mean (e.g., Helga's cookbook means the influence of traditional Swedish cooking in Samuelsson life). In the second stage, patterning, the reinscribed objects were selected and organized in arrangements to establish points of comparisons among these objects (e.g., all objects relate to

cultural identities or all objects relate to localities). Objects are often organized to highlight ideological tensions (e.g., the divergence in time and space that were fleshed out by the symbolism of the objects). This assembling exercise of highlighting differences and similarities in input spaces through patterning is what helps make the cosmopolitan tensions around diversity and "both/and" logics apparent in a cosmopolitan place. The objects can be organized in a way that invites customers to think about the pattern in input spaces linking the objects, but in a critical manner. When input spaces do not fit well together, but share enough similarity to make the customer seek completion and run the blend, these objects support the performance of cosmopolitanism. In the third stage, running the blend, the customers animate the servicescape, bringing their individual and cultural background to "read" and connect the elements in the cosmopolitan space. The result is a highly customized experience of the cosmopolitan marketplace based on the emergent structure of rooted cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2003).

Toward the Material Semiotics of Cosmopolitan Space

This chapter applied concepts from science and technology studies to a few objects in the cosmopolitan servicescape of the Red Rooster Harlem to illustrate how the application of a material semiotic conceptual framework can shed light into using objects to help create and sustain cosmopolitan experience. Our analysis is a first step toward demonstrating how objects are deployed to provide resources for cosmopolitan performances. Cosmopolitan performances are enacted through the use of diverse cultural and material resources that the servicescape makes available to participants.

Our examination of objects in the servicescape allows us to deconstruct our understanding of cosmopolitan spaces as stages for cosmopolitan performance and instead realize that these spaces are constituted by these performances and the resources that create them. The cosmopolitan space is continuously coming into being through the performances afforded by material resources, the entanglements of anchoring concepts,

and the skills of those who engage in such performances. As shown in the case of Samuelsson's Red Rooster Harlem, Samuelsson has been successful in delivering his message about the advantages of his own multiethnic background and has succeeded in turning it into a commercial asset (Ahad, 2016; Johansson, 2006, 2012; Larsen & Österlund-Pötzsch, 2012), but the space is brought to life by the performances and material resources that enable and anchor these performances (Hutchins, 2005).

The material semiotic lens allows us to see the particular ways through which objects enables the space for cosmopolitan performances. Cosmopolitan servicescapes are a product of three processes. The first process describes how material anchors shift out in several dimensions. Samuelsson's grandmother Helga's cookbook can be a resource for the creation of meanings that may range from Samuelsson's childhood to present moment (variations in time), from Sweden to New York (variations in space), and from frugal grandmother to celebrity chef (variations in identity). No matter how these material anchors vary along these dimensions, they continue performing meanings that are relevant for the restaurant's cosmopolitan construction of space. The variations in time, space, and identity across material anchors illustrate how shifting in and out can help support dynamic performances of cosmopolitan appreciation for diversity.

A second process registers the assemblage of objects and the patterning of meanings that leverage the individual affordances of objects helping create culturally diverse input spaces (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998). Because they create the affordances for specific patterns to emerge, these assemblages provide opportunities for brands to influence cosmopolitan performances without directly scripting them. Bookman reminds us that "brands are managed to provide consumers with carefully curated contexts, suggesting ways in which they can experience or relate to various products and services, offering cultural frameworks for their use" (Bookman, 2013, p. 61). Samuelsson and the Red Rooster Harlem illustrate well this interference. In assembling and organizing material anchors, the servicescape emphasizes one dimension over others, which helps draw attention to configurations of meanings around desired themes (e.g., the diversity of places represented by the assemblage of objects). Hence, it is possible for the designer of a cosmopolitan space to

promote the performance of certain desired motifs and narratives over others in the matrix of possibilities that the combination of input spaces afford), in a process akin the idea of interessement (Akrich, Callon, & Latour, 2002). For example, many material anchors in the Red Rooster shift out in space to different localities. However, the shifts out are focused on three geographic locations: Harlem, Sweden, and Ethiopia. These places are key "quilting points" (Borghini et al., 2009, p. 371), because they articulate and anchor different meanings together into a recognizable configurations of Samuelsson's (intended) commercial place. These three localities are recurrent themes in Samuelsson's cosmopolitan brand. They are important input spaces for the coherence of the brand but also for the performances of cosmopolitanism that happen there. Samuelsson interferes in this process by promoting the anchoring of specific cosmopolitan meanings that are relevant to his brand by carefully managing the affordances promoted by material anchors in two ways. First, he reduces the number of affordances a material anchor can refer to when shifting out, as Samuelsson did when he wrote a message on the boxing glove, therefore reducing the range of interpretations and variations in time, space, and identity available for use among cosmopolitans. Second, he coordinates various material anchors so they can shift out to different input spaces in similar ways (e.g., temporal shifts) to highlight a specific motif (e.g., Harlem then and Harlem now to highlight cultural dynamism). Although material anchors can shift out to form a range of places, times, and identities, repetition of the motifs across shifts may help bring attention to a specific motif (e.g., the underlying narrative of Samuelsson's biography in Swedish, Ethiopian, and American) expressed by the spatial dimension of diverse material anchors in the restaurant.

A third process includes the provision of *a template for running the blend* (Hutchins, 2005). To shape the blend associated with the cosmopolitan experience is to provide an array of cultural products that provide clues to expected configurations of meanings and to how material anchors should be interpreted when guests "run the blend." These cultural products work as musical scores in an orchestra, suggesting which melodies each instrument should be playing, and therefore limiting the matrix of possible meanings to those most wanted by the place designer. For instance, Samuelsson's blogs provide lots of clues about how one should

understand, "read," and orchestrate material anchors. Samuelsson's autobiography "Yes, Chef!" (Samuelsson & Chambers, 2012) also contains various narratives that help consumers engage in the "appropriate" reading of material anchors, promoting cosmopolitan configurations of meanings over possible others. The same explanation applies to other activities Samuelsson has engaged with, such as written and video interviews. These examples suggest ways in which consumers can engage in cosmopolitan performances with the support provided by material anchors. The servicescape provides the resources for cosmopolitan performances and then, through additional resources, it provides suggestions on how to best use these resources. This becomes another way in which the brand and Samuelsson exert control over the performances afforded by the material resources.

By engaging with the material semiotics of a cosmopolitan servicescape, we have joined others (Anderson, 2004; Bookman, 2013; Saito, 2011; Kendall, Woodward, & Skrbis, 2009) working to unveil the mechanisms that produce cosmopolitanism and create "cosmoscapes—spaces, practices, objects and images which afford and construct networks which make cosmopolitan engagements and hence cosmopolitan subjectivities possible" (Kendall, Woodward, & Skrbis, 2009, p. 127). Our description of the processes through which material anchors create affordances of cosmopolitan performances resonates with the argument that "it is not detachments but attachments—their multiplication, intensification, and concatenation—that make cosmopolitanism possible" (Saito, 2011, p. 144). By detailing the processes by which objects and networks of objects constitute space, we hope to have shown the inadequacy of thinking about cosmopolitanism as simply ethics and values (Appiah, 2007), without taking into consideration the material structures that "afford" or "entangle" it (Skrbis & Woodward, 2013). The Red Rooster Harlem has become a cosmopolitan scene uniting the usual cosmopolitan signifiers that exhibit distinctive cultural values, creating a place that is equally cafe, bar, ethnic restaurant, art gallery, and music venue (Bartmanski & Woodward, 2015). The chapter shows how the objects in these spaces are essential to support and perform these spaces. Such cosmopolitan canopies offer "a respite and an opportunity for [not only] diverse peoples to come together […but] also to engage in "folk ethnography" that serves as

a cognitive and cultural base on which people construct behavior in public" (Anderson, 2004, p. 14). Samuelsson has indeed understood that people come to this cosmopolitan setting expecting diverse people to both come along and get along. "When diverse people are eating one another's food, strangers in the abstract can become somewhat more human and a social good is performed for those observing. As people become intimate through such shared experiences, certain barriers are prone to be broken" (Anderson, 2004, p. 17). The openness to others, which is a key principle in moral cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2007), cannot be conceived as a pre-existing value that is then transferred to material performances; rather, the material performances are what afford such openness.

References

Ahad, B. (2016). Post-Blackness and Culinary Nostalgia in Marcus Samuelsson's *Yes Chef*. *American Studies, 54*(4), 5–26.

Akrich, M., Callon, M., & Latour, B. (2002). The Key to Success in Innovation Part I: The Art of Interessement. *International Journal of Innovation Management, 6*(2), 187–120.

Akrich, M., & Latour, B. (1992). A Summary of a Convenient Vocabulary for the Semiotics of Human and Nonhuman Assemblies. In W. E. Bijker & J. Law (Eds.), *Shaping Technology/Building Society Studies in Sociotechnical Change* (pp. 259–264). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Anderson, E. (2004). The Cosmopolitan Canopy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 595*(1), 14–31.

Appiah, K. A. (2007). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: WW Norton & Company.

Arnold, E. J., & Price, L. L. (1993). River Magic: Extraordinary Experience and the Extended Service Encounter. *Journal of Consumer Research, 20*(1), 24–45.

Arsel, Z., & Bean, J. (2013). Taste Regimes and Market-Mediated Practice. *Journal of Consumer Research, 39*(5), 899–917.

Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies*. London: Paladin.

Bartmanski, D., & Woodward, I. (2015). *Vinyl: The Analogue Record in the Digital Age*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Beck, U. (2003). Rooted Cosmopolitanism: Emerging from a Rivalry of Distinctions. In *Global America* (pp. 15–29). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Beck, U. (2004). Cosmopolitical Realism: On the Distinction Between Cosmopolitanism in Philosophy and the Social Sciences. *Global Networks, 4*(2), 131–156.

Beck, U. (2006). *The Cosmopolitan Vision*. Cambridge: Polity.

Binnie, J., & Skeggs, B. (2004). Cosmopolitan Knowledge and the Production and Consumption of Sexualized Space: Manchester's Gay Village. *The Sociological Review, 52*(1), 39–61.

Borghini, S., Diamond, N., Kozinets, R., McGrath, M. A., Muñiz, A., & Sherry, J. (2009). Why Are Themed Brandstores So Powerful? Retail Brand Ideology at American Girl Place. *Journal of Retailing, 85*(3), 363–375.

Briley, D. A., Morris, M. W., & Simonson, I. (2005). Cultural Chameleons: Biculturals, Conformity Motives, and Decision Making. *Journal of Consumer Psychology, 15*(4), 351–362.

Bookman, S. (2013). Branded Cosmopolitanism: 'Global' Coffee Brands and the Co-creation of 'Cosmopolitan Cool'. *Review of Cultural Sociology, 7*(1), 56–72.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge.

Delanty, G. (2012). *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*. London: Routledge.

Diamond, N., Sherry, J. F., Jr., Muñiz, A. M., Jr., McGrath, M. A., Kozinets, R. V., & Borghini, S. (2009). American Girl and the Brand Gestalt: Closing the Loop on Sociocultural Branding Research. *Journal of Marketing, 73*(3), 118–134.

Dion, D., Sabri, O., & Guillard, V. (2014). Home Sweet Messy Home: Managing Symbolic Pollution. *Journal of Consumer Research, 41*(3), 565–589.

Fauconnier, G., & Turner, M. (1998). Conceptual Integrated Networks. *Cognitive Science, 22*(2), 133–187.

Greimas, A. J. (1985). The Love-Life of the Hippopotamus: A Seminar with A.J. Greimas. In M. Blonsky (Ed.), *On Signs* (pp. 341–362). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hannerz, U. (1990). Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture. *Theory, Culture and Society, 7*(2), 237–251.

Hannerz, U. (1996). *Transnational Connections: Culture, people, Places*. London: Routledge.

Haraway, D. (1992). The Promises of Monsters: A Regenerative Politics for Inappropriate/d Others. In L. Grosberg, C. Nelson, & P. Treichler (Eds.), *Cultural Studies* (pp. 295–337). New York and London: Routledge.

Holt, D. B. (1997). Distinction in America? Recovering Bourdieu's Theory of Tastes from Its Critics. *Poetics, 25*(2), 93–120.
Holt, D. B. (1998). Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption? *Journal of Consumer Research, 25*(1), 1–25.
Hutchins, E. (2005). Material Anchors for Conceptual Blends. *Journal of Pragmatics, 37*(10), 1555–1577.
Johansson, F. (2006). *The Medici Effect. What Elephants and Epidemics Can Teach Us About Innovation*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
Johansson, F. (2012). *The Click Moment. Seizing Opportunity in an Unpredictable World*. New York: Penguin.
Kendall, G., Woodward, I., & Skrbis, Z. (2009). *The Sociology of Cosmopolitanism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Kontopodis, M. (2012). How Things Matter in Everyday Lives of Preschool Age Children: Material-semiotic Investigations in Psychology and Education. *Journal für Psychologie, 20*(1), 1–13.
Larsen, H. P., & Österlund-Pötzsch, S. (2012). Ubuntu in Your Heart: Ethnicity, Innovation and Playful Nostalgia in Three 'New Cuisines' by Chef Marcus Samuelsson. *Food, Culture and Society, 15*(4), 623–643.
Law, J. (2008). Actor-Network Theory and Material Semiotics. In B. S. Turner (Ed.), *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Lawhon, M., & Shion, M. (2011). Rooted Cosmopolitanism: Spaces of Multiplicity in Cusco, Peru. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 36*, 539–553. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2011.01079
Oswald, L. R. (1999). Culture Swapping: Consumption and the Ethnogenesis of Middle-class Haitian Immigrants. *Journal of Consumer Research, 25*(4), 303–318.
Rojas, P. G., & Emontspool, J. (2015). Global Cities and Cultural Experimentation: Cosmopolitan-local Connections. *International Marketing Review, 32*(2), 181–199.
Saito, H. (2011). An Actor-Network Theory of Cosmopolitanism. *Sociological Theory, 29*(2), 124–149.
Samuelsson, M. (2009). *New American Table*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
Samuelsson, M. (2016). *The Red Rooster Cookbook: The Story of Food and Hustle in Harlem*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
Samuelsson, M., & Chambers, V. (2012). *Yes, Chef*. New York: Penguin Random House.
Sandıkcı, Ö., & Ger, G. (2010). Veiling in Style: How Does a Stigmatized Practice Become a Fashionable and Ordinary Consumption Choice? *Journal of Consumer Research, 37*(1), 15–36.

Scott, K., Martin, D., & Schouten, J. (2014). Marketing and the New Materialism. *Journal of Macromarketing, 34*(3), 282–290.

Sherry, J. (1998). The Soul of the Company Store: Nike Town Chicago and the Emplaced Brandscape. In J. Sherry (Ed.), *Servicescapes: The Concept of Place in Contemporary Markets* (pp. 109–146). Lincolnwood, IL: NTC Business Books.

Sifton, S. (2011). United at Tables in Harlem. *The New York Times*, March 9, p. D1.

Skribis, Z., Kendall, G., & Woodward, I. (2004). Locating Cosmopolitanism: Between Humanist Ideal and Grounded Social Category. *Theory, Culture & Society, 21*(6), 115–136.

Skrbis, Z., & Woodward, I. (2013). *Cosmopolitanism. Uses of the Idea*. London: Sage.

Szerszynski, B., & Urry, J. (2002). Culture of Cosmopolitanism. *The Sociological Review, 50*(4), 461–481.

Thompson, C. J., & Tambyah, S. (1999). Trying to Be Cosmopolitan. *Journal of Consumer Research, 26*(3), 214–241.

Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze*. London: Sage.

Woermann, N., & Rokka, J. (2015). Timeflow: How Consumption Practices Shape Consumers' Temporal Experiences. *Journal of Consumer Research, 41*(6), 1486–1508.

Zhang, S., & Markman, A. B. (1998). Overcoming the Early Entrant Advantage: The Role of Alignable and Nonalignable Differences. *Journal of Marketing Research, 35*(4), 413–426.

Zukin, S., Trujillo, V., Frase, P., Jackson, D., Recuber, T., & Walker, A. (2009). New Retail Capital and Neighborhood Change: Boutiques and Gentrification in New York City. *City & Community, 8*(1), 47–64.

Bernardo Figueiredo is a Senior Lecturer in Marketing in the School of Economics, Finance, and Marketing at RMIT University in Melbourne, Australia. He is interested in how the globalization of markets and cultures shapes consumption and marketing practices. His main research interests include consumer culture, value creation, collaborative networks, multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, and the circulation of consumers, goods, services, and technologies. He has published in *the Journal of Consumer Research, Journal of Macromarketing, Journal of Marketing Management, Marketing Theory, Consumer Markets and Culture*, among other outlets.

Jonathan Bean is Assistant Professor of Architecture, Sustainable Built Environments, and Marketing at University of Arizona. He previously taught at Bucknell University and Parsons the New School for Design and holds a PhD in social and cultural processes in architecture and urbanism from University of California, Berkeley. Trained in ethnography and design of the built environment, he uses ideas from practice theory, actor–network theory, and science and technology studies to understand the relationships between culture, comfort, and taste. His most recent work focuses on the emergence of the passive house green building standard in the USA.

Hanne Pico Larsen is an Assistant Professor of marketing and consumer culture at Copenhagen Business School. Previously, she was an adjunct professor at Columbia University in New York (2008–2014). Hanne holds a PhD in Folklore from University of California, Berkeley (2006). Her current research focuses on storytelling as a tool to strengthen brand biographies, the use of storytelling in creating consumer value, expanding the consumer experiences with brands and their servicescapes. Latest article: "*Islands in the Sun: Storytelling, Place & Terroir in Food Production on Nordic Islands* (with Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch) in *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, Vol. 45, 2015: 29–52.

7

Cosmopolitan and Non-cosmopolitan Surfaces

Eduardo de la Fuente

If my reader will indulge me, I would like to begin with a seemingly trivial question: What kind of structure does my reader imagine if I ask them to picture a cosmopolitan building or cosmopolitan space? Is this cosmopolitan structure or setting a corporate skyscraper or an airport, an apartment block or a sports stadium, a restaurant/bar/cafe or a building housing a university department? Is the building or space you are picturing sleek and airy or heavy and highly ornamented? What kinds of materials and textures predominate in the external or interior appearance of the structure or the setting you are imagining—glass, concrete, marble, glossy laminated colourful surfaces, or the warm and muted tones of bleached wood? Is this cosmopolitan structure or setting you are imagining monumental and serious, or does it suggest informality and playfulness?

As interesting as these questions might be, no doubt there are readers who might have thought: Is it legitimate to speak of cosmopolitan buildings or cosmopolitan spaces? For many, the conjoining of the adjective 'cosmopolitan' with aspects of the built environment is likely to jarr.

E. de la Fuente (✉)
Independent Scholar, Illawong, NSW, Australia

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_7

However, I would suggest that such jarring stems from the assumptions we make about who or what is capable of possessing, exercising, or mobilizing cosmopolitan attributes in day-to-day life. One such assumption is the widely held belief that cosmopolitanism is primarily associated with human agents rather than with nonhuman entities such as skyscrapers, airports, stadiums, or buildings housing university departments.

We don't have to look too far into the discourse of cosmopolitanism to find such assumptions at play. Thus, in the much cited 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture', Ulf Hannerz (1990, p. 239) describes cosmopolitanism as an 'orientation' and 'competence' of the sort that can only really be found amongst individuals or social groups: 'genuine cosmopolitanism is first of all an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other … an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness … [as well] as a state of readiness … a built-up skill'. These are not attributes we often assign to buildings or to material objects—except perhaps metaphorically. However, Hannerz himself resorts to an intermingling of human and nonhuman elements when describing the many things that the word cosmopolitan conjures up:

> [S]omeone with many varied stamps in his or her passport; or a city or a neighbourhood with a mixed population; or with a capital C, a woman's magazine, at least at one time, seen as a bit daring in its attitudes … someone who likes weird, exotic cuisines … or again with a capital C, a mixed drink combining vodka, cranberry juice, and other ingredients. (Hannerz cited by Molz, 2011, p. 33)

The reference to stamps in passports, cities and neighbourhoods, magazines that (once) challenged established social codes, unusual cuisines, and an alcoholic beverage suggests that the line between human and nonhuman aspects of cosmopolitanism is more blurred than we may think. Equally, I suspect that some of the examples contained in my original set of questions about cosmopolitan buildings and spaces would fit nicely within mainstream discourses regarding cosmopolitanism. I am thinking of things like apartments, cafes, bars, and restaurants—to which we might add theatres, concert halls, and other 'live music' venues, public gardens, town squares where fairs and markets are held, cinemas,

museums, libraries, clubs, shopping malls, and department stores—which all seem capable, in varying degrees, of embodying an 'atmosphere', if not some of the orientations-cum-competences, associated with cosmopolitanism.

Part of the story here pertains to the role of cities and other built forms in the social and cultural emergence of that complex beast called 'modernity'. From Paris to Buenos Aires, New York to Melbourne, any early to mid-twentieth century city wishing to exude a degree of 'modernity' is likely to have generated the types of aesthetic and affective atmospheres we now equate with cosmopolitanism. Although he does not use the word cosmopolitanism or cosmopolitan, John Jervis (1999) says of urban modernity that it offered various types of 'transgression' through which 'otherness c[ould] be vicariously explored'. The modern city allowed for the transgression of the 'boundaries that define the modern identity … "us" and "them", the "normal" and the "pathological"' (Jervis, 1999, p. 2). The cosmopolitan flavour of modernity cut across the 'high' and 'low' culture divide and included commerce alongside art. As new sounds, new visual codes, and new urban atmospheres arose, new sensory and aesthetic experiences were mobilized which favoured cosmopolitanism and which served to undermine traditionalism-cum-provincial identity categories. The physical settings and material textures of urban modernity seem to have mattered greatly. Much has been written of how glass, windows, and mirrors contributed to the formation of an urban leisure and consumption modernity. In *The Painting of Modern Life*, T. J. Clark (1999, p. 245) describes how Manet's paintings were populated by '[p]rostitution, electric light, general glitter, Jews, Germans' and how central visual surfaces were to the depiction of urban modernity in paintings such as Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. The visual surfaces of urban modernity were also conducive to a new cosmopolitan type of female identity, as Rachel Bowlby (1985, p. 32) notes, 'the shop window' became a 'mirror' in which 'women and commodities flaunt[ed] their images at one another … Through the glass, the woman sees what she wants and what she wants to be'. The visual landscape of department stores, at the turn of the last century, also served to highlight ethnic difference and put the exotic within reach: 'Shop windows across the city … blossomed in crimson, purple, jade and orange … foreign fashions transformed the

intimate spheres of the body and penetrated the home. They were incorporated into the culture, they signaled fusion and identification' (Nava, 2002, p. 85).

I would contend that what these various literatures on modernity are describing are prototypes of what have recently come to be termed the *cosmoscapes* of global culture (Kendall, Woodward, & Skrbis, 2009). According to Bennett and Woodward (2014, p. 15) the 'cosmoscape is a zone structured by a particular spatial and social characteristics, which afford and indeed encourage cosmopolitan socialization'. The notion that cosmopolitan forms of sociability don't just happen anywhere is I would argue a significant moment in social scientific and—as I hope to show in the rest of this chapter—even aesthetic and ethical discussions of cosmopolitanism. Bennett and Woodward (2014, p. 15) capture the significance of space when they write that although 'cosmopolitan encounters can occur routinely and mundanely in any social space or setting, cosmoscapes are particularly conducive to promoting cosmopolitan encounters'. They develop their explanation thus:

> Cosmopolitanism is … inextricably linked to networked elements of material infrastructure and spatial organization, which both configure and enable its expression. Many of these things that enable forms of cosmopolitan mobility and openness are fixed in place and actually immobile, enlisted into an interdependent technological system that supports [things like] massive systems of mobility and movement … cosmopolitanism is best understood when performed or identified in particular local time-space settings. (Bennett & Woodward, 2014, p. 14)

But do the material forms themselves play a role in fostering cosmopolitan outlooks and practices? Or, are cosmopolitan values and meanings projected onto material forms? I would like to push the envelope by suggesting that cosmopolitanism research should embrace not only the material and spatial structures which allow cosmopolitan living to take place but also the skins, textures, and surface qualities of the cosmopolitan artefacts and spaces involved.

Surfaces? The field of 'surface studies' has emerged recently as a spin-off from existing disciplines and sub-disciplines such as material culture studies, literary and cultural studies, science and technology studies,

digital studies, and the sociocultural studies of things like design, landscape, tattooing, and clothing.[1] Surface studies came of age with the publication of Joseph Amato's (2013) *Surfaces: A History*. Everything from possible uses, suggested modes of engagement, clues about the 'plethora of life', and 'hands-on' learning about the qualities of the world takes place via surfaces (Amato, 2013, p. 1). A similar understanding of surfaces is already present in J. J. Gibson's (1979, p. 127) *Ecological Approach to Visual* Perception which famously refers to the '*affordances* of the environment … what it *offers* the animal, what it *provides* or *furnishes*, either for good or ill'. However, whereas Gibson is a realist who is interested in primordial entities such as liquids, gases, voids, and so on, Amato (2013, p. 4) is equally attentive to the '[m]ade, invented, controlled, and administered surfaces [which] define whole environments and shape lives'. In the case of modern culture, we are surrounded by surfaces that are 'systematically built, scientifically and aesthetically designed, industrially manufactured, and commercially distributed across the world' (Amato, 2013, p. 4). We live in a world where inconvenient shapes are rounded and smoothed; and where signs of trauma or weakness are dealt with lest surfaces cease to perform their essential function of maintaining the inside and outside of things separate.

The capacity of textures and surfaces to carry political and moral connotations is related to what we might term the *qualia* of material objects. In *Politics in Colour and Concrete*, Krisztina Fehervary (2013, p. 1) proposes that qualities such as 'grey', 'soft', or 'luminosity' appear in multiple settings yet have the capacity to maintain a relatively stable set of semiotic properties across different object and people domains:

> The qualia of grey in a rug, for example, is shared by a slab of concrete, a dawn fog, and pebbles on the lakeshore. By definition, this grey adheres in or is 'bundled' with other material properties … such as a rug's texture, absorbency, fragility, and perhaps its tendency to show stains … This capacity of a quality to appear across a variety of objects, materials or substances … contributes to the significance we attach to such qualia … In this way, aesthetic regimes that are grounded in particular material properties become aligned with sociocultural values … naturalizing, for example, the relationship between state socialism and greyness or capitalism and colour. (Fehervary, 2013, p. 8)

We might say that Soviet era furnishings, monumental buildings, apartment towers, cars, and clothing were seen by residents of the former Eastern Europe as having lacked the vibrancy, joy, and colour—in short, the cosmopolitan qualities—of their Western material cultural counterparts. Thus, as suggested above, during the socialist era, greyness became a shorthand for a 'life behind a dark Iron Curtain, of enforced poverty and the fatigue of daily provisioning, of unsmiling desks clerks, scarce goods, and the lack of colourful advertising and commerce' (Fehervary, 2013, p. 1). But any qualia, including those associated with grey, doesn't have to retain the same political and aesthetic connotations. Changes in aesthetic regimes stem from the fact that our attention shifts to 'different qualia and this forces a re-evaluation of the object' or, in this case, the colour grey (Fehervary, 2013, p. 9). This is especially true of cosmopolitan objects and their material qualities. As Michal Murawski (2012, p. 142) notes, the type of architecture that under Stalinism had been labelled 'cosmopolitan deviations'—that is, quirky modernist designs from the 1950s—were rehabilitated in the post-Soviet era, as Warsaw sought to reposition itself as a cosmopolitan European city. While there is no one-to-one causal connection, it is remarkable how the 'rise in the number of Vietnamese schoolchildren, Japanese chefs and Turkish shopkeepers', and people feeling that 'Warsaw [wa]s once again becoming a worldly, cosmopolitan city', coincided with that creative professionals and property developers seeking to cultivate a "cosmopolitan aesthetic" linked to specific notions of good taste and locality' (Murawski, 2012, pp. 141–142). In short, as cosmopolitanism was rehabilitated as an aesthetic and political value, it was the State Socialist approved 'chunks of Warsaw's post-war built environment' that were relegated 'to the status of historical aberrations' (Murawski, 2012, p. 142).

Needless to say, how things like the colour grey or Soviet architecture come to embody aesthetic and other value-criteria is a complex issue. Ferhervary (Fehervary, 2013, p. 8) suggests that the 'sensuous qualities of objects and substances' become linked to questions of value and meaning by virtue of a 'homologous alignment … [or] resemblance—iconicity—between the qualia and the meanings or sentiments it comes to evoke'. Surfaces and surface qualities might be seen as a central element in the making of iconic connections between things and their properties.

However, not all social scientists interested in surfaces focus on either 'meaning' or 'representation'. For example, Gregory Bateson (1973, p. 103), in *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, proposes the most important 'psychic information' we can derive from aesthetic patterns is not what they 'represent' but rather the 'rules of transformation' present in materials and styles. Bateson (1973, p. 103) contends that whether something is made of 'stone or wood' (his example is the lions at Trafalgar Square) is probably more important than the symbol chosen to communicate this or that message (i.e., a lion or an eagle designed to convey imperial glory).

To the extent that the debate about cosmopolitanism often gets trapped in binaries, the move away from representationalism could arguably be part of the solution. I would contend that, through material surfaces, we get insights into multiple aspects of cosmopolitanism, including the forces of 'homogeneity and heterogeneity' and 'inclusion and exclusion' (Molz, 2011, p. 34). We also gain an appreciation as to why aesthetic forms of cosmopolitanism might point us—despite the cynicism that exists about surfaces—towards 'a more ethical form of engagement between people' and between people and things (Molz, 2011, p. 34). The problem then lies not in being superficial (as is suggested by terms like 'banal cosmopolitanism'), but rather in how we conceptualize surface and the various roles it may perform.

A very interesting surface-oriented framework is provided by an essay entitled 'A Patois of Pattern: Pattern, Memory and the Cosmopolitan City', by the geographer and visual artist Helen Scalway (2006). She proposes to examine the question of 'heterogenous and hybrid space' by focusing on the 'melee of ornament' she found in a multicultural part of London close to her studio (Scalway, 2006, p. 451). Her interest is in the 'polyglot narratives arising from conjunctions of patterns in place in all their disruptive energy' and, as a visual artist, she combines historical, cultural, and theoretical reflection with drawings of the rich visual patterns encountered in an Indian textile shop (Scalway, 2006, p. 451).[2] Scalway (2006, p. 452) proposes that pattern is a 'bearer of meaning and memory' and that 'mapping/modelling … the diverse visual patterns' and 'investigating the discontinuities within and between patterns' promise to reveal new things about the cosmopolitan and what we mean by notion of the 'vibrant' city.

In one sense, surface patterns provide for a degree of continuity between different locations and could be taken to imply a degree of homogeneity, if not colonization of some 'exotic' other. As Ghassan Hage (1997, p. 100) has put it in relationship to what he terms *cosmomulticulturalism*, the appropriation of an ethnic other, by a dominant mainstream culture, can produce a type of 'multiculturalism without the migrants'. Hage's (1997, p. 100) critique is based on how migrant food often shifts from being about migrants actively engaging in 'home-building' (i.e., making themselves at home in a new place) to the 'availability of ethnic restaurants for cosmopolitan consumers'. Scalway's discussion of Indian textiles, and how the ornamentation they afford enriches—an essentially negative term in Hage's analysis—the host culture, appreciates that imbalances of power and the history of geopolitical regimes, such as imperialism, have heavily influenced the importation and sharing of cosmopolitan patterns and textures. Her own account touches upon the Great Exhibition in London of 1851, as well as the mania for pattern collecting by nineteenth century Westerners. She mentions architect Owen Jones's (1856) publication of *The Grammar of Ornament*, which was written 'at the height of the British Empire' and could be seen as being based on the logic that the world is 'collectable, knowable and controllable' (Scalway, 2006, p. 452; see also Bennett, 1995). But Scalway also recognizes that the patterns we encounter in cosmopolitan cities are not merely a colonialist appropriation of exotic ornamentation, patterns that the host culture may have denied themselves due to constructions of aesthetic and cultural value (even though pattern collecting can and does play such a role). The tension between proximity, variety, and sameness is quite complex in the case of surfaces and textures. Scalway (2006, p. 451) found herself questioning the 'loaded and limited notion of the "exotic"' that is often attached to aesthetic-cum-consumerist appropriation of other people's patterns. She also noted that patterns travel, change, and become the same everywhere and then not quite the same. Contextualizing the motifs that 'appear and reappear in the design of saris', and in the geometric patterns of contemporary Islamic architecture, she comments on the irony the South Asian textile shop she is writing about and producing sketches of 'might have been in any one of Britain's multicultural urban settings, Bradford, Manchester, Leicester, Wembley or Southall'.

But to complicate things further she adds that it 'is impossible in this shop to say precisely, this is Asian, this is Western' if for no other reason than, as India itself modernizes, we will find the same 'functional things' associated with retail environments in 'Mumbai or Chennai' that we would find in urban settings in Britain. There is a *bricolage* quality then to a multicultural textile shop in a cosmopolitan and global city like London. Scalway notes that the more she observed and photographed the shop, went back to her studio, and sketched what she had seen and remembered, the more her focus shifted to patterns and their spatio-temporal qualities:

> I drew for hours, rows of coathangers, gold fringes, the chip and pin machine, gas meters, trees of life, teardrop botehs (flower motifs), Mughal florals and geometrics. Something odd happened: I found myself caught between different kinds of space, and therefore coping with different orders of time… At one moment I would find my pen whisking sharply along a steel rule as I sought to re-enact the lines of a rack of metal shelves or lighting unit, the next, the pen went wisping and wandering at an entirely different speed and pressure among the tendrils of a flowery boteh. (Scalway, 2006, pp. 453–456)

Where do we find then the cosmopolitanism, and cosmopolitan-enabling aspects, of something like the textile shop located on Upper Tooting Road in London? Is there a textile, clothing, interior decorating, or even architectural equivalent to what authors on culinary cosmopolitanism have described as the power of food to allow us to 'regularly engage with difference, meet its challenges, and develop further as cosmopolitan subjects' (Jonas, 2013, p. 133)? If we take the above ethnography as our inspiration, we might suggest that surfaces contribute to an important dimension of cosmopolitanism: namely, the sensorial and perceptual generation of what is often described as 'vibrancy'. Scalway came to realize that what fascinated her about this Indian textile shop in a multicultural part of London was the way that different ways of seeing and feeling the world were juxtaposed in the one setting. The aesthetic and material 'conceptions varying from the rational modernism of the shop's functional systems, to the conception of the fertile universe, the gardens, paradises, references in textile ornament to divine perfection'

(Scalway, 2006, p. 456). And, within these forms were embedded different speeds and rhythms 'from Ethernet fast to the slowness of hand embroidery and the clack of industrial textile machinery' (Scalway, 2006, p. 456). Scalway (2006, p. 456) surmises '[p]attern is rhythm' and the '[p]rofound changes in street and shop visual rhythms [which] have occurred as a result of the widespread arrival of Asian and other immigrant communities in cities like London' have undoubtedly been 'conducive to an understanding of its vibrant complexity'.

Scalway's reference to the cosmopolitan city as one that generates sensory vibrancy is apt. However, as Jane Bennett (2010) highlights in *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, when it comes to matter and life, it is all too easy to see the former as passive, inert, and uninteresting and the latter as active, animated, and full of energy. But, as Bennett (2010, p. 6) suggests, even things like garbage, cells, and metal are capable of exercising life or a type of 'thing-power', which is located in 'the curious ability of inanimate things to animate, to act, to produce effects dramatic and subtle'. In keeping with philosophical and social science trends such as Actor-Network Theory and Object-Oriented Ontology, *Vibrant Matter* challenges the concepts of intentional and single-root agency, upon which many conceptualizations of morality and politics are assumed to rest. Bennett proposes that all material agency is *distributed* and describes the process as such: 'there [is] always a swarm of vitalities at play. The task becomes to identify the contours of the swarm, and the kind of relations that obtain between its bits'.

But what is missing when we fail to locate the vitalities 'swarming' within the material environments we participate in? Arguably, this is not just about denying things agency; it is also about capturing the multiple causalities present in the world. This is especially true of things like the built environment. As Victor Buchli (2006, p. 260) notes, the 'social terms and effects whereby the materiality of built architectural forms exist and are experienced in time and space are often overlooked … Social structure and architectural structure are presented as one-off givens'. Against this static and timeless, and superficial in the wrong sense of the word, conception of the built form, this author proposes that we need to focus on 'everything from the maintenance of surfaces through the quotidian chores of housework to building maintenance over time, to the

issues of maintenance of form and surface relevant to cultural heritage' (Buchli, 2006, p. 260). Indeed, whether something is considered to be of heritage or any other kind of aesthetic value ultimately depends on how we conceptualize time and process in relationship to the vibrancy (or lack thereof) that we attribute to matter proper.

The discussion of vibrant matter (and why matter is sometimes denied such attributes) speaks directly to that line of debate within the cosmopolitan literature regarding the so-called 'rooted cosmopolitanism', a term meant to underscore 'the enduring significance of connections to places and cultures' even (or is that especially?) in an age of mobilities (Molz, 2006, p. 3). An understanding of materiality that tends to ignore the significance of time and space, and the various social processes that go into making time and space significant, will suffer from the problem that Martin Heidegger (1993, p. 363) thought was at the heart of the modern sense of being homeless: 'The proper dwelling plight lies in this, that mortals ever search anew for the essence of dwelling, that they must ever learn to dwell.' It could be argued that some of the central *aporias* associated with cosmopolitan living stem precisely from an inability to recognize that dwelling is a process rather than an end state. We might well suggest that the cosmopolitan dilemma that the more we aim for mobility and openness to the other, the more we may end up caught up in material and psychic containers of our own making goes to the heart of why and how we frame the materialities of dwelling matters. I would suggest that the tensions associated with cosmopolitan dwelling are now quite commonplace, and that the discontents associated with cosmopolitanism reverberate in the discourses and practices of everyday citizens, as much as they do in the theoretical reflections of anthropologists, philosophers, and experts on consumer theory.

Let's make the *aporias* present within cosmopolitan materialities more explicit. In particular, I am interested in the following problem: What might dwelling-in-place, and its material expressions, mean given that cosmopolitanism is often connected with travel and mobility? And given that dwelling-in-place requires some degree of immersion—sensorial, cognitive, and, possibly, metaphysical—in place, how can we avoid cosmopolitan materialities succumbing to the fate of Marc Auge's (1995) 'non-places'? That is, becoming places where the functional purpose of

travel, leisure, commerce, accommodation, or consumption dominates, and where the individual passing through these spaces feels disconnected from environment and other people? These kinds of issues are addressed by Ola Södestrom's (2006) is an essay entitled 'Studying Cosmopolitan Landscapes'. The author comments on the oxymoronic quality of studying cosmopolitan material environments such as cities, infrastructures, and landscapes, given that '[c]osmopolitanism often relates … to the values and tastes of an economic and cultural elite', acquired through things like travel, connectivity, and exposure to 'elsewhere', whereas landscapes, as well as cities and the built environment, 'are not transportable' (Söderstrom, 2006, p. 557). However, Södestrom (2006, p. 557) proposes that what cosmopolitanism and the globalization of material and cultural forms rests upon are a 'dialectic of flows and forms, circulations and landscapes, mobility and fixity'. This has been happening for some time as 'renowned architects and designers have … been travelling around for centuries diffusing their aesthetics through the creation of buildings and objects (furniture, watches, kitchen utensils and so on' (Söderstrom, 2006, p. 555). This trend has now magnified tremendously with the emergence of so-called global *starchitects* like Richard Rogers, Norman Foster, and Frank Gehry, alongside designers such as Terence Conran and Philippe Starck, who provide both the 'aesthetic forms' and 'media symbols' of contemporary culture. As Donald McNeil notes, while the figure of the architect as a type of 'magician' is centuries old, what is new is that the imagery with which contemporary architects and architecture is imbued circulates through what Arjun Appudarai has termed the *mediascapes* of global modernity:

> The intensification of travelling images, where iconic landscapes and buildings provide the backdrop for satellite news broadcasts, or adorn magazine covers … mean that the Bilbao Guggenheim or Sydney Opera House are now instantly recognizable forms … the authors of these iconic buildings—Hadid, Piano, Koolhaas, Gehry, Foster, Calatrava, among others—are sought to rebrand, reposition, or otherwise publicize the cities of advanced capitalism. (McNeil, 2005, p. 501)

The global reach of this architectural iconography and branding are astounding. They also impact the central concern of this essay: namely,

how material surfaces and forms shape what we mean by cosmopolitanism and the types of promises global culture makes to cosmopolitan subjects. Södestrom's own analysis begins with a cycling trip through Beijing. He was struck how within a few kilometres he came across the word cosmopolitan emblazoned across three different types of urban material culture: a furniture store named Cosmopolite, which claims to provide Boutique Living in China; a complex of serviced apartments, Lido Courts, which claims to offer an 'oasis of Cosmopolitan Living'; and Phoenix City II, a construction site draped with photos of some of the international designers involved in its design, such as Bernard Tschumi and Marco Ferreri (Söderstrom, 2006, p. 553). Södestrom (2006, p. 555) argues that the type of cosmopolitan on offer here is one 'where investors and promoters cater for travellers [and expatriates] seeking to escape the continuous exposure to a "culture shock" rather than to engage in ordinary Beijing daily life'. 'Cosmopolitan' here is treated as a 'buzzword' and when deployed in the context of furniture stores, apartment towers, and billboards with the faces of internationally famous designers, what is being mobilized is the notion that internationalism can be attained via artefacts and by living in 'oases' or 'havens' where a cosmopolitan lifestyle can be enjoyed. In short, the kind of living environment cosmopolitanism is sometimes associated with is one that is not overly cosmopolitan, if the latter is defined as that orientation of 'openness' mentioned earlier. Lido Courts and Phoenix City II seem to exemplify Auge's (1995, p. 103) assessment that the 'space of the non-place creates neither singular identity nor relations; only solitude and similitude'. As the website for one of the so-called cosmopolitan enclaves Södestrom (2006, p. 553) stumbled across claims: 'Lido Courts give you a tranquil, safe, international oasis in Beijing'. In some respects, this tranquil, safe, international oasis could be anywhere in the world.

Despite confronting such cases of 'everywhere-and-nowhere' built cosmopolitanism, Södestrom (2006, p. 557) proposes that place and landscape are nonetheless important because even artefacts that seem the same everywhere will have some degree of local inflection. Indeed, what if we gain additional insights into cosmopolitanism from how 'China creolizes world culture'—a process the author describes as 'a distinct form of cosmopolitanism … in the making' (Söderstrom, 2006, p. 557). Ultimately, more important than whether a place like China is embracing

contemporary minimalism or contemporary Baroque, neo-modernism or post-modernism, is how the material and aesthetic 'signs' of cosmopolitanism become 'indexes of a process of urban transformation which stages discourses an objects, nomads and locals, to create … grounded forms of world culture' (Söderstrom, 2006, p. 558).

It is here that I would like to press the issue of surfaces further and suggest that it is through material interfaces that transculturalism and place-aesthetics meet. Allow me to describe two very different architectural cosmoscapes, ones which revolve around two contrasting understanding materials and their 'indexical' qualities. I think each model says something about how aesthetic and economic-cum-political value is mobilized in contemporary consumer culture and especially the consumption of place, space, and built environments (Sklair, 2010; Urry, 1995).

Cosmoscape 1: Dwell magazine and its online media offerings (www.dwell.com) offer an unabashed celebration of contemporary hypermodern housing, furniture, and other minimalist-cool consumer objects. *Dwell* is such an institution and recognized 'taste-maker' that it has generated dissenters who mock its rather 'too' fashionable stance towards the world: for example, the blog 'Unhappy Hipsters' and the accompanying book, *It's Lonely in the Modern World* (Quinn & Talbott, 2011). The 'Introduction' to the latter says (somewhat tongue-in-cheek): 'Modernists are a rare and superior breed of human, individuals who understand that high design gives life meaning and that the ordered luxury of minimalism is a salve that heals the weary soul' (Quinn & Talbott, 2011, p. 9). The creators of the 'Unhappy Hipsters' blog add that contemporary modernism is characterized by the rejection of unworldly design principles as much as by the love of clean lines and smooth surfaces: 'A modernist is eager to eschew the meretricious accessories … [of] enormous televisions, hand-cut crystal champagne flutes, plush carpeting and comfortable furniture' (Quinn & Talbott, 2011, p. 9). The general flavour of the *Dwell* aesthetic regime is captured by a coffee table book by one of its New York editors. In *Immaterial World: Transparency in Architecture*, Marc Kristal (2011, p. 7) suggests that one of the key ways in which to think about contemporary 'architecture is by examining the ways in which a structure is or is not transparent'. Transparency in design, the

author suggests, isn't just linked to processes in government, business, and institutions that are 'open, honest, legible, and participatory' (Kristal, 2011, p. 7). It also shapes a building's 'performance' with respect to 'use of non-renewable resources' (apparently, transparent buildings tend to be like 'race cars whose sleek profiles enhance their aerodynamic efficiency'); and, interestingly for a discussion of cosmopolitanism and its cultural outlook, transparency also determines the 'extent to which the built environment invites the world in or, alternatively, projects its programs out' (Kristal, 2011, p. 9). As much of the aesthetic in question revolves around things such as airports, weekenders, small urban apartments, restaurants and bars, and hotels, it might be possible to deduce that the Dwell aesthetic is also about not dwelling in the one place for very long. Clutter and ornamentation are assumed to be things that slow you down and distract you unnecessarily. As such, I would refer to this mixture of global, cosmopolitan modernity as the *sleekness-and-mobility* cosmoscape.

Cosmoscape 2: Despite the varied claims that our world is becoming increasingly immaterial, light, and—as Bauman (2000) famously put it—seemingly 'liquid', the most unlikely thing has happened: heavy, even monolithic, concrete architecture is also making a comeback (Beanland, 2016; Chadwick, 2016). Apartment-dwellers, museum-goers, heritage-nuts, hipster creatives, activists, organizations proud of their origins in the post-war 'social contract', and even former Soviet countries vying for the tourist dollar have started finding new aesthetic merit in concrete. Interestingly, this version of cosmopolitan materialities originally came from a source similar to that of *cosmoscape 1:* namely, the glossy lifestyle magazines of contemporary modernity. *Wallpaper** is at one level closely aligned with the *Dwell* sensibility. However, its founding editor suggested in the first edition of *Wallpaper** that, in addition to their love of good contemporary design, 'true moderns' should trek 'round the globe to document forgotten pockets of modernism that we fear are likely to be demolished by disinterested governments or be renovated beyond recognition by greedy developers' (Bruhle, 1999, p. 17). *Cosmoscape 2* is therefore predicated on an internal critique of *cosmoscape 1* and worries that the latter is not sufficiently concerned with issues of heritage and diversity. The type of aesthetic politics present in *cosmoscape 2* has now shifted from the pages of lifestyle magazines to the world of urban activism.

There has recently been a campaign to save a concrete public housing tower, on the Sydney harbour foreshores, named Sirius. The save the Sirius campaign, which has included a Green Ban from the militant union the CFMEU, challenges the tastes of the global mobile elite; indeed, it consciously dissents from the mode of valuing our built environment represented by globalism. Yet, it could be said to have a cosmopolitan outlook all the same. The save the Sirius campaign sees a need to steer a balance between the city as a site of inclusion and social justice as well as one to do with lifestyle and consumption.[3] The 'ruinous' condition of such buildings is less important than what they have come to represent—although architectural merit and nostalgia for the welfare state often accompany each other when it comes to saving Brutalist buildings (Clandfield, 2015). The latter involves locating meanings that may have been repressed or forgotten within material environments. I would refer to this narrative about the material surfaces of the contemporary city as the *patina-and-memory* cosmoscape.

Let us suggest that *cosmoscape 1* assumes the world is a better place if surfaces are sleek and objects, buildings, and people display a stance of 'openness'; while *cosmoscape 2* points to a certain uneasiness regarding a world where life-forms become uniformly *glossy* and where ugly, dated, or unfashionable things are discarded without due concern being given to their value. One narrative defines cosmopolitanism as appearance; the other (so it would appear) wants a more substantial attitude towards it. I say 'so it would appear', however, because even the latter involves an attitude to style and to surface. In the first case, cosmopolitanism is sleek, linked to international trends, and is encased in the aura of glamour; in the second case, cosmopolitanism distances itself from rampant consumerism and tolerance is equated with the rediscovery of things forgotten or unloved because they aren't shiny or new.

Over time, I have come to appreciate the sensibility and ethics involved in *cosmoscape 2,* not just because it has generated campaigns to save ugly buildings with a social conscience, but rather because I think it points to a more mature attitude to dwelling and to the 'ethics of care' that vibrant matter requires of us. As Buchli (2006, p. 262) puts it: 'The physical qualities of buildings and their surfaces and materials and the social relations that the maintenance and presentation of these forms require and

forge are often not glimpsed until critical moments'. Conflicts over whether to place a building on the Heritage register, whether it ought to be maintained or demolished, in short, whether we see something as valuable or able to be discarded, remind us that 'surface and form are part of an integrative process that involves a constellation of actors, human and nonhuman, agents and time-frames' (Buchli, 2006, p. 262). As such, what Hungarians negotiating the materialities of the Soviet era and residents of Sydney facing the displacement of concrete public housing by the gleaming towers of contemporary *starchitects* (e.g., the Richard Rogers designed Barangaroo complex) face is an ethical choice about how to embrace the apparent 'worldliness' of built culture. Do we need something new and shiny to feel cosmopolitan? Or can we embrace the other via the patinated surfaces of aging concrete and the other 'ruins' of industrial and technological modernity (Edensor, 2005)? Thinking about cosmopolitan cities and places needs to embrace such topics. As Lisa Law (2011, p. 669) notes in an essay on the active 'forgetting' of an older Chinatown in the Northern Australian tropical city of Cairns, the contemporary experience of things like 'cosmopolitan shopping/eating is always and already layered over faded cosmopolitan pasts'. I would conjecture that cosmopolitanism also needs to embrace the faded pasts and place memories of buildings, places, and landscapes not (immediately) linked to such overtly cosmopolitan activities as consumption, travel, and eating. Even parking lots, freeways, ports, and airports tell us something about connection and belonging/exclusion; the material surfaces of such places also contain traces of activities and the memories/associations such past activities are able to mobilize (Jackson, 1997).

But is there such a thing, for example, as a patina theory or view of cosmopolitanism? In some respects, the discourses of cosmopolitanism have already encountered what I would call the 'patinated' or non-glossy version of cosmopolitanism through the discussion of cosmopolitan bodies. In her study of global travellers, Molz (2006, p. 13) refers to surface qualities that allow travellers 'to be like chameleons, adapting and blending as best they can into the various environments they pass through'. She describes a female traveller who with 'her bare feet and sarong … could be from anywhere, or on her way to anywhere' (Molz, 2006, p. 13). Note that here cosmopolitan surfaces are not about 'passing as a local, but

rather it is about allowing the local place(s) to inscribe themselves temporarily on the surface of her body, marking [the traveller] as something of a global nomad' (Molz, 2006, p. 13). Molz concludes that there is a cosmopolitanism of extensively tanned skin and worn-out clothing/backpacks that directly contrasts with the global elite image of cosmopolitanism as urbanity, sophistication, and expensive brands:

> The world-worn look of the traveller may not conjure up the glamour commonly associated with cosmopolitanism, but it does indicate the way in which travellers are marked by and embody global mobility. Their tired world-weary appearance signifies their movement through the world and their ability to be ready for anything or to go anywhere at a moment's notice … [such a traveller] manages to achieve a transportable look, one that is equally non-descript in Ulaan Bataar, Hong Kong or Hanoi. Fitting in requires downplaying striking features and emphasizing a new physical identity as someone who might go fit in almost anywhere. (Molz, 2006, p. 14)

This discussion of competing versions of the travellers body allows us to reconceptualize the differences between built *cosmoscape 1* and built *cosmoscape 2* as precisely one revolving around whether the skins of our material environments are an 'expression of privileged mobility' or embody the 'ability to fit in across a variety of cultures'. Indeed, if *cosmoscape 1* entails a celebration of glass, transparency, and is evident in the monuments of contemporary global finance of corporate skyscrapers and gleaming hotel towers, then *cosmoscape 2* embodies the well-worn look of parking lots and social housing, bridges, and ageing post-war university buildings (de la Fuente, 2017a, 2017b). Skins, and their symbolic meanings, are central to the socio-architectural distinction I am making. In *cosmoscape 1,* we encounter the airy, glass buildings associated with 'starchitects', 'spectacle', and the various 'temples' of contemporary consumption (Ponzini & Nastasi, 2016); in *cosmoscape 2,* we encounter a built environment which urbanist Charles Landry (2006, p. 28) tells us 'ages disgracefully … [Concrete] leaches, stains, and cracks'. He adds that 'reinforced concrete is the material of the industrial age' and it is also the quintessential marker of that which is cheap or hastily assembled: 'Endless

concrete walls, rashly constructed. Cheap housing estates. Cheaper breeze-block accommodation for the even poorer. A grey concrete car park … greets you with a garish red sign: "All Day Parking—Only $5"' (Landry, 2006, p. 28). There is no place for concrete in the city idealized by one of the leading proponents of the 'creative cities' discourse (Landry, 2004, 2006).

Yet what kind of image of life, urbanity, or tolerance for difference (which Landry rates highly) do we have if we can't see any aesthetic or other merit in the primary building material of the modern world? I also suspect that the attitudes to materials like concrete stems from a set of unreflexive assumptions regarding what is aesthetically valuable and what is not. As Adrian Forty (2012, pp. 10–11) proposes in his *Concrete and Culture: A Material History*, the 'refusal of concrete to stay securely within any one class … liquid/solid, smooth/rough, natural/artificial, ancient/modern, base/spirit … [is a major] part of the repellence people feel for concrete'. In short, the concrete built environment is the kind of 'boundary-object' or 'matter out of place' that anthropologists of the symbolic classification, like Mary Douglas (1966), have identified and sought to explain in cultural-cum-cognitive terms. This liminal rather than unworldly status is what makes it seem so unsuitable as the material basis for cosmopolitan living. However, despite its stigma and lack of glamour, it is obvious from its ubiquity in modern life that—as the title of an article puts it—'The Complex Life of Cosmopolitan Bodies' requires us to go 'Botanizing on the Asphalt' (Clark, 2000). This humble material called concrete is much more worldly than we realize. Like Molz's global nomads, it evinces a willingness to travel and to act in chameleon like-ways. We need to acknowledge that 'Concrete is everywhere … [and] while cement is a standard, concrete's other ingredients—labour, steel and aggregates—vary from place to place' (Forty, 2012, p. 101). Forty (2012, p. 105) suggests that this material actually embodies all the contradictions and paradoxes of globality writ large: 'As with the argument that says a place is a place in so far as it is both global *and local*, maybe what makes a piece of concrete *concrete* is its connection to both'. We might also suggest that, as with Molz's sun-worn nomads, concrete's surface betrays the patina, climate, and context, more than most materials.

My point in highlighting the different imaginaries of the cosmopolitan built environment accords with the recent emphasis in the cosmopolitan literature on 'actually existing cosmopolitanisms' (Cheah and Robbins, 1998). I have also sought to emphasize that the symbolic and aesthetic connotations of materials can vary over time; much as Fehervary emphasizes with respect to the colour grey in socialist and post-socialist societies. However, I would like to emphasize that turning our attention to surfaces also has, paradoxically, a degree of profundity to it. In wanting to add surface qualities, and their perceptions, to social science reflection upon things like cosmopolitanism, I want to highlight that surfaces are where we encounter life, growth, and decay, what is nurturing, and what is unhealthy.

The notion that surfaces tell us a great deal about life and power, culture, and process has a long history. I would contend that the connections are not entirely random. Underpinning material thinking, and most life philosophies, is some image or other of the human body. Misapprehending the body and its surfaces also has consequences. As Friedrich Nietzsche (1974, p. 35) writes, in *The Gay* Science, 'behind the highest value judgments that have hitherto guided the history of thought, there are concealed misunderstandings of physical constitution'. He asks us to imagine if rather than ethical conduct being about 'truth' or 'authenticity', it is about 'health, future, growth, power, life' (Nietzsche, 1974, p. 35). It is in this context that the author of *The Gay Science* tells us why surfaces matter: 'Oh, those Greeks! They knew how to live. What is required is to stop courageously at the surface, the fold, the skin … Those Greeks were superficial—*out of profundity*' (Nietzsche, 1974, p. 35).

Like Nietzsche's Greeks, we need to be superficial out of profundity. Surfaces matter because aesthetics is an inquiry into how to live, how to grow old, and how to cope with the various possibilities and limitations that the world imposes on us. From the perspective of surfaces, we can ask new questions of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitans. Questions such as: What if the real cosmopolite is the one that accepts the world with all its apparent material and aesthetic shortcomings? What if real worldliness is about seeing the possibilities present in what seems dated as well as what seems new, in what we perceive as dowdy as well as what we perceive as glamorous? What if real cosmopolitanism doesn't need to

seek out and consume the 'exotic' because it realizes that the exotic is already close to hand? The constant state of readiness demanded by cosmopolitan philosophy and culture should and can also embrace the apparently banal. In this and other respects, cosmopolitan surfaces are as much about morality and politics as they are about aesthetics and style.

Notes

1. Despite the recentness of surface studies, a plethora of historical thinkers—what in the social sciences are often termed the 'classics'—have also highlighted the importance of surfaces to social, cultural, and political life. Georg Simmel, who wrote essays about fashion, adornment, handles and picture frames, bridges and doors, the Alps and ruins might be considered the 'granddaddy' of surface studies and the progenitor of what I have elsewhere termed a 'textural sociology' (de la Fuente, 2016).
2. Drawing as methodology is a much under-exploited technique in sociology, cultural studies, and allied disciplines such as marketing and consumption studies, where 'decoding' texts and artifacts and/or locating causal factors (income, education, gender, etc.) are often seen as the primary tools of analysis. Scalway (2006, p. 456) suggests the following reasons for drawing: 'In drawing, I unpicked a mass of visual and physical intricacy and intimacy with its own textures and its own smell, in order to make it lie flat on the paper. Drawing, like other embodied practices, is a form of corporeal knowing'. An implication here seems to be that rather than merely copying reality, drawing is an act of translation that nonetheless captures the patterns, rhythms, and spatio-temporal experiences embedded within material forms. This is also the argument of art critic John Berger (2007, p. 112), who suggests that via drawing we encounter a dialectic of external and internal reality: 'Every line I draw reforms the figure on the paper, and at the same time it redraws the image in my mind'.
3. During the writing of this essay, I met a friend and his 'love interest' for a post-work drink. When my companions asked me what I was working on, I mentioned changing attitudes towards concrete and concrete architecture. They wanted to know more, so I cited the example of the 'Save the Sirius' campaign. As quick as a flash, my friend's 'friend' retorted: 'Does that mean that poor people are meant to live in ugly buildings?'

This comment has given me much food for thought. It has made me wonder, whether despite its espoused politics, the Brutalism revival is a only a partial rebuff to the professional classes that seem to be doing well from globalism. I don't have the space here to pursue these issues. But my companion's comment does emphasize that the politics of architecture are complex and that 'mapping controversies' is a good way into the socialities of the built environment (Yaneva, 2012).

References

Amato, J. A. (2013). *Surfaces: A History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Auge, M. (1995). *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. London: Verso.
Bateson, G. (1973). *Steps to an Ecology of Mind: Collected Essays in Anthropology, Psychiatry, Evolution, and Epistemology*. London: Paladin.
Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Beanland, C. (2016). *Concrete Concept: Brutalist Buildings Around the World*. London: Francis Lincoln.
Bennett, J. (2010). *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Bennett, A., & Woodward, I. (2014). Festival Spaces, Identity, Experience, and Belonging. In A. Bennett, J. Taylor, & I. Woodward (Eds.), *The Festivalization of Culture* (pp. 11–25). Farnham: Ashgate.
Berger, J. (2007). *Berger on Drawing*. Aghabullogue: Occasional Press.
Bowlby, R. (1985). *Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreisser, Gissing and Zola*. London: Methuen.
Bruhle, T. (1999). Creating a Magazine for Urban Modernists. In H. Castle (Ed.), *Modernism and Modernization in Architecture* (p. 17). London: Academy Editions.
Buchli, V. (2006). Architecture and Modernism. In C. Tilley et al. (Eds.), *Handbook of Material Culture* (pp. 254–266). London and New York: Sage.
Chadwick, P. (2016). *This Brutal World*. London: Phaidon.
Cheah, P., & Robbins, B. (Eds.). (1998). *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Clandfield, P. (2015). Red Road Re-Visions. *Writing Visual Culture, 6*, 91–120.
Clark, N. (2000). Botanizing on the Asphalt? The Complex Life of Cosmopolitan Bodies. *Body and Society, 6*(3-4), 12–33.

Clark, T. J. (1999). *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*. London: Thames and Hudson.

de la Fuente, E. (2016). A Qualitative Theory of Culture: Georg Simmel and Cultural Sociology. In D. Inglis & A.-M. Amila (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Sociology* (pp. 78–90). London: Sage.

de la Fuente, E. (2017a). Aprender a Amar el Hormigón: El Campus Brutalista como Problema Organizativo, Material y Estético. In A. Rodriguez-Morato & A. Santana-Acuna (Eds.), *La Nueva Sociologia de las Artes: Una Perspectiva Hispanohablante y Global* (pp. 309–336). Editorial Gedisa: Barcelona.

de la Fuente, E. (2017b). Brutalism, a Campus Love Story—Or How I Learnt to Love Concrete. *The Conversation*, March 15. Retrieved from https://theconversation.com/brutalism-a-campus-love-story-or-how-i-learned-to-love-concrete-72081

Douglas, M. (1966). *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concept of Pollution*. New York: Praeger.

Edensor, T. (2005). *Industrial Ruins: Space, Aesthetics, and Materiality*. New York: Berg.

Fehervary, K. (2013). *Politics of Colour and Concrete: Socialist Materialities and the Middle Class in Hungary*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Forty, A. (2012). *Concrete and Culture: A Material History*. London: Reaktion Books.

Gibson, J. J. (1979). *Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Hage, G. (1997). At Home in the Entrails of the West. In H. Grace, L. Johnson, J. Langsworth, & M. Symonds (Eds.), *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West* (pp. 99–153). Sydney: Pluto Press.

Hannerz, U. (1990). Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture. *Theory, Culture and Society, 7*(2–3), 237–251.

Heidegger, M. (1993). Building, Dwelling, Thinking. *Basic Writings*. London: Routledge.

Jackson, J. B. (1997). *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Jervis, J. (1999). *Transgressing the Modern*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Jonas, T. (2013). Eating the Vernacular, Being Cosmopolitan. *Cultural Studies Review, 19*(1), 117–137.

Kendall, G., Woodward, I., & Skrbis, Z. (2009). *The Sociology of Cosmopolitanism: Globalization, Identity, Culture and Government*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kristal, M. (2011). *The Immaterial World: Transparency in Architecture*. New York: Monacelli Press.
Landry, C. (2004). *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*. London: Commedia.
Landry, C. (2006). *The Art of City-Making*. London: Earthscan.
Law, L. (2011). The Ghosts of White Australia: Excavating the Past(s) of Rusty's Market in Tropical Cairns. *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies, 25*(5), 669–681.
McNeil, D. (2005). In Search of the Global Architect. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 29*(3), 501–515.
Molz, J. G. (2006). Cosmopolitan Bodies: Fit to Travel and Travelling to Fit. *Body and Society, 12*(3), 1–21.
Molz, J. G. (2011). Cosmopolitanism and Consumption. In M. Rovisco & M. Nowicka (Eds.), *Ashgate Research Companion to Cosmopolitanism* (pp. 33–52). Farnham: Ashgate.
Murawski, M. (2012). Cosmopolitan Architecture: Deviations from Stalinist Aesthetics and the Making of Twenty-First-Century Warsaw. In C. Humphrey & V. Skvirskaja (Eds.), *Post-Cosmopolitan Cities: Explorations of Urban Existence* (pp. 141–169). New York: Berghan Books.
Nava, M. (2002). Cosmopolitan Modernity: Everyday Imaginaries and the Register of Difference. *Theory, Culture and Society, 19*(1–2), 81–99.
Nietzsche, F. (1974). *The Gay Science*. New York: Basic Books.
Ponzini, D., & Nastasi, M. (2016). *Starchitecture: Scenes, Actors, and Spectacles in Contemporary Cities*. New York: Monacelli Press.
Quinn, M. J., & Talbott, J. (2011). *It's Lonely in the Modern World: The Essential Guide to Form, Function, and Ennui from the Creators of Unhappy Hipsters*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books.
Scalway, H. (2006). A Patois of Pattern: Pattern, Memory and the Cosmopolitan City. *Cultural Geographies, 13*, 451–457.
Sklair, L. (2010). Iconic Architecture and the Culture-Ideology of Consumerism. *Theory, Culture and Society, 27*(5), 135–159.
Söderstrom, O. (2006). Studying Cosmopolitan Landscapes. *Progress in Human Geography, 30*(5), 553–538.
Urry, J. (1995). *Consuming Places*. London: Routledge.
Yaneva, A. (2012). *Mapping Controversies in Architecture*. London: Routledge.

Eduardo de la Fuente is Faculty Fellow at the Yale Center for Cultural Sociology and The Cairns Institute. He has previously held positions at the University of Tasmania, Macquarie, Monash, Flinders and James Cook Universities. The motif that links his various research projects is that markets, organizations, and cities and regions are driven as much by the 'soft' factors of place-qualities, narrative, and other 'intangibles' as they are by the so-called hard factors of economics, technology, and politics. He is currently co-editing with Ariella Van Luyn a volume titled *Innovating through Place: Regional Cultures, Economies and Knowledge Ecologies*.

Part III

Ethics for a Global Humanity

8

Becoming Morally Cosmopolitan: The Interplay of Inner–Outer Moral Commitments in the Marketplace

Pilar Rojas Gaviria

The Brazilian modernist poet Mário de Andrade (1969), in his poem *Descobrimento,* advances an understanding of the national that exalts the connecting power of our moral imagination. The poet's interest in Brazilian nationalism takes part in a larger and collective quest for the Brazilian uniqueness, in the cultural setting of his time, where European cultural ideas dominate in Latin America (Melo, 2013; Pérez Villalón, 2015). In his poem, de Andrade shows how familiar and intimate places and routines can connect us, meaningfully and emotionally, with distant strangers. This emotional connection legitimizes imagined communities like the national community. These imagined communities, as Anderson (2006) defines them, evoke a situation in which a group of strangers feels a common, shared resonance that knits them together in a national community. In Anderson's words, this imaginary connection magically "turns chance into destiny" (2006, p. 12) for those strangers who *a priori* are to

P.R. Gaviria (✉)
School of Management, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago, Chile

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_8

be distant and unrelated. Discovering a commonly imagined world blurs, in the span of a brief second, the material differences that separate the protagonist of the poem from other conationals. In the universe of de Andrade's poem, one can not only perceive the emotional resonance the protagonist feels in regards to his fellow human being in the North but also feel the urge for caring and solidarity that is embedded within this emotional discovery. This chapter elaborates on this moral–emotional resonance, arguing that our moral worlds and imagination grow organically from our intimate worlds, and from the concrete references to our ordinary everyday lives.

Drawing on the testimonies of a group of ten philanthropic lenders, this chapter shows how personal moral commitment is a dynamic process in which inner (concrete references of our intimate and daily lives) and outer (unknown, strange or distant) dimensions of the self interact so as to challenge and enlarge our moral commitments. The chapter further illustrates how, by participating in philanthropic peer-to-peer lending platforms, the participants not only express their preconceived moral preferences but also shape and challenge them, incorporate new ideas, undertake training, collaborate with other lenders, and exchange and discover new moral possibilities. Thus, they constantly redefine new provisional rules by which to orchestrate their investment decisions. This view contrasts with a more familiar view of consumer behavior wherein marketplaces are seen as static repositories of predefined segments of consumers' moral identities and profiles. In this sense, this chapter advances a more active moral view of the marketplace, where the market acts as a mediator and supporter, enabling consumers to engage in learning and experimenting routines, resulting in an expansion of their moral imaginations and commitments. Overall, the chapter describes how by practicing a consumption routine such as peer-to-peer lending, consumers engage more and more in the process of becoming moral cosmopolitan. In a nutshell, the chapter deals with day-to-day banal cosmopolitanism, when going global is an ordinary, day-to-day discovery, a fragile, fictional and imperfect path, more than a spectacular and purified transformation.

The Inner and Outer Dimensions of Being Moral Cosmopolitan

Banal Cosmopolitanism

One of the seminal contributions of the social psychologist Michael Billig is his conceptualization of "banal nationalism" (1995). Billig shows how nationalistic accounts usually focus on the most visible and extraordinary manifestations of the phenomenon. He claims how, in contrast, everyday-life manifestations of nationalism pass unnoticed. Accordingly, he defines national identity as a form of life: "… national identity is more than an inner psychological state or an individual self-definition: it is a form of life, which is daily lived in the world of nation-states" (Billig, 1995, p. 69). In this sense, banal nationalism represents the power embedded in ordinary, day-to-day exchanges and routines done to perpetuate and naturalize a shared feeling of national belongingness. Billig demonstrates how, almost unconsciously, individuals express and renew their national identity through day-to-day gestures. Further, they can then demarcate their identity from others through a host of everyday routines. Replication is a key process within the banalization of life. Through repetitive behaviors, one starts discovering and experimenting with new identitarian connections, multiplying the links that can theoretically unite us, and we then feel unexpected, but now obvious, commonalities.

In contemporary societies, cosmopolitan and nationalistic views coexist. For instance, in making a case for the cosmopolitan society, Beck declares that there is, independent of explicit individual cosmopolitan affiliations or disaffiliations, an expanding feeling of "global awareness" (Beck & Sznaider, 2006). Day-to-day routines are inevitably colored by events at a planetary scale. Ecological, economic, or terrorist forces, Beck argues, connect "the separate worlds of developed and underdeveloped countries … a new historical reality arises, a 'cosmopolitan outlook' in which people view themselves simultaneously as part of a threatened world and as part of their local situations and histories" (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 11). This double condition is referred to as "cosmopolitanization."

At this historical moment, globalization becomes internalized (Beck & Willms, 2004) in the concreteness of individual lives. Because the universal is anchored in the particular, life narratives are shaped within a global horizon of experience. Thus, our contemporary world offers us an increased opportunity to learn more about previously unknown human fellows and also to feel a more profound interrelation, making us more capable of being affected and in turn, affect others' destinies. In this view, "the national has to be rediscovered as the internalized global" (Beck, 2002, p. 23). Beck declares that this internalization of the global can be studied through the lenses of the banal. He shows how, in everyday life, cosmopolitan and nationalistic logics coexist in a transformative way: "everyday nationalism is circumvented and undermined and we experience ourselves integrated into global processes and phenomena" (Beck, 2002, p. 23). The permeability of the global and the mediations of the market and the media mean that there are more and more opportunities to invest in relationships, projects, and causes associating local realities with global ideals. This "glocal" context inevitably exposes consumers' daily experiences with the global challenges and responsibilities of our time. The "glocalization" of the world, typical of banal cosmopolitanism, makes it that now, more than ever, one can know more about distant others' lives and feel both affected by them and capable of affecting them. In Appiah's (2007, p. xi) words:

> Only in the past couple of centuries, as every human community has gradually been drawn into a single web of trade and a global network of information, have we come to a point where each of us can realistically imagine contacting any other of our six billion conspecifics and sending that person something worth having: a radio, an antibiotic, a good idea… And of course, the worldwide web of information—radio, television, telephone, the Internet—means not only that we can affect lives everywhere but that we can learn about life everywhere, too. Each person you know about and can affect is someone to whom you have responsibilities: to say this is to affirm the very idea of morality.

This cosmopolitanization view goes beyond the classic cosmopolitan perspective, which proclaims the "primacy of world citizenship over all

national, religious, cultural, ethnic and other parochial affiliations" (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 6), demonstrating how cosmopolitan sentiment is enrooted within the concreteness of a situated life. There is, then, a "cosmopolitan attitude" or "biographical situation" "in which the cultural contradictions of the world are unequally distributed, not just out there but also at the center of one's own life." (Beck & Sznaider, 2006, p. 6). As the global world and its multiple contradictions enter the sphere of our individual ordinary and concrete life realities, becoming moral cosmopolitan, more than a predefined personal and rational choice, becomes an existential challenge combining inner and outer dimensions of the self. In this process of becoming moral cosmopolitan, our social imaginary repertoires and our capacity to feel emotionally involved play a fundamental role.

The Affective Dimension of Becoming Moral Cosmopolitan

Those trying to be cosmopolitans position themselves as living in a continuous tension between their ambition to discover new and different cultural manifestations and multiple local anchorages (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). Similar tensions between the global and the local prevail in the moral plan. It is, therefore, more meaningful to talk about becoming morally cosmopolitan than to talk about being once and for all, a moral cosmopolitan. Martha Nussbaum (2002, p. xii) instigated, in this particular sense, a philosophical debate by discussing educational challenges in the global world. In this debate, she supports the notion that it is necessary to invest in increasing the moral commitment of future generations from a more inward perspective to humanity as a whole, so as to enable each child to become a committed global citizen. She argues, however, that it is natural to feel emotionally inclined toward certain causes over others, and that the causes we favor are those we regard as requiring particularly urgent action:

> Most of us are brought up to believe that all human beings have equal worth. At least the world's major religious and most secular philosophies

> tell us so. But our emotions don't believe it. We mourn for those we know, not for those we don't know. And most of us feel deep emotions about America, emotions we don't feel about India, or Russia, or Rwanda. In and of itself, this narrowness of our emotional lives is probably acceptable and maybe even good. We need to build outward from meanings we understand, or else our moral life would be empty of urgency.

By following the ideas of the Dutch Psychologist Nico Frijda (1996), one can understand how being ready to take action on these perceived "urgent" matters requires a personal commitment that is intimately connected to one's most intimate convictions and familiar realities. Frijda (1996, p. 2) indeed, develops the argument that, while one is often aware of and expresses deep concern for the suffering of others, this awareness and concern is insufficiently reflected in concrete actions and tangible personal commitment.

In this ranking of ideas, the cosmopolitan moral challenge consists of being able to take caring action within a global internalized context, where both universal and specific logics coexist and interact. An important part of this required action is connected to the multiple inequalities that characterize the global world and to our social interpretations on how to best deal with these inequalities. One of the most powerful proposed solutions of our time is to fight back by granting access to market resources to those who have been traditionally excluded from the market. One of those empowering resources is the access to credit. Fighting back poverty through the means of small loans is an innovative economic experiment pioneered by the 2006 Nobel Prize Laureate M. Yunus and the Grameen Bank. Yunnus and the Grameen Bank proved that those traditionally excluded from the ordinary financial system could be entitled to credit and be responsible for small-scale loans. The financialization of poverty via microfinance (Mader, 2015) leverage on the "ideology of entrepreneurial philanthropy (IEP)" (Bajde, 2013). Within this ideology, access to fundamental economic resources is the basis for empowering individuals who are considered as having talent, hard work capacity, and business creativity, but suffer from lack of access to the necessary financial capital to put those ideas into practice. Within this ideology, the working poor are then perceived as only needing a small push for showing

their capacity for lifting themselves out of poverty (Bajde, 2012, 2013), at the same time they are also considered to be solely responsible for their destinies (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014). The ideals conveyed in the project of financializing the poor are compatible with the cosmopolitan ideal that all human beings should benefit from access to important and empowering resources, regardless of their geographical location or individual particularities. In contemporary societies, access to credit is considered an essential part of capitalistic endeavors. Yunus, for instance, supports the idea that access to credit should be considered a human right. This is a contentious position in the academic community, where some intellectuals' works alert us to the unsustainability of a never-resting and blind "giant debt machine" (Graeber, 2014, p. 8020; Hudon, 2008). Due to the predominant symbolic and economic meaning that access to credit has, philanthropic peer-to-peer lending platforms are an interesting case in the context of moral cosmopolitanism. Through virtual routines, peer-to-peer platforms allow ordinary consumers to participate in the process of granting credit access to excluded populations in need.

Philanthropic peer-to-peer lending platforms are virtual spaces where consumers can invest small amounts of money in loans intended to support micro-entrepreneurs struggling to gain access to capital. Each loan in the platform is presented individually, including a photograph and a narrative, representing a specific biographical tale of the micro-entrepreneur(s), and additional information about the loan's objective and other financial arrangements (repayment time frame, for instance). Lenders can then navigate the platform and select the loans in which they wish to invest. A crowd of lenders then sponsors a loan. Once the crowdfunding process for a specific loan has been completed, the loan reaches the status of "funded" in the platform, and lenders are reimbursed according to a predefined calendar. When a particular loan is reported as being in default of payment, the lenders involved may lose part or all of the invested capital. When the reimbursement occurs, the lenders can withdraw their money or reinvest it in another loan.

Today, there are different options in the market for putting into practice the idea of philanthropic peer-to-peer lending. One of the pioneer actors in the global market, and the most commonly cited by various research studies, is Kiva.org, which was founded in San Francisco in 2005.

Kiva proudly boasts a 97.2% repayment rate and operates in 82 countries, attracting 1.5 million lenders throughout the world for a total of $890.4 million dollars lent so far. Kiva does not provide any interest to its contributing lenders.

For Kiva.org to work (find the loans, create and distribute narratives and visuals about the entrepreneurs, circulate financial information regarding loans, supervise the financial transactions, generate enthusiasm about the system, innovate within the system, educate future lenders, and so on), an extensive network of actors is required. This network includes NGOs, microfinance intermediaries, volunteers, sympathizers from various intellectual milieus, and official employees. Inspired by the Kiva experience, in 2008, Babyloan.org started the French experience of developing a peer-to-peer lending platform. It now operates in 17 different countries, exhibits a 99.93% repayment rate and has more than 41,000 members collectively lending more than $45 million dollars.

Peer-to-peer platforms, such as Kiva or Babyloan, are powerful market intermediaries allowing ordinary lenders to support meritorious and hardworking poor to fight back against their circumstances and that of their families. In a nutshell, peer-to-peer platforms constitute a marketplace where lenders of the world, who see themselves as enjoying a more privileged life, can support poor entrepreneurs around the world. Although the effectiveness of microfinance and peer-to-peer lending to alleviate poverty is a matter of debate (Bateman, 2010; Roodman, 2012), platforms such as Kiva are great market successes, and further, recognized as being capable of creating inspiring narratives and connections "to make cosmopolitan responsibility feel much more like domestic forms of charity giving: immediate, visible, and relevant to the world of the giver as well as the receiver" (Black, 2013, p. 108). According to Black's inquiry on lenders' motivations for participating in Kiva, peer-to-peer platforms have interesting academic value and represent a fertile terrain for better understanding the role that fiction and imagination are to play in the formation of everyday cosmopolitan responsibilities. Platforms' daily successes highlight the importance of the affective dimension of international development (Schwittay, 2015). The affective dimension of international philanthropy reifies the idea that actions in solidarity with strangers are the result of an imaginary affiliation to an abstract community

of human beings (Bajde, 2006). In the case of peer-to-peer platforms, this imaginary affiliation is enhanced through the quotidian experience of lenders.

The Inner and Outer Dimensions of Philanthropic Peer-to-Peer Lending

In the context of philanthropic peer-to-peer lending, research delves into the motivations of lenders to invest in microfinance (Mittelman & Rojas-Méndez, 2013). One of the starting points of the lending experience consists of creating a personal profile as a lender. Within the Kiva Platform, for instance, this profile includes briefly defining one's motivation to take part in the lending experience. The lenders include the phrase in their profile: "I loan because…". Consumers then need officially to define the broader reason beyond their lending actions. Mittelman and Rojas-Méndez (2013) use this type of information and, through content analysis, further investigate into the motivations for joining Kiva. Their conclusions point to the intrinsic motivation of many lenders to "make a small difference in the lives of the working poor." According to the Mittelman and Rojas-Méndez analysis, part of Kiva's success is related to its innovative solution of offering a value proposition matching this intrinsic motivation. In their view, Kiva offers an interesting alternative for lenders willing to make an impact in a sustainable manner and very personally. Lenders' intentions are also to spread their contributions to the world. In her analysis of 170 motivation statements from lenders, for instance, Black (2013) found that the most common word used by lenders is "world." Although lenders' intentions are to benefit the "working poor" from all around the world, the psychological view, on the mechanics of lenders' decision-making, shows that lenders seem to stick to familiar coincidences and references when selecting loans, instead of adventuring themselves in sponsoring unfamiliar cases.

Galak, Small, and Stephen (2011), for instance, look into the world of Kiva to further understand how lenders invest their money within the platform, or as they phrased it, what psychology "underlies such prosocial lending decisions" (p. 135). Their study points to the fact that consumers

seem to prefer individual stories to those about groups of entrepreneurs, a finding consistent with the principal of "the victim effect," which is "the notion that people are sometimes willing to contribute more to save an identified victim than a non-identified one" (Kogut & Ritov, 2005). Galak et al. (2011) also found that social distance, measured in three factors, namely, gender, occupation, and first name initial, impacts on lending decisions. Their analysis shows how lenders also prefer entrepreneurs whom they regard as similar to themselves. Their finding is "consistent with lab-based research into in-group and similarity effects in helping behavior (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Flippen, Hornstein, Siegal, & Weitzman, 1996)."

Burtch, Ghose, and Wattal (2014), also investigated the context of peer-to-peer lending decisions and inquired about social distance as a potential explanatory factor for lender decisions. They are particularly interested in physical and cultural distance. Drawing on a large-scale aggregate dataset, including more than three million lending actions, they combine these transactional data with data on national cultural attributes, obtained from the World Values Survey, as well as data on GDP differentials and shared language. Their study shows how physical and cultural differences impede lending. Their findings are consistent with past research showing that "individuals are more likely to support charities and borrowers in need when they can empathize (Piff, Kraus, Hayden Cheng, & Keltner, 2010), or when they view themselves as part of the same 'in-group' (Baron & Szymanska, 2011)" (p. 778). It appears, from this stream of literature, that cultural similarity may foster such empathy, or that it may form the basis of a perceived "in-group." This research illustrates how the boundaries between inner and outer views have been fundamental to our understanding of prosocial behavior (Belk, 2010). The inner view has been distinguished from the outer view; for instance, Ein-Gar and Levontin (2013) show that donating to specific victims is a very different act of giving than donating to a more abstract charitable organization. Their research shows how social proximity increases the willingness to donate to specific victims. However, social distance would favor more the willingness to donate to a more abstract, charitable organization. In the case of peer-to-peer lending, the system is designed to be personal, and therefore, one would expect that lenders

would be more inclined to support borrowers perceived as being in a social proximity situation.

This chapter offers an interpretative viewpoint of the phenomenon of peer-to-peer lending, distancing, in this way, from the psychological tradition of lenders' decision-making process. Through the testimonies of lenders with years of experience in the platform, this chapter also illustrates how lending decisions involve, simultaneously considering an interplay of inner and outer views on the self of the lender. In this interplay, sameness and innovation work together to establish prosocial giving. Thus, meanings deriving from both inner and outer dimensions of the self collaborate to shape lender decisions and moral commitments to the world.

Empirical Inspiration

In this chapter, the author draws on ten conversations with lenders that regularly and consistently invest in one or the two platforms: Kiva and/or Babyloan. These conversations are part of a larger, ongoing investigation, on the workings of peer- to-peer lending platforms. The theoretical reflections, here exposed, come from conversations the author had, via Skype, with these ten lenders who live in different countries in Europe, South and North America, and Oceania and vary in age from the mid-20s to the late 70s. On average, they have been lending for almost seven years, and the one with the least lending experience still has four years of uninterrupted lending. These lender conversations were about their experiences through time with the platform and lasted a total of 8 hours for all respondents. Like the majority of lenders in the platforms, the participants do not belong to a particularly privileged or super-rich social class. They are ordinary individuals with regular jobs or just going into retirement. They describe themselves as being normal middle-class citizens. At the same time, they are all very conscious that they may be perceived as super-rich donors by potential recipients, due to contextual differences. One of the participants, for instance, talked about how when she is traveling, she is surprised to see how some local guides, in less wealthy countries, are surprised when she declines to purchase expensive tapestries.

She sees how she can be perceived as being wealthier than she truly is because of worldwide contextual inequalities. Lenders' transactions in the platforms are also usually very small in scale, around US$25 per loan. This is because loans are crowdfunded by a team of lenders. This particularly small entry contribution democratizes the access to lending to individual, ordinary consumers. At the same time, their investments in the platform are usually reimbursed and invested immediately in new loans. This mechanism contributes to the fact that, after several years of continuous lending, their total amount of money lent looks impressive.

Becoming Moral Cosmopolitan: Participants Trajectories in the Platforms

First Steps: Discovering a Perfect Virtual "Match"

With differing levels of engagement, all participants conduct other philanthropic activities outside the virtual world of lending platforms. Some even donate part of their time, volunteering for or directly organizing prosocial events. For instance, one participant is a permanent volunteer in a local public hospital, working with chronically ill children. Discovering the platform was, for them, an interesting "match." Participants commenced their experiences with philanthropic peer-to-peer lending on the recommendation of a friend, through reading a relevant article in *The New York Times*, or through their scrutiny of a particular book about giving, such as Bill Clinton's (2007), or by following the testimonies of celebrities who adhere to the principle of the platforms and actively campaign in favor of them. The experiences platforms offer for consumers resonate with participants' daily lives and make the adoption of peer-to-peer lending a natural thing to do. Participants see lending through the platforms as one dimension of a multidimensional personal solidarity project they put into practice for expressing their moral concerns with others in need.

Although all participants count with an important set of experiences on giving to others in need, the starting experience within the platform is always hesitant. The first few loans serve to test the logic, reliability, and trustworthiness of the platforms. After those loans, the path is open and

participants start discovering different ways of organizing their loans and engage with other lenders. Kiva and Babyloan offer several possibilities for doing this. In Kiva, for instance, lenders often link their loans to thematic teams. One of the lenders elaborates, for example, on how she discovered the Atheist group:

> First, I was a bit tentative. So, I made a few loans. But I think I only made two or three loans just to see how it works. But then, I found out there were teams on Kiva. Quite quickly, I was surprised to find that it was an Atheist team so, it was at the top of the list. I thought 'oh, it is exciting there are other atheists around the world!' So, I joined the atheist's team, but I thought it was the top of the list because it started with 'A,' and then, after the months went by, I realized that it was the top of the list because it was the biggest team and that was really exciting! [Lender 1]

Lenders select the groups that connect them to other lenders, those that resonate most with the particularities of their own lives, with their biographical trajectories: the jobs they have, their religion, hobbies, favorite music and film stars, the ideals they pursue, dreams they have, and places they have known. When explaining their personal lending choices, they indeed develop narratives that are often anchored in their personal realities. However, these choices are not simply reflections of themselves. Every account proceeds in a dynamic that includes inner and outer views.

More Advanced Steps Within the Platform: The Interplay of Inner–Outer Moral Commitments

Lenders explain how their choices relate to them, but also to other meanings that they perceive as new in their lives. Deciding who to lend to is often a combination of biographical proximity and of imagining new horizons of experience. Lender 1, for example, develops further how she found a second team whose mission resonated with her own life circumstances and vulnerabilities, the "paying it forward" team:

> But then even within a few weeks of making a loan, I found another team, a tiny one with just one other person, called "paying it forward" and then,

> when I first found Kiva, my son who was 20 years old was really ill in hospital. For a whole week, he was at death's door. They were trying to save his life, and he had about five different major problems, and they got him better, which is fantastic, and now he is fine! But, I started this little thing "Pay it Forward" and I remembered the movie about paying it forward where someone does a good thing for you and then you can pass it on. So I joined the paying forward team on Kiva because of my son, and within a few months, I was lending maybe a little more, maybe up to 20 loans, I do not know, I have to look back to say. But certainly between maybe more than 10, and then gradually through that first year… [Lender 1]

Lender 1 keeps developing her narrative on how she became engaged promoting the Paying it Forward team. She proudly explains how they now have lent in total more than US$700, 000. Her loans and those of her team comrades are, however, highly diverse and therefore not necessarily connected to her own life narrative. Lender 1's story resonates with all other cases in the study. Lending decisions are often explained through the nature lenders' lives, but always have a place for innovation, looking for aspects and meanings that are not necessarily familiar.

As in other cases, diversity in the lender's portfolio of loans minimizes risk, including, for instance, a collection of countries and microfinance intermediaries. Diversity is also related to the limited resources available on the platform. Sometimes, one's favorites are not available, or the time lending is due for reimbursement. Sometimes, diversity derives from another lender inviting them to join forces to complete the funding for a specific loan. At other times, it inspires lender curiosity, and lending becomes a means of learning something new. This is the case for Lender 2, who has, among his preferred loans, those related to agriculture, a theme he associates with his grandparents. He also likes educational loans, as he is very much involved in educational matters in his home country:

> … my grandparents were farmers, and although I didn't quite grow up on a farm, but I grew up sufficiently in a rural environment, because my grandparents came to visit, so I know a bit about what it means to live as a farmer. And these types of stories I think I can particularly relate to. And the other types of loans which I make a lot are educational ones, especially

> to students. Again, if it's a subject I'm working in, one I've studied myself, I can immediately relate to the person a bit more than to others. [Lender 2]

Given his preferences, Lender 2 looks for diversity, willing to learn more, nourishing his imagination beyond what he has seen and known, with a willingness to discover more, a common them in all the interviews:

> I also collect different crops, so I'm trying to have as many different crop varieties from the farming-agriculture section as possible, so I have by now a pretty long list of very strange fruits and crops, and again, the interesting thing is that sometimes I've never heard of these things, and then I look them up, what they actually are, and learn a bit about them. [Lender 2]

The lender's experience combines, in this case, personal resonance with global diversity. This exercise of deciding who to lend to enables them to look at the world from an intimate perspective, from that of an individual or a small group voice. Thus, the platforms offer the possibility to look at the world from a particular viewpoint. This viewpoint allows for both biographical resonance and the discovery of small, new, and enriching nuances. As pointed out by Lender 3:

> In my view, what is unique to Babyloan is that they manage to work in very different countries, and have contacts with people who are not necessarily in the media spotlight or those who are not necessarily living in an extreme situation such as war or chronic famine. They are ordinary people who live from their commercial or agricultural activities, or others. Somehow, without Babyloan, I would not see this world. When the European media, or others, show me the world, they show me either extraordinary things like Hollywood, the accumulation of wealth or the animal kingdom, or they show me awful things like earthquakes or extreme poverty. Babyloan shows me a part of the world that I cannot see otherwise; it lets me discover ordinary people, living all around the world, who are not begging from donations from rich Europeans, they are just developing their own economic activities. I can then become a little bit their banker, without having a particular financial interest. It is just about showing solidarity with ordinary people who smile and work; it is a bit unique! [Lender 3]

One interesting lesson from the conversations as a whole is that they contrast knowledge they receive from this source about the world and "distant suffering" (Boltanski, 1999), differentiating it from the mass media. There is a *fictional* knowledge of others in the peer-to-peer lending platform world and in humanitarian aid campaigns (Black, 2009, 2013) that deserves more attention. This particular marketplace is unique in making it possible for the participants to react to what they learn or what they see. Enabling consumers to take action instead of being only a passive spectator of what is occurring in the world is one of the key ideas behind and benefits of the platforms. Microfinance ideology, indeed, reestablishes the dignity and inner beauty of the suffering poor, by proposing the idea of giving people in need the opportunities and resources they lack, so as to put their development responsibility back into their own hands (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014). The lenders in the study see the beauty of the system in direct contrast with the disempowered image of distant suffering that often dominates in the media. It is interesting to note that for the lenders, these images carry a *fictional* reality, nourishing their imaginary without necessarily having an exact equivalent in their "real world."

Within Various Years of Experience in the Platform: Developing a Critical View and Demonstrating Banal Cosmopolitanism

All the participants were optimistic about the platform and celebrate the way microfinance ideology is transported to a more intimate, peer-to-peer experience. At the same time, with their growing experience, lending in the platforms, they also develop a critical view of the full experience. They spontaneously engage in debates on having to choose who "deserves" the loan and who does not, and the social injustice this can represent for those stories, which are more or less appealing, depending on lenders' preferences.

There is also considerable skepticism among them about the possibilities the platforms really have to communicate authentic and genuine stories about their entrepreneurs. Over time, lenders read the stories and

look at the photographs with a critical mind. They recognize that the connections with borrowers are fragile, that the stories and pictures can be "pre-designed," that there is substantial uncertainty as to what is really happening "on the ground." With the passing years, lenders also claim to achieve a point of personal reflection about their decisions regarding the platform. They start innovating more and more and end up recognizing that what ultimately counts is not how similar these stories are to themselves, but how other people can be supported in the most efficient way. Lender 2, for instance, reflects about having to decide who to lend to and his narrative denotes self-awareness of the difficulty of choosing: "I would say it's mainly finding some reason to decide between all the loans that are out there. I could probably toss a coin just as well, but it is better to have at least some type of reason to decide between loans" [Lender 2]. In a similar vein, the platforms also evolve and transform themselves. Kiva, for instance, has continued growing, and as a result, according to participants, more loans expire without being totally funded. In these cases, the money is reimbursed to those lenders who wanted to contribute to that particular loan. Lenders then start paying less attention to the stories themselves and focus more on getting as many sponsors as possible. The concrete possibility of knowing that not all micro-entrepreneurs receive funding makes them reflect on their choices and decisions. Lender 4, for instance, explains how her personal strategy evolved over the years:

> At the beginning of my lending experience, it was super clear. It was about strong personal commitment. At the beginning, I systematically targeted projects from a particular geographical zone, Palestine and the West Bank areas, because it conformed to a very strong commitment that I had at that point in time. I wanted to support that zone, I was very interested and felt concerned, because of both my professional and personal relationships. I was personally connected to the story of that conflict, more than with the rest of the world, and then I used to say 'I have to help there'. Even if there are war zones with high financial risk … I selected projects there, and I lent systematically. That was for me the first wave of loans… Today, I tell myself that it is necessary to lend without such criteria. We have to help like that, without thinking too much about where that help goes. Recently I decided that I wanted to help the expiring projects. I want to find the projects were there is only 30 or 40 euros missing. I want to finalize those expiring loans.

> I say to me this is smart. Poor entrepreneurs are waiting for 30 euros to start a project. Last time I did this very quickly, and I felt super proud of myself! Finally, I was super happy. I said to myself 'what is really good is that I did not even look, I just save expiring loans'. [Lender 4]

However, even in the context of this critical view, all lenders still see important value in the narratives and photographs included in the platforms, and thus trust the platforms and their work. In their view, photographs and stories are the material needed to make the full experience possible because there are always stories that stand out for their uniqueness, and consequently capture more specific attention from the lenders. As Lender 2 comments, rather critically:

> [Talking about most borrowers' stories] They're very clearly pre-written by the field partner, you don't learn anything genuine or interesting about the lender, and these I simply ignore, they don't make a big difference. But the few who really give an interesting story, those that really stand out, I think they can be very interesting. [Lender 2]

When referring to appealing stories, the lenders in the study describe powerful narratives showing strong sentiments and challenges. These stories are, for instance, symbols or examples of great courage, impressive talent, extreme solitude, and immense happiness or sadness. These standalone stories awaken their senses, nourish their imagination, and inspire them to lend. As Lender 3 expresses, he still "loves feeling empathy with a particular story, to feel concerned." He continues:

> I am not there to judge people, to see if they deserve my support or not. But I think the stories help me a lot, some talk to me, it is human to feel concern subjectively. But I know the risk is that one has to decide who deserves and who does not. I am well aware of that! It is something in the order of a deep sensation; I love it being involved in the choice of project. I think it is part of human nature. We enjoy looking at particular things, putting a face on events. Sensational news in the media have great success; they attract more readers. [In the platform] When I see the story, I have the impression I am in a relationship with that person, even if I know it is an imaginary one [Lender 4]

Individual narratives, represented in the platforms, contain "poetic value" for consumers. Thus, they are not necessarily connected to a fully factual account of an individual life, needs, efforts, or dreams, but they are nevertheless not without existential relevance. They particularize and represent the distant other through a connection that may be regarded as "illusory" or "imaginary," but is nevertheless charged with meaning and an urge for action. Thus, the "beauty" of the microfinance ideology works as a powerful "literary" resource, enriching the moral imagination of participants. This multiplicity of stories and photographs evokes a virtual representation of other inhabitants of the world whom one seldom gets the chance to meet. These narratives evoke feelings of empathy, compassion, and sympathy with the distant suffering (Nussbaum, 2013, p. 379). The platforms produce, in this sense, meaningful images of the other, as the media sometimes do (Silverstone, 2007). They are diverse, however, in the possibility for action that the platforms facilitate, making the loan decision a powerful basis of immediate, "real" action.

Sometimes, these actions extend beyond the platform, enriching the life of the participants, and sometimes they are reinfused into the platform, contributing to disseminating and promoting alternative meanings and ideals. This is the case for Lender 5, who decided to invest part of her time studying online:

> [Talking about borrowers' stories] I do think about them. I was actually inspired to take a course on a learning platform about The Challenges of Global Poverty. That was the name of the course, and I learned a lot about how you can actually help people. I was already on Kiva when I did that. I wanted to see what is effective and what is not. And I changed my loans a little bit because of the things I learned there. Now, I lend to projects that before I didn't. For instance, I help someone buy a refrigerator in a store because I learned how important that is. It is a couple of years ago that I did the course. That's why I think about how people live, what they do with the money and the consequences. I like to believe that … I have spent a lot of time choosing loans and thinking about it … because that was the first course I ever did, was inspired by Kiva, and I've done now maybe 100 or so, that's all Kiva's fault! I have done a couple of similar courses, about global economics, for example, so I learned a lot about globalization and all sorts of related things such as climate change. [Lender 5]

Overall, after years of experience in taking part in peer-to-peer lending platforms, participants' cosmopolitan moral commitments, and their achieved banal cosmopolitanism, can be seen through the lenses of a journey, more so than an *a priori* individual preference. From the intimacy of their unique biographical trajectories and encounters, participants construct a personal connection that mixes their inner views with the available marketplace resources in the platforms. These resources materialize in a set of stories and photographs that nourish the imagination and choice of lenders. Consumers develop, through years spent participating in the platform, an expanded feeling of "global awareness" (Beck & Sznaider, 2006) in their lending choices and strategies. These findings demonstrate how achieving banal cosmopolitanism, in the moral sense, requires moral practice and self-preparation, as well as constant exposure to newness and discovery without losing resonance and personal intimacy. There is, in the moral practicing, a dynamic process that navigates between the self and the self for others.

Discussion

Instead of defining clear boundaries between inner and outer views on the self and their consequences for prosocial behavior, this chapter proposes an interactive view that combines both dimensions in a synergistic manner. This combined view should enhance our understanding of our prosocial emotions. The inner perspective, as a viewpoint of the world that is personal and embodied in the concreteness of daily life, is not a determinate and static position. It is instead an initial viewpoint from which we innovate and discover new horizons, and enlarge our moral commitments. This enlargement of our moral commitments can be understood through the existential task, or challenge, of becoming moral cosmopolitan in contemporary societies. The boundaries between the global and the local, between the spaces of the inner and the outer self, and between what we regard as being culturally close and distant are often studied in static terms. More often than not, we see those distinctions as being unrelated, disconnected, or independent. However, in the processes of becoming oneself, those categories are intrinsically connected. It is by our life detours, by the

imaginary and historical encounters of our lives, that our more abstract moral commitments develop, and that we multiply the witnesses to our lives beyond our closest social entourage (Ricœur & Jarczyk, 1991, p. 231). Becoming "cosmopolitan responsible" is a task nourished by these significant encounters both fictional and historical that appeal to our moral imaginations and enlarge our moral commitments. From this theoretical perspective, this chapter supports and encourages more research on what it takes for prosocial consumer decision-making to include a more moral cosmopolitan view, in which otherness is included in day to day reasoning and feeling. Bajde (2006), in his philosophical think piece about self-interest in consumer research, alludes to the need for further understanding consumers' negotiations of otherness and sameness. In Bajde's words, inspired by Nagel's (1970), consumers are to act consciously of "being one among many (i.e. someone)" (p. 308). In this sense, this chapter conforms with a view that argues for an understanding of consumption from a different viewpoint than the traditional one of a "self-regarding self" (Bajde, 2006; Jenkins, Nixon, & Molesworth, 2011; Joy, Sherry, Troilo, & Deschenes, 2010; Rojas Gaviria, 2016), in which the inner and outer views work synergistically, both rationally and emotionally.

While the context of philanthropic peer-to-peer lending can be a fertile terrain capable of inspiring consumers to reflect on what it means to be "one among many," the daily routines it offers need to be seen through the lenses of the banal. Philanthropic peer-to-peer lending is offered to consumers as a practical, simple, and inspirational tool that is compatible with their current life routine. Therefore, it does not require a particular or spectacular sacrifice from consumers. Its inspiration comes from the idea that small changes in one part of the world may have a great impact on another distant part. This marketplace solution to critical world inequalities can then be perceived as accidental, fragile, incomplete, and imperfect. This is a commonality of many other marketplace-oriented proposals to motivate action in favor of other human beings or even in favor of the preservation of nature (Emontspool & Georgi, 2016). This view, then, contrasts with the cosmopolitan ideal that would be, in theory, more compatible with more noble and purified ideals and practices. Cosmopolitan orientation and marketplace innovation are more often than not considered suspicious by critical consumers and a very light version of cosmopolitanism, medi-

ated by the market, is then denounced. Bookman (2013), for instance, in her study of coffee service providers, shows how fair trade coffee servings are seen as allowing "consumers to at least appear or imagine themselves responsible, so that they can feel better about drinking their café latte, even while dubious of the company's efforts in this regard" (p. 66). Bookman accounts for cosmopolitan ambivalence as brand proposals are seen as narrower and very limited when confronted with consumers' ideals of cosmopolitanism. But even within those limitations, she argues that brands are important shapers of cosmopolitan culture. Skrbis and Woodward (2007) also account for the ambivalence of lived cosmopolitanism. They describe how ordinary cosmopolitanism is a negotiated experience that allows consumers to deal with the existence of more visible cultural differences. They also found that consumption engagements on more hedonistic domains, such as cuisine, travel, or music, offer less resistance from consumers, who tend to express their openness to the world within these consumption domains. However, in their words, more difficult domains, such as expressing one's solidarity with strangers in need, were less predominant in their sample and offered more resistance. Ordinary cosmopolitan consumption can then be described as being practical and convenient, more so than highly reflexive and profound, when contrasted with the ideals and ambitions of a purified cosmopolitan version. These studies and the one exposed in this chapter point then to the value involved in these fragile and slippery routines of a global market trying to make sense out of its multicultural permeability and global inequalities. Within these limitations and the perspective of banal cosmopolitanism, this chapter offers a view of the market as a place where consumers not only ratify existing moral affinities and proximities but also venture into moments of global internalization, where they challenge their own assumptions and influence others about their micro-investment decisions. Consumers experiment with inner and outer views of themselves while extending their moral imagination, debating and exchanging with other investors about what is fair, urgent, and effective in contemporary society, by detaching more and more from themselves without nevertheless losing self-resonance.

This contingent view of human behavior highlights consumers' moral character formation as far more than a fixed moral stand. Moral character is a philosophical notion which reveals that humans shape their own

learning, through discovering how to flourish or help others to live well within a society they share with other non-family-related human beings. Following, for instance, in John Rawls' (1971) view on the Theory of Justice, the foundations of moral excellence are intimately interconnected with the contributions made by friendship, family, community, and meaningful work that support the shaping of human moral character. In this view, moral commitments are constantly formed through the ongoing challenge and exercise of moral imagination in the real, ordinary world. Therefore, our moral imagination has an inevitable inner, intimate view; a particular biographical resonance that responds to a quotidian ordinary world but differs from a mere self-interest. This may result, paradoxically, in the narrowness of people's emotional lives and their self-oriented attitudes acting as the starting point for increasing moral commitments toward geographically distant people in need. In this context, within all its limitations, the marketplace is an open terrain for further inquiry of the banal behaviors that are gradually going to help us knit the connections amongst ourselves, and drive the power of marketplace proposals and ideologies to promote social change and stimulate our moral imaginations. Studying markets and brands through the lenses of this affective resonance may contribute a promising terrain for further understanding how to expand our capacity to feel and recognize others with genuine concern, rather than with an essentially uncaring tolerance.

Acknowledgments The author thanks the editors for their thoughtful recommendations and guidance. The author is grateful to all participants in this research project for sharing intimacies in their lives with the researcher. This project benefited from the financial support of Vicerrectoría de Investigación of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile via the Concurso de Inicio 2016.

References

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Andrade, M. d. (1969). Descobrimento. In G. Pontiero (Ed.), *An Anthology of Brazilian Modernist Poetry* (pp. 22–23). Oxford: Pergamon.

Appiah, K. A. (2007). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. Westminster: Penguin Books.

Bajde, D. (2006). Other-Centered Behavior and the Dialectics of Self and Other. *Consumption, Markets & Culture, 9*(4), 301–316.

Bajde, D. (2012). Mapping the Imaginary of Charitable Giving. *Consumption, Markets & Culture, 15*(4), 358–373.

Bajde, D. (2013). Marketized Philanthropy: Kiva's Utopian Ideology of Entrepreneurial Philanthropy. *Marketing Theory, 13*, 3–18.

Baron, J., & Szymanska, E. (2011). Heuristics and Biases in Charity. In D. M. Oppenheimer & C. Y. Olivola (Eds.), *The Science of Giving: Experimental Approaches to the Study of Charity* (pp. 215–236). New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Bateman, M. (2010). *Why Doesn't Microfinance Work?* London: Zed Books.

Beck, U. (2002). The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies. *Theory, Culture & Society, 19*(1–2), 17–44.

Beck, U., & Sznaider, N. (2006). Unpacking Cosmopolitanism for the Social Sciences: A Research Agenda. *The British Journal of Sociology, 57*(1), 1–23.

Beck, U., & Willms, J. (2004). *Conversations with Ulrich Beck*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Belk, R. W. (2010). Sharing. *Journal of Consumer Research, 36*(5), 715–734.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.

Black, S. (2009). Microloans and Micronarratives: Sentiment for a Small World. *Public Culture, 21*(2), 269–292.

Black, S. (2013). Fictions of Humanitarian Responsibility: Narrating Microfinance. *Journal of Human Rights, 12*(1), 103–120.

Boltanski, L. (1999). *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bookman, S. (2013). Branded Cosmopolitanisms: 'Global' Coffee Brands and the Co-creation of 'Cosmopolitan Cool'. *Cultural Sociology, 7*(1), 56–72.

Burtch, G., Ghose, A., & Wattal, S. (2014). Cultural Differences and Geography as Determinants of Online Prosocial Lending. *MIS Quarterly: Management Information Systems, 38*(3), 773–794.

Clinton, B. (2007). *Giving: How Each of Us Can Change the World*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., Johnson, G., Johnson, B., & Howard, A. (1997). On the Nature of Prejudice: Automatic and Controlled Processes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 33*(5), 510–540.

Ein-Gar, D., & Levontin, L. (2013). Giving from a Distance: Putting the Charitable Organization at the Center of the Donation Appeal. *Journal of Consumer Psychology, 23*(2), 197–211.

Emontspool, J., & Georgi, C. (2016). A Cosmopolitan Return to Nature: How Combining Aesthetization and Moralization Processes Expresses Distinction in Food Consumption. *Consumption, Markets & Culture, 20*, 306–328.

Flippen, A. R., Hornstein, H. A., Siegal, W. E., & Weitzman, E. A. (1996). A Comparison of Similarity and Interdependence as Triggers for In-Group Formation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 22*(9), 882–893.

Frijda, N. (1996). Passions: Emotion and Socially Consequential Behavior. In R. D. Kavanaugh, B. Zimmerberg, & S. Fein (Eds.), *Emotion: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (pp. 1–27). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Galak, J., Small, D., & Stephen, A. (2011). Micro-finance Decision Making: A Field Study of Prosocial Lending. *Journal of Marketing Research, 48*(Special Issue), 130–137.

Giesler, M., & Veresiu, E. (2014). Creating the Responsible Consumer: Moralistic Governance Regimes and Consumer Subjectivity. *Journal of Consumer Research, 41*(October), 840–857.

Graeber, D. (2014). *Debt: The First 5000 Years*. London: Melville House Publishing.

Hudon, M. (2008). Should Access to Credit Be a Right? *Journal of Business Ethics, 84*, 17–28.

Jenkins, R., Nixon, E., & Molesworth, M. (2011). 'Just Normal and Homely': The Presence, Absence and Othering of Consumer Culture in Everyday Imagining. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 11*(2), 261–281.

Joy, A., Sherry, J. F., Jr., Troilo, G., & Deschenes, J. (2010). Rethinking the Relationship Between Self and Other: Levinas and Narratives of Beautifying the Body. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 10*(3), 333–361.

Kogut, T., & Ritov, I. (2005). The 'Identified Victim' Effect: An Identified Group, or Just a Single Individual? *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making, 18*, 157–167.

Mader, P. (2015). *The Political Economy of Microfinance: Financializing Poverty*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Melo, A. C. (2013). (De-) Latinizing America: How Gilberto Freyre and Mário de Andrade Imagined the Global South. *MLN, 128*(2), 298–316.

Mittelman, R., & Rojas-Méndez, J. (2013). Exploring Consumer's Needs and Motivations in Online Social Lending for Development. *Journal of Nonprofit & Public Sector Marketing, 25*(4), 309–333.

Nagel, T. (1970). *The Possibility of Altruism: Perceptions of a Common Humanity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Nussbaum, M. (2002). *For Love of Country? In a New Democracy Forum on the Limits of Patriotism*. Boston: Beacon Press.
Nussbaum, M. (2013). *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Pérez Villalón, F. (2015). Modernidad Sincopada: Música, Ritmo y Nación en la Obra de Mário de Andrade. *Revista Chilena de Literatura, 90*, 223–244.
Piff, P. K., Kraus, M. K., Hayden Cheng, B., & Keltner, D. (2010). Having Less, Giving More: The Influence of Social Class on Prosocial Behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 99*(5), 771–784.
Rawls, J. (1971). *A Theory of Justice*. London: Harvard University Press.
Ricœur, P., & Jarczyk, G. (1991). Soi-même comme un autre. *Rue Descartes*, 1/2, 225–237.
Rojas Gaviria, P. (2016). Oneself for Another: The Construction of Intimacy in a World of Strangers. *Journal of Business Research, 69*, 83–93.
Roodman, D. (2012). *Due Diligence. Baltimore*. Annapolis, MD: Brookings Institution Press.
Schwittay, A. (2015). *New Media and International Development: Representation and Affect in Microfinance*. London: Routledge.
Silverstone, R. (2007). *Media and Morality: On the Rise of the Mediapolis*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Skrbis, Z., & Woodward, I. (2007). The Ambivalence of Ordinary Cosmopolitanism: Investigating the Limits of Cosmopolitan Openness. *The Sociological Review, 55*(4), 730–747.
Thompson, C. J., & Tambyah, S. K. (1999). Trying to Be Cosmopolitan. *Journal of Consumer Research, 26, 3*(December), 214–241.

Pilar Rojas Gaviria is an Assistant Professor at Escuela de Administración, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Her work focuses on theorizing the role of consumption in the construction of multicultural collective identities and solidarities. Her research has been published in different international outlets, including the *International Marketing Review,* the *Journal of Business Research,* and the *Journal of Consumer Behaviour.*

9

‘Festivals Implicate Others’: Framing Cosmopolitan Encounters at a European Festival

Dario Verderame

Among the forms of public participation, occasions for ceremonies, rituals or simply for amusement have always played an important role in creating and strengthening one’s sense of belonging to a particular community. Events and public celebrations are phenomena of great sociological interest, both in their own right and by virtue of what they may reveal about the characteristics of a particular group that attends them or an entire society. Deep down, as Etzioni and Bloom (2004) suggest, ‘we are what we celebrate’.

Contemporary festivals, in their heterogeneous forms, are part of this vast repertoire of ‘special events’ that stud the contemporary cultural landscape (Bennett, Taylor, & Woodward, 2014). Like the latter, they are multi-faceted, multi-purpose entities, linked more to a fragmented and net-like social reality than a universal idea of ‘order’. In the complex scenario of our contemporary culture, festivals are consciously planned and no longer or not only experienced as tools for ‘transmitting collective

D. Verderame (✉)
Department of Political, Social and Media Sciences, University of Salerno, Fisciano, SA, Italy

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_9

messages to ourselves' (Leach, 1976, p. 45) according to an excluding and oppositional logic ('we' versus 'them'), but as a resource for engaging with diversity. Adapting an expression coined by anthropologist Gerd Baumann (1992), more than ever nowadays 'festival implicates "Others"', or at least there are the conditions for this to happen.

I intend to explore this prospective form of contemporary festivals by applying the concept of cosmopolitanism. If global interconnectivity has made contemporary festivals places where a variety of encounters with otherness can take place, then the cosmopolitan perspective analyses them from a specific point of view. It enables us to observe how new communities might arise or be imagined, rather than how existing forms of identity *coexist peacefully*—for example an ethnic minority and members of the dominant population during a multicultural festival (Lee, Arcodia, & Lee, 2012). Semantically, the concept of cosmopolitanism differs to that of 'pluralism' (or multiculturalism), as it concerns the 'formation of new communities of wider scope' (Hollinger, 2001, p. 239). Moreover, from a cosmopolitan perspective, openness towards others can and should be 'imagined', in the same way Anderson (1983) envisaged this term. When it comes to feeling responsible for distant suffering (Linklater, 2007) or taking critical consumer attitudes (see e.g. Emontspool & Georgi, 2016), a cosmopolitan moral commitment is independent from copresence at the same place by definition. Finally, cosmopolitanism must be distinguished from 'transnationalism' (Roudometof, 2005). Transnational experiences—such as visiting foreign countries, sampling ethnic foods or attending multicultural festivals—are not cosmopolitan in themselves, as long as they do not become transformative experiences, which include reflexively 'the perspective of others […] into one's own identity, interests or orientation in the world' (Delanty, 2011a, p. 634).

Bearing these considerations in mind, my aim is to explore the ways in which festivals can become incubators of a cosmopolitan culture. What features should a festival that promotes transnational experiences have in order to become a 'cosmoscape' (Kendall, Woodward, & Skrbiš, 2009, p. 154), or a space that is capable of encouraging the formation of (real or imagined) cosmopolitan social ties?

I will try to answer this question by carrying out a case study. In particular, my work focuses on the 2013 edition of the Festival of Europe

(*Festival d'Europa*), which took place in Florence from the 7th to the 12th of May. It is a biennial festival (the first edition held in 2011) where the main topic is Europe in its multiple manifestations: political-institutional, artistic, cultural, economic-productive and so on. Through the investigation of this 'special' event, my intention is to offer an empirical contribution to the understanding of cosmopolitanization processes, centred on Europe and festivals.

In order to reach these objectives, I will proceed in the following way. In the first section, I will examine the literature on the relationship between the festivals and cosmopolitanism in order to identify the essential aspects, or rather the principal dimensions, of this relationship. From this analysis, I will obtain the theoretical framework that I will use for the case study. Subsequently, after having taken into consideration the methodology used, I will present the results of my field research at the 2013 Festival of Europe in Florence (hereinafter 'Festival' or 'Festival of Europe'). Through examination of the initiatives hosted, I aim at clarifying whether the space of the Festival was designed in order to promote cosmopolitan relations and, more generally, the limitations of such events achieving this type of result.

Festivals Through a Cosmopolitan Lens

In recent years, the concept of cosmopolitanism has become recurring and pervasive in the study of social transformations in contemporary society. As generally conceived, it suggests an attitude of 'openness' that leads to the appreciation of interaction with people from different cultural backgrounds (Hannerz, 1990; Tomlinson, 1999; Vertovec & Cohen, 2002, p. 13). However, the notion of 'cosmopolitan openness' is still too vague and indeterminate, therefore one of the most pressing problems is that of giving an analytical consistency to this attitude, rendering it identifiable and measurable (Skrbiš, Kendall, & Woodward, 2004). This need has partly shifted the attention of scholars from the macro-institutional aspects to 'ordinary' and 'local' contexts as the field of enquiry within which we might verify the explicative value and limits of the concept of 'cosmopolitan openness' (Nowicka & Rovisco, 2009).

This attempt to root cosmopolitanism and re-evaluate the centrality of the 'social dimension' (Pendenza, 2017) in the study of cosmopolitan dynamics has found synthesis in research on contemporary festivals. The link between festivals and cosmopolitanism is an ever more discussed topic.

However, this link is quite difficult to analyse. Cosmopolitanism is a disputed concept that has been charged with various meanings (Skrbiš & Woodward, 2013). Cosmopolitan is who engages a moral-oriented relationship, taking care of others, but also who wants to take advantage of otherness, thus giving rise to an 'instrumental cosmopolitanism' (Ong, 2009). It is therefore not surprising that the theme of festival is also considered, with regard to the concept of cosmopolitanism, using a variety of contrasting modalities.

On one hand, festivals have been associated with a superficial, commercialized, top-down or elitist cosmopolitanism. According to Harvey (2009, p. 67), invention on the part of urban administrations of 'unique cultural events such as film or art festivals' is the most evident manifestation of a growing 'inter-territorial competition', in which '[t]he marketing and selling of a city's reputation in itself becomes a big business'. From this point of view, festivals are the expression of that 'paradoxical phenomenon' made by 'cosmopolitan urbanism' (Binnie, Holloway, Millington, & Young, 2006). Here, cosmopolitan urbanism denotes a space steered by 'market forces and policy directives' where encountering difference can lead to the production of enclaves, class distinctions, and cultural exploitation (Binnie et al., 2006, p. 250). In the same vein, Regev (2011) underlines how the fruition of cultural goods and works of art within festivals can be the means by which the members of omnivorous taste cultures—that is members of the upper-middle and professional classes—'define their sense of distinction', celebrating 'their omnivorous, cosmopolitan taste' (Regev, 2011, p. 109). From this perspective, aesthetic experiences, such as festivals, are deemed to convey a self-interested involvement. They bear the mark of 'ostentatious openness' (Fridman & Ollivier, 2004) through which new forms of cultural distinction are reproduced (Bourdieu, 1984). However, from a different, post-modern perspective, festivals express a sociality that is flattened in the present and artificially consensual, in which fragmented individualities look for tem-

porary and necessarily uncommitted fulfilment. Expressing a widespread 'aestheticization of everyday life' (Featherstone, 1992; Maffesoli, 1996), the sociality promoted by today's cultural events tolerates diversity more, even if at the cost of an episodic inter-subjectivity emptied of every moral obligation. It is a kind of 'minimal cosmopolitanism' based on co-presence, such as Roche (2011) observes in relation to the contribution that mega events like Expos currently offer to the creation of a European cosmopolitan space.

Contrary to equation of festivals with 'easy face' (Calhoun, 2002, p. 105) of cosmopolitanism are some considerations emerging from a group of studies in which festivals appear as elective places for the growth of a cosmopolitan culture. As models for a new participatory democracy based on cultural citizenship (Delanty, 2011b, p. 195), festivals can be considered, according to Bennett and Woodward (2014, p. 18), potential 'cosmoscapes': spaces and sets of practices which afford and encourage cosmopolitan socialization. As in the 'third places' described by Oldenburg (1991), at festivals, interactions can emerge that are capable of initiating 'norms of trust and reciprocity with others as well as shared memories and experiences' (Hawkins Lee & Ryan, 2013, p. 199). From this point of view, festivals are not closed spaces focused only on local actors and symbols (Picard & Robinson, 2006, p. 4). As illustrated by Tascón (2015), in various parts of the world the internationalizing influence of the human rights discourse is orientating (film) festivals towards a cosmopolitan reconfiguration resulting in a variety of local arrangements. Placing festivals within a fluid and open context and thinking through their ability to favour the encounter with alterity have encouraged some scholars to highlight festivals' contribution to the improvement of 'European cultural space', characterized in a cosmopolitan sense (Giorgi, Sassatelli, & Delanty, 2011). The connection between festivals and the maturation of a European cultural space can be even better highlighted by putting aside prejudices regarding the aesthetic component of cosmopolitanism associated with consumption or with *ludic forms* of social activity. This means investigating the multidimensional character of the public sphere and the plurality of forms of participation in it: ranging from those oriented to the discursive-cognitive to those with a more aesthetic, ludic, and expressive sense (Jones, 2007; McGuigan, 2005;

Sassatelli, 2011, 2012). Finally, expression through festivals can encompass the need for distinction nurtured by a privileged class of consumers, and also a striving for social emancipation by the poorer strata of a population. Examples of the latter are the *housing exhibitions* and *toilet festivals* described by Appadurai (2004). These are festival events, organized by a group of non-governmental organizations (*Alliance*), whose protagonists are poor people from the slums of Mumbai and other Indian cities. In the words of Appadurai (2011, p. 38):

> In these events, which combine festivity, learning, dialogue and solidarity-building, women (and men) from different cities and regions encounter each other and make the effort to encompass some of India's linguistic and cultural diversities. […] Friendships are formed, tragedies are shared, stories are exchanged, and experiences of urban struggle are framed to be understood by women for other women who come from different spatial worlds of poverty.

This 'cosmopolitanism from below' combines aesthetic and moral aspects and is alimented by ritual forms of participation during which people exchange ideas, socialize, and simply have fun together (Appadurai, 2004, p. 77). Through these events, according to Appadurai, poor families enter a space of public sociality, extracting themselves from the invisibility that is typical of a condition of poverty.

From the above synthetic reconstruction, it is clear that the relationship between festivals and cosmopolitanism has received very diverse interpretations. In literature that describes festivals as a display of prepackaged cultural products, and cosmopolitanism as the expression of a capitalist project of commodification of the world, this relationship has assumed a negative significance. Festivals hereby are symptoms of homogenising global factors and of an 'abstract cosmopolitism' driven by neo-liberalist forces. Furthermore, they are occasions that at best give life to superficial relationships, and at worst reproduce asymmetric social relationships. Overall, this is a dichotomising vision that considers festivals as being opposed to weightier, authentic or symmetric forms of relationships. However, according to other aforementioned authors, festivals can be spaces for the negotiation of meaning, for reflective connectivity

of the particular and the universal, the local, and the global. They can be events wherein forms of cognitive and aesthetic involvement contribute to the formation of inclusive social ties rather than exclusive ones. As shown by Appadurai, they can be spaces where people need not limit themselves to representing an existing order, but might transform their surrounding reality.

As far as my study is concerned, I intend to problematize and contextualize these assertions by means of a case study. Through analysis of the organizational architecture of the Festival of Europe, I will follow three main lines of research corresponding to specific themes emergent from the literature. 'Particular and universal', 'aesthetic and moral', and 'representational and transformative' are the three conceptual couples through which I will analyse the programming design of the Festival, by evaluating its configuration as a potential cosmoscape.

The first line of analysis concerns the interconnection between the particular and the universal. As stated, contemporary festivals are not closed spaces with an exclusively local cultural horizon of reference; instead, they are occasions when local and global, particular and universal elements can dialectically interact. Like every cultural space (Clifford, 1997), the one drawn by festivals cannot be considered a fixed entity. Rather, individuals can give life to a negotiation of cultural space, as far as both its content and its boundaries are concerned. It is possible for this negotiation to take on the contours of an inclusive dynamic, broadening the 'horizon of relevance in people's routine experience' (Tomlinson, 1999, p. 115). The maturation of a cosmoscape is indissolubly tied to this possibility. In the following analysis of the Festival of Europe, I will use the categories 'universal' and 'particular' to understand the relationships that Festival's programming created among different cultural horizons of reference.

My second line of analysis also emerges from a recurrent theme in the literature. In a festival it is possible for various 'modes of sensibility', from cognitive to expressive, to coexist (Grimes, 2014, pp. 203–205). The Festival of Europe comprised simultaneous recreational, ceremonial, and celebratory aspects, each of which gave consistency to the event as a whole. I will analyse the programming of the Festival in terms of the moral and aesthetic forms of involvement through which a sense

of Europeanness and openness towards others was conveyed. On reviewing literature, it emerged that aesthetic performances should not be underestimated in respect to other forms of cosmopolitan involvement, provided they are able to mediate between different horizons of meaning. With regard to this point, my discussion will address the various meanings of 'culture' underlying aesthetic performances and how they interact with the idea of Europe. Furthermore, an additional condition can be highlighted. Aesthetic experiences are more likely to elicit a cosmopolitan involvement when they merge with moral concerns, such as in the *housing exhibitions* and *toilet festivals* portrayed by Appadurai. With regard to this issue, I will observe the space reserved in the Festival to performances related to the theme of a shared European memory.

Finally, the study of the organizational logic of a festival is helpful for understanding its transformative potential. Following this third line of analysis, I will try to ascertain whether the Festival of Europe as a whole can be classified among 'events that present' or 'events that model'. According to Handelman (1998), from whom I have taken this terminology, it is within 'events that present' that a 'bureaucratic logic' prevails, functional to the representation of social order. 'Events that model' instead generate a transformative experience: 'something is changed, something new is brought into being' (Handelman, 1998, p. xxiv). It is legitimate to maintain that the emergence of a cosmopolitan attitude, as an exercise of self-transforming, is more likely in events that model. With regard to this issue, my analysis will focus on the symbolism embodied by the Festival.

Methodology

In order to understand what conditions are required for festivals to frame the possibility of cosmopolitan encounters, I adopted a case study approach (Yin, 1984). Using an 'atypical case study' (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 229), such as a festival dedicated to European issues, provides more food for thought than relative 'normal cases' and enables us to analyse the elements that make a transnational festival a potential cosmoscape. The

Festival of Europe represents an atypical case study for various reasons. This type of festival is not very common and there are few studies on this topic in literature (Fornäs, 2012). Furthermore, the special character of the Festival is conveyed by its object. 'Europe' represents a favourable topic for analysing the formation of cosmopolitan ties (Beck & Grande, 2007; Rumford, 2008). Europe needs imagined ties more than any other political and social entity, as it is characterized by numerous interruptions in social relations (Eder, 2005). The Festival of Europe embraces this object from a plurality of perspectives and through a significant number of initiatives, spread over several days. From this perspective, the Festival is a vantage point for analysing how political, moral, and aesthetic aspects are brought into play, thus devising transnational or cross-cultural experiences. Using Stake's terminology it can furthermore be claimed that the Festival of Europe belongs to the case study type of 'intrinsic interest' (Stake, 2005, p. 445), especially for those who study the processes that lead to the formation of a European cosmopolitan space. Since my study focuses on an atypical case, its conclusions cannot be evaluated in terms of statistical representativeness and generalization. Yet they can be useful for setting a paradigmatic point of observation, which can be used for evaluating the cosmopolitan profile of festivals that promote transnational encounters.

As already mentioned, my lines of research for evaluating the potential cosmopolitan character of the Festival are to analyse: *(a)* the horizons of meaning of its hosted events (particular-universal horizons, and their relationships), *(b)* planned modes of aesthetic and moral involvement (their fusion and their connection to the topic of Europe), and *(c)* its symbolic structure (representational and/or transformative). In order to achieve these objectives, my study uses two sources of textual data: taken from the Festival programming and from in-depth interviews.

With regard to *(a)* and *(b)* research lines, I analysed the Festival programming and carried out six semi-structured interviews. With regard to the programming, I used the Festival website and project schedules of each event. The Festival website provided information on the Festival's aims and themes, its hosted events and a collection of press releases on its performances. Detailed project schedules of each event consist in the project proposal forms that civil society organizations

filled in to put forward their candidacy for participation. Before being included in the official program, these proposals were evaluated by a 'Committee' composed of representatives of sponsoring bodies[1] and managed by the *Fondazione Sistema Toscana*, the public body that oversaw the organization of the Festival and that provided me with these schedules. I based my analysis mainly on these raw programming materials (website and schedules). In particular, by means of a 'content analysis card' (Losito, 1993), I reconstructed for each event the themes addressed, the official key words, the synergies proposed, and the actors involved. Subsequently, these data were subjected to a primarily quantitative method of investigation. Still with regard to organizational aspects, six semi-structured interviews were undertaken with as many key witnesses chosen because of their involvement in the organization of the Festival or of single events. They are identified as representatives of institutions (the Europe Direct Firenze Office; the Information Office of the European Parliament), non-profit associations, and the business world.

In order to reconstruct the symbolic structure of the Festival (research line *c*), I carried out an in-depth analysis on three specific events, which I selected either for their participation potential or for their relevance from a symbolic perspective. The research employed direct observation to concentrate on the exhibit dedicated to the 'Schuman Declaration' set up in the Palazzo Vecchio, the conference 'The State of the Union', and the cortege organized by the European Federalist Movement (MFE). Together with the collection of photographic material, during these events I held 13 semi-structured interviews with as many audience participants. The interviews touched on the following themes: the characteristics of the event, its contribution to the construction of a European identity from a symbolic perspective, and its participants' formulation of comprehensive appraisals of the Festival of Europe.

All of the collected interviews, addressed both to key witnesses and to the audience, were subject to thematic analysis. Open coding was used in order to determine emerging themes and common phrases (Strauss, 1987). I used findings from both types of respondents for all three lines of research.

Particular and Universal

The Festival of Europe is a complex macro-event, characterized by a plurality of 'happenings' both small and large in terms of participation. The 2013 Festival edition had a symbolic centre in the Palazzo Vecchio, seat of the city assembly, and the neighbouring Loggia dei Lanzi. Other, numerous events took place in other parts of the city, for example the ex Carcere delle Murate, the University of Florence, the Palazzo Medici Riccardi, and the art galleries of Via Maggio. Programmed alongside these initiatives were those organized by the Commune of Florence and entitled *Notte Blu* (*Blue Night*).[2] The programming of *Notte Blu* encompassed about 70 musical, literary, museum, and performative cultural events over the Festival's final two days (11–12 May). *Notte Blu* was, in the intention of the organizers, the 'more festive and popular version of the Festival',[3] centred on entertainment with the aim of involving the younger generation.

The Festival events and programmed activities (strictly, excluding those within *Notte Blu*) numbered more than 100 (see Table 9.1). I have divided them into four types: (1) conventions, seminars, workshops, and so on; (2) exhibitions, guided visits, competitions, and prize-givings; (3) concerts, theatrical representations, tastings, artistic street performances, and so on; and (4) ritual events in a narrow sense (the inaugural ceremony of the Festival, MFE cortege). Excepting the last type, in which various elements are mixed, the first three types of events are forms of involvement, respectively, connoted as primarily cognitive (*type 1*), mixed cognitive-expressive (*type 2*), or expressive/ludic-recreational (*type 3*).

Further important data, also represented in Table 9.1, concern the amount of symbolic space reserved for the theme of Europe within the initiatives of the Festival. Not all the Festival events had Europe as a specific topic. In some initiatives, 'Europe' represented, at most, the official frame of the event; in others, the link with Europe was completely absent. This last was especially true for the events of *type 2* (43% with no link) and of *type 3* (30% with no link). In the events characterized by a higher involvement of overt cognition (*type 1*), the theme of Europe was almost always present (23% with no link). But, as can be seen from the data,

Table 9.1 Festival events (excluding those within Notte Blu) by type and relation to Europe

Type of event	Europe as central theme	Europe as background	No direct relation to Europe	Number of events[a]
Type 1 Convention, seminar, workshop, round table, debate, laboratory	26	8	10	44
Type 2 Exhibition, guided visit, competition, prize-giving	8	4	9	21
Type 3 Ludic-recreational event (concert, theatrical representation, tasting, game, street performance, etc.)	18	12	13	43
Total	52	24	32	108

[a]The count includes multiple iterations of particular events on the same day or on different days. The inaugural celebration and the demonstration of the MFE must also be added to the count, making a total of 110 events

events aimed at favouring greater expressive participation were more self-referential in theme. Even more than in the Festival, in the various events of *Notte Blu* references to Europe occurred as framing rather than as content.

Starting from these data, I can formulate some speculations regarding the Festival of Europe as a potential cosmoscape. First of all, it seems that the programming of the Florentine festival involved searching for a compromise between two reference cultural horizons: local and European. It is possible to interpret this compromise using the categories 'particular' and 'universal'. For the purposes of this chapter, I will categorize as 'universal' the linking of an event to a horizon that transcends those of city, region, and state—specifically, a 'European horizon'. I will categorize as 'particular' the rooting of an event exclusively within one of the above listed contexts.

By analysing the events programmed in the Florentine event as a whole (Festival and *Notte Blu*) along a continuum, from 'particular' to 'universal', it can be observed that they are nearly all quite close to one or other

of the two poles. Whenever a specific cultural or social horizon is identifiable, the event can be described as being either 'only European' or, prevalently, 'only city-based'. I found 'only European' to be more widespread in the Festival proper, and 'only city-based' to be predominant in the programming of *Notte Blu*.[4]

However, this polarization must not be considered as too clear-cut. For the events of the Festival (with the exception of *Notte Blu*) for which there was a clearly identifiable rooting within a specific cultural horizon (N. tot.: 62 cases[5]), the reference to 'Europe as central theme' was in the majority (53%). Nevertheless, the Festival (strictly speaking) hosted events in whose programming more than one horizon appeared. This took the form of interaction between European, regional, and city horizons[6] (21%) and between European and national horizons[7] (16%). The events rooted exclusively in the 'particularistic' type (reference only to the city or to the nation) comprise the remaining 10% of the cases.

This last set of data assists in delineating the cosmopolitan structure of the Florentine event. Admittedly, in the programming the 'particular' and the 'universal' were mostly configured in the form of simple coexistence (*configuration 1*). This simplicity derives from the tendency to program events at the extreme poles of the particular–universal continuum. It is as if the Festival had taken the form of a complex mosaic whose pieces did not fit together: on one hand, there were events promoting 'Europe', while on the other hand there were events which focused on local culture and history. This is the reflection of more general data: the tendency, manifested especially by the citizens of the 'old' EU member states, to assimilate Europe into 'the EU', representing it in the form of institutions, power, economy, rather than in cultural terms (Didelon & Grasland, 2014, p. 91). Nevertheless, another two configurations emerge.

One additional configuration appears in those events in whose programming Europe had the function of a legitimizing frame, assuming a background role with regard to the content of the event. The low profile of 'the European subject' in these events permitted local actors to benefit from full autonomy both in shaping that which nourished a European identity, and in defining the contribution that local culture brought to it. In this case, we find a projection of the local towards a broader (European) horizon of meaning (*configuration 2*: 'From the particular to the universal').

The following extract from an interview with an exhibitor at an art gallery in Via Maggio summarizes the significance of this projection:

> What links us to Europe is our historicity: Italian and above all Florentine. This [Festival] initiative serves to value our culture, taking it abroad and making youngsters aware of it. (A.T., key witness—business world, K_5)

However, this type of configuration is quite normal in cultural events organized in and inspired by Europe. As suggested by other authors (especially Sassatelli, 2009), the aura of positivity attributed to the European framework legitimizes the most diverse local content, whose common trait is to refer to a sense of vague and indeterminate 'Europeanness'. It is actually a renewed sense of belonging to the city that emerges in these Europe-related events.

In yet another configuration, 'Europe' was more entwined with the content of single events, creating the possibility for interaction—significantly—with the expectations, symbols, and practices of local actors (*configuration 3*; 'From the universal to the particular'). This can lead to a reflective and genuinely cosmopolitan self-transformation in the subjects involved, able to nourish the relation with the 'Other'. An interviewee, participating at a meeting-debate connected to the cortege of the European Federalist Movement (MFE), expressed this idea as follows:

> From this initiative, I have realised how important it is to speak of Europe, that is, to go beyond national egoism. There is so much superficiality and ignorance—I also include myself, you understand—especially amongst us Italians. When we speak of Europe it almost seems like speaking about Mars. It is not like this. (G., audience participant)

Obviously, the circumstances, intensity, and diffusion of this type of cosmopolitan self-transformation among participants cannot fully be defined on the basis of a single interview or simple organizational analysis. Nevertheless, one point seems to emerge: the first and second types of configurations prevailed in the Florentine event's programming, while more rare were *devised* moments aimed at a transformation of the local space in the direction of broader life meanings.

Aesthetic and Moral Engagements

Here, I will concern myself with how cosmopolitan socialization processes were favoured through various events of the Festival. I will examine two constitutive dimensions of a cosmopolitan socialization: aesthetic and moral.

In evaluating if and how the Festival, together with *Notte Blu*, encouraged the formation of aesthetic stances of openness, it is helpful to return to Table 9.1. Here it can be observed how the attention reserved in the programming for events that were ludic, expressive, or linked to the fruition of cultural products was anything but marginal. In my typology (Tab. 1), the distribution of event type is balanced with regard to participatory dynamics: evenly spread at either of the two poles (cognitive and expressive) on our continuum. The events of the expressive and ludic-recreational type (39%) were numerically only slightly less than those of the cognitive type (40%). In the programming of *Notte Blu*, instead, there was a more clear-cut prevalence of events aimed at entertainment and play. A 'marathon' of light music in the square, laboratories for children, mountain bike lessons, exhibitions by Florentine flag-wavers, kite flying performances, night-time visits to corners of Florence, and readings in the street of Dante Alighieri's *Canti* were some of its initiatives. It is possible, therefore, to speak of a marked aestheticism in the overall programming. Within this aesthetic dimension is one important difference between the Festival and *Notte Blu*. The former, though not exclusively, evinced a type of 'high culture' consistent with certain cultural products like works of fine art, architectural heritage, operas, and so on. The latter understood the concept of culture with a more anthropological orientation, and introduced events concerning the lifestyles of the local population.

This institutional design seems to have encouraged a distinction based on cultural consumption: a distinction between 'omnivorous cosmopolitans' and 'local consumers' (see, e.g., Peterson, 2005). *Notte Blu*, as tied to a cultural horizon of local tastes, is confirmed in my opinion as the 'more festive and popular version of the Festival', as formulated by a key witness. The distinction is slightly attenuated by a different type of aesthetic involvement mediated by the theme of Europe. In the

Festival (strictly speaking, excluding *Notte Blu*), reference to types of high culture was not at all synonymous with reference to a European-centred horizon of meaning. Rather, the thematizing of Europe occurred in the aesthetic performances that were nourished by forms of casual sociability, not programmed in their manner of approaching the audience. Participants in these events were not visitors to a museum or theatre spectators but passers-by. A party in a public garden, a musical performance in a crowded street, a street game about linguistic competencies, a projection in the square of a dance dedicated to the 'Myth of Europe', were events able to generate 'casual sociability among strangers' (Turnaturi, 2011), an emotional experience to which the idea of Europe contributed a background inflection and motivation. The intention pursued by these events seems to have been to mimetically clasp bodies together, bringing them close to a European 'symbolic core'—without, however, making this intent so visible that it corrupted the effervescence of the generative randomness.

Overall, the aesthetic experiences of the Festival were not programmed to promote a cosmopolitan socialization with Europe at the centre. They were designed by opting for a concept of culture as 'leisure' or to express 'local identity', without establishing a connection with a European horizon. A stronger cosmopolitan involvement could have been achieved by focusing the aesthetic performances on moral issues.

A way of investigating this issue is to analyse the space that the Festival dedicated to performances related to the construction of a shared memory. Numerous scholars have identified this theme as central to the formation of a European cosmopolitan society (Eder, 2005; Levy & Sznaider, 2007). What type of memory was encouraged by the events programmed for the Festival? To reply to this question, it is useful to borrow a metaphor from the American historian Charles Maier (2002), who distinguishes between 'hot memories' and 'cold memories'. Using a nuclear physics metaphor, Maier describes hot memory as a traumatic collective memory with a long half-life (similar in its destructiveness to the effects of plutonium), and cold memory as less persistent memory (similar in fallout time to a tritium isotope).

In the Florentine Festival, the events that specifically aimed for the construction of a collective memory were very few, and directed in a

celebratory style that favoured 'cold memories'. To illustrate, one of the central 'symbolic' events of the Festival was the exhibition dedicated to the Schuman Declaration. Displayed at the entrance to the Palazzo Vecchio in Cortile Michelozzo, the exhibition comprised documents in the form of posters, images, and films dedicated to three great 'founding fathers' of Europe: Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer, and Alcide de Gasperi. The exhibition manifested that celebratory style that European institutions promoted until the early 1990s (Calligaro, 2015). There are two salient elements to this style: the exaltation of *European cultural heritage* and the dissemination of knowledge linked to the most important personalities (*founding fathers*) who marked the stages of the European integration process. This celebratory style results in a 'coldness' little suited to generating identification mechanisms of an extensive reach, such as those susceptible to spreading cultural trauma (Alexander, 2012). One of interviewees expressed himself as follows:

> Perhaps we need symbols that are a little more shareable, recognizable and visible. I work in a place called Robert Schuman Center. If you ask me what there is in the Schuman Declaration, I am not sure that I remember it all. I believe that all Americans, instead, know by heart the Declaration of Independence and suchlike. Moreover, they are not doing anything else to make it become something different from what it represents today. (D.G., audience participant at the conference The State of the Union)

It should be said that the same European institutions, on the wave of a 'memory boom' raised by the events tied to the fall of the Berlin Wall (Pakier & Stråth, 2010), have insisted in the last decade on cultural policy intended to nourish a European identity based on the perseverance of hot memories. For example, an appeal to a pivotal role for a traumatic event like the Holocaust—culminating with the proclamation by the European Parliament of the *European Holocaust Memorial Day* (January 2005)—has been insistent in recent years. This inclination, however, seems to have been little acknowledged in the programming of the Festival. Equally feeble, then, from this point of view, was its potential to promote a cosmopolitan engagement.

Representational and/or Transformative Design

Some observations regarding the transforming nature of the Festival have already emerged from discussing the configurations of its institutional design. In particular, coexistence rather than interaction between particular and universal predominated (*configuration 1*). This means that due to organizational factors there was little margin for transformation of the local social space in a cosmopolitan sense (*configuration 3*). At most, a transformation happened as a projection of the local towards a broader (European) horizon, with Europe acting as the background for the single initiatives (*configuration 2*).

Beyond the relation between particular and universal, was the logic of the Festival representational or transformative? At first glance, both these logics seem to have inspired its programming, as articulated by a key witness:

> Arranging the Festival around the ninth of May was also an attempt to strengthen those celebratory moments that are part of the construction of an identity. In every country, people celebrate—I don't know—Independence or the Day of the Republic, that are moments that represent the sense of national unity. […] The ninth of May reproduces this type of situation for Europe. (N.S., key witness—institutional subjects)

The same interviewee added:

> This type of event has a twofold importance: on the one hand it makes people aware of Europe and the influence that it has on the daily life of its citizens; on the other, it is important to let it be understood what is missing and what is missing is a Europe in which the citizens have a greater voice than they currently have.

On the one hand—it can be argued—the Festival had a transformative orientation. It favoured initiatives of micro-participation around issues that were and are very relevant to Europe and its future: problems linked with immigration, the role of the media in the construction of Europe,

the economic governance of the EU, its gender policies, the participatory democracy, the role of civil society, construction of a federal Europe, and so on. As another key witness told us: 'The Festival is not only so we can say: "Oh, isn't Europe beautiful!", but to highlight its defects, to understand where to identify the deficits that have to be made up.'[8]

On the other hand, the Festival can be included among those initiatives that the EU institutions—in the case in question, together with local ones—have encouraged since the last two decades of the twentieth century, using the medium of 'culture' to socialize the people of Europe into a shared history and identity *conubium* (Shore, 2000). From this point of view, the strategy that animated the Festival, like in all events of this type, was that of the construction and legitimization of a consensus. Rather than encouraging a transformation of the horizons of sense, the Festival can be seen as a mere representation of an institutional project delivered via a top-down method.

For my part, I believe that neither of these two interpretations should be considered absolutely valid. Rather, it is necessary to reflect on their contentions through the examination of specific cases. It is useful, then, to refer to what Handelman (1998) claims about the properties of events-that-model. According to Handelman, events-that-model have an 'anticipatory' and 'procedural' character. Handelman (1998, p. 28) writes: 'the purposiveness of an event-that-models is anticipatory: it indexes or previews a hypothetical future condition that will be brought into being, and it provides procedures that will actualize this act of imagination'. The judgement that I have formed is that, despite programming of the Festival in an anticipatory or transformative direction, there was no following elaboration by the programmers of procedures adequate for the direction's implementation. These procedures would have concerned the symbolism actualized by the Festival. Especially where it was meant to be central, the Festival's symbolic dimension resulted in being too flattened on an 'institutional model'.

Europe needs symbols (Bruter, 2005; Manners, 2011). They are indispensable in the construction of any socio-political entity (Kertzer, 1988). In this work of construction, the symbolic assumes an ambivalent function. It can reproduce social order but it can also lead to its transformation. This means that the symbolic space can assume a form,

on the one hand, of a pre-reflective space. The flag hanging unnoticed on the public building is an expression as much of 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995) as of 'banal Europeanism' (Cram, 2001), of implicit or subconscious identification with the nation or the EU, respectively. On the other hand, the symbolic space can be characterized by openness to hermeneutic and transformative actions, by means of which social actors manipulate and transform their relationships. This is a character that shows itself with greater intensity precisely in ritual or ritual-like events (Turner, 1982).

What type of symbolism was activated at the Festival? The dominant symbolism was of an institutional type. At best, it was barely amenable to the appropriation and negotiation of meanings, and at worst, even actively excluded such developments. An example of this exclusiveness was the dynamic generated by the conference *The State of the Union*, considered by many of interviewees to be the central happening of the Festival by virtue of the participation of high-level institutional and political figures. On the occasion of the conference, these public personalities heavily occupied the symbolic scene. This was made immediately visible by the delimitation of physical space, with part of the Piazza della Signoria cordoned off and access to the entire Palazzo Vecchio building limited to the participants at the conference. The image offered by the conference was of an event that clearly differentiated invited ritual participants and non-participants.

> It is a symbolic event; it is not here that anyone will change their mind. They come to share with very vague words what has been decided by another. In my opinion, this type of event does not lead to the construction of an identity, because at the end you see the barriers. Seeing the flags [on the façade of the Palazzo Vecchio] is beautiful, but putting barricades in front goes in a totally different direction. (G.F., audience participant at the conference The State of the Union)

When symbolism becomes the exclusive expression of an *auctoritas*, it risks being counterproductive in terms of participation and formation of a wider (cosmopolitan) sense of belonging.

Both tendencies—towards representation and towards transformation—were present in the programming of the Festival. Nevertheless, by virtue of an institutionally centred symbolism that precluded negotiation, it was, above all, representationalism that prevailed.

Conclusions

Can ritual-like events like festivals be occasions that allow and promote cosmopolitan socialization? If so, under what conditions? I have attempted to answer these questions by focusing on how a festival dedicated to European issues framed/mediated cosmopolitan encounters.

In the contemporary cultural scenario, festivals and visitors attending them focus more and more on cultural exploration as a matter of concern (see e.g. Schofield & Thompson, 2007). Festivals are becoming transnational or cross-cultural experiences. The cosmopolitan perspective observes these experiences through a particular lens. It seeks to highlight whether face-to-face, or imagined, inclusive social ties may arise through a variety of forms of cognitive or aesthetic involvement, thus projecting local identities towards broader horizons of meaning. From this point of view, festivals represent important opportunities for reshaping and revitalizing the significance of local urban public spaces in the form of a renewed cultural participation (Picard & Robinson, 2006). When they are not subject to 'governmental' logics, festivals can give life to an 'aesthetic public sphere' (Jones, 2007), in which conflicts related to the growing heterogeneity of our societies can be reduced or even resolved. Furthermore, 'cosmopolitan festivals' can make places more attractive in a particular way: as spaces for critical reflection. By problematizing the relationship with diversity, 'cosmopolitan festivals' are a way for developing 'culturally sustainable place-branding strategies' (Askegaard & Kjeldgaard, 2007, p. 146), thus preventing that cities—Florence is an exemplary case—merely become touristified spaces or fixed on musealized forms of identity.

However, festivals with a cosmopolitan profile must be distinguished from other kinds of festivals where diversity is brought to the fore, such

as multicultural festivals. The process of 'becoming a cosmopolitan festival' is not focused on the celebration of diversity and the acceptance of a minority, but centres on critical self-reflection and therefore on the articulation of new identities inspired to wider horizons of meaning. Further research is required in order to refine this difference.

The aim of my study was to establish the conditions under which a festival that promotes transnational experiences can become a potential cosmoscape. In particular, three elements are required: a dialogue between horizons of meaning (between particular and universal), the setting up of performances that are able to merge moral and aesthetic stances of openness, and a symbolism capable of feeding transformative experiences.

My analysis of the 2013 Festival of Europe has identified various critical aspects of this event with regard to its potential configuration as a cosmoscape. In particular, they concern lack of interaction rather than simple cohabitation between horizons of meaning, lack of references to a European horizon concerning aesthetic performances and weakness of their links to moral issues, and, lastly, a symbolism that was hardly open to negotiation. Local content and wider horizons of references generally coexisted rather than merged within the programming, not greatly encouraging relativization of the local. The forms of programmed aesthetic involvement did not favour an interconnection among local and European levels, while the space reserved to performances related to hot memories was practically absent. Regarding the symbolic structure of the Festival, when 'Europe' completely dominated an event through institutional representations, dynamics were created that were exclusive and counterproductive in terms of participation, in spite of the intentions of the actors involved.

Despite these assessments, Festival should not be written off as an event only organized to create an artificial consensus. The main merit attributable to the Festival of Europe, and more generally to this type of event, is that of placing the preambles so that Europe and cosmopolitanism are not only 'thought' but also 'lived' towards a plurality of forms of involvement. The Festival as a whole represented an occasion when 'Europe' and 'cosmopolitanism' became concrete performances rather than being merely abstract ideals. In the intermediate space between the institutional and recreational artifice lurks the possibility of creating a cosmoscape. In its interstices, the 2013 edition of the Festival of Europe

appears to have succeeded in nurturing a cosmopolitan socialization, mainly as sociability encounters, although this occurred more by chance than by making a programmed effort.

Notes

1. The European University Institute (EUI), Commune and Province of Florence, and Tuscany Regional Government were the promoters of the Festival, which was supported by partnerships with other public institutions—European, national, and local—and organizations from civil society.
2. The initiative *Notte Blu* had its first edition in 2010. It is, therefore, antecedent to the Festival and is an annual event.
3. N.S., key witness—institutional subjects.
4. Two examples of events labeled 'only European' or 'only city-based' are the planning initiatives *The European Parliament as an International Actor* [original title] (Festival), and *Le visite guidate in Palazzo Vecchio* [Guided Tours of the Palazzo Vecchio] (*Notte Blu*).
5. I have excluded from the count the repeated events, which are instead considered in Table 9.1 Therefore, the events with reference to a specific cultural horizon number 62 out of a total 85 events.
6. Examples are initiatives such as *Le vetrine di via Maggio e via dei Fossi, ambasciatrici di cultura europea* [The Window Displays of Via Maggio and Via dei Fossi, Ambassadors of European Culture] or *L'Europa a scuola* [Europe at School].
7. For example, the initiative named *Giornalismo e media italiani nella governance dell'Unione* [Italian Journalism and Media in the Governance of the Union] can be seen to display this form of interaction between horizons of reference.
8. M.S., key witness—non-profit associations.

References

Alexander, J. C. (2012). *Trauma. A Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Appadurai, A. (2004). The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition. In V. Rao & M. Walton (Eds.), *Culture and Public Action* (pp. 59–84). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Appadurai, A. (2011). Cosmopolitanism from Below: Some Ethical Lessons from the Slums of Mumbai. *Johannesburg Workshop in Theory and Criticism*. [Online]. Retrieved January 12, 2015, from http://jwtc.org.za/volume_4/arjun_appadurai.htm

Askegaard, S., & Kjeldgaard, D. (2007). Here, There, and Everywhere: Place Branding and Gastronomical Globalization in a Macromarketing Perspective. *Journal of Macromarketing, 27*(2), 138–147.

Baumann, G. (1992). Ritual Implicates 'Others': Rereading Durkheim in a Plural Society. In D. de Coppet (Ed.), *Understanding Rituals* (pp. 97–116). London and New York: Routledge.

Beck, U., & Grande, E. (2007). *Cosmopolitan Europe* (Translated from German by C. Cronin). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bennett, A., Taylor, J., & Woodward, I. (Eds.). (2014). *The Festivalization of Culture*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Bennett, A., & Woodward, I. (2014). Festival Spaces, Identity, Experience and Belonging. In A. Bennett, J. Taylor, & I. Woodward (Eds.), *The Festivalization of Culture* (pp. 11–25). Farnham: Ashgate.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.

Binnie, J., Holloway, J., Millington, S., & Young, C. (2006). Conclusion: The Paradoxes of Cosmopolitan Urbanism. In J. Binnie, J. Holloway, S. Millington, & C. Young (Eds.), *Cosmopolitan Urbanism* (pp. 246–253). London and New York: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Translated from French by R. Nice). Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruter, M. (2005). *Citizens of Europe? The Emergence of Mass European Identity*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Calhoun, C. (2002). The Class Consciousness of Frequent Travellers: Towards a Critique of Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism. In S. Vertovec & R. Cohen (Eds.), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice* (pp. 86–109). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Calligaro, O. (2015). Legitimation through Remembrance? The Changing Regimes of Historicity of European Integration. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies, 23*(3), 330–343.

Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cram, L. (2001). Imagining the Union: A Case of Banal Europeanism? In H. Wallace (Ed.), *Interlocking Dimensions of European Integration* (pp. 233–246). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Delanty, G. (2011a). Cultural Diversity, Democracy and the Prospects of Cosmopolitanism: A Theory of Cultural Encounters. *The British Journal of Sociology, 62*(4), 633–656.

Delanty, G. (2011b). Conclusion. On the Cultural Significance of Arts Festivals. In L. Giorgi, M. Sassatelli, & G. Delanty (Eds.), *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere* (pp. 190–198). London and New York: Routledge.

Didelon, C., & Grasland, C. (2014). Internal and External Perceptions of Europe/the EU in the World through Mental Maps. In N. Chaban & M. Holland (Eds.), *Communicating Europe in Times of Crisis* (pp. 65–94). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Eder, K. (2005). Remembering National Memories Together: The Formation of a Transnational Identity in Europe. In K. Eder & W. Spohn (Eds.), *Collective Memory and European Identity* (pp. 197–220). Farnham: Ashgate.

Emontspool, J., & Georgi, C. (2016). A Cosmopolitan Return to Nature: How Combining Aesthetization and Moralization Processes Expresses Distinction in Food Consumption. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 20*, 306–328.

Etzioni, A., & Bloom, J. (Eds.). (2004). *We Are What We Celebrate. Understanding Holidays and Rituals*. New York and London: New York University Press.

Featherstone, M. (1992). Postmodernism and the Aestheticization of Everyday Life. In S. Lash & J. Freidman (Eds.), *Modernity and Identity* (pp. 265–290). Oxford: Blackwell.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 12*(2), 219–245.

Fornäs, J. (2012). *Signifying Europe*. Bristol and Chicago: Intellect.

Fridman, V., & Ollivier, M. (2004). Ouverture ostentatoire à la diversité et cosmopolitisme. Vers une nouvelle configuration discursive? *Sociologie et société, 36*(1), 105–126.

Giorgi, L., Sassatelli, M., & Delanty, G. (Eds.). (2011). *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere*. London and New York: Routledge.

Grimes, R. L. (2014). *The Craft of Ritual Studies*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Handelman, D. (1998). *Model and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Hannerz, U. (1990). Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture. In M. Featherstone (Ed.), *Global Culture* (pp. 237–251). London: Sage.

Harvey, D. (2009). *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Hawkins Lee, C. J., & Ryan, A. J. (2013). Festival Spaces as Third Places. *Journal of Place Management and Development, 6*(3), 192–202.
Hollinger, D. A. (2001). Not Universalists, Not Pluralists: The New Cosmopolitans Find Their Own Way. *Constellations, 8*(2), 236–248.
Jones, P. (2007). Beyond the Semantic 'Big Bang': Cultural Sociology and an Aesthetic Public Sphere. *Cultural Sociology, 1*(1), 73–95.
Kendall, G., Woodward, I., & Skrbiš, Z. (Eds.). (2009). *The Sociology of Cosmopolitanism. Globalization, Identity, Culture and Government*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Kertzer, D. (1988). *Ritual, Politics, and Power*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Leach, E. (1976). *Culture and Communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Lee, I., Arcodia, C., & Lee, T. (2012). Key Characteristics of Multicultural Festivals: A Critical Review of the Literature. *Event Management, 16*(1), 93–101.
Levy, D., & Sznaider, N. (2007). Memories of Europe: Cosmopolitanism and Its Others. In C. Rumford (Ed.), *Cosmopolitanism and Europe* (pp. 158–177). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
Linklater, A. (2007). Distant Suffering and Cosmopolitan Obligations. *International Politics, 44*(1), 19–36.
Losito, G. (1993). *L'analisi del contenuto nella ricerca sociale*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
Maffesoli, M. (1996). *The Time of the Tribes. The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society* (Translated from French by D. Smith). London: Sage.
Maier, C. S. (2002). Hot Memory … Cold Memory: On the Political Half-Life of Fascist and Communist Memory. *Transit. Europäische Revue*, 22. [Online]. Retrieved January 12, 2015, from http://www.iwm.at/read-listen-watch/transit-online/
Manners, I. (2011). Symbolism in European Integration. *Comparative European Politics, 9*(3), 243–268.
McGuigan, J. (2005). The Cultural Public Sphere. *European Journal of Cultural Studies, 8*(4), 427–443.
Nowicka, M., & Rovisco, M. (Eds.). (2009). *Cosmopolitanism in Practice*. Farnham: Ashgate.
Oldenburg, R. (1991). *The Great Good Place*. New York: Paragon House.

Ong, J. C. (2009). The Cosmopolitan Continuum: Locating Cosmopolitanism in Media and Cultural Studies. *Media, Culture and Society, 31*(3), 449–466.

Pakier, M., & Stråth, B. (Eds.). (2010). *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Pendenza, M. (2017). Societal Cosmopolitanism: The Drift from Universalism Towards Particularism. *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory, 18*, 3–17. doi:10.1080/1600910X.2017.1290668

Peterson, R. A. (2005). Problems in Comparative Research: The Example of Omnivorousness. *Poetics, 33*(5–6), 257–282.

Picard, D., & Robinson, M. (2006). *Festivals, Tourism and Social Change*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Regev, M. (2011). International Festivals in a Small Country. Rites of Recognition and Cosmopolitanism. In L. Giorgi, M. Sassatelli, & G. Delanty (Eds.), *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere* (pp. 108–123). London and New York: Routledge.

Roche, M. (2011). Festivalization, Cosmopolitanism and European Culture. On the Sociocultural Significance of Mega-Events. In L. Giorgi, M. Sassatelli, & G. Delanty (Eds.), *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere* (pp. 124–141). London and New York: Routledge.

Roudometof, V. (2005). Trasnationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization. *Current Sociology, 53*(1), 113–135.

Rumford, C. (2008). *Cosmopolitan Spaces. Europe, Globalization, Theory*. London and New York: Routledge.

Sassatelli, M. (2009). *Becoming Europeans: Cultural Identity and Cultural Policies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sassatelli, M. (2011). Urban Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere. Cosmopolitanism between Ethics and Aesthetics. In L. Giorgi, M. Sassatelli, & G. Delanty (Eds.), *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere* (pp. 12–28). London and New York: Routledge.

Sassatelli, M. (2012). Festivals, Museums, Exhibitions. Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism in the Cultural Public Sphere. In G. Delanty (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies* (pp. 233–244). London and New York: Routledge.

Schofield, P., & Thompson, K. (2007). Visitor Motivation, Satisfaction and Behavioural Intention: The 2005 Naadam Festival, Ulaanbaatar. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 9*, 329–344.

Shore, C. (2000). *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*. London and New York: Routledge.

Skrbiš, Z., Kendall, G., & Woodward, I. (2004). Locating Cosmopolitanism: Between Humanist Ideal and Grounded Social Category. *Theory, Culture and Society, 21*(6), 115–136.

Skrbiš, Z., & Woodward, I. (2013). *Cosmopolitanism. Uses of the Idea*. London: Sage.

Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative Case Studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd ed., pp. 443–466). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Strauss, A. L. (1987). *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientist*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tascón, S. (2015). *Human Rights Film Festivals. Activism in Context*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tomlinson, J. (1999). *Globalization and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Turnaturi, G. (2011). Socialità casuali. *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia, a. LII*(1), 15–36.

Turner, V. W. (1982). *From Ritual to Theatre. The Human Seriousness of Play*. New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications.

Vertovec, S., & Cohen, R. (2002). Introduction: Conceiving Cosmopolitanism. In S. Vertovec & R. Cohen (Eds.), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice* (pp. 1–22). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yin, R. K. (1984). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Dario Verderame is Research Fellow in the Department of Political, Social and Media Sciences at the University of Salerno (Italy). His research interests mainly involve studies on European identity, rituals, and cosmopolitanism from a sociological perspective. His latest publications include *Grounded Cosmopolitanism: Operationalizing the «Cosmopolitan Openness»* (Sociologia e ricerca sociale, 111/2016) and *Rituale e società europea* (Quaderni di Sociologia, 69/2015).

10

Buying the Nation and Beyond: Discursive Dilemmas in Debates around Cosmopolitan Consumption

Farida Fozdar

Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and Consumption

Martha Nussbaum begins her groundbreaking paper on 'patriotism and cosmopolitanism' with a quote from Rabindranath Tagore's novel *The Home and the World*. It makes the point that even apparently minimal expressions of patriotism, such as those behind the imperative to support one's nation by 'buying local', are fundamentally 'morally dangerous' (Nussbaum, 1994, p. 155), because they encourage a privileging of one's co-nationals above others. This paper asks how this imperative is articulated (and challenged) in discussions by Australians about their purchasing decisions.

It has been argued that globalisation generates a responsibility to act not based on local or national interests but in relation to the globe (Urry, 1999). This approach is often characterised as cosmopolitanism, and is contrasted with nationalism. Cosmopolitanism is generally understood

F. Fozdar (✉)
The University of Western Australia, Crawley, WA, Australia

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_10

as an openness to others, regardless of their similarity or proximity, that is, based on fellow feelings of shared humanity rather than shared membership of a nation-state (Appiah, 2010; Nussbaum, 1994). Academic debate about the more esoteric philosophical and moral aspects of cosmopolitan thinking has led to an interest in the ways in which such thinking is enacted in everyday practices, including engagement with others and with objects (Woodward, Kendall, & Skrbis, 2009; Woodward, Skrbis, & Bean, 2008). One dimension of this question is how individuals' consumption practices are influenced by their sense of solidarity with others at the local, national, and international levels (Germann Molz, 2011).

The tendency to purchase and consume products not 'from home' has been called 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism' (Urry, 1995) or 'consumer cosmopolitanism'. It is an orientation to experience, and appreciate, the diversity of cultural products available, to seek out and consume the foreign and exotic (Altlntaş, Kurtulmuşoğlu, Kaufmannc, Harcard, & Gundogane, 2013; Riefler, Diamantopoulos, & Siguaw, 2012; Zeugner-Roth, Zabkar, & Diamantopoulos, 2015). It is seen as an enactment of 'banal cosmopolitanism' (Beck, 2006). This contrasts with 'banal nationalism', which signals and privileges the nation in daily routines, practices, and orientations (Billig, 1995), including consumption. Nationalist consumption practices are often framed as 'economic nationalism', 'discrimination in favour of one's own nation … a zero-sum pursuit of the supposed economic interests of the people of one country without regard for those of other people in other countries' (Baughn & Yaprak, 1996, p. 760, 763). However, this term is used in the economics literature in relation to macro-level trade policies designed to protect the nation's production capacity through import tariffs and the like. At the micro-level, campaigns such as 'Shop Canadian', 'Buy American', or 'Buy German Produce', popular in the 1980s and 1990s, sought to convince consumers to buy locally. Arguments were framed in terms of the supposed better quality of country-made products, or the need to protect local industry and jobs (Fischer & Byron, 1997).

'Consumer ethnocentrism' (or more accurately, consumer xenocentrism) is the term used to describe the tendency to purchase domestic over foreign-made products. It is understood as a moral orientation,

providing a sense of identity and belonging, which sees purchasing imported products as wrong because it damages the domestic economy, causes domestic job losses, and is unpatriotic (Shimp & Sharma, 1987). Extreme consumption xenocentrics view products from other countries as worthy of contempt (hence, consumer xenophobia might be a more appropriate term).

In an era of globalisation and 'free trade', this approach has, to some extent, come to be seen as outdated (Helleiner & Pickel, 2005). Indeed, economic theory generally supports globalisation over protectionism—national economies benefit more from globalisation than economic nationalism (see Baughn & Yaprak, 1996). However, the imperative for parochial consumption continues to have both popular and political appeal—US President elect Donald Trump's anti-free trade agreement stance is a case in point.

Research is contradictory on the impact of consumer ethnocentrism on actual purchasing practices. Some have found it is not a driving factor influencing choice to buy domestic products (Acharya & Elliott, 2003), others that it is (Balabanis, Diamantopoulos, Mueller, & Melewar, 2001), or that it generates positive intentions to buy local (Cameron & Elliott, 1998), but that product quality and price trump origin (Elliott & Cameron, 1994; Fischer & Byron, 1997).

Consumer cosmopolitanism is understudied.[1] Zeugner-Roth et al. (2015), in a study of consumption preferences, found around 15% of their sample were 'pure cosmopolitans', exhibiting a moderate to low attachment to their home country in both identification and consumer ethnocentrism. Around 45% were 'national cosmopolitans', having a strong national identity but not making ethnocentric purchasing decisions. Around 40% were domestically oriented consumers, scoring higher on national identity and consumer ethnocentrism, and lower on cosmopolitanism.

But what does such cosmopolitanism entail? Vertovec and Cohen (2002; see also Hage, 1997) suggest cosmopolitan consumption does not necessarily indicate (or generate) a cosmopolitan morality; Germann Molz (2011) notes arguments that cosmopolitan consumption is simply an expansion of capitalism into new markets, and that it is ethically limited, a safe option in terms of engagement across cultures, and a self-conscious

and visible display of membership of a global community. This is a rather cynical view of cosmopolitan purchasing choices. In contrast, in a recent article, Plage, Willing, Woodward, and Skrbiš (2016) argue that the key characteristics of those who engage in cosmopolitan encounters are two-fold: a degree of self-reflexivity in terms of engagement with others and an ethics of sharing. They define the ethics of sharing as 'the ethical reasoning around the moral imperative to create conditions of equality, reciprocity and economic balance' (Plage et al., 2016, p. 16). Cosmopolitan consumption prompted by such an ethics thus has quite different motivations and is fundamentally 'thought-ful'—it is a conscious ethics of sharing at the global level. It involves a relationship with, including a sense of obligation towards, those who are not co-nationals. The cosmopolitan regards the entire global population as their in-group, with a sense of identity and responsibility for others' well-being oriented to peoples everywhere, rather than limited to co-nationals.[2]

Much research on consumption uses a quantitative paradigm. This fails to access the ways in which consumers make decisions about their consumption choices, and the sorts of ethical dilemmas with which they engage in making such decisions. Rather than approaching people as consumers with set ideas which translate into practices, I am interested in how people articulate and engage with the contradictory imperatives to buy national versus international.

The Australian Context

It is perhaps surprising how much of the research on consumer nationalism has been conducted in Australia and New Zealand (albeit in the 1990s rather than more recently). However, both countries have engaged in aggressive campaigns encouraging ethnocentric consumption, and have high levels of nationalism (Pakulski & Tranter, 2000), making them ideal for such studies.

Some background to the Australian context is necessary. Australia is known as a multicultural nation of migrants—with almost half its population being first- or second-generation migrants, and most of the population only able to track Australian roots through less than four

generations. Since the late 1960s, Australia has had official policies of multiculturalism, designed to recognise and support internal diversity. Additionally it is well known as a country of travellers. Given these factors, it seems an obvious site for the development of cosmopolitan consciousness and practices, including cosmopolitan consumption. Perhaps ironically, however, it is also known internationally as a racist country (Dunn & Forrest, 2008) and its cosmopolitanism is both limited and ambivalent (Brett & Moran, 2011; Skrbis & Woodward, 2007).

This is partly the result of at least three factors: the heritage of the White Australia Policy, which established a racial basis for access to the nation-state for most of its almost 120-year history; its treatment of its Indigenous peoples, resulting in marginalisation and extremely poor results on a range of social indicators, and a guilt-driven anxiety among the white population; and over the last two decades, a strong conservative stream in its government that has meant a retreat from multiculturalism, and the use of a politics of fear to mobilise public opinion against ethnic minorities.

Economic nationalism was common in Australia in the 1960s and 1970s, resulting from a sense of threat from transnational corporations. However, it morphed in the mid-1980s to a focus on the ability of industry to plan for, and provide for, Australia's future (Bryan, 1991). Around this time, the 'Australian made' campaign, complete with an iconic green and gold kangaroo logo, was launched (in 1986) in response to increased import penetration (Fischer & Byron, 1997). Its goal was to encourage Australians to buy Australian-made products, and to make these products visible through use of the logo. The campaign remains an initiative of the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry and private businesses (Fischer & Byron, 1997), and companies must purchase a license to display the logo.

Thus, along with a general tendency to xenophobia, it may be that marketing campaigns have played a part in Australians' apparent negativity to foreign products. Australian companies use nationalism to sell their products and raise their profile, flaunting 'nationalist credentials' in their advertising (Prideaux, 2009).[3]

While discourses around economic nationalism were strong from the 1960s through to the 1980s, these faded for a time, only to arise again in

the 1996 national election campaign in arguments around protectionism. These were generated by marginal parties and conservative independents (Capling, 1997), but were also taken up more widely, partly as a backlash against dramatic changes designed to open the country to international trade. These changes 'engendered a sense of deep unease among members of the community who believe that such changes have come at great cost—to themselves, their families and communities, to their sense of national identity, and finally, to their version of the Australian "way of life"' (Capling, 1997, p. 1). These concerns were reinforced by other changes—the growing diversity of the population, greater immigration, and a Prime Minister (Paul Keating) with a liberalising agenda that included developing greater ties with Asia, becoming a republic, and recognition of the Indigenous peoples. The reaction by many was to hunker down into nationalist rhetoric and practices.

This sense of unease is evident in attitudinal data about foreign products and investment from the time. Around three quarters of a national survey sample from the 1990s agreed Australia should limit foreign imports in order to protect its national economy, and a third that 'foreigners should not be allowed to buy land in Australia' (Bean, 2002). Data from 2003 shows a slight drop in agreement with the first question (65%), but a rise regarding negativity to foreign land ownership (42%) (Marsh, Meagher, & Wilson, 2005, p. 243). And almost half (49%) agreed that 'Opening up Australia's economy to foreign competition has a bad effect on job security in this country'. Marsh and colleagues conclude that in comparison with other nations, 'Australians remain protectionist, both culturally and economically' (Marsh et al., 2005, pp. 254–255).

In a qualitative study, Skrbis and Woodward (2007) found Australians are ambivalent about globalisation. While they enjoy economic globalisation for the personal freedom, opportunities, and consumption opportunities it offers, they are negative about its potential for exploitation, commercialisation and alienation. These authors argue that Australians, despite their tendency to purchase based on cost, generally exhibit parochialism and negativity towards others in their orientations to globalisation.

Method

As noted, quantitative approaches offer blunt instruments for understanding the actual attitudes of people and the subtleties and nuances of, as well as the rationale behind, their views. I am interested in how consumption decisions, whether nationalist or cosmopolitan, are talked about, and particularly how they are influenced by a recognition of responsibility to others. Thus, the question this chapter seeks to address is how people articulate the apparently competing narratives behind pro- or anti- 'buy national' stances, and how an ethics of sharing and of identity oriented at the global, versus national, levels is implicit or explicit in that articulation.

Data is drawn from 26 focus groups (n = 223) undertaken across Australia as part of a larger project exploring conceptions of Australian, transnational, and postnational identities.[4] Focus groups are useful in eliciting information about controversial topics (Gamson, 1992; Munday, 2006; Phillips & Smith, 2000). They enable free-flowing discussion generating multilayered data suitable for content, thematic, and discursive analyses (Krueger & Casey, 2000; Puchta & Potter, 2004). Such discussions expose collective discourses and meta-narratives, and particularly the binary nature of such discourses, due to their 'thesis/antithesis' format (Munday, 2006; Skrbis & Woodward, 2007). They also expose ideological dilemmas (Billig et al., 1988), particularly the argumentative processes, through which people arrive at their positions—a point to which I return shortly.

The focus group discussions were conducted among pre-existing groups in four major capital cities in Australia: Brisbane, Perth, Melbourne, and Sydney and in the smaller regional town of Launceston. Half were ethno-specific, migrant, or multicultural groups, half collectives based on some shared interest. These included a Christian group, an environmental group, a neighbourhood house group, sporting groups, and so on. The rationale for this selection was that individuals would feel more comfortable discussing issues of identity among people known to them, hence existing groups were used. Participants ranged in age from 18 to over 80. Representativeness is not claimed—the goal was to generate

interchanges that reflect the sorts of discussions going on around dinner tables, office lunch rooms, and pubs around Australia.

Focus group discussions are usually generated using a set of questions. However, in the current research, a series of still images was used, applying the photo-elicitation technique (and indeed two of the same images) used by Skrbis and Woodward (2007). The goal was to generate more open discussion than directed questions might. The images were selected to trigger conversations about ethnic, religious, national, and supranational identities and relationships, orientations to the globe, values, and visions for the future. They included images of the Australian flag, a world map, an Aboriginal painting, pollution, an aeroplane, cross-cultural caring, dual citizenship, and the Australian Multiculturalism policy. The focus of this chapter is participants' responses to an image of the 'Australian made' and 'buy Australian' logos.

Analytical Approach

If we are to take Nussbaum's warning that buying national is morally dangerous, it is useful to see how ordinary people tackle the moral dilemmas involved, namely the question of in whose interests to make one's purchasing decisions. A note about using a dilemmatic discursive analytical approach is necessary here. Michael Billig et al. (1988) at Loughborough University's Discourse and Rhetoric Group were among the first to challenge 'attitudes research' (see also Potter & Wetherell, 1987) by arguing that people tackle moral dilemmas in complex ways. Questions structured around 'agree/disagree' responses ignore the nuances in people's thinking about what is right and wrong. They argued individuals should not be seen as 'blinded bearers of a received ideological tradition' (Billig et al., 1988, p. 2) but as agentive thinkers who produce, reproduce, and challenge ideology, and link it with common sense, through engaging with contrary themes in everyday thinking. Thus, they demonstrated how democratic and authoritarian themes, notions of freedom and constraint, difference and similarity, competition and cooperation, individualism and collectivism, prejudice and tolerance, justice and mercy, and so on, work as dialectics within the thinking and argument of common

people. Such dilemmas are often encapsulated in maxims, an observation of Francis Bacon (see Billig et al., 1988, pp. 16–17)—most relevant for our purposes being the principle 'love thy neighbour' versus 'charity begins at home'. Such maxims are 'seeds, not flowers', Billig et al. (1988, p. 20) argue, providing a basis upon which to make arguments for or against particular courses of action.

Billig (1987) suggests such dilemmas are inherent to both arguing and thinking. Both are fundamentally social—engaged with wider political and moral debates, oriented to alternate positions, and expressed rhetorically, in a manner designed to persuade (Billig et al., 1988; Fozdar, 2008). In such articulations, there is also a strong 'social desirability' effect, or 'recipient design', whereby speakers craft their language and views to ensure they are palatable to others. Thus, while Billig and colleagues were interested in internal debates, contradictions individuals deal with in establishing a moral position or course of action, I am (also) interested in external debates—the forms and content of these dilemmas as expressed in social intercourse between participants in a focus group.

As will be seen from the data, 'it is not the case that all members of all societies think, argue and are perplexed about exactly the same things' (Billig et al., 1988, p. 18). Some adopt a straightforward ideological position in a reasonably straightforward manner, for whatever reasons. Others maintain positions at odds with each other, without recognising the dilemma. But others recognise and attend to the dilemmas, attempting to resolve them by arguing for nationalist or cosmopolitan obligations to others, or some combination of the two.

Results

The response of many participants, particularly migrants (see Fozdar, 2017), to the 'buy Australian/Australian made' image, was a straightforward articulation of the 'buy national' ideology. An imperative to support jobs and the economy within the nation-state acts as what Augoustinos, LeCouteur, and Soyland (2002) call a self-sufficient argument, such that for those articulating this position, a rationale, whether economic or moral, was often not provided.

Where discussion did ensue, a tension between ideologies of nationalism, cosmopolitanism, and liberalism was evident. Billig et al. (1988, p. 35) focus on the internal contradictions within liberal discourse—the taken-for-granted ideology of individualism and freedom, both themes of the Enlightenment, is held in tension (or balanced) by 'strictures against selfishness and lack of social responsibility', also derived from Enlightenment principles. They note, however, that an overriding sense of solidarity, or fraternity, is seen to be owed to members of a shared fatherland—to co-nationals. The ways in which such arguments play out is the focus of the current analysis.

Put simply, 'buy national' versus 'buy international' arguments did not break down into a simple binary. For example, some made a 'buy local' argument not in terms of xenophobic obligations to the family of the nation, but to the globe, as purchasing decisions were motivated by the desire to lower their carbon footprint. Arguments against 'Australian made' very often centred around cynicism rather than cosmopolitanism, with participants suggesting that Australian-made products are often not Australian-made, or are not well made or too expensive. Some of these complexities are discussed below.

As noted, most responses to the 'buy Australian' and 'Australian made' images assumed that the moral obligation centred on co-nationals, as the following example indicates.

Facilitator**:** *Do you think your obligations to Australians are more important than your obligation to other workers overseas?*

[Multiple responses, 'Yes, absolutely'.]

Mitch**:** *You will look after your own before you look after anyone else.* (Vietnam Veterans)

Here 'looking after your own' is without question, an obligation to support Australians over workers in other countries. This particular response was followed by a long discussion of multinationals and profits 'going overseas' and apparently Australian-made products being made overseas, demonstrating a pervasive suspicion, particularly among the non-migrant groups, about the veracity of the 'Australian made' claim. So while there was generally certainty about the principle of buying

Australian resulting from a nationalist duty of care, there was some dilemma around the actual practice.

This often focussed around the greater cost, and the choice to buy Australian was seen as requiring sufficient income.

Facilitator: *[ ] Is our obligation to Australian made, or is it to workers in Australia as opposed to workers overseas—who, as we say they are providing us with the lifestyle we have with the cheap clothing and goods. [ ]*

Alana: *I guess at the end of the day, our obligation is to us, so if my wallet says I can't afford to buy that and it is Australian made, I've got to go with what I can afford. [ ] It is really hard, because if I had the luxury and I had millions of dollars then I would spend the extra money because I want it to go to the Australian worker and I want it to benefit Australia. But, at the end of the day, I think with most people it does come down to cost because it is so much cheaper.* (Bushfire Group)

The dilemma here is acknowledged with phrases that suggest an internal debate: 'I guess', 'I've got to', 'it is really hard', and 'at the end of the day'. The suggestion that 'our obligation is to us' can be read in a number of ways, but the collective pronoun here appears to refer to the immediate family and what it can afford. Even as an argument is made to purchase based on cost, the framing perpetuates the imperative that buying Australian is the right thing to do. While it is suggested to be a luxury, one's obligation is clearly 'to the Australian worker' and 'to benefit Australia'. So the dilemma is only around whether in a particular instance a given individual can afford to buy Australian made goods, not whether the principle of the thing is right.

While the majority of responses supported buying Australian, I want to focus on the occasions where arguments were made for supporting others beyond Australia—arguments that engaged with the idea of cosmopolitan consumption. These were framed as debates, acknowledging the dilemmas involved.

Donald: *I remember a time when anything that was made outside Australia was taxed to make it dearer [more expensive] than*

> *anything that was made inside Australia. And the screams and howls when those things were lifted, and even now I'm not sure if it was a good thing or not. Certainly, we have a duty to maintain the life, economic and all that, of Australian people, but we have our responsibilities to other nations. The poor pay, I think, somebody said about that, in other countries they get paid less, sure, but they also need a lot less to live on. On the other hand, a lot of people are sweated [work in sweatshops] and we need to be very much aware of that. Trouble is to do the right thing by ourselves or other nations, you've got to be pretty well-heeled to start with …* (Uniting Church Support Centre)

Donald's 'we', in this context, is the broader Australian population who have 'a duty to maintain the life … of Australian people', but also have 'responsibilities to other nations'. The construction of this response suggests the speaker is aware his views may be contentious. Thus, he introduces his comments with a statement about the commonality of import tariffs and objections to their removal ('screams and howls'), and emphasises that he remains agnostic about the benefits or otherwise of protectionism, saying 'even now I'm not sure if it was a good thing or not'. Using what discourse analysts call 'apparent concession' (van Dijk, 1993), which is an important technique for bringing listeners along when arguing for a 'dispreferred' position, that is, an unpopular one, Donald concedes that there is a 'duty' to maintain the economic life of 'Australian people' but is unwilling to privilege this over prospects for others. Orienting to objections (made earlier in the focus group discussion) that people overseas are poorly paid or working in sweat shops, he notes that they have a much lower cost of living, agrees it is a difficult moral dilemma to decide whether to privilege one group over others, and argues, like Alana above, that to make any choice based on morality rather than price, one must be wealthy.

The conversation proceeded as follows:

Frida**:** *The word we haven't used yet is ethical.*
Pix**:** *I suppose that's what we're talking about.*
Donald**:** *Well, it costs money to be ethical.*

Frida: *It does, and I don't mind paying money, extra for Dick Smith*[5] *peanut butter!* [laughs]

Donald: *If it's what I want, and if it's quality I don't worry that much, but yes, it's good if it can come from Australia, but who knows these days.*

Being 'ethical', something Frida suggests, is actually being avoided in the conversation, is taken for granted as supporting Australia—a choice to spend more on Australian-made goods, rather than support workers overseas. Donald finally concedes the point, given a number of conditions (if the product is what is desired, and is good quality, and actually is Australian-made, then that is the choice that should be made).

However, the decision to buy local did not necessarily mean a parochial consciousness. Sometimes it was the result of a resolution to a different moral question—that of how to deal with the environment. Some participants said they sometimes chose to buy national, or preferably local, in order to challenge the power of multinationals such as Monsanto. Others made environmental arguments for sourcing products from nearby. This could be read as demonstrating a different type of cosmopolitan consumption. As one participant said, 'Eat local, think global'. The example below suggests a combination of safety, trust in the quality of the product, and environmental motivations prompted their choice to buy local, rather than nationalist parochialism.

Diane: *I try to buy Australian where I can*

Facilitator: *What makes you look for it?*

Diane: *Probably a couple of reasons. Firstly to do with food miles, and those sort of things, obviously importing things takes a lot of resources to do that. But also, particularly in relation to things like food and baby products, it's about trust and things that are made in other countries I have concerns about the way those things are manufactured.* (Parents and Citizens group)

Environmental motivations were common among the more educated participants. In the example below, the environmental argument is tied to an economic one—countries should specialise in producing those

materials and products that are environmentally sustainable, and international trade should proceed accordingly. Here the dilemma is framed as a practical decision to support Australia, whereas idealistically Sarah would prefer to ensure sustainable production globally. Unusually, in this instance the ideal is to buy global, rather than national.

Sarah**:** *I tend to be more global and planetary about that. And, it's really hard, it would be nice... Australia is very good at some things and other countries are very good at some things...and it would be nice if we could be clear about that, but often the trade agreements are about how we can get money out of here, and how we can get money out of there, and we're trading our water resources around, so practically, yeah, I support Australia. Idealistically, no, no, I want it to be a much more global thought and use each area for what it's best at so you're not ripping the guts out to make something that wasn't supposed to happen there naturally anyway.* (Wildlife Preservation Society)

The dilemma is evident in phrases such as 'it's really hard' and 'it would be nice' and 'no, no, I want', and the 'practical/principle' device (see Wetherell & Potter, 1992). The distinction made between one's ideals (principles) and what can be achieved in practice is one commonly found when talking about issues of globalisation, and tends to work to support a conservative stance (Fozdar, 2017).

An interesting feature of some of the groups was the manner in which the question about whether and why they felt their obligation should be greater towards Australian workers than overseas workers was avoided. The following response demonstrates the ways in which the issue is problematised, and then side stepped. The facilitator has been forced to provide a detailed example in order to prompt participants to engage with the question of consumer xenocentrism and obligations to others.

Facilitator**:** *Just a hypothetical question to finish on, what about—we're talking about buying locally and supporting local producers, what about the coffee grower in Kenya who depends on income coming from overseas to buy their product versus I know we*

don't grow coffee in Australia but to think about it like that, how does that make people feel? Does that make people feel differently?

Cambrook**:** *To me it reminds me that things are never that simple as you know. What is the threshold that allows something to be called Australian made? A new season Donnybrook Pink Lady apple [a locally grown variety] is pretty simple. There isn't much that goes into it and you can't fudge—it's either it is what it is or it isn't.*

Facilitator**:** *In terms of supporting people by providing an income, if we bought Australian coffee if there was that, instead of buying coffee grown in Kenya and that farmer who is poor anyway goes out of business and becomes even poorer.*

Cambrook**:** *He becomes a drug dealer [people laughing]. No they grow drugs, that's what those farmers do.* (Parents and Citizens group)

Cambrook problematises the direct question being asked about responsibility to others, recognising 'things are never that simple' but goes on not to discuss obligations to farmers overseas, but the veracity of the 'Australian made' claim. His response is so disconnected that it is as though he has not heard the question. The facilitator attempts to re-focus the response by spelling out the consequences to overseas producers of Australians not buying overseas products, but the response is flippant (and stereotyping), suggesting that without legitimate support a Kenyan farmer can simply become a drug producer. The joke and laughter suggests a rather shallow disengagement with the issue (although generally this group was quite thoughtful in their discussions). The dodging of the question about obligation or responsibility for the welfare of a Kenyan farmer, and the reversion of the focus back onto the local demonstrates the ubiquity of the national orientation, but it also suggests that the moral dilemma itself is being avoided.

As noted, very few participants engaged with the question of a broader obligation to others around the world. One extended discussion that did demonstrate this stance occurred in a focus group of young educated Christians, several extracts from which are included below.

Zawadi: *[ ] There's something good about supporting Australians because then they don't get, I don't know, shafted. But, you know, if we don't shaft them, then we'll shaft somebody else. So, I don't know, as a Christian, how to make sense of it all.* (Anglican Church group)

Zawadi presents the moral dilemma as being a choice about who to 'shaft'. Using the same 'apparent concession' framing noted above as being common when one is making a 'dispreferred' response, Zawadi appears to concede that there is 'something good about supporting Australians', making her challenge to this normative stance more acceptable by initially apparently agreeing with it. But Zawadi goes on to make the obvious point that the manifest corollary of choosing to privilege co-nationals is that non-co-nationals are disadvantaged ('shafted', an Australian colloquialism for 'screwed'). Rather than making a clear statement that non-nationals deserve support as much as nationals, the framing works almost like a rhetorical question that points out the choice is a zero-sum game—someone has to lose. Rather than clearly stating a position on this moral dilemma, Zawadi simply says she doesn't 'know how to make sense of it all'. It is interesting that the moral dilemma is presented as being related to being Christian, perhaps referencing the 'love thy neighbour' ethic.

This particular focus group was unusual in the quality of debate about the various levels of obligation owed, and to whom, and confounding factors such as working conditions, product quality, and so on. Of all the groups, their self-reflexivity and concern to apply an ethics of sharing 'to create conditions of equality, reciprocity and economic balance' (Plage et al., 2016, p. 16) stood out as significant.

Esta**:** *I don't know. I have a bit of a love/hate relationship with the whole, sort of, Australian made thing. Because I go, well, you know, people in India and Thailand and Asian countries, need—you know, China even—to make a living as well. And so, you know, why should I refuse to buy stuff off them. It seems a bit chauvinistic to go, well, people in Australia deserve the jobs and the opportunities more than*

people in another country. And on the other hand, I know that there are exploitative conditions in those countries and I don't want to support exploitation. So I have a mildly positive opinion of Australian Made, I think. But I have a more positive image of some other things, like, Fair Trade, for example, where, you know, I don't actually, necessarily, want my money just to be floating around in the, you know, wealthy Australian market. I actually do want some of it to be going overseas and doing some good overseas as well; while hopefully not supporting dictators and labour camps and horrible stuff like that.

Sam: *It does have a selfishness about the whole thing, that you're just looking after the country and … then we can decide what we give to, so we can buy Australian products and help our country, our fellow citizens and then we can choose to give money to things overseas if you want to do that as well. I don't think there's something wrong with looking after a fellow citizen …* (Anglican Church group)

The dilemma is clear in the way Esta frames her response, beginning with an 'I don't know' and a recognition that she has a 'love/hate' relationship with the idea. She then almost acts out this internal struggle, a debate within herself, over who to support, giving the arguments for one side, and then, 'on the other hand', for the other. Esta suggests it is 'a bit chauvinistic' to give preference to Australians over others, but also recognises that exploitation exists overseas. Her solution is to buy 'Fair Trade', rather than let her money 'float around' in the already wealthy Australia market. She says she 'actually' (again signalling recognition that this is a dispreferred response) does want her money going overseas to do good, rather than supporting an already wealthy Australia, but she tempers this with an 'as well', thus signalling that she would not exclusively purchase overseas-made products. Esta's comment about buying from 'China, even' is interesting, as it ties back to widely held concerns about the threat China's economy poses to Australia's (see Fozdar, 2015). She makes the brave assertion that 'even' Chinese should be supported. Because she is making an unpopular argument, as well as using the various qualifiers already noted, Esta positions herself as taking the moderate middle ground (Fozdar, 2008; Wetherell & Potter, 1992), with a 'mildly positive'

view about Australian-made, but also about fair trade. Another participant responds by orienting to the suggestion that supporting a national economy over others' is 'selfish', but concludes that if aid is then provided ('as well'), this is acceptable, and that there is nothing wrong with 'looking after a fellow citizen'. Again, the dilemma is clear—concerns about apparent selfishness are morphed into a positive concern over 'looking after a fellow citizen', and 'love thy neighbour' is reduced to supporting co-nationals.

In a migrant focus group, a similar argument for supporting others was made.

Niki**:** *I think this is beyond me, because if I 'Buy Australian' or not I would not make much of a difference, I don't believe actually. In one sense, the whole world of economics is functioning a certain way and when we are buying very cheap stuff from other countries … their people benefit actually from those things too, so it is not, yes, we might not benefit from it here, but if in this way, sort of, we are helping other economies to flourish too, then I think, if there is a balance, I am alright with both.* (Multicultural Health Workers)

In Niki's framing, which begins with an argument that one individual 'would not make much of a difference', thus allowing her to defer responsibility for her personal choices, she presents the dilemma as not being a case of one or other approach being better, but that it is a worthwhile endeavour to assist both economies/peoples by responding to both nationalist and cosmopolitan ethics. This was a common framing by those attempting to challenge, even minimally, the 'buy national' imperative. She is careful to emphasise that one should balance purchasing choices to ensure all economies flourish. Once again the choice is presented as a moral dilemma, and the indefinite framing ('I think this is beyond me') and hedging ('I don't believe actually', 'in one sense', 'sort of', 'I think') verbalise that dilemma. Niki is also careful to present her resolution as a balanced approach rather than a preferencing of non-national purchasing choices—so again a complete cosmopolitan consumption argument is not made.

For others, such as in the following examples from a group of librarians, it was a question of different economic approaches, where buying global would generate consumption capacity overseas for Australian products:

Larry**:** *And then there's the other aspect too, is it to Australia's advantage to be propping up an inefficient manufacturing industry here when it could go somewhere else where they start earning better money, they become richer generally speaking and then can buy the products that we are making from us, you know so we concentrate on those? So there's those … it's not as straightforward, as nice as the notion is, [to] Buy Australian*. (Library Staff)

Lynne**:** *I just think we're becoming so globalised... and I mean it's nice this talk about let's protect our manufacturers and things, but why should someone in China that's working the rice fields get paid you know fifty cents a day? Like I just think it's detached, like I just think it's all good and well to support Australian workers and things but there is just such global inequality. And that's one thing that is tied to the Australian made thing here, that we have these standards and things in place for these workers, but over in China you work in the rice fields all day and you probably have enough to buy a bowl of rice or something like that. So … yeah, I have mixed feelings in that sort of way … but whether we're lucky and fortunate, but also places like China, that's how they make all their money, through manufacturing. If we stop buying things from China …* (Library Staff)

Larry, who notes the dilemma with an 'it's not as straightforward', argues that buying internationally actually supports the Australian economy to become more efficient, while simultaneously putting money in the pockets of overseas buyers of Australian-made products—thus creating offshore demand. Recognising he is articulating a possibly controversial point, he frames the argument as a rhetorical question. Lynne takes a more hard-line stance, tempered with rhetorical questions, a statement that she has 'mixed feelings', and a lot of 'I just think's, arguing that buying overseas-made products is a necessary response to global inequality.

Here, our responsibility is (also) to others outside the nation. Again, China is mentioned as the comparator country, and the implication is that if Australians stop buying products made in China, the Chinese economy could collapse, thus affecting Australia, whose economy is reliant on China's. So despite appearances, this is also not an entirely cosmopolitan argument, arguing for international consumption to ultimately support the nation.

Discussion and Conclusion

We began with the question of how cosmopolitan and nationalist ethics enter economic behaviour at the individual purchasing level. To what extent do Australians display cosmopolitan or nationalist ethics in discussing such decisions, and how are the dilemmas and tensions involved in such decision-making engaged with in a 'thought-ful' manner? Are Australians seeking to support a system where the rights of others, and their livelihoods, are taken into account, or does their loyalty to the Australian economy and Australian workers trump any concern for others outside the nation-state?

The analysis suggests that a level of self-reflexivity and an ethics of sharing beyond the nation-state, identified by Plage et al. (2016) as characteristic of cosmopolitan encounters, do exist, but that nationalism generally trumps cosmopolitanism in discussions about the morality of purchasing decisions. Political and economic nationalism are fundamentally related (Baughn & Yaprak, 1996; Helleiner & Pickel, 2005; Pickel, 2003), with campaigns to encourage nationalist purchasing being as much about political nationalism as they are about the economy. The data analysed above suggests that the nationalist imperative runs deep among Australians, be it the result of such campaigns or other factors. This is evident in its banality or taken-for-grantedness (Billig, 1995) as the bottom line in discussions about purchasing decisions.

The alternative perspective is always present, however. The analysis demonstrates the dilemmatic nature of discussions about consumption, particularly the ways ethnocentric and cosmopolitan imperatives compete with each other or, as Appiah (2010) would argue, co-exist and are

sometimes reconciled. And the dilemma was so strong for some that the question was sometimes avoided completely, by changing conversational direction and avoiding direct questions from facilitators. For most, as found by Shimp and Sharma (1987), purchasing country-produced products is seen as 'the right thing to do', because it is assumed to strengthen the domestic economy, protect domestic jobs, and to be patriotic. Even when arguments were being made for alternative resolutions to this moral question, ethnocentric consumption emerged as the preferred position—the ideal. This was evident not only in what was said, but how it was said, with the use of personal pronouns such as 'we' and 'us' generally used to refer to obligations to co-nationals, over fellow human beings.

Dilemmas identified included the question of cost (see also Fischer & Byron, 1997; Woodward et al., 2009), generally voiced with the proviso that if one can afford to buy Australian, one should. Price-based decisions were framed as being pragmatic, with the principle of buying Australian almost reinforced by the practical exception for those who cannot afford to.

In arguing for buying national, as well as the nationalist imperative, objections to overseas-made products were made, based on the products themselves (in terms of quality and safety), but more importantly on concerns that one could be supporting sweatshops, exploitation, and dictatorships, as well as unethical multinationals, by buying overseas-produced products. Thus, the tension Billig et al. (1988) noted in relation to Enlightenment principles generating the desire to demonstrate fraternity, but also a social conscience, while simultaneously exercising free will, is evident. While for some the solution was to buy national, for others it was to purchase 'Fair Trade' products. Thus, these realities could be used to support different moral positions and a range of practical choices (Wetherell & Potter, 1992), and buying national was sometimes linked to global consciousness.

But there was also recognition by some that ethnocentric consumption amounted to 'chauvinism' and 'selfishness', resulting in 'shafting' others, and arguments were made for the need to spread wealth beyond the nation-state. In keeping with the dilemmatic approach, however, as well as these cosmopolitan arguments, more nationalist arguments around supporting overseas workers were occasionally made. These noted the

potential benefits to the Australian economy of strengthening the global economy, demonstrating a desire to benefit individuals both overseas and within the country. Thus, articulations of international fellow feeling were not necessarily opposed to national solidarity. Discourses around purchasing foreign goods were often self-interested, supporting Vertovec and Cohen's (2002; see also Hage, 1997) argument that cosmopolitan consumption does not necessarily indicate a cosmopolitan morality.

So is the desire to 'buy national' 'morally dangerous' as Nussbaum asserts? The evidence suggests not necessarily, as sometimes it is linked to concerns for the environment or for the exploitation of workers overseas; and the alternative apparently cosmopolitan impulse is not necessarily prompted by concern for others but sometimes by a desire to stimulate the international economy for the sake of the national. What is perhaps most interesting is the ways the moral danger is engaged with by a thinking public, and the manner in which the moral dilemma is addressed. However, the focus group discussions do suggest the ubiquity of the 'buy national' presumption, and that it reflects a nationalist impulse to protect one's own. It is this ubiquity that is the problem. The moral threat lies in the reinforcement of the nation-state as the relevant category for an ethics of sharing. This is problematic if it blocks recognition of the rights of others to a productive and rewarding life. The ways in which the issue is seen as a dilemma perhaps suggests a growing awareness of such responsibilities.

Notes

1. The little work that does exist on consumer cosmopolitanism focusses on designing quantitative measurement scales, using simple statements such as 'I hate foreign products and brands', 'My country should not have trade agreements with foreign countries', and 'Foreign products should be eliminated from the country' (Altlnas et al., 2013, p. 147; see also Cleveland, Laroche, & Papadopoulos, 2009). These presume antipathy towards an out-group (xenophobia), and so may not pick up moderate consumer ethnocentrism and cosmopolitanism. Generally, it has been found that cosmopolitanism has a direct effect on foreign purchase behaviour—the

more cosmopolitan one is, the more likely to purchase overseas-made products (Parts & Vida, 2013).

2. Anthony Appiah (2010) argues that both nationalist and cosmopolitan ethics can coexist, such that an obligation to co-nationals does not preclude a sense of responsibility to 'strangers', those outside the nation-state. Thus, nationalist cosmopolitan is not a contradiction in terms (see also Brett & Moran, 2011).
3. This is despite evidence that such advertising has no economic benefit (Fenwick & Wright, 2000).
4. This work was supported by the Australian Research Council Future Fellowship scheme, under Grant FT 100100432. I would also like to acknowledge the research assistants who facilitated the focus groups, and Brian Spittles who assisted with data management.
5. An Australian brand whose identity is based on producing Australian-made products.

References

Acharya, C., & Elliott, G. (2003). Consumer Ethnocentrism, Perceived Product Quality and Choice—An Empirical Investigation. *Journal of International Consumer Marketing, 15*(4), 87–115.

Altlntaş, H., Kurtulmuşoğlu, F., Kaufmannc, H., Harcard, T., & Gundogane, N. (2013). The Development and Validation of a Consumer Cosmopolitan ISM Scale: The Polar Opposite of Xenophobic Attitudes. *Economic Research-Ekonomska Istraživanja, 26*(1), 137–154.

Appiah, K. (2010). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: WW Norton and Company.

Augoustinos, M., LeCouteur, A., & Soyland, J. (2002). Self-sufficient Arguments in Political Rhetoric: Constructing Reconciliation and Apologizing to the Stolen Generations. *Discourse and Society, 13*(1), 105–142.

Balabanis, G., Diamantopoulos, A., Mueller, R., & Melewar, T. (2001). The Impact of Nationalism, Patriotism and Internationalism on Consumer Ethnocentric Tendencies. *Journal of International Business Studies, 32*(1), 157–175.

Baughn, C., & Yaprak, A. (1996). Economic Nationalism: Conceptual and Empirical Development. *Political Psychology, 17*(4), 759–778.

Bean, C. (2002). Open or Closed Boundaries? Attitudes towards Sovereignty Issues in Australia. *Policy, Organisation and Society, 21*(1), 25–48.

Beck, U. (2006). *Cosmopolitan Vision*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.

Billig, M., Condor, S., Edwards, D., Gane, M., Middleton, D., & Radley, A. (1988). *Ideological Dilemmas: A Social Psychology of Everyday Thinking*. London: Sage.

Brett, J., & Moran, A. (2011). Cosmopolitan Nationalism: Ordinary People Making Sense of Diversity. *Nations and Nationalism, 17*(1), 188–206.

Bryan, D. (1991). Australian Economic Nationalism: Old and New. *Australian Economic Papers, 30*(5), 290–309.

Cameron, R., & Elliott, G. (1998). The 'Country-of-origin effect' and Consumer Attitudes to 'Buy Local' Campaigns: Australian Evidence. *Australasian Marketing Journal, 6*(2), 39–50.

Capling, A. (1997). Economic Nationalism in the 1990s. *The Australian Quarterly, 69*(2), 1–14.

Cleveland, M., Laroche, M., & Papadopoulos, N. (2009). Cosmopolitanism, Consumer Ethnocentrism, and Materialism: An Eight-country Study of Antecedents and Outcomes. *Journal of International Marketing, 17*(1), 116–146.

Dunn, K., & Forrest, J. (2008). Contemporary Manifestations on Racism in Australia. In N. Gopalkrishnan & B. Hurriyet (Eds.), *Racisms in the New World Order: Realities of Culture, Colour and Identity* (pp. 95–106). Newcastle, NSW: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Elliott, G., & Cameron, R. (1994). Consumer Perception of Product Quality and the Country-of-origin Effect. *Journal of international Marketing, 2*(2), 49–62.

Fenwick, G., & Wright, C. (2000). Effect of a Buy-national Campaign on Member Firm Performance. *Journal of Business Research, 47*(2), 135–145.

Fischer, W., & Byron, P. (1997). Buy Australian Made. *Journal of Consumer Policy, 20*(1), 89–97.

Fozdar, F. (2008). Duelling Discourses, Shared Weapons: Rhetorical Techniques Used to Challenge Racist Arguments. *Discourse and Society, 19*(4), 529–547.

Fozdar, F. (2015). Asian Invisibility/Asian Threat: Australians Talking About Asia. *Journal of Sociology, 52*(4), 789–805.

Fozdar, F. (2017). No Borders: Australians Talking Beyond the Nation. *Journal of Language and Politics, 16*(3), 367–387.

Gamson, W. (1992). *Talking Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Germann Molz, J. (2011). Cosmopolitanism and Consumption. In M. Rovisco & M. Nowicka (Eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Cosmopolitanism* (pp. 33–52). Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Hage, G. (1997). At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, Ethnic Food and Migrant Home-building. In H. Grace, G. Hage, L. Johnson, J. Langsworth, & M. Symonds (Eds.), *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West* (pp. 99–153). Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press.

Helleiner, E., & Pickel, A. (2005). *Economic Nationalism in a Globalizing World*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Krueger, R., & Casey, M. (2000). *Focus Groups*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Marsh, I., Meagher, G., & Wilson, S. (2005). Are Australians Open to Globalisation? In S. Wilson, G. Meagher, R. Gibson, D. Denemark, & M. Western (Eds.), *Australian Social Attitudes: The First Report* (pp. 240–257). Sydney: University of NSW Press.

Munday, J. (2006). Identity in Focus: The Use of Focus Groups to Study the Construction of Collective Identity. *Sociology, 40*(1), 89–105.

Nussbaum, C. (1994). Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism. In G. Brown & D. Held (Eds.), *The Cosmopolitanism Reader* (pp. 155–162). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Pakulski, J., & Tranter, B. (2000). Civic, National and Denizen Identity in Australia. *Journal of Sociology, 36*(2), 205–222.

Parts, O., & Vida, I. (2013). The Effects of Cosmopolitanism on Consumer Ethnocentrism, Product Quality, Purchase Intentions and Foreign Product Purchase Behavior. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research, 3*(1), 144–155.

Phillips, T., & Smith, P. (2000). What is 'Australian'? Knowledge and Attitudes among a Gallery of Contemporary Australians. *Australian Journal of Political Science, 35*(2), 203–224.

Pickel, A. (2003). Explaining, and Explaining with, Economic Nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism, 9*(1), 105–127.

Plage, S., Willing, I., Woodward, I., & Skrbiš, Z. (2016). Cosmopolitan Encounters: Reflexive Engagements and the Ethics of Sharing. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 40*(1), 1–20.

Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behavior*. London: Sage.

Prideaux, J. (2009). Consuming Icons: Nationalism and Advertising in Australia. *Nations and Nationalism, 15*(4), 616–635.

Puchta, C., & Potter, J. (2004). *Focus Group Practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Riefler, P., Diamantopoulos, A., & Siguaw, J. (2012). Cosmopolitan Consumers as Target Group for Segmentation. *Journal of International Business Studies, 43*(3), 285–305.

Shimp, T., & Sharma, S. (1987). Consumer Ethnocentrism: Construction and Validation of the CETSCALE. *Journal of Marketing Research, 24*, 280–289.

Skrbis, Z., & Woodward, I. (2007). The Ambivalence of Ordinary Cosmopolitanism: Investigating the Limits of Cosmopolitan Openness. *The Sociological Review, 55*(4), 730–774.

Urry, J. (1995). *Consuming Places*. London: Routledge.

Urry, J. (1999). Globalization and Citizenship. *Journal of World-systems Research, 5*(2), 311–324.

Van Dijk, T. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse and Society, 4*(2), 249–283.

Vertovec, S., & Cohen, R. (2002). Introduction: Conceiving Cosmopolitanism. In S. Vertovec & R. Cohen (Eds.), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice* (pp. 1–22). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1992). *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Woodward, I., Kendall, G., & Skrbis, Z. (2009). *Cosmopolitanism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Woodward, I., Skrbis, Z., & 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.

Zeugner-Roth, K., Zabkar, V., & Diamantopoulos, A. (2015). Consumer Ethnocentrism, National Identity, and Consumer Cosmopolitanism as Drivers of Consumer Behavior: A Social Identity Theory Perspective. *Journal of International Marketing, 23*(2), 25–54.

Farida Fozdar is Associate Professor in Sociology at The University of Western Australia. Her research focuses on race relations, migrant settlement, citizenship, nationalism, cosmopolitanism and postnationalism, and issues to do with refugees and asylum seekers. Her publications include 4 books, 15 book chapters, and over 50 journal articles, plus reports to government and research consultancies.

Part IV

Concluding Perspectives

11

Will Consumer Cosmopolitanism Save the World? Should It?

Dannie Kjeldgaard

This collection of explorations into consumption cosmopolitanism brought together by Woodward and Emontspool is timely. It opens up our thinking around the elusive concept of cosmopolitanism, and brings to the fore the centrality of its relation to consumption and marketing. This is timely for another reason. While consumer and marketing research have shown strong interest in the study of the global and the local in consumer culture, little has been done around cosmopolitanism. This is remarkable as cosmopolitanism research has witnessed a second wave of theorization since the early part of the millennium. My commentary will be organized around some themes that cut across the contributions in this book and which constitute fruitful domains for further conceptual and empirical exploration into consumer cosmopolitanism.

D. Kjeldgaard (✉)
Department of Marketing and Management, University of Southern Denmark, Odense, Denmark

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_11

A Personal and Academic Account

It is curious to witness the academic and political debates over the global and the local unfold over time. Growing up in social democratic Denmark in the 1970s and 1980s was quite dull: one TV channel, no access to cable TV or abundant travel, little access to consumption opportunities more generally. At the same time, this was an experience of growing up in a society that still bore resemblance to the contemporary ideal of a local self-sustaining community. However, in the 1980s this idea of the local was little valorized. Being young, all things global, particularly American, were strongly valorized. As the first of my friends obtained their driver's license, we would regularly drive 40 km to go to McDonald's or watch the latest Rambo movie. This was an era of decidedly positive valorization of global consumer culture. Theoretically, one might say that my life experience fitted perfectly with Ted Levitt's idea proposed in "The Globalization of Markets" (1983), in which he claimed that we were witnessing a global homogenization of demand in the form of a generalized preference for global goods.

The year 1989 marked the fall of the Iron Curtain and was also the onset of my early adulthood. For my generation, these historical circumstances ushered a decidedly optimistic look on the idea of the global and accordingly theorizations of a "post bi-polar world" order began to emerge. The late 1980s and early 1990s witnessed advanced theorizations of the contours of a globalized world. In sociology, Robertson (1986) began his theorization of globalization, Giddens (1990) produced his trilogy on (Western) modernity and its globalizing effects, to name a few. In social and cultural anthropology, things were no less productive: Appadurai introduced his notions of the scaping of the planet in 1990. Friedman and colleagues published a range of books in the *Theory, Culture and Society* book series in globalization, cosmopolitanism and consumption. Wilk (1995) reported from his fieldwork in Belize on globalization as structures of common difference. Taken together, these were sobering theorizations of the complex relations and mutual constitution of the global and the local.

In marketing and consumer research too the debate had been under way for some time. Arnould and Wilk introduced to some of these discussions

in an early piece on "Why do the natives wear Adidas" (1984) and Ger and Belk (1996) discussed the impact and opportunities of globalization and materialism in relation to development and emerging market contexts (1996). Thompson and Tambyah (1999) focused squarely on the notion of cosmopolitanism as a process and ideology perpetuated by late capitalism and partly structured by gendered social norms. In much of this, what we could call a first wave theorization, there was a reconstitution of the role of the global beyond naïve positive valorization or gut reaction critique: to a large extent most of these streams of literature would point to the potentially emancipatory dimension of the global (in e.g. repressive cultural contexts), the (re)construction of the local as an outcome of cultural reflexivity caused by globalization and the positive consequences of the cosmopolitan idea of "understanding the world as a whole" (Robertson, 1992) in, for example, sustainability and human rights terms. Marketing also took a strong interest in ideas of multiculturalism, for example manifested in the collected volume "Marketing in a Multicultural World" edited by Costa and Bamossy (1995). Likewise, this was reflected in the potentiality of generating local or regional economic and cultural sustainability through models of the market (e.g. Askegaard & Kjeldgaard, 2007; Ger, 1999).

For many years marketing and consumer researchers have had a conceptual and empirical focus on the process of particularization: the remarkable resilience and performed nature of the idea of the local in the midst of globalizing and homogenizing process. This leads to one of the first domains of clarification for future research in consumption cosmopolitanism: the role of the local and the global and the iterative categories of difference and sameness in understanding consumer cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism as Globalism and Localism

One of the key questions of consumer cosmopolitanism relates to the role of the local and the global. In much of consumer research's import of cosmopolitan theory (among others drawing on Hannerz, 1990, 1992), cosmopolitan consumption is characterized by an outward and open orientation towards the other, cosmopolitan consumption being the consumption of cultural differences. This is reflected in the opening chapter

by Woodward and Emontspool, as was also part of the early consumer and marketing research approaches to the relation between cosmopolitanism and consumption. Thompson and Tambyah (1999) for example explored the project of "trying to be cosmopolitan" in their orientation towards consuming the cultural and commodified other. Likewise, Firat suggested that in a global consumer culture, we are not so preoccupied with the consumption of homogenized global products as we are with consumption of globalized fragments of culture (Firat, 1995, 1997). This constitutes what we could term a localist perspective of cosmopolitanism.

On the other hand, the root of the idea of cosmopolitanism in, for example, Kant, as is also pointed out by Woodward and Emontspool in this volume, is an emphasis on humanity and hence an emphasis on a common human condition. This we might term a globalist perspective on cosmopolitanism. In this volume, the local versus global approach is im- or explicitly present. Kipnis in her review of marketing studies of cosmopolitanism points out that consumer preference for global *and* foreign products has been studied as cosmopolitan. In the chapter by Riegel, the consumption of global brands is explored as a site for potential cosmopolitan commitments and Rojas explores the conditions under which the moral commitments of a cosmopolitan "citizen of the world" can come about. Interestingly, she concludes that consumers' emotional narrowness and self-orientation forms a strong basis for an increased capacity to "collectively imagine a common world", something which parallels the conclusions in the study by Kjeldgaard and Askegaard (2006), which found that consumers at the periphery of global consumer culture showed a more cosmopolitan imagination of their future self-biography compared to those at the centre. This also relativizes recent research on global mobility that typically focuses on global elites and their liquid relations to consumption (e.g. Bardhi, Eckhardt, & Arnould, 2012). Going back to Holt (1998), there is an implicit assumption that high levels of cultural capital are a prerequisite for consumer cosmopolitanism. This calls for exploration of cosmopolitanism in social contexts where resources are scarce, or amongst marginalized consumer cultures. Furthermore, the role of the local and the global in consumer cosmopolitanism could benefit from additional conceptual and empirical clarification, as well as a clarification of the nature of their mutual constitution.

"Make Love Not Walls" (Diesel 2017): Producing Cosmopolitanism

As Woodward and Emontspool point out in their opening chapter, studies in the domain of marketing have tended to approach cosmopolitanism from the perspective of consumption and less from the perspective of marketing (understood as production of the material and aesthetic commercial signs and objects that circulate in the contemporary marketplace). This is one avenue of research that seems fruitful and the time is ripe as marketing is increasingly preoccupied with globalized and cosmopolitan issues. This is reflected in the Diesel slogan used in the heading above, which I recently observed in a shop window in Northern France. Diesel and other global brands such as Starbucks are mobilizing politically as a reaction to contemporary politics evoking and implying a planetary or transnational imagination on the behalf of consumers. Most recently, at the time of writing this chapter, global companies such as Facebook, Apple and Goldman Sachs joined public discourse to counter the US government's choice of exiting the Paris climate accord.

In the collection, these issues are addressed from different perspectives. Figueiredo, Bean and Larsen tackle this question most directly by exploring the material semiotics of cosmopolitanism in servicescapes. The chapter's commitment to analyzing the minute empirical detail of a specific ethnographic context elucidates the amalgamation and assembling of diverse signs and food practices into a cosmopolitan aesthetic which in turn serves as a branding platform. The study of the mobilization of cosmopolitan aesthetic also demonstrates the oftentimes mundane, pervasive presence of cosmopolitanism in everyday marketplaces as frames for exchange and consumer sociality more widely. Likewise, the chapter by de la Fuente, which looks at materials and surfaces through the lens of cosmopolitan values, addresses the often concrete and material manifestations of cosmopolitanism in our everyday built environments. The question here is whether this kind of material-aesthetic expression is wilful, or speaks to the fact that the cosmopolitan aesthetic has become a standard part of the aesthetic and stylistic repertoire of marketers? We might think further about this through the contribution by Verderame.

In this chapter, another material—or at least spatial—framing of cosmopolitanism is explored through an empirical study of a ritual: the Festival of Europe. Not only does the chapter point to the sometimes elusive nature of the spaces in which cosmopolitanism can be performed, but in this case also to the ritualization and celebration of cultural diversity by way of the theme of the festival. Here cosmopolitanism is exactly not mundane, nor mobilized in a non-reflexive manner, to the contrary.

Is Cosmopolitanism to Localism, What Globalism Is to Nationalism?

These days it seems we have never been more oriented towards the planet—or demonstrating a "consciousness of the world as a whole", to quote Robertson (1992), and at the same time political and cultural localism is rising. We might argue that we are seeing not just a hyperglobalization but also a hyperglocalization. We are at once experiencing an intensification of a process of universalization of our living conditions—as a species but also as societies. And, we are experiencing an intensification of the retraction into (new) localisms in the form of nationalism as witnessed by current political events: Brexit and potential independence sought by Scotland; the rise of nationalist political sentiments in Europe and the United States. It would seem that the fault lines between the national and the cosmopolitan are growing ever more intense and that consumer cosmopolitanism holds the promise of a post-national imagination much needed in contemporary politics.

At the same time we are seeing an increase in regional and local forms of social and economic organization that defies established politically and economically organized institutional frames. The heralding of the local as possibly the ultimate value in contemporary consumer culture needs unfolding. A recent piece in *The Economist* discussed the potential demise of the idea of the global corporation as smaller and craft-based economic actors are gaining market share in a number of product categories (see also Kjeldgaard, Askegaard, Rasmussen, & Østergaard, 2017). The preference for locally grown and sourced products is increasing in a number

of affluent market contexts presumably due to consumer perceptions of authenticity. The preoccupation with local forms of consumption culture in the face of globalism and cosmopolitanism is often understood to be a natural outcome of the idea of glocalization: that we are seeing a global valorization of the local. We might argue therefore that the increased production and marketing of signs and symbols of the local is the engine that keeps cosmopolitanism running and that cosmopolitanism therefore holds the promise of both perpetuating a universal humanity and culturally sustainable local consumer cultures. Perhaps consumer cosmopolitanism *can* save the world.

However, we may also ask ourselves if the co-occurrence of the preoccupation with the local in the form of sustainability, food cultures, regional identities and so on and the emergent nationalism that many Western societies are experiencing politically are mutually implied. The common currency of the local certainly is readily available for mobilization as symbolic resonance for cultural and political nationalism. If this is the case, then perhaps consumer cosmopolitanism is not part of the answer but part of the problem, at least for some groups of consumers.

Such are the complex questions one becomes preoccupied with after exposure to this refreshing and innovative collection of papers. One can only encourage researchers to further begin to map out and explore the relations between the vast conceptual domains of cosmopolitanism, globalism, localism and nationalism and the role of the consumer culture in relation to the contemporary glocalized political landscape.

References

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. *Theory, Culture & Society, 7*(2), 295–310.

Arnould, E. J., & Wilk, R. R. (1984). Why Do the Natives Wear Adidas? In *NA-Advances in Consumer Research* (Vol. 11). Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research.

Askegaard, S., & Kjeldgaard, D. (2007). Here, There, and Everywhere: Place Branding and Gastronomical Globalization in a Macromarketing Perspective. *Journal of Macromarketing, 27*(2), 138–147.

Bardhi, F., Eckhardt, G. M., & Arnould, E. J. (2012). Liquid Relationship to Possessions. *Journal of Consumer Research, 39*(3), 510–529.

Costa, J. A., & Bamossy, G. J. (Eds.). (1995). *Marketing in a Multicultural World: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Cultural Identity*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Firat, A. F. (1995). Consumer Culture or Culture Consumed. In *Marketing in a Multicultural World* (pp. 105–125). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Firat, A. F. (1997). Globalization of Fragmentation: A Framework for Understanding Contemporary Global Markets. *Journal of International Marketing, 5*, 77–86.

Ger, G. (1999). Localizing in the Global Village: Local Firms Competing in Global Markets. *California Management Review, 41*(4), 64–83.

Ger, G., & Belk, R. W. (1996). I'd Like to Buy the World a Coke: Consumptionscapes of the "Less Affluent World". *Journal of Consumer Policy, 19*(3), 271–304.

Giddens, A. (1990). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.

Hannerz, U. (1990). Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture. *Theory, Culture & Society, 7*(2), 237–251.

Hannerz, U. (1992). *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Holt, D. B. (1998). Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption? *Journal of Consumer Research, 25*(1), 1–25.

Kjeldgaard, D., & Askegaard, S. (2006). The Glocalization of Youth Culture: The Global Youth Segment as Structures of Common Difference. *Journal of Consumer Research, 33*(2), 231–247.

Kjeldgaard, D., Askegaard, S., Rasmussen, J. Ø., & Østergaard, P. (2017). Consumers' Collective Action in Market System Dynamics: A Case of Beer. *Marketing Theory, 17*(1), 51–70. doi:10.1177/1470593116658197

Levitt, T. (1983). The Globalization of Markets. *Harvard Business Review*, May–June.

Robertson, R. (1986). Liberation Theology in Latin America: Sociological Problems of Interpretation and Explanation. In J. K. Hadden & A. Shupe (Eds.), *Prophetic Religion and Politics* (pp. 107–139). New York: Paragon Books.

Robertson, R. (1992). *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.

Thompson, C. J., & Tambyah, S. K. (1999). Trying to Be Cosmopolitan. *Journal of Consumer Research, 26*(3), 214–241.

Wilk, R. (1995). Learning to Be Local in Belize: Global Systems of Common Difference. In *Worlds Apart: Modernity through the Prism of the Local* (pp. 110–133). London: Routledge.

Dannie Kjeldgaard is a Professor in the Department of Marketing and Management, University of Southern Denmark. His research focuses on consumer culture, globalization and youth culture. He is Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Consumption Markets and Culture,* one of the most recognized outlets in Consumer Culture Theory. His work has among others appeared in *Journal of Consumer Research*, *Marketing Theory*, *Consumption Markets and Culture*, *Journal of Macromarketing* and *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* as well as in several edited collections.

12

Hopelessly Adrift? Cosmopolitanism, Global Citizenship, and Moral Commitment

Zlatko Skrbis

Cosmopolitanism is a frame of mind. It signals a preparedness to engage with the other and to find benefit in that interaction, or, as my colleagues and I have previously described, cosmopolitanism is 'an ethical stance, in which the individual tries to go beyond the strong evolutionary pressures to privilege those nearest to him or her (family, tribe or nation, depending on the scale of the example under examination), and endeavours to see the value of the other' (Kendall, Woodward, & Skrbiš, 2009, p. 1). But cosmopolitanism is more than that. It is a promise that speaks to a different kind of social order and a different kind of relationship between peoples across the globe. It is also a promise that challenges the perceived fixity of social structure—such as the nation-state and those exclusionary logics which separate the 'domiciled' from the 'foreign'. However, while cosmopolitanism has often derived inspiration from social and political agendas that have affirmed optimism for a new social and political script, changes are now afoot that encourage us to question whether the cosmopolitan project is about to be cast hopelessly adrift.

Z. Skrbis (✉)
Monash University, Clayton, VIC, Australia

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_12

I am writing this concluding chapter against the backdrop of global circumstances which are radically different from any scenario that might previously have been imagined. In the western world we have recently witnessed some significant political upheavals, including the decision of the British people to leave the European Union and the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States. What we have also seen is an increasing number of instances of where parochial patriotism has been privileged at the expense of universalism and where discourses of global citizenship and moral commitment have been subdued by calls for national insularity and isolationism. If, as Calhoun (2003) has observed, the prospects for a cosmopolitan outlook looked less promising in the wake of the September 11 attacks in 2001, what hope does the cosmopolitan project have now?

Before contemplating the future of cosmopolitanism, I first return to the topic of cosmopolitan markets and consumption—a subject that has been so skilfully explored by a range of contributors to this volume. The world of consumption and consumerist practice is, of course, important for understanding cosmopolitan thinking. After all, we are now so deeply steeped in the logic of a global economic ecosystem that we no longer need to be reminded of the forecast made by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in *The Communist Manifesto* that predicted 'a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country' (Marx & Engels, 1848). With rising levels of movement of goods and people across the globe and the development of new communication technologies, humans from different corners of the planet are interacting with each other in ways never seen before. Furthermore, economic relations have expanded and have become so entwined that in many ways the world is now a single, albeit tenuous, market.

Although we often take it for granted, contemporary consumerism is perhaps the most tangible way in which people experience what Giddens (1991, p. 64) calls the 'intensification of worldwide social relations'. Populations in many industrialised nations now have access to a global hypermarket that enables them access to a myriad of products either by visiting their local store or having them mailed or drone-lifted to their doorstep. While there is a degree of entitlement in our approach towards the purchase of globally sourced goods, as well as a somewhat convenient

ignorance of what our consumption entails, this way of experiencing and interacting with the global community facilitates and reinforces a vast range of knowledge, material, and communicative exchanges.

Symbolic and material exchanges on a global scale are, therefore, a legitimate focus for theorists of cosmopolitanism. It is, after all, one of the most common expressions of cosmopolitan interaction. Many cosmopolitan acts of consumerism are essentially a safe or 'banal' mode of cosmopolitan interaction, yet it is also important to pause and consider the role consumptive cosmopolitanism plays in the broader context of cosmopolitan sensibilities and experiences. Through exposure to, and reliance upon, goods and services provided by those situated outside our own national confines, it is possible to cultivate an appreciation of the value of the other and develop genuine concern for their welfare and prosperity. Furthermore, although we know global production and consumption can be beneficial, we also know that not everyone benefits. Economic globalisation offers opportunity for market expansion and the production of low-cost goods, but immoral corporate conduct and the exploitation of the global poor and vulnerable can also ensue. In response we have seen the emergence of a type of political consumerism influenced by a sense of cosmopolitan responsibility. Ethical boycott, whereby consumers refuse to purchase goods made by exploited overseas workers, is one such example. By refusing to purchase goods made in overseas sweatshops, some people might see themselves as showing cosmopolitan concern for others and taking a stand for global responsibility (Micheletti & Stolle 2007, Stolle & Micheletti, 2013; Neilson, 2010).

Consumerism can, however, also reflect sentiments of parochial protectionism rather than cosmopolitan concern. For instance, cheap imported goods and the availability of inexpensive foreign labour can often mean jobs for less skilled members of established local populations are put at jeopardy (Beck, 2000; Calhoun, 2016). The response can be one of economic nationalism whereby consumer practices give preference to locally made products over imported goods (Castelló & Mihelj, 2017). In this case concern for the welfare and prosperity of one's own is prioritised over concerns for the 'other' and it might be seen as immoral to support foreign companies and workers rather than those at home. As Farida Fozdar correctly notes in her contribution to this book, on the face

of it such loyalty to national producers can be commendable, but this perspective becomes a problem if it is at the expense of others. It is particularly problematic if such actions are indicative of, or embolden, broader practices of discrimination, xenophobia, and hate.

The Cosmopolitan Vision

> But if you believe you're a citizen of the world, you're a citizen of nowhere. You don't understand what the very word 'citizenship' means.
>
> Theresa May, U.K. Prime Minister, 2016

The lapidary words of Diogenes of Sinope have been contested by the British Prime Minister. Declaring the merits of *kosmopolitēs*, the Greek philosopher (b. 412 BC) announced himself to be a 'citizen of the world' and a member of the global community who had responsibilities towards all humankind (Nussbaum, 2002; Skrbiš & Woodward, 2013). For Diogenes, being a citizen of the world does not mean that you are a citizen of *nowhere* as Prime Minister May argues, rather you are a citizen of *everywhere* and he believed that one can expand their allegiances and make a moral commitment to others positioned beyond the confines of their own territorial boundaries. In contemporary times, this challenge to the meaning of citizenship and belonging is often held up as a moral ideal and the notion of global citizenship evokes ideas of openness and responsibility towards others—irrespective of their geography or ethnicity. However, looking through the exclusive prism of Prime Minister May's statement, such willing commitment to the global community appears to be in decline. Indeed, some nations who had previously encouraged and embraced such sentiment have now pulled back and are acting to contain and control their cosmopolitan obligation.

Once considered a centre for cosmopolitan discourse (Calhoun, 2008), Britain has now voted to leave the European Union. To achieve this, as Calhoun (2016, p. 50) puts it, the Brexit campaign played on 'an old idea of sovereignty, old English ideas about the difference between the island nation and the mainland of Europe, alarm over immigrants and claims that the UK was somehow subsidizing Europe'. The European project

with all its faults has often been represented as an important step towards cosmopolitan ambition. As Zygmunt Bauman (2004) observes, given its colonial past and the 'ubiquitous and obtrusive European presence in virtually every corner of the globe', the nations that compose Europe were well placed to appreciate the need for cosmopolitan cooperation. Furthermore, as Jürgen Habermas (2012, p. xi) comments, in light of the fact that globalisation has precipitated challenges which individual states cannot adequately manage, the European Union is potentially an important step towards the formation of a 'cosmopolitan community of states and citizens'. The people of Great Britain, however, have chosen not to share this cosmopolitan vision. They have instead decided to retreat from the obligations of European Union membership and to go it alone rather than be tied to the fortunes, or failures, of others.

The United States may have traditionally taken lead in the west on issues of global importance, but this country is also in the throes of retreating from its more 'cosmopolitan' activities and responsibilities. Under Donald Trump, America is, for instance, backtracking from previous agreements to assist the international community in addressing climate change and has withdrawn from its Trans-Pacific Partnership free trade arrangement. Even more concerning are President Trump's attempts to impose travel bans upon people from select Muslim counties, to remove 'illegal' immigrants, and, of course, to build his wall between Mexico and the United States. These measures suggest the American president is anything but cosmopolitan and show that he and his supporters are prepared to privilege their own country even if it is at the expense, disadvantage, and exclusion of others.

So what is it that makes the cosmopolitan perspective so concerning or even distasteful to some? Since the publication of Martha C. Nussbaum's seminal essay *Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism* (1994), cosmopolitanism as a notion has been extensively debated and often discredited. Her essay was a reply to an article written by philosopher Richard Rorty who warned that an 'unpatriotic' academe were encouraging American youth to embrace cultural difference at the expense of both 'national identification' and 'national hope' (Rorty, 1994). In response, Nussbaum emphasised the need for social imagination that thinks beyond the national project and beyond the narrowness of patriotism. The student, she

argued, must instead 'learn to recognise humanity wherever they encounter it, undeterred by traits that are strange to them, and be eager to understand humanity in all its strange guises' (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 9).

Many theorists have critiqued Nussbaum's stance and the collection of essays written in response to her suggestions and reproduced in *For Love of Country* (Nussbaum, 2002) stand testament to this. Historian Gertrude Himmelfarb, for instance, describes cosmopolitanism as a dangerous 'illusion', arguing national belonging is fundamental to one's identity. To adopt a cosmopolitan perspective, she believes, is 'to try to transcend not only nationality but all the actualities, particularities, and realities of life that constitute one's natural identity' (2002, p. 77). Although less critical of cosmopolitanism in principle, sociologist Nathan Glazer (2002, p. 63) points out the practical limitations to cosmopolitan practice, stating 'it is a problem of how far bonds of obligation and loyalty can stretch'. Moreover, he argues that 'the process of change must be mediated by the only institutions that have legitimacy and power, nation states' (Glazer, 2002, p. 65).

A persistent concern raised in the literature is that cosmopolitanism and nationalism are mutually exclusive and to be cosmopolitan requires a departure from, or at the very least partial sacrifice of, one's national roots and loyalties. From a theoretical perspective, however, the express point has been made that national interests and cosmopolitan concerns need not conflict (e.g. Appiah, 1997; Brett & Moran, 2011; Calhoun, 2008). Kwame Anthony Appiah (1997) makes a particularly eloquent case to this effect, explaining how individuals can, if they choose, be both patriotic *and* cosmopolitan—remaining loyal to their own national home and identity, yet expanding their perspectives and taking 'pleasure from the presence of other, different places that are home to other, different people' (1997, p. 618). Philosophical musings might be all well and good, but at a practical level how much relevance do cosmopolitan sentiments have in the current global climate? Would ordinary people in fact gain greater benefit from adopting an anti-cosmopolitan and more insular position? What advantages do they actually achieve from the presence and influence of foreign others or from a sense of belonging to a more cosmopolitan plane?

What recent developments in the United Kingdom and the United States are reminding us of is that not all members of those nations con-

sidered to be prosperous enjoy privilege. In the heyday of industrial Britain and America, employment was available to all who wished to work, but now a new economic reality means manufacturing jobs are in relative decline and goods once made by domestic workers are now produced in developing countries, or by robots, for a fraction of the price. The less educated are competing for employment against the global workforce as well as cheaper immigrant labour and, as the British Prime Minister puts it, if you are 'someone who finds themselves out of work or on lower wages because of low-skilled immigration, life simply doesn't seem fair' (May, 2016). It is these concerns which have ignited a backlash against cosmopolitan sensibilities and the response has been to make a change in tack and to unapologetically chart a course towards the more patriotic and parochial.

While I could provide considerable empirical evidence to suggest that cosmopolitan sentiment is indeed possible and present among 'ordinary' individuals, such sensibilities obviously hold little interest to those Britons who supported Vote Leave or the Americans who find consolation in the populist speeches of Donald Trump. What is very clear is that they see no reason to engage in cosmopolitan practice and do not believe it will bring a positive impact to their lives. From a sociological perspective, this is very interesting. For these individuals, cosmopolitanism means to make sacrifices without gaining benefit. Being cosmopolitan is not a two-way street and they cannot imagine a situation where they themselves would ever be the beneficiaries of cosmopolitan concern and consideration. Furthermore, they believe that to be cosmopolitan means to jeopardise their own self-interest and autonomy.

Herein lies the challenge for the future of cosmopolitanism. The concept is all too readily a hope for all-embracing global solidarity and conviviality—a catch-all signifier for a different and better world. Whilst admittedly this is an appealing ideal, I believe that cosmopolitanism should be grounded in the real rather than the abstract. It must be shown to bring tangible benefit to the real-life experience of ordinary individuals and their families—irrespective of the country in which they live. Essentially, if people are not convinced of the benefits of global citizenship and see no advantage in such an outlook, why should they be expected to embrace it?

Irrespective of how global events unfold, I am not convinced that cosmopolitanism is, in fact, hopelessly adrift. Present-day realities are indeed concerning and disheartening, but we must also remind ourselves that the cosmopolitan project does not always follow a linear path. It is an endeavour that is vulnerable to economic, political, and social shifts. Setbacks such as those we are currently witnessing are therefore inevitable. Whether we are researching cosmopolitanism in the context of consumption and markets or we endeavour to understand broader trends of fear and distrust, as sociologists our task now is to observe and learn from what is currently occurring. Only through deliberate and determined intellectual engagement can we better realise the opportunities and challenges of advocating cosmopolitanism in a world that appears to be questioning its moral commitment to such a vision.

Acknowledgments I wish to acknowledge Dr Jackie Laughland-Bööy's support in preparing this chapter.

References

Appiah, K. A. (1997). Cosmopolitan Patriots. *Critical Inquiry, 23*(3), 617–639.
Bauman, Z. (2004). *Europe: An Unfinished Adventure*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Beck, U. (2000). *What Is Globalization?* Cambridge: Polity Press.
Brett, J., & Moran, A. (2011). Cosmopolitan Nationalism: Ordinary People Making Sense of Diversity. *Nations and Nationalism, 17*(1), 188–206.
Calhoun, C. (2003). 'Belonging' in the Cosmopolitan Imaginary. *Ethnicities, 3*(4), 531–553.
Calhoun, C. (2008). Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism, 14*(3), 427–448.
Calhoun, C. (2016). Brexit is a Mutiny Against the Cosmopolitan Elite. *New Perspectives Quarterly, 33*(3), 50–58.
Castelló, E., & Mihelj, S. (2017). Selling and Consuming the Nation: Understanding Consumer Nationalism. *Journal of Consumer Culture*. doi:10.1177/1469540517690570.
Giddens, A. (1991). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Glazer, N. (2002). Limits of Loyalty'. In M. Nussbaum & J. Cohen (Eds.), *For Love of Country?* Boston: Beacon Press.

Habermas, J. (2012). *The Crisis of the European Union: A Response*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Himmelfarb, G. (2002). The Illusions of Cosmopolitanism. In M. Nussbaum & J. Cohen (Eds.), *For Love of Country?* Boston: Beacon Press.
Kendall, G. P., Woodward, I., & Skrbiš, Z. (2009). *The Sociology of Cosmopolitanism: Globalization, Identity, Culture and Government*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1848). *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Retrieved from https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm
May, T. (2016). Theresa May's Conference Speech in Full. *The Telegraph.* Retrieved from http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/05/theresa-mays-conference-speech-in-full/
Micheletti, M., & Stolle, D. (2007). Mobilizing Consumers to Take Responsibility for Global Social Justice. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 611*(1), 157–175.
Neilson, L. A. (2010). Boycott or Buycott? Understanding Political Consumerism. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour, 9*(3), 214–227.
Nussbaum, M. C. (1994). Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism. *The Boston Review, 19*(5), 3–34.
Nussbaum, M. C. (2002). Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism. In M. Nussbaum & J. Cohen (Eds.), *For Love of Country?* Boston: Beacon Press.
Rorty, R. (1994). The Unpatriotic Academy. *The New York Times*, February 13. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/1994/02/13/opinion/the-unpatriotic-academy.html
Skrbiš, Z., & Woodward, I. (2013). *Cosmopolitanism: Uses of the Idea*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
Stolle, D., & Micheletti, M. (2013). *Political Consumerism: Global Responsibility in Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zlatko Skrbiš is Professor of Sociology and the Senior Pro Vice-Chancellor (Academic) at Monash University, Australia. His research spans the areas of cosmopolitanism, migration, social theory, and life-course studies. His recent books include *Cosmopolitanism: Uses of the Idea* (2013, with Woodward), *The Sociology of Cosmopolitanism* (2009, with Kendall and Woodward), and *Constructing Singapore* (2008, with Barr; Arabic translation in 2013).

Correction to: Cosmopolitanism and Its Sociomaterial Construction in the Servicescape

Bernardo Figueiredo, Jonathan Bean, and Hanne Pico Larsen

Correction to:
Chapter 6 in: Julie Emontspool and Ian Woodward, *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_6

Bookman was incorrectly spelled as 'Brookman' on pages 128, 149, 151 and in the references list on page 153. This has now been updated as:

The updated online version of this chapter can be found under DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_6

B. Figueiredo (✉)
School of Economics, Finance, and Marketing, RMIT University, Melbourne, VIC, Australia

J. Bean
University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, USA

H.P. Larsen
Department of Marketing, Copenhagen Business School, Frederiksberg, Denmark

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9_13

The marketing literature has discussed the constitutive role of consumption objects in consumption practice and competence (Arsel & Bean, 2013; Dion, Sabri, & Guillard, 2014; Sandıkcı & Ger, 2010; Woermann & Rokka, 2015), while studies in the sociology of consumption have attended to the materiality of cosmopolitanism (Anderson, 2004; Bookman, 2013; Saito, 2011; Skrbis & Woodward, 2013) and its role in creating "cosmoscapes," or zones "structured by particular spatial and social characteristics which afford cosmopolitan socialisation" (Kendall et al., 2009, p. 154).

Bookman reminds us that "brands are managed to provide consumers with carefully curated contexts, suggesting ways in which they can experience or relate to various products and services, offering cultural frameworks for their use" (Bookman, 2013, p. 61).

By engaging with the material semiotics of a cosmopolitan servicescape, we have joined others (Anderson, 2004; Bookman, 2013; Saito, 2011; Kendall, Woodward, & Skrbis, 2009) working to unveil the mechanisms that produce cosmopolitanism and create "cosmoscapes—spaces, practices, objects and images which afford and construct networks which make cosmopolitan engagements and hence cosmopolitan subjectivities possible" (Kendall, Woodward, & Skrbis, 2009, p. 127).

Bookman, S. (2013). Branded Cosmopolitanism: 'Global' Coffee Brands and the Co-creation of 'Cosmopolitan Cool'. Review of Cultural Sociology, 7(1), 56–72.

Index[1]

[1] Note: Page numbers followed by "n" refers to note

J. Emontspool, I. Woodward (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism, Markets, and Consumption*
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64179-9